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PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

"It is indeed with great pleasure that I take the opportunity to preface the first Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies of the Central European University in Budapest, with a few words of self-assesment and a preview of future developments." – wrote Henrik Birnbaum, about the still experimental, recently launched project, called Central European University, with its perhaps most unique and certainly most ambitious MA program in Medieval Studies in the academic year of 1993–94. The concept, indeed, was so new, that it was necessary to introduce everything, the very idea of founding such a university "for the advancement of a pluralist, 'open society' in East-Central Europe," at a temporary location in an old hotel in Buda while "new premises in a historical palace in the town center are under contruction. It is hoped that CEU Budapest will be able to move there by Fall 1995", and fingers were crossed for the successful accreditation by the New York State Education Department. Most of the students came "from former 'socialist' countries – from Albania to the Baltic States and the countries of the CIS", yet the idea was to welcome everyone "who would like to enlarge their knowledge of the region's past, present and future; who are interested in learing to work and share knowledge and experience with their East European peers […] and to serve as a prototype for an open system of education in which different ideas are critically examined, subjects are studied in a comparative, rather than a national context…"

It is very instructive to read through the goals and ambitions of a tiny, motivated academic community, welcomed and helped by historians like Jacques Le Goff, Evelyne Patlagean, Ernest Gellner, Janet Nelson, Peter Burke among many others and see the seeds of the very first projects they were involved in, such as the FIDEM in Spoleto, or the first International Medieval Congress in Leeds. And looking back to these seeds after 25 years, I am amazed to see that even their highest and most visionary expectations were a gross underestimation of their potentials and future success. By now the first MA students have become major scholars, the budding dissertations have been turned into books, and medievalists' friendships turned into international research cooperations.

The first conference organized by the Department of Medieval Studies was on Women and Power – convened by Marianne Sághy, who was also the editor of the first Annual. Her death this year was a major loss for the department. But her contribution stays, in the topics of continuing courses and conferences, in

supervised dissertations, in shaping her students and in her never ending dedication and enthusiasm she brought to the department from its very beginning.

In the following pages you can find the harvest not only of this academic year but the fruits of several years' ongoing work. The Head's Report aptly illustrates how much the range of the department grew, chronologically, geographically. It continues to embrace more and more themes and languages and most importantly, new people. People who came to Budapest, to study or to give courses, because the Department has successfully achieved what it aimed at from the start – and I quote again the first Annual – : "the realization of an almost utopian plan to give new impetus to medieval studies in East-Central Europe". And the impact has been huge. What will become of us in the future, is uncertain, just as it was 25 years ago but I have high hopes that in the years to come further generations of young scholars will be taken to Škofja Loka, find undated manuscripts in dingy places, unearth and conscientiously restore the other half of the Balkans, or compile for fun an imaginary medieval cookbook that explains how to make stew of a unicorn.

Ildikó Csepregi

PART 1
Articles and Studies

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE VIKING RUS'
AND THE TURKIC NOMADS OF THE STEPPE

Csete Katona 📥

Early medieval Scandinavians were active participants not just in the history of Western Europe but also Eastern Europe from the ninth to the mid-eleventh century, a period commonly known as the Viking Age (c. 800–1050). During their various activities in the regions encompassing today's European Russia and beyond, Viking merchants, warriors and settlers came into contact with people of diverse origin. Among these contacts, the Slavic, Baltic and Finno-Ugric relations of the Scandinavians were the closest ones, manifested in intermingling and the development of the Kievan Rus' state – in which Scandinavians played a decisive role from the ninth century onwards. Inhabitants of this state were designated in contemporary documents as Rus', denoting a population of mixed ethnicity, which besides Scandinavians, also incorporated the previously mentioned groups.[1]

Besides the Slavic and Balto-Finnic relations, other contacts were also significant for the Scandinavians which are rarely discussed in modern scholarship.

