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Central European University
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Edited by
Gerhard Jaritz, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Ágnes Drosztmér

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Editors
Gerhard Jaritz, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Ágnes Drosztmér

Proofreading
Stephen Pow

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Department of Medieval Studies
Central European University
H-1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 9., Hungary
Postal address: H-1245 Budapest 5, P.O. Box 1082
E-mail: medstud@ceu.edu Net: http://medievalstudies.ceu.edu
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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori Salutem!

Volume 24 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the Academic Year 2016/2017. It contains articles on a variety of subjects – from analogies in Greek and Indian philosophy to Benvenuto Cellini's participation in Florentine intellectual life – based on the most innovative of our students' MA theses, a doctoral dissertation currently under preparation, and a paper presented by one of our doctoral candidates at the 52nd International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo.

This year's guest article is written by Felicitas Schmieder, Chair for History and Presence of Pre-modern Europe at the *FernUniversität in Hagen*, a state-funded distance education university in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. She is a long-standing visiting professor at CEU and a good friend of the department. In recent years, she has been concentrating her research on Global History of the Middle Ages and its contexts within the globalized world of the twenty-first century. In her contribution, she deals with the exciting question of what we might learn today from representations of Global History in the later Middle Ages. She comes to the conclusion that "a closer look at those past contexts might help us to find alternative solutions for today as well."

The *Annual* would not be complete without information on the academic activities of the department. Following the practice of the previous volumes, Katalin Szende's report as Department Head offers a summary of the main events along with our work and progress in the Academic Year 2016/17. As always, we add abstracts of all the MA theses and PhD dissertations defended this year in the department. For more information on recent and forthcoming events and activities as well as on publications, students, alumni, and faculty, please consult our website (https://medievalstudies.ceu.edu/).

We thank all the contributors for their successful efforts to realize the timely publication of the volume. This also would not have been possible without the efficient participation of Kyra Lyublyanovics and Ágnes Drosztmér in the production process, and our PhD student Stephen Pow's help with copy editing. Our thanks also go to Archaeolingua Press, our constant partner, for turning the manuscripts into an attractive new volume of the *Annual*.

Gerhard Jaritz

PART 1

Articles and Studies

THE SNAKE AND ROPE ANALOGY IN GREEK AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHY[1]

Anna Aklan

Abstract

This article is concerned with the writings of Sextus Empiricus (second century CE), a Sceptic philosopher whose works show a remarkable plenitude of similar elements that occur frequently within various Indian philosophies. Following Aram M. Frenkian's investigation, this study re-examines one of the three elements identified by Frenkian as Indian influences on Sextus' *oeuvre:* the smoke-fire illustration, the snake-rope analogy, and the quadrilemma. The same elements, among others, were identified by Thomas McEvilley as evidence of Greek influence on Madhyamaka Buddhism. After inspecting the supposedly earliest occurrences in both Greek and Indian philosophy and literature, we must acknowledge, at least until other evidence arises, that these three elements are not indicators of direct borrowing. The presence of the same similes and verbal expression in both Indian and Greek philosophical contexts, however, is most probably an indicator of intellectual exchange, even if this is not due to direct influence out of textual contact but more likely arising from verbal communication. It seems practical to postulate a "common pool" of philosophical expressions, a certain distinct philosophical language, which was available to philosophers of both cultures. Various authors used these similes as building blocks in the expression of their theories, and they used them as it best suited their purposes.

Keywords

Sextus Empiricus; snake-and-rope; comparative philosophy; Pyrrhonism; Indian influence

[1] This article is a shortened version of a subchapter of my doctoral dissertation currently in preparation. I would like to express my gratitude to Ferenc Ruzsa for his valuable help and comments. I am also grateful to the École française d'Extrême Orient, and its Pondicherry Centre, for supporting this research.

Introduction

Parallels between the writings of Sextus Empiricus (c. 160–210 CE) and stock examples of Indian philosophy were first published by Aram M. Frenkian.[2] He studied three similarities present in both contexts: 1) the smoke and fire example used to illustrate inference in logical deductions; 2) the snake and rope example, attributed to Carneades (214–128 BCE), and used to illustrate mistakes in perception; 3) the usage of a logical device called quadrilemma or tetralemma in ancient philosophy and *catuṣkoṭi* in Indian literature. Frenkian's overarching conclusion, based on the investigation of these three similarities, was that Indian thought exercised influence over Greek philosophy through the channel of Greek Scepticism. It started with the founder of the Sceptic school, Pyrrho (360–270 BCE), who lived in India and learned from Indian sages. According to Diogenes Laertius and other sources, Pyrrho acquired the core of his philosophy, later known as Pyrrhonism or Scepticism, from the "naked Indian sages" – the gymnosophists. The Indian influence on Pyrrho's thought was also corroborated by Everard Flintoff's seminal study.[3] Sextus Empiricus is the most well-known figure of ancient Pyrrhonism, who lived several centuries after Pyrrho, and the only ancient Sceptic who left voluminous works on Scepticism. According to Frenkian's hypothesis, there was, after Pyrrho, another instance of Indian influence through Carneades, as is shown by the snake and rope analogy.

In his detailed article about the Aristotelian and Indian inferences, Ferenc Ruzsa[4] also tackles the question of Indian influence on Sextus' writings. Citing Flintoff on the Indian influence on Pyrrho, and referring to Frenkian, he similarly supports the view of Indian influence over Sextus through the mediation of the founding figure of Greek Scepticism, Pyrrho.

Contrary to Frenkian and Ruzsa, but based on the same three philosophical similarities, Thomas McEvilley[5] in his groundbreaking and monumental volume on Indo-Greek philosophical relations, *The Shape of Ancient Thought*, postulates an opposite direction of influence, namely, from Greece to India. While the former

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2 Aram M. Frenkian, "Sextus Empiricus and Indian Logic," *Philosophical Quarterly (India)* 30 (1957): 115–26. Aram M. Frenkian, *Scepticismul Grec* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1996).

3 E. Flintoff, "Pyrrho and India," *Phronesis* 25,1 (1980): 88–108.

4 Ferenc Ruzsa, "A szerszám és a módszer" [The tool and the method], in *Töredékes Hagyomány. Steiger Kornélnak.* [Fragmentary tradition. For Kornel Steiger], 239–70 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007), 240–41.

5 Thomas McEvilley, *The Shape of Ancient Thought* (New York: Allworth Press, 2002), 498–499.

two scholars, a Classical Philologist and an Indologist respectively, maintain that despite the chronological difficulties regarding the available texts, the examples are the natives of India as opposed to Greek philosophy, McEvilley insists on emphasizing chronology. He concludes that Buddhism and especially "the Mādhyamika dialectic somehow came from Greece," arguing that Nāgārjuna, the great Buddhist philosopher and founder of the Buddhist school called the Middle Path (*Madhyamaka*), was directly influenced by Greek dialectic.[6]

As is clear from this summary, the three major similarities present in Sextus' text and in Indian philosophical writings (smoke-fire, snake-rope, and quadrilemma) inspired serious scholars to postulate influence from one culture to the other, partly based on the question of chronology. Karl Potter, however, the editor of the ongoing project, the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophies* (now in its thick twenty-second volume), opined on Frenkian's hypothesis in the following way: "All in all, we must be sober in our judgments on this exciting possibility of mutual East-West influence; repeated efforts by reputable scholars have found precious little to show any conscious borrowing."[7]

In the present article, the snake-rope analogy is discussed in both Greek and Indian cultural contexts.[8] We study texts which have not been hitherto studied in the scope of enquiry about Sextus' hypothetical Indian connection, in order to revisit the propositions of earlier scholars and to conduct thorough research involving all available texts, facilitating our understanding on whether there is any pattern we can conclusively recognize in the available data.[9] Finally, we are going to place our results in the context of all three similarities. While the other two are not described in their detailed study in the present article, the results about them will be summarized in order to give an overall picture on the question of Sextus' Indian connections.

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[6] Ibid., 503.

[7] Karl Potter, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophies. Vol. 2, The Tradition of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika up to Gaṅgeśa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), 17.

[8] In my dissertation, I study all three similarities separately.

[9] We must stress the difficulty of available texts on both the Greek and the Indian side. Many texts have been lost or are fragmentary on the Greek side. On the Indian side, the primacy of verbal teaching versus written tradition must be remembered especially when dealing with early phases of philosophy. Chronological difficulties are omnipresent. Additionally, many early Buddhist texts exist only in Tibetan or Chinese translations. Furthermore, due to the vast material, it is possible that some occurrences of the similarities simply escape our attention. New evidence in the form of papyrus, manuscript or epigraphical discoveries might always come to light. In the article we give an exhaustive picture of the data that is available to us presently, but these precautions must be born in mind.

The snake and rope analogy

The snake and rope analogy, i.e. mistaking a rope for a snake in a dark room, appears in Sextus Empiricus' *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* (*Pyrrhoneae Hypotyposes*, *PH* I. 227–228) and in his *Against the Logicians* (*Adversus Mathematicos*, *M* VII. 187–188) to illustrate the Academic Carneades' theory of perception. In Indian philosophical writings, the image is an omnipresent stock example as a metaphor for the erroneous perception of metaphysical reality, first appearing in Buddhist writings but becoming especially popular through Vedānta. The image compares a person stepping into a dark room and mistaking a coiled rope for a snake to an ignorant person who does not know the real nature of the world. The content of this "real nature" differs from school to school: for some Buddhist schools, it is emptiness (*śūnyatā*), and for the Yogācāra Buddhist school, it is consciousness-only (*vijñapti-mātra*); for the orthodox school Advaita Vedānta, it is Brahman. All schools, however, use this analogy to illustrate the error in the perception of metaphysical reality. Additionally, the different schools in Indian philosophies all developed epistemological theories, together with often elaborate theories of perception, where they also enumerated various defects of perception.[10] It is curious, however, that we have found only one instance[11] where the analogy appears in a purely epistemological context, remaining far more frequent in metaphysical discussions on the Indian side.

Greek texts

In the Greek context, two occurrences that resemble the analogy are present in texts before Sextus: in Aesop's *Proverbia* 132 (c. third century BCE)[12], and in Demetrius' *De elocutione* §159 (c. second century BCE). [13] The first occurrence of something resembling the snake-rope analogy is the following: "The one who has been bitten by the snake is scared even of the rope."[14]

Although Aesop is generally dated to the sixth century BCE, he is more a legendary character than a historical author and the fables and proverbs extant under his name cannot be dated with certainty. It is probable that the collection

[10] For an exhaustive survey, see Jadunath Sinha, *Indian Psychology* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1934).

[11] On the writings of the seventh-century Buddhist commentator Dharmakīrti, see below.

[12] Ruzsa, "A szerszám és a módszer." Ruzsa calls the metaphor the most spectacular Indian motif in Sextus.

[13] Frenkian, "Sextus Empiricus and Indian Logic," 123.

[14] ὁ δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ ὄφεως καὶ τὸ σχοινίον φοβεῖται. Aesop, *Proverbia*, 132. B. E. Perry, "Aesop. Proverbia," in *Aesopica* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), 265–91. My translation is provided here.

of the proverbs dates to the second half of the first millennium BCE. It is also noteworthy that the transmission of Aesopian fables is due to Demetrius of Phalerum (third century BCE),[15] the author to whom our second occurrence of the snake-rope example is attributed. The second occurrence of the analogy is not identical to what we find in Sextus in phrasing – but it is so in imagery:

> Release from fear is also often a source of charm, for example a man needlessly afraid, mistaking a strip of leather for a snake or [an earthen vessel][16] for a gaping hole in the ground – mistakes which are rather comic in themselves.[17]

This text is attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 350–283 BCE),[18] statesman and Peripatetic philosopher. The scholarly consensus denies the possibility of this attribution and many agree that the text was written in about the second century BCE, with attributions ranging from 270 BCE to the first century CE.[19] Regarding our main investigation, it suffices to determine that the text is definitely pre-Sextian.

The author of the treatise on style and rhetoric uses this illustration in a description about different topics for charm (*charis*) (156–162§), where the subjects of the elegant style are enumerated: "proverb, fable, groundless fear, comparison and hyperbole."[20] The occurrence of the snake-rope analogy in a context clearly related to the Aesopean genre strengthens the previous observation: the misperception of a rope or a strap as a snake could have been present in everyday Greek experience without relation to Indian philosophy.

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[15] H. J. Blackham, "The Fable in Literature," in *The Fable as Literature*, 1–33 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1985), 7.

[16] Innes' translation "a bread oven" is correct inasmuch as κρίβανος is used for baking bread, but it is actually an earthenware vessel. See Liddell-Scott-Jones: "covered earthen vessel, wider at bottom than at top, wherein bread was baked by putting hot embers round it." *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones*, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsj/#eid=1&context=lsj [Accessed April, 2018].

[17] Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐκ φόβου ἀλλασσομένου γίνεται χάρις, ὅταν διακενῆς τις φοβηθῇ, οἷον τὸν ἱμάντα ὡς ὄφιν ἢ τὸν κρίβανον ὡς χάσμα τῆς γῆς, ἅπερ καὶ αὐτὰ κωμῳδικώτερά ἐστιν. Demetrius, *De elocutione*, 159. §, transl. by Doreen Innes in Demetrius, "On Style," in *Aristotle: Poetics. Longinus: On the Sublime. Demetrius: On Style*, ed. Doreen Innes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 307–523.

[18] Tiziano Dorandi, "Chronology," in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, ed. Keimpe Algra, Jonathan Barnes, Jaap Mansfeld, Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 49–50.

[19] Demetrius, "On Style," 311.

[20] Demetrius, "On Style," 335.

These early occurrences, although not identical with the later appearance of the analogy, allude to mistaking a rope for a snake based on their similar properties. Its attribution to Aesop, the representative of everyday wit as opposed to high standards of literary or philosophical traditions, and also its appearance in comedy, alludes to the presence of the potential for mistaken perception of the two objects within common, indigenous Greek experience.

In Sextus Empiricus' works, the illustration is brought up to illuminate the position of the New Academy about impressions (*phantasia*). Impressions themselves are discussed within the wider context of the criterium: whether anything that can be applied as a criterium for truth exists. The head (scholarch) of the Academy, Arcesilaus, who became head in 264 BCE, led the school into its Sceptic phase. He maintained that there is no criterion of truth, and thus all knowledge is impossible.[21] The next scholarch, Carneades (214–129 BCE),[22] developed this idea and admitted grounds for action on the basis that subjective impressions arising from sense-perception can be regarded as apparently true (*phainomenē alēthē*),[23] and thus can provide a basis for action in everyday life.[24] This type of impression has to fulfil three requirements: it must be plausible, probable or persuasive (*pithanē*), unobstructed (*aperispastos*)[25], and thoroughly tested (*perihōdeumenē* or *diexhōdeumenē*).[26]

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[21] R. G. Bury, *Sextus Empiricus. Outlines of Pyrrhonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), xxxii–xxxiii.

[22] Dorandi, "Chronology," 48–9.

[23] *M* VII, 166.

[24] Bury, *Sextus Empiricus, Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, xxxvi.

[25] Both Bury's "irreversible" and Bett's "not turned away" for *phantasia aperispastos* seem to be lacking. Bett is right that etymologically the literal meaning of the word is "not turned away." This literal translation, however, does not yield the real meaning and the genre of the technical term in the passage. Bury's "irreversible," while also retaining the etymology, does not help the reader to understand what the concept means: the impression, in order to reach the mind and provide grounds for further action, cannot be turned back from the mind of the perceiver on the grounds that there is already another cognition which is contrary to the new perception. Sextus gives two similar examples to this. In *PH* I., 228–9, Admestus would not believe that he saw Alcestis alive due to his previous knowledge that she had died. In *M* VII., 180, Menelaus does not believe that he sees Helen on the island of Pharos due to his previous knowledge that he had left Helen on his own ship (and the Helen on the ship in reality was only a phantom). In both cases, the previous knowledge turns the new cognition away. It does not let the new cognition be recognized by the perceiver. Due to the lack of a proper English word for the term, I tentatively accept Péter Lautner's Hungarian version, "unobstructed impression," and provide it in English to yield a rough equivalent of the term *phantasia aperispastos*. Péter Lautner, "Sextus Empiricus: A pürrhonizmus alapvonalai [Sextus Empiricus: The basics of Pyrrhonism]," in *Antik szkepticizmus* [Antique skepticism], ed. Gábor Kendeffy (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1998), 228.

[26] *M* VII, 176–82.

The example of the snake and the rope appears as an illustration to the probable and thoroughly tested impression. As is usual with Sextus' *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* and *Against the Logicians*, similar explanations are given in the two works, except for the one in the latter is more elaborate. Here, just as in *PH*,[27] the example is used to illustrate the plausible and tested impression.

> *M* VII. 187–188. For example, someone observing a coil of rope in an unlit room immediately jumps over it, supposing it to be in fact a snake. But after this he turns round and examines what is true, and finding it motionless he already has in his thinking an inclination towards its not being a snake. Still, figuring that snakes are sometimes motionless when they go stiff from winter cold, he pokes the coil with a stick, and then, after thus exploring from all angles the appearance that strikes him, he assents to its being false that the body made apparent to him is a snake.[28]

The example fits the theory perfectly well: an epistemological mistake which can be corrected due to close inspection. It seems to be an everyday-life example that illustrates the theoretical concept appropriately.

Sextus places the example in the theory of impressions developed by Carneades. Was it the latter who used the snake-rope analogy originally or is it simply an addition on Sextus' part?[29] Unfortunately, we lack evidence to state

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[27] *PH* I, 227–28.

[28] οἷον ἐν ἀλαμπεῖ οἰκήματι εἴλημα σχοινίου θεασάμενός τις παραυτίκα μὲν ὄφιν ὑπολαβὼν τυγχάνειν ὑπερήλατο, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑποστρέψας ἐξετάζει τἀληθές, καὶ εὑρὼν ἀκίνητον ἤδη μὲν εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὄφιν ῥοπὴν ἴσχει κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅμως δὲ λογιζόμενος ὅτι καὶ ὄφεις ποτὲ ἀκινητοῦσι χειμερινῷ κρύει παγέντες, βακτηρίᾳ καθικνεῖται τοῦ σπειράματος, καὶ τότε οὕτως ἐκπεριοδεύσας τὴν προσπίπτουσαν φαντασίαν συγκατατίθεται τῷ ψεῦδος εἶναι τὸ ὄφιν ὑπάρχειν τὸ φαντασθὲν αὐτῷ σῶμα. *M* VII, 187.4–188.5, transl. Richard Bett, *Sextus Empiricus. Against the Logicians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[29] Karl Potter quotes Frenkian in the following way: "The image of the coiled rope taken for a snake was used as illustration of the doctrine of Carneades in the 2nd century BC" (see Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 2, 19). This can be understood, and has been understood by numerous scholars, to mean that it was Carneades who first used this example to illustrate his theory about perception (see, for example, Suzanne Obdrzalek, "Carneades' Pithanon and Its Relation to Epoche and Apraxia," *The Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy Newsletter* 354 (2002), or Alfred Schutz, "The Problem of Carneades; Variations on a Theme," in *Collected Papers V. Phenomenology and the Social Sciences*, ed. Lester Embree, [Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 101–23].) They base this assumption solely on Sextus *M* 182–188, where Sextus gives a summary of the explicitly Carneadean theory of perception. When moving on to examples, however, his parlance changes to a rather loquacious style and there is no hint that he is retelling an earlier example. Besides the snake-rope example, he also gives further illustrations to the theory, e.g., the notion of the unobstructed impression with the examples of Menelaus and Helene and Alcestis and Admetus (*M* VII.180, 186.) Were these all original examples

anything conclusive on this question. Besides Sextus, the other main source of information about Carneades' teachings are the writings of Cicero which are silent about this illustration. It seems equally possible that it was either Carneades who used this metaphor or that it was Sextus who invented the metaphor to illustrate the Carneadian theory. From the lack of the example in Cicero, the probability of Sextus' invention seems greater.

Indian texts

On the Indian side, the picture is more complex. Surprisingly, the example is not present in Sanskrit texts before the second century CE. This is truly astonishing because in subsequent philosophical works the image of the snake-rope mistake becomes widespread. Potter is definitely right when, commenting on Frenkian's theory, he states that "the first two of these characteristically Indian allusions – the rope-snake illusion and the quadrilemma – are more Buddhist than Hindu, at least in those early days of which Frenkian speaks."[30] The earliest instances originate from the early centuries of the Christian era, and from a decidedly Buddhist context.

The greatest result of our research[31] has been to locate the very first occurrence of the analogy in a Buddhist compendium entitled *Mahāvibhāṣā*, "a massive sourcebook of Sarvastivadin doctrine,"[32] which consists of three texts. The analogy appears in the *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstra*, which was composed around 150 CE,[33] and is extant only in Chinese translation:[34]

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by Carneades or did Sextus supply his own set of examples? Malcolm Schofield in his discussion about Carneades' epistemology also differentiates between the theory of the Academic philosopher and Sextus' illustration. (Malcolm Schofield, "Academic Epistemology," in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, Keimpe Malcolma Algra, Jonathan Barnes, Jaap Mansfield and Schofield, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 349.) Regarding the smoke-fire example, however, we find that the Stoic-Epicurean context in Sextus is corroborated by the evidence found in the writings of the Epicurean Philodemus. Here also it might be the case that the example was really used by the Academic philosopher first, and was simply retold by Sextus. Cicero, the other main preserver of Carneadean thought does not refer to the snake-rope example.

[30] Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 2, 19.

[31] I would like to express my gratitude to Mónika Szegedi, a Tibetologist, who has drawn my attention to the Vasubandhu-text, which in turn led to the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. I would also like to thank Melinda Pap, Sinologist, for the translation of the Chinese text.

[32] Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 7, 123.

[33] Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 7, 511.

[34] One difficulty with this work is that it is uncertain whether the Chinese translator Hsüan-tsang added his own interpretation or whether he gave a faithful account of the Sanskrit original when he made the translation in 659.

> It is like when the person sees a rope and takes it for a snake, or when he sees a tree trunk and takes it for a man, etc. To take a rope or a tree trunk as a snake or a man is mistaking phenomena and forms, and not lacking reason.[35]

The next record we could find is attributed, albeit not unanimously, to Āryadeva,[36] a Buddhist thinker of the third century CE. The early authors who use the example are similarly Buddhists: Vasubandhu[37] and Asaṅga[38] (fourth century), Dignāga[39] (fifth century), Bahvya and Sthiramati (sixth century) and Candrakīrti[40] (seventh century).[41] The first non-Buddhist author is Candrakīrti's contemporary, Gauḍapāda,[42] an early representative of Advaita Vedānta. The analogy becomes popular in the Buddhist exegetical literature from the fifth century onwards, but it reached widespread popularity in the Vedānta school, especially due to the writings of Śaṅkara[43] (c. eighth century), the most influential systematizer of Advaita Vedānta. Below, we will explore some early examples.

The first firmly attributable text applying the snake-rope analogy is found in the work of Vasubandhu (fourth century CE), who is credited with the foundation of the Yogācāra school and was one of the most influential Buddhist philosophers. He was probably born around 316 CE and might have written the *Abhidharmakośa* around 350 CE.[44] He applies the snake-rope analogy in his autocommentary to the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (VI.58b):

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[35] *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstra* 1545 [0036a10], transl. to Hungarian by Melinda Pap (personal communication).

[36] Āryadeva. *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* 67–68. and *Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti* 1–2.

[37] Vasubandhu. *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* VI.58b. I would like to express my gratitude to Mónika Szegedi, who has discovered the employment of the snake-rope analogy in this locus and has provided me with the references.

[38] Asaṅga, *Mahāyānasaṁgraha* (*MSG*), 3.8.

[39] Dignāga, *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* Ch. 1. This work is extant only in Tibetan translation.

[40] Candrakīrti, *Prasannapadā* Ch. 25.3.

[41] Dates are indicated mainly on the basis of the chronology given in various volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*. More details about the chronologies are given under the discussion of the individual texts. Dignāga's *A Collection on the Means of Valid Knowledge* (*Pramāṇasamuccaya, PS)* is also enumerated by Frenkian and McEvilley as using the example, but they were following secondary literature on the fifth-century Buddhist philosopher. I could not locate the example in his writing they refer to. The example, however, is present in a commentary to Dignāga's work by the seventh-century author Dharmakīrti's *Commentary to the Means of Valid Knowledge (Pramāṇavārttikā, PV)* ad *PS* Section 3. Bb.

[42] Gauḍapāda, *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* 2, 17–18.

[43] *Passim* in his works.

[44] Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 8, 483.

> Another point: Among the Āryans (= the Śaikṣas) who do not reflect, the defilements which are abandoned by Meditation can arise by reason of the weakness of mindfulness; these defilements do not arise among the Āryans who reflect. In the same way that one thinks a rope is a snake if one does not observe it carefully (*Vibhāṣā,* TD 27, p. 36a20); [so too when one's attention is lacking, one forgets its metaphysical characteristics, the impermanence of the pleasant, etc.] but the error of personalism (*ātmadṛṣṭi*) cannot arise among Āryans who do not reflect, because this error is a product of reflection.[45]

Here, as in other early Buddhist occurrences, the analogy is used to illustrate the erroneous perception of reality. It is a characteristic example of the usage of the illustration, inasmuch as it does not stop at the level of perception, but it is used as a simile for the contradiction between the perceived experiential word and the underlying reality which is different from it. What this underlying reality consists in varies with the different schools: it can be voidness,[46] or for others it can be consciousness-only.[47] For Vedānta, it is Brahma, but the point is the same: contrary to everyday experience, there exists some underlying metaphysical reality, and the perception of this twofold phenomenon is similar to the mistaken perception of a rope as a snake. In other words, in the Indian context, perception and the epistemological errors are closely related to metaphysical and ontological considerations, and very often, this also implies soteriological aspects.

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[45] … *api khalv āryasyânupanidhyāyataḥ smṛtisaṃpramoṣāt kleśa utpadyate nopanidhyāyato rajjvām iva sarpa saṃjñā / na cânupanidhyāyata ātmadṛṣṭyādinām upapattir yujyate santīrakatvāditi nâsti darśanaheyakleśa prahāṇātparihāṇiḥ.* Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya,* VI.58b [375|09–375|10]– [375|10–375|12] GRETIL text. Based on the editions of: (1) P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (rev. 2nd ed.) (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Center, 1975); (2) Swami Dwarikadas Shastri, ed., *Abhidharmakosa & Bhasya of Acarya Vasubandhu with Sphutartha Commentary of Acarya Yasomitra*(2 vols.) (Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1998); Translation from Leo M. Pruden, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, vol. 3, transl. into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. English Version by Leo M. Pruden (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988–1990), 1005; The same passage in Sangpo's translation: "Another point. In the noble ones (= those in training) who do not reflect (*upanidhyāyati = saṁtīrayati*), the defilements abandoned by cultivation can arise due to a "lapse of mindfulness" (*smṛtisaṁpramoṣa*); {4b}these defilements do not arise in perfected beings who reflect. Just as one takes a rope (*rajju*) for a snake (*sarpa*) if one does not pay attention (MVŚ, 36a20); (likewise, when attention is absent, one forgets the metaphysical characteristic, the impermanence of the agreeable, etc.). (…)" In: Sangpo, Gelong Lodrö, *Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya. The Treasury of the Abhidharma and its (Auto)commentary by Vasubandhu,* vol. 4 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2012).

[46] As in the *Treatise on the Hair on the Hand* (*Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti*).

[47] In the *Summary of the Great Vehicle* (*Mahāyānasaṁgraha*).

There is another very interesting aspect of the early Buddhist usage of the example. In two instances,[48] the analogy is further developed: it is not enough that what has been mistakenly perceived as a snake is in reality a rope, but the rope itself is mistakenly perceived as an independent entity while in reality, it is a compound unit consisting of further components. When one analyzes the rope itself, one will find that in reality nothing like the "rope" exists. Both instances are from the earliest phase of the analogy in the third and fourth centuries. Let us quote the *Commentary to the Treatise Named the Hair on the Hand (Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti, H)* 1.c–d:

> 1.c–d. When its parts (i.e. the parts of the rope) are seen, also the cognition concerning that (rope) is illusory, as (the cognition of) the snake.
>
> *Commentary*: If one examines also that rope, after having divided it into its parts, the existence in itself of the rope is not perceived. Since this (existence in itself of the rope) is not perceived, also the perception of the rope, like the thought of "a snake," is only a mere illusion, nothing else. Further, just as the cognition of the rope is an illusion, in the same way, (in relation to) those parts (of the rope), also, when (their) fractions, particles and so on are examined, their existence in itself (i.e. the existence in itself of the parts of the rope) is not grasped as something real; the thought which has the form of the perception of those (parts of the rope), like the thought of the rope, is only a mere illusion.[49]

As mentioned above, the snake-rope simile can be found in a purely epistemological context in Indian philosophy, too, but compared to the sources listed above, this has a rather late provenance. The only source is Dharmakīrti's *Commentary to the Means of Valid Knowledge (Pramāṇavārttikā, PV)*:[50]

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[48] Asaṅga, *Summary of the Great Vehicle* (*Mahāyānasaṁgraha*, *MSG*) 3.8; and in the *Commentary to the Treatise Named the Hair on the Hand (Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti, H)* 1.c–d, attributed to Āryadeva. In *H*, the recognition of the non-existence of essential nature (*svabhāva*) is due to a simpler whole-part analysis, while in MSG the specific characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) serve as the grounds for the analysis of the rope and the consequence of the notion of consciousness-only (*vijñaptimātratā).*

[49] Carmen Dragonetti and Fernando Tola, "The Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti," *Journal of Religious Studies* 8, no. 1 (1980): 18–31, 24–5.

[50] *PV* III. 297, Commentary to Dignāga's *A Collection on the Means of Valid Knowledge* (*Pramāṇasamuccaya, PS)* ad Section 3. Bb, written in the fifth century CE.

> If the erroneous perception of *dvi-candra* [the double-moon] were held to be caused by the *manas* [mind], this would involve the following absurd conclusions: (1) it would be removed even when the defect of the *indriya* [sense-organ] is not cured, as the erroneous mental cognition of a snake of what is really a rope is removed simply by the close examination of the object.[51] ... PV III. 297

Here we see an epistemological usage of the simile resembling Sextus' illustration, without any metaphysical allusions. The context is different, however. By this time, a complex theory of epistemological errors (*bhrānti*) had developed and Indian philosophers had been debating about what kinds of errors exist, e.g., those due to mental misrepresentations or defects of the senses. Dharmakīrti was definitely familiar with this discourse. Despite that, however, this example is not generally discussed in literature dealing with perceptual errors, e.g., it is missing from Maṇḍana Miśra's eighth-century work, *Vibhramaviveka*.[52] This can be regarded as a sign that the analogy was not an epistemological example used for perceptual error in Indian literature but rather it was used metaphysically.

The first non-Buddhist occurrence of the analogy is present in Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍukyakārikā*, an obviously Advaita Vedāntin text. This fact supports the hypothesis of Buddhist influence on the Advaita school. Following this Vedānta usage, and especially due to the influence of the works of Gauḍapāda's disciple Śaṇkara, the analogy gained widespread popularity in Hindu philosophical texts as an expression of the misperceived metaphysical reality, bearing the promise of liberation attainable through correct knowledge, thus representing epistemological soteriology.

Mythology

While snakes are and were present in the Greek-speaking world, most probably it would be India that has and had larger and more spectacular species, including those with lethal venom. This zoological fact in itself is not sufficient to reach confirmation about the primacy of the snake-rope image. In order to examine if the analogy is "more natural" for Indian than for Greek philosophical usage, let us have a brief overview of the mythological layer, which generally pre-dates the appearance of philosophical speculation.

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[51] *Sarpâdi-bhrāntivac câsyāḥ syād akṣa-vikṛtāv api*. Dharmakīrti. *Pramāṇavṛtti* III. 297. Paraphrased by Dignāga Hattori, *On Perception,* transl. by Masaaki Hattori. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 96.

[52] Lambert Schmithausen, *Maṇḍanamiśra' Vibhramavivekaḥ* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf.), 1965.

Snakes are definitely present in Greek mythology and are regarded (similarly to the universal symbolism of serpents) in two aspects, one as a fearful and ferocious image, while the other, mainly in the Asclepius-mythology, as a helpful animal associated with healing. For the fearful image, numerous examples could be cited from the archaic layers of Greek mythology,[53] let us just refer to Ophion, Gorgon, Chimaera, etc. From a later phase, the example of the child Heracles might be recalled, who strangled two serpents in his cradle with his own hands. While in these examples the mythological snakes, though dangerous and fearful, are of smaller size, in one of the most well-known myths, explicitly large species are depicted in the case of Laocoon and his sons.[54]

It seems that on mythological basis, the possibility of mistaking a snake for a rope and that such an event is capable of causing fear is definitely present – but we must emphasize that while the possibility is present, no such incident is found in Greek mythology.

On the other hand, one of the most fundamental Indian myths contains exactly such an episode: the churning of the ocean (*samudra-manthana*),[55] where the gods, in extended warfare with demons, use the snake-king (*nāgarāja*) Vāsuki as a rope to churn the Ocean of Milk in order to receive the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*). This mythological episode can be treated as the proto-image of the snake-rope analogy – thus its Indian primacy, at least regarding mythology, can be accepted.

Comparison

Conceptually, the two cultures use the image in two distinct ways. While Sextus is confined to perception only, and that also in a very distinctly and elaborately detailed epistemological system of perception and cognition developed by Carneades, without any far-reaching conclusion about metaphysics, in most Indian occurrences, the relevance of the snake-rope image lies in the metaphysical and soteriological aspects. Sextus uses the snake-rope image as an *example* for erroneous perception in epistemological context while in the Indian occurrences it is applied primarily as an *analogy* for the erroneous perception of the metaphysical reality.

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[53] From the pre-Greek layer, we can refer to the Minoan Snake Goddess figurines, dated to c. 1600 BCE.

[54] In the Homeric epics, the episode is not present. Sophocles wrote a tragedy about Laocoon in the fifth century BCE.

[55] The credit of bringing this myth in connection with the philosophical usage of the snake-rope analogy goes to Ferenc Ruzsa. The myth is found in the *Mahābhārata* (I.18), the *Rāmāyaṇa* (45.), the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (I.9), and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. The earliest texts date to about the fifth to fourth century BCE, with parts originating perhaps earlier.

Any similar idea is missing on the Greek side. Some of the earliest appearances of the image differ from later occurrences in that they represent a two-step mental process where in the second step even the rope is realized as a non-entity. In later usage, this second step is omitted.

Chronologically, we face several difficulties on both sides, mainly due to the lack of numerous sources. As for the Greek text, the question is whether the example was first used by Carneades, or whether it was Sextus who used the example on his own. It seems to me that from the lack of other sources on Carneades' theory of perception, we can postulate that the example originates with Sextus. If this is the case, the primacy in the philosophical application of the image belongs to the Indian context, but the time of the respective first occurrences are very close: the *Mahāvibhāṣā* is dated around 150 CE, while the dates attributed to Sextus are traditionally 150–250 CE. Still, as we can see, the very first occurrences originate from about the third or second centuries BCE in the Greek world from a context that is rooted in everyday experience and appear in proverbial usage (Aesop, Demetrius).[56] Regarding Frenkian's observation that snakes are more characteristic of India than the Greek ecological environment, we have referred to the widespread presence of snake or serpent imagery in Greek mythology. The strong presence of snake-cult in Greek mythology together with the occurrence at a proverbial and comical level would question the hypothesis of Indian origin of the example in Sextus. The employment of a snake as a rope in Indian mythology gives the primacy of the image to the Indian context.

The scarcity of the example within Greek philosophical context must also be emphasized. Besides Sextus' works, and there solely in connection with the Carneadean theory, the motif is completely missing. In Indian texts, on the other hand, especially after the fourth century, it gained a widespread application.

Conclusion

Regarding the theories of influence, the following observations can be made. Interestingly, we have found that the first occurrences of philosophical applications of the example arose at approximately the same time, the second to third century CE. This closeness in time may allude to actual exchange.

[56] It must be admitted, however, that the presence of the example in the Demetrius-text, which is dated to the second century BCE, is contemporaneous with Carneades – something which could be an argument for the earlier presence of the analogy in the philosophical field. Nonetheless, until other evidence is found, I regard the analogy as first applied by Sextus.

Regarding Frenkian's original hypothesis that the image would have arrived directly from India either through Pyrrho or through Carneades, we have found no evidence as the first occurrence of the written analogy in Indian works dates to the second century CE or later, which postdates both Greek philosophers.[57]

Regarding the other direction of influence, from Greece to India, as proposed by McEvilley, the newly found evidence in the second-century *Vibhāṣā* rules out this possibility. Concerning McEvilley's hypothesis regarding the influence Sextus could have exerted on the Mādhyamika school, there is an undeniable similarity regarding the overall polemical aim of both Sextus and Nāgārjuna[58] in the listing and refuting of all philosophical tenets around them. There are no clear dates for Nāgārjuna, but the widest time frame assigned to him is about 150–250 CE – slightly later than Sextus. The hypothetical location of his activities in the second half of his life to South India also makes it possible that he might have met some teachings of Greek philosophy as there had been undeniable Mediterranean cultural presence in the period on the southern coasts, especially around the ports of Musiris and Podukē (near present-day Thrissur and Pondicherry respectively).

Despite all these general circumstances, which are favorable for the theory of influence from the Greek side to the Indian, especially regarding Buddhist philosophy, textually we could not find enough convincing evidence. Furthermore, as this specific image of the snake and rope analogy is missing in Nāgārjuna's works, this cannot be used as evidence to support such a hypothesis, especially not in the form which McEvilley postulates that whole compendia of Greek philosophy could have exerted literary influence ("possibly in the form of a Sceptical handbook which brought the forms of Greek dialectic").[59] It is imaginable that some kind of verbal interaction took place and had some influence – but this could have provided inspiration and furnished building blocks of expressions rather than proving to be literal borrowings.

Turning back to the original three similarities observed by Frenkian, Ruzsa and McEvilley, in the case of the smoke-fire example, conceptual agreements are also found together with the application of the illustration. Regarding the subject of our present inquiry, on the other hand, only the imagery is the same but the concept for which the image is used is different. Potter's statement about the

[57] It is possible that the image was already present in the spoken tradition, but its absence from the earliest Buddhist compendium, the voluminous and extensive Pali Canon, or the second-century BCE *Questions of King Milinda*, raises questions about the presence of the motif in the spoken tradition.

[58] Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 8, 13.

[59] McEvilley, *The Shape of Ancient Thought*, 499.

snake-rope analogy being a "characteristically Indian allusion"[60] must be modified: chronologically the image appears first in Greek writings. What is characteristically Indian about it is its mythical, metaphysical and soteriological application.

Even if there was any kind of influence, it must have been in the form of spoken exchange of ideas, and in this case, maybe not even at a philosophical level but only at a colloquial level of a proverbial usage.[61] Then the proverb became utterly transformed and was used as a building block to express the various theories of the different schools.

Returning to the proposal of Frenkian, Ruzsa and McEvilley regarding the three similar elements in Sextus Empiricus' writings and Indian philosophy, the following conclusion can be drawn. It has been found that the very first proto-image of the snake and rope analogy, is found in Indian mythology, in the episode of the churning of the ocean where a snake was used as a rope. In written form, the example of mistaking a rope for a snake first appears in Greek texts. Contrary to the smoke-fire motif, here no conceptual similarity is found: while in the Greek context, the image is used for an epistemological theory, from the very first occurrence in Indian discourse, the image is used as an analogy for metaphysical purposes, an aspect completely missing from the Greek context.

To make a cautious conclusion, we might state that both images were present and were more natural in Indian everyday reality, mythology and epics as a first step. But as we could see, the first philosophical usage of these images is found recorded in Greek texts and it has subsequent provenances only in later layers of Indian philosophy.

A somewhat different pattern has been outlined regarding a third element, the tetralemma. It became frequently used already in the time of the Buddha, mainly in Sceptic, and then in several Buddhist schools also. Although there are

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[60] Potter, *Encyclopaedia* 2, 19.

[61] Let me refer here cursorily to another similarity at the proverbial level. There is an Indian maxim current in literature about frogs referred to as *kūpa-maṇḍūkya-nyāya,* "the maxim of a frog in the well" by Jacob, who explains: "it is applied to an inexperienced person brought up in the narrow circle of home and ignorant of public life and mankind." One immediately remembers Plato's similar image in *Phaedo* 109 when he compares the peoples of the Mediterranean to "ants or frogs about a pond," (ὥσπερ περὶ τέλμα μύρμηκας ἢ βατράχους) with limited knowledge about the wider or "real" world. G. A. Jakob, *Laukikanyayañjaliḥ. A Handful of Popular Maxims* (Bombay: Nirṇ aya-Sāgar Press, 1907), 20.; Plato, *Platonis Opera*, ed. John Burnet (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903). Should one postulate influence in this case? If any, it must have been at the colloquial level of exchanged or widespread proverbs that became used as building blocks furnishing illustrations for different concepts. Here again, the scarcity of the simile in the Greek philosophical and literary tradition gives way to the hypothesis of intellectual exchange.

some similar cases in pre-Pyrrhonean Greek philosophy, namely one classical tetralemma in Plato,[62] one tetralemma-like occurrence in Parmenides,[63] and one in Aristotle's writings,[64] it is Pyrrho who is credited with making it the focal point of his philosophy. In addition to Diogenes Laertius' and others' reports of Pyrrho's travels to India and his encounter with and learning from Indian Gymnosophists there,[65] Flintoff's reasoning regarding Indian influences on Pyrrho are very convincing.[66] Furthermore, it seems that besides the above enlisted occurrences, i.e. after Pyrrho, it was only Sextus, a representative of the Greek Sceptical school, who applied this fourfold method – so in the case of the tetralemma, I am inclined to accept the theory of direct Indian influence on Pyrrho.

It is important to point out that Sextus' works are not his own philosophical achievements exclusively or primarily, but rather, he provides a compendium of all preceding philosophical schools and their tenets to refute them. Thus, the similarities that are present in his oeuvre are not necessarily proofs of Indian influences on Sextus but they show the elements that Greek philosophy had in common with the Indian side.

One can question the necessity to postulate interaction instead of independent development. Given the historical relations, and the allusions to cultural interconnection, however, it seems highly probable that these elements were "travelling" in the area of the Oikumene. This does not mean servile borrowing. Rather on the contrary, as our examples show, the raw material was modified to fit the purposes of those who found them expressive of their own tenets. These images, metaphors, linguistic expressions were taken up, twisted and shaped to become building blocks to fit the context of the given school.

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[62] Plato, *Republic* 5, 479c.
[63] Parmenides, Fr. 6, Simplicius, *Phys.* 1 1 7, 4.
[64] Aristotle, *Metaphysics* IV 4, lO08a 30–35.
[65] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* IX. 11. 61.
[66] Flintoff, "Pyrrho and India."

BISHOPS AT ORDINATION IN EARLY CHRISTIAN IRELAND: THE THOUGHT WORLD OF A RITUAL

Viktoriia Krivoshchekova

After decades of research which argued otherwise, bishops of the early Irish church are no longer considered second fiddle to the great monastic heads of the period.[1] But while the high legal status and pastoral importance of the bishops are now agreed upon, there is still little to no research on another important side of episcopal office – its symbolic and liturgical entourage.[2]

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[1] The idea that at some point in the sixth century, the episcopal organization of the church had been supplanted by the monastic one was first expressed by James Todd and picked up by John Bury. It was later developed and nuanced by John Ryan and especially Kathleen Hughes who proposed a model of coexistence and confrontation of the Irish monastic party and the Roman episcopal one since the seventh century. See James H. Todd, *St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co., 1864), 87–149; John B. Bury, *The Life of St Patrick and His Place in History* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), 166–83, 243–4, 375–9; John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1931), 167–90; Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 44–110. This view has been challenged in two seminal papers by Richard Sharpe and Colmán Etchingham. Sharpe effectively demonstrates that clergy retained their full significance in the field of pastoral care, in Richard Sharpe, "Some Problems Concerning the Organization of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland," *Peritia* 3 (1984): 230–70. Etchingham furthers Sharpe's idea by showing that the legal status of bishops was not in any way hindered. On the contrary, it was almost as high as that of a king. Colmán Etchingham, "Bishops in the Early Irish Church: A Reassessment," *Studia Hibernica* 28 (1994): 35–62.

[2] Such an attempt has been made in my recent MA thesis, where I investigated the ways in which ritual narratives found in Hiberno-Latin texts helped construct the sacred authority of episcopal office in early medieval Ireland. See Viktoriia Krivoshchekova, "*Signaculum Secretorum*: Episcopal Authority and Ritual in the Early Irish Church," MA thesis (Central European University, 2017). It should be noted that research on the early Irish liturgy in general has been quite productive during the last decades. Most importantly, scholars have realized that sacraments in early Christian Ireland are intrinsically connected with contemporary developments on the continent. See Aidan Breen, "The Text of the Constantinopolitan Creed in the Stowe Missal," *PRIA* 90C (1990): 107–21; Marc Schneiders, "The Origins of the Early Irish Liturgy," in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), 76–98; Tomás Ó Carragáin, "The Architectural Setting of the Mass in Early-Medieval Ireland," *Medieval Archaeology* 53 (2009): 130–76; Neil X. O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

It would be too daring an enterprise to tackle the whole variety of episcopal rituals in a single article despite the paucity of relevant sources. It is therefore reasonable to start with the ritual of ordination, a sacrament wherein the bishop may act in two capacities: as the one receiving or conferring holy orders. The analysis of available references to ordination rituals in Irish sources can bring out some of the textual strategies used to transmit the conceptual space of a ritual through writing.

There are several Hiberno-Latin and vernacular texts which shed light on this fascinating ceremony, namely the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, a fundamental Irish canon law compilation dating to *c.* 716–725, Cogitosus' *Vita Brigidae*, a late seventh-century biography of St. Brigit in which her right-hand man is Bishop Conláed, Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* which is approximately contemporary to Cogitosus' text, and the eighth-century canonical tract known as the *Ríagail Pátraic* (the Rule of Patrick).

Unfortunately, none of these texts presents us with an elaborated description of an early Irish ordination ritual, instead providing disparate bits of information often in passing or inserted between other matters. That is why the most effective way to approach the chosen topic is by looking at ordination not as a firmly defined and uniform ritual regulated by written documents, but rather as a collection of images and concepts associated with the general idea of a bishop entering his venerable office or using his power to ordain other clerics. Analyzing these images and concepts, captured in the texts, is a way to understanding how the ritual functioned on the level of thought world – the level of mental comprehension informing all further interpretations which then might have been implemented in the actual ceremonies.[3]

The bishop ordained

The most extensive account of episcopal ordination is offered by the *Hibernensis*, which touches upon two crucial elements of the ritual described in a separate chapter: the imposition of hands (also called the "laying on of hands") and the

[3] The idea that medieval ritual can only be analyzed within the confines of a textual reality, as opposed to an anthropological one, has been very convincingly put forward by Philippe Buc. See Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 1–12; idem, "Ritual and Interpretation: The Early Medieval Case," *Early Medieval Europe* 9, no. 2 (2009): 183–210.

transferring of order-specific "instruments" – *traditio instrumentorum*.[4] The chapter entitled *De impositione manum in episcopum* opens with a series of Old Testament analogies establishing the "ancient institution" of laying on of hands. These include Isaac and Jacob (Gen 27:27), Jacob and his sons (Gen 49:28), and Moses and Joshua (Num 27:15; Deut 34:9).[5] This list of parallels invokes a specific imagery which creates the basic conceptual reference for any ordination ceremony, imbuing it with performative meaning whereby the act of ordination is framed as a reenactment of particular episodes from the Scripture. The same also pertains to other elements of the ordination rite which will be discussed shortly.

After this, the text proceeds with a concise description of the ritual which is heavily based on the fifth-century collection of Gallican canon law, known as *Statuta ecclesiae antiquae*. The directions are the following: "When a bishop is ordained, let two bishops lay on their hands and hold the book of gospels over his head, that is, over his neck, and while one pronounces benediction (*fundente benedictionem*), let all other bishops present place their hands over his head following the bishop's hand."[6]

The imposition of hands seems to be the cornerstone of the ordination rite in the early medieval West, starting with the *Sacramentarium Veronense*.[7] The gesture also was meant to invoke Christ and his blessing of the apostles which bestowed them with the Holy Spirit. This idea is most unambiguously stated in the Pseudo-

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[4] Continental sources often present a more elaborate structure of ordination rituals which includes the election and presentation of the candidate and vesting of the ordinand as the first two steps in ordination. The act of ordination is followed by a mass. See Paul F. Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination: Their History and Theology* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2013), 109; Roger E. Reynolds, "*Ordinatio* and the Priesthood in the Early Middle Ages and Its Visual Depiction," in *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, ed. Greg Peters and C. Colt Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 48–53. Since these elements are not present in the Irish sources concerning ordination, I will leave them out of my analysis.

[5] "Collectio canonum Hibernensis," in *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, ed. Herrmann Wasserschleben (Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1885), 4. The passage is almost directly copied from Isidore. See Isidore of Seville, "De ecclesiasticis officiis," PL 83, coll. 782–3. I could not consult the newer edition in Isidorus Hispalensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C. M. Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989).

[6] "Hibernensis," 4 (my translation); see also "Statuta ecclesiae antiqua," in *Concilia Galliae a. 314–506*, ed. Charles Munier, CCSL 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), 181. This and other passages from the *Hibernensis* describing clerical ordinations derive from the instructions contained in *"Statuta."*

[7] Bernard Botte, "L'ordination de l'évêque," *La Maison-Dieu* 98 (1969): 113. Note that the earliest surviving Roman ritual of ordination, the mid-eighth-century *Ordo Romanus XXXIV*, does not mention the imposition *per se*, but only the blessing. See Sharon L. McMillan, *Episcopal Ordination and Ecclesiastical Consensus* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2005), 32.

Isidorian *Liber de numeris* whose Hiberno-Latin origin and eighth-century date have been demonstrated by Robert McNally: "Seventh, [Christ] was bishop when he lifted his hand over the heads of his disciples and blessed them and, blessing them, conferred on them the Holy Spirit."[8] Even though the imposition as such does not feature in the Lukan narrative on which this text most probably draws, it does not fail to establish the conceptual link between the biblical action and local rituals.[9]

But while the laying on of hands and related imagery stem from an older tradition, another element of the ritual emphasized in the passage – the imposition of the gospel book – is more of a rarity in the West. Again, the authors of the *Hibernensis* assumed it from the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, and the latter text presumably borrowed it from the Syrian *Constitutiones apostolicae*.[10] Writing in the first half of the ninth century, Amalarius of Metz, the most outstanding liturgist of the Carolingian Renaissance, was rather skeptical towards the spurious origin of the *impositio evangeliorum*, "which was disclosed neither by an ancient authority, nor by the apostolic tradition or canonical power."[11] Despite this unfortunate lack of proper sanction, Amalarius justifies the practice by saying that it can "remind those who hold [the gospel] that the Lord imprinted that gospel in [the ordinand's] heart, so that they pray for him who is consecrated and remind him to be mindful that he is more distinguished under the yoke of the gospel than he had been before."[12] The book, therefore, becomes a very tangible embodiment of

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[8] Cited in Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 67 (my translation). For dating and attribution, see Robert E. McNally, *Der irische* Liber de numeris*: Eine Quellenanalyse des pseudo-isidorischen* Liber de numeris (Munich: Universität München, 1957); Marina Smyth, "The Irish *Liber de numeris*," in *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland: Proceedings of the 1993 Conference of the Society for Hiberno-Latin Studies on Early Irish Exegesis and Homiletics*, ed. Thomas O'Loughlin (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 291–97. The only edition of *Liber de numeris* to date is in Isidore of Seville, "Liber de numeris," PL 83, coll. 1293–1302.

[9] In Luke, it is only said that Christ blessed the apostles by "lifting up his hands" (Luke 24:50).

[10] See Luned Mair Davies, "*Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* and the Gallic Councils in the *Hibernensis*," *Peritia* 14 (2000): 96–97. This scholar also notices that in Rome the imposition of the gospels was an exclusive part of papal ordination until the tenth century.

[11] Amalarius of Metz, "De ecclesiasticis officiis libri quatuor," PL 105, col. 1092. The latest edition of the work, now under the title *Liber officialis*, was unavailable to me. See *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J.-M. Hanssens, vol. 2 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948).

[12] Amalarius, "De ecclesiasticis officiis," 1092–93 (my translation). Interestingly, several scholars, apparently following the lead of Bernard Botte (whose work I have been unable to trace), argued that Amalarius was opposed to the practice of *impositio evangeliarum* based only on the sentence cited earlier, though he actually proceeded to show its symbolic value. See Bernard Botte, "Le rituel d'ordination des *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médievale* 2 (1939): 233 (n.v.).

Christ's yoke, and keeping in mind that an early medieval gospel codex was quite heavy, it makes the Lord's words in Matthew 11:30 sound rather ironic.[13]

The motif of imposing a book on the ordinand's neck is briefly, but fruitfully, analyzed by Annette Kehnel in her study of the conceptual metaphor of "inscribed body" and human life as a text. She advances Amalarius's interpretation by arguing that the act of imposition represents the burden of the word of God which the newly ordained bishop now has to carry: "it weighs him down and makes his body suffer the weight of the grand narrative of death and salvation."[14] This interpretation echoes Paul's words to the Corinthians: "For necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel" (1 Cor 19:16). It is therefore only fitting that two illustrations from continental manuscripts depicting the ordinations of Gregory Nazianzus and Pope Sylvester II show them bowing down under the weight of the codices.[15]

Returning to Ireland, these considerations must hold true for the compilers of the *Hibernensis* as well. For the congregants of the large episcopal "basilicas," the *impositio evangeliorum* probably brought to mind such lavish and (literally) heavily decorated gospel manuscripts as the Book of Kells or the Book of Durrow.[16] Although the question of whether such books were used in the liturgy or simply displayed in the church is one for speculation, and yet unresolved,[17] it does not change the fact that these unique artefacts impressed themselves in the minds of visitors and could then become symbolically associated with the most solemn rituals.[18]

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[13] "For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matt. 11:30). The burden of episcopal office is also recognized in the early ninth-century vernacular *Rule of St Carthage*: "If you are a bishop, noble is the order, take your burden (*mam*) with industry." "The Rule of St Carthage," ed. and trans. Mac Eclaise, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 27 (1910): 496–97.

[14] Annette Kehnel, "'Use My Body Like the Pages of a Book': Tracing the 'Body Inscribed' as a Conceptual Metaphor for the Experience of Life in Western Thought and Tradition," in *Schriftträger – Textträger: Zur materialen Präsenz des Geschriebenen in frühen Gesellschaften*, ed. Annette Kehnel and Diamantis Panagiotopoulos (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 263–64.

[15] See Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art," *Gesta* 22, no. 1 (1983): 30.

[16] The use of the term *basilica* in regard to early Irish church buildings is another example of using specific language to enhance the mental imagery of the ritual. Elsewhere, I argue that this use of terminology helped authors emphasize the episcopal status of a church by symbolically linking it to the great basilicas of Rome. See Krivoshchekova, "*Signaculum secretorum*," 42–48.

[17] Carol Farr, *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1997), 42.

[18] In fact, one of the most famous Irish texts, Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, features a very special book in connection to the ordination ritual, though a royal rather than a clerical one. The author relates

Outside of the *Hibernensis*, ordination ritual does not get any more detailed. However, a brief sentence in Cogitosus' *Vita Brigidae* managed to puzzle quite a number of scholars studying the specifics of early medieval ordination rites. In a most casual manner, Cogitosus narrates that after Conáed's ordination as the bishop of Brigit's church at Kildare, "the anointed head (*unctum caput*) and primate of all bishops and the most blessed chief abbess of the virgins governed their primatial Church."[19] The phrase *unctum caput* is hardly ambiguous in referring to the ritual of episcopal anointing.

Even in the absence of the actual ritual narrative, the reference to *unctum caput* is a powerful means of expression that immediately brings to mind the Old Testament discourse of sacerdotal anointing. As Paul Bradshaw notes, it was one of the two rites, along with vesting, which constituted the ordination of the high priest.[20] It is important to emphasize that although all of Aaron's sons

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how in a dream, Columba received from an angel "a glass book of the ordination of kings" (*vitreus ordinationis regum liber*) to ordain Áedán mac Gabráin as king of Dál Riata. *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan O. Anderson and Marjorie O. Anderson (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), 472–5; translation in Adomnán, *Life of St Columba*, trans. Richard Sharpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1995), 208–9. The heavenly appearance hits the right note in the ritual discourse. Not only does it create an instant link to the divine, but it also demonstrates that a finely embellished codex was thought to be an indispensable part of the most important rituals, acting as a channel through which the word as a divine sanction reached the ordinand. The episode from Columba's life, although not representing episcopal ordination, attests very effectively to the centrality of the book in the multifaceted conceptual space of the ritual.

[19] Cogitosus, "Vita sanctae Brigidae," ed. Karina Hochegger, in *Untersuchungen zu den ältesten 'Vitae sanctae Brigidae,'* M.Phil. dissertation (University of Vienna, 2009), 18–20. Translation in Seán Connolly and Jean-Michel Picard, "Cogitosus's Life of St Brigit: Content and Value," *JRSAI* 117 (1987): 11–12.