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[1] On the differing views regarding the development of Rus' identity, see: Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, "Creating a Cultural Expression. On Rus' Identity and Material Culture," in *Identity Formation and Diversity in the Early Medieval Baltic and Beyond*, eds. Johan Callmer, Ingrid Gustin and Mats Roslund (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 91–106; cf. Przemysław Urbańczyk, "Who Were the Early Rus'?," in *Rus' in the 9th–12th centuries: Society, State, Culture*, eds. Nikolaj A. Makarov and A. E. Leontiev (Moscow: Drevnosti Severa, 2014), 228–233; Benjamin P. Golden, "Rūs," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Dozel, and W. P. Heinrich (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 618–629; Elena A. Melnikova, Vladimir J. Petrukhin, "The Origin and Evaluation of the Name Rus'. The Scandinavians in Eastern European Ethno-political Processes before the 11th Century," *Tor* 23 (1990–1991) 203–234; James E. Montgomery, "Vikings and Rus in Arabic Sources," in *Living Islamic History. Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, ed. Yasir Suleiman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 151–165. To highlight my focus on the Scandinavians within this ethnic group, I add the attribute "Viking" to Rus, when I intend to emphasize the Scandinavian sides of Rus–Turkic relations (in contrast to handling Rus–Turkic contacts as purely Russian–Turkic ones). I am well aware of the problems around the term Viking, which is used here as a matter of a convenience. For its misuses, see: Eric Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 1–4. A further note on terminology concerns another frequently encountered designation, Varangian, which in contemporary reports mostly referred to Scandinavian warrior groups operating in the East. Adolf Stender-Petersen, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes vèringi, Russ. *Vaŕag*," *Acta Philologica Scandinavica. Tidsskrift for nordisk sprogforskning* 6 (1931–1932): 26–38; Fedir Androshchuk, "Vikingarna – ruserna – varjagerna," *Historiska Nyheter. Olga & Ingegerd – Vikingafurstinnor i öst* (2004–2005): 36–39.

The core areas controlled by the emerging Kievan Rus' state, were bordered from the south and east by the so-called steppe belt, a geographical region inhabited by various nomadic tribes of predominantly Turkic origin. The major rivers used by the Scandinavians for water transport in European Russia also flowed through the territories of the nomads. The geographic proximity made it inevitable that these ethnic groups should maintain close connections with each other. Contacts were established in the spheres of trade, warfare and culture between the Viking Rus' and the nomadic tribes along the Volga, Dnieper, Don and other Eastern European rivers. Nomads along these waterways, including the Khazars, the Volga Bulghars, the Magyars and the Pechenegs, all came into contact with the Northerners at an early stage, likely already in the early ninth century.[2] Trading partnerships, military alliances and cultural borrowings between Scandinavians and Turks were even enhanced throughout the tenth century.[3]

One of the puzzling questions concerning Viking-nomadic relations, however, remains: how did early medieval Scandinavians communicate with the Turks of the steppe? Conducting trade, being engaged in negotiations, understanding local customs, adopting fashion, forming alliances or acting together on the battlefield all require an ability to understand each other. How were everyday encounters managed between ethnicities so distant from each other in terms of language? This is the fundamental question the present article seeks to explore. Besides the occasional references to linguistic evidence, Muslim, Byzantine, Slavic and Old Norse written sources describing direct communication between various groups of people in Eastern Europe will be discussed. These accounts explore the multiple means of communication that must have been used between the Scandinavian and Turkic ethnic groups in the Viking Age.

The following scenarios are possible concerning the procedures of communication between the Viking Rus' and the nomads of the steppe: 1. Communication without speech. 2. Communication through interpreters employed by one or both parties. 3. Both groups acquired the knowledge of

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[2] For a general history of these tribes with extensive literature, see: Denis Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Benjamin P. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992); István Vásáry, *Geschichte des frühen Innerasiens* (Herne: Tibor Schäfer, 1993).