[20] Paul F. Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination: Their History and Theology* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2013), 115. As for vesting, there is, to my knowledge, only one explicit reference to it as a part of ritual. It is to be found in the *Vita Brigidae* where Cogitosus narrates the miraculous reappearance of Conláed's "foreign vestments from overseas" (*vestimenta transmarina et peregrina*), which Brigit previously gave to the poor. It is specifically stated that before the liturgy it was "usual for this chief prelate of the people to be vested in his ceremonial robes" (*mutatoriis vestis indutus*). "Vita Brigidae," 46. By mentioning the "texture and colors" of the clothes, Cogitosus also gives his audience a glimpse into the colorful world of the liturgy. Two later Irish tracts found in *Leabhar Breac* and the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (both fifteenth century) list eight liturgical colors: white, purple, blue, green, yellow, red, brown and black. All of them are ascribed various symbolic meanings. The same color palette appears in *Saltair na Rann*, a Middle Irish poem on the Christian cosmology. See Frederick E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), 112–25; Roger E. Reynolds, "Clerical Liturgical Vestments and Liturgical Colors in the Middle Ages," in *Clerics in the Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 10–11; John Carey, "The Three Sails, the

were anointed,[21] only at his own unction was the oil poured on his head: "And he poured some of the anointing oil on Aaron's head and anointed him to consecrate him (Lev 8:12)."[22]

This part of Cogitosus's text excellently demonstrates the possibilities of understanding the ritual in conceptual terms: two words can substitute an entire liturgical ordinary by simply invoking a familiar image, seen mentally or in church paintings and manuscripts, of Moses pouring the anointing oil on Aaron's head. The latter could be imagined kneeling or bowing before his brother, but one vivid detail was invariably attached – that of "the precious oil on the head, running down on the beard, on the beard of Aaron, running down on the collar of his robes (Ps 133:2)." The resulting imagery conveyed multiple meanings at the same time: first, it referred to a fully-fledged ritual in a concise manner; second, it substantiated the link between Aaronic priesthood and episcopacy through the crucial act of elevating a person to the performance of sacred mysteries; third, it offered a concrete model which in the mind of a medieval reader easily unfolded into a very "tangible" conceptual space where even such details as the oil running down the ordinand's face and the hem of his garment played a role.

Another argument in favor of interpreting this reference to episcopal unction as a part of discourse rather than actual liturgical practice is the fact that it is not attested in continental liturgical sources up until the first half of the eighth century (*Vita Brigidae* was composed c. 675). Even the *Missale Francorum*, the first liturgical document in the West to record the ceremony of anointing in clerical ordination, only introduces it for presbyters and not for bishops.[23] That is why for

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Twelve Winds, and the Question of Early Irish Colour Theory," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72 (2009): 228–32.

[21] "You shall anoint Aaron and his sons, and consecrate them, that they may serve me as priests." (Ex. 30:30). On the divergence of this ritual from the anointing of the high priest, see Daniel Fleming, "The Biblical Tradition of Anointing Priests," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117, no. 3 (1998): 401–14.

[22] The same tradition continued into the Late Middle Ages, when deacons only had their hands anointed, presbyters had their hands and the thumb anointed, and only episcopal ordination involved anointing of the head along with the hands and the thumb. See Roger E. Reynolds, "*Ordinatio* and the Priesthood in the Early Middle Ages and Its Visual Depiction," in *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, ed. Greg Peters and C. Colt Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 53.

[23] Gerald Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1933), 18–21; Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination*, 126. Interestingly, the *Missale Francorum* is thought to have been considerably influenced by the Irish tradition found in the Bobbio Missal and the Stowe Missal. The anointing of the bishop's head appears slightly later, around 740, in the Gellone Sacramentary. Ellard, *Ordination Anointings*, 30–31.

a long time Cogitosus's *unctum caput* and some passages from Gildas led scholars to believe that anointing entered Western ordination rites from the British Isles.[24] But even if unction was not actually performed in the Irish ordination liturgies at the time, it was definitely present in the realm of discourse, providing bishops, or at least the bishop of Kildare, with a special sacred authority.

An indication that the use of the concept of anointing was not restricted to just Cogitosus's work can be found in the previously cited passage on episcopal ordination in the *Hibernensis*. Namely, the phrase *uno fundente benedictionem*, which I translated above as "while one pronounces benediction," offers another reading: considering that the primary meaning of *fundere* is "to pour," *benedictionem fundere* can be understood as a rather opaque reference to anointing.[25] It is not that much of a stretch to conclude this, since the Vulgate verse for Leviticus 8:12 reads *[oleum] fundens super caput Aaron, unxit eum, et consecravit*. A similar formula is also used by Isidore in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* on which *Hibernensis* relies heavily: *et oleum unctionis fundes super caput eius, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur*.[26]

The final element of episcopal ordination suggested by the instructions given in the *Hibernensis* is the handing over of the bishop's "instruments," the staff and the ring:

> When [the bishop] is consecrated, he is given the staff (*baculus*) so that by its token (*eius indicio*) he may either rule the people subject to him or sustain the infirmities of the infirm. A ring (*annulus*) is also given to him as a sign of episcopal honor or as a seal of secrets (*signaculum secretorum*), lest the mysteries of God be revealed to every unworthy.[27]

This passage introduces two crucial objects into the ritual space established so far, both of which are traditional attributes of bishops. It is particularly

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[24] Ibid., 9–13; Jan Prelog, "Sind die Weihesalbungen insularen Ursprungs?" *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 13 (1979): 303–56. Michael J. Enright also developed an interesting theory that the motif of the royal ordination in *Vita Columbae*, referred to in footnote 18, alludes to anointing after the model of royal unction of Saul in 1 Sam. 10:1. The scholar argues that even though the anointing is not mentioned in the narrative, it is implied by the concept of sacred kingship which Adomnán adapted from 1 Samuel. Michael J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985), 5–78.

[25] See also Davies, "*Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*," 100.

[26] Isidore, "De ecclesiasticis officiis," 781.

[27] "Hibernensis," 5 (my translation). Isidore, from whom this passage is borrowed, also adds that "there are many things that, keeping hidden from the worldly and less intelligent, priests establish as under the seal (*sub signaculo*). Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, col. 784. Translation in Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, trans. Thomas L. Knoebel (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2008), 74.

interesting to investigate the conceptual implications of the two objects' symbolic explanation and their significance for consecrating a bishop. I would argue that on the conceptual level, both attributes are meant to be identified with the figure of the bishop. In other words, the bishop himself becomes a living embodiment of his staff and ring. In the case of the former, it is obvious that the primary function of the staff is to provide support for those who have difficulties standing and walking. Then the bishop's crozier is introduced as a token (*indicium*) by which he sustains "infirmities of the infirm," and there arises a symbolic relation between the object and one of the functions of the episcopal office. With this, a shift occurs in the audience's perception, whereby the practical understanding of the staff merges with the symbolic reading put forward in the text, and thus the third meaning is produced – that of a bishop himself acting as a staff to support the weak.

As for the ring, which is defined as the "seal of secrets" (*signaculum secretorum*), it evokes the concept of a boundary. The idea is that by receiving a ring, the bishop becomes a sealed container of the sacred mysteries. Interestingly, the container metaphor is one of the most common conceptual metaphors of human thought which underlies a great part of our language as a means of processing reality.[28] Here, it is further enhanced by making this container sealed off, thus separating the bishop from everyone else as a receptacle of the gift of the Holy Spirit bestowed upon him through anointing. An artefact such as a ring also serves as a "portable curtain," even when the bishop is not ministering in the sanctuary, physically divided from the congregation by the altar screen.[29] A sealed container of the divine mysteries also brings to mind the image of the scroll from the Book of Revelation: "Then I saw in the right hand of him who was seated on the throne a scroll (*liber*) written within and on the back, sealed with seven seals (Rev 5:1)." This association refers to the act of *impositio evangeliorum* and completes it in

[28] On the very interesting and influential theory of conceptual metaphor and the intrinsic connection of physical experiences to abstract concepts, see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[29] According to Ronald Grimes, a ritual partition does not necessarily have to be a material object, as any attempt at mapping out space automatically creates dividers on a conceptual level. He points out: "Although less tangible than altar rails […], epistemological screens – whether constructed of abstract ideas or mental images – are no less determinative of action than physical barriers are." Ronald L. Grimes, "Ritual Performance and the Sequestering of Sacred Space," in *Discourse in Ritual Studies*, ed. Hans Schilderman (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 157, 159. The idea of episcopal ring as a boundary can be found in the Anglo-Saxon *Leofric Missal* (*c.* 900): *Accipe ergo anulum discretionis et honoris, fidei signum. The Leofric Missal*, ed. Frederick E. Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), 215–6. According to Helen Gittos, the *Leofric Missal* might be connected to Irish liturgical tradition. Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 220–1.

that the newly ordained bishop not only accepts the yoke of the gospel, but he himself becomes the sealed book of sacraments which he must guard from the ignorant and the unworthy. The ring here takes on the role of a protective shield – an idea which is also echoed in the Anglo-Saxon rite for episcopal ordination: "Accept the ring of pontifical honor, so that you are fortified by the integrity of faith."[30]

Thus, both the staff and the ring represent separate spheres of episcopal authority. The staff, with its attached sanction to rule over the congregation and sustain the weak, designates the bishop's pastoral jurisdiction, whereas the ring, with its immanent connection to the sacramental mysteries, is a sign of his liturgical authority.

The bishop ordaining

Having explored the ordination ritual with the bishop as the ordinand, it is now fitting to look at the bishop exercising his power to confer holy orders on other clerical grades. Again, the most detailed account of these rituals is provided by the *Hibernensis* which, in turn, follows the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* almost verbatim, save for the order of the offices. The instructions given in the text are extremely concise and tend to concentrate on just one aspect of the ordination ritual: for presbyters and deacons it is the imposition of hands, the key point of the entire ceremony, whereas *traditio instrumentorum* is prescribed for subdeacons, lectors, exorcists, and doorkeepers.[31]

The symbolic field of the laying on of hands has already been outlined in relation to episcopal ordination. However, there are a few important points to add in relation to other grades. For instance, the gesture is not described identically for presbyters and deacons. For the former, the instruction is as follows: "When

[30] *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, ed. William Greenwell (London: Surtees Society, 1853), 3 (my translation).

[31] It should be noted that contemporary continental sources (seventh-eighth century) offer much more elaborated descriptions of ordination liturgies. See, for example, prayers for the ordination of presbyters and deacons in the Verona and Gregorian Sacramentaries, the Roman *ordo* for the consecration of presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and vivid directions for ordinations in the *Ordo Romanus* XXXIV. *Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg (Rome: Herder, 1966), 120–21; *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, ed. Henry A. Wilson (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915), 6–8; *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*, ed. Henry A. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 22–29; "*Ordo XXXIV*," in *Les* Ordines Romani *du haut moyen* âge, vol. 3, Ordines XIV–XXXIV, ed. Michel Andrieu (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1951), 601–19.

a presbyter is ordained, while the bishop blesses him and holds his hand over his head, let all presbyters who are present put their hands over his head next to the hand of the bishop."[32] As for the deacons, "when a deacon is ordained, let only the bishop who blesses him, put his hand over his head, for he is consecrated not to the priesthood (*sacerdotium*), but to the service (*ministerium*)."[33]

Thus, the compilers of the *Hibernensis* borrowed the older Gallican tradition in which the diaconal ordination required only the bishop to lay his hand on the ordinand's head.[34] This discrepancy between diaconal and priestly ordination helps highlight the episcopal power of orders. Comparing the two rituals closely demonstrates that the conferral of clerical status was in fact the result of the bishop's touch, and not of the joint effort of the bishop and the priests. As the heir of Christ in his episcopal ministry, the bishop had the exclusive ability to bestow the gift of the Holy Spirit on the heads of clerical candidates, following the Lord's own example as the *Liber de numeris* (discussed above) suggests.

An interesting portrayal of the rules for priestly ordination comes from a passage where said rules are broken. Namely, in his *Vita Columbae*, Adomnán relates a story about Áed Dub, the murderer of the High King of Ireland, and his shameful ascension to holy orders:

> This same Áed […] was ordained priest in Findchán's monastery, but the ordination was invalid even though a bishop had been brought. This was because the bishop had not dared to place his hand on Áed's head until Findchán (who had a carnal love for Áed) had first laid his right hand on his head in confirmation.[35]

This episode is another illustration of the pivotal role ascribed to the imposition of hands by the bishop: a single interference with this act rendered the whole ordination ceremony invalid. Approaching the passage from the point of view of the audience, one presumably quite familiar with such proceedings, the stakes become even higher. If the Irish ordination ritual was remotely similar to the continental rites in structure, then the solemn anointing of the hands and vesting, which were supposed to come before the imposition of hands, would inevitably lose their sacramental value.

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[32] "Hibernensis," 13 (my translation).

[33] "Hibernensis," 21 (my translation).

[34] This custom caused some controversy in Gaul when Amalarius of Metz protested against such discrimination, as it were, of priests. See Amalarius, "De ecclesiasticis officiis," 1087. For the discussion, see John Gibaut, "Amalarius of Metz and the Laying on of Hands in the Ordination of a Deacon," *The Harvard Theological Review* 82, no. 2 (1989): 233–40.

[35] Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, 138.

Generally, the touch of the bishop's hand seems to have been an impactful metaphor of "embodied" divine sanction. This is evident in the article from the *Ríagail Pátraic* which talks about the ordination of the unworthy (like that of Áed) and condemns another widespread violation:

> For it is this which causes plague and sickness to tribes […] not going under the hand of a bishop (*dul fo láim n-epscoip*) at the prescribed time; for the perfection of the Holy Spirit comes not, however fervently a person is baptised, unless he goes under the hand of a bishop after baptism.[36]

In this context, "going under the hand of a bishop" apparently means confirmation – another ritual performed exclusively by bishops. The wording itself is concise yet vivid enough to sustain the imagery of the entire ritual. It addresses the main actor (the bishop), the "instrument" of sanctification (the bishop's hand), the positions of the participants (to go *under* the hand, one would have to kneel or bow down) as well as the temporal aspect of the whole act ("going" implies a change of state). Therefore, a simple phrase could be unfolded into a multidimensional ritual space defined by the discourse of episcopal authority.

In the ordination instructions for the lower part of clerical hierarchy in the *Hibernensis*, the recurrent motif is *traditio instrumentorum*. Thus, the subdeacon receives from the hand of the bishop (*de manu episcopi* – hands are a focus again) an empty paten and chalice, the lector and the exorcist receive a book, and the doorkeeper receives the keys to the church.[37] These objects are indeed meant to represent their holders' respective duties within the church. That this distribution of the clerical symbols was understood in conceptual terms across the Latin West is evident from the fact that many medieval depictions of clerical ordinations epitomize the entire ceremony in a single image of a cleric with his liturgical instrument, or even more abstractly they depict the symbol alone.[38] It is safe to assume that behind such artistic expressions stood a deep-seated cognitive structure where a long ritual sequence with all its intricacies could be condensed into a single mental image for more convenient transmission.

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[36] "The Rule of Patrick," ed. and trans. James G. O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 1 (1904): 221.

[37] "Hibernensis," 23–25.

[38] See, for example, illustration cycles in the *Raganaldus Sacramentary* (Autun, Bibl. mun. MS Lat. 19bis, s. ix) and *Landulf Pontifical Rotulus* (Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 724 (B I 13), s. x ex.). For a discussion on both, see Roger E. Reynolds, "The Portrait of Ecclesiastical Officers in the *Raganaldus Sacramentary* and Its Liturgico-Canonical Significance," *Speculum* 46, no. 3 (1971): 432–42; idem, "Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art," *Gesta* 22, no. 1 (1983): 29–35.

The instructions for the ordination of lower grades, particularly for lector, exorcist, and doorkeeper, offer another point of interest because they finally introduce direct speech into the previously silent ritual. For example, the lector's rubric reads as follows:

> When a lector is ordained, the bishop introduces him (*facit verbum*) to the people, pointing out his faith, his way of life, and character. After that, with people watching, the bishop gives him a book from which he is to read, saying: Take and reveal the word of God; if you fulfill this office faithfully and to good use, you shall have a share with those who ministered the word of God.[39]

Here, not only the words of consecration proper are given, but also the introductory word of the bishop to the congregation is mentioned. These details make the ritual audible and thus more tangible even as a textual phenomenon. The effect is further intensified linguistically by the mere fact that in this short paragraph, the word *verbum* is used three times. The bishop's speech is also tied in with the concept of *verbum Dei* as one of its incarnations, since bishops had the gospels laid down and "imprinted" on them. It should therefore be considered an integral part of the conceptual space of the ritual and an indispensable addition to its temporal dimension.

To bring this short analysis to an end, I would like to reiterate the proposition made in the opening paragraphs, namely that written sources for medieval rituals, and specifically concerning the early Irish Church, are best approached as the carriers of mental imagery, or thought worlds of the rituals they describe. In the subsequent two sections, I attempted to demonstrate how a handful of passages can reveal rich symbolic connotations and performative cues which together constitute a developed conceptual space for a ritual to exist in while being transmitted almost exclusively by means of language.

This analysis has brought to light several important observations. In describing episcopal ordination, Irish sources refer to some key elements: the laying on of hands, the imposition of the gospels, anointing, and the tradition of the instruments. The first and the last of these gestures are also used in the ordination of other grades. The act of the laying on of hands is symbolically connected to the Lukan motif of the blessing of the apostles, thus linking episcopal power of orders with Christ bestowing the Holy Spirit on his disciples. The bishop's hands are in focus, not only in the gesture of conferring orders, but also when giving the "instruments" of ministry to the lower clerics and in

[39] "Hibernensis," 23–24 (my translation).

confirmation. From this, it can be inferred that bishop's hands were seen as the "embodied" divine sanction.

The imposition of the gospels is an important element of the conceptual space of the ritual in that it introduces the imagery of a book into bishop's ministry. The image of a heavy gospel codex laid on the bishop's neck invokes the idea of preaching the word of God as a burden and creates a mental image of the bishops having the sacred text physically imprinted on their body. The fleeting references to episcopal anointing make it reasonable to assume that this ritual gesture belonged to the conceptual realm and was primarily imagined in terms of Aaron's unction, thus connecting Irish episcopacy to the Hebrew high priesthood. The tradition of the instruments is another gesture which reveals multiple meanings when viewed in the conceptual space: the staff and the ring handed to the bishop at the ordination symbolically epitomize his duties and his very figure. The staff can be imagined as a reflection of the bishop's pastoral duties in supporting the weak. The ring communicates the concept of a sealed container filled with divine mysteries which the bishop himself becomes after he is made the living embodiment of the word of God through *impositio evangeliorum*.

It is therefore clear to see that Irish episcopacy did not by any means lack in elaborate ritual discourse, one which was able to support its authoritative claims with well-substantiated ritual imagery woven into the broader thought world of Christian worship.

TRAVELERS AND COMPILERS: ARABIC ACCOUNTS OF MARITIME SOUTHEAST ASIA (850–1450)

Aglaia Iankovskaia

A source of spices and aromatics, and the gateway to China besides, Maritime Southeast Asia attracted traders from the Middle East since the early medieval period.[1] Arab expeditions to the shores of the Malay Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula date back to the first centuries of Islam, as is evident from a number of Arabic geographical texts containing accounts of the region. These texts constitute a significant body of sources on the early medieval history and historical geography of the Malay world, considering that the earliest local chronicles were composed as late as the fourteenth century.[2] Also, Arabic accounts of Southeast Asia shed light on the expansion of Arab (and Persian) seafaring and trading activities in the Indian Ocean, along with the shaping of geographical ideas of its eastern waters in the medieval Middle East.

The present article aims to look into these accounts and discuss the correlation between the Arab presence in Southeast Asia throughout the Middle Ages and the development of Arab geographers' knowledge of the region. Though Muslim trading networks in the archipelago appear to have been expanding over the period, Arab writers in the Middle East do not seem to have been equally persistent in widening their knowledge of the region. While much of the original material on Maritime Southeast Asia can be found in ninth- and tenth-century geographies and itineraries, those created between 1000 and 1450 mostly tend to draw upon outdated sources and do not add much to the level of knowledge achieved by the end of the tenth century. The decline in Arab awareness of the region for several centuries is all the more noticeable when contrasted with the up-to-date and detailed descriptions of the Malay Archipelago found in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century navigational treatises by Ahmad ibn Majid (1421–c. 1500) and Suleiman al-Mahri.[3]

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[1] This paper is based on some of the ideas developed in: Aglaia Iankovskaia, "At the Edge of the World of Islam: Maritime Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Ibn Battuta," MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2017).

[2] The earliest known Malay chronicle, *Hikayat raja-raja Pasai*, dates back to the second half of the fourteenth century. The events of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are also described in the fifteenth-century *Sejarah Melayu*.

[3] Ahmad Ibn Majid's writings date back to the second half of the fifteenth century, providing a rough chronological scope for the present article. His accounts of Maritime Southeast Asia, as well

This gap has been pointed out by Gerald Tibbetts, the author of the most highly reputed comprehensive review of Arabic sources on Southeast Asia,[4] as well as by other scholars dealing with the historical geography and economic history of the region. The lack of contemporary data in late medieval accounts is often interpreted as a result of the decline of Arab trade in Malay waters, although evidence from other sources hardly seems to indicate this. In what follows I will argue that Arab geographers' ignorance of Maritime Southeast Asia does not necessarily point to the decrease of Arab involvement in the region's commerce, since it can be viewed from the perspectives regarding major tendencies in the development of Arabic literary and geographical traditions. I will also speculate that after 1000, those involved in the Indian Ocean trade in the ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf might have been accumulating a separate body of practical knowledge of the Malay Archipelago which was not incorporated into geographical texts compiled in the scholarly centers of the Middle East.

The golden age: Abbasid seafaring and the splendor of Srivijaya

Although the earliest Arabic accounts of Maritime Southeast Asia date back to 850, the data they contain seems to be even older. The first indication of an Arab presence in the Malay Archipelago can be found in Chinese chronicles, which mention an Arab colony that existed in Sumatra in 674.[5] However, the first encounters of Arabs with the Malay world most probably happened before the first half of the seventh century, when a trading colony was already established in Guangzhou. When Arabs first reached the region remains unclear, more so since the subject of their pre-Islamic trading expeditions to the East appears to be inseparable from the seafaring activities of Persians and other peoples of the Middle East. Later, throughout the Islamic period, the population of Persian Gulf ports involved in the Indian Ocean trade and navigation was largely mixed,[6] and geographical accounts in Arabic were written both by Arabs and Persians.

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as most of those by other medieval Arab writers mentioned further in the text, can be found in: Gerald R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1979).

4 Ibid., 10.

5 Willem Pieter Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Batavia: Bruining, 1876), 14.

6 Al-Muqaddasi reports in particular that "the majority of the people of 'Adan and Judda are Persian, yet their language is Arabic." Al-Muqaddasī, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, trans. Basil Collins (Reading: Garnet, 2001), 82.

According to George Hourani, the first Persian expeditions to China took place in the Sasanian period.[7] Navigation continued under the caliphate, with more and more Arabs being engaged and finally getting an upper hand on the Chinese trade after the eighth century.[8] Though there have been attempts to date the establishment of contacts between South Arabia and Southeast Asia to the period shortly before the Common Era, there seems to be no strong evidence for that. Tibbetts does not find any indications of an Arab presence to the east of India before 500 CE and suggests that the first encounters took place in the sixth or seventh centuries.[9] Indirect connections between the regions apparently existed before, as merchants from the East and West could meet and exchange goods in the markets of Ceylon and South India, and in this way objects could travel farther than people did.

The Umayyads already favored Indian Ocean commerce, but under the Abbasids it flourished as never before. Much of the traffic of goods concentrated in the ports of the Persian Gulf, especially Siraf, due to their proximity to Baghdad and Basra. On the other side of the ocean, colonies of Muslim traders grew in South China ports, accumulating wealth and influence. As maritime routes to China passed through the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, ports of the western part of the Malay Archipelago served as transit points and benefited from international commerce and monsoon navigation. They offered local spices and jungle products, harbors to wait for a favorable wind, warehouses to store goods and markets to exchange them. After 879, when a revolt against foreign merchants made them flee Guangzhou, and the navigation of Arabs was limited to the Straits of Malacca, Malay ports gained even more advantages.[10] However, by the second half of the tenth century, direct commercial connections between China and the Middle East were restored.

By the tenth century, Arab traders and sailors were familiar with Malay port-polities located along the major trade routes through the Straits of Malacca and Sunda – on the north-western and eastern coasts of Sumatra, north-western

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[7] George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 46–47.

[8] See Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean,* 61; Gerald R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30 (1957): 9, 11, 31.

[9] Gerald R. Tibbetts, "Pre-Islamic Arabia and South-East Asia," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1956): 204–5, 207.

[10] This event is referred to by al-Mas'udi and Aby Zaid. Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or,* trans. C. B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille, vol. 1 (Paris, 1861), 307–8; Abū Zayd Al-Sīrāfī, "Accounts of China and India," in *Two Arabic Travel Books: Accounts of China and India by Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī and Mission to the Volga by Ibn Fadlan*, ed. and trans. T. Mackintosh-Smith (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 66–71, 88–89.

coast of Java and western coast of the Malay Peninsula. Although there is little direct evidence of the existence of early Arab colonies in the region, it is likely that at that time Southeast Asian ports already hosted settlements of Muslim traders.[11] The expulsion of foreign merchants from Chinese ports in 879 and temporary relocation of Muslim trade to Kalāh[12] on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula must have facilitated the emergence of Muslim communities there and in other ports of Southeast Asia. The population of these colonies was probably partly transient and partly sedentary, due to the travelers' dependence on monsoon seasons.[13] Some traders stayed only until the change of wind, while others became permanent residents and intermarried with the local population. The ethnic composition of foreign merchant communities in Maritime Southeast Asia appears to have been largely mixed: it included Arab, Persian and Indian Muslims, and possibly Nestorian Christians.[14]

The expansion of Indian Ocean trade and seafaring between the eighth and tenth centuries coincides with the rule of the Abbasid Caliphate in the West and the Tang dynasty in the East. In the Malay world it was the heyday of the maritime empire of Srivijaya – a Buddhist Malay polity centered in East Sumatra.[15] Having taken control of the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, it dominated the western part of the archipelago and much of Southeast Asian commerce for almost seven

[11] Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," 38–40.

[12] Kalāh is one of the most frequently mentioned Southeast Asian ports in the Arabic sources, its location being much disputed by scholars. Most of them agree on the north-western coast of the Malay Peninsula and consider two plausible locations: Kedah and the Tenasserim coast. On the discussion, see Paul Wheatly, *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A. D. 1500* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961), 224; S. Q. Fatimi, "In Quest of Kalah," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 1 (1960); Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts*, 122–8.

[13] On the life of foreign trading communities in Maritime Southeast Asia, see Kenneth R. Hall, "Local and International Trade and Traders in the Straits of Melaka Region: 600–1500," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47 (2004): 245–6.

[14] On the latter, see Brian E. Colless, "Persian Merchants and Missionaries in Medieval Malaya," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 42 (1969): 20–21.

[15] The name and very existence of Srivijaya were rediscovered in 1918 by George Coedès (George Coedès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 18 [1918]). However, a number of issues related to the history of this medieval "empire" remain under debate, among them the political structure of Srivijaya, the origin of the Sailendras, the reasons for and time of Srivijaya's decline and the location of its capital. See George Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1968); Oliver W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Śrivijaya* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); Roy E. Jordaan, and Brian E. Colless, *The Mahārājas of the Isles: The Śailendras and the problem of Śrīvijaya* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 2009).

hundred years – from the seventh to the thirteenth century. Under the Sailendra dynasty, whose rulers bore the title of maharaja, the empire flourished and carried on trade with the Abbasids and Tang China. The golden age of Srivijaya is captured in the accounts of contemporary Arab travelers and echoed in the works of later authors. The "Country of Maharaja" or Zābaj is mentioned by most medieval geographers writing on Southeast Asia, and they seem to share similar ideas about it. They speak of the country's vast territory and large number of islands, abundant spices and gold, dense population, fertile soil, mighty army and fleet, Buddhist temples with golden statues as well as busy markets, settlements of foreign merchants and trade with China and the Persian Gulf.

Srivijaya appears to have influenced Arab imagination significantly, as the tales of its splendor dominate much of the medieval Arabic discourse on the region. The accounts of it, as well as of smaller Southeast Asian ports and coastal areas, can be found in a number of medieval Arabic texts of various genres largely classified as descriptive geography. The earliest works dealing with the Malay Archipelago are the anonymous *Accounts of China and India* and *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms* by Ibn Khurdadhbih (c. 820–912), both dating back to around 850. Al-Ya'qubi's (d. 897) *The Book of Countries*, from the second half of the ninth century, has some references to the region, but unfortunately its third section that contained more data did not survive. Later in the tenth century, a corpus of classical texts describing the world to the east of India were produced, including those by Ibn al-Faqih, Ibn Rusta, Abu Zaid as-Sirafi, al-Mas'udi (c. 896–956), Abu Dulaf and Buzurg ibn Shahriyar. Not later than the tenth century, the well-known *Arabian Nights* cycle on Sindbad the Sailor was also composed, echoing accounts of the flourishing Abbasid maritime trade with the East.

Classical ninth and tenth-century Arabic accounts of the Malay Archipelago seem to be much closer to the oral tradition than later post-classical ones. Largely based on reports of travelers collected in the ports of the Persian Gulf, they contain a considerable amount of original and up-to-date material. *The Wonders of India* by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar is actually a collection of merchants' and sailors' tales, and *The Accounts of China and India* provides itineraries based on oral accounts. Also, Abu Dulaf describes his voyage through Southeast Asia around 942, being one of the three Arab authors who claimed to have travelled to the region in person. Al-Mas'udi appears to be the second, yet his claim is rather dubious. Descriptions of the archipelago in his *Meadows of Gold* are more likely to be compilations of various oral and written sources, similar to the accounts of Ibn Khurdadhbih, Ibn al-Faqih, Ibn Rusta and Abu Zaid. Many of the sources used by classical geographers did not survive, but some connections can be determined even within the extant texts. Ibn

al-Faqih and Ibn Rusta in particular draw upon Ibn Khurdadhbih and *The Accounts of China and India*, while al-Mas'udi repeats some passages from Abu Zaid.

In terms of narrative structure, the so-called authentic accounts do not appear to differ much from those by "armchair" geographers. Travelers tend not to provide details of their experiences, and geographers do not attempt to create a multidimensional picture of the region. Most of the authors and narrators follow a linear pattern, describing islands, countries and towns one by one as they adjoin each other along the trade routes. As different types of geographic objects are often confused and the locations of most of the place names remain problematic, classical Arab geographers' conception of Maritime Southeast Asia can be generally described as fragmented. Neither travelers nor geographical writers seem to have a clear idea of the region's geography, and their narrative strategies often converge. This is not to say that no itinerary survived as a separate text but most of them are scattered in fragments throughout geographical compilations. Thus, the distinction between travelers' accounts and geographical treatises, suggested by Tibbetts, appears to be somewhat ambiguous.[16]

Post-classical geographies and the divergence between theory and practice

The period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries saw the decline of both Srivijaya and the Abbasid Caliphate. The fall of the Abbasids and the rise of Cairo relocated the centers of Arab Indian Ocean trade from the Persian Gulf to the ports of the Red Sea; Aden evolved into the major harbor for the ships coming from China. In the Malay Archipelago, the once powerful Srivijaya underwent a period of stagnation. After the Chola invasion, the capital was allegedly moved from Palembang to Melayu-Jambi,[17] while Java's commercial expansion and the rise of independent city-states in North Sumatra contributed to the empire's decay. However, this decline hardly can be seen in contemporary Arabic sources, as they tend to repeat the tales of Srivijaya's tenth-century glory. On the other hand, these texts do not seem to reflect any new developments in the region at all, as much of the data they contain is outdated. Contrary to what one might expect, they do not evince much extension of Arab knowledge of the archipelago, this fact sometimes being viewed as a sign of interruption of direct contacts between the regions.

[16] Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts*, 3–5.

[17] Oliver W. Wolters, "A Note on the Capital of Śrīvijaya during the Eleventh Century," *Artibus Asiae* 23 (1966).

For the eleventh century, al-Biruni's (973–1048) works appear to be the only significant Arabic source on Southeast Asia, and the sources do not show actual familiarity with the region. Twelfth-century authors al-Marwazi and al-Haraki (d. 1138) also provide almost no original data, as they largely draw upon their classical predecessors. In the middle of the twelfth century the fundamental geographical treatise of al-Idrisi (1100–1165) brings the first known Arabic map of Southeast Asia. Based on a Ptolemaic conception of the Indian Ocean, it puts the coasts of Africa and China close to each other, mixing up the islands of the Malay Archipelago with those located off the East African shore. Al-Idrisi's textual description of Southeast Asia does not add much to the tenth-century knowledge of the region and appears to be derived from the works of Ibn Khurdadhbih, al-Jayhani and other earlier authors. As al-Idrisi's treatise was extensively used by later geographers including Ibn Sa'id, Abu-l-Fida and ad-Dimashqi, it seems to be the link by which the quotes from ninth and tenth-century accounts of Southeast Asia made it into other later medieval texts.

Thirteenth-century descriptions of the region can be found in two seminal encyclopedic works: *The Dictionary of Countries* by Yakut (1179–1229) and al-Qazwini's (1203–1283) cosmography, *The Wonders of Creation*. Both authors compile geographical material from preceding texts, citing, among other things, fragments from the travelogue of Abu Dulaf. We also encounter Ibn Sa'id (1214–1274/1286) who composed his geography in the second half of the same century. He borrows al-Idrisi's ideas on the Indian Ocean, but his conception of Sumatra brings together both old and new place names and appears to be rather original. Ibn Sa'id's and al-Idrisi's descriptions of Southeast Asia are reproduced by the geographers of the fourteenth century, Abu-l-Fida (1273–1331) and ad-Dimashqi (1256–1327). Another fourteenth-century writer dealing with the region is a Mamluk encyclopedist, al-'Umari (1301–1349), whose extensive quotations from *The Wonders of India* by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar contain original accounts of Southeast Asia that are not found in other texts.[18]

As one can see, Arab geographers writing on the region after 1000 tended to draw less and less upon contemporary oral accounts and increasingly on outdated written sources. Starting with al-Idrisi, Arabic sources provide very little new information, and even in cases when they do, it is difficult to distinguish between contemporary data and that derived from earlier texts which did not survive. Through al-Idrisi's work, late medieval Arab geographers borrow information

[18] Jean-Charles Ducène, "Une nouvelle source arabe sur l'océan Indien au Xe siècle: le Ṣaḥīḥ min aḫbār al-biḥār wa-'aǧā'ibihā d'Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Rabāḥ al-Awsī al-Sīrāfī," *Afriques* 6 (2015), http://afriques.revues.org/1746 ; DOI: 10.4000/afriques.1746 (accessed April 2017).

dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries, thus repeating accounts that appear to be almost five hundred years old. Classical texts of the ninth and tenth centuries, therefore, seem to constitute the main body of materials used by later compilers and a basis for the whole medieval Arabic discourse on Southeast Asia. The most frequently quoted texts appear to be *The Accounts of China and India* and the works of Ibn Khurdadhbih, Buzurg ibn Shahriyar and al-Mas'udi, all of them compiled from other extant and nonextant sources as well.

The only firsthand Arabic travel account of Maritime Southeast Asia after 1000 appears to be that of Ibn Battuta who claims to have visited the region around 1345–1347 on his way to China.[19] A wandering Islamic scholar and jurist, Ibn Battuta represents a new category of Arab traveler to the region who, along with merchants and sailors, started to frequent its shores in the late medieval period. And even though the credibility of the Southeast Asian chapters of his *Rihla* remain dubious, Ibn Battuta stands out among other post-classical Arab authors and those dealing with Southeast Asia in particular. Except for him and al-Biruni, who probably visited India, none of the geographers writing on the region is known to have travelled as far as the western coast of the Indian Ocean. Yakut had been to some ports of the Persian Gulf, and Ibn Sa'id and al-'Umari could have met travelers to the East at royal courts,[20] but most of the authors did not get even that close to the places they wrote about. Composed in libraries and archives with limited use of contemporary travel accounts, most post-classical works do not contribute much to the Arab knowledge of Southeast Asia. Ibn Battuta's allegedly firsthand report and his detailed description of his voyage through the archipelago deviates from this tendency, highlighting a gap between his account and those of tenth-century Arab travelers.

In the light of the scarcity of up-to-date materials in post-tenth-century Arabic sources on Southeast Asia and the lack of geographers' interest in the region, some scholars come to the conclusion that there was a decrease of the role of Arab traders to the east of India. Kenneth Hall, in particular, sees the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a period of decline of Arab commerce in Malay waters, something which he attributes to the arrival of Chinese traders at the local markets and the political instability of the Persian Gulf area. Though the Red Sea-based trade continued, Arab commercial activities, according to Hall, rarely reached

[19] For the full English translation of this account, see *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,* trans. Charles F. Beckingham, vol. 4 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1994), 876–84, 912–3.

[20] Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts*, 92; Ignaty I. Krachkovsky, *Arab Geographical Literature* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2004), 410.

beyond the ports of South Asia.[21] However, the lack of data alone does not seem to be sufficient evidence for the decrease of commerce and contacts, especially considering general tendencies in the development of medieval Arab geography.

The later Arabic accounts' lack of originality as opposed to earlier authors' "authentic" reports appears to be in line with the paradigm of post-classical decline. Originating in the eleventh century, the era of encyclopedism in Arab geography and science in general has been largely criticized for its extensive compiling and repetition. Bringing together all the accounts they could access, geographers aimed to contribute to the general process of accumulation of knowledge, its synthesis and retransmission. Not only descriptions of the Malay Archipelago, but geographical texts in general follow this trend, and the year 1000 as the divide between classical and post-classical geographies seems to correspond completely with that between ninth and tenth-century original accounts of Southeast Asia and later derivative ones. As far as this can be attributed to the post-classical decay in Arabic literature, should a lack of original data on a particular region be seen as evidence for the decline of contacts with it?

Speaking of the lack of interest of post-classical authors in Southeast Asia, other aspects of these texts may also be taken into account. One of them is the places where the works were composed. While many classical accounts were written in the ports of the Persian Gulf, most of later authors worked in Egypt, Syria or the Maghrib. If there was some connection between the abundance of information about the East in literature and the proximity of busy Persian Gulf ports to the Abbasid capital and centers of intellectual life, it must have been disrupted by the relocation of Indian Ocean trade to the Red Sea and the westward shift of the Arab political and cultural life. Another point is the subject that the geographers were concerned with. It is notable that, except for the authors of *The Accounts of China and India* and *The Wonders of India*, none of the geographers makes the Indian Ocean world the main subject of his treatise. After the tenth century, material on Southeast Asia can be found only in general geographical works, encyclopedias and cosmographies, their authors having no special interest in the region and providing data on it primarily for the sake of completeness. If a post-classical text dealing particularly with the East ever existed, it might have demonstrated more familiarity with the region.

In view of the above, Arabic accounts of Maritime Southeast Asia from the eleventh to fourteenth century do not necessary reflect the decline of Arab maritime trade to the east of India, but they do not exclude it either. Furthermore,

[21] Kenneth R. Hall, "Trade and Statecraft in the Western Archipelago at the Dawn of the European Age," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 54 (1981): 23.

Tibbetts does not find any confirmation of this decrease in the Chinese sources,[22] and the Islamization of Malay port-polities, which started in the late thirteenth century and continued into the colonial period, suggests the ongoing presence of Middle Easterners in the region. If some reduction of Arab commerce in the region took place after 1000, it seems to have been restored by the fourteenth century when Mamluk Egypt became a major market for Southeast Asian spices and Chinese goods. But even before this, during the alleged period of decrease of trade between the regions, Arab and Persian merchants most probably continued to settle and trade in Malay ports, contributing to the gradual, peaceful expansion of Islam to the East.

It also seems plausible that during the post-classical period, practical knowledge of Malay waters continued to be accumulated among the seafarers from the Red Sea ports and South Arabia. This is corroborated by the notable familiarity with Southeast Asia detected in the fifteenth-century navigational treatise of Ahmad ibn Majid, who also mentions famous pilots who used to sail to the East in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[23] We do not know whether knowledge of Indian Ocean routes was transmitted across the generations orally or in writing, but it was ultimately this professional tradition that resulted in the up-to-date conception of Southeast Asia provided by Ibn Majid. As this conception differs significantly from those of the contemporary followers of al-Idrisi, it can be assumed that there were two bodies of geographical knowledge developing separately after 1000. One of them was the scholarly tradition of Middle Eastern intellectual elites, and the other entailed practical information transmitted by generations of professional navigators in South Arabia. But, unfortunately, no pre-fifteenth-century Arabic pilot charts dealing with the Indian Ocean have been discovered yet.

The lack of up-to-date data in late medieval Arabic accounts of Maritime Southeast Asia, therefore, does not seem to be related to any dynamics of trading relations between the two regions. As it fully corresponds with the literary trends of the era of encyclopedism, Arab geographers' ignorance of the current state of things in the region can be attributed to their extensive use of compiling methods and their remoteness from Indian Ocean ports where firsthand travel accounts could be obtained. The shift of Indian Ocean commerce from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea seems to have contributed to the issue, as well as the political fragmentation of the Middle East.

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[22] Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," 32.

[23] Teodor A. Shumovsky, *In the Footsteps of Sindbad the Sailor: Oceanic Arabia* (Moscow: Mysl, 1986), 41–42.

THE APOCALYPTIC ASPECT OF ST. MICHAEL'S CULT IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ISTRIA[1]

Mihaela Vučić

When studying the interconnection between St. Michael's cult and the apocalyptic expectations around the year 1000, one must be aware of the layers of meanings that St. Michael accumulated during the previous centuries, and of the complex theological, social and political nature of the Christian apocalyptic worldview. One can fall into the trap of oversimplifying both by assessing St. Michael as exclusively apocalyptic in the period in question and describing Christian expectations of the *Parousia* solely in terms of *fear* and *trembling*.

In the following study, I will offer first a brief overview of the development of the Michaeline cult. Then I will describe two main Christian views on the interpretation of the Apocalypse. Finally, I will address the issue of assessing tenth- and eleventh-century Christians as ridden with fear of the imminent Last Judgment.

The development of the Michaeline cult and the various aspects of Michaeline identity

St. Michael was not only venerated among Christians but was already known to Judaism.[2] His name is derived from Hebrew (מִיכָאֵל, translit. Micha'el) and translates as "Who is like God," which can be understood both as a statement and a rhetorical question. In the Jewish scriptures, both canonical and apocryphal, Michael is represented as the champion of the Jewish people, defending them against the malevolent spiritual beings (Dan 10,13; 10,21; 12,1) and as the apocalyptic agent, chief of the heavenly hosts, responsible for binding evil and purifying God's people with cleansing waters (1 Enoch 10,11; 54,6; 67, 8–12).

Thus, already in pre-Christian times there were at least two distinct roles ascribed to him, the protective and the apocalyptic. In the early Christian times, Asia Minor served as the point of dissemination of the cult toward the west, especially the sanctuary at Chonae in Phrygia where Jews, "pagans" and Christians

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[1] This paper is based on "The Apocalyptic Aspect of St Michael's Cult in Eleventh-Century Istria," MA thesis (Central European University, 2017).

[2] John Charles Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel: The Formation and Diffusion of a Saintly Cult, c. 300–c. 800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 9.

engaged in thaumaturgic water rituals invoking Michael's healing powers.[3] In Christian understanding, healing not only referred to the physical body, but also to the mind and the soul which were always in danger of being corrupted by a false doctrine. This aspect became increasingly important after the ecumenical councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, when bishops attributed to St. Michael the role of protecting orthodoxy.[4]

St. Michael's healing abilities in both senses of the word were further transformed in his sanctuary near Constantinople, Michaelion, where a high state official received a healing of his feet. By healing the official's feet, which were, in turn, understood as the *salus imperii*, St. Michael also became the "healer," or rather the protector of the integrity of the Empire – the *archistrategos*.[5] By the time the Archangel's cult reached the west, with his apparition at Monte Gargano in Puglia, it already possessed three distinct facets: the apocalyptic, the healing and the protective.

At Monte Gargano, as Giorgio Otranto has stated, St. Michael's healing powers were given prominence. Just like the sanctuaries in the east, the sanctuary at Gargano was situated in a *locus amoenus* with a healing water source. However, this time an important change took place: the Archangel chose a high hill and a cave for his dwelling – a place where heaven and earth meet – to mediate between God and humans.[6]

At Gargano, another eastern trait of the Archangel came to the fore – his protective role. With the arrival of the Lombards and the formation of the Duchy of Siponto in the seventh century, the Archangel became their national protector and the symbol of their military supremacy. From the eighth century, the Franks adopted the Byzantine and Lombard understanding of St. Michael.[7]

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[3] Arnold, *The Footprints*, 43.

[4] Glenn Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 145–6.

[5] Arnold, *The Footprints*, 6, 38.: "Angelic foot healings accomplished in a church built by Constantine demonstrated that imperial patronage of the Archistrategos assured the security and of the Christian empire."

[6] Giorgio Otranto, "Il santuario di San Michele sul Gargano: un modello diffuso in Italia e in Europa," in *I santuari d'Italia. Puglia*, ed. Giorgio Otranto and Immacolata Aulisa (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2012), 26.: "Essa [la montagna] è quasi un punto d'incontro, una frontera tra cielo e terra, tra il visibile e l'invisibile (…) Diventa, in definitiva, luogo ierofanico per eccellenza."

[7] Daniel F. Callahan, "The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel and the 'Terrors of the Year 1000'," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 182.

Somewhere in the same century, insular Irish theology developed a more mystical interpretation, assigning him the duty of a *psychopompos*, the one who leads the soul to its judgment after death.[8]

His apocalyptic role, the focus of the present paper, did not receive attention solely around the millennium. The main written source of Christian apocalyptic inspiration was the Book of Revelation, written around the turn of the first century CE. St. Michael is described there as waging war against Satan and his angels in heaven (Rev 12). This brings us to the second point that concerns the nature of Christian belief in the Second Coming of Christ (*Parousia*). Early Christians expected Christ's immediate return and considered the Roman State as their archenemy, especially in the wake of different persecutions.

After Christianity became a *religio licita*, Christian apocalyptic impetus subsided, and the assessment of the Empire changed. However, throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, two parallel currents of apocalyptic exegesis existed. One, championed by St. Augustine, resisted the temptation to calculate the precise date of Christ's coming, and the other, reflected in the work of the Venerable Bede, saw in specific political events and natural calamities the coming end.[9]

Finally, regarding the sentiment Christians held toward the Last Judgment, Richard Landes has warned that one should avoid thinking about a fear-ridden, paralyzed medieval Christian society, but should rather use the term "apocalyptic expectations."[10] Even in the Book of Revelation, not all apocalyptic expectations were destructive and full of anguish. Christians expected the tribulations of the Last Days, but at the end of them, they also foresaw the New Jerusalem descending from heaven to earth, and the harmony between the Creator, human beings and the cosmos.

St. Michael's cult in eleventh-century Istria

I underlined the importance of understanding the multifaceted nature of the Michaeline cult in the Middle Ages and the complex nature of Christian belief

[8] Ibid.

[9] Johannes Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 31.

[10] Richard Landes, Johannes Fried, and Daniel F. Callahan present a third paradigm in apocalyptic studies that emphasizes the "apocalyptic expectations of the year 1000" rather than "fears and trembling." See *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

in *Parousia* because without it, it would be difficult to comprehend the meanings that the cult developed in a specific geographical location and set in a determined historical context. In my thesis, the specific geographical region I focused on was eleventh-century Istria and the Michaeline churches that had been constructed there in the period from the sixth to eleventh centuries.

My choice to focus on Istria in the eleventh century and to map churches dedicated to St. Michael built there in the period between the sixth and eleventh centuries reflects three important aims of the thesis. Firstly, a thorough assessment of the meanings the cult assumed in specific periods and contexts is not possible with the fragmentary information regarding the number, density and geographical location of Michaeline churches. My work is only a humble contribution to the project of mapping St. Michael's churches in Europe, long present in the Italian, French and German studies of the cult, and somewhat less so in Central European countries including Croatia.[11]

Secondly, I intended to investigate whether Istria, a bordering region of the Holy Roman Empire in the eleventh century, indeed participated in the rising regional and European interest in the cult of St. Michael around the millennium. In the eleventh century alone, four churches were constructed anew and dedicated to St. Michael which significantly surpassed the number of Istrian Michaeline churches built from the sixth to ninth centuries [Figure 1].[12] All four had international significance in that they were (reformed) Benedictine or pilgrimage churches with the support of influential founders and benefactors behind them.

Finally, in Croatian scholarship, when dealing with St. Michael's churches, most scholars focused on specific churches but did not tackle the meanings that the cult assumed in specific locations and historical contexts. I analyzed

[11] Tomislav Marasović undertook the project of mapping early medieval churches in Dalmatia, including around thirty Michaeline churches, and published the results in his monumental four-volume work, *Dalmatia praeromanica*. His is one of the pioneering works in mapping early medieval churches on the eastern Adriatic.

[12] The chronology of the Istrian Michaeline churches: Sts. Michael and Clement near Pula, monastic church (mid-sixth century); St. Michael near Višnjan, monastic church (mid-ninth century); St. Michael and the Virgin near Limska Draga, monastic church (the smaller church dates from the mid-sixth century; the larger construction from 1040s); St. Michael near Bale, monastic church (after 1040); Sts. Peter and Michael, monastic church (after 1040); St. Michael, Banjole near Vodnjan (c. 1100). One Michaeline church near Pazin in central Istria is mentioned only in the written sources, where the *ante quem* is 1178, but since no remains have been found up to date, it is impossible to know whether it was from before the twelfth century. See Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [Benedictines in Croatia and in other Croatian Lands], vol. 3 (Zadar, Split: Benediktinski priorat TKON, 1965), 113.

Fig. 1. From the north: a) Sts Peter Michael on Kras (after 1040), b) St. Michael sotto terra (before 853), c) St. Michael near Limska Draga (c. 1040), d) St. Michael near Bale (after 1040), e) St. Michael near Vodnjan (end of the eleventh century), f) Ss Michael and Clement near Pula (mid-sixth century), g) St. Michael near Pazin (uncertain dating, before 1178).

all Michaeline churches built from the sixth to eleventh centuries in Istria, their geographical locations, architectural typologies and artistic programs in their historical contexts, and explained where and why I recognized apocalyptic tendencies. It is in the Camaldolese monastic church of St. Michael near Limska Draga that I found these most explicit, for which reason I decided to focus on it almost exclusively in the present paper.

St. Michael's monastic church near Limska Draga

St. Michael's monastic church near Limska Draga was the first one dedicated to the Archangel in Istria after a break of almost two centuries. As I remarked in the previous chapter, there are only two Michaeline churches dating from the sixth to ninth centuries, the monastic church near Pula built in the mid-sixth century, and the monastic church near Poreč built from the mid-ninth century. The dramatic increase in the number of dedications to St. Michael in the eleventh century provided the reason to investigate whether it was due to heightened apocalyptic expectations around the millennium.

The monastic complex near Limska Draga (Bay of Lim) still exists today, although in a fragmentary state. It is located in a relatively isolated area in the County of Vrsar, several hundred meters from the high cliffs of the Bay of Lim and in the middle of a forest – a typical choice of landscape both for a Michaeline church and for a Benedictine monastery.[13] The complex possesses two churches; the larger dedicated to St. Michael was built in the 1040s, and the smaller Virgin's church dates from the mid-sixth century [Figure 2, 2a].[14]

The larger one, that dedicated to St. Michael, is a single-spaced building, with a single tall, semi-circular apse in the east and an open timber roof. This structure was added to the northern wall of the smaller Virgin's church, also a single-spaced building, which then became a type of external crypt.[15] The artistic

[13] Compare this with other European sanctuaries dedicated to St. Michael, such as Monte San Michele (Monte Gargano) in Puglia, Italy; Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy, France; San Michele in Chiusa, Italy; Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, France, etc.

[14] There is an ample discussion on the dedication of the church. Ana Deanović, Igor Fisković and Nikolina Maraković wrote on the subject. See Ana Deanović, "Ranoromaničke freske u opatiji Sv. Mihovila nad Limskom Dragom" [Early Romanesque frescoes at St. Michael's Abbey above Limska Draga], *Bulletin JAZU* 9–10 (1956): 18; Igor Fisković, "Nova viđenja oko benediktinskog samostana na Limu" [New insights regarding the Benedictine monastery at Lim], *Izdanja HAD-a* 18 (1997): 240; Nikolina Maraković, "Zidno slikarstvo u Istri od 11. do 13. stoljeća: Revalorizacija lokalne umjetničke baštine u europskom kontekstu" [Wall painting in Istria from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries: Reassessing the Local Cultural Heritage in the European Context], Ph.D. dissertation (University of Zagreb, 2009), 49–50.
I relied on Maraković's interpretation, which states that there are no written sources that demonstrate the exact dedication of either of the churches, but that it should be understood as a double dedication and a single whole.

[15] Sunčica Mustač, *Samostan Sv. Mihovila nad Limom – konzervatorska podloga* [The Monastery of St. Michael above Lim – Conservation assessment] (Pula, Poreč: Konzervatorski odjel u Puli, 2014), 14.

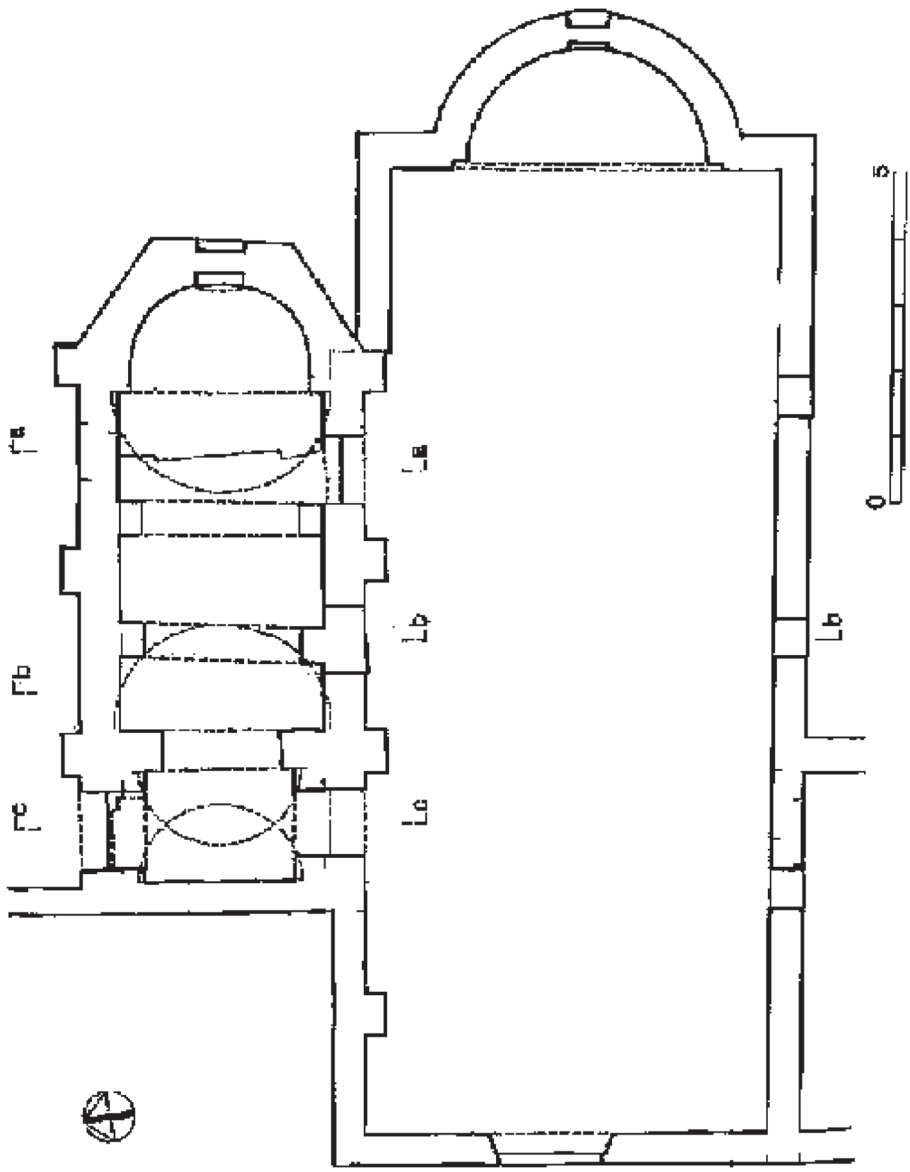

Fig. 2. St. Michael near Limska Draga, ground-floor plan (according to Igor Fisković)

Fig. 2a St. Michael near Limska Draga, eastern apse.
Courtesy of Ms. Kristina Gergeta, Cultural Heritage Conservation Office, Pula.

program of the larger church suffered so much damage that the only part of it still visible is contained on the sanctuary walls.