[3] I provided a comprehensive view of the subject in my MA thesis entitled "Co-operation between the Viking Rus' and the Turkic nomads of the steppe in the ninth-eleventh centuries," defended at the Central European University in 2018. As a prequel to the present topic, my thesis discussed various contact zones – commerce, warfare and customs – where Scandinavian and Turkic groups interacted with each other.

communicating in Slavic. 4. Some of the people from each group learned each other's native language. Whilst not denying that the first possibility could occur occasionally, there is firm evidence for the second and third categories. Even though the attestation is weaker, careful suggestions will be put forward concerning the fourth scenario as well.

Languages in the East

Before proceeding to the argument, it has to be clarified what languages or language groups were at play in Eastern Europe at the time. The Scandinavian language group was divided into a West-Norse (Icelandic, Norwegian) and an East-Norse (Swedish, Danish) dialect. Both groups were represented in Eastern Europe, but a much higher proportion of the latter is discernible. Nevertheless, despite the regional variations, it is generally believed that Old Norse speakers fluently understood each other throughout the "Viking world."[4]

The closest partners of the Scandinavians in Eastern Europe were the East Slavs, who were similarly unified in terms of language. Whilst Slavic groups even in smaller territories (like the West or South Slavic areas) became divided into sub-groups (e.g. Sorbian, Polabian, Polish-Pomeranian, Bulgaro-Macedonian), the East Slavs preserved their linguistic unity in a much larger area, probably partly due to the Nordic political authority that united the diverse tribes.[5]

The tribes of Turkic origin, however, were less unitary and spoke rather different tongues and dialects even within the same empires or tribal federations due to their heterogenic populations. The Khazar Khaganate, for instance, was a contemporary cultural melting-pot of Arabic Muslim, Slav, Rus and various Turkic people. In these poly-ethnic nomadic societies, the functional role of languages dominated, which manifested itself in multilingualism or in the parallel existence of "official" languages employed in cultural or economic interactions. The language of the ruling strata in a given nomadic entity was therefore subject to rapid change and flexibility.[6]

The Khazars, who were the main trading partners of the Viking Rus' in the ninth–tenth centuries, most likely spoke a unique branch of the Turkic linguistic

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[4] Judith Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2015).

[5] Bohdan Struminski, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus': Northmen, Finns and East Slavs (Ninth to Eleventh Centuries)* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996), 11–23.

[6] Omeljan Pritsak, "The Pechenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975): 22–24.

family called Oghuric.[7] Their language was likened by various Muslim authors to the Volga Bulghar language, the remnants of which were mostly preserved in the Chuvash of today.[8]

The Pechenegs' language cannot be identified with certainty. Their organization was not unified and never developed to an extent that would allow the introduction of a common "national" language adaptable to all of their existing components. According to some scholars, their confederation contained Iranian, Tokharian and Bulgaric (Turkic) speakers, whilst others surmise they generally spoke common Turkic.[9]

The language spoken by the Magyar tribes belongs to the Ugrian branch of the Finno-Ugric languages. Thus, despite the fact that the Magyars practiced a nomadic way of life and culturally resembled the Turkic tribes of Inner Asia, their language was distinct. This might raise a methodological problem when discussing Scandinavian–Turkic communication since the Magyars should be addressed separately. However, Turkic elements do not surface in vain in Magyar culture as they were in considerable contact with the various Turkic tribes of the Volga region, including the Volga Bulghars, the Bashkirs and the Khazars. The high amount of early Turkic loanwords (around 300 in number), appearing in the Hungarian language are the vestiges of this extensive co-habitation of the seventh–ninth centuries. Whether, how and when these loanwords entered the Hungarian language has no scholarly consent; the Bashkirs and Volga Bulghars from the seventh century and/or the Khazars later are the major candidates for the transmission.[10] The Magyar tribal elite (many of them bearing Turkic names) was likely bilingual and fluent in common Turkic.[11]

Since all these communities were highly mixed ethnically, it is fair to assume that speakers within the Turkic language groups must have understood each other in everyday matters despite the occasional dialectical differences.