In the apse itself, from left to right, scenes from the Martyrdom of St. Stephen are still recognizable. On the right lateral wall there is an episcopal figure identified as St. Maurus, a local martyr and the bishop of Poreč, and on the left lateral wall, Ana Deanović in the 1950s could still see a figure of a holy monk dressed in a dark habit whom she identified as St. Benedict [Figure 3, 3a].[16] Earlier, in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, local lumberjacks used the church as a storage for logs and possibly tore down the western wall, since what we can see today is a twentieth-century reconstruction.[17] Thus, we cannot know if indeed there was a depiction of the Last Judgment, an iconographic theme traditionally reserved for western walls in the Latin Church.

[16] Deanović, "Ranoromaničke freske," 18.
[17] Mustač, *Samostan Sv. Mihovila*, 16.

Fig. 3. St. Michael near Limska Draga, interior, eastern apse. Wall paintings, after mid-eleventh century. Courtesy of Ms. Kristina Gergeta.

As the iconographic program on its own could not reveal anything regarding the dedication to St. Michael and the apocalyptic connotations, I turned to the written sources, both hagiographic and diplomatic, to investigate the presence of apocalyptic elements in the lives and deeds of the monastery's founders and benefactors.[18]

St. Romuald, St. Michael and the monastery near Limska Draga

Traditionally, it is believed that St. Romuald founded the monastic community near Limska Draga. Even today, there is a small cave several hundred meters away from the monastery called the Cave of St. Romuald. And indeed, there is an episode in the hagiography of St. Romuald in which he travels to Istria

[18] Hagiographic source: Colin Ralph Phipps, "St Peter Damian's *Vita beati Romualdi*: Introduction, Translation, Analysis," PhD dissertation (King's College London, 1988). Diplomatic source: Pietro Kandler, *Codice diplomatico istriano I*, http://www.scriniumadriae.it/rdi/baseweb.php (accessed October, 2017).

Fig. 3a Martyrdom of St Stephen on the apse wall and St Maurus on the right. Source: http://revitas.org/hr/turisticki-itinerari/freske/sv-lovrec-klostar,10/sv-mihovil,61.html, accessed April 12, 2018.

in the years immediately following the millennium to withdraw from worldly occupations. Peter Damian informs us that Romuald stayed near Poreč for three years "[…] in one of which [years], he built a monastery, but for the other two remained enclosed."[19]

This episode from the life of St. Romuald pointed me in the direction of apocalyptic content because, as Johannes Fried argued, apocalyptic expectations in the hagiographic texts can be recognized in the general call for penance, virtuous deeds and the hermitage, which all abound in St. Romuald's *Vita*.[20] Furthermore, there are three additional references in the *Vita* which point to the connection between the cult of St. Michael, St. Romuald and the apocalyptic expectations of the period. The first is the vital role St. Michael himself played in the spiritual formation of St. Romuald, the second is St. Romuald's relationship

[19] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 252. Note that I am referring to the foundation of a monastic community, not the monastery itself, since the archaeological evidence does not allow an earlier date for the construction of the larger church of St. Michael than 1040.
[20] Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time," 23.

with the apocalyptic Emperor Otto III and the last is the "apocalyptic" visions of St. Romuald.[21]

St. Michael was present in the life of St. Romuald when the latter decided to follow the perfect way of the hermitage and went to the Benedictine monastery of St. Michel at Cuxa, where he spent several years under the protection of the *archistrategos*. Later, after he had returned to Italy, he began founding reformed communities of hermits dedicated to the Rule of St. Benedict but living a life of strict penance. One community at the monastery of San Michele at Bagno posed a serious threat to Romuald's faithfulness and perseverance in converting people to strict obedience to Christ and the Rule, but the Archangel's closeness diverted Romuald from such unholy thoughts.[22]

The last example of Romuald's connection with St. Michael comes through Romuald's relationship with the Emperor Otto III. Namely, Romuald sent Otto III on a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, the oldest and most important Michaeline shrine in Western Europe, to expiate his sins and in the hope of converting him to hermitage.[23] Peter Damian stated that St. Romuald had high expectations of Otto III regarding the emperor's spiritual path, which I interpreted in my thesis in the context of the Legend of the Last Emperor.[24]

The Legend of the Last Emperor, together with the Myth of the World Unity, represent meliorist tendencies in the medieval apocalyptic tradition. According to these, as articulated in the sibylline prophecy contained in the Tiburtine Oracle about the life and deeds of the Last Emperor, his rule will bring peace for the Church, encourage the conversion of Jews and pagans and finally bring together all nations. Having accomplished all this, he would proceed to Jerusalem to renounce his crown before the Lord and usher in the Last Days.[25]

Lastly, there are two visions of St. Romuald in the *Vita* which could be understood in apocalyptic terms. One regards his conversion at the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, and the other occurred during his hermitage

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[21] Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam, 2008), 57–60. Miladinov does not reject outright the plausibility of Otto III's promise to renounce his crown in Jerusalem and enter the hermitage. Whether the emperor honestly wished to do so or not is not important for this argument. However, it is crucial that Peter Damian and Bruno of Querfurt in his *Vita Quinque fratrum*, the second contemporary source that brings up this topic, portray him in such a manner.

[22] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 152.

[23] Callahan, "The Cult of St. Michael," 185. See also: Miladinov, *Margins*, 59.

[24] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 195–203.

[25] Vučić, "The Apocalyptic Aspect," 30.

in Istria. St. Romuald's renunciation of worldliness at Sant' Apollinare is marked by apocalyptic imagery in which St. Apollinaris appears to him clothed in rays of sun and bringing incense to each altar in the church (compare this with Rev 8, 3).[26] In Istria, Romuald received a gift to foresee the future and understand the deep mysteries of the faith.[27]

The *Vita* is not an apocalyptic genre. It is hagiography and it does not provide explicit apocalyptic vocabulary, but it abounds in what Johannes Fried refers to as the meliorist expectations of the apocalyptic medieval tradition.[28] In conclusion, I maintain that the dedication of the church to St. Michael at Limska Draga stems from its connection with the community's founder who came to Istria with the aim of converting people to a strict and dedicated form of life in expectation of Christ's return.

Having analyzed the written sources, I can return to the issue of the iconographic program in the sanctuary of the church at Limska Draga. Igor Fisković suggested already in 1997 that the choice of the iconography stemmed from the spirituality of the founder.[29] At first, I was not convinced, especially because St. Romuald lacked the most important characteristic to be identified with the first deacon of the Church – he did not die as a martyr. However, on several occasions, Peter Damian described St. Romuald as a martyr *ex voto*, suffering at the hands of unruly brethren (San Michele at Bagno) and the religious establishment.[30]

If we understand Romuald's martyrdom in that manner, then the program of the monastic church and its dedication to St. Michael become an outstanding homage by the monastic community to their founder, St. Romuald. Moreover, the depiction of Sts. Benedict and Maurus on the lateral walls affirms the dual identity of the monastic community: it belonged both to the international order founded by St. Benedict and to the local diocese in Poreč.[31]

[26] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 48.
[27] Ibid., 253.
[28] Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time," 23.
[29] Fisković, "Nova viđenja," 243.
[30] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 246–7.
[31] Maraković, "Zidno slikarstvo," 36–7.

Engilmar, bishop of Poreč, and the monastery at Limska Draga

Later in the century, another prominent man became associated with this monastery – Engilmar, the bishop of Poreč. He came from the renowned monastery of Niederaltaich in Bavaria and became a bishop in Istria to oversee and control this borderland region, important for the stability of the Empire.[32] According to two diplomatic documents, from 1030 and 1040 respectively, Engilmar showed great interest in two Istrian Michaeline monasteries, the old, renowned Benedictine monastery near Pula and the one near Limska Draga.[33]

Engilmar exhibited different attitudes toward these monastic communities in that he donated lands and goods to the former, asking the brethren to pray continually for him, his predecessors and their episcopal office. Contrary to that, he demanded that the monastery at Limska Draga be subjected directly to the episcopal see of Poreč, which meant paying the full annual tithe. Such disparate attitudes reflect Engilmar's desire to connect with the prominent and renowned monasteries to secure the position not only for himself, but also for the episcopal see at Poreč, which furthermore meant securing the position of the Empire.[34]

The reason why I underlined Engilmar's role in the life of the monastery is to emphasize how fluid and interchangeable St. Michael's identity was. St. Romuald was devoted to the Archangel as his personal protector on the path to perfection in hermitage, but Engilmar was more preoccupied with practical, mundane matters and invoked the Archangel as the *archistrategos* to protect the integrity of his episcopacy and, thereby, the Empire.

Other eleventh-century Michaeline churches in Istria

Although I selected St. Michael near Limska Draga as the focus of my thesis, I analyzed other Michaeline churches built from the sixth to eleventh centuries to demonstrate that multiple aspects of St. Michael's identity were present in eleventh-century Istria. The oldest Michaeline church in Istria which was still active and prosperous in the eleventh century, Sts. Michael and Clement near Pula, besides

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[32] Maurizio Levak, "Istra i Kvarner u ranom srednjem vijeku" [Istria and Kvarner in the early Middle Ages], in *Nova zraka u europskom svjetlu. Hrvatske zemlje u ranome srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150),* ed. Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2011), 407.

[33] Kandler, *Codice I*, 91, Anno 1030; 99, Anno 1040.

[34] Evan A. Gatti, "In the Apse or in between: The Benedictional of Engilmar and Traditions of Episcopal Patronage in the Apse at Poreč," in *Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints*, ed. John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012), 150.

being a Benedictine monastery, also served as the final resting place for Istrian nobility.[35] St. Michael played the role of *psychopompos* there, among other places.

The church at Limska Draga served as the typological model for two other Camaldolese churches which testifies to its singularity in eleventh-century Istria: the one on Kras, dedicated to Sts. Peter and Michael, and another near Bale. It is difficult to know if these churches also shared the apocalyptic connotations present in the prototype because the written sources are not explicit on the subject.[36]

At the very end of the eleventh century, the Archangel received another church near Vodnjan in a medieval village called Banjole. After the sixth-century church near Pula, this was the only monumental three-aisled church with three apses dedicated to St. Michael in medieval Istria. Sunčica Mustač suggested it was a pilgrimage church, since no remains of a monastery were found next to it, and it is too large to be a local parish church for such a minor village as Banjole.[37]

Mustač argued that the types of the sanctuary, deep and elevated, and the ambo reflected early Christian models, a fashion in Roman contemporary liturgical practices. Also, fragments of the relief sculpture, such as Christ showing his wounds to the Disciples, mirror contemporary sculpting practices in Apulia, such as the Christ *orans* found in the ruins of St. Peter's church at Monte Gargano.[38] Conclusively, this pilgrimage church was founded to promote Roman liturgical practices and, through that, the papal reform.[39] Therefore, St. Michael's role in this context was to protect and promote the papal position in German Istria in his fight for the rights of investiture.

[35] In Carolingian times, most probably at the turn of the eighth century, the monastic church received a cross-shaped funerary chapel dedicated to St. Clement, a Roman martyr. See Pavuša Vežić, "Memorije križnog tlocrta na tlu Istre i Dalmacije" [Christian *memoriae* of a Cruciform ground-floor plan in Istria and Dalmatia], *Ars Adriatica* 3 (2013): 34.

[36] For the church on Kras, see Kandler, *Codice I*, 119, Anno 1102. For the church near Bale, see Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, 147.

[37] Sunčica Mustač, "Ambo from the Church of St. Michael at Banjole near Peroj (Istria)," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 15/2 (2009): 425; Martina Barada and Sunčica Mustač, "Sv. Mihovil Banjolski – preliminarni rezultati istraživanja trobrodne bazilike" [St. Michael of Banjole – Preliminary results of the investigation of the three-aisled Basilica], in *I. Porečki susret arheologa – rezultati arheoloških istraživanja na području Istre*, ed. Miljenko Jurković (Poreč: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine, 2008), 157.

[38] Mustač, "Ambo from the Church of St. Michael," 426.

[39] Ibid., 424–6.

Conclusion

St. Michael's cult had a rich history long before the millennium and it developed many facets, among them an apocalyptic one. In Michaeline and apocalyptic studies, the emphasis is often placed on his apocalyptic role in the context of heightened apocalyptic expectations around the millennium. My intention was to determine whether it was always the case that an eleventh-century St. Michael possesses apocalyptic connotations. I chose eleventh-century Istria as a case study because there were at least five active Michaeline churches there, one being from the sixth century and the other four constructed in the eleventh century.

I found apocalyptic elements at the church near Limska Draga because of its connection to St. Romuald who founded the monastic community there some years after the millennium. His hagiography abounds with references to St. Michael, calling to penance and hermitage and apocalyptic visions. I maintain that the church at Limska Draga was an homage to St. Romuald which explains both the dedication and the artistic program. It served as the starting point of the reformed Camaldolese order for the whole of Istria, which can be noted in the typology of two other monastic Michaeline churches, those on Kras and near Bale.

I also noted that the apocalyptic Michael was not the exclusive one present in Istria in the eleventh century. Other aspects of his centuries-old identity were equally represented there, such as his roles as the *psychopompos* in relation to the monastery near Pula, as the *archistrategos*, protecting the wellbeing and the integrity of the Empire as was the case with Bishop Engilmar, and finally as the protector of the papacy against the pretensions of the German investiture policies.

Mapping and analyzing St. Michael's churches in Istria from the sixth to eleventh centuries was only a minor contribution to the great task of understanding the Michaeline cult in Europe. In the future, my plan is to map Michaeline churches through the entire eastern Adriatic region, not only for the Early Middle Ages but extending the scope into the Late Middle Ages.

EVOLVING IDENTITIES: A CONNECTION BETWEEN ROYAL PATRONAGE OF DYNASTIC SAINTS' CULTS AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Stephen Pow

Introduction

The aim of this article is to provide a brief summary of a theory related to the origins of the famous Arthurian knight, Sir Lancelot, and his direct connection to Hungarian political movements taking place in the twelfth century. It is important to note that in the development and initial efforts at disseminating this theory to academic audiences for feedback, I received crucial support at CEU,[1] from the wider scholarly community,[2] and from the conference organizers at the University of Western Michigan.[3] By the time I first presented these ideas, I could tell from experience what an advantage it is to belong to a community of scholars. Since then, I have been preparing a lengthier study that will focus much more on the driving forces behind the creation of Arthurian literature and its most celebrated figure. As that will be forthcoming, a detailed discussion here would exceed the scope and intention of the present paper. Regarding the hypothesis for a close connection between that Arthurian knight and the emergence of the cult surrounding *Szent László* (Saint Ladislaus/King Ladislaus I of Hungary,

[1] My thanks go to members of the CEU Department of Medieval Studies, including my supervisors, Balázs Nagy and József Laszlovszky, as well as Gerhard Jaritz, Katalin Szende, László Ferenczi, András Vadas, and particularly Marianne Sághy.

[2] My special thanks to ELTE's Levente Seláf who succinctly shared his expertise on twelfth-century French romance, providing many metaphorical missing pieces of the puzzle. As well, I wish to gratefully acknowledge Elizabeth Archibald (Durham), the editor of *Arthurian Literature*, who attended my presentation and encouraged the fuller study which I am undertaking.

[3] I had the opportunity to take part in the 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies (11–14 May 2017) in Kalamazoo on a panel which Gerhard Jaritz had assembled with the title, "Creating and Transforming the Image of Saints." This was an eclectic panel, comprised of Kathleen Ashley (professor in the Department of English at the University of Southern Maine) presenting on the legendary Saint Foy and her cults, Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen (Nationalmuseet of Denmark) presenting on depictions of saints in medieval Danish churches, and myself, a PhD candidate at CEU specializing on the Mongol Invasions of Europe. My sincere thanks to the conference organizers at Kalamzoo for awarding me with one of the handful of Congress Travel Awards.

r. 1077–1095),[4] which is the argument I wish to outline here, we encounter a complex phenomenon. Any such hypothesis touches on a wide range of topics that ought to be addressed by a very diverse group of scholars. Thus, the Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU should offer an excellent basis for reaching these diffuse circles, while my later proposed study, focused on the creation of the fictional character of Lancelot himself, can raise interest particularly among specialists whose work relates to elements of Arthurian literature.

The first version of this study was presented as a conference paper entitled, "Evolving Identities: Connections between Royal Patronage of Dynastic Saints' Cults and Secular Literature in the Twelfth Century." Despite the vague title, I was presenting the above-mentioned theory centered on a very specific saint's cult – that surrounding László – and a very specific body of secular literature – Arthurian poetry and particularly that composed by Chrétien de Troyes. If its focus is specific, the argument has wider implications related to the history of the medieval Church, the influence of political developments in medieval literature, the dating of Arthurian poetry, along with Hungary and the Byzantine Empire's cultural connections with France and wider Latin Christendom. Since the initial foray, I have continued arguing for over a year for this ostensible connection between Sir Lancelot and László.[5] Indeed, I have found evidence that the figure of Sir Lancelot, as he first appeared in the works of the French poet Chrétien de

[4] There are many variations of the name of this eleventh-century Hungarian monarch and saint. This is because Ladislaus (from Vladislav) was a borrowed name of Slavic origin. In English literature and older Latin sources, it is most commonly rendered as Ladislaus or some slight variation of that. In vernacular Hungarian, the foreign name's pronunciation was rendered as László. In this paper, I have opted to use the Hungarian version consistently because it is crucial to my argumentation. I believe that there was an oral (*viz.* not literary) transmission of the name László from Hungarian informants to the French in the 1180s which resulted in Chrétien de Troyes recording the name in the only slightly corrupted form of Lancelot.

[5] Since the initial presentation in Kalamazoo, I have delivered two talks that have expanded on the theory. The first lecture: "László to Lancelot: Hungarian Kings, Arthurian Knights." *A Magyar Hagiográfiai Társaság/Hungarian Association for Hagiographic Studies* – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, September 14, 2017. http://hagiografia.hu/hu/2017/08/29/laszlo-to-lancelot-hungarian-kings-arthurian-knights-stephen-l-pow-eloadasa/. The second lecture was "László to Lancelot: Hungarian Kings, Arthurian Knights/De László à Lancelot: rois hongrois, chevaliers arthuriens." *Hungarian Institute of Paris in collaboration with the International Medieval Society* – Institut Hongrois, Paris, France, November 10, 2017. https://www.ceu.edu/article/2017-11-21/sir-lancelot-may-have-been-inspired-hungarys-king-laszlo-pow-says. My sincere thanks to Marianne Sághy for having arranged these events and Dorottya Uhrin for her helpful assistant and feedback.

Troyes in the later twelfth century, was directly inspired by László, the eleventh-century ruler of Hungary. Furthermore, the inspiration seemed to be deliberately motivated by dynastic political developments of the period. Besides the obvious similarity between their names, and the fact that no convincing etymological or literary link exists that can attach Lancelot to the British Isles, I have noted other interesting links related to cultural trends. Though the evidence appears compelling, the idea of a Hungarian king being the inspiration for Lancelot has not been argued previously. The experts on Arthurian literature tended to comb the insular tradition in search of Lancelot's origins.[6] Meanwhile, there is also a huge body of scholarly work on László as a historical personage, along with his afterlife in the *legenda* and as a dynastic saint, but researchers working on this have seldom sought or considered direct connections with Arthurian literature.[7]

[6] The lively scholarly search for the origins of Lancelot in the nineteenth century encountered a great deal of frustration; the knight was a key figure and yet no sign of him emerged in the earlier insular British and Irish traditions predating the French works of the later twelfth century. By the first decades of the twentieth century, the consensus was that Lancelot must be sought in continental rather than insular traditions. See August Joseph App, *Lancelot in English Literature: His Role and Character* (Reprint: New York, Haskell House, 1965), 1–3.

[7] The literature on László is vast and diffuse, being the product of different scholarly circles. For an exploration of the sacral charismatic aspects of Hungarian rulers and the pagan, steppic origins of this tradition, see József Deér, *Heidnisches und Christliches in der altungarischen Monarchie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchges., 1969). Regarding the frescoes depicting the legend of Szent László, nomadic motifs have been noted. See Gyula László, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei* [The Saint Ladislaus legend in medieval frescoes] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993). In discussing the legend of Szent László, including most famously his battle with a Cuman, Central European scholars continue to explore not only Eastern steppic influences, but also Western chivalric motifs. See András Vizkelety, "Nomádkori hagyományok, vagy udvari-lovagi toposzok? Észrevételek Szent László és a leányrabló kun epikai és képzőművészeti ábrázolásaihoz" [Nomadic tradition or courtly chivalric topos? Comments on St. Laszlo and the Cuman who abducted the maiden in epic and artistic depictions], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 85 (1981): 253–75. The iconography found in artwork depicting the legend has also been explored at length. See Terézia Kerny, "Szent László egyházalapításai az irodalomban, képzőművészetben és a néphagyományban" [Church foundations of Saint László in literature, fine art and tradition], *Pavilon* 9 (1994): 12–19; Terézia Kerny, "A kerlési ütközet megjelenése és elterjedése az irodalomban, majd a képzőművészetben" [The emergence and dissemination of the Kerlés encounter in literature and later art], in: *Folklór* és *vizuális kultúra,* ed. Szemerkényi Ágnes (Budapest: 2007), 202–57. Gábor Klaniczay has suggested that both steppic influences and notions of the type carried by troubadours in the Middle Ages seem to have exerted influences. See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 190–4.

The theory I have advanced is novel, so the question arises: If this theory has any merit, why was it not suggested previously? This was probably because I initially approached both subjects as an outsider, lacking familiarity with the scholarly work on these respective topics and without inherited preconceptions. A conference organized by Marianne Sághy in 2015 devoted to the topic of László's daughter, Piroska, provided an initial impetus to this theory by introducing me to detailed explorations of the medieval royal saint's cult that formed around László. Gábor Klaniczay's monumental study on this theme, including *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses,* provided crucial background on the very nature of the royal saint's cult in East Central Europe – information necessary for any theory to develop. Regarding the twelfth century, he notes, "the twelfth-century transformation of this cult, the holy ruler's metamorphosis into intrepid knight, reflects the new doctrines of secular power."[8] Concomitant with the rise of secular power in the period was the rise of secular literature. Moreover, the types of political forces and patronage that drove the creation of cults of saints were also driving the creation of secular literature such as Arthurian romance which was burgeoning in the later twelfth century. So, from the very beginning, one could see an interesting parallel there. Moreover, there were certain facts that are well known within the respective bodies of scholarly work related to László and Sir Lancelot. It is a commonplace amongst scholars of the Hungarian saint-king that he was recognized as an intrepid knight by medieval people in this region. That is clear from the artwork – frescoes, stove tiles, coins, etc. – besides the copious literature which testifies to his depiction as a hero in the chivalric mode.[9] Turning to Arthurian scholarship, it is a long-recognized fact that Sir Lancelot's origins are mysterious and that no truly satisfying explanation yet exists for how he suddenly appeared as a foremost figure in literature. Being aware of those generalities, the two figures seemed to invite a comparison.

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[8] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 156.

[9] For important works on the frescoes, see Zsombor Jékely, "Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler: The Legend of St. Ladislas," *Hortus Artum Medievalium* 21 (2015): 62–74; Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Szent László a XIV. századi kódexfestészetben" [Between chronicle and legend: Image cycles of St Ladislas in fourteenth-century Hungarian manuscripts], in *Csodaszarvas* III 111–23. (Budapest: Molnár Kiadó, 2009). On the topic of stove tile depictions, see Ana Maria Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary* (Cluj: Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, 2013). For an investigation of the imagery on golden coins, see Márton Gyöngyössy, *Mediaeval Hungarian Gold Florins* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Bank, 2005); Márton Gyöngyössy, *Magyar pénztörténet: 1000–1540* [Hungarian numismatic history, 1000–1540] (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2012).

Outline of the László-Lancelot theory

One could begin any summary by noting that the most important period for the issue studied here is the 1180s and the context of it is the emerging new contacts between Hungary and France. The argued connection is fundamentally *political* in character, driven by the political and dynastic agenda of Béla III (r. 1172–1196) and the unprecedented Hungarian-French connections in the late twelfth century[10] which culminated in the marriage of the Hungarian king and Margaret of France in 1186.[11] I would argue that in this historical situation, there exists an overlooked, but nonetheless intriguing, overlap between Béla's prolonged effort to promote the dynastic saint's cult of László – something which led to the conferring of sainthood in 1192 and the corresponding production of the hagiographic *legenda* for the canonization[12] – and the key developments of secular Arthurian romances in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Furthermore, an awareness of the startling connections between these two activities will enable us greater insight into the networks of royal patrons of courtly poetry and the interaction between distinct societies across both Eastern and Western Europe in the period.

It has been amply demonstrated by Gábor Klaniczay that royal patronage often lay behind the canonization of dynastic saints in the Middle Ages. Royal patronage played no small part either in the cults that sprung up around the saint kings who were being portrayed increasingly by the twelfth century as examples of Christian piety *and* chivalric virtues. The concomitant processes of royal patronage and cult-building were often directed at serving a propagandistic purpose – the royal exempla of the past served to legitimize the authority of the present rulers in various states and particularly in Hungary. As Klaniczay puts it: "The holy ruler's special relationship to the powers on high […] guarantees

[10] There are entire books now devoted to exploring the topic of Hungarian–French relations in the Middle Ages. For two important examples see Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss, eds., *Francia–magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [French–Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2013). See also this recent collection of essays in French by leading scholars on the topic: Attila Györkös et al. (eds.), *"M'en anei en Ongria": Relations franco–hongroises au Moyen Âge II*. Memoria Hungariae 4. (Debrecen: MTA, 2017).

[11] Gábor Barta, "Royal finance in medieval Hungary: the revenues of King Béla III," in *Crises, Revolution and Self-sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, c. 1130–1830*, ed. W.M. Ormrod et al., 22–37, (Stamford: Paul Watkins Publishing, 1999).

[12] The original version of the *legenda* was likely composed for the canonization and does not survive but two adaptations of it, a shorter version and a longer with some additions and edits composed around 1204, have survived. See Kornél Szovák and László Veszprémy, "Krónikák, legendák, intelmek – Utószó" [Chronicles, legends and admonitions – postscript], in Imre Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*. V. 2 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999 reprint), 783.

his country's welfare in some mysterious way. What all of this adds up to is the religious legitimization of secular power in terms of *royal and dynastic sanctity*…"[13] Simultaneously we are aware of the crucial role that royal patronage played as well in the emergence of secular literature in the twelfth century, particularly chivalric romances which were quickly emerging as a very popular form of popular literature across Latin Christendom in the same period. This includes the royal patronage that lay behind Chrétien de Troyes' composition of several romances pertaining to the Arthurian court and the "Matter of Britain." To be sure, the *Vitae* of László produced around the last years of the twelfth century and the chivalric, secular poems describing the warlike exploits of the heroic Sir Lancelot represent totally different genres of medieval literature with different aims. The argument is not being made that one set of these respective texts exercised a formative influence on the other. Rather, it appears that these very different literary creations were byproducts of the same quasi-propagandistic activity emerging from the court of Béla III in the later 1100s, aimed ultimately at shoring up that king's shaky claims to the legitimacy and *idoneitas* of his rule through evoking the sanctity and glory of a dynastic predecessor. The activities and efforts that directly drove the Church's acknowledgement of László as a saint appear to have less directly resulted in the creation of perhaps medieval literature's most enduring and celebrated figure.

Turning from the underlying drivers to the actual evidence for the proposed connection, it should be noted that any argument that Sir Lancelot was inspired by an eleventh-century Hungarian king seems on the surface improbable, particularly if one presupposes that this suggestion is challenging older accepted wisdom on the knight's origins. So, the first point of my argument was that there presently exists no convincing explanation for his abrupt appearance in literature as a fully formed figure or even the etymology of his name.[14] Scholars who have sought Lancelot's origins are unanimous that the first literary appearance of the figure we can find is in the works of Chrétien de Troyes, but the proposed dates of composition for the Champagne poet's Arthurian romances lack scholarly consensus.[15] Beyond that, Lancelot retains an element of mystery, being absent from any older Arthurian accounts even in the mid-eleventh century and from any Arthur-related texts of an insular origin.[16] Scholars' inability over the last couple

[13] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 2.

[14] Dominque Boutet, "Lancelot : préhistoire d'un héros arthurien," *Annales 44, no. 5* (1989): 1229–44.

[15] Based on evidence in the poet's works, there is agreement that the earliest possible date for his first extant Arthurian romance is 1159 and his last work was certainly written before 1191.

[16] Boutet, "Lancelot : préhistoire d'un héros arthurien," 1229–31.

centuries to attach Lancelot to anything substantial in the "Matter of Britain" has resulted in elaborate but unconvincing etymologies, proposals of convoluted composite characters, and suggestions that Lancelot was merely an amalgam of Indo-European motifs or that he stems from some non-existent work featuring some otherwise unattested hero. Thus, the new suggestion that the narrative and etymological origin of "Lancelot" lies in "László" is not really challenging any established or convincing consensus. Furthermore, I was able to demonstrate an actual etymological connection. The fact is that real, non-fictional kings with the name of László/Ladislaus stemming from Hungary or having Hungarian origins, such as László V Posthumous (1444–1457), were subsequently recorded for posterity as "Lancelot" in French and Italian texts, including the work of the fifteenth-century poet, François Villon.[17]

There are other important arguments related to the context. For instance, Chrétien de Troyes' first Arthurian romance in which Lancelot plays the starring role, *The Knight of the Cart*, is centered on an abduction in which Lancelot performs the rescue after a lengthy pursuit and deadly single combat with the abductor. This all bears a rather remarkable resemblance, at least at its base narrative, to the story of László and the Cuman which has survived in the fourteenth-century Hungarian Chronicle.[18] The episode, along with much other material about László's younger years as duke and military leader in Transylvania, appears to stem from a lost eleventh-century "gesta of Ladislaus" document to which the later Chronicle refers.[19] As outlined previously, this Cuman abduction and rescue story is also one of the most important visual elements of depictions of the legend, reflecting certain elements which differ from or build on the textual tradition. Moreover, I argue that if the notion seems implausible that a character of Hungarian origin would merely be inserted into French Arthurian poetry, then one must account for Sir Sagremore, another major character who appears alongside Lancelot in

[17] On the topic of the French tendency to yield the name as Lancelot, see Sándor Eckhardt, "Lancelot magyar király," *Magyar nyelv* 33 (1937): 151–157. My subsequent work on the Arthurian aspects of this theory will explore in detail these late medieval references to certain kings, clerics, and others from Hungary called Lancelot in Western European settings. For the account of a little-known Hungarian friar in Italy whose name was rendered as Lancelao, see Eszter Konrád, "Blessed Lancelao of Hungary: A Franciscan Observant in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 5:3 (2016): 645–674.

[18] For the primary source account of that abduction episode, see János Bak and László Veszprémy (ed., trans.), *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), 196–199.

[19] László Mezey, *Athleta Patriae: tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez* [Athleta Patriae: studies of the story of St. Ladislaus] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 21–23.

Chrétien's romances. In the Lancelot-Grail Cycle, Sagremore is described as the son of the Hungarian king and his mother was the daughter of a Byzantine emperor; for a time in his youth, this Arthurian knight was even heir to the Byzantine throne. It all sounds rather like the decidedly non-fictional background of Béla III, the Hungarian king and one-time heir to the Byzantine throne who I argue had a role in the creation of Lancelot.[20] That relates to what is the crux of my argument. In the 1180s, there emerged a close and unprecedented connection between Béla III and Marie of Champagne, the patron of Chrétien de Troyes, because the Hungarian king was engaged in protracted negotiations to marry her half-sister. Moreover, the marriage agreement was successfully concluded with Margaret of France going to Hungary to marry Béla in 1186. These connections and their cultural effects have been discussed for quite some time in Hungarian historiography, for instance by András Kubinyi and István Hajnal who analyzed the evolving writing culture in the royal chancellery and among graduates of the universities.[21] I suggest that the close connections between French and Hungarian courts through the negotiations and marriage are the context in which the story of László could have been transferred by Hungarian nobles who were exposed to Arthurian romance as they were actively promoting a cult of the heroic Hungarian king. That Marie of Champagne commissioned and even provided her court poet with materials for a romance featuring Lancelot is clear from Chrétien's preface. She probably saw it as a political favor and honor to her new Hungarian brother-in-law to write his illustrious ancestor and his most celebrated act of heroism into the cycle of the Knights of the Round Table. If we imagine that Chrétien's romances could have been composed anywhere between 1159 and 1191, then this argument is not entirely persuasive. However, if we take the viewpoint on dating proposed decades ago by Claude Luttrell that the Champagne poet composed all five of his extant romances between 1184 and 1190, with *The Knight of the Cart* being written perhaps in 1187, then my argument fits well with the chronology

[20] For the topic of Béla the III and his Byzantine connections, see Ferenc Makk, "Relations hungaro-byzantines à l'époque de Béla III," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1985): 4. See also Ferenc Makk, *The Arpads and the Comneni, Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989).

[21] See András Kubinyi, "Királyi kancellária és udvari kápolna Magyarországon a XII. század közepén" [Royal chancellery and court chapel in Hungary in the milieu of the twelfth century], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 46 (1975): 59–121. For a work in English on a similar topic related to the emerging universities, see István Hajnal, "Universities and the development of writing in the XIIth–XIIIth centuries," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952): 177–95.

of the works.[22] Indeed, in such a chronology, it seems that the poem's chosen narrative is connected to the recently concluded nuptials between a Hungarian king and the sister of Chrétien's patron.

Conclusions

This must remain a very cursory exploration of a theory that aims to tackle the etymology and origins of a rather mysterious figure in medieval literature. Etymologically, I propose that "Lancelot" really is nothing more than a twelfth-century Romance-speaker's attempt at the vernacular Hungarian form of "Ladislaus." The origins of the fictional Knight of the Round Table seems to be tied to the Hungarian-French exchange in the 1180s that manifested itself in many additional ways "during an epoch of strong French influence in Hungary," when the chancellery system of Hungary was altered, Cistercian institutions arrived in the kingdom, and Hungarian officials and clergy regularly went to study in the great universities of Paris and Orléans.[23] The French influences on Hungary during the time are not contested in the academic discourse; it might generate more surprise to consider that Hungary seems to have worked a meaningful role on French literature, providing the inspiration for perhaps the most celebrated fictional character of the Middle Ages. It seems that the prevailing view in modern scholarship on medieval Europe is that there has only ever been a West-East transmission of culture. The idea that powerful and influential cultural products could have moved the other direction still seems to be a somewhat alien notion to scholars – on both sides of that West-East divide moreover.

It is a further surprise for readers who must now consider that Sir Lancelot's creation was *political* in nature, perhaps something we could term a "cross-promotion" aimed at warming up a new ally for France in East-Central Europe. Coincidentally, when I was first working on this theory, I realized to my shock that the Hungarian government happened to be promoting 2017 as the year of the commemoration of the saint-king László. In my own case, no cross-promotion came to be. Nonetheless, the argument that the creation of Lancelot had political motivations might seem more plausible when we consider

[22] For a discussion of Claude Luttrell's theory which he outlined in 1974, "one that has not been refuted so much as neglected," along with much more recent evidence in support of it, see Stephen Mark Carey, "Chartrian Influence and German Reception: Dating the Works of Chrétien de Troyes," *Arthuriana* 20, no. 3 (2010): 21–44.

[23] József Laszlovszky, "Nicholas Clericus: A Hungarian Student at Oxford University in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 14, no. 3 (1988): 225.

that even the development of a small paper discussing that possibility emerged in a larger context which saw László, still in modern times, being used as a sort of inspirational figure to shore up national feeling and political support for the government. The truth is that he continues to generate great interest among general readers and researchers alike. This historical figure along with the fictional Sir Lancelot – and the strong indications of a connection between the two – are such fascinating topics that the interest they attract can hardly be confined to a single year. If a connection between them is only being made now, this testifies to the fact that any such theory must accommodate itself to very different scholarly circles who have pursued very different research questions up to the present.

FOREIGN LIONS IN ENGLAND

EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN ROYAL COATS OF ARMS IN THE ENGLISH COURT DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD I (1272–1307)

Eszter Tarján

Introduction

The present paper deals with the early rolls of arms in medieval England, the so-called *general rolls of arms* and specifically royal symbols connected to East Central Europe, the Hungarian, the Bohemian and the Polish royal coats of arms[1]. This research focuses on the general rolls of arms compiled in England during the reign of Edward I. Those decades signified an outstanding period of English heraldry because numerous rolls of arms were compiled during them.

It is always a central question whether a particular blazon illustrates the contemporary heraldic practice interrelated with the structure of the coat of arms, the terminology used or the depictions. Or, is the result of the lack of knowledge, false information and misinterpretation? When we read the list of the arm holders, many of the royal coats of arms seem fictitious. According to my research hypothesis, several of these fictitious armorial bearings, if not all, have some prefiguration. I also assume that the appearance of the examined royal coats of arms refers to the given regions' political and dynastical relationships with England under Edward I or before him. Connected to this hypothesis, numerous other questions are raised regarding whether the existence of a royal coat of arms in the rolls of arms means an independent or an autonomous kingdom, or how the changes in East Central European royal coats of arms were followed in England in the thirteenth to fourteenth century. Did the author work from a standard textual and heraldic tradition and can we distinguish the textual traditions? Through this research, I answer questions by the comparative analysis of the East Central European region's royal coats of arms.

Here it is important to remark that the source value of the rolls of arms is extremely high not only because they are a collection of the nobility's records but

[1] Nóra Berend, "The Mirage of East Central Europe: Historical Regions in a Comparative Perspective," in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 9–23.

also because of the described or depicted colors of the coat of arms. The other groups of heraldic sources typically do not contain the tinctures of the coat of arms. Seals and coins never do so, carvings do rarely, and wall paintings occasionally give the color. The single colorful source group is the aforementioned illuminated codex miniatures. Thus, I use sphragistics, numismatic and different kinds of art historical sources to successfully carry out comparative interdisciplinary research of the examined region's royal coats of arms.

The coat of arms of the Hungarian Kingdom and Slavonia – The Hungarian lions and the Slavonian heads

The Hungarian coat of arms appears in almost every English armorial roll as well as in French ones.[2] The latter show an interesting picture because they contain the Hungarian blazon in two instances. The descriptions of the two examined versions of the earliest rolls are very similar but not identical. Notably, the Walford's Roll survived in an early modern copy, and there is a high chance that the copyist deleted, and/or added elements, and/or changed colors according to his own knowledge or ideas. Therefore, in version C of the Walford's Roll, the three blue Hungarian lions are standing in gold, and in the Cl variant, three red lions with crowns are standing in gold.

Before a more in-depth analysis of the coat of arms variations, a few words are in order about the precursors of the Hungarian lion and a brief history of the Hungarian royal coat of arms based on other relevant sources. Due to the lack of armorial rolls in East Central Europe, I cannot compare the examined armorial rolls with the same source material compiled in the examined region. In spite of the missing rolls of arms, we have a rich supply of other sources which were used as the displays for self-representation. These sources are primarily seals and coins, but also carvings and other visual evidence like miniatures which could serve as early heraldic sources.

Under the Arpadian dynasty, the kings of Hungary wore two distinct armors. The one was a shield with red and silver bars, the other was the armor with the double-cross.[3] The bearing changed from king to king, but a recent paper suggests that the double-cross appeared on the royal coat of arms only during the

[2] Vid. Appendix

[3] Iván Bertényi, *Magyar címertan* [Hungarian heraldry] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003) 29–30; József Laszlovszky, *A magyar címer története* [The history of the Hungarian coat of arms] (Budapest: Pytheas, 1990), 4–9.

reign of Béla IV (1235–1270) and not earlier during the reign of Béla III as was previously suggested.[4] In Béla III's reign, it was only a regal symbol. The usage of the double-cross was renewed by Béla IV, in order to symbolize his different political goals and character, and to clearly disavow his father's and uncle's ruling style.[5] But before the double cross became the Hungarian royal insignia, Emeric (1196–1204), the uncle of Béla IV, and Andrew II (1205–1235), Béla's father, used seals with lion symbols. The lion pattern appears on the earliest heraldic record of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Golden Bull of Emeric, from 1202.[6] However, according to its circumscription the date of the charter is 1199,[7] and as noted previously, the double cross was used on royal coats of arms only during the reign of Béla IV.[8] Irrespectively, the fact remains that on this Golden Bull the lion was used as a royal insignia for the first time and also that it contains the earliest surviving evidence for the bars.[9] There are nine lions on a barry field on the seal of Emeric in 1202.

The Hungarian lion's origin is debated regarding whether it is connected to Eastern or Western sources, or to general biblical tradition.[10] Besides historians, art historians also dealt with the lions as recurring elements of royal insignia. Their main source is a fresco in the royal chapel in Esztergom, where we can find lions depicted with palmette ornamentation. [11]

Besides Emeric, Andrew II's coat of arms also bore the lions on a shield. The number of the lions was inconsistent; at times it was seven or nine at other

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4 Tamás Körmendi, "A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása" [The first appearance of the double-cross variant of the Hungarian Kings' coat of arms], *Turul* 84 (2011): 73–83.

5 Ibid.

6 DL 39 249.

7 György Szabados, "Imre király házassága, aranybullája" [The marriage and the golden bull of King Emeric], *Századok* 136 (2002): 349–50.

8 Körmendi, "A magyar királyok," 73–83.

9 Imre Takács, *Az árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty], Corpus Sigillorum Hungariae Medievalis 1 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012).

10 Eastern influence: György Györffy, "A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az országig" [From Hungarian kindred to county, from tribe to country], in *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről* ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959), 1–126, Western influence: Iván Bertényi, "Az Árpádházi királyok címere és Aragónia" [The coat of arms of the Arpadian Kings and Aragon], in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*, eds. Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 189; Ferenc Donászy, *Az Árpádok címerei* [The coats of arms of the Arpadians] (Budapest: Donászy Ferenc, 1937), 23.

11 Mária Prokopp, *Esztergom: A királyi vár freskói* [Esztergom: The frescoes of the royal castle] (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 2001), 5.

times. The other striking fact is that Andrew had used it only as king and not as duke of Slavonia. His seal from 1220 bears seven lions recognizable in bars[12]. After 1235 the royal lions faded from use and only the bars remained.

In the following section, I examine the versions of Hungarian insignia, specifically the variations of the bearings in chronological order. As mentioned, the Walford's Roll survived in early modern copies. Because it exists in two distinct textual traditions, the present discussion contains one description of each. Variant C features three walking azure lions in gold, and Cd has three walking gules lions with crowns.[13] The gold tincture and the lion elements are the same in both textual traditions, even though the original colors of the Hungarian royal bars were red/gules and silver. Both blazons follow the rules of tinctures of heraldry, but not those of color blazoning. The phrasing is also remarkable: both versions describe the lion's position as walking by using the word *passant*.

The next roll in chronological order is the Herald's, but because the Camden Roll is based on the Herald's Roll, I examine these together. The Herald's text specifies that the Hungarian coat of arms is a gules lion standing in gold, armed azure, and in the Camden Roll, a gules lion stands in gold.[14] The colors are the same, the only difference being the presence of azure nails. Thus, notably, the color azure appears here again, even though officially the Hungarian royal insignia never contained any blue elements except during the Angevin era when the Angevins' blue field behind gold lilies was integrated into the Hungarian king's coat of arms.[15] By all means, the most interesting element of the Hungarian shield in these rolls is that the lions are described as *rampant* and not *passant,* standing rather than walking. *Rampant* is the incorrect term to describe both Emeric and Andrew II's coats of arms.

The Segar Roll is a very remarkable source. The roll features three silver greyhounds running in azure.[16] Again, the structure of the shield is correct, one metallic and one color. The greyhound motif appears only here; it does not exist anywhere in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century heraldry. The word *courant* is also not part of the heraldic terminology. In my opinion, this suggests that by the time the compiler composed the list of the armorial bearings, he had seen an original document with the Hungarian seal. Otherwise, he would have followed

[12] Berténi, *Magyar címertan*, 65.
[13] Vid. Appendix.
[14] Vid. Appendix.
[15] Gárdonyi Albert, "A Magyar Anjouk címeres emlékei" [The heraldic records of the Hungarian Anjous], Turul 56 (1936): 12–18.
[16] Vid. Appendix.

the existing pictorial and textual tradition of the lion motif. Moreover, the Segar Roll was composed at the end of the thirteenth century, and the seal with the lion motif was used at the beginning of the thirteenth century. What could happen to a wax seal during at least fifty years? In my opinion it would be very easy to interpret a damaged lion motif from the seal of Andrew II as another quadruped animal in a running position.

In the following, I introduce a French-English armorial roll interrelated with the English Segar Roll; the Lord Marshal's Roll. It is a unique piece, based on the French Wijnbergen Roll. Curiously, the Lord Marshal's Roll does not contain the blazon of the Hungarian king. On the other hand, the French Wijnbergen Armorial does contain it in two distinct variations. It shall probably remain an open question why the Hungarian blazon is missing from LM, and for what reason the Wijnbergen Armorial contains two versions of it.

The Wijnbergen Roll's blazons present an intriguing picture. The first description, item 1267 in the list, is a blazon of a coat of arms with silver and black bars and with a gold charboucle/escarboucle with *fleurs-de-lis*. According to the other item, no. 1305, the Hungarian king's insignia is a coat of arms with silver and gules bars.[17] It is demonstrable that the Hungarian kings never had charboucles in their coat of arms. There was one royal coat of arms which contained this element, the royal insignia of Navarre, which is found in every early English and French roll of arms and was a well-known armor. The compiler did not conflate them; most likely it is a mistake of the scribe. The second blazon is clearly the correct blazon of the Hungarian royal coat of arms. This means that the Hungarian royal blazon was different in the French tradition, but most importantly it shows that French and English knowledge about the European royal bearings differed distinctly.

Based on the brief summary above about the Hungarian coat of arms tradition and the seals of Emeric and Andrew, it is evident that the lion was a Hungarian royal symbol, and that the Hungarian royal armorial bearings had a determinate antitype in the English rolls of arms. Besides a detectable heraldic antitype, it is also justifiable to suggest that a Hungarian armorial tradition was known in England independently of the French convention.

Here I have to enter into detail about the Slavonian coat of arms and the region's brief history and legal status, because in the English Lord Marshal's Roll, the Slavonian coat of arms features three silver human heads with gold crowns in a blue field which is similar to the Dalmatian coat of arms.

[17] Vid. Appendix.

The Slavonian duke's legal situation and status is remarkable in the context of seal and coat of arms usage, because both Kings Emeric and Andrew used the lion symbol as the king of Hungary and not as the duke of Slavonia. Emeric was the first who bore this ducal title between 1194 and 1196. He was followed in this position by Andrew, his brother, between 1197 and 1205. Shortly afterwards came Andrew II's heir, Béla, between 1220–1226, who was also followed by his brother, Coloman, king of Galicia between 1226–1241. Béla IV continued this tradition, with his elder son Stephen in 1245, and his younger son Béla in 1260, becoming the Duke of Slavonia.

As Kristó highlights in an argument with Györffy about the legal position of the Slavonian duke, only three of them, Emeric, Béla and Stephen, were firstborn and also crown princes during their rulership as Slavonian dukes.[18] Andrew II used military force to make his brother Emeric hand over the duchy after their father's death. However, according to Attila Zsoldos, since Ladislas III (1204–1205) was born only in 1199, when Andrew II attacked his brother for the dukedom, he was in fact the crown prince. Moreover, later Béla IV in 1245 proclaimed his son, Stephen, as duke of Slavonia without any legal exception. Without doubt, this would have been possible only if such a tradition had a precedent beforehand.[19] In this regard, the seal usage suggests that the lions were definitely royal symbols in the Hungarian heraldic tradition used only by the kings.

The Wijnbergen Roll specifies three gold queens' heads with crowns in a blue field.[20] The question arises instantly regarding which part of Europe the compiler meant by Slavonia. There are different opinions and argumentations about the exact identity of Slavonia.[21] Zsoldos suggests that the region of Slavonia

[18] Gyula Kristó, *Feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon* [Feudal disintegration in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 54, György Györffy, "A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az országig" [From Hungarian kindred to county, from tribe to country], *Századok* 92 (1958): 584.

[19] Attila Zsoldos, *Családi ügy: IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években* [A family affair, The conflict between Béla IV and Stephen the Younger King in the 1260s] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2007), 15, Attila Zsoldos, "Hercegek és Hercegnők az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" [Princes and princesses in the Arpadian Hungary], in *Hercegek és hercegségek a középkori Magyarországon*, ed. Attila Zsoldos (Székesfehérvár: Városi Levéltár és Kutatóintézet, 2016), 12.

[20] Vid. Appendix.

[21] György Györffy "Szalvónia kialakulásának oklevélkritikai vizsgálata" [Diplomatics critique of the development of Slavonia], *Levéltári Közlemények* 41 (1970): 223–40, Gyula Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás*, 84–138.

was the territory between the Drava river and the Adriatic Sea.[22] Accepting this suggestion points us to an interesting parallelism with the Dalmatian coat of arms in structure and colors.

The earliest correct depiction of the Dalmatian coat of arms, three gold leopard heads with crowns in a blue field, appears with these colors in the fifteenth century in the so-called Corvinas. These were codices prepared for the library of the Hungarian King Matthias from the 1460s onwards.[23] Obviously, there are earlier sources; for example it appears on the coins of Sigismund and also on his *sigillum duplex*. The fourth smaller armorial bearing around the royal insignia is the Dalmatian coat of arms with the crowned leopard heads.[24] For a long time scholars took it for granted that the first mention of the Dalmatian insignia in all the surviving sources is to be found in the Gelre Armorial. This collection of coats of arms was compiled in the 1370s in the Holy Roman Empire and describes this particular coat of arms as a red field and silver leopard heads with crowns. This means a sixty-year hiatus between the Lord Marshal's Roll and the Gelre Armorial. But a carved stone panel from Ostrovica from the late fourteenth century is certainly the earliest known representation of the Dalmatian coat of arms.[25] With this material, we approach closer to our English heraldic sources and the approximately sixty-year hiatus decreases to only thirty years. The fact that Slavonia never had any royal armorial bearings in the Middle Ages, and that in the Western European heraldic textual tradition never appears in the Dalmatian coats of arms, make this parallel all the more remarkable.[26] This description may certainly be considered as the earliest evidence for the colors of the Dalmatian coat of arms.

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[22] Attila Zsoldos, "Egész Szlavónia bánja" [The *banus* of all Slavonia], in *Tanulmányok a középkorról* Analecta Mediaevalia 1, ed. Tibor Neumann (Budapest: Argumentum, 2001), 269–81.

[23] Tamás Körmendi, "Dalmácia címere a középkori magyar királyok heraldikai reprezentációjában" [The Dalmatia coat of arms in the medieval Hungarian kings' heraldic representation], in *Archivorum historicumque magistra*, ed. Zsófia Kádár, Bálint Lakatos, Áron Zarnóczky (Budapest: Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete, 2013), 391–408.

[24] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Hungarian National State Archive, Diplomatical Archive]. hereafter DL 8295 (1406), DL 8832 (1418).

[25] Nikša Stančić, and Dubravka Peić Čaldarović, "Prvi sjedinjeni grb Kraljevstava Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije iz 1610. godine" [The first incorporated coat of arms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia from 1610], *Rad Hrvastke akademije znanosti i umjetnosti: Razred za društvene znanosti* 50 (2013): 71–93.

[26] Körmendi, *Dalmácia címere a középkori,* 397.

Based on the variants examined above, the following can be concluded. The lion symbol was clearly the base charge of the Hungarian heraldic tradition in England. The description of the lion's position highlights that the composer of the Herald's Roll and also the scribe of the Camden Roll had never seen the original seal. Otherwise, they would have known that the Hungarian lions' position was the same as that of the lions on the English royal coat of arms. This corroborates my opinion that this imperfect blazon was not borne out of a lack of terminological knowledge. This illustration has a connection with depictions and blazons in the Danish and Norwegian royal armorial bearings. The layout and false colors attributed to the Hungarian kings' coat of arms are based on the Danish and Norwegian ones.[27]

It has been demonstrated that the layout of the shields was depicted correctly and they followed the main heraldic rules. Gold as a heraldic tincture is a common incorrectly used element. The blue heraldic weapons on the lion are also fictive. Another possibility, as seen in the case of the Segar Roll, is that the compiler was aware of the original document but chose to abandon the extant convention. This is similar to what may have happened in the case of the Wijnbergen Roll, where the compiler had more recent and more accurate knowledge about the Hungarian royal coat of arms. Finally, it has been demonstrated that in the Hungarian heraldic tradition the lions were only royal symbols.

Contrary to previous opinions that the Hungarian royal coats of arms were fictive insignias, made up by the compilers of the early English rolls of arms, these points suggest that the blazons were either based on common knowledge about the coat of arms, or that the compilers were aware of the insignia of Hungarian kings.

The coat of arms of Bohemia – A well-known lion?

The Bohemian coat of arms has a unique place among the examined items because of its rarity and appearance. Of the five examined source records, only two contain an almost correct blazon of the Bohemian armor: *in red field a silver lion with crown and forked tails*.[28] This is quite a remarkable situation because, on the one hand, the ruling P*řemysl family was a well-known and old European dynasty* founded

[27] Eszter Tarján, "A Camden- és a Walford-tekercs uralkodói címereinek néhány problémája" [The royal blazons of Walford's and Camden rolls of arms], in *Magister Historiae*, ed. Mónika Belucz et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014), 183–6.
[28] Vid. Appendix.

by Borivoj I (872–889/894) in 872. On the other hand, Bohemia was an imperial state inside the Holy Roman Empire and its ruler was a prince-elector of the empire.[29] The Bohemian lands were not an independent territory when Edward I reigned and the rolls of arms were compiled. However, several Bohemian rulers were well known on account of the evolving political and legatary situation regarding the Babenberg heritage in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Correct descriptions of the Bohemian coat of arms are in both variants of Walford's Roll and the Lord Marshal's Roll, the latter being based on the French Wijnbergen Roll. Both the Lord Marshal's Roll and Wijnbergen Armorial describe it almost identically. The fact that the Segar Roll does not contain the blazon or depiction of the Czech lands' bearings makes the Bohemian case more interesting. I will follow the chronological order in my analysis as I did previously.

When the Walford's Roll was compiled around 1275, Přemysl Ottokar or Ottokar II (1253–1278) had been reigning as the king of Bohemia from 1253 onwards. He was the second son of Wenceslaus I and also the younger brother of Vladislaus. When Vladislaus died in 1247, Ottokar became the margrave of Moravia, duke of Austria, Styria and Carinthia, and ruled these lands until 1278.[30]

In the C version of Walford's Roll, the king of Bohemia's coat of arms is said to bear *in a silver field a black lion with a crown*, and in the Cd variant *in a silver field a black lion with a crown shouldering a cross*. The Cd version contains an extra element, the cross on the lion's shoulder, while an element is missing from the C variant.[31] The correct missing element is the *queue forchée,* the forked tail. The C and Cd variants are early modern copies and the original manuscript or the one which these variants are based on is missing, so incidental transmission errors are difficult to infer. Possible explanations for the variation are the following. The copyist knew that something was missing and added a standard or an often used element – a process that was demonstrated previously. But it is also possible that he had an old, poor quality depiction of the Bohemian coat of arms in which the tail was not clearly visible, so he added – again – a standard basic element. It is also interesting from a philological point of view that "shouldering" was a seldom-used term in the early English heraldic terminology.[32] In addition to these problematic elements, the colors are not correct since Bohemian kings never had

[29] Nóra Berend, Premyslaw Urbanczyk, Premyslaw Wiszewski, eds., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 408.
[30] Berend, Urbanczyk, and Wiszewski, eds., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages,* 411.
[31] Vid. Appendix.
[32] Gerard J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.) 192.

a black lion; they bore a black eagle on their shield. The manuscripts do not mention the position of the charge, that is, whether the lion is *rampant* or *passant*.

Surviving seals and coins confirm that the lion symbol was used as a royal insignia. The middle and small bracteates of Ottokar II, ruler of the Bohemian lands until 1278, feature a lion.[33] This lion is the same as in the earliest depictions and also the same as that which the Wijnbergen Roll describes: a standing crowned lion with forked and crossed tails. Similarly, this lion pattern appears on the copper (groat) of Wenceslaus II (1278–1305), a standing, crowned lion with forked and crossed tails.[34] The great seal of Wenceslaus from 1297 also contains the lion motif.[35] This is especially interesting since the lion is part of a complex seal composition. On each side of the sitting imperial figure with the royal ensigns there are two shields. The one on the right side has an eagle. The one on the left has a lion with the double and forked tails. Importantly, these royal symbols whose shield features in a seal composition indicate that the lion and the eagle were both used as royal insignias.

The case of the Bohemian coat of arms in the Herald's Roll and in the Camden Roll is unusual.[36] In these cases, the first question is not the reason why the Bohemian coat of arms' blazon contains a *barges* (a barge, a galley) element, but which region the name *Bealme* stands for. First and foremost, Bohemia and the Bohemian kings never bore any royal insignia with a barge. For instance, two other early appearances of the Czech lion in a shield are almost contemporary. The first one is in the illuminated Latin manuscript of the Passional of Abbess Kunigunde from 1312/13–1321.[37] On the first page of the document there is a shield: a silver lion with a crown in a red field. The second early depiction of the Bohemian coat of arms is from the Codex Manesse, also known as *Große heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (c.1300–c.1340), in which Wenceslaus II's figure is flanked by two shields. The one on the right has a checky (gules and sable) eagle

[33] Zdeněk Petráň, Luboš Polanský, "Mince posledních Přemyslovců" [The coins of the last Přemysls], in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 216.

[34] Karel Maráz, "Vaclav III," in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 343.

[35] Dana Dvořačková-Malá, "Vaclav II," in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 331.

[36] Vid. Appendix.

[37] Narodní Knihorna Ceské Repulíky, Prague, XIV.A.17. 1v.

in azure, and the one on the other side displays the silver lion with forked tails in a red field with a crown.[38]

Several different theories and interpretations emerged to explain the Bohemian barges during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, this question was raised from as early as the seventeenth century. Bealme was interpreted as Bethlehem by the copyist, Richard Kimbey.[39] It is also a notable connection that he made a copy of the Camden Roll as well.[40] Denholm-Young too shared this interpretation in his *History and Heraldry*.[41]

Another interesting theory is by Felix Hauptmann who draws attention to a very similar item in the chronicle of Matthew Paris.[42] King Haakon VI of Norway (1217–1263) bore a similar coat of arms: *gules, three barges or, in the middle chief a croslett formy argent*.[43] The cross is a new element in the Norwegian coat of arms. Brault suggests that Haakon has the crosslet in his coat of arms to symbolize the fact that he took the cross around 1250.[44] As a possible explanation for the territory named Bealme and its coat of arms with galleys, Hauptmann suggests that the barge symbol is connected to the city arms of Bergen where Haakon IV was crowned.[45] It is important to stress that this shield with barges is not the coat of arms of Norway or the kings of Norway; it was attributed to Hákon Hákonarson by Matthew Paris. However, a connection can be detected to the seal of Haraldr Óláfsson, King of Man and the Isles. He had a seal with a ship in his coat of arms and he was the vassal of Haakon IV.[46]

The Camden Roll's author clearly copied the Herald's Roll's description, except for the color of the *barges*. While it is gold in the Herald's Roll, the Camden Roll describes it as silver *barges*.

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[38] Universitätsbibliotheke Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848. Fol. 10r, accessed April 21, 2107, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0015?sid=03683688192d9895cc00597a92586996.

[39] James Greenstreet, "The Original Camden Roll of Arms," *Journal of the British Archaeological Society* 38 (1882): 311.

[40] Today this copy can be found in the British Library: MS. Harl. 6137, ff. 66b–72b.

[41] Noel Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254 to 1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 46.

[42] Felix Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia Minor des Matthaeus Parisiensis," in *Jahrbuch der K. K. Heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler* 19 (Vienna: Carl Golden's Sohn, 1909), 20–55.

[43] The correct coat of arms of Norway is a gold lion holding a silver axe in a red field.

[44] Brault, *Early Blazon*, 115.

[45] Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia Minor," 51.

[46] *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms. Henry III. The Matthew Paris Shields, c. 1244–59*, ed. Thomas D. Tremlett (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1967) 171.

As mentioned above, the Segar Roll does not contain a description of the coat of arms of Bohemia. This fact is notable because the Segar Roll is not based on any known textual traditions; its scribe did not use any of the known earlier compiled armorial rolls, but his work was based on his own knowledge. It is highly possible that the scribe of this roll worked at the royal chancellery, and hence he had the opportunity to see the presumable Hungarian seal. Therefore, the absence of the Bohemian coat of arms could mean nothing more than that the scribe of the Segar Roll did not have any sources on which his blazon could be based.

The Lord Marshal's Roll together with the Wijnbergen Roll describe a correct coat of arms. However, many coats of arms are missing from the Lord Marshal's Roll. It survived in an early modern copy, and its scribe mistook the blue color for silver. It is based on the French Wijnbergen Armorial; its source value is not as high as that of the others. Even so, for one reason it is still a remarkable document and this value stands out here. The French blazon gives a very detailed shield description. It mentions not only the forked tails but also that they cross each other in a saltier shape. The LM's blazon compared to the French roll's coat of arms is, again, a simplified description.

Through this analysis, we have seen that the Bohemian coat of arms was not part of the standard English royal armorial bearings listed in the early armorial rolls. We have seen that Walford's Roll is problematic. Although it mentions the Bohemian lion, it does so without the lion's particular position. The description also contains incorrect colors. In the case of the Herald's and the Camden Rolls, it cannot be indubitably declared that the word Bealme does not refer to the Bohemian lands, but the presumable Scandinavian connection seems more substantiated and reasonable. In the previous chapter, it was noted that the LM was based on the French armorial roll. The Bohemian case is different. This is the item which apparently looks like a standard element of the English rolls of arms, but it is not. I suggest two possible explanations. First, as noted above, Bohemia was not an independent region, but an imperial state of the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, the Bohemian lands had a different legal status than the Hungarian Kingdom which was a sovereign state. The second possibility is that the Bohemian rulers' political interests were supported more by German, Hungarian and Polish-oriented marital strategies and they organized their dynastic politics accordingly.

Poland – The horse or the saddle?

The coat of arms of Poland is interesting in two aspects. First, because it is mentioned both in the Lord Marshal's Roll and in the Wijnbergen Roll, which is the source of the former armorial roll, but the copy is incorrect. The source value

of the Lord Marshal's Roll's is different due to the many errors, missing elements and the color changes, but this is the single serious philological misinterpretation of the French blazon regarding the East Central European royal coat of arms. The French roll describes the king of *Poulenne's* coat of arms as follows: *a silver horse in red field*. The term used by the compiler of the Wijnbergen Roll to describe the horse pattern is *cheval gai*.[47] This heraldic term's meaning is a *naked horse without any harnesses*. In contrast, the Lord Marshal's Roll describes it as follows: *a gold horse saddler in a red field*. The blazon of the above-described English roll of arms is completely the opposite of the Wijnbergen Roll's description. Also the correct colors of the Polish coat of arms in the Wijnbergen Roll are copied with mistakes. Red and the silver are the proper colors of the Polish royal arms.

This situation is an excellent example of the differences between the English and French heraldic terminology. The French heraldic language is more abundant than the English. However, the English took over French terms. We do not know anything certain about an original classical heraldic language but it existed during the twelfth century.[48] Contemporaneously with the appearance of the rolls of arms both in France and England around the middle of the thirteenth century, the language of the English law became more technical. Even if the language of law originally was French, it developed in its own idiomatic way like the language of heraldry.[49] Nevertheless, this mistake in the Lord Marshal's Roll demonstrates that not all of the French technical words were clear, and their meaning was not always interpreted properly.

The personal and the dynastical insignia of the Piasts was a white eagle that dated back to ancient times.[50] The first appearance of the eagle on a royal display is from 1295 on the seal of Przemysł II (1290–1296).[51] An eagle pattern with open wings with a head and a crown depicted in profile is visible on his seal. This depiction is the most frequently used eagle symbol in heraldry. Also, the Codex Manesse, detailing the appearance of Henry IV Probus (1288–1299), represents eagles on his shield, on the horse-blanket and also on his clothes.[52] Furthermore, on the seal of Ladislaus I of Poland (1261–1333) from 1320, an eagle appears

[47] Vid. Appendix.

[48] Brault, *Early Blazon*, 18.

[49] George E. Woodbine, "The Language of English Law," *Speculum 18 (*1943): 395–436.

[50] László Tapolcai, *Lengyelország történeti és mitikus kezdetei. A tér alakulása* [The early and mythical history of Poland. The conversion of the space] (Budapest: United U-rope, 2010), 41–54. see also: Oswald Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The genealogy of the Piasts] (Krakow: Avalon, 2005)

[51] Franciszek Ksawery Piekosiński: *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich: cz. 1 – Doba piastowska* [Polish seals of Middle Ages part 1. – The Age of Piasts] (Krakow: Księgarni Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1899), pt.1.

[52] Codex Manesse: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848, fol. 11v.

with a detailed depiction.[53] Also the standard eagle symbol appears on the seals of Casimir III the Great (1333–1370).[54]

The horse with or without a harness or saddle does not appear on the seals of the Polish kings, but the eagle frequently does. Without clear evidence, nothing can be safely demonstrable but the comparison with the Norwegian coat of arms in Walford's Roll (C) deserves attention. The situation could be similar because according to the C manuscript, the royal coat of arms of Norway is a gold horse in a red field. The surviving evidences prove that Magnus VI (1263–1280) had a seal with a horse pattern and several other kings also used similar seals, but the coat of arms and the royal insignia was the lion with an axe.[55] As the particular research related to the French royal blazons is not part of the present work, nothing can be determined here. However, the takeover of the French heraldic terminology sometimes caused misinterpretations in the English copies of armorial rolls.

Conclusions and prospects for future research

With the present research I have intended to show that the East Central European royal coats of arms in thirteenth-century English rolls of arms are not strictly fictitious on the basis that they differ from the official armorial bearings borne by the kings of the examined regions. Although only a few armorial rolls are extant either in an original manuscript or in an early modern copy, the source material is still rich in versions of royal coats of arms. The present research is supported by including the most complex French armorial roll as a reference source.

The blazons noted above seem fictitious at first glance because they differ from each other and also from the correct bearings. Sometimes the given examined royal coats of arms are completely different, and sometimes one or more identical elements appear on the various depictions or blazons of the examined coat of arms. According to my hypothesis, these royal coats of arms have some determinable prefiguration even if they seem fictitious. Also, the existence of the armorial bearings refers to the world known in thirteenth-century England.

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[53] Marian Gumowski ed., *Pieczęcie królów i królowych Polski. Tabularium Actorum Antiquorum Varsoviense Maximum, Divisio Prima "InSimul"* [Seals of kings and queens of Poland] (Warsaw: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 2–3.

[54] Ibid., 5–7.

[55] Christian Brinchmann, *Norske konge-sigiller og andre fryste. Sigiller fra middelalderen* [Norwegian royal seals and other seals from the Middle Ages] (Kristiania: Det Mallingske, 1924), 5.

The present research has applied several approaches to identify the correct and fictitious elements, including philological, sphragistical and numismatic research. The analysis of each region's ruling dynasties' surviving seals, coins and other heraldic sources show that these families' and rulers' royal insignia had a distinct status in the English heraldic textual tradition.

The lion became the standard element of the Hungarian royal coat of arms, even if it was used only for two decades on the seals of Emeric and Andrew II in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The versions are various. Originally the Hungarian lions are in walking position, but sometimes the lions are noted as standing *(rampant)* and sometimes as walking *(passant)*. In one roll, the lions are noted as running lions (*courrant*). Based on this description, the compiler of this roll must have seen the seal of Emeric or Andrew. In addition, this leads to the assumption that the text of the roll is not part of any early heraldic textual tradition. Through the analysis of the Hungarian coat of arms, it also developed that the Dalmatian coat of arms came to be known in Western Europe and this is its first appearance.

It turned out that the Bohemian coat of arms – contrary to general assumptions – was not part of the early English heraldic tradition. The explanation could be its different legal status since Bohemia was not an independent kingdom, but part of the Holy Roman Empire. However, Poland did not exist as a sovereign state from the time Boleslaw III divided Poland into three parts in 1138 until 1320 when Wladyslaw I (1320–1333) re-united it as an independent kingdom.

The known world and the flow of information can be detected regarding changes of the relevant royal dynasties' coats of arms. One of the possible approaches is to examine the marital strategies of the given dynasties. Through a brief overview, we are able to answer the question of whether the marital strategies of international diplomatic relations are reflected in the appearance of the East Central European kingdoms' coats of arms. I believe by this kind of research, we are also able to place the known historical data into a new context and a new perspective of information flow can be examined on a heretofore unexplored level – the level of heraldry. The emphasis is on contemporary rulers but in several cases we have to examine former kings as well as queens whose coats of arms appear in the source material because in several cases some of the elements were used previously as royal insignia.

It stands out that the Hungarian royal dynasty was one of the important and well-known ruling families. They had notable links both in Eastern European kingdoms and Western European territories. In both regions they married into the

most eminent families.[56] Furthermore, Bohemian dynastic politics were open to the Holy Roman Empire and to the surrounding kingdoms. During the thirteenth century, the Bohemian kings mostly married German nobles from the most prominent families including the Brandenburgs, Hohenstaufens, Hochenbergs and Habsburgs. If a royal marriage was related to a royal house from outside the Holy Roman Empire, it was mostly a new connection with the Hungarian Kingdom.[57]

However, not only dynastic connections deserve consideration. Although it is the most illustrious level of diplomacy, other interesting examinations could help to answer questions. Obviously, each kingdom and empire had its own

[56] Emeric's mother was Agnes of Antioch, the first wife of Béla III. In the Hungarian tradition Agnes's name was Anna of Châtillon. It is important to note that the second wife of Béla III was Margaret of France, Queen of Hungary. The two marriages of Béla III reflect that he was a considerable monarch in Europe with extensive Western European relations. His son continued his heritage. Emeric's wife was Constance of Aragon (1198–1204) from the Barcelona House, the daughter of Alfonso II of Aragon (1164–1196) and Sancha of Castile (1174–1196). Later she became the Queen of Germany and Sicily (1215–1220) and a Holy Roman Empress (1220–1222). Their son Ladislaus III (1204–1205) succeeded Emeric but he died unexpectedly one year after his coronation. The crown fell to Andrew II, whose first wife was Gertrud of Merania (1205–1213) until her assassination. See Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The family history of the Árpáds] (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz Fer. Pál Könyvnyomda, 1892), 366, Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, *Angol–magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban I–II* [English–Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages I–II] (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2008, 2011), 201–3, Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik* [The Árpáds and their women] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 189, György Szabados, "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné" [Constance of Aragon, the Queen of Hungary] in *Királylányok messzi földről, Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*, ed. Ramon Sarobe, Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 163, László Szende, "Szentföldtől Katalóniáig. II. András külpolitikája és dinasztikus kapcsolatai a korabeli Európában" [From the Holy Land to Catalonia. The foreign politics and the dynastic relations of Andrew II in contemporary Europe], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára, Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013,* ed. Majorossy Judit (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 29–42, Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története,* 416.

[57] When Ottakar I (1197–1230) became king of Bohemia in 1198, he was already married to Adelheid of Meissen (1198–1199). Her parents were Otto II (1156–1190) the Margrave of Meissen and Hedvig of Brandenburg (1140–1203) who descended from the House of Ascania. After Adelheid's short queenship, Ottakar married Constance of Hungary (1199–1230), whose father was King Béla III of Hungary and her mother was Agnes of Antioch (1154–1184). Wenceslaus married Kunigunde of Hochenstaufen (1230–1248). Her father was Philip of Swabia, Prince of the House of Hochenstauf and also elected king of Germany (1198–1208). Kunigunde's mother was Queen Irene Angelina (1193–1208) of Sicily. See Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík and Josef Žemlička, eds., *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu* (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 575.

extensive diplomatic relations with different aspects.[58] One of these aspects was the network of the clerical leaders. The quality and the speed of the flow of information could be examined through these clerical connections. Frequently they were the contacts between kingdoms, and clerical delegates often were present at diplomatic occasions. For instance, an interesting chapter of English-Hungarian diplomatic history is the pilgrimage of the Hungarian prelates in 1220 during the reign of Andrew II.

Certainly, Archbishop John of Esztergom, and Bishop Desiderius of Csanád were present at the translation of the earthly remains of Saint Thomas Becket.[59] Furthermore, presumably Archbishop Robert of Veszprém attended as well. The presence of Desiderius is the result of the most recent research, based on a charter issued by Pope Honorius III in 1220 where he refers Desiderius' pilgrimage at the translation, published by László Solymosi.[60] Thomas Becket also had a lively cult in Hungary, especially in the Bishopric of Csanád. In the diocese of Csanád, the Cistercian monastery of Egres was founded by Béla III for the monks from Pontigny. Therefore, between Egres and the French monastery, relations were quite active.[61] Since Thomas Becket spent two years in the Cistercian Pontigny, the relationship between the two monasteries widened in the late twelfth century. During this period, the cult of the martyr spread in other parts of Hungary. For instance, around 1185 they started to build a provostry dedicated to Thomas Becket in Esztergom. This is not a unique case since during this period we know about sixteen settlements whose names include the term "Saint Thomas" (Szenttamás).[62] Unfortunately, it is not clear if all of the settlements undoubtedly were named after the martyr or the apostle.

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[58] Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni, Political Relations Between Hungary and the Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1989), 107–15, Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, *Angol–magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban I–II* [English–Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages I–II] (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2008, 2011), Sándor Fest, *Skóciai Szent Margittól a walesi bárdokig* [From Saint Margaret of Scotland to the Bards of Wales] (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2000).

[59] László Solymosi, "Magyar főpapok angliai zarándoklata 1220-ban" [The pilgrimage of the Hungarian prelates in England in 1220], *Történeti Szemle* 55 (2013): 527–40.

[60] Solymosi, *Magyar főpapok,* 539. "Cenadiensis episcopi nobis innotuit, quod cum ipse in reditu peregrinationes sue a translatione corporis Beati Thome martyris Cantuariensis per Papiensem transierit civitatem..."

[61] Solymosi, *Magyar főpapok,* 537.

[62] György Győrffy, "Becket Tamás és Magyarország" [Thomas Becket and Hungary], *Filológiai Közlöny* 16 (1970): 157.

The above described relationship is only one of the possible connections, but it demonstrates clearly how many aspects and layers could have a prelatic relation and a pilgrimage. The presence of the Hungarian prelates at the translation of Thomas Becket demonstrates active diplomatic relationship around the early thirteenth century between the Hungarian Kingdom and England. *Nota bene* at this time, the royal seal with lions was used by Andrew II.

Another potential way to extend this research is to examine the royal coats of arms of other regions of Europe: southern territories, including Portugal, Aragon, Navarre, Leon and Sicily, and northern ones, including Denmark, Norway and the Isle of Man, the coats of arms of France and the Holy Roman Empire, and ultimately the Northern African fictitious royal armorial bearings. Also, the contemporary network system can be seen as a complex future research topic, the first step of which is the examination of dynastic relations.

From the present research, it has been demonstrated that the prefiguration of the royal bearings can be determined after careful interdisciplinary examination even if they seem fictitious at first. Also, the correct and incorrect elements of the royal coats of arms and different textual traditions can be distinguished. These new data have implications on the known world of late thirteenth-century England, and the flow of information regarding given regions can be evaluated on a new level and from a new perspective.

APPENDIX

Sources

The Walford's Roll

Copies of the Walford's Rolls – C and Cd variants (c. 1275)

C: Basic manuscript. London, British Museum, MS. Harl. 6589, fols. 12r–12v. 17th century
Cd: Dublin, Trinity College, MS. E. 1–17, fols. 9r–10v. 16th century

In CEMRA Wagner describes the Charles' version[63] (C)[64] and from the other textual tradition, the Leland variant (Cl).[65] Cd is not listed in this work but can be found in *Aspilogia II*. Wagner proposes the date 1275 which was also accepted by London who dealt with the dating problems of the English rolls of arms[66].

The Herald's Roll

Copies of the Herald's Roll (HE) 1279:

HEa: Basic manuscript. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 297. 15th century, painted

Wagner's CEMRA contains the descriptions of all copies. He distinguishes the text variants as follows: Herald's Version (HEb), the Fitzwilliam Version (HEa, HEc, HEd, HEe) – which is the most complex, the critical edition of the HE roll is based on the Fitzwilliam version – Bedford's Version (HEf, HEg, Heh, HEi) and the Everard Green's version (HEi). HEk and HEl are independent copies.[67] Most of the surviving copies and originals are seriously damaged.

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[63] Weston S. Walford, "A Roll of Arms of the Thirteenth Century," *Archeologica* 39 (1864): 373–88.
[64] Anthony Richard Wagner, *Aspilogia I. Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: C. Batey, 1950). 8. Hereafter: CEMRA.
[65] CEMRA, 9, Anthony Richard Wagner, *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms Henry III*, Harleian Society 114 (Oxford: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1957)
[66] Stanford H. London, "Some Medieval Treaties on English Heraldry," *Antiquaries Journal* 33 (1953): 169–83.
[67] CEMRA, 9–14.

The Camden Roll

Copies of the Camden Roll (D) c. 1280:

Da: Basic manuscript. London, British library Cotton Roll XV. 8. 13th century, painted

All manuscripts are described in Wagner's CEMRA.[68] Wagner's and Brault's research suggest that the Camden Roll is very likely based on the HEa Roll. The copyist of the Camden Roll added 49 new items, and these are placed at the end of the volume.[69]

The roll can probably be dated to 1280 because Patric de Chawurth (149. record in the source) succeeded his brother in 1279 and Barth[olomew] de Sulee (No. 160.) died in 1280. [70]

The Segar Roll

Copies of the Segar Roll (G), c. 1285:

Ga: Basic manuscript. London, College of Arms MS. L. 14, part 1, fols. 26r–31v. 16th century, painted.

All the copies are described by Wagner in CEMRA.[71] As Brault points out, the surviving manuscripts are closely related, there are a number of small differences and they also have some mistakes in common.[72]

Wagner proposed that the date of the roll is 1282, because Thomas de Berkely succeeded his brother in 1281 (G 175) and both Giles de Argentine (G 141) and William de Audley (G 131) died in 1282.[73] However, the fact that William de Ros bore a blue label until his father's death in 1285, and the presence of Mortimer (G 153) who was knighted in 1285, both prove that the roll comes from 1285.[74]

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[68] CEMRA, 16–18.
[69] Gerald J. Brault, ed., *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms of Edward I. (1272–1307),* vol. 1 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997). 172. Hereafter: RoA.
[70] CEMRA, 17.
[71] CEMRA, 18–19.
[72] RoA, 307.
[73] CEMRA, 24.
[74] RoA, 308.

The Lord Marshal's Roll

Copy of the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM) c. 1295/1310.:

LMa: London, Society of Antiquaries MS. 664, vol. 1, fols. 19v–25r. 17th century, painted

A single version is described by Wagner in CEMRA.[75] The manuscript has many mistakes and missing blazons, and the compiler of the original version or the early modern copyist often mistook the blue color for silver. [76]

Wagner first suggests that roll is from the reign of Edward I.[77] However, he later states that the correct date is 1310, three years after Edward's death.[78] Humphery-Smith also accepts the latter dating.[79] But because the Lord Marshal's Roll has many individuals in common with the Collin's Roll (Q)[80], it is reasonable to conclude that it was compiled close in time. In addition, several people died in the year 1295 and they are not listed in Q, which suggests that the date of the roll is in fact 1295 rather than 1307 or 1310.

The Wijnbergen Roll

The Wijnbergen Roll or the Armorial Wijnbergen is a medieval French roll of arms. It has two separate parts; in the first part the vassals of Louis IX of France (1226–1270) are collected. This section was compiled around 1265 and contains 256 records. The second part is the collection of the vassals of Philip III of France (1270–1285), it was compiled around 1280 and contains 1056 records. The Wijnbergen Roll was published by Paul Adam-Evan between 1951–52.[81]

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[75] CEMRA, 38.

[76] RoA*,* 323.

[77] CEMRA, 38.

[78] CEMRA, 260, 264.

[79] Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, *Anglo-Norman Armory*, vol. 2 *An Ordinary of Thirteenth-Century Armorials* (Canterbury: Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies, 1984).

[80] RoA*,* 324.

[81] Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier, "Un armorial français du milieu du XIIIe siècle: L'armorial Wijnbergen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* (1951): 49–62, 101–110, (1952): 28–36, 103–111.

The Variants of the Royal Coats of Arms[82]

The Hungarian Royal Coats of Arms					
Walford's Roll C version	12. Hungary	Le Roy de Hungrey	d'or estenzelé a trois leon passans d'azure	gold, three blue lions in "passant" position	
Walford's Roll Cd version	11. Hungary	Le Roy de Hungrie	de or estenzelé de gules a treys lions passanz coronés	gold, three red lions in position "passant"	
Herald's Roll	14. Hungary	Le Roy de Hungrie	gules, a lion rampant or, collared azure	red, a lion in position "rampant" armed with blue	
Camden Roll	94. Hungary	Rey de Hungrie	gules a lion rampant or	red, a lion in position "rampant"	
Segar Roll	22. Hungary	Rey de Hungrie	azure, three greyhounds courant argent	blue, three silver greyhounds in position "running"	
Wijnbergen Roll	1267. Hungary	le Roy de Hongrie	Fasce d'argent et de sable á l'escarbouncle fleuronnée d'or brochant	barry silver and black with a gold carbunkle	
	1305. Hungary	le Roi de Hōgrie	Fascé (8) d'argent et de gueules	barry silver and red	

[82] The fifth column is the translation of the blazons using the modern terminology. I kept the admitted vocabulary of the attitudes (positions) of the charges. The colors and other details are translated.

The Bohemian Royal Coats of Arms					
Walford's Roll C version	10. Bohemia	Le Roy de Boeme	d'argent un lion sable coronné	silver, a black lion with crown	
Walford's Roll Cd version	10. Bohemia	Le Roy de Bowheme	d'argent ung lion sable corone or a une cross or sur l'esspaule	silver, a black lion with crown and a gold cross on the shoulder	
Herald's Roll	18. Bohemia	Le Roy de Bealme	azure three barges or	blue, three gold bagres	
Camden Roll	12. Bohemia	Rey de Bealme	azure, three barges argent	blue, three silver barges	
Lord Marshal's Roll	19. Bohemia	Le Rey de Behaigne	gules, a lion rampant with a forked tail crossed in saltier argent	red, a silver lion in position "rampant" with a forked tail crossed in saltier	
Wijnbergen Roll	1266. Bohemia	le Roy de Boeme	De gueules au lion d'argent á la queue fourcheé, passeé en sautoir et nouée, couronné d'or	red, a silver lion in position "rampant" with a forked tail crossed in saltire and a gold crown	

Versions of the Slavonian Royal Coats of Arms					
Lord Marshal's Roll	3. Slavonia	Le Roy de Esclevoni	azure, three human heads argent crowned or	blue, three silver human heads with gold crown	
Wijnbergen Roll	1270. Slavonia	le Roi dezclauonie	D'azur semé de croisettes d'or á 3 tétes de reines au naturel couronnées brochant	blue, three queen heads natural depiction with gold crown	

Versions of the Polish Royal Coats of Arms					
Lord Marshal's Roll	16. Poland	Le Rey de Poulan	gules, a horse saddler or	red, a gold horse saddler	
Wijnbergen Roll	1296. Poland	le Roy de Poulenne	De gueules au cheval gai (poulain) d'argent	re,d a silver horse (foal)	

Versions of Other Central and Eastern European Royal Coats of Arms					
Lord Marshal's Roll	15. Bulgaria	Le Rey de Bulgaria	sable, a lion rampant quardent argent crown or	black, a silver lion in position "rampant" with gold crown	
Lord Marshal's Roll	26. Serbia	Le Rey de Servie	gules, a cross argent	red, a silver cross	

CLOSING THE STEPPE HIGHWAY: A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE TRAVELS OF FRIAR JULIAN OF HUNGARY

Aron Rimanyi

The Mongol invasion of Central Europe has received some scholarly attention of late.[1] Lurking around the corners of this topic, and confined largely to footnotes of the literature, is a figure for whom scholarly interest should match his narrative appeal. This man is Friar Julian, a Dominican active in Hungary in the first half of the thirteenth century. In the 1230s, the Order of Preachers made a number of expeditions under the auspices of the Hungarian kings Andrew II and Béla IV to locate *Magna Hungaria*, the reputed ancestral homeland of the Magyar tribes. The majority opinion states that two of these journeys involved Friar Julian, who made contact with Eastern Magyars and brought back advance warning of the impending Mongol threat to Central Europe. The number of journeys and the facts surrounding Julian's travels were repeatedly contested by Denis Sinor over the span of five decades. This paper constitutes a comprehensive attempt to refute Sinor's argument by conclusively establishing the veracity of four Dominican journeys, two involving Friar Julian.

Overview of primary sources

Unfortunately, sources on Friar Julian are sparse, and we only have two primary sources attesting directly to his travels. The first is a report by a certain Friar Richardus to the Holy See, titled *De facto Ungarie Magne*.[2] The report begins with a vague description of the initial journey by a Friar Otto,[3] who meets Eastern

[1] The debate in *Scientific Reports (Nature)* between Büntgen & Di Cosmo, "Climatic and environmental aspects of the Mongol withdrawal from Hungary in 1242 CE," *Scientific Reports* 6: 25606 (2016), and Pinke et. al., "Climate of doubt: A re-evaluation of Büntgen and Di Cosmo's environmental hypothesis for the Mongol withdrawal from Hungary, 1242 CE," *Scientific Reports* 7: 12965 (2017), illustrates the immediacy of this topic.

[2] The earliest text of the report is found in an edition of the famous *Liber Censuum* in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (manuscript Ricc. 228). László Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum* (Budapest: 1943), 66, dates the addition of the Richardus report to this codex to sometime between 1254 and 1279. The text of the codex, along with the Richardus report included therein, was copied many times over several centuries.

[3] Richardus's report says this expedition lasted three years. László Bendefy, *Az ismeretlen Juliánusz*, 26, dates it somewhere between 1229 and 1234. Heinrich Dörrie, *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 1, phil.-hist. Klasse,

Magyars but does not reach their homeland. We shall refer to this as Journey I. Incredibly, Otto returns to Hungary just days before his death to inform his fellow friars of the discovery. The rest of the report outlines in detail the journey of Friar Julian, who sets out with three companions across the Balkans to Constantinople and from there across the Black Sea to Tmutarakan, where the party is informed that their kinsmen live farther north. After two friars turn back and another one dies, Friar Julian reportedly reaches Magna Hungaria alone, where he is celebrated by the locals and is able to communicate with them in his native Hungarian. The Magyars convey to him the threat of an impending Mongol invasion of Europe, which Julian successfully carries back. He returns to Hungary via a land route through Russia and Poland of which the Eastern Magyars informed him. I refer to this as Journey II.[4]

The second source, Julian's own letter to a papal legate entitled *Epistola de vita Tartarorum*,[5] records two subsequent missions. The first involves four Dominican friars attempting to reach Magna Hungaria but being stopped at Suzdal and Ryazan.[6] This I call Journey III. The majority of the letter deals with Julian's own second expedition (Journey IV),[7] during which he arrives in Suzdal and learns of the destruction of Magna Hungaria at the hands of the Mongols. The text includes a transcript of an ultimatum sent by Batu Khan to Béla IV, instructing him to submit to Mongol rule and expel the Cumans who had taken shelter in Hungary. Julian also recounts many details of the Mongols' lifestyle and warfare, along with a historical account of Genghis Khan's rise to power. Both primary sources deserve renewed modern attention and will be of further interest to us.

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6 (1956), 137–39, is more precise in arguing 1231–33. Mary Dienes states 1232–1235. See Mary Dienes, "Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Isis* 27, no. 2 (Aug. 1937): 227.

[4] Dörrie, 137–39, dates this trip to 1234–35. Bendefy, *Az ismeretlen Juliánusz*, 65–72, gives a more detailed argument for 1235–36. Dienes, 227, agrees with a start date of 1235.

[5] There exist three manuscripts of this letter. The earliest surviving copy was transcribed in Ottobeuren and published by J. Hormayr subsequently. Dörrie and Bendefy both considered the original lost and therefore worked with Hormayr's text, but the rediscovery of the original in Innsbruck was reported by Sinor. See Denis Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien écrit en 1238 sur le péril mongol," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 146, no. 2 (2002): 1153. It was also reported by Lerner. See Robert E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 11. The two other manuscripts, noted Pal. Lat. 443 and Vat. Lat. 4161, are in the Vatican library. The mentioned title only appears in Vat. Lat. 4161.

[6] Dated to 1236 by Dörrie, 137–9, and more convincingly to 1237 by Bendefy, *Az ismeretlen Juliánusz*, 64.

[7] Dated to 1237–38 by all sources, through a method I discuss below.

In 1952, Denis Sinor made a strong attempt to contest this chronology, arguing that the Dominicans undertook two journeys and Julian was involved in only one.[8] Sinor acknowledged that "over the years, I have become accustomed to the fact that this view has not gained acceptance – though I have not come across serious (or, indeed, any) arguments against it."[9] Sinor's ideas put to question very basic elements of the Julian narrative; we therefore cannot leave them unaddressed if any substantive work is to be advanced in the field.[10] What follows is my attempt to provide the conclusive refutation to Sinor's work that has been so lacking by his own admission.

Otto's voyage and the Suzdal mission

Sinor's 1952 paper makes several assertions which I will address here in turn. The first argument, chronologically, is that the "preceding" missions mentioned in both Richardus's and Julian's reports (Journeys I and III in the chronology above) refer to the same party:

> "En ce qui concerne le premier voyage, il a toujours été admis que Richard et Julien parlaient de la même mission. En effet, il n'y a pas de désaccord entre Richard et Julien. Les voyageurs ont rencontré des Hongrois, mais n'ont pas atteint Magna Hungaria. Richard mentionne le nom de l'un d'eux : Otto, et passe sous silence les trois autres."[11]

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[8] Denis Sinor, "Un voyageur du treizième siècle," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952): 589–602.

[9] Denis Sinor, "History of the Mongols," *Journal of Asian History* 23, no. 1 (1989): 63.

[10] It is impossible to render a full account of all mentions of Julian surfacing after Sinor's 1952 publication. It is, however, correct to say they do not address the heart of Sinor's argument. Dörrie, in *Drei Texte*, published the Latin texts of both primary sources along with German commentary. His compilation has become the standard reference on Julian. He argues for four total journeys but does not directly address Sinor. Gregory G. Guzman, "European clerical envoys to the Mongols," *Journal of Medieval History* 22, no. 1 (1996): 53–67, mentions four trips but cites Sinor's dissenting opinion. Borbála Obrusanszky, "Megtalálta-e a magyarokat Julianus barát?," *Magyar Nemzet* (23 March 2002), also mentions Sinor but insists on two trips made by Julian, stressing the difference in goals between the two. Lerner, in *The Powers of Prophecy*, 9–24, simply adopts Dörrie's position. Gabriel Ronay's questionable book describes two trips by Julian and directly cites the primary sources but does not engage with the secondary literature. See Gabriel Ronay, *The Tartar Khan's Englishman* (London: Cassell, 1978), 155–61. Lajos Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtti* és *az Árpád korban* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), 395, accepts Sinor's position.

[11] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 598.

Empirically, the statement that this has "always been admitted" is false. Most previous secondary works speak of four voyages, not three.[12] At the same time, there are very clear reasons to doubt that the texts refer to the same expedition. Richardus speaks in vague terms of Otto's voyage:

> "Fratres igitur predicatores, his in gestis Ungarorum inventis, compassi Ungaris, a quibus se descendisse noverunt, quod adhuc in errore infidelitas manerent, miserunt IIII-or de fratribus ad illos querendum, ubicumque eos possent iuvante domino invenire. Sciebant per scripta antiquorum, quod ad orientem essent ; ubi essent, penitus ignorabant. Predicti vero fratres, qui missi fuerant, multis se exponentes laboribus, per mare, per terras eos usque post annum tertium quesiverunt, nec tamen propter multa viarum pericula poterant invenire ; uno ipsorum excepto sacerdote, nomine Otto, qui tantum sub mercatoris nomine processit, qui in quodam regno paganorum quosdam de lingua illa invenit, per quos certos efficiebatur, ad quas partes manerent ; set illorum provinciam non intravit, ymmo in Ungariam est reversus pro fratribus pluribus assumendis, qui cum ipso redeuntes fidem illis catholicam predicarent. Set multis fractis laboribus post octavum reditus sui diem, cum omnem viam illos querendi exposuisset, migravit ad Christum."[13]

We read that Otto's party followed both land and sea routes. Otto died several days after returning but not before explaining his route to facilitate subsequent missions. Since Richardus presents Julian's voyage as a clear follow-up to Otto, we may assume that the path Julian followed was the one Otto outlined upon his return. The Constantinople – Black Sea – North Caucasus path, the first element of Julian's own itinerary, therefore seems the likely candidate for Otto's previous journey.[14] Here we may draw an interesting parallel. At the end

[12] The topic of Julian was addressed multiple times before Sinor's 1952 paper. The most comprehensive treatment is by Bendefy, *Az ismeretlen Juliánusz*. See his bibliography, 174–78, for a full list of early twentieth-century works on the topic. Some influential Hungarian authors of the time, including Ármin Vámbéry and Gyula Mészáros, argued that both of Julian's journeys were fictional – a view that has since been abandoned. Bendefy, in *Magna Hungaria* és *a Liber Censuum*, and "Fontes authentici itinera fr. Iuliani (1235–38) illustrantes," *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 3 (1937): 1–52, also presents and annotates the various Latin primary sources, though his Hungarian translations are heavily critiqued by Sinor in "Un voyageur," 591. The authoritative English text in this period was Dienes, "Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Isis* 27, no. 2 (Aug. 1937): 225–41.

[13] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum*, 210.

[14] Bendefy, *Az ismeretlen Juliánusz*, 29.

of his journey, "in a pagan country," Otto encountered Hungarian speakers who informed him of their homeland's location. Julian's subsequent party departed from Matrica (Tamarkha, Tmutarakan) "with the counsel and help" of that city's queen. A logical conclusion is that the inhabitants of the region north of the Caucasus had knowledge or contact with the Magyars of Magna Hungaria. This region therefore seems the logical endpoint of Otto's journey.

The expedition described by Julian as preceding his own second voyage seems quite distinct from Otto's journey. Here is what we read from Julian:

> "Iterum dum ego remansi in curia Romana, precesserunt me ad magnam Ungariam IIII-or fratres mei, qui per transients per terram sudal, in finibus regni eius occurrerunt quibusdam ungaris paganis fugientibus a facie thartarorum, qui libenter fidem catholicam recepissent. Et dum versus ungariam christianam venissent, audiens dux predictus de sudal indignatus, fratribus predictis revocatis, inhibuit ne legem Romanam predicarent Ungaris memoratis, et propter hoc expluit fratres predictos de terra sua ; tamen absque molestia, qui nolentes redire, et viam factam facile dimittere, declinaverunt ad civitatem Recessue, si viam haberentut in magnam Ungariam, vel ad Morducanos, vel ad ipsos thartaros pertransirent."[15]

In contrast to Richardus's vague account regarding Otto, Julian here gives precise details about four friars arriving in Suzdal, drawing the attention of the local ruler, and attempting missionary work among the fleeing Magyars and later among the Mordvins. This mission hardly seems like a purely exploratory expedition to verify the existence of the Eastern Magyars. In fact, upon encountering Magyars, the friars are hesitant to return and report this information – instead they seek to drive onward toward the Mordvins or even the Tartars.

The first difference from Otto's expedition is the question of route – the friars end up in Suzdal and there is no mention of a sea route along the way. Moreover, the Dominicans involved in this Suzdal expedition already appear to possess general information about the politics and peoples of the regions they visit. They do not fear defying the ruler of Suzdal and are aware of the general whereabouts of Recessue (perhaps Ryazan), the Mordvin lands, and the Tartars. They seem keen to achieve greater results than merely reporting the existence of Magyar tribes. All the circumstantial evidence points to this being a follow-up expedition, using routes and geographic information provided by an earlier

[15] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum*, 273–74.

mission which had already located the Eastern Magyars and identified the Tartar threat. It therefore seems prudent to reject the hypothesis that this Suzdal mission was the same as the first Hungarian journey to the east involving Friar Otto.

Julian's journeys

Chronologically the second, and thematically the more important, part of Sinor's opinion is that Julian himself made only one journey. More specifically, Sinor in 1952 writes that the two primary documents, authored by Richardus and Julian, describe the same expedition – "celui qui d'habitude est considéré le 'second', dans lequel il n'a pas réussi à atteindre Magna Hungaria."[16] In Sinor's view, what is designated Journey II in our scheme above would simply be eliminated, as Richardus's letter would also describe Journey IV.

The strongest piece of evidence marshalled by Sinor for this argument is a question of dates. As I will examine later, Julian's first voyage is thought to have started shortly before October 1235 (the coronation of Béla IV as King of Hungary). A part of his second voyage can be precisely dated. Bulgar, the capital of the Volga Bulgars, fell to the Mongols in autumn 1237, while Suzdal fell in spring 1238. Julian recounts how the defeat of the Magyars and Bulgars has already occurred: "Ungari pagani et Bulgari et regna plurima a Tartaris sunt destructa."[17] He stays in Suzdal while it is still intact but mentions its impending siege: of the Mongol army, "una pars ad fluvium Ethil in finibus Ruscie a plaga orientali ad Sudal applicuit."[18] His sojourn must therefore fall between these two dates. However, Julian also mentions that the war between the Tartars and Magyars lasted fourteen years, and the Magyars were defeated in the fifteenth year. Sinor argues that if this is true, and the defeat is dated to 1237, Julian could not have travelled in a peaceful Magna Hungaria in 1235–36 during his "first" voyage.[19] He suggests only two possible explanations: either the fifteen years is an exaggeration and the Magyars were only at war with the Mongols for a much shorter timespan between 1236 and 1237, or the first voyage is fictional. He opts for the latter.

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[16] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 596.

[17] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum,* 267. This rendition comes from the manuscript copied by Hormayr. Bendefy provides the versions of this sentence from the two other manuscripts as well.

[18] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum,* 270.

[19] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 596. Czeglédy also mentions this contradiction. See Károly Czeglédy, "Keleten maradt magyar töredékek," in *A magyarság őstörténete,* ed. Lajos Ligeti (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1943), 161.

There exists, however, a third explanation, which seems to me more likely than both others. The first appearance of the Mongols on the Russian steppe was in 1223, when Jebe and Subotai led an army across the Caucasus and defeated a combined army of Cuman-Kipchak tribes and Rus principalities at the battle of the Kalka River. This northern foray was not yet the great strategic invasion of Eastern Europe, and the Mongols failed to substantially follow up on their victory. However, in his *Chronicle*, Arab scholar Ibn Al-Athir records that the Mongols turned northeast after the Kalka River and that same year engaged in skirmishes with the Volga Bulgars, from which the latter emerged victorious.[20] If we assume that due to geographic proximity these skirmishes also involved the inhabitants of Magna Hungaria, then the Magyar-Mongol hostilities could have commenced as early as 1223.[21] By the defeat in 1237, the two peoples would have been in military contact for fourteen years, giving almost precisely the chronology Julian records.

This perspective seems to be supported by Julian's own letter as well. Julian records that following the Mongols' Persian campaign, they turned north and defeated the Cumans, and pushed on to attack Magna Hungaria immediately after this victory. He writes:

> "Regnum Persie sibi totaliter subiugavit. Ex hiis audacior effectus, et fortiorem se reputans omnibus super terram, cepit facere contra regna, totum mundum sibi subiugare proponens. Unde primum ad terram Cumanorum accedens, ipsos Cumanos superavit, terram sibi subiugans eorumdem. Inde reversi ad magnam Ungariam, a quibus ostri Ungari originem habuerunt, expugnaverunt eos XIIII. annis, et in XV^{o} optinuerunt eos, sicut nobis ipsi pagani Ungari retulerunt viva voce."[22]

Richardus's report also lends support to this hypothesis. Richardus does not mention a number of years, but says that the Magyars and Mongols had made military contact *before* Julian arrived (on his first voyage):

> "Gens tartarorum vicina est illis, set hiidem tartari committentes cum eis, non poterant eos in bello devincere, ymo in primo prelio devicti sunt per eos. Unde ipsos sibi amicos et socios elegerunt, ita quod simul iuncti quindecim regan vastaverunt omnino."[23]

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[20] Al-Athir, "Account of the Tatars' return from the lands of the Rus and the Qipjaq to their ruler" in D.S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir, part 3* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008).

[21] This possibility was mentioned by Tamás Katona et. al., *A tatárjárás emlékezete* (Budapest: Európa, 1981), 98.

[22] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum,* 270.

[23] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum,* 214.

This initial victory of the Magyars mirrors Ibn Al-Athir's report of the Volga Bulgars' triumph, further indicating that these two texts describe the same skirmishes in 1223. Richardus also reports Julian's encounter with a Mongol envoy ("nuntium ducis Tartarorum") in Magna Hungaria who has intimate knowledge of the khan's war plans to invade "Germany" (Alemania). The stationing of such a military envoy among the Magyars would further indicate pre-established military contact, and Julian may have arrived during a time of truce.[24]

A final piece of evidence has to do with the language of the two primary documents. Julian's first voyage (Journey II) is dated by the fact that it had to leave before the coronation of Béla IV in October 1235. Richardus describes how the friars started out: "per Bulgariam Assani et per Romaniam cum ducatu et expensis *domini Bele nunc regis Ungarie* usque Constantinopolim prevenerunt." The word *nunc* has generally been understood to mean "now," i.e. at the time of writing but not at the time of the events being described. If Julian's first voyage left before autumn 1235, and the friar stayed in Suzdal after autumn 1237 (the fall of Volga Bulgaria, as mentioned earlier), even Sinor admits "il est hors de question que son 'premier' voyage ait pu se prolonger à tel point."[25] Sinor, however, contests the linguistic interpretation, pointing out that *nunc* can also mean "then," i.e. "at the time" (*à l'époque*).[26] Under this definition, Julian may have departed *after* Béla's coronation, opening the chronological possibility for just one trip by Julian.

While both interpretations of the word seem possible, the context would suggest the former. If we accept Sinor's position and take "domini Bele nunc regis Ungarie" to mean "lord Béla, king of Hungary *at the time*," we may ask why Richardus uses the word at all. The plausible explanation is that Richardus is writing when Béla is *no longer* king, and therefore wants to highlight that Béla was still king at the time of the events being described. However, Béla's reign ended with his death in 1270, and studies of the Richardus document have never suggested such a late date of authorship.[27] If, however, both the events being described and their authorship occurred during the reign of Béla, there is no need

[24] Otto Wolff, in *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Breslau, 1872), 334, argues that the defeat of the Volga Magyars occurred even earlier. Bendefy, in *Magna Hungaria* és *a Liber Censuum*, 249, argues that splinters of Magyars in the Caucasus may have participated in the Kalka River battle. Both theories are outdated and unlikely.

[25] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 595.

[26] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 597.

[27] See for example: Ildikó Puskás, "Indian Studies and the Ramayana in Hungary," in Gilbert Pollet ed., *Indian Epic Values* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 138, and Bendefy, "Fontes authentici," 21–34. See also note 2.

for *nunc* at all, and I do not see why Richardus would not have simply written "*Bele Regis Hungarie*."[28] The simplest explanation seems to be the conventional one: *nunc* means "now," and Richardus is writing during Béla's reign but describing a journey that was initiated before the coronation.

Two other pieces of textual evidence support the notion of two journeys by Julian. The first is that when Julian speaks of the friars who arrived in Suzdal before him, he mentions that this expedition left while he returned to the Roman Curia – "iterum dum ego remansi in curia Romana." Bendefy speculated that Julian was dispatched to Rome to report to the Pope of his first journey,[29] although there may be multiple reasons why a Dominican friar would be summoned to the Curia. The second, and more important piece of evidence is found at the beginning of Julian's letter, in which he writes, "cum secundum iniunctam mihi Obedientiam ire deberem ad magnam Ungariam cum fratribus mihi adiunctis." Sinor contests Bendefy's translation of *secundum* as "second,"[30] presumably preferring a translation of "following," but the overall clumsy language of the letter leaves this ambiguous.

Julian's itinerary

There are also geographic reasons to doubt that the two sources refer to the same voyage. Richardus makes clear that Julian travelled across the Balkans to Constantinople, then across the Black Sea to Matrica. From here he turned northeast and, along some route that crossed a Volga Bulgar town, located the Magyars "by the river Ethil" (Volga).[31] Unfortunately, Julian does not give so much information in his own report, simply stating "ad ultimus fines Brussie devenissemus." Later, he writes:

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[28] This is in fact the standard reference to kings of Hungary named Béla. See for example *Magyar Történelmi Tár,* vol. 4 (Budapest: 1857), 41, "Liptói Regestrum," and vol. 2, New Series (Budapest: 1902), 200, "Super possessione Zaturcha."

[29] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum*, 183.

[30] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 595.

[31] The route of Julian's first voyage is first explored in Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország története* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1911), 47. Bendefy, *Az ismeretlen Juliánusz,* 43–64, makes a more comprehensive attempt to reconstruct the itinerary. Both sources conclude that Julian turned northeast after Tmutarakan and crossed the Volga somewhere near its Caspian mouth, thus approaching Magna Hungaria from the south. This perspective was adopted by Dienes, 229–233. Bendefy, however, revises his position in *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum*, 224–52, arguing instead that Julian went north from Tmutarakan, kept west of the Volga, and only crossed the river in Volga Bulgaria.

> "Nunc autem cum nos in finibus Ruscie maneremus, prope reis scimus veritatem, quod totus exercitus thartarorum veniens ad partes ad partes occidentis, in IIII^{or} partes est divisus. Una pars ad fluvium ethil in finibus Ruscie a plaga orientali ad sudal applicuit."[32]

Clearly, the Volga is presented as the "final limit" of Russia, and Julian sojourns near there – likely referring to his stay is Suzdal – without crossing the river, whose eastern shore is already overrun. The Bulgar and Magyar settlements on the Volga are previously mentioned as already being under Mongol rule. Thus, whereas Richardus records a peaceful stay in Volga Bulgaria and a likely crossing across the Volga to a still intact Magna Hungaria, Julian's letter gives no indication of going further than Suzdal. Sinor's assertion, "la limite extrême de l'avance de Julien s'accorde dans les deux sources,"[33] is therefore not entirely true.

The route taken by Julian on the two journeys also does not match. If he in fact took the Black Sea – Matrica – Volga route, then he would have encountered Turkic and Caucasian peoples, as Richardus describes. Not having traversed any Prussian or Russian principalities, it is unlikely that he would describe his journey as arriving "ad ultimus fines Brussie." This phrase therefore suggests that Julian in Journey IV was taking an overland route, though what the manuscripts mean by "Brussie" is unclear.[34] Interestingly, if we take Richardus's report at face value, we read that the Eastern Magyars informed Julian precisely of a similar overland route: "cum igitur vellet reverti docuerunt eum hiidem Ungari viam aliam per quam possetcitius pervenire." Richardus mentions Russia on the way *back*, when Julian followed this overland route of which he had been advised: "per Ruciam et per Poloniam eques venit." We cannot rule out the possibility that Julian traced his earlier return route in reverse on his second trip eastward.

The overland route is even more probable for the preceding friars of Journey III as described in Julian's letter: "qui pertransientes per terram Sudal, in finibus

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[32] Bendefy, *Magna Hungaria és a Liber Censuum*, 270.

[33] Sinor, "Un voyageur" 598.

[34] Hormayr's text has "Bruscie," Vat. Lat. 4161 has "Prucye." Dörrie, 174, and Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien," 1160, both interpret this to mean Russia. But Russia is explicitly mentioned in the manuscripts under the names "Ruscie," "totam Ruziam/Rusciam," and there are also mentions of Ruthenians (Ruthenorum). The addition of a letter P or B at the beginning of the word therefore indicates a different region: Prussia. Bendefy, in *Magna Hungaria* és *a Liber Censuum*, 305, argues that this implies Julian's second trip followed a more northerly route than his initial return across Russia. This may assume too much attention on the part of the authors. It is possible the two land-based return routes were largely the same and the lands they crossed are treated with something less than modern geographic precision.

regni…." A journey northeast from Matrica to the Volga would not have involved traversing Suzdal, indicating that these friars instead travelled overland from the west. If this is the case, there is no reason why the successfully charted Journey III would be followed by a Journey IV under Julian taking a *different* route. The two itineraries of Julian's travels – that described by Richardus and that extrapolated from Julian's letter – are thus largely irreconcilable. They must therefore describe two distinct voyages made by Julian – Journeys II and IV, respectively, in the chronology above. We can therefore safely reject Sinor's hypothesis.

Sinor's revisions

By 2002, Sinor seems to have changed his opinion somewhat. His *communication* that year before the French *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* unequivocally states that there were four voyages.[35] Sinor even lists the four journeys as outlined above and explains how the first two and the last two followed different historiographical recollections about the location of the Magyar homeland. But this *communication* also cites his 1952 work and makes no effort to reconcile the differences between the two or to explain why he changed his mind about the total number of parties. That Otto's trip and that of the four friars arriving in Suzdal before Julian (Journeys I and III according to the scheme established in this essay) constitute distinct expeditions is now simply assumed. This stands in stark contrast to his 1952 assertion, "il a toujours été admis que Richard et Julien parlaient de la même mission."[36] The conclusion Sinor draws concerning Journeys II and IV is even more confusing. As before, he insists that that Richardus's report is a "fabrication savante romancisée"[37] and that the friars it describes never reached Magna Hungaria. However, now Sinor accepts that Richardus referred to a real, earlier party, but asserts that Julian was not a member!

> "Ce groupe comprenait un certain Gerardus qui mourut en route et, *de l'avis de Ricardus (mais non du mien),* Julien, qui atteignit Magna Hungaria près du fleuve Ethyl, c'est-à-dire la Volga. Si nous devons en croire Ricardus, ce qui n'est pas le cas, les Hongrois de Magna Hungaria montrèrent à Julien un meilleur chemin pour retourner en Hongrie."[38]

[35] Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien écrit en 1238 sur le péril mongol," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 146, no. 2 (2002): 1153–68.
[36] Sinor, "Un voyageur," 598.
[37] Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien," 1161.
[38] Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien," 1159.

The approach here is surprising: Sinor provides no justification for which aspects of Richardus he chooses to accept and which to reject. It seems particularly unreasonable that Sinor accepts Richardus's brief mention that one of the party was called Gerardus, but not the participation of Julian, who is mentioned one sentence later.[39]

A final rebuttal of one of Sinor's arguments seems in order. In 2002, Sinor expressed hesitation as to whether or not Magna Hungaria even existed as a political entity. As he rejects the idea that Julian actually made the journey described in Richardus's report, Sinor states that we have no reliable account of Western Hungarians ever actually entering such a country. More broadly, his opinion is the following:

> "En somme, il apparait qu'aucune des expeditions dominicaines n'atteignit Magna Hungaria, bien qu'on puisse sans risque tenir pour acquise l'existence de groupes séparés de Hongrois dans la région de la Volga. Il n'y a aucune raison de mettre en doute l'affirmation précitée de Julien, selon laquelle les moines qui le précédaient rencontrèrent à Suzdal des Hongrois fuyant les Tartares. Julien rapporte que lui-même et ses compagnons entendirent de la bouche même des Hongrois païens le récit de la destruction de leur terre. Je serais même prêt à croire qu'Otto, de la première expédition, rencontra effectivement des hongarophones quelque part en Russie méridionale. Mais il n'y a aucune preuve de l'existence d'une Magna Hungaria, comprise comme entité politique dans la région de la Volga. Rien n'indique que les Hongrois païens donnèrent un nom précis au pays qu'ils fuyaient. Ils ne s'y référaient certainement pas comme à Magna Hungaria !"[40]

This seems an unreasonable contention. That the Eastern Magyars would not refer to their land by such a Latin name is obvious and lacks any implication. As Sinor himself notes, referring to an ancient homeland as "magna" was a relatively common practice among Europeans, hence *magna* does not imply size and simply has a similar connotation to *vetus*. As a result, if the Dominican friars encountered (or even just heard of) *any* eastern land inhabited by Hungarian speakers, they would refer to this land as Magna Hungaria. The term therefore

[39] To make his point, Sinor cites Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv,* 390–96. Ligeti goes to great lengths to point out contradictions and inconsistencies in the Richardus account. But this does not justify the acceptance of one sentence and not the next. More broadly, the mere unreliability of Richardus's report in no way proves that it describes the same trip as Julian's letter.

[40] Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien," 1162.

has few implications of politics or size. Sinor seems to have well-defined opinions on this front – such as the notion that the Magyars lived in fragments and did not give a name to their land – but provides no details to back these assertions. In total, they miss the point. The significance of the Dominican expeditions is simply that they located and received valuable information from Eastern Magyars, who likely inhabited some form of land near the Volga. The political stability, independence, contiguity, or size of this land is only of secondary importance. In relation to Friar Julian's travels, I see no reason to avoid the convenience of using the term Magna Hungaria to describe, by definition, whatever land the Eastern Magyars inhabited.[41]

Conclusion

Sinor insisted that the majority of historians remain attached to the view of four journeys and the truthfulness of Richardus's account simply due to romanticism:

> "La tentation d'ajouter foi à la description fleurie, sous la plume de Ricardus, de la rencontre entre les Dominicains et leurs frères hongrois perdus de longue date dans la région de la Volga-Kama, a été tout simplement trop fort pour que la plupart des chercheurs hongrois y résistassent."[42]

In this text I have attempted to prove that there are in fact real pieces of evidence, both textual and circumstantial, that support the majority view of four Hungarian Dominican expeditions in the 1230s. Unfortunately, Sinor can no longer give precision or defense to his opinion. As things stand, rather than disentangle the views of the late scholar, it would be better for further writers to work with the view of four missions – the position backed by the vast majority of evidence.

More generally, the refutation of Sinor opens the possibility of a broader view on East-West interaction on the eve of the Mongol invasion. The steppe environment should not be regarded as the origin of unprecedented or unexpected invasions, but rather as a nexus of increasing communication and diplomacy through which the two sides sought information about each other's strengths, weaknesses, and pathways to access their desired land objectives. The possibility

[41] The exact location, ethnic and linguistic composition, and political independence of this land is subject to a much broader debate than Sinor's remarks suggest. Providing a bibliography on this subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

[42] Sinor, "Le rapport du Dominicain Julien," 1161.

of further diplomatic contact in the 1230s between Western rulers and Mongols in addition to the Dominican missions has been advanced, but deserves more attention.[43] In this sense, Friar Julian's journeys may be regarded as one of the first direct links between East and West, where Mongol and European cultural spaces finally overlapped on the slopes of the Urals. Hopefully, this realization can bring the friar from recent footnotes into the broader scholarly attention his subject deserves.

[43] See Lerner, 14–15, and in general, see Gian Andri Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in Abendländischer Sicht* (1220–1270) (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1974), and A.V. Maiorov, "Завершающий Этап Западного Похода Монголов: Военная Сила И Тайная Дипломатия (1)" [The final stage of the Mongol invasion of Europe: A military force and secret diplomacy (1)], *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie* 1 (2015), 68–94.

"LAUGH, MY LOVE, LAUGH:" MOTTOS, PROVERBS AND LOVE INSCRIPTIONS ON LATE MEDIEVAL BONE SADDLES[1]

Virág Somogyvári

Introduction

Fifteenth-century bone saddles form a particularly unique and special object group in medieval Central European history. There are thirty-three bone saddles dispersed in museums of all over the world from Budapest to New York.[2] Most of the saddles were preserved in collections of aristocratic families before they were taken to their current homes, the museums.[3] Despite their particularity and uniqueness, these bone saddles have a marginal position in scholarship.[4] There are

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[1] The article is based on Virág Somgyvári, "The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles," MA thesis (Central European University, 2017). I would like to thank my supervisors, Alice M. Choyke and Béla Zsolt Szakács for their support for my research. I am particularly grateful to Gerhard Jaritz for his enormous help reviewing the inscriptions, transcriptions and translations of the saddles, and to András Vizkelety for his critical advice on the translations and the literary context. Finally, I thank Chloé Miller for her advice on the language of my paper.

[2] In 2006, Mária Verő assembled a comprehensive and critically reviewed list of twenty-eight saddles. Mária Verő, "Bemerkungen zu den Beinsätteln aus der Sigismundzeit," in *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 270–78. I built on this list with new pieces in my MA thesis, so my catalogue includes a total of thirty-three saddles. See Somogyvári, "The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles," 102–50. The online database of the Courtauld Institute of Art, the *Gothic Ivories Project* (hereinafter GIP) includes twenty-one saddles. Courtauld Institute of Art, *Gothic Ivories Project* [GIP], http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/ (accessed October, 2017).

[3] See Somogyvári, "The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles," 13–14.

[4] One part of scholarship is confined to annotated lists of the saddles: Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*, pt. 3 (London: G. Bell and sons, 1920); István Genthon, "Monumenti artistici ungheresi all'estero," *Acta Historiae Artium* 16 (1970): 5–36; Lionello Giorgio Boccia, *L'Armeria del Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna* (Busto Arsizio: Bramante, 1991). The first dissertation that did not simply list but also interpreted the saddles was written by Julius von Schlosser: Julius von Schlosser, "Elfenbeinsättel des ausgehenden Mittelalters," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 15 (1894): 260–94; Julius von Schlosser, "Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 20 (1899): 220–82. Apart from these, there are articles and catalogue entries of one or two saddles with different kinds of interpretations: Kovács Éva, "Dísznyereg Sárkányrenddel" [Parade saddle with the emblem of Dragon Order], in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437*

several issues regarding their places and times of origin, their original purposes, and their use for which there are no convincing answers due to the lack of written sources.

In the twentieth century, a theory emerged that all of the saddles were made for Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund's Order of the Dragon.[5] However, recently a new idea has arisen regarding the original purpose and function of the saddles. Benedetta Chiesi suggests that these saddles were used in tournaments and parades as well as in marriage ceremonies, more precisely during the procession of *domumductio*, in which the bride was led from the parental house to her new husband's house. This procession symbolized the change of the bride's status and it was also a chance to display the family's wealth by showing off the dowry.[6] The main goal of my recent MA thesis was to examine this new marriage theory and find an answer to the question of whether the fifteenth-century bone saddles were made for wedding purposes.[7]

The complexity and interdisciplinary character of the bone saddles resides in the fact that they can be examined from different approaches: art history, literary history, material culture, military history and cultural history. In this present article, I am examining the subject from the literary history point of view, focusing on the inscriptions incised into the saddles. Therefore, I will make

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[Art in the time of King Sigismund] [exhibition catalog], vol. 2, ed. László Beke et al. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum 1987), 83–85; János Eisler, "Zu den Fragen der Beinsättel des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums I," *Folia Archaeologica* 28 (1977): 189–210; and "Zu den Fragen der Beinsättel des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums II," *Folia Archaeologica* 30 (1979): 205–48; Verő, "Bemerkungen zu den Beinsätteln aus der Sigismundzeit," 270–8; Benedetta Chiesi, "Le pouvoir s'exerce à cheval," in *Voyager au Moyen Age* [exhibition catalog], ed. Benedetta Chiesi et al. (Paris: Musée de Cluny – Réunion des musées nationaux, 2014), 101; Virág Somogyvári, "Zsigmond-kori csontnyergek a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban" [Fifteenth-century bone saddles in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest], MA thesis (Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, 2016).

[5] See Géza Nagy, "Hadtörténeti ereklyék a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban: Első közlemény," [Relics of military history in the Hungarian National Museum: First report], *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 11 (1910): 232; Kornél Divald, *A Magyar iparművészet története* [History of Hungarian applied arts] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1929), 47–8; Stephen V. Grancsay, "A Medieval Sculptured Saddle," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 36 (1941): 76.

[6] Benedetta Chiesi, "Le pouvoir s'exerce à cheval," 101.

[7] Accordingly, my thesis is divided into four main chapters. In the first chapter, I give an overview of the most important issues about the object group. In the second chapter, I reveal the saddles' dominating iconography which is connected to love. The third chapter examines the inscriptions which usually have some love-related message, and the initials, which may refer to actual couples. Finally, I place these special objects in their probable cultural context: late medieval marriage rituals. See Somogyvári, "The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles."

a classification dividing three different types of inscriptions. Afterwards I will place some of these inscriptions in their possible literary context. This kind of examination of the saddles is particularly important since it has not been applied yet in scholarship. My examination covers only a handful of examples; therefore, at the end of the article, a table comprising the critically reviewed inscriptions of the saddles is attached. The following saddles, listed in the table, will be discussed: the Batthyány-Strattmann Saddle; the Western Bargello Saddle; the Saddle of Ercole d'Este; the Rhédey Saddle; the Tratzberg Saddle; the Saddle of the Tower of London; the Meyrick Saddle; and the Braunschweig Saddle.[8]

Inscriptions

The inscriptions adorning the saddles fall into two main categories: twelve saddles are decorated with Middle High German, while three saddles have Latin inscriptions. Their length and meaning differ. The shorter inscriptions include mottos and short phrases. The longer ones are love dialogues written in rhymes on banderoles held by male and female figures on the saddles.

Mottos

The following saddle inscriptions can be interpreted as mottos: the repeated *"gedenkch und halt"* (recall and wait) on the Batthyány-Strattmann Saddle; the inscription of the Western Bargello Saddle (*"aspeto tempo / amor / laus / deo"* – I wait time / love / praise to / God); and the inscriptions of the Saddle of Ercole d'Este (*"deus fortitudo mea / deus adiutor"* – God my strength / God my supporter).[9] On the last of these, *"deus adiutor"* accompanies a scene of Saint George on the right cantle.[10] The *"deus fortitudo mea"* appears in its full length on the back of the left cantle above a scene of Samson or Hercules fighting with a lion. Additionally, they appear in abbreviated forms *("deus forti, deus fortitu")* on each side of the

[8] For entire descriptions of the saddles including their current locations and inventory numbers, see Table. For the explanation of the appellations, and the traditional classification of the saddles (Eastern and Western types), see Somogyvári, "The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles," 102–150.

[9] The *"aspetto tempo"* occurs in Dante's Canzone as well: "Aspetto tempo che più ragion prenda; / Purché la vita tanto si difenda." (Canzone XIV). Dante Alighieri, *Opere poetiche di Dante Alighieri*, ed. Antonio Buttura (Oxford, 1823), 152. I am grateful to Patrik Pastrnak who drew my attention to this poem.

[10] The cantle is the raised section at the back of the saddle. On the bone saddles these cantles are bifurcated so that one can distinguish the right and left cantles on each saddle.

saddle.[11] The *"deus fortitudo mea"* can also be read on the reverse of Ercole I d'Este's *grossone,* running around the depiction of Saint George.[12] It is his personal motto and the coat of arms of the Este family on the front side which indicate that the saddle belonged to Duke Ercole I d'Este (1471–1505), the count of Ferrara. This is the only bone saddle regarding which we can deduce the original owner based on the motto and personal coat of arms.

Proverbs

Two proverbs are prominently featured as part of dialogues on the saddles. One of the proverbs is the *"lach li[e]b lach"* (laugh, [my] love, laugh) inscription that adorns the Rhédey and the Tratzberg Saddles (Figures 1–2).[13] On the Rhédey Saddle, it is placed above the scene of Aristotle and Phyllis, heightening its

Fig. 1. Tratzberg Saddle (left side). New York, MET, inv. 04.3.249.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art

[11] "Samson:" Courtauld Institute of Art, *Gothic Ivories Project* [GIP]; "Hercules:" Julius von Schlosser, "Elfenbeinsättel des ausgehenden Mittelalters," 274.
[12] Ibid., 273.
[13] *"Lieb"* can also convey the imperative mood and therefore the inscription can be translated as a command of sorts: "laugh, love, laugh."

mocking character.[14] On the Tratzberg Saddle, the inscription does not connect to any particular scene; it is part of a dialogue between a man and woman, both depicted, and running through the whole surface of the saddle: *"wol mich wart / ich hof der liben somerzeit / lach lib lach"* (just wait for me / I am hoping for dear summertime / laugh, [my] love, laugh). The *"lach lieb lach"* expression exists in a contemporary literary source as well, the *Lobriser Handschrift*, which includes the work of Heinrich Münsinger*: Buch von den Falken, Habichten, Sperbern, Pferden und Hunden*.[15] The book is the German translation and variation of Albert the Great's zoological work: *De animalibus libri* (chapters 22 and 23).[16] Münsinger's translation in the *Lobriser Handschrift* can be dated to between 1420 and 1480.[17] In one part of the book, which discusses hawks, the scribe concludes with the following line: "*…und damit hat das drittail dißs buchs ain end. Got unß sin hayligen frid send. Laus Deo! Lach. Lieb. Lach."* (…and with this the third part of the book ends. God send his holy peace to us. Praise to God! Laugh, [my] love, laugh).[18]

Fig. 2. Tratzberg Saddle (left side, detail). New York, MET, inv. 04.3.249. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

[14] The saddle displays the moment when Alexander's lover, Phyllis, rides on the philosopher's back, proving that even the wisest person can become a fool of love. The scene of Aristotle and Phyllis was a popular motif in the Late Middle Ages, represented especially on secular objects. See Paula Mae Carns, "Compilatio in Ivory: The Composite Casket in the Metropolitan Museum," *Gesta* 44, no. 2 (2005): 71.

[15] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Cam. 4°52, fol. 1–116 (C). Heinrich Meisner, "Die Lobriser Handschrift von Heinrich Minsinger," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 11 (1880): 480–2; Kurt Lindner, ed., *Von Falken, Hunden und Pferden. Deutsche Albertus-Magnus-Übersetzungen aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Jagd 7–8. (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1962), 83.

[16] Irven M. Resnick, ed., *A Companion to Albert the Great: Theology, Philosophy, and the Sciences* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 730.

[17] Meisner, "Die Lobriser Handschrift von Heinrich Minsinger," 481.

[18] Lindner, *Von Falken, Hunden und Pferden. Deutsche Albertus-Magnus-Übersetzungen aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 83.

Fig. 3. Tratzberg Saddle (right side). New York, MET, inv. 04.3.249.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 4. Tratzberg Saddle (detail of the right cantle).
New York, MET, inv. 04.3.249.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The other proverb in the Tratzberg Saddle's inscription is the "*in dem ars is vinster"* (it is black/dark in the arse – Figures 3–4). The proverb also appears on the Saddle of the Tower of London as *"im ars is vinster"* (Figure 5). On the Tratzberg Saddle, it is part of the already mentioned inscription; the man's response to the woman: *"wol mich nu wart / in dem ars is vinster / frei dich mit gantzem willen"* (just wait for me / it is black/dark in the arse

Fig. 5. Bone saddle. London, Tower of London (Royal Armouries), inv. VI.95.
© Royal Armouries

/ rejoice, with your whole will). On the Saddle of the Tower of London, the inscription is presented in an isolated position and is divided between the back sides of the two cantles: *"im ars / is vinster."* This expression can also be found in contemporary German literature, more specifically in a manuscript preserving the Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf located in Alba Iulia's Biblioteca Batthyaniana.[19] The original Latin dialogue, featuring the Old Testament king and a medieval peasant, was probably conceived around the eleventh century, and its Latin and German vernacular versions were widespread and extremely popular

[19] Alba Julia, Biblioteca Batthyaniana cod. I. 54. fol. 59 v–fol 60 r; 1469. Róbert Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Batthyányanae: Albae in Transsilvania* (Szeged: Ablaka, 1947), 35–36; Sabine Griese, *Salomon und Markolf – Ein literarischer Komplex im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zu Überlieferung und Interpretation* (Berlin, Boston: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2013), 283.

in German lands from the fifteenth century onwards.[20] Accordingly, the extant manuscripts from that time were all copied in southern Germany and Austria.[21] The work is composed of five verbal contests, each using different rhetorical forms: genealogies, proverbs, riddles, arguable propositions and arguments on both sides of an issue. As part of the proverb contest, Solomon quotes a moral statement from the Old Testament Wisdom Books to which Marcolf adapts Solomon's statement in vulgar language, mocking it. He degrades Solomon's wisdom by applying his words to the functions of the lower parts of the body.[22] In this section of the manuscript Solomon says: "*Ain schöns weib ist ain zier jrm mann"* (A beautiful woman is an ornament for her husband). Marcolf's reply is: "*Auff dem Hals ist sy weis als ain tawben,* jm ars vinster *als ein scher"* (In the neck she is white as a dove, in the asshole[23] black as a mole).[24] The existence of the inscription in this contemporary German dialogue as a proverb suggests either that it could be the literary source of the inscription or – in the case of a less direct connection – that it was a popular idiomatic phrase at the time. Nevertheless, this vulgar proverb seems strange on the saddles when comparing it to the rest of their inscriptions and the illustrations. For example, on the Saddle of the Tower of London, the other parts of the inscription pray to God and Saint George for

[20] Nancy Mason Bradbury and Scott Bradbury, eds., introduction to *The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf: A Dual-Language Edition from Latin and Middle English Printed Editions*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2012), http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/bradbury-solomon-and-marcolf-intro (accessed May, 2017).

[21] For the German versions of the dialogue, see Walter Benary ed., *Salomon et Marcolfus. Kritischer Text mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen, Übersicht über die Sprüche, Namen- und Wörterverzeichnis,* Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte 8 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitatsbuchhandlung, 1914); Michael Curschmann, "Marcolfus deutsch. Mit einem Faksimile des Prosa-Drucks von M. Ayrer (1487)," *Kleinere Erzählformen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,* ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, Fortuna vitrea 8 (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1993), 151–255; Griese, *Salomon und Markolf – Ein literarischer Komplex im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zu Überlieferung und Interpretation.*

[22] Bradbury and Bradbury, introduction to *The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf: A Dual-Language Edition from Latin and Middle English Printed Editions.*

[23] Ziolkowski translates the "ars" as "asshole." Jan M. Ziolkowski, transl., *Solomon and Marcolf,* Harvard Studies in Medieval Latin 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of the Classics, Harvard University, 2008), 71.

[24] In other German versions of the dialogue, this line slightly differs, see the manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek of Munich (germ. 3973, middle of 15th century) fol. 211. v. and the first printed version: M. Ayrer, 1482 (?) Nuremberg; Griese, *Salomon und Markolf – Ein literarischer Komplex im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zu Überlieferung und Interpretation,* 289; Ziolkowsky, *Solomon and Marcolf,* 71.

success. Also, on the Tratzberg Saddle, lovers wait for each other and for the summertime. Neither of these contexts are reasonable places to mention a vulgar proverb about the darkness within arses.

The appearance of the same phrases such as "*im ars is vinster"* and "*lach li[e] h lach"* in completely different genres suggests that they were frequently used proverbs at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The words *"lach lieb lach"* can be found in a book about animals (*Summa zoologica*), while "*jm ars vinster"* is part of a medieval dialogue between an Old Testament king and a peasant. These examples illustrate that the proverbs fit well in completely different contexts. This ambiguous character of these literary examples, as well as the inscriptions of the saddles, may seem peculiar to us, but their medieval audience was probably well-acquainted with them and their meaning.

Love inscriptions

Love inscriptions include short sentences as well as dialogues in rhymes between the men and women depicted on the saddles. Most of these dialogues show similarities to Middle High German lyric.

The dialogue between the man and woman is the longest on the Meyrick Saddle (Figure 6). There are two inscriptions on each side. The long inscription on a banderol starts on the cantle, runs along the borders of the saddle, rises up the volute, and finishes in the hand of the woman on the left side and the hand of the man on the right side. The shorter inscription runs around the field, under the cantles on each side, and is held by a man on the left side and by a woman on the right side. The long inscription held by the woman on the left side says: "*ich pin hie ich ways nit wie / ich var von dann ich ways nit wan / nu wol auf mit willen unvergessen"* (I am here, I don't know how / I am leaving, I don't know when / Now then, willingly unforgotten). The long inscription held by the man on the right side replies: "*ich var ich har ye lenger ich har me gresser nar / dein ewichleich in sand ierigen nam"* (I go, I wait, the longer I wait the more rescue/salvation I have / yours forever in the name of Saint George). The short inscription, held by a man on the left side says: "*ich frei mich all zeit dein"* (I always rejoice you), and the woman on the right side replies: "*we den k[…] rat"* (?).[25] The inscriptions show similarities with two genres of Medieval German lyric. This kind of dialogue between a man and woman can be identified with the genre of *Wechsel* (exchange between man and woman). The *Wechsel* does not mean a direct conversation, but rather a series

[25] Due to the unresolved abbreviation after the k[…], the meaning of the sentence is not clear.

Fig. 6. Meyrick Saddle. London, Wallace Collection, inv. A 408.
© The Wallace Collection, London

of strophes which relate to one another.[26] Apart from this, the hesitant character of the inscription *("ich var, ich har…")* suggests a moment of separation, and therefore can be linked to the tradition of the *Tagelied* (dawn song), which is a lyric type that describes the couple waking up together in the early morning when they are warned by a bird's sing or a guard that it is time to separate.[27] These two poetic genres appear usually together in German lyric.[28]

The short inscription of the Braunschweig Saddle speaks about fidelity: "*treu yst selt[en] in der weld"* (fidelity is rare in the world). Faithfulness, a popular motif at that time, exists also on different media such as caskets, tapestries, sealstones, and manuscript illuminations.[29] Couples promising fidelity also appear on the different sides of a German casket, *(Minnekästchen)* where the man states, "*uf din tru bu ich al stund"* (on your faith I rely at every hour), to which the woman replies, "*din tru lob ich nu"* (to be faithful to you I vow now).[30] According to Jürgen Wurst, around this time fidelity became important in man-woman relationships, not only as a moral virtue, but also because it confirmed the marital alliance that provided the economic survival of the family.[31] The reliefs of the *Minnekästchen* reflect this idea, representing contemporary relationship models.[32] The inscription about fidelity on the Braunschweig Saddle can also be placed in that relationship context.[33] Furthermore, by the fourteenth and fifteenth century, German love

[26] The *Wechsel* was a popular genre in the poems used by Der von Kürenberg, Dietmar von Aist and Albrecht von Johansdorf. Marion-Johnson Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson, *Medieval German Literature: A Companion* (New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1997), 235.; Albrecht Classen, "Courtly Love Lyric," in *A Companion to Middle High German Literature to the 14th Century*, ed. Francis G. Gentry (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill, 2002), 143; Hubert Heinen, "Thwarted Expectations: Medieval and Modern Views of Genre in Germany," in *Medieval Lyric. Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden Evanston, Illinois medieval studies 7 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 334.

[27] The *Tagelied* is the only type of love lyric which indicates the physical union of the lovers. Classen, "Courtly Love Lyric," 136–7.

[28] The different types of Medieval German lyric usually overlap. Heinen, "Thwarted Expectations: Medieval and Modern Views of Genre in Germany," 334.

[29] Jürgen Wurst, "Pictures and Poems of Courtly Love and Bourgeois Marriage: Some Notes on the So-called «Minnekästchen»," *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Isabel Davis et al., Jones International Medieval Research 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 108.

[30] Ibid., 107.

[31] Ibid., 119–20.

[32] Ibid.

[33] The new importance of the family and fidelity in marriages is discussed in Chapter 2 of my MA thesis in connection with the changing symbol of the wild man, which also served as a form of expression of this transitional period. See Somogyvári, "The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles," 32–3; Jürgen Wurst, "Reliquiare der Liebe: Das Münchner Minnekästchen und andere

lyric went through significant changes. The earlier traditions which expressed the love between men and women – but exclusively outside of marriage – were transformed into marital love poems between spouses.[34] One of the pioneers of this new tendency was Oswald von Wolkenstein in whose work the vestiges of the motifs of the traditional love lyric can be recognized. An example is the *Tagelied* tradition in which the woman warns her lover about the presence of spies.[35] At the same time, von Wolkenstein's love poems were dedicated primarily to his wife.[36] As we can see from the previous examples, the transitional character of this period, reflected through the presence of the old traditions and new tendencies, is captured by the inscriptions on the saddles.

Conclusion

The inscriptions of the bone saddles presented above are only few examples, but they show well their characteristic diversity in type and meaning. The mottos probably served to make the saddles more personal to their original owner. The proverbs illustrate that vulgar texts well suited such saddles, and these texts also reflect the popular idioms of this period. The love inscriptions are particularly important since in most cases they correlate with the love iconography on the saddles, and the inscriptions also reflect the literary context of this transitional period and its new tendencies towards fidelity and marriage. Furthermore, this recognition also strengthens the idea that some of these objects could have been made for marriage purposes. With my work, I intended to highlight the importance of this special Central European group of objects by focusing on a new aspect of the saddles, such as their inscriptions and their literary context. However, there are many other aspects through which this complex and diverse subject can be examined. My contribution can be regarded as a first step toward further, more elaborated, analyses in the future.

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mittelalterliche Minnekästchen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum," PhD Dissertation (Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2005), 238–9; Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 114.

[34] Classen, "Courtly Love Lyric, 118.

[35] *"herzlieb, nim war, das uns nicht vach der meider rick!"* Albrecht Classen, "Love and marriage in late medieval verse: Oswald von Wolkenstein, Thomas Hoccleve and Michel Beheim," *Studia Neophilologica* 62:2 (1990): 165; The English translation of this phrase is: "Heart-beloved, pay attention that we are not being caught by the traitors' ropes!" For the full translation, see Albrecht Classen, *The Poems of Oswald von Wolkenstein: An English Translation of the Complete Works (1376/77–1445)*, New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 147.

[36] Classen, "Love and Marriage in Late Medieval Verse: Oswald von Wolkenstein, Thomas Hoccleve and Michel Beheim," 164–5.

TABLE: INSCRIPTIONS[1]

German inscriptions				
Name of the saddle	Inscription		Translation	
	Left side	Right side	Left side	Right side
Saddle of King Albert **Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Hofjagd und Rüstkammer, inv. A 73**	*wyl es got ych hoff dir aus*	*not*[2]	if God is willing, I will help you out of	misery[3]
Bone saddle **Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, inv. 402**	*vol auf heute morgen*	*ich frewe mich denn (?)*[4]	to this morning	I am looking forward[5]
Batthyány-Strattman saddle **Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 69.944**	*gedenkch und halt*	*gedenkch und halt*	recall and wait[6]	recall and wait
Bone saddle **Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, inv. MA 111**	*gedenkch*	*und halt*	recall	and wait
	*treu yst selt[en] in der wel*d[7]		fidelity is rare in the world	
Rhédey saddle **Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, inv. 55.3118**	*ich hof*	*si b[...]*[8]	I hope	(?)
	mit lieb	*lach lieb lach*	with love	laugh [my] love laugh[9]
		hof mit [...]		hope with... [something]
Bone saddle **Florence, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, inv. 2831 Av. 15**	*ich han nicht lieberr*[10] *wen dich*	*allain mein ader las gar sein*[11]	I do not love anyone more than you	only mine or just leave it [if not staying with me] just go)
	bit erd [...][12]	*ritt[er] sa[n]d förig*[13]	(?)	Knight Saint George
		dich libt[14] *got*		God loves you
Bone saddle **Florence, Museo Bardini, inv. 3152**	*ander* *für*	*ich lib all hie und wais nit wi[e] [u]nd mues vo' [...] ich [...]*[15]	other for	I love all here and don't know how and I must … [leave from here…]
Meyrick saddle **London, Wallace Collection, inv. A 408**	*ich pin hie ich weys nit wie*[16] *ich var von dann ich weys nit wan*[17][18]	*ich var ich bar ye lenger ich bar me gesser nar*[19]	I am here, I don't know how I am leaving, I don't know when[20]	I go, I wait, the longer I wait the more rescue/salvation I have[21]
	nu wol auf mit willen unvergesten	*dein ewichleich in sand iergen nam*[22]	Now then, willingly unforgotten[23]	yours forever in the name of Saint George[24]
	ich frei mich all zeit dein	*we den k[...]*[25] *rat*[26]	I always rejoice you[27]	(?)[28]

German inscriptions				
Name of the saddle	Inscription		Translation	
	Left side	Right side	Left side	Right side
Bone saddle London, Tower of London (Royal Armouries), inv. VI.95	*hilf got wol auf sand jorgen nam*	*ich hoff des pesten dir geling*	with God's help well then, in the name of St George (God grant in the name of Saint George)	I hope for the best that you succeed
	i m a r s	*is vinster*	in the arse	it is black/dark
Tratzberg saddle New York, MET, inv. 04.3.249	*wol mich wart*	*wol mich nu wart*	just wait for me	just wait for me
	ich hof der liben somerzeit	*in dem ars is vinster*	I am hoping for dear summertime	it is black/dark in the arse
	lach lib lach	*frei dich mit gantzem willen*	laugh, [my] love, laugh[29]	rejoice, with your whole will
Thill saddle New York, MET, inv. 36.149.11	*bol auf sand [jo]rgen nam [h]ilf ritter sand jorig*[30]	*hilf*	well then, in the name of Saint George, help knight Saint George	help
Bone saddle Stresa, Isola Bella, Museo Borromeo	*lib*		love	
Latin inscriptions				
Name of the saddle	Inscription		Translation	
	Left side	Right side	Left side	Right side
Jankovich saddle Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, inv. 55.3119	*da pacem domine*		give peace, lord	
Western Bargello saddle Florence, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, inv. 2832 Av. 3	*amor*	*aspeto*[31] *tempo*	love	I wait time
	deo	*laus*	to God	praise
Saddle of Ercole d'Este Modena, Galleria Estense, inv. 2461	*deus forti[tudo]*	*deus fortitu[do]*		
	deus fortitudo mea	*deus adiutor*	God my strength	God my supporter

Tables footnotes

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Gerhard Jaritz and András Vizkelety for their help with the inscriptions of the saddles.

[2] *"wyl es got ych helf dir au(s) not, ave…"* Verő, "4.72. Beinsattel (Sattel von König Albrecht)," *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437,* ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 363.

[3] The right order is probably: *"wyl es got ych helf dir aus not"* – *"If God is willing I will help you out of misery."*

[4] Or *"ich frewe mich dein"* – I rejoice you; *"ICH FREUUE MICH VOL AUF HEUTE MORGEN"* GIP.

[5] The right order is probably "Ich frewe mich denn (?) vol auf heute morgen" – "I am looking forward to this morning."

[6] Literally, "think and stop" or, colloquially, "look before you leap" GIP.

[7] *"trev yst selth in der weld"* GIP.

[8] *"G lib (?)"* Verő, "4.68. Beinsattel (Rhédey–Sattel)," *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437,* ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 360.

[9] *"Lieb"* can also be in imperative mood, therefore the inscription can be translated as: "laugh, love, laugh."

[10] *"lieben"* GIP; "liebere" Verő, "4.70. Beinsattel," *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437,* ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 362.

[11] *"ALLAIN MEIN ODER LOCGAR SEIN"* GIP.

[12] *"huerd" or "Sit erd (?)"* GIP.

[13] *"Ritt sad iorig"* GIP.

[14] *"hab"* GIP.

[15] *"ICH LIB ALL HIR UND WAIS NIT WI[E] /[U]ND WUCS [?] VO HIN"* and *"ICH WAI [SS] NI"* Mario Scalini, "Sella da pompa," in *Le Temps revient – Il tempo si rinnova. Feste e spettacoli nella Firenze di Lorenzo il Magnifico,* [exhibition catalogue] ed. Paola Ventrone (Milano: Silvana,1992), 173.

[16] *"ich pin hie / ich wans nit wie"* Sir James Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour,* vol. 1. Armour (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1962), 226–227; GIP.

[17] *"waus"* William Maskell ed., A *Description Of The Ivories, Ancient And Medieval, in The South Kensington Museum* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), 175.

[18] *"ich var von v… / ich wans nit wan"* Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour,* 226–227; GIP.

[19] *"Ich war, ich har, ne lenger ich har, Me gresser nar"* Maskell, *A Description Of The Ivories, Ancient And Medieval, in The South Kensington Museum,* 175; *"ich var ich bar / ye lenger ich bar / me greffen (gresser) nar"* Mann, Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour, 226–227; GIP.

[20] "I go hence, I know not where" Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour,* 226–227; GIP.

[21] "I go, I stop, the longer I stop, the madder I become" Ibid.

[22] *"Dein ewigleich land ierigen varn"* Maskell, *A Description Of The Ivories, Ancient And Medieval, in The South Kensington Museum,* 175; Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour,* 226–227; GIP.

[23] "Well a day! Willingly thou art never forgotten" Ibid.

[24] "Thine forever, The world o'er your betrothed" Ibid.

[25] *"Me den krg: ent"* Maskell, *A Description Of The Ivories, Ancient And Medieval, in The South Kensington Museum,* 175; Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour,* 226–227; GIP.

[26] It can be also read as *"Nie den k[r…]"*

[27] "I rejoice to be ever thine" Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour,* 226–227; GIP.

[28] "But if the war should end?" Ibid.

[29] The order is probably the following: Right side: *"wol mich nu wart / in dem ars is vinster / frei dich mit gantzem willen"* Left side: *"wol mich wart / ich hof der liben somerzeit / lach lib lach"*

[30] *"HILF VOL AUF SAND [JO]RGEN NAM -ILF(?) RITTER SAND JORG"* GIP.

[31] *"aspero"* GIP.

A MYTH IN THE MARGIN: INTERPRETING THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS SCENE IN ROUEN BOOKS OF HOURS

Eszter Nagy

An unusual scene, the Judgment of Paris, appears in the margin of four books of hours following the use of Rouen and made c. 1460–80 (figs. 1–4).[1] Three of them, two manuscripts from The Morgan Library and Museum in New York (M 131 and M 312), and one from the Bibliothèque municipale in Aix-en-Provence (ms. 22), are attributed to the workshop of the Master of the Rouen Échevinage, while the Villefosse Hours was painted by a Flemish illuminator, the Master of Fitzwilliam 268.[2] In three of them, the Judgment scene accompanies an image of the Penitent King David illustrating the Penitential Psalms, while in the Aix-en-Provence manuscript it is depicted under the image of the Virgin and the Child, which opens the text of the Mass for Our Lady. Some questions arise immediately: why was the Judgment of Paris scene painted into books of hours? What role can a mythological representation play in a prayer book? How did the medieval reader perceive this image in such a context?

Only a handful of other books of hours are known to me in which mythological representations are depicted in the margins. Better known and studied are those manuscripts in which subjects taken from classical pagan culture appear in the

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis "The Judgment of Paris in Rouen Books of Hours from the second half of the Fifteenth Century" (Budapest: Central European University, 2017). I am greatly indebted to Claudia Rabel for calling my attention to the Judgment of Paris scene in the Villefosse and Aix-en-Provence books of hours, as well as to the article of Paul Durrieu, and providing me with the manuscript of her un published DEA dissertation about the illuminated books of hours associated with the Master of the Rouen Échevinage. I am also thankful to my supervisor, Béla Zsolt Szakács.

[2] For the attribution and dating, see Gregory T. Clark, "The Master of Fitzwilliam 268: New Discoveries and New and Revisited Hypotheses," in *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context: Recent Research*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 134; "Initiale," http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr; "Corsair," http://corsair.themorgan.org/ (both accessed Oct. 3. 2017). The Villefosse Hours was last documented in the possession of René Héron de Villefosse in 1959; see René Héron de Villefosse, "En marge d'un rare livre d'heures: Les Étranges enluminures d'un manuscrit du XVe siècle," *Connaissance des arts* 87 (1959): 56–59.

calendar part.[3] Since in these cases, the names of the months readily explain the insertion of mythological images, they cannot serve as helpful analogies for the interpretation of the Judgment of Paris scene in the Rouen books of hours. The Hours of Charles of Angoulême – where the Death of the Centaur representing the fight against vices illustrates the Office of the Dead – cannot provide a useful parallel either.[4] Being a lavishly illuminated, unique piece, painted by the famous illuminator, Robinet Testard, in an intellectually inspiring milieu for the father of the future king of France, Francis I, it represents a different artistic level than the books of hours from Rouen.

So far, only Paul Durrieu has attempted to interpret the presence of this mythological scene in the Rouen books of hours.[5] However, his study, written almost a hundred years ago, needs significant revisions in part because he did not know about the two books of hours in The Morgan Library and Museum, and more importantly because he based his interpretation on an erroneous identification of the Judgment of Paris scene.[6]

Although the myth had a rich medieval literary tradition, this does not provide a direct explanation for the association of the Judgment of Paris with

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[3] E.g., the *Bedford Hours*, London, British Library, Add. 18850 (c. 1410–30); *Hours*, London, British Library, Add. 11866 (late fifteenth century), see François Avril, "Un echo inattendu des *Tarots* dits de Mantegna dans l'enluminure française autour de 1500," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (2009): 95–106.

[4] *Hours*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1173, fol. 41v (late fifteenth century). See Ahuva Belkin, "La Mort du Centaure: A propos de la miniature 41v du *Livre d'Heures* de Charles d'Angoulême," *Artibus et Historiae* 11 (1990): 31−38.

[5] Paul Durrieu, "La Légende du roi de Mercie dans un livre d'heures du XVe siècle," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 (1920): 149−82. The article by René Héron de Villefosse, then the owner of the manuscript, only repeats Durrieu's opinion, see Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 56–59.

[6] He described it as the English legend about the obscure Alfred III, King of Mercia, and the three daughters of his vassal; William of Albanac Durrieu, "La Légende," 164. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, many representations of the Judgment of Paris, especially the paintings by Lucas Cranach the Elder, were reinterpreted as depictions of this old English anecdote. See Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Aeltern: Leben und Werke* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1851–71), vol. 2, 64–65, 155–6, 273–5 and vol. 3, 48–61; Johann David Passavant, *Le Peintre-graveur*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1862), 153. For convincing arguments definitively refuting these identifications, see J. Adrien Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette représentant le Jugement de Pâris et l'Annonciation," *Bulletin des musées* 4 (1893): 233–6; Ernst Krause, "Mercurius, der Schriftgott, in Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zur Urgeschichte der Bücherkunde," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 1 (1897): 482–7; Richard Förster, "Neue Cranachs in Schlesien," *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift* 7 (1899): 269–70; Marc Rosenberg, "A propos de la légende du roi de Mercie," *Revue Archéologique* 27 (1928): 105–6.

Fig. 1.
Nathan Rebuking David; margin: scenes from the Life of David and the Judgment of Paris, Book of Hours, Rouen, c. 1480. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 131, fol. 73r.
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King David or the Virgin Mary.[7] Nonetheless, the manuscript circulation of texts incorporating an account of the myth proves that the story was circulating in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century.[8] Though similar evidence for

[7] See Margaret J. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).

[8] Such manuscripts: Benoît de Saint-Maure, *Roman de Troie*, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. O.33 (in the possession of Nicolas Ouyn, living in Rouen); see Marc-René Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits* (Basel: Francke, 1996), 500–2. Dares of Phrygia, *De excidio Troiae* and Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1127 (owned by Petrus Comitis from the diocese of Rouen); see Louis Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe: La Circulation des manuscrits du "De excidio Troiae" de Darès le Phrygien; VIIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris: École des chartes, 2006), 81. Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L.II.7 (made for Jeanne du Bec-Crespin, wife of Pierre de Brézé, seneschal and captain of Rouen [1412–65], now severely damaged); see Paul Durrieu, "Les Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque incendiée de Turin," *Revue Archéologique* 3 (1904): 402–3. In addition, fifteen out of the thirty-five extant manuscripts of Jean Courcy's *Bouquechardière* were made in Rouen, eleven of which were illuminated by the Master of the Rouen Échevinage or his workshop, see Béatrice De Chancel, "Les Manuscrits de la *Bouquechardière* de Jean de Courcy," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 17 (1987): 233–83; Claudia Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle à la fin du Moyen Age: Les Manuscrits profanes du Maître de l'échevinage de Rouen," *Revue de l'Art* 84 (1989): 50.

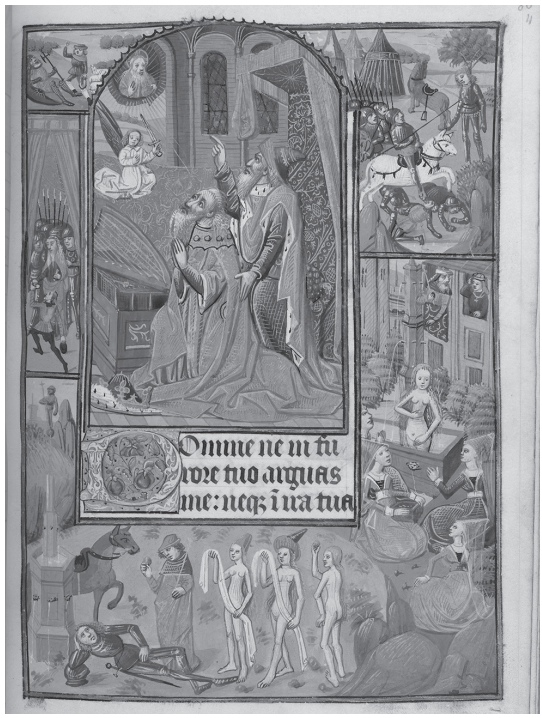

Fig. 2.
Nathan Rebuking David; margin: scenes from the Life of David and the Judgment of Paris, Book of Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 312, fol. 80r.
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the myth's visual presence in Rouen is lacking, its visual tradition demonstrates that from the second half of the fifteenth century, this subject appeared more and more often outside of its textual and narrative context. It was depicted in separate printed sheets[9] and in clay moulds and casts, i.e. in media affordable for less wealthy people as well.[10] It was also presented several times as *tableau vivant* in royal

[9] E.g., two engravings by the Master with Banderols (Geldern or Overijssel, third quarter of the fifteenth century), see Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4 (Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1921), 134–35, nos. 90–91, pl. 109; "Albertina, Sammlungen Online," accessed Oct. 3, 2017, http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at

[10] Moulds: Liège, Musée Curtius, inv. no. I.16.28; see Imre Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel in Ungarn," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43 (1991): 32. Zurich, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum; see "Ankäufe," *Jahresbericht, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum Zürich* 26 (1917): 20, pl. 2. Formerly in the collection of Albert Figdor; see Wilhelm von Bode and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel: Eine vergessene Gattung der deutschen Kleinplastik* (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918), 43. Cast: Rouen, Musée des Antiquités; see Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette," 235.

entries in the Burgundian Netherlands.[11] These examples indicate that the story must have been familiar for a wide stratum of people who were not necessarily erudite. Therefore, it may have been easily recognizable and understandable even in the context of books of hours, where no text explained them. In the absence of texts directly explaining the insertion of the Judgment of Paris scene next to the image of either the Penitent King David or the Virgin Mary, I will turn towards the visual context in which it appears in the books of hour in order to decipher the meaning of this mythological image.

The Bathing Bathsheba and the Judgment of Paris

In the two New York books of hours, the Judgment of Paris appears in the margin together with scenes from the life of King David, including a representation of the Bathing Bathsheba. The female nude creates a strong visual link with the naked goddesses of the Judgment scene. The connection between the two representations is further emphasized in M 312 by their placement in the same landscape, while all other marginal images are separated by frames. This visual link suggests that the meaning and function of these two depictions are also related, and thus the Bathing Bathsheba can serve as a key for deciphering the role played by the Judgment of Paris.

Before offering an interpretation for the Bathing Bathsheba scene, it is necessary to define the possible audience of these images. Although in M 312 the text uses masculine forms, the woman kneeling in front of the Lamentation (fol. 133r) indicates that the book probably belonged to a female owner.[12] The ownership of M 131 is more complex. Here, a couple is kneeling under a depiction of Saint Anne instructing the young Virgin Mary with Saint John the Baptist standing by them (fol. 45r). The double suffrage dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anne and their combined image identify them as the patron saints of the owners, whose coats of arms have not been identified yet. However, in front of the Lamentation (fol. 111r) only the wife is depicted,

[11] In Bruges in 1463, in Lille in 1468, in Antwerp in 1494, in Brussels in 1496; see Scot McKendrick, "The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 80. A depiction of the *tableau vivant* in the 1496 entry is preserved in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, ms. 78 D 5.1 (fol. 57r) for which, see Paula Nuttall, "Reconsidering the Nude: Northern Tradition and Venetian Innovation," in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C. M. Lindquist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 172, 304–5, pl. 8.

[12] "Corsair."

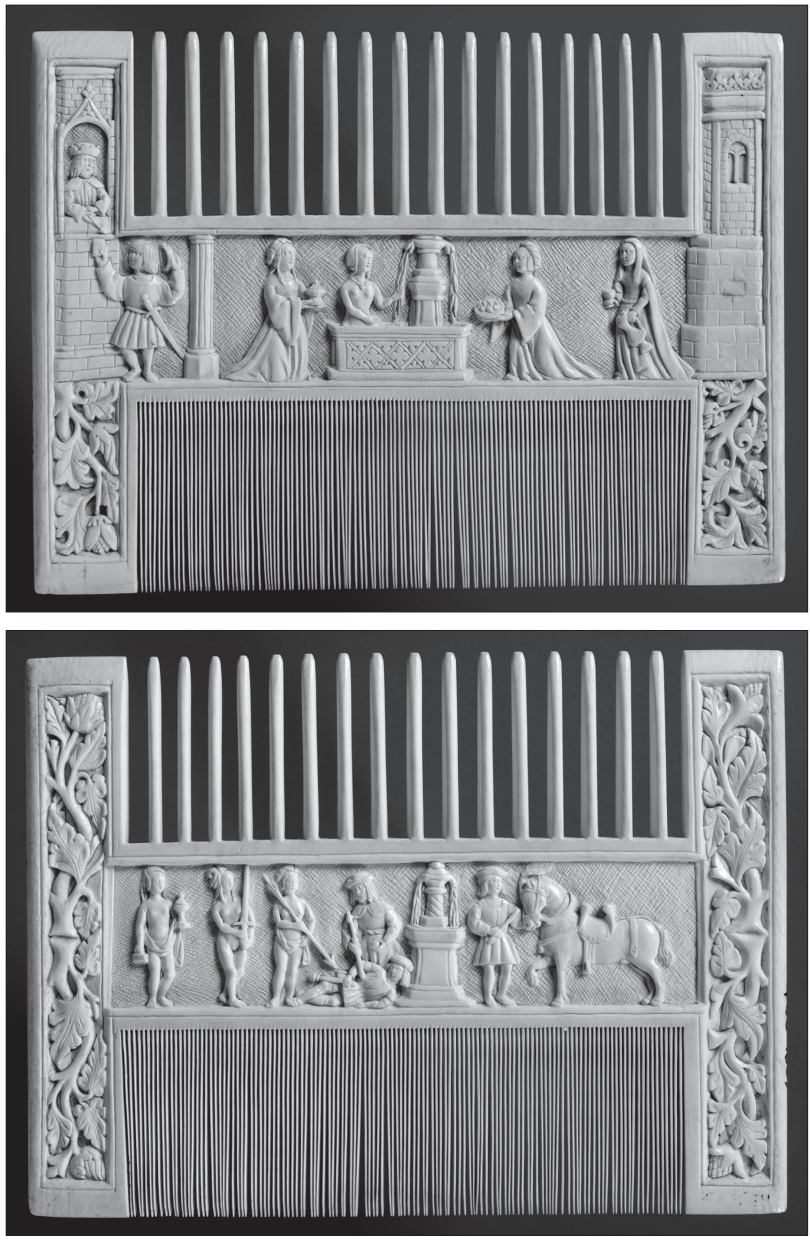

Fig. 3. Bathing Bathsheba and the Judgment of Paris, ivory comb, recto and verso, Northern France, 1530–50. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 468–1869.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 4. Master of Fitzwilliam 268, David in Prayer; margin: Judgment of Paris, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Durrieu, "La Légende," pl. X.

Fig. 5. Master of Fitzwilliam 268, Fall of Adam and Eve, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Durrieu, "La Légende," pl. X.

which again identifies the woman as the real owner.[13] On the other hand, the emphatic depiction of the couple and their coats of arms suggest that the codex might have been commissioned on the occasion of their marriage. That seems even more probable when we consider that books of hours often served as wedding gifts.[14]

What can the Bathing Bathsheba mean for a woman? For this, Geoffroy de la Tour Landry's didactic book intended for the education of his daughters can provide a useful textual analogy. Geoffroy, identifying the cause of David's double sin in Bathsheba combing her hair before the king's eyes, warns his daughters, "Every woman should cover herself, and should not take pride in herself, nor display herself so as to please the world with her beautiful hair, nor her neck, nor her bosom, nor anything that should be kept covered."[15] Geoffroy's book, written in the late fourteenth century, was quite popular in the fifteenth century, but in the absence of data on the place of production or provenance of its manuscripts, it is

[13] Hanno Wijsman, based on the corpus of manuscripts illuminated in the Netherlands between 1400 and 1550, also proposed that books bearing the ownership marks of a couple actually belonged to the wife; see Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands; 1400–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 134–7.

[14] Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane H. M. Taylor (London: The British Library, 1996), 270.

[15] *Sy se doit toute femme cachier [...] ne ne se doit pas orguillir, ne monstrer, pour plaire au monde, son bel chef, ne sa gorge, ne sa poitrine, ne riens qui se doit tenir couvert.* Geoffroy de la Tour Landry, *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: P. Jannet, 1854), 155. Translation in Thomas Kren, "Looking at Louis XII's Bathsheba," in *A Masterpiece Reconstructed. The Hours of Louis XII*, ed. Thomas Kren and Mark Evans (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005), 50. See also Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba in Late Medieval French Manuscript Illumination: Innocent Object of Desire or Agent of Sin?* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 97.

impossible to say how much this text was known in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century.[16] In any case, it can serve as a helpful analogy for presenting Bathsheba to women as a negative example against vanity.

The danger of female beauty and the sinful consequences of exposing the body to the male gaze provide an interpretative framework in which the Judgment of Paris scene can fit. A group of objects – the only artworks known to me that link the Bathing Bathsheba with this mythological subject – also supports this interpretation. Five carved ivory combs, produced around 1520–50 in Northern France or the Netherlands, have a depiction of the Bathing Bathsheba on the one side, and the Judgment of Paris on the other (fig. 6).[17] Due to the chronological distance and the lack of any specific common motive, a direct link between the combs and the miniatures is not probable. However, the general concept behind linking the two subjects, namely the power of female beauty over men, can be the same in both cases.[18] Of course, this generic idea offers different meanings in different contexts. On the combs, the power of beauty certainly has positive connotations; it promotes the care for one's physical appearance, and thus the product itself on which these subjects are depicted. In a prayer book, the power of beauty obviously has different overtones. The Rebuke of Nathan in the main scene makes it clear that here the emphasis is on the disastrous effects of female beauty. It led David into adultery and murder, while Paris's choice caused Troy's destruction.

A group of misogynous texts also confirms that it is the power of female beauty that links the two stories. David and Paris often appear together in texts that blame women and especially their seductive beauty for the fall of various famous men. They are mentioned one after the other in a poem by Hildebert of Lavardin (1055–1133) who states, "A woman deprived Paris of his sense and Uriah of his life, / David of his virtue and Solomon of his faith."[19] The *Livre du*

[16] Out of twenty surviving manuscripts, fourteen come from the fifteenth century, and there is no data on five; see "Arlima," http://www.arlima.net, accessed Sept. 9, 2017.

[17] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA143; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. nos. 2143–1855 and 468–1869; Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, inv. no. 345; and a fragment in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 66.974. See Philippe Malgouyres, *Ivoires du Musée du Louvre, 1480–1850* [exhibition catalog], Dieppe, Château-Musée (Paris: Somogy Édition d'Art, 2005), 46–48; Paul Williamson and Glyn Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings, 1200–1550* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2014), vol. 2, 628–31, cat. nos. 218 and 219.

[18] Malgouyres, *Ivoires du Musée du Louvre*, 46–48.

[19] *[…] femina mente Parim, vita spolavit Uriam, / et pietate David, et Salomona fide […]* Hildebertus Lavardinensis, *Carmina minora*, ed. A. Brian Scott (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969), 40. Translation in Kren,

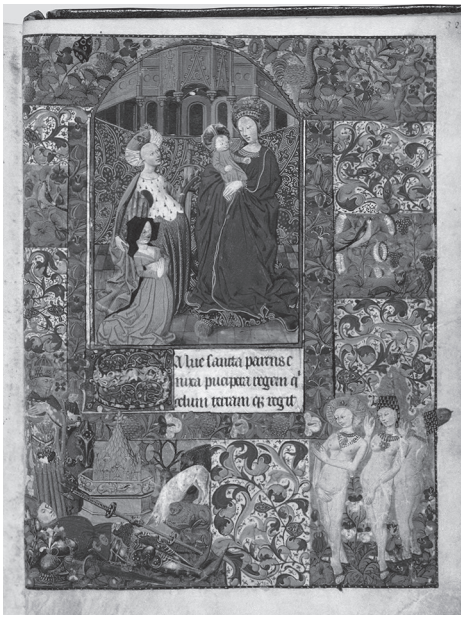

Fig. 6. Virgin and Child with St Catherine of Alexandria and donator; margin: Judgment of Paris, Book of Hours, Rouen, c. 1460–70. Aix-en-Provence, Fonds Bibliothèque Méjanes, ms. 22, 329. © With permission of the Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence

trésor by Brunetto Latini, a very popular and widespread work, also attributes both the fall of Troy and the sin of David to the beauty of a woman. In connection with foolish love, Brunetto says:

> It happened several times that love seized them so much that they had no power of their own […] and in this way they lost their sense […] such as […] David, the prophet, who for the beauty of Bathsheba had [Uriah] murdered and committed adultery, […] everybody knows about Troy, how it was destroyed […].[20]

This work was certainly known in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century because one of its copies was illuminated by the Master of the Rouen Échevinage.[21] However, it is hard to prove that Brunetto's passage or another

"Bathsheba Imagery," 169.

[20] *[…] il avient maintefoiz que amor les seurprent si fort que il n'ont nul pooir de soi meismes, […] et en ceste maniere perdent il lor sens […] si comme [..] David li prophetes, qui, por la biauté de Bersabée, fist murtre et avoutire; […] de Troi, comment ele fu destruite le sevent tuit […].* Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor*, ed. François Adrien Polycarpe Chabaille (Paris: Imprimière Impériale, 1863), 431–2.

[21] Brunetto Latini: *Le Livre du trésor*, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. 160; see Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle," 53.

specific misogynous text directly inspired the insertion of the Judgment scene next to a representation of the Bathing Bathsheba. Nonetheless, the recurrent appearance of both David and Paris (or Troy) in these misogynous lists makes it likely that placing their stories in this context was widely known.[22]

The Judgment of Paris in the Villefosse Hours

In contrast to the New York books of hours, in the Villefosse Hours the Judgment of Paris appears on its own in the margin of the Penitent David. Therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration the whole pictorial program of the manuscript to define the role of the Judgment of Paris. In the margins of this manuscript, all New Testament scenes are accompanied by their Old Testament type, well known from one of the most popular typological works, the *Biblia pauperum*.[23] In this context, the Judgment of Paris can be interpreted as the prefiguration of the Praying David. I know of no other example where a mythological scene prefigures an event from the Old Testament in a typological cycle,[24] but the practice of attributing Christian allegorical meaning to classical myths was the most common way of handling the classical legacy.[25] The *Ovide moralisé* and the *Ovidius moralizatus*, perhaps the best known of such works, provide a Christian interpretation for the Judgment of Paris as well, but they interpret the Judgment as the Fall of Man where the apple of discord corresponds to the apple of Eve.[26] There is no mention of King David at all. However, a viewer with only a basic knowledge of the myth could have drawn an analogy between the two stories; choosing a woman for

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[22] Further examples: Walter Map, "The Letter of Valerius to Ruffinus, against Marriage, (c. 1180)," in *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, ed. Alciun Blamires, Karen Pratt and C. William Marx (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 103–14, esp. 105 and 107; *Grant malice des femmes*, anonymous poem, late fifteenth century, for which, see Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. 5, Morales, facétieuses, historiques (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856), 305–18, esp. 309 and 312.

[23] For the description of the manuscript's pictorial cycle, see Durrieu, "La Légende," 152–56. For the representations of the Biblia pauperum, see Gerhard Schmidt and Alfred Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 294–6.

[24] Pagan-Christian typology is not without precedent. For example, early Christian writers considered Apollo, Orpheus, and Hercules as figures foreshadowing Christ; see David S. Berkeley, "Some Misapprehensions of Christian Typology in Recent Literary Scholarship," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 18 (1978): 5.

[25] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1953), 84–95.

[26] Ehrhart, The Judgment, 88–94, 97.

her beauty led to both the moral fall of David and the existential fall of Troy. At the same time, the almost identical posture of the goddess in the middle and Eve in another marginal image, representing the Fall of Man, seems to echo the interpretation provided by the *Ovide moralisé* (figs. 4–5). Thus, the Judgment of Paris scene in the Villefosse Hours provides a mythological analogy not only for the individual fall of King David, but also for the universal fall of humankind.

The pictorial cycle of the New York books of hours

Compared to the almost exclusively typological cycle of the Villefosse Hours, the marginal decoration of the New York books of hours, especially of M 131, is much more heterogeneous.[27] In M 131, most of the New Testament images are accompanied by scenes extending their narrative (fols. 25r, 48r, 52v, 58r, 63r, 67r, 70r, 111r). Besides, Old Testament subjects familiar from typological cycles are depicted in the margin of three main images, but they are all wrongly paired with the New Testament representations. Moses and the Burning Bush and the Sacrifice of Isaac, standard prefigurations for the Annunciation and for the Crucifixion, appear in the border of the Four Evangelists (fol. 13r). Gideon's Fleece, originally the type of the Annunciation, is depicted under the Flight into Egypt (fol. 60v). The Adoration of the Magi is accompanied by an image of Augustus and the Sybil, the type for the Nativity in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fol. 55v). In addition to this, in the border of the Visitation another type of image, a miracle of the Virgin Mary, is depicted – two scenes from the Legend of the Penitent Theophilus (fol. 33v). In the clearly typological marginal cycle of the Villefosse Hours, the Judgment of Paris could have functioned as a mythological analogy for an Old Testament scene that did not have itself an Old Testament prefiguration. But what is the role of the Judgment of Paris in a more heterogeneous pictorial cycle in which (inaccurate) typology represents only one layer?

According to my hypothesis, the answer lies precisely in the variety of images. Another book of hours, also illuminated in Rouen around 1470, can shed more light on the function of this iconographical diversity.[28] It also features various types of images in the borders. Beyond the usual cycle of the labors of the months, the calendar is decorated with allegorical figures of the Virtues and Vices, with Old Testament scenes sorted out rather randomly, and with scenes

[27] For reproduction of the miniatures and for a description of the whole pictorial program, see "Corsair."

[28] New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M 32. For a description of the manuscript, see "Corsair."

from Christ's life. In addition, two of the main images illustrating the hours are accompanied by scenes coming from typological cycles. Under the Nativity, the Tiburtine Sybil's prophecy appears in accordance with the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fol. 51r), while the Annunciation to the Shepherds is paired with the Miracle of the Manna that would more correctly appear as a type for the Last Supper (fol. 39r). Moreover, the Visitation is accompanied by the representation of Hercules chasing Nessus, who raped his wife, Deianira (fol. 26v). To my knowledge, this is the only other book of hours containing a mythological image in the margin outside of the calendar section. Unfortunately, the manuscript is incomplete in its present state, since apart from the already mentioned images, the other parts of the Hours miss their traditional illustrations. In the absence of the whole original pictorial program, it is hard to define the exact role of the Hercules scene. In the *Ovide moralisé*, this myth was interpreted as a struggle for the soul, something which may have validated its insertion in a prayer book, but its pairing with the Visitation seems to be rather random.[29]

For the purposes of this article, it suffices to observe and interpret the variety of marginal images. I think this iconographic diversity in both M 32 and M 131 can be associated with the special status books of hours had in manuscript ownership. Often, it was the only book in one's possession.[30] The rather mediocre quality of the illumination in all three New York books of hours suggests that the customers of these manuscripts were perhaps less wealthy. For such owners, as Virginia Reinburg demonstrated, the book of hours could fulfil other functions beyond being simply a prayer book. For example, it could be used for recording family events or for primary education.[31] I think that the role of the diverse, although at some points haphazard, pictorial cycle in the New York manuscripts can also be understood from this point of view. The images in the margin, merging bits and pieces from various cultural fields, such as ancient mythology, miracles of saints, and Old Testament typology, could render this book, which might have been the only or one of very few in the reader's possession, a multi-faceted volume.

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[29] Marc-René Jung, "Hercule dans les textes du Moyen Age: Essai d'une typologie," in *Rinascite di Ercole: Atti del convegno internazionale di Verona* (May 29–June 1, 2002), ed. Anna Maria Babbi (Verona: Fiorini, 2002), 48–50.

[30] Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur": Les commanditaires de livres et le métier de l'enluminure à Tournai à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIVe–XVe siècles)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 58.

[31] Virginia Reinburg, "An Archive of Prayer: The Book of Hours in Manuscripts and Print," in *Manuscripta Illuminata: Approaches to Understanding Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, 2014), 221.

The Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours

In contrast with the other three manuscripts, in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours, the Judgment of Paris is not attached to the Praying King David, but to an image of the Virgin and the Child.[32] A further peculiarity of the Judgment's representation is its fusion with another subject, the unicorn purifying water poisoned by the serpent so that the other animals, arranged around the fountain next to which Paris is sleeping, can drink it.[33] The allegorical meaning of this legend is evident: the serpent is the devil who poisons the world with sin while the unicorn can be identified with Christ the Savior.[34] The fountain and the unicorn are recurrent motifs in the borders of the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours. As a symbol of Christ, a fountain is depicted under the Crucifixion (p. 197).[35] A fountain, together with a representation of the Hunt for the Unicorn appears under the Enthroned Virgin and Child that illustrates the opening lines of the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin* which refer to Mary as the "fountain of all good" (p. 309). The *fons signatus* ("sealed fountain") from the Song of Songs was considered a symbol of Mary's virginity, while the Hunt for the Unicorn was often interpreted as an allegory of the Incarnation and the Passion.[36]

While the connection between the fountain, the unicorn, and Mary is clear, it is less evident why the Judgment of Paris was linked with them – beyond the purely motivical relationship that could have inspired the insertion of this mythological scene at this point. An image from the margin of another book of hours, painted by the Master of the Rouen Échevinage c. 1470, might shed

[32] For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Joseph Hyacinthe Albanès, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 16: Aix (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894), 31–36.

[33] Another oddity is that each goddess is holding a ring. This also appears with one of the goddesses in the Villefosse Hours and in the engravings by the Master with Banderols (see note 9). It might have originated as a misunderstanding of the apple, often represented as a small golden dot, but even if it was originally conceived as an allusion to Paris's marriage, confusion regarding its symbolism immediately emerged since it is held by Juno and Pallas in the engravings.

[34] Bruno Faidutti, "Image et connaissance de la licorne (fin du Moyen Age – XIXème siècle)" (PhD diss., Université Paris XII, 1996), 59.

[35] Alois Thomas, "Brunnen," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, vol. 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 331–35; Esther P. Wipfler, "Fons vitae," in "RDK Labor," http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=88560 (accessed Oct. 3, 2017).

[36] Esther P. Wipfler, "Fons signatus," in "RDK Labor," http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=88782 (accessed Oct. 3, 2017). For the interpretation of the Hunt for the Unicorn, see Faidutti, "Image et connaissance," 43.

light on the meaning of this pairing.[37] Here, next to the fountain depicted under the Annunciation, a mermaid appears swimming in the water with a comb and a mirror in her hands, which are well-known attributes of vanity. Thus, the border decoration combines a Marian symbol with a representation of vanity serving as an antithesis to the Virgin Mary humbly receiving Gabriel's announcement. In the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours, the Judgment of Paris under the image of the Virgin and the Child could play a similar role: as the choice of worldly beauty and vanity, expressed by the rich jewelry of the goddesses, it opposes the figure of the Virgin who, pure and humble, accepted the will of God.

The relationship between the four books of hours

The comparison of the four books of hours reveals that although their decoration is related at several points, none of them can be considered a copy of the other. In the New York manuscripts some of the main images are very close to each other,[38] yet neither of the manuscripts seems to follow the other directly. The rich marginal cycle of M 131 cannot derive from the more modest decoration of M 312, nor could the Judgment of Paris scene in M 312 have been made after the miniature in M 131, where the statue on top of the fountain is cut off by the frame and the posture of the goddesses is also different. In M 312 and in the Villefosse Hours, not only is the composition of the Judgment very similar, but also the representation of the Three Living and the Three Dead.[39] Nonetheless, the lack of Paris's horse in the Villefosse Hours, and the correct typological cycle – which is completely missing in M 312 – in the margin of the Villefosse Hours, preclude that either of them could have been copied from the other. The inaccurate typological cycle of M 131 cannot go back to the Villefosse Hours either, since the former contains a depiction of Gideon's Fleece not present in the latter. Moreover, although the Aix-en-Provence manuscript is dated earlier (c. 1460s or 1470) than the other three books of hours (c. 1470–80), the myth's insertion in it proved to be more difficult to explain than it did situated next to the Bathing Bathsheba as we see in the New York manuscripts. Considering the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours a derivative version can offer an answer for that.

[37] New York, The Morgan Library and Museum M 167, fol. 29r.

[38] The Visitation (M 131, fol. 33v and M 312, fol. 38r), the Presentation in the Temple (M 131, fol. 58r and M 312, fol. 63v), the Flight into Egypt (M 131, fol. 60v and M 312, fol. 66v), the Crucifixion (M 131, fol. 67r and M 312, fol. 98r), the Lamentation (M 131, fol. 111r and M 312, fol. 133r).

[39] M 312, fol. 104r. For a reproduction of the miniature in the Villefosse Hours, see Durrieu, "La Légende," pl. XI.

These observations raise the possibility that one or several other lost books of hours containing a depiction of the Judgment of Paris in their margin may have been produced in Rouen in the 1470s, or even earlier. The visual link created by the female nudes between the Judgment of Paris and the Bathing Bathsheba scenes, as well as their common misogynous overtones, suggest that it might have been the Bathing Bathsheba that first inspired the insertion of this mythological scene in the margins of books of hours. At some point – maybe at the moment of the invention – the Judgment could have been included in a more-or-less complete and correct typological cycle running in the margin, as the Villefosse Hours and M 131 indicate. There was a special interest in typological cycles in Rouen from the 1470s onwards, as another group of manuscripts also testifies. Ágnes Tóvizi argued that the Master of the Rouen Échevinage created two typological cycles for books of hours in the 1470s, where an Old Testament event occupies the major place on the page, while a New Testament scene is either relegated to the lower margin or completely omitted.[40]

Books of hours with a pure typological cycle, the four books of hours containing the Judgment of Paris scene and M 32 with the depiction of Hercules chasing Nessus demonstrate together that a tendency to diversify the standard iconography of books of hours evolved in the 1470s in Rouen. In the books of hours examined in this paper, the insertion of a mythological image in the border goes hand in hand with the enrichment of the marginal decoration. It is placed in a correct typological cycle in the Villefosse Hours, it appears together with some symbolical images in the Aix-en-Provence Hours, while in M 131 and M 32 it becomes part of a more heterogeneous pictorial program. Such diverse pictorial cycles must have served as a means of making the product more attractive and, by offering bits and pieces from various cultural fields, they instructed and delighted the beholder at the same time.

[40] Ágnes Tóvizi, "Une oeuvre inconnue de Robert Boyvin à Budapest et les cycles vétéro-testamentaires dans les livres d'heures de Rouen," *Acta Historiae Artium* 46 (2006): 25–28. One cycle is based on the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and it is preserved in a manuscript now in Baltimore (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 224, c. 1480), while the other, which follows the *Biblia pauperum*, can be reconstructed with the help of the works of the Master's pupil, Robert Boyvin (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 227; New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, H 1).

THE BRIDAL JOURNEY OF BONA SFORZA[1]

Patrik Pastrnak

In premodern societies, the marriages of noble daughters were concluded for political reasons. By forging a marital bond, nobles and rulers from distant regions sought to spread their power, make a powerful ally, or secure peace. The young bride was supposed to set off on a long journey to her husband's territory to encounter a man she had never seen before who often spoke a different language or even came from a different cultural circle. At the first sight, it may seem that this journey was merely a physical transfer. In this study, I will argue that exactly the opposite is true, that this journey involved a complex logical mechanism, symbolical meaning, and moreover, a very elaborate literary reflection which shifted it to a completely new dimension.

Since political marriages between ruling families were standard practice during the Middle Ages (and beyond), bridal journeys were quite frequent. However, it was not until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that bridal journeys became better documented. From the point of view of source availability, one of the best documented cases is the journey undertaken by Bona Sforza (1494–1557), the second wife of the Polish King Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548).[2] This wedding was an outcome of the masterly diplomacy of Emperor Maximilian I with a goal of creating a powerful Habsburg-Jagellonian alliance that resulted in the mutual-succession treaty with Sigismund's brother, Vladislaus II (the king of Hungary and Bohemia), and the First Congress of Vienna only a few years earlier in 1515. Bona made a very sought-after bride (her dowry amounted to more than 100,000 ducats). Comparably, Sigismund was a ruler of one of the greatest realms at his time and thus a perfect option for Bona too. The wedding by proxy took place in Naples on 6 December 1517, and in February 1518 Bona and her entourage set off from the port of Manfredonia in Italy on their journey to Poland. Several

[1] This article is based on my thesis: Patrik Pastrnak, "A Bridal Journey: The Case of Bona Sforza" MA thesis (Central European University, 2017).

[2] Bona's wedding is sufficiently elaborated on in Polish and Italian scholarship, although only as a part of Bona's biographies rather than as an independent study. The most important: Władysław Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557): Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia* [Queen Bona (1494–1557): Times and people of the Renaissance], vol. 1 and 2 (Poznań: Poznań. Tow. przyjaciół nauk, 1949); Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 4th ed. (Warszawa: Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich, 2009); Maria Stella Calò Mariani and Giuseppe Dibenedetto, eds., *Bona Sforza: regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari: catalogo della Mostra*, vol. 1 (Rome: Nuova Comunicazione, 2000) and vol. 2 (Rome: Nuova Comunicazione, 2007).

weeks later, she arrived in Krakow where on 18 April the second wedding (this time in person) and nuptial festivities took place.

Sources documenting Bona Sforza's bridal journey encompass a broad range: there are many diplomatic materials collected in *Acta Tomiciana*;[3] narrative sources, such as the Decjusz wedding description,[4] and Carmignano's description of the journey,[5] one which combines realistic features with poetic techniques taken from the wedding poetry, the so-called *epithalamia*. Bona's journey and wedding gave rise to a number of such poetic works; occasionally poems are connected to specific places during the journey (Vienna, Olomouc, Krakow). Another interesting source are financial accounts of the Jagiellonian court.[6] As a comparative text, I will use the only surviving instructional manual for a bridal journey, the *De institutione vivendi* by Diomede Carafa. This work was written for Bona's great-aunt Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508) when she travelled to meet her husband, Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary.[7]

I will examine Bona's bridal journey from three perspectives. First, I will reconstruct the organizational background of the actual journey. Then, the focus will be shifted to the symbolical meaning of this travelling, inherent in ritual practices. Finally, I will deconstruct Bona's metaphorical journey, created by the wedding poems.

Organization

The first question concerning organization of the journey is the planning. It took place on two levels: long- and short-term planning, which are naturally often mixed. The first aspect of the long-term planning was the material conditions. Already before the journey, according to Carafa, the queen had to be mindful of

[3] Stanislaus Górski, *Acta Tomiciana. Tomus quartus – epistolarum, legationum, responsorum actionum et rerum gestarum serenissimi principis Sigismundi Primi, Regis Polonie et Magni Ducis Lithuanie* (s.l.: Biblioteka Kornicka, 1855).

[4] Jodocus Ludovicus Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna in splendidissimis, potentissimi Sigismundi Poloniae regis, et serenissimae dominae Bonae, Mediolani, Barique ducis principis Rossani, nuptiis gesta descriptio* (Krakow: Hieronymus Victor, 1518).

[5] Nicola Antonio Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona regina da la sua arrivata in Manfredonia andando vero del suo regno de Polonia," in *Operette del Parthenopeo Suavio (Carmignano)* (Bari, 1535).

[6] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD), Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (ASK) z lat 1388–1826, Oddział 1 – Rachunki Królewskie, 1388–1781.

[7] Diomede Carafa, *De institutione vivendi, Tanítás az életvezetés szabályairól. Emlékeztető Magyarország fenséges királynéjának* [Teaching on lifestyle. Memorial for the Hungarian queen], ed. Péter Ekler (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2006).

circumstances that might arise. It was necessary to buy provisions in reasonable amounts (more or less) and get what was missing on the way when the need arose. And the most important thing (according to Carafa) was that a supervisor should be appointed to ascertain that everything was paid for and nothing was stolen after leaving each city in which the queen stopped to visit. Furthermore, many overseers of the bride's ladies-in-waiting and handmaids had to be appointed.[8] Bona's Italian court indeed lists two older women whose job was to oversee the younger women, precisely as Carafa prescribed. However, besides them, there are many other professionals and artisans whom Carafa did not mention at all: jewelers, tailors, embroiderers, lackeys, especially cooks (there are five of them on the salary list), and so on.[9] Although they were meant to be part of the queen's permanent court, their services were especially needed already during the journey. Bona's entourage was thus more of a travelling court than a group formed for a single expedition.

The long-term planning, although not explicitly stated by Carafa, concerned particularly the choice of route. He speaks about the importance of visiting holy places and important persons (pope, princes, relatives) on the way. In other words, the route should be established in order to visit as many holy places and meet as many important persons as possible, which would offer two kinds of benefit: a spiritual one (similar to a pilgrimage) and a social one (obtaining a good reputation). However, Carafa's instruction was not followed in Bona's case – she chose the maritime route from Italy to Dalmatia and then the overland route through Carniola, Styria, Moravia, and Silesia. Thus, she skipped visiting Rome, the hub of innumerable relics, and she did not even make any short detours to pilgrimage sites. It seems that pragmatic considerations prevailed – sea travel could be up to sixty times cheaper than overland transportation.[10] Bona's maritime course along the Dalmatian coast had its physiographic reasons as well – the Eastern Adriatic coast possesses the protective archipelago that facilitated navigation.[11] The fact that Bona's choice of routes was not accidental is also apparent from her overland route – her entourage comprising several hundred people needed a good web of roadways with feasible opportunities for lodging. That is why she proceeded from

[8] Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*, 23–4.

[9] AGAD, ASK sec. 1, sign 47, fol. 17r–18v.

[10] Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300/800* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 12–17.

[11] Mithad Kozličić and Mateo Bratanić, "Ancient Sailing Routes in Adriatic," in *Les Routes de l'Adriatique Antique, Géographie et Économie – Putovi antičkog Jadrana, geografija i gospodarstvo*, ed. Slobodan Čače, Anamarija Kurilić, and Francis Tassaux (Bordeaux, Zadar: Ausonius, 2006), 107–24.

Fig. 1. Map of Bona Sforza's bridal journey in 1518

town to town, using urban spaces for overnight stays. Furthermore, by visiting Emperor Maximilian in Vienna, she partially followed Carafa's advice to use the journey for paying visits to important people.

Another intriguing aspect of the journey's planning relates to time. The very first question that comes to mind is why Bona's journey started in the middle of winter, a very dangerous time for travelling. There were indeed harsh debates between Bona's mother and the Polish ambassadors who demanded – on the king's behalf – that the departure take place as soon as possible.[12] There are several possible answers. Sigismund may have been afraid that the wedding contract could be annulled as was quite frequent in the Middle Ages.[13] The second, more intriguing reason for Sigismund's urgency may have come from his

[12] Pociecha, *Królowa Bona,* I, 213–4.

[13] Spieß, Karl-Heinz, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann. Brautfahrt und Ehe in europäischen Fürstenhäusern des Spätmittelalters," in *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*, ed. Irene Erfen and Karl-Heinz Spiess (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 26.

fondness for astrology; he had a horoscope compiled for his coronation and for the enthronement of his first wife,[14] so it is conceivable to believe, though we lack precise evidence to support it, that Sigismund had had a horoscope drawn up for Bona's coronation as well.

A schedule of Bona's journey was not given beforehand but only roughly estimated: Sigismund urged Bona to speed up and spend Easter in the cities, Krakow being accessible after two weeks. Otherwise, he would have to postpone the date of the wedding and coronation.[15] There is another important time-related aspect in planning the journey. Let us call it the "incorporation of sacral time to profane time." This means that the journey was adjusted to provide the entourage with the possibility of being close to a church on feast days, such as Sundays and Easter. Since in Bona's Italian court there were two priests (chaplains) listed, we know that she had spiritual assistance at her disposal during the entire journey.[16] Moreover, the dates of the wedding by proxy in Naples coincide with the feast of St. Nicolas, whose relics reposed in Bari and who was, thus, the chief patron of Bona's ducal legacy. Similarly, Sigismund chose the second Sunday after Easter as the date of coronation and wedding in Krakow. According to the coronation *ordo* of Polish queens, the coronation ceremony should take place on a Sunday, following three days of fasting.[17]

To summarize, Bona's itinerary and other sources reveal the spatial and temporal planning of the journey. By doing so, they provide an insight into the hidden logic behind her travels. On the spatial level, Bona's journey did not precisely follow Carafa's advice to see and visit as much as possible. Instead, it was an effort to combine the practical and the spiritual-social aspects of the journey – to travel by sea as far as possible, to voyage through passable areas while simultaneously respecting "sacral time" and remaining close to places of cult and devotion. The journey was also planned with regard to time. Sundays and feasts such as Easter were periods for rest and celebration.

[14] Sylwia Konarska-Zimnicka, "Horoscopes Prepared by Master Astrologers from Krakow at the Turn of the 15th and 16th Century (according to the BJ 3225 and 3227 Manuscripts)," *Theatrum Historiae* 18 (2016): 33.

[15] Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 4, 267.

[16] AGAD, ASK sec. 1, sign 47, fol. 17r.

[17] "Ordinatio Caeremoniarum in Coronationibus Reginarum Poloniae Observandum," in *Corpus Iuris Polonici*, ed. Oswald Balzer, vol. 3 (Krakow: 1905).

Rituals and ceremonies

Scholars pointed out the various symbolical and cultural aspects of bridal journeys: Spieß distinguishes its representative, diplomatic, and festive functions, while Coester considers it a social act with a hidden symbolic value.[18] These considerations point to the fact that a bridal journey was not merely a geographical journey; it had deep-rooted implications that may be designated with one word: ritual. But is the bridal journey a ritual in fact?

I argue that the bridal journey can be considered as a transition ritual or, in other words, a rite of passage. This term is based on Arnold Van Gennep's fundamental work.[19] He understands rituals in a religious sense, claiming that there are two spheres, the profane and the sacred. By crossing the boundary between them, one has to pass through a phase or period of passage. This passage takes place during substantial life changes; according to Van Gennep these are birth, marriage, and death.[20] Marriage represents the move from the state of childhood to adulthood, from one family to another, or from one society to another.

At first glance, the bridal journey is merely a geographic passage during nuptial ceremonies. From the moment it begins, the bride is already married, though by proxy which, according to Church law, was completely valid. Therefore the bride had already ritually passed from obedience to her father to obedience to her husband. However, the wedding ceremony is repeated after the bride's arrival at her husband's house.[21] Her bridal journey is thus something like a zero-zone because, first, the bride is already legally married but still has to leave her family and, second, the marriage has still not been fulfilled by sexual intercourse. The geographical journey illustrates the symbolic transition which at least at one point – the farewell to her family – is definitely not merely symbolic. Thus, it is reasonable to deem the bridal journey as a significant part of nuptial rituals and as a transition ritual.

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[18] Spieß, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann," 27–28; Christiane Coester, "Crossing Boundaries and Traversing Space. The Voyage of the Bride in Early Modern Europe," in *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System. Proceedings of an International Workshop (Florence, 12–13 December 2008),* ed. Giulia Calvi and Isabelle Chabot (Florence: European University Institute, 2010), 10.

[19] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[20] Ibid., 126.

[21] The statements that a marriage by proxy was legally binding but still needed to be repeated may sound contradictory, but it was a medieval practice to corroborate the marriage by all possible means so that nobody could question its validity. See Spieß, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann," 25–26.

Van Gennep speaks about rites of separation and incorporation. Separation from the bride's natal family during the wedding is followed by the symbolic banishment of things connected with childhood or bachelorhood. On the other hand, there are rites of incorporation by the future family of the bride (i.e. the husband), such as a communal meal or exchange of gifts. All of these serve to strengthen the unifying character of the marriage act.[22]

In Carafa's vision, the moment of separation consists of verbal features, namely the apologizing-thanksgiving speech and the begging for benediction, along with gestures – the kissing of the father's hands, kneeling, and shedding tears, which are to emphasize the verbal elements of the ritual.[23] The first encounter with the husband, part of the incorporation ritual, is presented solely by non-verbal means. The bride is supposed to immediately get off her horse, which may have the same meaning as kneeling before her father in the separation ritual, that is, to venerate the husband as a new father by clasping his hand.[24]

Even though Carafa's view was probably based on contemporary practice, it remains in the educative and instructional sphere and does not tell us with certainty that this was the practice or the normal case. Bona's farewell from her mother, as described in Carmignano's poem, concentrates solely on the mother's and daughter's grief when bidding a final goodbye to each other. A dominant motive is weeping, which is stretched to cosmic measures and clearly it mostly serves the rhetorical goals rather than reflecting the historical reality.[25] However, Leandro Alberti recounts that in Manfredonia there was still a stone staircase which Bona used to embark on the ship, and that there, with tears in her eyes, she asked her mother for a pardon and her blessing, and that this is inscribed on the rock.[26] More than mere accordance with Carafa, this text shows the contemporary use of ritual practice during the departure of the bride and points to the fact that it was still remembered many decades later.

The first encounter with the husband took place outside the walls of Krakow. King Sigismund was waiting in front of a red pavilion, surrounded by many bishops, dukes, noblemen, ambassadors, and up to two hundred soldiers dressed in white uniforms. Bona approached, accompanied by hundreds of horses which the king sent her for this purpose the previous day. She immediately got off her

[22] Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 130–2.
[23] Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*, 16–17, 20.
[24] Ibid., 31.
[25] Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 1.
[26] Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia di F. Leandro Alberti Bolognese* (Venice: Pitero dei Nicolini da Sabbio, 1551), 203v.

horse, knelt before the king, and kissed his hands. The king replied by embracing her firmly.[27] Decjusz confirms this account and adds that they clasped hands.[28] The similarity to Carafa's scenario is striking, though he would perhaps protest against the king's embrace. Still, this gesture did manifest the incorporation of the bride into her new family and new realm.

The incorporation moment was heightened by a verbal element. The archbishop of Gniezno, the highest ecclesiastic authority of the kingdom, welcomed the new queen. The archbishop entrusted the queen with the kingdom, and most importantly, he welcomed the queen in the hope that she could give the king the only thing he lacked – an heir. According to him, Bona was up to this task thanks to her illustrious pedigree, personal virtues, as well as her beauty.

Sources from Bona's journey yield evidence to another ritual act – solemn entries into cities, the so-called *adventus reginae,* the female version of *adventus regis. Adventus regis*, or the entry of the king and a well-known category in historical writing, was characterized by an elaborated set of rituals that served to manifest, visualize and represent the royal power and the ruler's sovereignty over a city.[29] Yet the queen – now only a bride traveling to her husband – could not manifest her power over a city since she did not possess it. This is especially true when she entered cities that did not belong to her husband's kingdom. In this case, the message of the *adventus reginae* ritual is slightly different.

In some cities, Bona was welcomed by *bombarde* and *artiglierie* (in Rijeka, Ljubljana, Leibnitz), in others with various plays and festivities that were held (in Kamnik and Olomouc). Naturally, the most elaborated and sumptuous was the entry into Krakow, when Bona and Sigismund were accompanied by a massive procession of noblemen, and the entry itself was connected to speeches and plays. The splendor expressed in Bona's entry into the city served to express the magnificence of this royal wedding and more particularly, the power and prestige of King Sigismund.

The speech by Ludwig Restio, a scholar at the University of Vienna, who welcomed Bona to his city, reveals why Bona was welcomed in cities outside Sigismund's realm. In his oration, Restio remarked how necessary the emperor's efforts were in arranging the wedding and how beneficial it would be for the whole of Christianity. In addition, Bona's spouse, King Sigismund, could be equaled

[27] Carmignano, "Viaggio della d. donna Bona," chapters 12–13.

[28] Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna* [d2r].

[29] Probably the most crucial (and relatively new) synthesis on the issue: Geritt Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik. Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003).

only to the emperor himself.[30] Therefore, the leg of Bona's journey through the emperor's territories was celebrated to demonstrate the emperor's political genius in arranging this wedding.

The bridal journey was not merely the physical transportation of the bride from her country of origin to her husband's country, but embodied a significant ritual layer that points to the fact that it was the marriage of two royal houses. Thus, the journey was meant to manifest the bride's rite of passage from being an ordinary woman to one whose task was to bear a future king. This had to be expressed by a number of ritual practices that manifested the symbolic value of marriage as well as the power and wealth of the families involved. The best-documented rites of this character in the sources concerning Bona's journey are those of her separation and incorporation as a bride and queen, and her entries into different cities on her way to Poland. The separation and incorporation that took place in the beginning and the end of the journey express Bona's transition from an old authority, her mother, to a new one, her husband. In addition, by the act of incorporation she is symbolically received not only as a member of her husband's family, but also as queen of the entire kingdom. The prominence of the royal bond is evidenced in various ways; the most common one could be called the *adventus reginae*. This elaborated set of rituals, performed in various partial forms during the length of Bona's journey and eventually in an outstanding way during her final entrance into Krakow, displayed the prestige of her husband King Sigismund, as well as the diplomatic genius of Emperor Maximilian who negotiated the marriage.

Metaphorical journey

A characteristic feature of poems connected to Bona Sforza's bridal journey, especially the one by Carmignano, is that they present a completely new perspective on the journey, or rather, a completely new journey. They create a virtual reality in which Bona does not travel from Manfredonia to Krakow, but from ancient Latium, a home of gods and heroes, to the land of the king of Sarmatia. They do so by using the tripartite scheme of *deductio,* according to which the bride first undergoes the traumatic departure during which she has to abandon her father's house. That is accompanied by the images of sorrow – both on the part of parents and the bride. The sorrow of the separation is counterweighted by

[30] Ludwig Restio, *Oratio ad illustrissimam Bonam Sfortiam [...] 14 Kalen[dis] Aprilis anno 1518 in eius adventu Universitatis Viennensis nomine in magno tum procerum, tum eruditorum co[n]fessu habita* (Vienna: Singriener, Johann, 1518), [a3r–v, a5r].

the groom who eagerly awaits his bride. The second part is the procession from the father's house to that of the husband, which is linked with the invocation of gods, marital or fluvial, who are supposed to protect the cortege from the dangers of the journey. In the final part, the arrival at the husband's house, the bride is exhorted to put aside embarrassment and courageously enter the groom's bed, promising that the current distress and uneasiness would turn into the joy of a happy marriage (*gaudia amoris*).[31]

Bona's farewell from her mother, described by Carmignano, is a cosmically extended scene of weeping and sorrow. It is a traumatic event for all: everybody cries, not only Isabella and Bona, but the entire entourage, nature and its elements, represented by the gods Neptune or Eurus. Neptune, as god of the sea, manifests his sorrow through the ocean's heaving waves, and Eurus, the eastern wind, does so by roaring and hissing. The theme of sorrow is further emphasized by references to literary figures who underwent heartbreaking separations, such as Hero and Leander, or Dido and Aeneas. Carmignano addresses all of them and asks them to stop crying because their sorrows cannot be compared to those of Isabella.[32] The departure is thus not only dressed in ancient clothes but is also visualized through references to the stories behind these characters. Isabella laments over the daughter's departure in the same way (or even more so) that Dido wept over Aeneas' departure or as Hero mourned Leander's death.

Moving on to the central part of the literary journey, there is a significant recurrent theme of gradation. Carmignano craftily uses the route and time of Bona's journey to paint a picture of passage from the sorrow of departure to the joy of arrival. The route progresses slowly from the turbulent sea, scrabbles through mountainous and rocky Carniola and Styria, and eventually slides into the lowlands of Austria and Moravia. The seasons, similarly, glide slowly from harsh winter to blossoming spring. In doing so, he creates a gradual literary anabasis from sorrow to joy. The images of adversities and tribulations, as the entourage passes the icy alpine paths and flooded rivers so that Carmignano "cannot recount all the troubles of that day," are counterbalanced by the warm acceptance into cities where the weary traveler finds a comfortable bed after every distress and trouble.[33] As Bona approaches the goal of her journey, her groom, the roads get better, "merry Phoebus [sun] with his court appears," the retinue passes through

[31] Cueto, "Historia y ficción poética en la deductio moderna: El largo viaje de la novia en tres epitalamios latinos del siglo XV en honor de la Casa de Aragón," *Euphrosyne* 42 (2014): 72–73.
[32] Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 1.
[33] Ibid., chapter 7.

the hills, forests, and pleasant places (*loghi ameni*) which are the source of sweetness to their souls.[34]

The joyfulness of the track culminates with the day they enter Krakow and Bona meets Sigismund; that is, the final stage of poetic *deductio.* As Bona reaches the end of her journey, the surroundings are more and more pleasant which means that, symbolically, she is approaching her "sun" – her husband. The fog, snow, and other distresses in the first part of the journey were meant to contrast the relief brought about by the pleasant lands in the final part of the journey. The small respite of the city in the laborious leg of the journey is a little prelude to the final joy. Therefore, in the same way that the shiny and pleasant lands of the final destination represent the splendor of Bona's husband, King Sigismund, the sheltering cities on the way may be seen as beams of light extending from the "sun" – they express the splendidness of Sigismund's ally, Emperor Maximilian.[35] The gradation of the bridal journey from distresses to joy demonstrates the groom's lavishness and splendor, as well as that of his allies.

The poetic scheme of *deductio* was a very effective tool to preserve Bona's bridal journey (together with her wedding) within cultural memory. The convergence of the actual and the metaphorical shifts Bona's journey to the mythological sphere, and its protagonists become mythological heroes. Therefore, Carmignano's poem is also a powerful device of dynastic propaganda.

Conclusion

The bridal journey was not a chance event, but a well-planned one – before and during the journey – with regard to spatial and temporal circumstances. The king's demand that Bona arrive in Krakow on a precise date, the choice of a safe route, the need to celebrate holy days and arrange for lodging and many other factors all had a significant impact on how the journey was organized and planned. At the same time, the bridal journey was not only about moving from one place to another. It was accompanied by a great number of festivities and rituals, such as entries into cities, farewells, and arranged meetings, all of which pointed to a symbolic rite of passage. Bona passed from the authority of her mother to the authority of her husband. Bona's solemn entry into every single city manifested the magnificence of her groom and their family. The praises of King

[34] Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. Bonna," chapter 10, 11.

[35] "De la grata accoglienza e de l'amore… Con gran Leticia il cor se manifesta / Del suo Cesareo Augusto Imperatore […]" Ibid., chapter 7. "E dentro il Castello … mostraua a chi mirar lo attente / Lo inuitto e gran Cesareo ualore." Ibid., chapter 9.

Sigismund and the union of the two families were real points in Bona's poetic and metaphorical journey, reflected in poems, especially that of Carmignano. They set her journey into a parallel reality, full of mythological heroes and ancient figures. Moreover, they elevated Bona and Sigismund over them. The reason for doing so went far beyond the cheap flattery of humanist poets. Their literary descriptions, a very classy contemporary form of public relations, conveyed important messages about the prestige, wealth, and power of King Sigismund and his allies.

BENVENUTO CELLINI'S VITA: AN ATTEMPT AT REINSTATEMENT TO THE FLORENTINE ACADEMY?[1]

Iurii Rudnev

> All people of any sort and language are born as philosophers and poets. Which means, our renowned Signor, that, born as a human, I am a philosopher and poet too. Though, as these arts are of many sorts, mine is not so exquisite because I have not been trained in it; and understanding that difference, I have put the name "Savage" on my Philosophy and Poetry.[2]

With such *declaratio modestiae*, Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) begins one of his two small philosophical, even esoteric, writings which are peculiar in their form and contents.[3] Created for a literary competition, they give an account of two "dreams," introduced by sonnets, where his authorial opinion on the hierarchy of arts, on the nature of dreams, and on some astrological matters is expressed. These are the works where Cellini most comprehensively exhibits himself as a *litterato* who participated in Florentine intellectual life.

Despite its importance, the "Savage Philosophy" (c. 1560), the hallmark of Cellini's intense learned activity, which evidently testifies to his profound involvement in contemporary academic discourse, has not been given attention until recently, in 2014.[4] Moreover, up to the end of the 1990s, any discussion about the erudition of this Renaissance sculptor, painter, goldsmith, and writer

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[1] This article is based on the first chapter, "Benvenuto Cellini and the Florentine Academy," in Iurii Rudnev, "Senses and Passions of Benvenuto Cellini: The Life of a Neoplatonic Mannerist," MA thesis (Central European University, 2017).

[2] "Nascono tutti gli huomini, di ogni qualità et di ogni lingua, per natura philosophi et poeti: però, eccellentissimo Signiore, per essere io nato huomo, adunque son philosopho e poeta. Ma perché di queste grandi arti ne è di tutte le sorti, la mia non è di quelle finissima, per non mi essere esercitato in essa; et cogniosciuta questa differenza, ho posto nome a la mia Philosophia et Poesia, Boschereccia…" Benvenuto Cellini, *Rime,* ed. Diletta Gamberini (Florence: SEF, 2014), 135.

[3] Ibid., lii–liii. *Declaratio modestiae* is the rhetorical figure that allows an unprofessional to speak on behalf of educated persons. In respect to the general Platonic context of either Cellini's *Vita* or the Florentine intellectual environment, it may also refer to the popular image of Socrates, a philosopher who was neither ignorant, nor wise, according to his own judgement.

[4] Ibid., 135.

was conducted in a very careful and even sometimes condescending tone.[5] However, during the last decades, thanks to the attention of intellectual, cultural, and art histories, his works which were for a long period residing "in limbo of subliterature" started to be reconsidered.[6]

The truly groundbreaking study thus far is the collective monograph, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer* (2004). As the editors objectively note in the introduction, it is "the first anthology in English of the great Italian Renaissance artist and autobiographer."[7] Besides exploring in depth how his art was connected to his literary production, the authors analyze in detail the coherence of his writings.

In this collection of essays, Patricia Reilly examines Cellini's unfinished work, *On the Principles and Method of Learning the Art of Drawing*, written in the same period (c. 1565). As she argues, it was intended to become "a pedagogical program" for the *Accademia del disegno* on the subject of the human body.[8] Moreover, that treatise continued the debate about the prominence of either sculpture or painting in arts initiated by the lectures of Cellini's close friend and humanist, Benedetto Varchi; the sculptor had contributed to the debate with his responses in the 1540s.

As for Cellini's *opus magnum*, the *Vita*, Paolo Rossi debunks the myth of its "natural simplicity" built upon the 1728 printed edition. Carefully studying the manuscripts – the "preprint," or *bella copia,* and the penultimate version that survived only on pages glued to the former – he concluded that, first, the original text was substantially revised many times, and second, that it was absolutely impossible that it was conceived by spontaneous dictation as Cellini asserts. The *bella copia* consists of 1019 pages and has a very sophisticated structure, in addition it "is set out neatly – with wide, even margins on each page – by hands that were quite definitely not working at speed."[9]

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[5] Cesare Lombroso writes about him nearly literally as a psychotic and maniac in: Cesare Lombroso, *L'uomo delinquente: in rapporto all'antropologia, alla giurisprudenza ed alle discipline carcerarie* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1896), 96, 235.

[6] Cellini, *Rime*, ix.

[7] Margaret Gallucci and Paolo Rossi, eds., *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

[8] Patricia Reilly, "Drawing the Line: On the Principles and Method of Learning the Art of Drawing," in *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer*, 26. Cellini was among the academy's organizers in 1563.

[9] Paolo Rossi, "*Sprezzatura*, Patronage, and Fate: Benvenuto Cellini and the World of Words," in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. P. Jacks, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 59.

This paper modestly develops these crucial discoveries of scholarship. In the following, I will put together and analyze the still undervalued testimonies to Cellini's participation in the Florentine intellectual life in order to further explore his literary production and understand it in a more fitting context. I argue that during the last decades of life, his works (either literary or artistic) came under the profound influence of the debates going on in this "think-tank." To support this claim, I will demonstrate previously overlooked passages of the *Vita* where Cellini describes his activities not only in respect to the Florentine Academy (calling it "*nobilissima/mirabile Scuola*"), which stood at the center of the Florentine learned community in the second half of the sixteenth century, but to the wider academic movement. Finally, I will answer the question of how the project of Cellini's *Vita* can be related to the learned discourse, characteristic to the academic movement and particularly the Florentine academy in the late 1560s.

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The Florentine *Marucelliana* library contains the manuscript entitled *Annali degli Umidi, poi Fiorentina* (*Annals of the Umidi, later Fiorentina*), which documents the activity of the Florentine Academy, in the period between 1540 and 1583. On fol. 25r, the annals record that on Thursday, 23 April 1545, the Academy's *consolo*, i.e., its temporary leader, Benedetto Varchi gave a private lecture on Petrarch's poetry, particulary his first of three *canzone* devoted to the appraisal of Laura's eyes.[10] "After that, there were nominated new academicians," among whom Benvenuto Cellini is listed. It is known from other sources, that he had just come back from France, having had some issues with Francis I's mistress and, this year, he would also receive from Cosimo I de' Medici the most significant commission of his life, *Perseus*. In the following year, not for the first time, he was accused of sodomy and fled to Venice for a couple of months.

For his friend and the new leader of the Academy, humanist and philosopher Benedetto Varchi, life was also full of events in 1545: in February, he was accused of raping a girl which allegedly happened near his villa. Thanks to the support of some patrons and another great humanist, Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), he just "confessed to the crime, made a monetary restitution to the girl (as dowry for marriage or a convent) and obtained a pardon from Cosimo I on 25 March," which happened a few weeks before his *consolato* at the Academy.[11]

[10] *Annali degli Umidi, poi Fiorentina.* Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, B. III, 53.

[11] Kenneth Kreitner, "Music in the Corpus Christi Procession of Fifteenth-century Barcelona," in *Early Music History. Vol. 18: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 196.

This tumultuous way of living – comprising extremities – was characteristic of many Renaissance intellectuals. Historiographically, it resulted in amplifying the merits of the already recognized thinkers, while denigrating those of the "minor" ones (Cellini certainly belongs to the latter category). To balance the disproportion and to piece together the probable characteristics of Cellini's intellectual life, not only the parallel biography of Benedetto Varchi can be used but also that of Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572), another Mannerist artist of Cosimo I's court.[12] Thus, combining the descriptions given by the artist himself with the information known about Varchi and Bronzino, a more coherent picture of the relationships between Cellini and the academicians can be drawn up in the following.

Bronzino had joined the Florentine Academy in 1541 but was expelled from it in 1547 together with Cellini and some other artists, as they did not have the substantial literary production needed for participants according to the renewed set of rules. Benvenuto, in his *Life*, wrote an appraisal of the painter, recounting the story of his *Perseus*'s reception in Florence (1554):

> Among these excellent men, who know this profession and are members of it [the Academy], the painter Bronzino has labored and written me four sonnets, using the most well-chosen and glorious words possible; and because of this astonishing man, perhaps the entire city has been moved to such great excitement. (*Vita*, 2.97)

Before the discussion of the relationship between the intellectuals and their cultural context, a brief digression is in order to provide background both to the Florentine Academy and the academic movement in the Renaissance Italy. It will be shown what novelties academies had introduced into the *habitus* of intellectuals and in what respect they changed the tradition of learning among the *litterati* and artists in the Medici's Florence.

[12] Agnolo Bronzino, because of many corresponding characteristics, could be seen as "a Neoplatonic Mannerist" as well, but this statement, certainly, needs more evidence. So far, we have only a couple of studies interpreting his artwork against the background of the Neoplatonic thought and Marsilio Ficino's philosophy. See, for example: Zlatan Gruborovic, *Bronzino and the style (s) of Mannerism* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 2008); Paul Barolsky, "Looking at Venus: A Brief History of Erotic Art," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 7, no. 2 (1999): 93–117. Moreover, Michelangelo Buonarroti certainly was well acquainted with the philosophy of Neoplatonism.

How and why did the Italian academies emerge?

As Jane Everson and Lisa Sampson observe, the Renaissance academies so far have been studied unsystematically and their historical role has usually been diminished. Thus, there exists a need "to demonstrate how deeply embedded these institutions were in the society, culture and intellectual outlook of the period."[13] The now outdated historiographical view tended to present academies either as places where discussions on the scientific status of the Italian language began, or as a frivolous pastime for intellectual elites.

However, inquiries of intellectual history may be enlisted to answer anew the question why humanist environment underwent the transformations it did in the sixteenth century. The word "academy" refers to the very first Platonic Academy that used to gather from the fourth century BCE to the fifth century CE to study and develop the philosophy of Plato. It was commonly believed not only by his contemporaries but also by modern historians that Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), the translator of Plato and prominent Platonic thinker, established the earliest Renaissance academy, and humanists always refer to him as to the precursor (equal to Plato) of the academic movement.[14]

Crystallized as a teaching canon, neither the 'old' Aristotelian corpus nor the general design of universities permitted scholars to lecture on extracurricular matters – such as the writings of Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, or more abstract subjects like beauty, love, or the nature of language. Thus, intellectuals found the way to supplement university studies in academies and develop new topics responding to recent cultural discourses. Furthermore, here they were allowed to lecture in Italian rather than Latin.[15] One of the members of the Florentine Academy, Cosimo Bartoli, testified that, at the public lectures, the number of listeners reached 2000.[16]

First, academies became "'shadow theatres' where political tensions could be worked out," or places where "the most subversive critics" of the political

[13] Jane Everson and Lisa Sampson, Introduction to *The Italian Aacademies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent,* eds. J. Everson and L. Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, 2016), 3.

[14] John Hankins's analysis, however, proves that this first Florentine Academy was more a literary *topos* than reality. According to the scholar, the word "academy" was used by Ficino either in reference to the *corpus platonicum* and its translation, or to his private gymnasium. See James Hankins, "Cosimo de' Medici and the 'Platonic Academy'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 457.

[15] See Richard Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1976): 610–12.

[16] Devlieger, *On the Birth of Artefacts*, 54.

system were hosted.[17] The latter tendency was nurtured by the peculiar culture of anonymity, as Déborah Blocker explains.[18] However, in the course of time, the rulers of Italian states, observing this dangerous situation, took measures to keep academies under control, step by step transforming them into a means of self-promotion and intellectual support.

In its fully developed form, the "academy" was a gathering of intellectuals characterized by "learned discussions about the Italian language," some elements of "political contrarianism, theatrical and musical productions – and feasting."[19] Academicians "were often based in the private home of a noble, intellectual or cleric, either as invited guests or as tenants, though they could also rent rooms in other public, private or religious buildings."[20]

Historically, in contrast to the preceding less formal gatherings, the first academy which started the trend was the "Academy of the Dazed," established in Siena in 1525. In the next decade, around 1532, the "Academy of Virtues" appeared in Rome. As Annibale Caro, a participant and pen-pal of Cellini, recalled, they "have composed writings that are getting all Rome talking."[21]

Such literary experiments were often of erotic content, seemingly very obscene to a noble audience. However, this tradition of fun (*brigate*) established itself very firmly in humanist circles and we can find evidence for it later on many occasions, including Cellini's *Vita*.

The next niche in the development of the Renaissance academies is occupied by the Academy of the Enflamed (*Accademia degli Infiammati*), founded in 1540 in Padua. The person who inspired this event was Benedetto Varchi who was exiled there at the time because of the political situation in Florence. Varchi formerly participated in the Academy of Virtues.[22] The *Infiammati*'s most significant advancement was the introduction of the academy's chronicle which documented the frequency and content of the gatherings, and the continuous publishing activity – both of the participants' lectures and translations of Greek and Latin sources to vernacular Italian.[23]

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[17] Ibid., 22f.

[18] See further: Déborah Blocker, "S'affirmer par le secret: anonymat collectif, institutionnalisation et contreculture au sein de l'académie des Alterati," *Littératures classiques* 80, no. 1 (2013): 167–90.

[19] Brown, *Defining the Place of Academies,* 26.

[20] Everson and Sampson, *Introduction,* 4.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Samuels, *Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati*, 607.

[23] Chambers, "The Earlier 'Academies' in Italy," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and Francois Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), 13.

The Florentine Academy (*Accademia fiorentina*) appeared in Florence under the patronage of Cosimo I de' Medici by the end of 1540. Here, with respect to the promotion of Tuscan, Benedetto Varchi even developed a "publishing program" to win over his opponents. To evince the prominent position of the dialect, he decided to print not only the well-known major works of Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, but also the "early Tuscan texts […] explaining in the prefaces that […] their language was good enough to serve as a model for the vernacular."[24]

The *Annals of the Umidi, later Fiorentina* clearly show that the Academy held two weekly sessions: *Lezione Privata* on Thursdays and *Lezione Pubblica* on Sundays, except for the Church feasts. During Varchi's *consolato* for six consecutive months from April 1545 onwards, the majority of public lectures was devoted to the reading of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, whereas the private lectures were on Petrarch's poetry, *Canzoniere*.[25] In addition, the *Annals* documented all newly admitted participants and the results of the elections of *consoli*. For example, the page testifying Cellini's admission also reveals that Varchi gave his inaugural lecture on 12 April and held a public lecture on Dante on 19 April, and a private lecture on the third of Petrarch's three *canzone* devoted to Laura's eyes on 23 April, the day when the new members were inaugurated. Some of these and subsequent lectures had been written down and then printed – for example, Varchi's lecture "On Painting and Sculpture," delivered in 1547, was published in 1549 including a letter of Cellini on the same topic. Others, for example, "On Love and Jealousy," given in 1540 at the Academy of the Enflamed, came out later in 1560.[26] However, for the most part, Varchi's lectures remained unpublished until the middle of the nineteenth century.

In what aspects are Cellini's writings related to the academic movement?

In the following paragraphs, I demonstrate how the significant elements of the discourse, characteristic to the academic movement, and particularly the Florentine academy in the 1540s–1560s, correspond to Cellini's life writing.

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[24] A "publishing program" is a concept introduced by David Chambers in his introduction to *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 7; on Varchi's "publishing program," see Rick Scorza, "Borghini and Florentine Academies," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 140.

[25] *Annali degli Umidi,* 25r.

[26] Benedetto Varchi, *Due lezione di M. Benedetto Varchi nella prima delle quali si dichiara un Sonetto di M. Michelagnolo Buonarotti. Nella seconda si disputa quale sia più nobile arte la Scultura, o la Pittura,* (Florence: Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549); Benedetto Varchi, *Due lezioni di M. Benedetto Varchi l'una d'amore e l'altra della Gelosia* (Lyon: Guglielmo Rovillio, 1560).

In the first place, let us look closer at the representation of the Florentine academy, "the most wonderful School," as it appears on the pages of Cellini's *Vita*. He uses the term "*scuola*" for the first time at the beginning of the text in the tenth chapter. There it is said that Cellini's brother, Giovanfrancesco Cellini, became one of the first elected in "the school of that marvelous Lord Giovannino de' Medici." (*Vita* 1.10)[27] Giovannino de' Medici, or Pope Leo X (1475–1521), is famous in history among other things as the founder of several musical *sodalities* in Rome, which were similar to academies but less formal, and as a promoter of humanist activity.[28] Further, Cellini uses the term *scuola* in respect to Leonardo's works exhibited in Florence, noting that "one of these two cartoons was in the Medici Palace, and the other in the rooms of the Pope." (*Vita* 1.12)

Finally, when events come to 1545, he uses this word as "*Iscuola*," with a capital letter, and, in this case, he clearly refers to the Florentine Academy where he was admitted the same year. Moreover, right in the same sentence he alludes, probably, to its skepticism about arts being inferior to sculpture, or to the 1547 reform, which had him expelled:

> Poor, unlucky creature that I was, wanting to demonstrate to this wonderful School that, although I had been away from it, I was skilled in other crafts besides that branch which this School did not esteem very highly, I answered my Duke that I would most willingly execute for him, either in marble or in bronze, a large statue for that fine piazza of his. (*Vita* 2.53) [29]

As a result, he was commissioned to create *Perseus*. Later in the text, among other brief remarks, he refers again to the *scuola*, talking about the sculptor Baccio

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[27] Here and subsequently, I use Benvenuto Cellini, *My Life,* ed., tr. J. C. Bondanella and P. Bondanella, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), instead of the widely quoted but outdated translation of Symonds: Benvenuto Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini,* tr. J. A. Symonds, (New York: Collier&Son, 1910). Referring to the text, in brackets I provide the number of the *Vita*'s book and corresponding chapter (e.g., *Vita* 1.111).

[28] See further: Anthony Cummings, "Informal Academies and Music in Pope Leo X's Rome," *Italica* 86, no. 4 (2009): 583–601. Cellini characterizes this school as a military one. This may be connected to the battle for Dante's body with Ravenna which Leo X had conducted around 1519, as well as other military actions. See Brown, *Defining the Place of Academies*, 27. Moreover, later in his *Vita*, Cellini says that his brother had the "brilliant men of letters" as friends and they composed him an epitaph when he died "bringing the victory" during the sack of Rome in 1529. (*Vita* 1.50)

[29] "Although I had been away from it, I was skilled in other crafts" may refer to his works for Francis I in Fontainebleau when Cellini began to cast in bronze. This period coincides with the initial years of the Florentine Academy (1540–1545).

Bandinelli who was also admitted in 1545, and then Bronzino in the passage on the appraisal of *Perseus* quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

In another passage, Cellini becomes a commentator on Dante in quite an academic style, realizing "what Dante meant to say when he went with Virgil, his master, inside the gates of Hell." (*Vita* 2.27) Supporting this argument indirectly, it is notable that he also kept a manuscript with some fragments by Dante in his home library.[30]

Certainly, the most prominent case of Cellini copying academic discourse is his "Savage Philosophy" (ca. 1560) written in the form of two dreams. Comparing their structure, the same pattern of narrative emerges: it begins with a sonnet, which the "lecturer" then analyzes, first by providing a general philosophical model, and then explaining the meaning verse by verse. For example, Cellini begins to analyze the second dream with the reference to the division of souls into vegetative, animal, and human; whence he concludes which creatures can dream and which dreams are the noblest. A similar theoretical pattern can be detected in various Varchian lectures, which, moreover, also display careful attention to the soul and its characteristics, especially in 1543–1544.[31] Furthermore, Varchi's lecture on "Painting and Sculpture" (1547) contains a passage where it is explained how a man can receive knowledge of angelic or demonic nature while dreaming.[32] Cellini was certainly aware of the content of the lecture as his answer to Benedetto Varchi on the subject was printed with his letter in 1549.

Concerning Cellini's knowledge of the *brigate* tradition, in the *Vita* he recounts that in 1520, while living in Rome, he survived the plague and went later to feast in the company of "painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, the best who were in Rome, and the founder of this company was a sculptor named Michelangelo [not Buonarroti]." (*Vita*, 1.30) He describes how he took a "creature," his beautiful apprentice disguised as a prostitute, because the "king" obliged them to appear in the company of a fallen woman. Then the participants improvised in singing and recited poems in honor of fallen women. In the Italian text, the word "*ubbrigato*" is used to describe the task, a term that evidently refers to *brigata* with a play on words: coining *ubbrigato* from the words *obbligato* (to be obliged) and *brigata*.

[30] According to the posthumous *inventario* of Cellini (Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, codice 2787).

[31] Benedetto Varchi, "La lezione di Benedetto Varchi sul sonetto di Petrarca 'Orso, e' non furon mai…'," ed. A. Andreoni, *Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana* 1–2 (2008): 141–2; Benedetto Varchi, "La lezione su 'Verdi panni, sanguigni, oscuri o persi'," ed. M. T. Girardi, *Aevum* 3 (2005): 704–5.

[32] Benedetto Varchi, *Opere di Benedetto Varchi con le lettere*, ed. G. B. Busini (Milan: Niccolò Bettoni, 1834), 122.

Considering that the story nearly completely corresponds with the described activities of the Academy of Virtues and that Varchi and another of Cellini's friends, Annibale Caro (1507–1566), participated in the latter, it can be inferred that Cellini drew this episode according to gossips or friends' testimonies. The artist especially emphasized that the organizer of this *compagnia* was from Siena, where the Academy of Dazed first appeared. However, he could not have participated in the *Virtù* sodality, because it was not established until around 1532. This is also earlier than the Sienese academy's foundation in 1525.

This episode, in addition, is full of literary references, typical of the contemporary academic canon. Apart from alluding to Boccaccio's *Decameron,* in which youths fled from the plague to the provinces, telling each other funny stories to prevent contamination, it also recalls Plato's *Symposium* and, partially, pagan mythology. Moreover, pulling Ficino's *On Love* (1544) into this complex symbolic context, even more parallels can be drawn. Finally, Cellini, talking about pleasures in relation to intellectual activity, prefers the verb *pigliare* (over "*prendere*," which also means "to take") characteristic of Boccaccio, Ficino, and many other academicians.

To sum up, I argue that Cellini's *Vita* and his different literary works were influenced and structured by the type of knowledge propagated by the Florentine Academy. Moreover, his *Vita* writing might have been represented as a re-application to the Florentine Academy, especially comparing it with the intellectual biography of Bronzino being developed simultaneously.[33] He was also close to Benedetto Varchi, and his poetry initially developed burlesque motives, characteristic of the general spirit of the academy. Later Bronzino refashioned the burlesque lyrics into a mock *Petrarchesco* style, which is found in Cellini's poetry as well.[34] Being admitted in 1541, Bronzino knew the founders well, so he addressed them in correspondence and poetry in a more familiar manner than Cellini who stayed in France until 1545. Bronzino also participated in the discussion on "Painting and Sculpture" in the 1540s, but his response by letter was not published in the 1549 volume.[35] Finally, as noted above, both artists were dismissed from the Academy in 1547. Bronzino was re-elected in 1566, but Cellini was not. The question, of course, is whether he wanted to be re-elected at all.

[33] Rossi also notes that the *bella copia* of the *Vita* was intended to be distributed among the intellectuals to receive their comments. Rossi, *Sprezzatura, Patronage, and Fate*, 58.

[34] Carla Chiummo, "Bronzino e l'Accademia Fiorentina," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700,* 260.

[35] Ibid., 269.

Cellini began working on his *Vita* in 1558 and finished the text, according to Rossi, around 1567. His account is quite inaccurate in the final part and underwent a great deal of self-censorship. In addition, there is evidence that he submitted it to Benedetto Varchi in the process of composition for corrections – his friend being a *censore* who edited the works of Academy members. Varchi returned it with the comment that the author's language was so brilliant that he had not changed a word – a blatant lie by Cellini to conceal the fact that he received a significant amount of corrections. Varchi died in 1565. Cellini lost his famous friend and supporter but Bronzino knew other founders from the beginning so he had other ways of "vertical mobility." Cellini, impoverished, was incapable of publishing the 1019-page manuscript on his own, and left without any intellectual protector, probably decided to concentrate on the *Trattati* instead, which appeared in print as early as 1568. [36]

Looking closer at the *post-mortem* fate of Cellini's and Bronzino's writings, a surprisingly different and even "corrected" picture emerges. The Florentine Academy since 1583 became the famous *Accademia della Crusca* which mainly concentrated its activity on questions of literature and the Italian language. Thus, it preserved both Cellini's *Vita* and Bronzino's poetry. They were used as literary examples of the lively Tuscan language to assemble the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (fourth edition, 1729–1738), which to this date is used as the primary reference in disambiguating concepts of the sixteenth-century Italian language.[37] Considering that Cellini's manuscript was more "voluminous" than Bronzino's poetic exercises and nearly all the literary experiments of the others, it can be concluded that the author's creative genius had, in a sense, won the intellectual battle with other Renaissance artists striving to become *litterati*.

[36] Benvenuto Cellini, *Due Trattati. Uno intorno alle otto principali arti dell'Oreficeria. L'altro in materia dell'Arte della Scultura*, (Firenze: Panizzi e Peri, 1568). For Cellini's not so pleasant, and later self-censored, words addressed to the Medici, see Diletta Gamberini, "Benvenuto Cellini, o del sapere 'pur troppo dire il fatto suo' a Cosimo de' Medici," *Annali d'Italianistica* 34 (2016): 199–218.

[37] *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca,* 4th edition (Florence: Appresso Domenico Maria Manni, 1729–38).

REPRESENTATIONS OF GLOBAL HISTORY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES – AND WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM IT TODAY

Felicitas Schmieder

Can the Middle Ages be defined and researched globally? These days, this is one of the questions that in this or related formulations is used to haunt medievalists. Not least since this article originally was written as a lecture in a series on the Global Middle Ages, its position in this (not too well-defined) conceptual framework should be clarified a little more extensively before proposing my own approach. The "Global Middle Ages" have been defined and approached in different ways and contexts. Part of it is, besides the fact that all of us are living in a "global age," the American medievalists' need to justify a field of work that for centuries found its legitimacy in the fact that the European Middle Ages, although they did not take place on American soil, bear nonetheless the roots of American culture. But America is far from being only white or European, and scholars have gone a long way to acknowledge it (this seems, in the US at least, even more important under the Trump presidency and the open rise of white supremacists and "alt-right" ideas – but this is only an observation rather than scientific claim). American scholars especially are teaching global history, and they are looking for root cultures elsewhere beyond Europe, trying to approach the Middle Ages globally.[1] Certainly, the American challenge has forced European medievalists to re-think their own field considerably, and the interest in processes of cultural encounter and exchange, already intensively researched for at least three decades now, has received new incentives from this.[2] Nonetheless, Europeans tend to look at it from a very different angle and often from a very critical point of view – and the discussion underlines a fact that is very well-known to us in principle: historians cannot think detached from their own personal, social, cultural backgrounds.

There are, as far as I can see, especially two distinct attempts to make the Middle Ages global. One the one hand, if we want to work comparatively, there may have been "Middle Ages" everywhere, albeit at different times – but how

[1] For one example, see "The Medieval Globe," https://arc-humanities.org/our-series/arc/tmg/ (accessed December 2017).

[2] Again, only one example: "Global Middle Ages," http://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk (accessed December 2017).

do we, then, define "medieval" in order to find the, say, Chinese or Incan Middle Ages? If, on the other hand, we want to work along the lines of "entangled history," we must suppose that during the European Middle Ages everywhere else in the "Old World" saw the "Middle Ages" happen in a chronologically parallel way. While this second approach is obviously Eurocentric in the way that it leaves all the defining power with European history, the first approach threatens, by looking at common cultural features in very different local and chronological contexts, to quite quickly become culturalistic and superficial as opposed to factual and connected to deep research with developing and changing results. At the same time, European medievalists criticizing both approaches will be blamed for Eurocentrism because they are insisting that the Middle Ages were a specific period of time in Europe that cannot be found elsewhere. The discussion is far from being finished, and it is in constant danger of being rendered impossible by non-scientific but easily accessible "deadly arguments" and accusations of racism, supremacist aspirations and the like.

Nevertheless, in this article I am going to stand to Eurocentrism: I claim that as a European, I am unable to be anything else, but I can easily fall into the trap of overcompensating. So, since my roots clearly lie within Europe, I am going to stick to them. But that is easily claimed; what does it mean to look at the European Middle Ages as a European? Like in the case of the American approach to the Middle Ages, present political and social questions determine the research designs of European medievalists. The definitions of modern Europe obviously are a politically difficult, as well as a necessary and very real problem, of our present. So, historians – and not the least medievalists – find it their task to legitimize Europe or even the EU historically. More and more attempts have been made to define and legitimate the modern borders and essence of Europe by the medieval past (in a very similar way to how national borders and essences have been legitimized at least from the nineteenth century onwards). But while a European medieval past has become a very important political issue these days, it has become painfully clear not only recently that medieval "Europeans" did not care very much about being European.[3] Interestingly, the question of a global Middle Ages is able to shed a new light on the question of the definition of

[3] See Klaus Oschema, *Bilder von Europa im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013). Recently, Oschema has confirmed that on a very broad source basis. Peter Burke has correctly claimed that a political concept, an "idea" of Europe that can be described as omnipresent, available, and well-known to all participating in political discussions, did not exist before c. 1700. See Peter Burke, "Did Europe Exist before 1700?," *History of European Ideas* 1, no. 1 (1980): 21–9.

Europe in the Middle Ages because the definition of global Middle Ages, whether we like it or not, is starting from a notion of a Europe for which the term Middle Ages was created in the first place.

But maybe – if medieval contemporaries do not help us – we as skilled medievalists can define medieval Europe, first as a working hypothesis and then as a strong basis on which to build European memory culture? The problem is that whatever borders we draw, none of them will survive unbiased, profound scrutiny. To any line we draw, to any criteria we try to define, there will always be a "but." You can argue against any line, you can evaluate criteria differently, and you can always find new ones, etc. So, what about looking at medieval global history to find any feasible definition of itself? After all, it was the global Middle Ages that seems to have brought us into today's intellectual mess. I claim that one possible approach to tackle the challenge of the global Middle Ages in a European way is to look at how medieval people entangled Europe with the rest of the world.

For this, we can use a truly global concept medieval Latin Europeans developed: the *Mappa Mundi*, the world map, by which medieval cartographers represented the globe. Just to get this out of the way: the idea of a flat earth was not familiar to medieval geographers/cartographers – it is a modern construction of how medieval people were thinking. They were just representing the globe as a circle or oval because not knowing the true measures, they could not have calculated a projection closer to nature, and they knew it.[4]

From between the eleventh and fifteenth century, more than 1000 world maps survived from different origins throughout Latin Europe (the region where Latin was the language of liturgy as well as science) as well as in different contexts. Most are included in manuscripts (of biblical books, chronicles, encyclopedias, etc.) and hence quite small, while some are of a much bigger scale, and more or less detailed in terms of information they include.[5] They are either round or rather oval in shape. They show the earth as a mass of land, surrounded by the *Okeanos* and structured by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea/ Nile- and the Black Sea/ Don-

[4] Jürgen Wolf, *Die Moderne erfindet sich ihr Mittelalter – oder wie aus der „mittelalterlichen Erdkugel" eine „neuzeitliche Erdscheibe" wurde* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004).

[5] Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2007); Peter Barber: "Medieval Maps of the World," in P. D. A. Harvey, ed., *The Hereford Map. Medieval World Maps and Their Context* (London: British Library, 2006), 1–44; David Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi,*" in *History of Cartography* (HOC) I, ed. John B. Harley/ David Woodward (London: UCP, 1987), http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V1/Volume1.html (accessed January 2018), 286–370.

region into the three known continents which are, especially on simpler maps, named. Normally, the maps are oriented, i.e. with Asia on top, having more or less twice as much space as either Europe or Africa. The Holy City of Jerusalem is placed in the center. The more elaborate maps are full of colorful images and often quite extensive inscriptions.

The fascinating (not so surprising) result at first glance: The maps represent the globe, but not in a Eurocentric way. Their center of the world is not Europe, which is not even named on many of the more elaborate maps,[6] but Jerusalem. The world view was Christocentric, centered around the place where the most important events of world history have happened and would happen in the end. Maps can – as we all well know – show these kinds of -centrisms; they do it still today: Whether you place the Atlantic or the Pacific, Europe or America, in the center of a plane world map is in any case a human convention but not a given according to the physical earth, and we are all used to a centric view most of us will not even realize.

Mappae Mundi have rightly been described as painted world chronicles, because one of their special features is the fact that they not only represent space, but time as well. Memories from earlier times are visibly connected to a place on earth as if the events, persons, places were still presently there. The mapmakers depicted, for example, Noah's Ark or the Magi travelling towards Bethlehem, the Queen of Sheba or the tower of Babylon, the Terrestrial Paradise or the Endtimes peoples of Gog and Magog, but also less obviously biblical figures like Alexander the Great, or later figures related to world mission like Prester John.[7] So medieval maps are much more than representations of geographical correlations, and they do not simply include past, mostly biblical memories. They are created to present a convincing and meaningful image of the world. For example, they show the tombs of the apostles in places all over the world where, according to the histories of the apostles, they preached, died, and were buried.[8] This is not only a reminiscence of early Christian history, but

[6] This question is dealt with in the context of an exchanging of Europe and Africa on the Hereford map. See Marcia Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2016).

[7] Some of this has been researched in detail. See for example: Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Andrew Gow, "Gog and Magog on Mappaemundi and Early Printed Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 1 (1998): 61–88; Jutta Zackor, *Alexander der Große auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten. Alexander Macedo – domitor mundi?* (Berlin: Winter-Industries GmbH 2013).

[8] For example, the Osma-Beatus of 1086 (see Susanna Tavera, *The Osma Beatus Map: A Medieval and Christian View of the World (1086)*, in Medievalists.net 08-05-2011 http://www.medievalists.net/2011/08/the-osma-beatus-map-a-medieval-and-christian-view-of-the-world-10/ (accessed

it also reminded the learned "reader" that Christ's order to go and teach ALL peoples may have had a good start but remained yet unfulfilled. This implied the eschatological meaning of that order that all the world had to be Christianized before the Second Coming of Christ. This also reminds us that *christianitas* was – at latest from the eleventh century onwards – a global concept because the *orbis Christianus*, the Christian globe, would be identical with the whole earth in Endtimes, and so the whole world was always potentially Christian.

Moreover, the maps are painted world chronicles with specific meaning, and like any chronicle, the maps had to represent world history convincingly, adding new important events and persons, and, especially in the case of the maps, places. They had to be realistic.

This claim for realism may seem far-fetched. *Mappae Mundi* are usually called maps and taken as cartographical works, and they clearly are representations of geography as in a description of the earth. But they obviously do not represent geographical space in a way we are used to. If we read them as maps with our own notion of maps in the back of our heads, we can easily come to the conclusion that they are quite clumsy early attempts – basically failed attempts. Looking from a modern point of view, they show earth in an incorrect way, with distorted dimensions: They are, as can be often read, "not yet" able to represent space in a reasonable and useful, thus a realistic, way. Looking at them from a medieval point of view, they were probably not at all intended to fulfill expectations like these modern ones. Medieval *Mappae Mundi* are – as I have proposed elsewhere – Geographies of Salvation.[9] Geography of Salvation means that past, present, and future were represented according to their meaning for Christianity, and means at the same time that the physical, nature-imitating representation of the earth as

January 2018). For the maps in general, see Sandra Saenz-Lopez Peres, *The Beatus Maps. The Revelation of the World in the Middle Ages* (Burgos: Siloé arte y bibliofilia, 2014). On other maps as well, these places can be important: Felicitas Schmieder, "'Here many Saracen pilgrims wander to Mecca' – on the role of pilgrimage, shrines and worshipping on Latin European Medieval World Maps (*mappae mundi*)," in Klaus Herbers and Hans-Christian Lehner, ed., *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion II/ On the Road in the Name of Religion II. Wege und Ziele in vergleichender Perspektive – das mittelalterliche Europa und Asien/ Ways and Destinations in Comparative Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 13–27.

[9] Felicitas Schmieder, "Heilsgeographie versus „realistische Darstellung der Welt" auf den *Mappae Mundi* des Mittelalters?," in Nathalie Bouloux et al., ed., *Orbis disciplinae. Hommages en l'honneur de Patrick Gautier Dalché* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2017), 125–138; an English version: "Geographies of Salvation: How to read medieval Mappae Mundi," in *Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* VI, 3 (2018), ed. Dan Terkla and Asa Mittman, 21–42 = digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol6/iss3/2/

God's creation had to be as carefully and correctly depicted as humanly possible, by contemporary standards.

Consequently, many of the maps and their makers show clear tendencies to adapt traditional features to new, empirically proven ones. Most obvious is the inclusion of so-called portulan maps – maps of the Mediterranean and surrounding lands and seas that show the coast lines in a very practical way that is quite close to how we are used to seeing them.[10] These coastline maps have been included in most of the more elaborate late medieval *Mappae Mundi* such as the so-called Genoese World Map.[11] Also in their more "colorful" parts, these maps reflect relatively newly acquired knowledge such as the details of Mongol rule in Asia when a ruler is named as *Cambellanus magni canis filius*, or information on sub-Saharan Africa transferred by Muslim sources. When in India the tomb of Thomas the Apostle is depicted, it is a place known in principle from apocryphal tales about the apostles but also one more recently described by Marco Polo and other Latin Europeans visiting that region of the world.[12] Not least, we often find there Prester John already mentioned above, a mighty Christian ruler the Latin Europeans knew about since the twelfth century when, for the first time, hope for help from behind the Muslim archenemy arose.[13] All this is typical for the maps of that time. Either completely new information received from visits to other cultural spaces was added to an existing one – or the expected persons, places,

[10] On portulan maps, see Tony Campbell: "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *HOC* 1, 371–463; More recently, see Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portulanes. La representació medieval d'una mar solcada* (Barcelona, MUHBA, 2007).

[11] BN Florence portolano 1 (42 × 81 cm), http://www.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/oldWeb/notizie/Cartografia%20Web/Rinascimento/Potolano%201/Portolano%201%20OR.htm (accessed January 2018). On this map, my PhD student Gerda Brunnlechner is preparing her thesis. See Gerda Brunnlechner, "The so-called Genoese World Map of 1457: A Stepping Stone Towards Modern Cartography?," *Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* 4, no. 1 (2013): 56–80 = http://digital.kenyon.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1108&context=perejournal (accessed January 2018); Gerda Brunnlechner, "Die Erweiterung der Welt – Kartografische Reaktionen am Beispiel der ‚Genueser Weltkarte' von 1457," in Kerstin Hitzbleck and Thomas Schwitter, ed., *Die Erweiterung des ‚globalen' Raumes und die Wahrnehmung des Fremden vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit. L'extension de l'espace ‚global' et la perception de l'Autre du Moyen Age jusqu'à l'époque moderne* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2015), 33–59.

[12] For a general overview, see Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West. Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013).

[13] For Prester John, see Keagan Brewer, *The Legend and its Sources* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, ed., *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996).

and stories of events were updated and corrected, given their importance in the image of the whole earth.

The *Mappae Mundi* were also adapted when hitherto inaccessible antique knowledge was accessed again in the later Middle Ages (such as the Geography of Ptolemy, composed in the second century AD and, before 1410, translated into Latin).[14] Ptolemaic knowledge seems to have been available to the Latin West already earlier via Arabic translations and, relevantly, maps – but the Genoese Petrus Vesconte probably did not take Ptolemaic but rather Arabic knowledge when he created his map in about 1320.[15]

All this taken together justifies a specific description of the Christocentric global late medieval *Mappae Mundi*: They became more and more entangled histories of the cultures of the Old World because of their inclusion of any new information deemed important for world history – an inclusion that was thus crucial to fulfill the maps' basic task. The mapmakers even sometimes accepted new forms, but more importantly they included foreign information and composed it into their image of God's creation. The new information was selected according to its importance for world history and was then fitted into the specific interpretation that the mapmakers of the more elaborate maps gave their material, sometimes even into a message. One fifteenth-century example can show very clearly the mixture of old, new, Christian and foreign, you may say the hybrid quality of such a map, that is boosted into a global – always Christocentric – message.

[14] On the reception of Ptolemy through the ages, see Patrick Gautier-Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe – XVIe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009) (Terrarum Orbis. 9).

[15] Several copies of the Vesconte world map have survived; see one from the British Library in HOC I (cf. N. 5), Gallery of Color Illustrations plate 16. On the maps and its contemporary context, see Evelyn Edson, "Reviving the crusade: Sanudo's schemes and Vesconte's maps," in Rosamund Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound: Travels and Travellers, 1050–1500* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004), 131–55; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Weltbild und Weltkenntnis in der Kartographie um 1308. Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte und die Rundkarte im Portulan-Atlas des Pietro Vesconte," in Andreas Speer, ed., *1308 – Eine Topographie historischer Gleichzeitigkeit* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia. 35) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 13–23. On Paulinus' *De Mappa Mundi* (that sometimes surrounds the world map), see Michelina Di Cesare, *Studien zu Paulinus Venetus. De mapa mundi (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Studien und Texte. 58)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015).

Fig. 1: Print of the so-called Velletri or Borgia Map, Ø ca. 0,65 m

The so-called Velletri or Borgia map,[16] preserved in the Vatican Museum (BAV Borgiano XVI), is presumably of Catalan origin or at least features with strong Catalan influence. It is quite special in its message as well as materially. It is

[16] Transcript of the texts on the maps: Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, "Om ett aftryck från XV: de seklet af den i metall graverade världskarta, som förvarats i kardinal Stephan Borgias Museum i Velletri," *Ymer* 11 (1891): 83–92. An image of the original metal plates can be found for example in the exhibition catalogue *Das Konstanzer Konzil 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2014), Katalog, 23, fig. 3. On the general message of the map, see Felicitas Schmieder, *The Other Part of the World for Late Medieval Latin Christendom*, forthcoming (Keynote at IMC Leeds, 2018).

carved into a metal plate of more than half a meter in diameter. While the texts on most *Mappae Mundi* of the time are written in vernacular, this one is Latin. While most *Mappae Mundi* are oriented, this one has the south situated at the top of the map. A date is not given and is not easy to establish. The map holds the memory of several events, the latest of which is the battle of Ankara in 1402 (*in qua tamburlan* [Timur/ Tamerlan] *devicit basac* [Bayezid]). Since the map seems to be very much interested in battles of this type and the conquest of Constantinople of 1453 is missing, it seems to be a reasonable (though not absolute) terminus ante quem. Putting it in the context of the Council of Constance as one of the main hubs of information and exchange of the time cannot be proven, but rings probable.

The message of this map comes straight from the late antique historiographer Paulus Orosius and his *Historia adversus paganos*, a Christian interpretation of the hitherto pagan (Romano-centric) world history from around 400 AD. While Orosius' *Historia* has been recognized as a very important source for medieval cartography in general, this map goes further: The Velletri map is a graphical representation of Orosius' Christian interpretation of world history brought up to date.[17]

Many inscriptions remember important historical battles. The key event for understanding the choice of battles remembered is not a Christian event, but seems to be the Trojan War, when "the Greeks with the power of one part of the world fought for ten years the Trojans and the other part of the world" (*Hic greci cum potentia unius partis mundi per annos x proeliaverunt contra troianos et aliam partem mundi*). The history of the world is represented by battles, important if not decisive for world history, fought by different world powers and in extreme cases by the two parts of the world, long before Christ was born – in the framework of the famous sequence of four world empires given by the biblical prophet Daniel: *Babilonia prima monarchia mundi/ Secunda monarchia quae tempore annibalis Romanos multum suffocavit* [Carthago]/ *hic fuit iij monarchia mundi per Alexandrem acquisita* (The fourth, Rome, is not explicitly mentioned but is probably meant to be, as usual, the present state of the world; the choice of Carthage as one of the empires is Orosian as well).[18]

[17] Felicitas Schmieder, "Anspruch auf christliche Weltherrschaft. Die Velletri/ Borgia-Karte (15. Jahrhundert) in ihrem ideengeschichtlichen und politischen Kontext," in Ingrid Baumgärtner and Martina Stercken, ed., *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2012), 253–71.

[18] The mapmaker exchanges, however, in a chronologically problematic way, the Greek/ Alexander empire (his no. 3) and that of the Carthaginians (his no. 2). Orosius identifies the four empires in

So, the map remembers Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons,[19] who fought at Troy, and Tamaris, queen of the nomadic Scythians and nemesis of the Persian empire features as well as Alexander the Great who destroyed that empire. In the West, the Carthaginian enemies of the Romans, especially Hannibal, are lavishly represented. Also, the (again) nomadic Hunnic drive far into the West can be found. The war of worlds of the cartographer's own time – Christianity versus Islam – had started, according to the map, at the latest with Charlemagne's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, and was continuing up to the present. The latest important battle between Christians and Muslims noted was that of Nikopolis in 1396 when the Ottomans heavily defeated a Latin European crusader army.

Consequently, this map shows huge interest in the way Christianity was presently spread all over the world – and notes where it was not. It depicts two far Eastern tombs of apostles in Asia, that of Saint Thomas and that of Saint Matthew at the lake of Issikol, called by its real local name (*Ysicol lacus super quem corpus beati mathei quievit*). On the Arabic peninsula and nearby, we find Mecca and the Muslim pilgrims migrating to this shrine (*Hic venerant plures sarraceni peregrini de partibus occidentis ad mecham propter Mechametum eorum prophetam*), as well as the Mount Sinai where Moses received the law and the crossing of the Children of Israel (*Mons sinay in quo data est lex moysi/ Transitus filiorum israel*). So, we see Jewish, Christian and Muslim memories and their celebration by pilgrimage are overlapping and competing against each other.[20] Africa is characterized by Muslim opponents to Christian peoples and rulers, coming in pairs (*Nubia christianorum sedes presbiteri iohannis cuius imperium …/ Nubia sarracenorum --- Abinichibel rex est sarracenus ethiopicus cum populo suo habens faciem caninam/ Hic regnat musameli … hic incipiunt christiani ethiopes pauperrimi apparere*). Not least, the names of the rulers are again taken from traveler sources – and we find Prester John in Ethiopia, a potential whereabouts for the figure, being discussed at the time since Ethiopia was known as the third India.

Also where we today could place the border regions between Europe and Asia, interlocking Christian and pagan regions are to be found. You can see quite prominently *Europa tercia pars orbis terrarum* (the map has four more of this type of inscription: *Asia maior*, *minor Asia*, *Egyptus,* and *Affrica* – so not really the continents, but at least several prominent subdivisions of earth).

Historia adversus paganos II, 1, 4 and 5: In the first instance, he lists them chronologically correctly. In the second – when he locates them in the four cardines of the world and thus in space and in a way that would have interested our mapmaker most – he uses a different sequence more apt to this separate task, the one copied by the mapmaker.

[19] And other queens of the Amazons, following closely Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos* I, 15.

[20] See Schmieder, "Here many Saracen pilgrims," note 8.

Beyond registering these interferences, the mapmaker seems very much interested in conflicts rising from them, and is here especially historicizing the present religious borders and intersections and tracing them back deep into antiquity. One of the Eastern European border zones is consequently depicted as an ongoing war *(Hic sunt confinia paganorum et christianorum qui in prusia ad invicem continuo bellant)*: "Here are the borders between Pagans and Christians who in Prussia permanently fight each other."

The concept the Velletri/ Borgia map is graphically translating a late antique tradition that is updated by important events from the intervening 1000 years of world history – from a Latin European perspective, but not reduced to Latin European events.

While the Velletri map interprets world history in general (and may have a contemporary message for Christian unity that cannot be traced in detail here),[21] another map from the fifteenth century and again of Catalan origin seems to have been drawn in support of contemporary global politics.

The so-called Modena world map (*Ø ca. 1,10 m*), preserved in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena,[22] was created around the middle of the fifteenth century. The map has captions to be read from all direction and thus is not clearly oriented but rotatable. It is easy to recognize the Mediterranean Sea with its portulan coast lines. The language of this map is Catalan.

Many of its features seem related to the Velletri map, albeit often in a reduced form. The tomb of the apostle Mathew is depicted in Central Asia, guarded by Armenian monks (*aquest monastir es defrares los quals tena(n) an guardia los de sent macia e son ermjnjs*[23]) – independent information probably received at the place or at least in the Middle East. We find Mecca and the routes of the Saracen pilgrims (*p(er) aquestas faldes dequestas montanyes pasan pelagrins sarais quj van aveura mafumet lolur proffeta*),[24] and we find the Queen of Sheba. She figures prominently, described by a long text that reminds us of her meeting with King Salomon and thus of her role as a precursor of the world mission, as well as of her connection to Christ's crucifixion.

Reduced is also the dichotomic opposition of Christians and Muslims in Africa (*Assi senyoraia un rey danubia lo quall sta contjnuament enguera ab los crestians*

[21] Schmieder, "Anspruch," see N. 17, 268/69.

[22] *Il Mappamondo Catalano Estense (Die Katalanische Estense Weltkarte)*, ed. Ernesto Milano and Annalisa Battini (Zurich: Urs Graf Verlag, 1995). The following considerations have been more detailed in the articles quoted in note 9.

[23] Milano and Battini, eds., See: N. 22, 187.

[24] Milano and Battini, eds., See: N. 22, G 177.

danubia losquals son sots messos al presta iohan deles indies).[25] Again the names given for African rulers, peoples, and landscapes are at least partially taken from local knowledge probably transmitted – if you judge from the language – by Arabic speakers (*rey benicalep*), a clear sign of how regularly the information on the maps stems from a worldwide cultural entanglement.

In East Africa, Prester John resides. But while this was, for the Velletri map, only one element of the dichotomic order of ruling, for the message of the Modena map it is absolutely crucial. The strengthened Christian claim on the region by emphasizing the Queen of Sheba's role in the history of salvation is accompanied by a geostrategic consideration of practical policy – a combination that not least shows the multilayered reading of the Geographies of Salvation that can be read according to several *sensus scripturae* at the same time (an aspect of the maps I cannot go deeper into here).

Close to Prester John, the mapmaker depicted the Terrestrial Paradise, and that is a very unusual location for a place highly charged with historical meaning. It was the first place to be created, it is still existing in the present, albeit inaccessible for humans, and it will open up at the end of times as the location where the celestial Jerusalem will come down to earth. Also Paradise has a very practical aspect. It bears the sources of the four rivers of paradise (the Eurphrates, Tigris, Phison – in the fifteenth century normally identified with the Ganges – and Gyon, usually read as the Nile). On the map clearly the Nile comes down from Paradise, flowing through Egypt and into the Mediterranean Sea. The only problem: normally, and at latest since Isidor of Seville's *Etymologiae* (seventh century) quoted in the caption to Paradise on the Modena Map, Paradise is a place in the East of the world. Consequently, it is usually depicted in the East on the *Mappae Mundi*. So, the mapmaker probably intentionally changed this but had its new placement come with the weight of Isidor's authority anyway.

Alessandro Scafi, in his book on "Mapping paradise," looked for the reason behind this in astronomical considerations.[26] But there is another possible background as well: The Catalan mapmaker is very well informed about the Portuguese discoveries along the Atlantic coast of Africa probably because he created his map at a time when the Catalan and Portuguese dynasties were very closely linked. Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator wanted to explore economic opportunities, but he also wanted to Christianize newly found peoples, and, not least, wanted to find the Christian ruler, Prester John, at the head water of the Nile in order to win him as an ally to finally beat the Saracen archenemy in Egypt and

[25] Milano and Battini, eds., see: N. 22, P 179.
[26] Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, N. 7, 228–9.

liberate Jerusalem. After all, Prester John could, due to his geopolitical position, divert the Nile and create a permanent drought in Egypt.[27] In order to find the way to him, Portuguese ships were not only sent around Africa's coast but also sent to sail upstream any larger river whose mouth was found at the West African coast. The idea was to verify a tradition stemming from antiquity that the Nile had a headwater in the West of Africa and one of the Western rivers would lead the ships very close to it. Around 1445, Portuguese sailors tried the Gambia River flowing from into the Atlantic a bit south of the Cape Verde archipelago – exactly where the hoped-for African river system represented on the Modena map ended.

Not only did the Modena Map support, by suggestive image, the geostrategic hopes of the Portuguese ruler, the Nile was also known as one of the rivers that came from the terrestrial Paradise. If Paradise were in the East of the world, how could the Nile end up being in Africa? We can find, in the later Middle Ages, a lot of proposals regarding how the Nile could flow from Paradise in the East to Egypt where it was known to people. The easiest solution to this problem can be found on the Modena Map: For its author, the Nile and its position is a central feature. For the use that the Portuguese wanted to make of the Nile, its African position is absolutely crucial, so Paradise had to be moved. Paradise itself was transferred to Africa, close to Prester John, and then could support strategic considerations with a geographic reality. If we combine Scafi's idea and the one just outlined, then recent astronomical considerations had made it possible to transfer Paradise against all traditions to a location where it could promote present geopolitical strategic planning and add all its spiritual weight to them – plans that had their own salvific relevance, such as the liberation of Jerusalem and the world mission. Paradise is a place on the real earth, but at the same time the notion of Paradise

[27] Peter Edward Russell, "A quest too far. Henry the Navigator and Prester John," in Ian MacPherson and Ralph Penny, eds., *The medieval mind. Hispanic Studies in honor of Alan Deyermond* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 1997), 401–416. In a broader context, see Peter Edward Russell, *Prince Henry "the navigator": A life* (New Haven/ London: Yale UP, 2000), 119–127 – here also the possible Catalan cartographic knowledge at Henry's hands, esp. derived from the Portulan map by Mecia de Viladestes (1413; BN Paris CPL GE AA-566 (RES)); See also: Josep Lluís Cebrian Molina, "La reina de Sabà i el preste Joan en les cartes portolanes medievales," *Cuadernos de geografía* 86 (2009): 183–194; Andrew Kurt, "The search for Prester John, a projected crusade and the eroding prestige of Ethiopian kings, c.1200–c.1540," J*ournal of Medieval History* 39 (2013): 297–320, esp. 305/6. Christopher Taylor's short article touches on the fifteenth-century meaning of Prester John, unfortunately only in passing, as one especially topical figure of the "global Middle Ages," an approach that surely should be explored further (maybe on a broader bibliographical basis): Christopher Taylor, "Global circulation as Christian enclosure: legend, empire, and the nomadic Prester John," *Literature Compass* 11 (2014): 445–459.

carries all the semantic meaning of "paradise" as a place of human sin and a place of salvation, etc. Because the position of Paradise in East Africa could support victory against the Saracens, it was the moral duty of Christian rulers to reach it. Geopolitical intentions determined the localization of Paradise on the map, and at the same time the meaning connected to Paradise legitimized the geopolitical goals of Henry the Navigator.

Again, we see the focus on Jerusalem and the Holy Land in a map that is shaped by a concept of global geostrategic possibilities. What we can see in all of these maps is the extent to which globalized strategic, as well as eschatological, considerations had come to the fore in a very specific, well-informed way. Europe, on the other hand, is not that important at all.

We have seen that Europe is one important core in the global approach by the maker of the Velletri map with a special focus on the eastern parts of Europe which bear the name of the continent and are – in the belligerent focus of the map – the parts most troubled by war. But parallel to this, there are other cores of the approach, such as the four world empires that leave Europe very much on the margins. The Genoese world map, referenced briefly above, is – when we look at its representation of the globe – much more concerned with the huge areas of Africa and even more so with Asia, practically pushing Europe to the margins. There is also no visible attempt to emphasize continental borders of any kind that are not given by nature. The name Europe is, like Africa and Asia, not noted on the map at all. There are no continental captions on the Modena map as well and Europe is anything but a central focus – the clear emphasis is on considerations about the Southern Hemisphere.

The challenge of a global Middle Ages has forced us to rethink Europe in the Middle Ages and we are still far from any clear result. What we can learn so far is that there are no clear borders that existed "always" – no clear notions of us and the other relative to geographical spaces for which a clear and necessary tradition exists from the Middle Ages to today. Medieval Europeans were not only not thinking of the same borders – if they were thinking of borders of their own sphere, those could be considered completely elsewhere. Nevertheless, medieval Europeans can help us in defining modern Europe by teaching people that alternative approaches, questions, and, not least, answers are not only a possibility, but have been used, asked, and given in our own past. A closer look at those past contexts might help us to find alternative solutions for today as well.

PART 2

Report on the Year

REPORT OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2016–17

Katalin Szende

When looking back to summarize the events of the Academic Year 2016–2017, it is difficult to think only in terms of our own Department. One has to see it in the broader context of CEU as an institution. Each academic year brings challenges and trials as well as rewarding and uplifting experiences for students and faculty members alike, but none of us expected to meet the specific challenges that we experienced this year. However, there was also a positive side to the events: we were deeply moved by the expression of solidarity and support that we received in those troublesome times from our colleagues, alumni, and friends, both as individuals and as representatives of prestigious academic institutions. Let me use this opportunity to thank all of you for this! But the pace of life did not stop at any point, and we completed another busy year of teaching and research, discussions, conferences, and field trips.

Teaching programs and curriculum

As has become usual in the past few years, the group of new students and those returning from their summer research represented more than a dozen countries from five continents. Besides a traditionally strong Central and Eastern European concentration (from Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Russian Federation), we welcomed (or welcomed back, in case of the two-year MA and the PhD program) students from the US, Canada, Peru, Venezuela, New Zealand, Turkey, and Armenia, and in the Cultural Heritage Studies Program students from Albania, Georgia, Ghana, and Zimbabwe as well. This year we had altogether thirty-eight master's students in Medieval Studies: twelve in the one-year program, twelve in the beginner cohort, and fourteen in the second-year cohort of the two-year program, and altogether eighteen in the two cohorts of Cultural Heritage Studies. Four ERASMUS students from the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland also joined us for one or two terms. The range of proposed MA research topics was equally broad in both time and space, spanning more than a millennium from the fourth to the late sixteenth century, from the Middle East to the early Irish

Church, and from the area of Liège to maritime Southeast Asia. The sources and the methods were equally varied, from the philological analysis of hagiographic texts and Russian chronicles, through the typological and topographic analysis of Chinese porcelain finds in Ottoman Buda, to the iconography of the Living Cross in Istria. The abstracts of the defended theses following this report in the Annual give a more nuanced image of this thematic richness.

Our traditional warming-up Fall field trip (in the warmth of the late August sun) took us and our newcomers to Győr, Pannonhalma and the northern shore of Lake Balaton this time. Besides visiting a number of ruined but spectacular castles and still functioning monasteries, as well as the episcopal see of Győr, students gained insight into attempts at reviving or using institutions with medieval roots in the twenty-first century, including a wine-tasting at the ultra-modern vinery of the Pannonhalma Abbey. By the end of the introductory weeks of the pre-session, our new cohort had established itself on the spectacularly rebuilt campus in Nádor utca 13–15 as an institutional base, and in Budapest as a city, and was ready to embark on their courses and research.

The campus redevelopment project has impacted our operations in other – and less favorable – ways, too. After more than twenty years spent on the fourth and fifth floors of the Faculty Tower, with our well-established setup of offices and our "home" classroom # 409 on the same corridor, we had to move our offices to a different part of the campus, namely a 1960s-built office block on Október 6 Street 12. The move took place in January and February 2017, with the heroic work of our coordinators, Csilla Dobos, Johanna Tóth, and Kyra Lyublyanovics, and with the kind help of several MA and PhD students. I would like to thank all of them once more for their hard and dedicated work! The office-warming party organized on one of the last days of the Winter term, with the charity sale of books which had re-emerged during the move, cookies, and accompanied by the wonderful flute-solo of our MA student Virág Somogyvári, offered some nice moments of conviviality and self-reflection. The new premises provide sufficient space; some of the offices even look homey, and we could re-establish our Visual Lab as well. However, the close symbiosis of students and faculty, as well as the opportunity for keeping in touch as part of our natural workflow and offering help beyond the academic realms, has been seriously impaired by this rearrangement. We hope that with the advance of the redevelopment project, we can soon return to the former sense of unity.

The courses throughout the year covered, as in the previous years, the chronological range from "Texts and Communities in Byzantium" taught by our freshly employed Byzantinist colleague, Floris Bernard, through "Central Europe

in the High and Later Middle Ages" to religious and intellectual history, including "Allies of the Devil: Pagans, Heretics, Magicians, Antichrists and Witches," along with many more. When designing the course list, we decidedly offer a variety of opportunities for students to develop research-related skills. Teaching source languages (besides the traditional Latin and Greek, also Ottoman Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew, and Arabic) in the framework of the Source Language Teaching Group and in the form of advanced text reading seminars has become one of the acclaimed strengths of our program in the last few years. We also offer Greek and Latin palaeography and codicology so that our students develop the skills to work with manuscript sources. There has been an increasing demand for Digital Humanities, which was met in the framework of a Humanities Initiative project in cooperation with faculty members from other departments, for instance Marcell Sebők's and Jessie Labov's course "Beyond Illustration: New Approaches to Research and Teaching with the Digital Humanities." A very popular course on Crowdsourcing and Social Media was offered by visiting professor Volodymyr Kulikov in the framework of the Cultural Heritage Studies program. György Endre Szőnyi's "History on Film / Film on History" connected medieval and Renaissance themes with modern media.

Another marked feature of our curricular development was, following the rapid globalization of our student body, to broaden the scope of our teaching both in space and time. Courses offered by visiting faculty, such as "Examining the Theatocracy: Drama and Politics in the Ancient World" by CEMS junior fellow, Georgina White, and "The Art of Memory in China and the West" by Humanities Initiative fellow, Curie Virag, did exactly this. Tijana Krstić, our resident Ottomanist, who is currently the PI of the ERC-supported OTTOCONFESSION project (see later) was on research leave in the Winter term, and replaced by Günhan Börekçi, former faculty member at İstanbul Şehir University and an expert on Ottoman political history and material culture. His course on "The 'Seventeenth-century Crisis' in Comparative Perspective" was well received by students of both the Medieval Studies and the History Departments. All three of them, and several other colleagues, shared their insights with us during the Winter-term Faculty Research Seminar, a bi-weekly meeting with resident faculty and guests of the Department. The lecture series was devoted to the overarching theme of "A Global Middle Ages?," partly in preparation for the session proposed by departmental faculty for the ENIUGH conference on Universal and Global History that was co-organized by CEU in Budapest in August 2017. The Seminar, open to the public, took us on an adventurous pan-Eurasian journey through the lenses of Plato (G. White), maps (F. Schmieder), emotions (C. Virág), as well as urban, spiritual, and ethnic

communities in the interpretation of the Vienna-based Visions of Community (VISCOM) project. Further public lectures in this vein offered an insight into István Perczel's research on the manuscript heritage of Southern India (Kerala). The presentation of his own work on Syriac Malayalam, the language used by the local Christian community, rendered with a Semitic alphabet, was complemented by the talk of Rajan Gurukkal (Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala) on "Arab, Jewish, and Christian Settlements on the Pre-Portuguese Malabar Coast."

After the thesis submission, which was a rewarding moment for students and supervisors alike, we embarked on our spring field trip, organized, as always, by József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács. This time we visited Venice, the Queen of the Adriatic. Following the route of thousands of medieval pilgrims and merchants, we crossed the Alps through Villach to arrive in the tiny cathedral city of Gemona, the spectacular fortress-town of Palmanova, and the seat of the mighty ancient patriarchate of Aquileia – all in one day. Three full days were dedicated to Venice, though that span of time still could not do justice to the opulent heritage of the city of lagoons. Besides visiting such "obligatory" sites such as the Palazzo ducale, the San Marco basilica, and the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (now turned into a luxury department store, with stunning views from its roof terrace), the full-day island-hopping on a rented boat, taking in Murano, Torcello, Burano, Isola di San Lazaro and San Michele was perhaps the most memorable. The lesser-known site of Concordia Sagittaria, a remarkable example of topographic and ecclesiastic transformations, rounded off the homeward journey.

In the Spring Session, as usual, we welcomed renowned lecturers. This time we had Zoë Opačić (Birkbeck, University of London), with a course on "Charles IV Luxembourg: the Art of Power or the Power of Art in Late Medieval Europe"; Edit Lukács (University of Vienna) on "Logic (reloaded) and Bible Exegesis at the Early University of Vienna: Henry of Langenstein on Genesis," and our alumnus Luka Spoljarić, now faculty member at the University of Zagreb, on "The Diffusion of Renaissance Humanism: The Case of Venetian Dalmatia."

In the thesis defense period, twenty-two MA students convincingly defended their scholarly output (with five more submissions to follow in the Fall term of 2017), chaired in the characteristically firm but supportive manner by visiting professors Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA), Nancy van Deusen (Claremont Graduate University), Patrick Geary (Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study), and Benedek Láng (Budapest University of Technology). In the doctoral program, seven students presented their research prospectuses, and six young scholars from the cohorts of earlier years: Roman Shlyakhtin (Russia), Irina Savinetskaya

(Russia), Dora Ivanišević (Croatia), Áron Orbán (Hungary), Christopher Mielke (US), and Márta Kondor (Hungary) successfully defended their dissertations during the year. The abstracts of their dissertations can be read in the present volume. The extra-curricular academic activities of the doctoral students were supported by the Henrik Birnbaum Memorial Scholarship Fund besides the regular CEU Travel and Conference Grant, similarly to the previous years.

Teaching did not stop for the summer either, it only took on a different form. In the framework of CEU's Summer University, István Perczel and six other external faculty members taught a course on Jews and Christians between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The course was the output of the ERC Consolidator Grant "JewsEast: Jews and Christians between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean" directed by Alexandra Cuffel (Ruhr Universität Bochum) – a project in which our colleague István Perczel, our PhD student Radu Mustaţa, and our alumna Zara Pogossian, also participate. The SUN course taught not only the means by which complex identities and interreligious communities were formed in the past, but also offered a view on present developments. Another summer event, playing a crucial role in establishing contacts with BA students worldwide, is the yearly Undergraduate Conference, co-organized with the Department of History. In August 2017, close to eighty participants presented papers on the theme of "Tradition and Innovation in Historical Perspective," covering wide fields from political and social transformation to issues of art and culture. The keynote lecture presented by our colleague, Alice Choyke, broadened the view even further by discussing how tradition and innovation shaped various aspects of animal-human interactions. We hope to welcome the participants of the conference as applicants to our programs and as cooperating partners in the future.

Research projects, workshops, and lecture series

The report of previous Academic Year already introduced the two most prestigious ongoing research projects carried out by faculty members of our Department, those being the OTTOCONFESSION with Tijana Krstić as Principal Investigator, and the JewsEast with István Perczel as the leader of the sub-project on South India. Both of these projects are conducted in the framework of the European Research Council's Horizon2020 program, in cooperation with CEU's Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. CEMS, a vibrant hub of exchange where Medieval Studies faculty members, including its director, Volker Menze, play a crucial role, also organized an impressive number of lectures and workshops. These are extensively documented on their website http://cems.ceu.hu/. Let me

just single out one of them – their Fifth International Graduate Conference entitled *Building, Bending, and Breaking Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean World* that took place in June 2017.

A third important international research and exchange project was conducted in cooperation with the Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte (FOVOG, Dresden), supported by DAAD and the Hungarian Scholarship Board under the overarching title *Communication and Knowledge Transfer in Medieval Monastic Networks*. It had its fourth and final research seminar on "The Transfer of the Exemplary" in November 2016. Directed by Gábor Klaniczay, the workshop discussed how monastic networks communicated concepts of sanctity as ideal values so that their concretely manifesting forms could have an impact reaching beyond their religious significance.

In geographic terms, our furthest-reaching cooperative venture, also reinforced by a recently signed Memorandum of Understanding by the rectors of the two institutions, connects us to Beijing Normal University. Following the first joint workshop held in Budapest in 2014, faculty and PhD students from the CEU Medieval Studies Department participated in a conference hosted by Beijing Normal University in October 2016 on the theme of *Social Control and the Issues of Scale*. As Alice Choyke, the moving spirit behind the collaboration summarized, "This conference has certainly stimulated our faculty and participating PhD students to think about the permeability of the geographic and thought borders which former scholarship has tended to draw around our two regions." Similar issues were taken up in the context of different case studies in the volume, *Practices of Coexistence: Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions*, published by CEU Press and launched in June 2017. Edited by Marianna D. Birnbaum and Marcell Sebők, the book presents results from thesis research conducted by six of our outstanding alumni.

The Department participated as co-organizer along with the Department of Philosophy in the *Human and the Sciences of Nature* series, convened by Curie Virag. In this framework, we hosted Christian de Pee (University of Michigan) in March 2017, on "Finding Oneself in the City: Nature and Human Subjectivity in the Streets of Eleventh-Century China." Another co-hosted series of lectures and workshops discussed *Historical Landscapes – Aquatic Habitats: Archaeology, Environmental History, Landscape Protection*, organized jointly by Archaeolingua Foundation and the Cultural Heritage Studies Program directed by József Laszlovszky.

A collaborative platform of increasing importance for the Department is the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN). Its foundation by

our faculty and alumni, as well as its initial activities, were summarized by Nada Zečević in the previous Annual in a separate report. This Academic Year fell between two bi-annual conferences, but we still had a busy year, with two one-day workshops and two co-hosted public lectures. On 22 September, the workshop *Erik Fügedi, a Central European historian*, organized by Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende in collaboration with the Eötvös Loránd University, the Hungarian Historical Society, and the Hungarian Bureau of Statistics, commemorated the hundred-year anniversary of the birth of Erik Fügedi (1916–1992), one of the most innovative medievalists in twentieth-century Hungary. On 4 May 2017, the other workshop, convened by our freshly graduated PhD, Chris Mielke, was dedicated to *Forgotten Women from a Forgotten Region: Prostitutes and Female Slaves in Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Middle Ages* and featured six papers that will be published in a common volume.

The two lectures were delivered by two renowned art historians: Tim Juckes (University of Vienna) on "The Making of St Elizabeth's: Patrons, Artists, and Sacred Space in Kassa (Košice) around 1400," and Zoë Opačić on "A Sinner in the City: The Later Medieval Cult of Mary Magdalene in Central Europe." This latter lecture was followed by the launch of the freshly-published volume *From Hus to Luther: Visual Culture in the Bohemian Reformation (1380–1620)*, edited by our alumna Kateřina Horníčková together with Michal Šroněk (University of South Bohemia). The book was presented by Béla Zsolt Szakács.

Besides conferences and workshops, the most prestigious public lectures were delivered in the framework of the Natalie Zemon Davis lecture series, which by now is a tradition for the Department. This year's lectures were devoted to *Writing Cities: Exploring Early Modern Urban Discourse,* delivered by James Amelang (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid). Natalie Zemon Davis herself also came to Budapest for these lectures and held a special session with doctoral students, offering much-appreciated feedback on their individual work. Early Modern Studies as a connecting field between ourselves and the History Department will receive stronger emphasis in the following years due to the active leadership of our colleague Jan Hennings in the framework of the Humanities Initiative program which will enable the platform to host a junior research fellow.

CEU Medieval Radio, initiated and managed by PhD students of the Department, continued through the fifth year of its existence. From its inception in early 2013, the internet radio station has been playing, around the clock, medieval and Renaissance music, pre-recorded lectures of visiting guests and CEU's own "in-house" academics, and interviews. Some of the interviews conducted by Chris Mielke in *Past Perfect!* – a deservedly popular show on medieval and early

modern history and culture, with scholars like Natalie Zemon Davis, Patrick Geary, János M. Bak and Orsolya Réthelyi – are also available as podcasts at http://ceumedievalradiopodcast.ceu.hu/.

Finally, but very importantly, this report needs to point out the continuing significance of the CEU–ELTE Medieval Library as an interface between our Department and the ELTE community. Curated with expertise and experience by Balázs Nagy who plays a prominent role both at ELTE and CEU, and operated with care and precision by our librarians, Ágnes Havasi and Petra Verebics (who was for part of the year replaced by László Ferenczi), the Medieval Library has achieved well-deserved acclaim among medievalists in Hungary and Central Europe.

Next year our Department of Medieval Studies will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. While the challenges touched on in the introductory section of this report must be met and overcome with the common effort of the entire university, we also need to stay firm and confident about the validity of our mission. With the joint effort of faculty, staff, students, and alumni, the Department has the capacity and commitment to train and educate critically-minded students for the twenty-first century, using their scholarly skills in exploring patterns, connections, and causality beyond their individual academic interest, for open societies.

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2017

Gospel Books as a Means to Reconstruct the Armenian Artistic and Cultural Milieu in Fourteenth-Century Crimea

Gayane Babayan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisors: Béla Zsolt Szakács, István Perczel
External Readers: Nazenie Garibian (The Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, The Research Center of the Yerevan State Academy of Fine Arts), Dickran Koujmjian (California State University)

The present thesis deals with the question of the interrelationship between artistic achievements of the Armenian community and intensifying cross-cultural communication via trade routes in fourteenth-century Crimea. The two fourteenth-century *Tetraevangelia*, both allegedly produced in Surxat, are case studies in this research.

The examination of illustrations in these *Tetraevangelia* revealed the use of certain stylistic forms and iconographic models which adhere to contemporaneous Byzantine tradition and Italian models. These artistic influences reflect to some extent the contemporaneous social-economic situation across the Black Sea region where the activation of trade routes had an impact on the accelerated dissemination of the period's artistic trends. On this evidence, the notary acts, statute of Kaffa, as well as records in Armenian colophons are used to show the considerable involvement of the Armenians in the Black Sea trade, as well as in the cross-cultural interactions of the period. The process of reception and transformation of artistic forms is essential in this context and the agents of such artistic transfers are analyzed on the example of the two *Tetraevangelia*.

The Role of the Franciscans in the Kingdom of Bosnia during the Reign of King Stjepan Tomaš (1443–1461)

Paweł Cholewicki (Poland)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Nada Zečević (Royal Holloway, University of London), Dženan Dautović (University of Bihać)

My thesis aims to understand the role of the Franciscans during the reign of the penultimate king of Bosnia, Stjepan Tomaš, which was a period of major progress for Catholicism. The situation of the Bosnian Franciscans in the last years of the Bosnian kingdom remains a marginal topic within wider narratives, which strongly suggests that it has not been adequately problematized thus far in the scholarship. My work problematizes activities of the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary along the lines of their missionary action, the Observant reform, their role at the royal court, the organization of an anti-Ottoman crusade and the frequent political reconfigurations of the mid-fifteenth century. The period under discussion was a time of Franciscan triumph over the heretical Bosnian Church, the traditional spiritual pillar of political power in Bosnia. The spheres of life that these two organizations were competing to dominate were taken over by the friars and after a phase of gradual decline, the king ultimately expelled the Bosnian Church. The papacy included Bosnia within an anti-Ottoman front, giving the friars the opportunity to present their ruler as an exemplary Christian and preach the crusade. At the same time, the expansion of the Observant movement contributed to the partition of the large Bosnian vicary among the Apulian, Dalmatian and Hungarian – as well as the local – Observant communities. The conflict between them and their Observant superiors went on during the entire reign of Tomaš and brought together the monarchy and the vicary. My thesis discusses the source material issued during the crisis, and this material is a great help in understanding the lifestyle and aspirations of the friars of the Bosnian vicary.

At the Edge of the World of Islam: Maritime Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Ibn Battuta

Aglaia Iankovskaia (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: M. Kooriadathodi (International Institute for Asian Studies IIAS)

This thesis deals with the accounts of Maritime Southeast Asia by the medieval Arab traveler, Ibn Battuta (1304–1368). It addresses two major issues related to the text – its credibility and the conception it has of the region it represents. Employing an interdisciplinary approach, the author discusses Ibn Battuta's description of Southeast Asia from the perspectives of historical geography, literary studies and cultural anthropology, juxtaposing it with other Arabic and non-Arabic medieval texts. The general authenticity of the accounts is concluded to be doubtful, yet some particular reports are considered credible. Ibn Battuta's conception of Maritime Southeast Asia is argued to be largely shaped by the traveler's perception of the region as the frontier of the world of Islam.

The Armenian Influences on the Architecture of Seljuk and Turkmen Tombs in Medieval Anatolia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century

Anahit Galstyan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisors: Béla Zsolt Szakács, Günhan Börekçi
External Reader: Patricia Daniela Blessing (Pomona College)

The present thesis deals with the question of Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Turco-Muslim Anatolia through a comprehensive analysis of the cross-cultural transmission of architectural knowledge, articulated in the earliest surviving kümbets in the region. The methodology is based on structural and stylistic analyses of a group of thirteen kümbets located in Central and Eastern Anatolia and dating back to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The architectural analysis of these funerary edifices reveals the adaptation of structural and decorative features characteristic of the Transcaucasian tradition in the visual vocabulary of the newly emerging architecture in Central and Eastern Anatolia. Among the bearers of the Transcaucasian architectural tradition, the prevalence of the Armenian constituent in the local demographic picture allows for the suggestion that this transmission happened as a result of the cross-cultural interactions between the Armenian and Turco-Muslim communities. The contextualization of the discussed monuments in the larger picture of intercultural contacts in the region further supports this argument.

The Image of the Cumans in Medieval Chronicles: Old Russian and Georgian Sources in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Caroline Gurevich (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Katalin Szende
External Reader: Szilvia Kovács (University of Szeged)

Being the most numerous and militarily active people of the Eurasian steppe, the Cumans closely interacted with various medieval societies. In my MA thesis I will move away from historical accounts of the numerous sedentary-nomadic interactions to considering the ways in which these are represented. Using contextual and comparative analysis of Old Russian and Georgian sources, I will examine the perspectives of medieval Christian authors who tended to ascribe certain features and behavior to the Cumans, thereby creating an image of them. In my work, I make an attempt to understand the main elements, and the stability, of that image in different periods and different sources.

Sing a New Song: The Spirit of Cistercian Liturgical Reform and the 1147 Hymnal

Dane Miller (USA)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Nancy van Deusen (Claremont Graduate University)

Traditional accounts of the competitive interaction between twelfth-century monastic reform movements in the Western church often focus on the role of individual actors, drawing on letter collections or treatises as source evidence. Building on that approach, this thesis takes one aspect of Cistercian liturgical reform, the 1147 hymnal as reconstructed by Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO, to understand how the Cistercians constructed and attempted to maintain a distinctive monastic identity through liturgical practice. It examines first the voices of three Cistercian monks to understand how liturgical and theological views coalesced within the order, and then sets the Cistercian perspective against the views of two other reformers, Peter the Venerable and Peter Abelard, particularly through their interaction with Bernard of Clairvaux and their own liturgical activities. Finally, it examines the hymnal evidence itself in comparison to practices at Cluny and the Paraclete to show how the Cistercian hymnal set itself apart and how it overlapped with hymnal traditions elsewhere. In spite of Cistercian efforts to

reform their practices in a way that would reflect their own interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, the hymnal revision evidence shows that they continued to be influenced by outside trends which moderated their attempt to create a distinctive identity. Meanwhile, other monastic groupings adapted the Cistercian hymnal for their own use.

Corippus's Route to Constantinople, the Political Function of Panegyrics at the Court of Justin II and Sophia

David Lee Eichert (USA)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Floris Bernard
External Reader: Roger Scott (University of Melbourne)

This thesis sheds light on the political and ecclesiastical controversies surrounding the ascension of Justin II (r. 565–574), initially to the throne in 565, and then to his first consulship on 1 January 566. This power shift from Justinian to Justin II occurred from the inside of the administration among a faction of senators and powerful ecclesiastical figures in Constantinople whose impact on society can be felt in multivalent ways across the various genres of surviving sources. In order to contribute to the discussion of this period, I focus in particular on a ceremonial poem, combining elements of panegyric and historical epic, written by the sixth-century North African poet, Corippus, the *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* (hence *In laudem*). I shall use this work as the central text for my reconstruction of developments both at the court in Constantinople and on the ground in North Africa. I take the position that the coronation of Justin II described in the poem by Corippus (or "Gorippus") catered to the ecclesiastical and political motivations of the new imperial power locus around the person of Justin II whose initial maneuvers were carefully choreographed during the crisis of succession following the lengthy and extremely influential reign of Justinian (r. 527–565). I also argue that Corippus's career in Constantinople removed him from the continuing struggles of the North African bishops with the overreach of Constantinople from the time of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553/4) and the Three Chapters Controversy (543/4). Corippus's paraphrase of the Creed of Constantinople (*In laudem* 4.291–311), moreover, conforms to the demands of the new administration which sought through public forms of expression such as Corippus's own *In laudem* to appeal to, and win back, the approval of contentious political and ecclesiastical forces in Constantinople.

Depiction of the Enemy Through the Eyes of an Ottoman Bureaucrat-Soldier: Âsafî's *Şecâ'atnâme* (the Book of Valor) in the Context of Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry

Ece Tunca (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić
External Reader: Derin Terzioğlu (Boğaziçi University)

The aim of this thesis is to present a textual and visual analysis of an Ottoman war narrative, the Şecâ'atnâme (Book of Valor) written by Âsafi Dal Mehmed Çelebi between the years 1578 and 1586, in the context of Ottoman-Safavid rivalry. While the main focus of this study is Âsafi's encounters with the enemy, it also elaborates on the essentials of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry and the problem of the "Kızılbaş," with the aim of contextualizing Âsafi's impressions within a historical framework. It also investigates to what extent his views were aligned with the Ottomans' general attitude on this issue – if it is possible to generalize in this respect – during the period in question. In other words, instead of making a general analysis of the whole text, this thesis focuses on the Kızılbaş issue as one of the most controversial aspects of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry under discussion. Not only does the Şecâ'atnâme shed light on certain events during the Ottoman-Safavid wars of 1578–90, but it is also a striking example of the illustrated histories that were abundantly produced during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574–95), a time which witnessed changing dynamics in manuscript production and patronage. While the Şecâ'atnâme was written with the aim of eulogizing Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha's exploits, it was an extraordinary work given its production process and the emphasis it places on Âsafi as the hidden protagonist of the narrative. In this respect, apart from discussing how a Sunni Ottoman bureaucrat-soldier viewed the Safavids and their troops, this thesis also focuses on the Şecâ'atnâme as a means of self-promotion, and asks the question, "Whose şecâ'at?"

The Judgment of Paris in Rouen Books of Hours from the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century

Eszter Nagy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Anna Boreczky (Hungarian National Library)

The present thesis aims to interpret the unusual representation of the Judgment of Paris in the margin of four books of hours made for the use of Rouen, c. 1460–80. In three cases, it accompanies the Penitent David, while in the fourth manuscript it is paired with an image of the Virgin. After examining the myth's exposure in Rouen through a quantitative analysis of its manuscript tradition, and discussing the iconographic development that led to the Judgment's separation from its narrative context, I turn towards the visual context of these mythological representations in the books of hour themselves. The Bathing Bathsheba, depicted close to the Judgment in two of the manuscripts, suggests that they functioned together as warnings against vanity and the exposure of the female body with its destructive effect on men. Although with opposite connotations, misogynous texts and a group of ivory combs as well support the idea that the power of beauty connects the two subjects. Stepping beyond the pages in question, a comparison of the whole pictorial cycle of the books of hours leads to the assumption that their decoration goes back to a lost model, probably created by the Master of the Échevinage, in which the Judgment was inserted in a typological cycle running in the margins. While they seem to be derivative of this hypothetical model, and in some cases even corrupted versions, the decoration of the four books of hours, with all of their peculiarities, fits into a tendency to diversify the standard iconography of books of hours.

Fictitious or Not? Central and Eastern European Royal Coats of Arms in the Early English Rolls of Arms (1272–1307)

Eszter Tarján (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky
External Readers: Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen), Adrian Ailes (The National Archives, Richmond, Surrey)

The present research focuses on the general rolls of arms compiled in England during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), with the emphasis on the Central and Eastern European royal coats of arms.

According to my research hypothesis, several of the fictitious armorial bearings, if not all of them, have some prefiguration and these depictions and blazons are not the products of the compilers' fantasy. I also assume that the appearance of the examined royal coats of arms relates to the given regions' political and dynastical relationships with England under Edward I. Connected to the hypothesis, numerous questions are raised as to whether the existence of a royal coat of arms in the rolls of arms meant an independent or an autonomous kingdom, or how the changes in Central-Eastern European royal coats of arms were followed in thirteenth-fourteenth century England. To answer the questions raised, I was required to use the methodology of comparative interdisciplinary research. I use sphragistics, numismatic and different kinds of art historical sources (carvings and miniatures) to successfully complete a comparative interdisciplinary research of the examined regions' royal coats of arms.

It is demonstrable that the prefiguration of the royal bearings, even if they seem to have fictitious origins, can be determined after careful interdisciplinary examination. Also, the correct and incorrect elements of the royal coats of arms and different textual traditions can be distinguished.

Western Iconographic Influences on Armenian Silver Book Bindings from Ottoman Constantinople (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)

Flora Ghazaryan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Sylvie L. Merian (Morgan Library and Museum)

This thesis is an attempt to analyze art historical objects in a new framework. By its interdisciplinary character, the current research tries to portray silver book bindings which are the central focus of the research as part of their environment. In this analysis, the silver bindings connect religious history with a secular one, showing the intertwined relations of the object's maker, commissioner, and recipient. A major aim of this thesis is to show how the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Western Christian iconographic influences transferred to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Armenian silver bindings of Istanbul and to explore the overlooked role of Catholic Armenians in this West-East iconographic transfer.

The results of this thesis indicate that Western iconographic influences came to the Armenian silver book bindings from the woodcuts of Dutch engraver, Christoffel van Sichem, via a Catholic Armenian printing press founded in Istanbul, c. 1690. In Istanbul, these engravings were copied by an Armenian printer and engraver, Gregory of Marzvan, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, forming the "Constantinople style:" a unique mixture of European baroque style, Western iconography, and symbols of Apostolic doctrine. The "Constantinople style" engravings, together with van Sichem's originals, became the main source of inspiration for silversmiths who authored the silver book bindings analyzed in this thesis.

Senses and Passions in Benvenuto Cellini's *Vita:* The Life of a Neoplatonic Mannerist

Iurii Rudnev (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: György E. Szőnyi, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Dóra Bobory (Eötvös Loránd University)

This study is devoted to the emotional experiences of the famous Renaissance sculptor, goldsmith, and writer, Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), as portrayed in his autobiographical work, the *Vita*. Providing a variety of arguments on the connections between this artist and contemporary intellectuals who together attended the Florentine Academy (1540–1583), I demonstrate that Cellini's literary production can be examined fruitfully against the background of Neoplatonic thought. In particular, Marsilio Ficino's *On Love*, first published in vernacular Italian in 1544, helps to establish an explanation for what Cellini meant when he decided to play the cornet while falling in love simultaneously with a young boy and girl, or how he justified kicking and punching his servants, or why he did not kill his adversary, the artist Baccio Bandinelli, when he had the chance. These cases of radical affectivity are inscribed into Ficino's concept of the "melancholy genius" manifesting melancholic madness. In Cellini's *Vita*, this condition not only could turn humans almost into beasts literally (for example, into a bat), but, properly tempered by the means of music and poetry as well as individual and collective magic, it elevated one's soul "on high," something corresponding to the Neoplatonic concept of divine madness.

The Concept of Change in Aquinas's Ontology: An Attempt at a Philosophical Interpretation

Jordan Skinner (USA)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby
External Reader: Gábor Borbély (Eötvös Loránd University)

The task of this thesis is to provide a philosophical sketch of Thomas Aquinas's notion of change (*motus*, *mutatio*) in order to understand its role in that philosopher's ontology. This research will offer an addendum and a critique to the philosophical readings offered in the twentieth century by Étienne Gilson and others. The main sources for this study will be Aquinas's *On the Principles of Nature* (*De principiis naturae*) and his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (*Expositio in libros Physicorum*). In order to do this, I will examine the principles of nature – form, matter, and privation – and the kinds of changes brought about by the forming of substantial and accidental compounds. By highlighting the notion of change, my aim is to show the dynamic teleology of Aquinas's notion of being (*esse*).

Ceremonial Representation in Cross-Confessional Diplomacy: The Ottoman Embassy of a Christian Ambassador to Moscow in 1621

Mariia Telegina (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, Jan Hennings
External Reader: Natalie Rothman (University of Toronto)

This study focuses on a largely unexplored topic, the inter-imperial and cross-confessional diplomacy between two non-Western powers, the Ottoman Empire and Muscovy. It explores the role of religion in Christian-Muslim diplomatic encounters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from the perspective of symbolic communication.

The work shows that the increased role of religion in Muscovite imperial culture since the second half of the sixteenth century had a significant effect on diplomatic representation. I demonstrate that in the context of Muscovite diplomatic ceremonial, which came to put a greater emphasis on the religious divide between the foreign diplomats, the Ottoman Greek intermediary provided the sultan with an opportunity to articulate his imperial authority to Christian sovereigns and to exploit the symbolic tools of a Christian court. At the same

time, drawing on the assets of his religious and political identity, Kantakouzenos was capable of intervening in the prestige politics of both courts.

This work also examines the role of global religiopolitical trends in shaping the notion of Muscovite and Ottoman otherness through the lens of diplomatic culture.

The Apocalyptic Aspect of St. Michael's Cult in Eleventh-Century Istria

Mihaela Vučić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Trpimir Vedriš (University of Zagreb)

In the present work, I studied the history of St. Michael's cult in Istria from the sixth to eleventh centuries with a special emphasis on the meanings the cult assumed in the context of apocalyptic expectations at the turn of the millennium. The aim was to investigate whether the Michaeline cult in Istria developed apocalyptic connotations and in which contexts. I mapped the churches of St. Michael that were constructed from the sixth to eleventh century, analyzed their architectural typologies, their artistic programs, and placed them in their wider political and ecclesiastical contexts by analyzing two types of written sources, diplomatic and hagiographic. I concluded that the cult developed apocalyptic nuances in the eleventh century in the context of the Camaldolese church of St. Michael at Limska Draga through its connection with St. Romuald. However, eleventh-century Istria was not exclusively preoccupied with the apocalypse because some aspects of St. Michael's cult that had been traditionally present in Istria from the sixth century coexisted with the apocalyptic Michael in the eleventh century. Understanding how the cult of St. Michael functioned on a local level in the decades on either side of the millennium can reduce generalizations regarding the apocalyptic aspect of the cult on a wider European level.

Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in the Works of Pachomios Rousanos (1508–1553) on Greeks and Muslims

Octavian Negoita (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić
External Reader: Molly Greene (Princeton University)

This thesis investigates works on Orthodox Greeks and Muslims written by the post-Byzantine intellectual, theologian, and Athonite monk, Pachomios Rousanos (1508–1553). Active in the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the sixteenth century, Rousanos engaged with the religious phenomena that were occurring in Europe and the Ottoman lands during that same period. The aim of this study is to understand how he defined the boundaries of O/orthodoxy in his writings on Orthodox Greeks and Muslims in a time of intense confessional polarization in European lands and during the process of Sunnitization in the Ottoman Empire. Operating with concepts such as "orthodoxy," "heterodoxy," and "heresy," this study is a contribution to the field of Eastern Christian and Ottoman studies

Using and Abusing Power in Early Eleventh-Century Poitou

Orsolya Varró (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Attila Györkös (University of Debrecen)

The Duchy of Aquitaine – and Poitou within it – has been often used as an example in the debate of the "feudal transformation." The central topic of this thesis is the early eleventh-century notion of possible social changes in Poitou as it is present in the contemporary evaluation of the political practices of landholders in that same period, centered around the question: what factors determined the rightfulness or wrongfulness of an act of exercising power in early eleventh-century Poitou? I examine narrative sources such as the *Chronicles* of Ademar of Chabannes and the *Conventum*, instructive and legal sources such as council decrees, charters, and the letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Duke William V of Aquitaine on the lord-vassal relationship. I analyze the authors' expectations of political figures and, based on these, the image of society which they held in their minds. In the last part of the work, I describe the methods that the anonymous author of the *Conventum* and Ademar of Chabannes applied to deal with non-conforming behaviors. I argue that early eleventh-century sources

convey a change in the political climate of Poitou. Nevertheless, the tension was caused by increasing upward mobility within the existing social system rather than by a structural change.

A Bridal Journey: The Case of Bona Sforza

Patrik Pastrnak (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende, Balázs Nagy
External Readers: Beata Możejko (University of Gdansk), Konrad Eisenbichler (University of Toronto)

This thesis examines the bridal journey of Bona Sforza (1494–1557) from Manfredonia to Krakow in 1518 in light of its material aspects, rituals and literary image to unravel its inner mechanism and symbolic meanings. A comparative analysis, a whole array of written sources – letters, descriptions of the wedding and journey, wedding poems and orations, financial accounts and the instructional handbook of Diomede Carafa – are utilized to draw a sketch of the different functions of the journey.

The first chapter reconstructs the journey from the point of view of its planning and realization. The following chapter, by tracing the ritual aspects, especially the farewell to the mother, the encounter with the husband and the solemn entries to cities, points to the message behind them – the manifestation of dynastic prestige. The last chapter deconstructs the image of Bona's journey in humanistic poetry which, by using the ancient form of wedding oration, created a completely new, metaphorical journey. This deconstruction disentangles the rhetorical strategies and messages disguised in them. The thesis provides a new perspective on the traditionally documented part of Bona's wedding, deploying new historical approaches and methods.

Quasi nani super humeros gigantum? Reusing Classical and Medieval Quotations in the Hagiographic Discourse in the Area of Liège (Tenth Century)

Sibil Gruntar Vilfan (Slovenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar
External Reader: Előd Nemerkényi (Eötvös Loránd University)

The present thesis offers a detailed investigation of select passages from the *Vita II S. Remacli*, a hagiographic text produced in the diocese of Liège in the last decades of the tenth century. The purpose of this investigation is threefold. First, it aims to illustrate the point that in tenth-century Latin hagiographic texts produced in the diocese of Liège, quotations from classical and patristic authors were not simply used as petrified forms of frozen ancient wisdom with a mere decorative function, but rather as raw gems which, properly polished and adjusted so as to fit seamlessly into a new framework, could enhance both the form and the contents of texts closely connected to the political and intellectual realities of their age. Second, it aims to show that nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions of such texts can act as distorting mirrors for modern readers and researchers, since, due to an editorial strategy that privileged classical material over its medieval context, they sometimes completely neglected the way in which quotations from ancient authors were re-worked by the tenth-century hagiographer in accordance with the stylistic requirements of rhymed prose. Third, it suggests as a necessary corrective to this distorting approach a new way of reading, which places classical and patristic quotations in their proper context, by paying due attention to manuscript evidence, to the stylistic requirements of their new context, and to the complex functions they play in their new textual environment.

Comparative Study of the Chinese Porcelain Finds of Ottoman Buda and the Castle of Eger

Tünde Komori (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Rose Kerr (Victoria and Albert Museum)

This work compares the Chinese porcelain assemblages from Ottoman-period Buda (1541–1686) and the Castle of Eger (1596–1687), both in Hungary. Being the two largest and most significant Chinese porcelain assemblages of the

country, the general description and identification of the assemblages contributes to our knowledge of the material culture of Ottoman Hungary. The result of the thesis on one hand is the dating of the majority of the types present in these assemblages; part of them to the Wanli period (1573–1620), and another part to the Kangxi period (1662–1722). The rest of the pieces can mainly be dated to the seventeenth century, with some exceptions indicating the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as a few eighteenth-century pieces. On the other hand, the comparison here sheds light on the topographical distribution of the shards, thus leading to questions that are not thoroughly researched in the previous scholarship. These questions regard the use of material culture for mapping social topographies, the definition of the function and social status of the pieces, and the consideration of possible trading patterns of porcelain between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary, as well as the Ottoman Empire and China. The methodology relies on traditional archaeological analysis and art historical evaluation of the material, as well as notions of spatial analysis and historical archaeology. Regarding the topographical distribution of the types, a certain pattern can be detected that reflects the historical data known about the two sites, Buda and the Castle of Eger.

Signaculum Secretorum: Episcopal Authority and Ritual in the Early Irish Church

Viktoriia Krivoshchekova (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: Daniel Ziemann, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Readers: Elva Johnston (University College Dublin), Yaniv Fox (Bar-Ilan University)

This research focuses on the construction of episcopal authority through ritual narrative in Hiberno-Latin texts. Previously, the study of episcopal office in early medieval Ireland (c. 600–900) has been mainly connected with the debate over the organization of the early Irish church where the monastic and clerical hierarchy were seen as being in confrontation. Recent research has shown that bishops retained their high legal status and authority in the sphere of pastoral care. However, the liturgical significance of episcopal office has been hitherto neglected by scholars.

This work sets out to cover this gap in scholarship and to investigate the question of how the image of episcopal authority was constructed through ritual narratives in Hiberno-Latin texts. The study adopts the understanding of ritual

as a textual rather than an anthropological practice and, with the help of the cognitive approaches, views ritual descriptions as material for audiences to create mental images of rituals. The main question is explored on three levels: first, the mindset – a conceptual framework which sets up the reference points for thinking about bishops in early medieval Ireland; second, the physical setting – the static environment of the ritual as conceptualized in writing; third, ritual performance – dynamic descriptions of such specifically episcopal rituals as ordination of clergy and consecration of churches. It is argued that texts can create powerful mental imagery which elucidates and strengthens the liturgical authority of episcopal office.

The Art of Love in Late Medieval Bone Saddles

Virág Somogyvári (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Alice M. Choyke, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Benedetta Chiesi (University of Florence)

The thesis deals with a little-known, albeit particular and unique, Central European object group from the fifteenth century. A great number of wood saddles covered with bone panels have survived from the first part of the fifteenth century and are dispersed in museums all over the world. Despite their uniqueness, these special parade objects have not gained enough attention in scholarship and this can be explained by the main issue related to them: the lack of written sources. Therefore, we cannot even assert when and where exactly they were made or what their original purpose was.

The aim of the thesis is to examine a recent idea connected to the purpose of the saddles, namely, that they were used during marriage processions. In order to find an answer to this question, in my thesis I examine the topic from different angles: their decoration and their possible cultural context. Accordingly, my thesis is divided into four main chapters. In the first chapter, I give an overview of the most important issues about the object group. In the second chapter, I highlight the dominating iconography which is connected to love. The third chapter examines the inscriptions which usually have some love-related content and initials which may refer to actual couples. Finally, I place these special objects in their probable cultural context: late medieval marriage rituals.

'Es tu de paenisme u de crestiënté?': Representations of Religious Difference between Christians and Muslims in the Earliest *Chansons de Geste*

Rebecca Anne Taylor (USA)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy
External Reader: Tivadar Palágyi (Eötvös Loránd University)

This thesis analyzes the literary representations of religious difference between Christians and Muslims in the earliest twelfth-century Old French *chansons de geste*: *La Chanson de Roland*, *La Chanson de Guillaume*, and *Gormont et Isembart*. Scholarship has tended to focus on a single *chanson* or on the evolution of the representations, either in the genre at large or comparatively. Novel approaches favor postcolonial readings, tracing the medieval roots of racism, violence, and intolerance. This study maintains that the primary form of difference in these texts is religion. Accordingly, the first chapter considers alternative forms of difference (racial/physical and ethnic/cultural), ultimately showing that alterity is principally imagined and reinforced through religion. The second chapter turns to how the representations both correspond to, and deviate from, medieval Christian perceptions of Islam and Muslims. The final chapter examines how religious difference is intensified and legitimized through violence, holy war, conversion, and martyrdom. Though foremost an analysis of the representations of religious difference in the three earliest *chansons de geste*, this thesis situates the texts within the broader medieval dialogue between Christians and Muslims and against the backdrop of crusader ideology.

"Fear of the Turks": Monastic Discourse on the Ottoman Threat in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Serbian Territories

Bojana Vasiljević (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić
External Reader: Mirko Sardelić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

This thesis analyzes late medieval Serbian texts, primarily produced by the members of monastic communities, regarding fear of the Ottoman presence in Serbian lands. These popular historical sources have traditionally been used to demonstrate the many hardships that the Serbian population had to endure

during the beginning of the era of Ottoman domination in the Balkans. In that way, late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century writings of Serbian monks were conceptualized as important arguments in support of the nineteenth-century historiographical construct of "five centuries of Turkish yoke" in Serbia. The thesis analyzes these texts through the theoretical and methodological paradigm of the history of emotions as outlined by Barbara H. Rosenwein. Specifically, it conceptualizes the monastic sources as products of an *emotional community* and focuses on the discursive analysis of *emotives* – speech acts capable of social/emotional transformation through their very utterance. The thesis demonstrates that the "fear of the Turks" was an aspect of the broader apocalyptic discourse shared by the learned Byzantine theologians of the era. Moreover, the Athonite monks, primarily the members of the Byzantine Orthodox community, were also concerned about the recent schism between the Serbian Church and the patriarchate of Constantinople, and the widely shared belief about the impending end of the world. The main cause behind the storied "fear of the Turks" thus does not lie in the Ottoman actions in the Balkans alone, but in the monks' appropriation of a Byzantine apocalyptic narrative to promote the unity and interests of the Orthodox Commonwealth.

PHD DEFENSES IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2016–17

From Huns into Persians: The Projected Identity of the Turks in the Byzantine Rhetoric of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Roman Shlyaktin (Russia)

15 September 2016
Committee: Matthias Riedl (Department of History – CEU) - chair; Daniel Ziemann (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU) – supervisor; Niels Gaul (School of History, Classics and Archaeology – University of Edinburgh) – supervisor; Tijana Krstić (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Floris Bernard (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Sándor László Tóth (Department of Medieval and Early Modern Hungarian History – University of Szeged)

External Readers: Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge University),
Dimitri Korobeinikov (University at Albany, SUNY)

This dissertation entitled "*From Huns into Persians: The Projected Identity of the Turks in the Byzantine Rhetoric of Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*" studies the emerging collective identity of the Turks in Byzantine discourse. The Seljuk Turks migrated from Central Asia to Anatolia in the eleventh century. In the period between the Battle of Manzikert (1071) and the First Crusade (1097), they captured the core territory of Byzantine Asia Minor. The Byzantine literati reacted to these events and created the image of the migrating group in their works of rhetoric. The dissertation studies the development of collective identity in the discourse. The present summary of the dissertation covers the conclusions on the chronology of the Turks' identity formation (1), results of the study of particular aspects of this identity (2), and evaluates the contribution of this dissertation to different areas of Byzantine studies (3).

1. Identity formation: Emergence, localization, legitimization

The dissertation argues that the identity of the Turks was not a product of any unified system of description but rather a creation of individual literati who constructed this identity in their works, often pursuing their own ends. The study allows us to identify three chronological phases in the formation of the projected identity of the Turks in Byzantine rhetoric. The first phase sees the identity emerging. In the period between Manzikert and the First Crusade, Byzantine authors used military treatises, diplomatic sources and prophecies to describe the sultanate of the Great Seljuk. The second phase, which I label "the localization of the Turks," encompasses the span of time from 1097 to 1176. In this period, Byzantium waged long and inconclusive wars with Turkic polities in Asia Minor. The demise of the Danishmendids (in the 1160s) and the consequent rise of the sultanate of Ikonion (1170s) presented a new challenge to the Byzantine Empire. The Battle of Myriokephalon (1176) significantly reduced the scope of Byzantine actions in Asia Minor. The decline of Byzantine influence stimulated Byzantine literati to change their tone. Even panegyrists like John Kinnamos grudgingly recognized the Persians as legitimate masters of Anatolia. I suggest calling this last period "the legitimization of the Turks."

2. Aspects of the identity

Byzantine literati constructed the identity of the Seljuk Turks by applying to them existing collective labels – "Persians," "Turks" and "Hagarenes." The key question of the dissertation lies in the deciphering of these terms. Contrary to previous scholarship on the subject (Shukurov, Kaldellis), this dissertation suggests that we read the three collective labels not as a coherent and immovable classification of the Other, but as separate discourse blocks which Byzantine authors combined in various ways to convey their messages about certain aspects of the described group.

In Byzantine rhetoric of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one label was primarily applied to the elite and figures of authority ("Persians"), another term referred to pastoralists and raiders ("Turks"), while the third term was used to define the Turks as a part of the community of Islam ("Hagarenes"). Combining these collective labels differently, Byzantine writers were able to produce nuanced images that suited the changing agenda of the day. The literati of the Komnenian era used terms and labels borrowed from Herodotus, the Old Testament, military treatises and polemics against Islam, but manipulated them in a very peculiar way that always corresponded to the self-identification of the Turks.

The image of the space and place of the Turks was a constitutive element of the projected identity. John Skylitzes placed the story about the migration of the Turks into the spatial framework of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. This dissertation claims that Komnenian writers never actually described a systematic reconquest of Asia Minor. After the military losses of the 1170s, they acknowledged the "Persians" as legitimate masters of the Anatolian landscape.

Contrary to the earlier point of view (Vryonis) that the "Islamization" of the Christian population is literally absent from Byzantine sources, my dissertation insists that Byzantine authors articulated the religious otherness of the Turks and expressed a negative attitude towards Islam. However, they did not perceive the Islam of the Turks as an intellectual challenge. Only at the end of the twelfth century, Niketas Choniates began to express anxiety about the possible forced conversion of Christians to Islam. On a more popular level, Byzantine authors did not produce *vitae* of neo-martyrs in the way that was done by Spanish-Iberian or Palaiologian writers of the later era.

In all aspects of the projected identity of the Turks, Byzantine authors constructed an imagined border between the two communities. In the spatial sense, the borderlands were permeable, and many travelers crossed them on their way. The existence of borderlands, imagined and real, stimulated the emergence of cultural brokers. The dissertation applies this term to two particular clans, the Gabrades and Axouchoi, who established themselves at the courts of Ikonion and Constantinople as cultural intermediaries and helped emperors and sultans alike to negotiate with their counterparts on the other side of the border.

While rhetorical images of the cultural brokers are nearly three-dimensional, the images of individual Turks remain mostly black-and-white. In general, the Persian and Turkic characters of Byzantine rhetoric either supported the idea of imperial dominance or highlighted Byzantine vices, or performed these two roles at the same time.

3. Contribution and perspective

First, this dissertation contributes to the methodology of Byzantine studies. It proves that the philological concept of semantic change provides valuable results in the analysis of the Byzantine "Other." Careful application of some post-colonial notions like "imperial gaze" yields promising results as well. Therefore, the dissertation adds new methodological instruments to the arsenal of Byzantine scholarship. The same method of analysis can be productively applied to other "Others" of Byzantine rhetoric, e.g., the Cumans or Latins.

Secondly, the dissertation clarifies a number of problems in the history of Komnenian Byzantium. For example, it provides an explanation for the rise of John Axouch to the position of *megas domestikos* at the court of John II Komnenos. Axouch was a "Persian" and this label implies that he came from a noble family, either from the elite of the sultanate of Nicaea or even from the very clan of Qutalmish. The association of Axouch not with the "Turks" but with Seljuk elite alters our understanding of the Komnenian elite and system of governance which absorbed talented foreigners of high social standing.

Third, the dissertation contributes to the history of Byzantine literature. It draws up a chronological scale of descriptive labels for the Turks that can be a helpful tool for the dating of Komnenian writings. The dissertation argues that panegyrists of the period tended to use one label ("Persians"), while history writers used many. Another finding specifically pertains to historiography – the fact that twelfth-century historians often applied collective labels that they borrowed from their sources rather than those in active use at the time of composition of their works.

The dissertation also argues that the Byzantine image of the Turks influenced the way they were represented in Latin chronicles and letters from the period of the First Crusade. When the Crusaders arrived at the Bosphorus, the Byzantines informed them about the size and political situation of Asia Minor, contributing to the image of Islam in the chronicles of the First Crusade and even in the contemporary Western documentation. The charter of Clementia of Burgundy (c. 1078–1133) in 1097 explicitly labels the oppressors of the Christians in the East as Persians, the Byzantine *terminus technicus* for the sultanate of the Great Seljuks. The connections that this dissertation reveals between Latin chronicles and Byzantine rhetoric pave the way for the study of the Byzantine influence on the "Western" image of the Turks that affected the Renaissance image of the Eastern Other and late Orientalism.

The Politics and Poetics of Morbus Gallicus in the German Lands (1495–1520)

Irina Savinetskaya (Russia)

5 October 2016

Committee: Nenad Dimitrijevic (Political Science Department – CEU) – chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU) – supervisor; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Endre György Szőnyi

(Department of Medieval Studies – Department of History – CEU); Ottó Gecser (Department of Sociology – Eötvös Loránd University)

External Readers: Darin Hayton (Haverford College);
Helmut Puff (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

In the mid-1490s, following the expedition of the King Charles VIII of France to Naples, an unknown disease spread across the German lands. Immediately associated with the French and their Neapolitan campaign, it became known as *morbus gallicus* and that term's various vernacular synonyms. These names maintained their popularity all throughout the period under study. "The Politics and Poetics of *Morbus Gallicus* in the German Lands (1495–1520)" examines various narratives of the origins and causes of *morbus gallicus* in medical and non-medical sources. It argues that *morbus gallicus* was seen as a disease both foreign to the Germans and intrinsic to the French; it was a composite of various interconnected narratives of German-ness and French-ness.

The first chapter is dedicated to the discussions of the nomenclature of the disease in medical treatises. In medieval medical epistemology, names had a special role to play in the identification of new diseases, and the correctness of *morbus gallicus* was subject to dispute. The majority of authors, however, accepted this as the new disease's correct name, reasoning either that this affliction had in fact originated among the French people or that it was the disease's most popular appellation.

The second chapter examines discussions of the causes of the French pox in medical treatises. It demonstrates that medical authors, assuming that the French people were the first to be infected with *morbus gallicus* during the Neapolitan campaign of Charles VIII, tried to devise explanatory schemes of its French origins based on various medical theories. Thus, some argued that the French had angered God with their proverbial pride and disregard for the German emperor, while others argued that the punishment was sent upon the Germans for their disobedience to the emperor and their lack of support for his campaigns against the French and the Turks. Astrological explanations also pointed to the French-ness of the disease. Some physicians alleged that the French were the first to contract it since their ruling planet had been present at the time of the conjunction which had given rise to this disease. Finally, humoral causes were also presented as pointing to the disease's French-ness. Thus, in framing the disease as "French," the medical authors relied on a variety of religious, astrological, political, and medical ideas of French-ness.

The third chapter studies the incorporation of *morbus gallicus* into the discussions of what it meant to be "German," which were multiplying under the aegis of northern humanism. These narratives of German-ness were constructed in antithesis to notions of French-ness and foreignness. Over time, *morbus gallicus* was integrated into the discussions of German national identities. It was presented as a consequence of the use of French goods and habits, considered in essence alien to the Germans' healthy moral and physical climate.

As this dissertation shows, *morbus gallicus* was much more than a matter of the body natural. Religion, politics, medicine, astrology, notions of "self" and "other" all absorbed *morbus gallicus* as an inherently French disease. Once *morbus gallicus* was recognized as the disease of the French, it became inseparable from the inter-reflexive perceptions of German-ness and French-ness.

Epitaphic Culture and Social History in Late Antique Salona (ca. 250–600 CE)

Dora Ivanišević (Croatia)

18 January 2017
Committee: Matthias Riedl (Department of History – CEU) – chair; Volker Menze (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU) – supervisor; Cristian Gaşpar (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU)

External Readers: John Bodel (Brown University);
Jelena Marohnić (University of Zagreb)

The two principal objectives of this dissertation are to simultaneously examine the related topics of the late antique epitaphic culture of Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, and the social profile of the "epitaphic population." While the dissertation focuses on 188 sufficiently preserved Latin and Greek epitaphs, dating from the mid-third to the beginning of the seventh centuries, it also discusses many early- and high-imperial epitaphs as well as non-funerary late-imperial inscriptions in order to consider various concepts of the "epigraphic habit." It also considers the changing patterns of commemoration in their *longue durée* and across different epigraphic contexts. Thereby, it attempts to avoid revolving its discussions around the axis of pagan versus Christian funerary commemoration, and to evade the traditional scholarly divide between Roman – that is, early- and high-imperial – and Christian (late-imperial) epigraphy.

Moreover, the present dissertation privileges text itself, but strives not to disregard the text's monumental and archaeological context when this can be known. The monument type, material, visuals, craftsmanship, and location are considered, if pertinent to the argument. Finally, both the anepitaphic funerary monuments and the two other types of inscriptions, honorific and votive texts, are taken into consideration to contextualize epitaphs.

The first part of the thesis critically surveys the dominant models used to explain the epigraphic culture of the Roman Empire, questioning the concept of "Christian epigraphy" and the presumed motivation for the revival of "Christian epitaphic output" in the later Roman period. It suggests that the concept of "Christian epigraphy" was built upon the definition of what makes an inscription "Christian," first formulated by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in the first volume of *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* and superseded by Wilhelm Henzen in the sixth volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The quest for the evidence of ancient Christianity and the early Christians overemphasized the given evidence found in inscriptions which has had a determinative bearing on the definition of what a "Christian inscription" is, and thus on the principles that governed the scope of epigraphic corpora. Furthermore, considering that the bulk of "Christian inscriptions" from Rome dominate the epigraphic record of both the city and the Latin West, and that the concept of "Christian epigraphy" was modeled on the epigraphic evidence from Rome's catacombs, it happened that the notion of "Christian epigraphy" came to overshadow the rest of the late antique epigraphic record. "Christian epigraphy" has thus unwarrantably come to mean "late antique epigraphy."

A major problem is that this nineteenth-century paradigm still frames the way in which scholars tend to look at and interpret the epigraphic record of Late Antiquity. The model elaborated by Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho in 1995, which attempts to explain the revival of the "Christian epigraphic habit," presents the consummated form of the nineteenth-century definition of a "Christian inscription." According to Galvão-Sobrinho, the statements of faith were the essential element of Christian funerary texts, and epitaphs were the key medium for believers to define themselves as Christians before God, something which played a crucial role in securing their salvation. Nevertheless, the underlying premise that the epigraphic culture of a period was driven, and given form, by a single motivating factor unique to the period is in itself untenable. It is argued that political and economic stability, and the persistence of civic institutions and urban infrastructure, were the key factors in the pervasiveness of the practice of setting up inscribed monuments. Furthermore, to the extent that the late Roman epitaphs

permit us to assess the relationship between the deceased and inscription-writer, the burial of dead was an affair of the nuclear family and composing an epitaph was an individual and personal initiative. It is thus suggested that the statements of faith were rather inward-looking and they had consolatory purpose for the bereaved family.

As to the conceptualization of sarcophagi, the predominant stone funerary monument in late antique Salona, the analysis of the vocabulary employed in epitaphs referring to the container itself shows a shift from figurative language (attested in a few early examples of sarcophagi that show the term commonly applied to other types of monuments such as statue bases, stelas and altars) to exclusively literal language. The shift in verbiage is taken to suggest that from the third century onward the sarcophagus's functional aspect prevailed over its metaphorical, "monumental" aspect. The growing minimalism of the sarcophagi panels so that even the frame of an inscription field ceased to be carved, the perceptibly increased horror at the exhumation of corpses from the beginning of the fourth century, and the pervasiveness of the fine threats against the tomb violation in late Roman sarcophagi are all supportive of that idea with the corollary that the place and purported effect of Christian epitaphs should be redressed.

Commemoration with inscribed funerary monuments lies at the intersection of affordability and being socially and culturally contingent. The third, fourth and fifth chapters tackle these two topics. The third chapter touches upon the cost of inscribed tombstones, raising the question of their affordability. The attested early- and high-imperial costs are put into perspective with a model of wealth distribution. Given the scarcity and unreliability of the quantitative data from Roman antiquity, the issue is raised merely to cause us to ponder the magnitude of the costs of tombstones and to make us cognizant of the extent to which prices could have been prohibitive. As to the socio-cultural contingency of epigraphic practices, for the early and high empire, the debate revolves around the socio-legal status of people recorded in epitaphs and how the "epitaphic population" relates to the social make-up of an urban community, i.e. those who could afford an inscribed stone funerary monument. Pertinent to this is the question of the motivation that prompted people to set up funerary monuments, and of the nature of both commemorative and epigraphic culture. At stake is, above all, the onomastic method for assessing one's socio-legal status, something relying on Roman onomastics and hinging on a person's cognomen; the method presupposes that Greek cognomina and certain Latin "servile" ones indicate an individual's socio-legal background. Accordingly, freedmen are said to be overrepresented in funerary commemoration in urban communities of the early and high empire.

Regarding the late imperial "Christian epitaphs," the topic of social composition of epitaphs has not been systematically tackled in recent scholarship. Assessments of the social status of "epitaphic population" are oftentimes somewhat impressionistic and boil down to whether the commemoration went up or down on the social scale in comparison to the early- and high-imperial period.

The fourth chapter thus critically surveys the onomastic method and its application in the socio-historical analysis of epitaphs, a method recently propounded by Henrik Mouritsen in his studies of funerary monuments from Ostia and Pompeii. It furthermore explores the onomastic indicators of social status as attested in epitaphs from Salona during the early and high empire. The fifth chapter analyzes the changes in the Roman name-form and the disappearance of the *gentilicium* that were evolving over the high- and late-imperial period, and it examines the social significance of the two- and single-name form respectively. While the Constitutio Antoniniana caused the proliferation of the *nomen* Aurelius, onomastic reasons factored most in the final elimination of the *gentilicium* during the third and fourth centuries. The two-name system was still the standard in funerary and non-funerary epigraphy of Salona in the first half of the fourth century. Yet, the pace of change seems to have been rapid since already around the middle and second half of the fourth century, *gentilicia* other than Aurelius and Flavius had seemingly died out. The status *nomen*, Flavius, endured the longest and is the only attested *gentilicium* in the fifth century, albeit with only a few examples. On a methodological level, both the fourth and fifth chapter point out that it is crucial in an analysis to keep diachronic perspective. These chapters attempt to elucidate the fluidity of the Roman name system and naming fashion, along with their determinative relation to both epigraphic context, and socio-legal and economic status. Lastly, the fifth chapter analyzes the biographical pieces of information recorded in epitaphs to assess what social groups set up stone funerary monuments in late antique Salona. Three groups are discernable: individuals with senatorial, equestrian, and other lower-ranking honorific titles (*viri honesti* and *feminae honestae*), the civil and military officials employed in the central and provincial imperial administration, and craftsmen. These groups comprised the moneyed people who had access to the gold coinage and who could participate in the urban market economy.

Born for Phoebus. Solar-Astral Symbolism and Poetical Self-Representation in Conrad Celtis and his Humanist Circles

Áron Orbán (Hungary)

14 February 2017
Committee: Károly Bárd (Department of Legal Studies - CEU) – chair; Endre György Szőnyi (Department of Medieval Studies – Department of History – CEU) – supervisor; Marianne Sághy (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Floris Bernard (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU)

External Readers: Gernot Michael Müller (Katholische Universität Eichstadt-Ingolstadt); Elisabeth Klecker (Universität Wien)

Fifteenth-sixteenth-century Germany – and Renaissance Europe in general – witnessed a growing interest in the laws of nature, natural philosophy (including occult disciplines), and the correspondences between microcosm and macrocosm. Astrology grew especially popular in Germany. At the same time, the enhanced self-consciousness or even pride of a Renaissance author compared to an earlier medieval one is a long-established commonplace. Indeed, humanist poets were inclined, in varying degrees, to self-fashioning and self-mythologizing. My interdisciplinary study focuses on the junction of these two basic habits of mind of German humanists around 1500. I reveal solar and astral (mainly astrological) symbolism in Neo-Latin poetical works and visual artworks of this period, and investigate how this cosmic symbolism was used for self-representative purposes. Among the German humanists, I focus on Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), the "arch-humanist" of Germany and first poet laureate of his nation; the "bringer of the muses" to the German land. Celtis's personality, poetic talent, ambition, scientific-philosophical interests, his assumed role – all this resulted in various interesting ways of "cosmic" self-representation. I argue that this is a core area of his whole poetical oeuvre. In the investigated period of German humanism (c. 1485–1510), some other poets who were friends of Celtis also employed astronomical, astrological, and cosmological imagery in the construction of their (or the group's) humanist identities in various ways and to various extents: Jakob Locher, Laurentius Corvinus (Rabe), Johannes Tolhopf, Augustinus Moravus. I involve representative works of these authors in my research, too.

The first chapter reviews the poetological background of the enhanced vates-ideology of the German humanists: the humanist revaluation of poetry in the Renaissance and the "defense of poetry" tradition. German poets and poetical theorists profited much from Florentine Platonism which stressed the

divine nature and cosmic context of poetry more than any other poetological tradition before.

The second chapter highlights Celtis's interest in nature and the cosmos – particularly astronomy-astrology – from various perspectives: the models provided by the Pythagorean-Platonic cosmological tradition, Celtis's emphasis on micro-macrocosmical relations in general, and the historical-biographical context of these interests. The strong connections between the heavenly and sublunar spheres, macro- and microcosm, was one of Celtis's basic habits of mind, perhaps more so than in any other German humanist. In general, there was a strong interrelation between astronomy-astrology and humanist literary activity in late fifteenth-century Central Europe, including Cracow, Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Vienna, cities which correspond with the major stages of Celtis's life.

Chapters 3-6 explore Celtis's and his friends' strategies of "cosmic" self-representation through analyses of specific works. Chapter 3 demonstrates that natal astrology was an essential means of character-building in Celtis's poetry (and in some of Tolhopf's works, too). Celtis went into horoscopic details to an extent unprecedented in Neo-Latin poetry. The "support" of the stars and the heavens could be rendered palpable through horoscopes; individual astrology came in handy for Celtis and Tolhopf to emphasize the elect status of the German vates.

Celtis supported his vates-role by means of his horoscope of laureation, too (chapter 4), which he published at the end of his panegyrical *Proseuticum*. This horoscope, too, displayed exceptionally favorable planetary positions. Interestingly, the planetary positions were highly favorable at the day of laureation of several other humanists after Celtis. It remains an issue of future research whether horoscopes of laureations were also made in these cases.

Solar symbolism – the subject of chapter 5 – is less clear-cut in Celtis than astrological symbolism. It is part of a complex Phoebean symbolism with which the poet used all the traditional functions of Phoebus Apollo – Sun-god, god of poetry (also as an instigator of *furor poeticus*), symbol of the ruler, and to a lesser extent god of divination or medicine. The poets' support by Apollo is a basic humanist topos, but the complex Phoebean symbolism in Celtis and some other humanists (Jakob Locher and Laurentius Corvinus) definitely surpasses the level of commonplaces. Elaborate epiphanic scenes are staged or events happening at a date or time determined by the Sun's position: the operation of the cosmos and the Sun's central role in it; the Sun as indicator of specific anniversaries; the poet's divine support; the humanist vates who spreads the light of wisdom; the sunrise of a new Latin poetry; the symbiosis of poet and ruler. In all these Celtis was

interested, and he could express them with solar, Phoebean motifs that permeate his whole oeuvre.

Following classical tradition, Apollo was often paired with Bacchus who similarly supported poets through *furor poeticus*. Chapter 6 highlights humanist works about Phoebean-Bacchic feasts, works that are based on real feasts of the sodalities but are stylized as rituals of an elite humanist circle. The role of the paganizing (but not anti-Christian) symbolism as a group-identity building factor comes to the foreground in these works. The inscriptions on Augustinus Moravus's golden bowl, Celtis's birthday poems, and Celtis's odes about feasts at astronomically important dates show a similar tendency to construct an elite identity through cosmological-mythological symbolism.

After all these investigations, the enhanced use of solar-astral symbolism in poetical self-representation emerges as a specific trait of German humanism in Celtis's time, one not recognized as such in previous scholarship. In Celtis's case, this symbolism is an organizing factor of his whole poetry, and the interpretation of many of his key works requires the understanding of this complex network of cosmological-mythological-poetological ideas. Furthermore, it is not only the scholars of specific German humanists who may be interested in the results of my study. The analyzed works mirror general basic characteristics of the intellectual life of the age: self-assertive individualism, an optimistic belief in cultural renewal, an enhanced interest in the secrets of nature, a predilection for mystique, allegories and micro-macrocosmic correspondences In my view, the works investigated in this study provide a quite representative cross-section of Renaissance culture in general.

The Ginger Fox's Two Crowns. Central Administration and Government in Sigismund of Luxembourg's Realms 1410–1419

Márta Kondor (Hungary)

31 May 2017
Committee: Matthias Riedl (Department of History – CEU) – chair; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU) - supervisor; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Márta Font (University of Pécs)

External Readers: Martin Kintzinger (University of Münster);
Péter E. Kovács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History)

For more than a century, the House of Luxembourg was a dominant political factor in Central and East-Central Europe. Charles IV's second son, Sigismund, became king of Hungary in 1387. Until his death in 1437, he was crowned four more times with three further royal crowns, and an imperial one as well. The present PhD dissertation focuses on the first decade of Sigismund's Hungarian and German kingship and deals with the administrative-governmental aspects of this personal union.

Scholarship generally considered Sigismund of Luxembourg a ruler who was overwhelmed by his crowns. Although this academic judgment was basically undisputed for a long time, the very direct consequences of the establishment of the personal union have never been a matter of scholarly interest, excepting an article written by Lóránd Szilágyi in 1934. With my dissertation I aimed at contributing to this topic by studying how this composite monarchy was functioning on the highest level(s) of administration and politics, and by looking for personal and institutional entanglements and interactions between the independent administrative systems. From conducting this research, I expected to answer the questions of the extent to which Sigismund involved himself in resolving the problems his administration faced and what role his direct advisors, his trusted men, or the judicial-administrative systems themselves played in maintaining the effective functioning of the monarch's disparate realms.

"The analysis of documentary forms permits an understanding of administrative actions and the functions generating them," Luciana Duranti explains. A diplomatic analysis of charters shows that the Hungarian writing organs gradually adapted their practice to the new situation between February and September 1411. In the beginning, the Sigismund-administration found temporary solutions for issuing documents of imperial provenance; the imperial chancery was set up by the end of June or beginning of July 1411. This was the time when John Kirchen entered Sigismund's services, the German secret seal and the imperial register book were put in use and Archbishop John Kanizsai was referred to as imperial chancellor for the first time. Nonetheless, the earliest evidence for the use of the imperial majestic seal comes only from August 1412.

In the 1410s, and especially after 1412, the perhaps most important characteristic feature of the Sigismund administration was that it was mobile and resident at the same time. Therefore, on the one hand, it was necessary to identify who and in which form assisted the king in decision making and governing at the travelling royal court (*aula*). The findings can be summarized briefly in three points: 1. Imperial advisors cannot be traced around Sigismund before 1414 in a larger number, and even then the small number of their *relatios* hints at the low intensity

of actual administrative-governmental activity. Exceptions were Frederick of Nuremberg and Günter of Schwarzburg. Moreover, the members of this group were rarely willing to leave imperial territories. After 1417, Sigismund relied on the assistance and support of the middle and lower strata of the imperial aristocracy, e.g., George of Hohenlohe, Louis of Öttingen, John of Lupfen and Conrad of Weinsberg. 2. Those members of Sigismund's entourage who belonged to the Hungarian *aula* were definitely more numerous and more mobile. The political elite of the kingdom, however, was rather underrepresented at the travelling court. Between November 1412 and February 1419 only the Hungarian court-dignitaries (master of the doorkeepers, master of the stewards, master of the cupbearers, master of the horse) and Nicholas Garai were at the ruler's side continually. Courtiers of lower status (*miles*, *iuvenes*, etc.) were present in considerably greater numbers and they also took an active part in governmental-administrative acts. 3. The forum of decision making at the court was the royal council. This gathering should not be regarded as a modern bureaucratic institution with a fixed structure and pre-scheduled meetings, but rather as an amoeba-like consulting body, the actual composition of which depended on the very issues to be discussed and decided. Although Sigismund's few most trusted men were always invited to the sessions if they were available, Hungarians, Germans, Bohemians, Italians, magnates, lower-ranked courtiers or professionals could attend the meetings sometimes in smaller or sometimes in greater numbers.

The other focus of this research is on the administration of the realms in the ruler's absence. In the years 1413 and 1414, an obvious intensification of the queenly activity can be observed in Hungary which corresponds to a traditional form of the ruler's substitution. It must be noted, however, there is no proof, or even hints, of Barbara's fully independent decision making in terms of governing and administering the kingdom; rather she worked together with the leading barons. The queen represented royal power in the absence of Sigismund but she did not exercise the rights of the king. As for the period after 1415, even this representative role seems to have faded. For a hitherto unclarified reason, the queenly substitution was replaced by the system of royal vicars in January 1414. This decision was supposedly the result of Sigismund's personal experiences and thus of German influence. Although the "institution" was adjusted to Hungarian circumstances, in the long term this model was not a preferred solution in Hungary and the office of the governor (*locumtenens*) became established instead. Less clear is the situation between January 1416 and May 1417: whether Paul Özdögei Besenyő was a royal vicar, Archbishop John Kanizsai's plenipotentiary,

or "simply" one of the few barons entrusted with tasks of governing is, in my opinion, still open to question.

Due to its importance for the administrative and constitutional history, the imperial vicariate has been a central theme of research in German historiography. In spite of this, the beginnings of the Count Palatine's *absente rege* vicariate and the form(s) of Sigismund's substitution in the years 1411–1414 have not been satisfactorily clarified yet. Most probably, a detailed analysis of the charters issued by Louis of Pfalz would answer the question but this issue requires a separate study.

When analyzing the "spatial characteristics" of Sigismund's rule I focus on the question of which settlements and towns functioned temporarily or continuously as administrative centers in the Hungarian kingdom and in the Empire. From 1415, Visegrád gradually but undoubtedly lost importance – something which Buda gained from – although until the middle of the 1420s there is evidence of governmental-residential activities taking place there. After that, the town and the royal palace "served as an accessory residence besides Buda." In the last ten years of his rule, Sigismund often spent longer periods of time in Pressburg, a town with a perfect geographical location and flourishing economic connections with southern-German territories. Simultaneously, in the 1420s the Sigismund-administration also tried to assign Nuremberg a stable central function. When interpreting these phenomena it cannot be disregarded that Sigismund, lacking a territorial basis in the Empire, needed a suitable administrative-governmental center, an imperial capital city. During the Council of Constance, that city was indeed the place of imperial governmental administration but neither Sigismund nor his advisors seem to have had intention of making it a permanent royal center.

Sigismund's rule can be characterized by a series of dichotomies, which in his case are not opposed or contradictory but complementary. His reign was still medieval, but in some respect already modern. His kingly attitude simultaneously dynastic and universalist, and his administration resident and mobile, combining elements of continuity with reforms. The parallel iconographic patterns of Sigismund's seals proclaimed the unity of his realms and this idea was more than pure utopia: every now and then, the Hungarian and the imperial administrations intermingled on a personal level, and administrative methods and ruling practices influenced each other as well.

Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Material Culture of Medieval Queens of Hungary (1000–1395)

Christopher Mielke (USA)

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Committee: György Endre Szőnyi (Department of History - CEU) – chair; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU) – supervisor; Alice M. Choyke (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU) – supervisor; János Bak (Professor Emeritus, Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen); Orsolya Réthelyi (Eötvös Loránd University)

External Readers: Kateřina Horníčková (University of Vienna /University of South Bohemia); Miriam Shadis (Ohio University)

In this dissertation, I aim to understand how medieval queens in the Hungarian kingdom used material culture and structured space as expressions of their own power in public as well as private spheres. Data from objects, images, and spaces connected to thirty individuals over the course of four centuries will be analyzed in terms of the queen's own agency and capacity for action. This concern for the individual experience is a tricky one as reconstructing individual lives through material culture is extremely difficult and in some cases impossible. It has also been the case that the charter evidence of the queens is, relatively speaking, very sparse and analysis has centered only on the written records. While greatly informative, the fact that over the centuries many of Hungary's medieval archives have undergone wave after wave of destruction means that any conclusions reached from the paltry surviving records must not be taken as the final word on the power and agency of the medieval Hungarian queens. It should be mentioned that although much of the material culture of the medieval kingdom of Hungary has undergone significant destruction as well, there have been a few fortunate survivals. The attempt made here has been to understand the 134 objects, 29 images and 17 spaces that survive in some format in the context of their relationship to the queen. These are divided into five categories of analysis: official and public objects, items worn on the body, personal and religious objects, images, and finally spaces used by the queens both in life and in death. It goes without saying that in spite of these categories, they are merely guidelines for separation rather than rigid categories totally separated from one another. The main questions asked of this material will be: How is power related to the office of queenship manifested in the preserved material and archaeological record? To

what extent are artifacts remnants of the queen's personal (i.e. as mother, wife, daughter) or her official duties? How can the queen's presence be detected in at archaeological sites associated with her? The ultimate goal of this dissertation will thus be to provide a different, more nuanced view of the narrative that medieval queens in Hungary were passive and dependent figures; that they understood and used the media of objects, images, and spaces to display their own power to public and private audiences.

The result of this research has uncovered a few interesting facts related to how the activities of queens changed throughout time. In the eleventh century, most traces of activities related to the queen survive solely in relation to their involvement in the church. Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065), aside from founding Veszprém Cathedral, was heavily involved in the creation and donation of liturgical objects and books before retiring to a monastic life. Her activities are echoed in her successors, such as Anastasia of Kiev (d. 1096?) and her influence in the decision for the king to purchase the Patak forest, Judith of Swabia's (d. 1094?) donation of liturgical books to Kraków Cathedral upon her remarriage, and Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090) donating a reliquary cross with a similar story to one commissioned by Queen Gisela. What follows afterwards is about a century of relative inactivity during a period where there are two very strong queens acting as unofficial regent: Helen of Serbia (d. 1146?) and Euphrosyne of Kiev (d. 1193?) whose only known activities, independent of their behind-the-scenes administration, consist of monastic foundations.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, there emerges a resurgence in activity related to material culture and space on the part of the queens. Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184) not only was found with an impressive set of grave goods (including a crown and a ring) from her preserved tomb, but she was also involved in the construction of a public bath at Esztergom. Margaret of France (d. 1197) used material culture (including a lavish tent) as part of not only a gift-giving strategy to Crusaders passing through, but also as part of negotiations with them. Constance of Aragon (d. 1222), while only in Hungary for a short time, may be the possible influence behind the Hungarian coat of arms; her collection of grave goods is very impressive, though they tell more about her time as queen of Sicily, rather than her time as queen of Hungary.

The wives of Andrew II (r. 1205–1235) built off the more official role of the queen by their immediate predecessors. While Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213) might have been holding the king's seal at the time of her untimely murder, it was Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233) who is the first Hungarian queen to employ her own seal and first appear on coinage. After the Mongol Invasion, Maria

Laskarina (d. 1270) continues this tradition of using her own seal in charters she issues, as well as by being heavily involved in several construction projects, such as the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island as well as the Citadel of Visegrád. Elizabeth the Cuman, as the widowed queen regent, appears on coinage issued by her son, but her first seal from her time as a rival princess which declared her "daughter of the Emperor of the Cumans" is bold in its imagery. Within Hungary, the last Árpádian queens seem to follow earlier behaviors, though Elizabeth the Cuman and Isabella of Naples (d. 1303) are in the habit of journeying outside the royal centers.

In essence, the fourteenth century is where the interaction between queens, material culture, and power seems to reach its apex. Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364), widow of Andrew III (r. 1290–1301) spent the last sixty years of her life promoting her family's self-image at her monastery at Königsfelden which left a great deal of artifacts related to heraldry, stained-glass windows, books, and textiles. Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308–1342), was not only an incredibly rich woman, but also one who left a great deal of activity in the material record. Elizabeth gave a great many gifts to the church (reliquaries, crosses, nativity figurines, books, etc.), not only those which survive to present, but also those which were mentioned in her will. She was also very heavily involved in several construction projects; not only in regards to activities at the royal palaces of Óbuda and Diósgyőr, but also in the building, renovation, and reconstruction of nearly twenty-six monasteries and parish churches. She was also a very active gift-giver, particularly on her sojourns to the Italian peninsula as well as on her pilgrimage through Prague, Marburg, and Aachen.

Her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387), presents an interesting counterpoint to the power of the queen. Married in 1353, there is no known surviving charter of this younger queen until 1370, around the time that she begins to have surviving children. At this time, her activities begin to emerge, two of which are of utmost importance: her book of instruction for her daughters, which she wrote shortly after their birth, and her donation of the silver reliquary sarcophagus to the shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar. It is also worth comparing the places of activities of these two queens. While Elizabeth of Poland is heavily involved in construction projects and donations at the royal centers of Hungary (i.e. Buda, Óbuda, Diósgyőr, etc.), Elizabeth of Bosnia mostly is involved on sites related to the fringes of the kingdom, such as Zadar or Sárospatak (the site of a Poor Clares convent she most probably founded).

This survey ends with Mary of Anjou (r. 1382–1395), the queen regnant. Her very exceptional case shows a real blending of power associated with both

the ruling king as well as a king consort. Her reign is usually divided into two periods: her mother's regency (1382–1386) and her marriage with Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1395). The material culture is influenced by this change, particularly in the seals she uses during each part of her reign. Nonetheless, while it is true that after her marriage the number of charters she issues decreases, there are still plenty of symbols of her power during the period of co-rule with her husband. In the first case, the queen still issues coinage in her own name from the period of her marriage. Her foundations are typical for a young queen consort, though there are also exceptional cases such as a bell with her name on it from a hospital in Gyöngyös, possibly a foundation of her own. Her interest in literature is proven not only by her ownership of a Hungarian-language psalter, but also by commissioning Lorenzo de Monacis to write a chronicle in verse on the first few years of her reign. Regardless of the queen's de facto or de jure power, the material culture shows that Mary clearly understood the importance of promoting her own image and exercising her own power. Rather than a victim or neglected wife, she emerges as a clever, capable woman in her own right.

Understanding the nature of the queen's power is more complicated, but when interpreted as the capacity for action, there is a great body of evidence indicating that the queens were responsible for many actions in the period under consideration, from small donations to the Church to the erection of massive buildings. Joint activities with the king (such as a donation or a burial together) suggest that the overtly expressed power of the queen may be hidden or more of a form of "soft power." In many ways, there is a move away from studying queens as independent, finite units when recent views indicate that studying the concept of "rulership" is more fruitful. In the medieval mindset, the king and queen functioned as a complementary pair, with the queen taking on more feminine roles such as intercession. In moments where the queen is seen as superseding her power, disaster occurs, such as the murder of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran and Elizabeth of Bosnia. The queen's power was also subject to the king and for Euphemia of Kiev and Isabella of Naples, the king's disinterest could entail divorce or imprisonment. For most of the queens in this study, part of the reason their presence has been so nebulous is that they understood the roles expected of them and acted accordingly. One cannot speak about the action of the queens without considering the actions of the kings and the many joint actions between the royal couple (donations to churches, monastic foundations, etc.) are testament to the queen being tied to the king, both by her "office" as well as by her person. When viewed in this light, the picture that emerges is not of four centuries of weak, penniless queens with two or three exceptions, but rather a long-term

process which fluctuates from queens in the eleventh century making a strong personal mark on Hungarian rulership to the growth of it as a more "official" aspect of the court, increasingly dependent on the king.

In some ways, research related to the medieval queens of Hungary will always be an ongoing task. In asking new questions about the actions and potential for action in the material culture and spaces of the Hungarian queens, a clearer picture emerges. Going beyond the words of the chroniclers and the few surviving charters can impart a totally different story about how the queens were able to promote their own self-image, transfer culture among their family, and alter space to their will.