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[7] Marcel Erdal, "The Language of the Khazars," in *The World of the Khazars. New Perspectives*, eds. Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and András Róna-Tas (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2007), 76–108; Alan K. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria* (New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1999), 80–81.

[8] István Zimonyi, "The Origins of the Volga Bulghars," Ph.D. dissertation, Studio uralo-altaica (Szeged: University of Szeged, 1989), 8–9.

[9] Pritsak, "The Pechenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation," 22–24; Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 265.

[10] István Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars in the Second Half of the 9th Century. The Magyar Chapter of the Jayhānī Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 346–348.

[11] Compare with: András Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages. An Introduction to Early Hungarian History* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 350–351, 389.

It is worth highlighting that a functional use of a language is different from the full acquisition of the same language as in most cases it is enough to possess a limited communicative level to make one understood by foreigners. The degree to what extent Scandinavians might have needed foreign languages in the East is unfortunately hard to measure. Accordingly, only certain patterns will be outlined in the followings which sometimes reflect only on individual experience.

Communication without Speech

The prerequisite of any kind of interaction except warfare is communication. The only exception from this rule that existed in traditional societies might be the so-called silent trade, a method of exchanging goods without speaking. The silent trade resulted from the unintelligible or incomprehensible communication between two parties and was secured by mutual trust.[12] It seems probable that the custom goes back to a long tradition in the northern areas of the Baltic and Russia. The Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta, in his *Travels* written in the fourteenth century recorded the silent trade performed by the inhabitants of the "Land of Darkness," north of Bulghar, and visiting traders:

> Each one of them leaves the goods he has brought there and they return to their usual camping-ground. Next day they go back to seek their goods, and find opposite them skins of sable, minever, and ermine. If the merchant is satisfied with the exchange he takes them, but if not he leaves them. The inhabitants then add more skins, but sometimes they take away their goods and leave the merchant's. This is their method of commerce. Those who go there do not know whom they are trading with or whether they be jinn or men, for they never see anyone.[13]

The Persian scholar, Al-Biruni, around 1030 also confirms that the inhabitants of these northern regions practiced this form of barter.[14]

Apart from this method which Scandinavians might have applied with some Northern Baltic or Finnish tribes, trade without proper communication often failed. This can be illustrated with analogies involving Scandinavians. In the fourteenth-century Icelandic *Grœnlendinga saga*, describing the Viking voyages and temporary

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[12] Hamilton J. P. Grierson, *The Silent Trade. A Contribution to the Early History of Human Intercourse* (Edinburgh: Willian Green & Sons, 1903), 41–54.

[13] Ibn Battúta, *Travels in Asia and Africa. 1325–1354*, trans. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), 151.

[14] *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of the Darkness: Arabic Travellers in the far North*, trans. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012), 179.

settlement in America around the turn of the millennium, the Vikings encounter local Indians with whom they initially trade peacefully until misunderstandings arise and fighting breaks out.[15] The same patterns are discernible in *Yngvars saga víðförla*, a legendary saga about a Viking expedition into the East. Here Sveinn, the son of the eponymous saga hero Yngvarr, and his company conduct trade in a peaceful manner with some unnamed local inhabitants of the Volga region on the first day (apparently with hand signs and tokens), but have to engage in battle with them the next day due to confusion caused during a transaction. After this, an identical incident is repeated in the saga once more, this time the fight breaks out at a feast.[16] Ultimately, both calamities arose due to the lack of adequate knowledge of the local language.

The Use of Interpreters

In order to avoid situations like those outlined above, fluent communication had to be established. The employment of interpreters in Scandinavian–Turkic communication likely bridged the language gap initially.[17] There is evidence for the presence of interpreters within the ranks of Scandinavian and also Turkic societies.

Interpreters were widely used by Scandinavians in the region. One of the earliest references to the Rus', found in the Arabic work of Ibn Khurradadhbih, reports that the Rus' already in the ninth century journeyed as far as Baghdad where they used Slavic slaves as interpreters in their dealings with the Muslims.[18]

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[15] "Grœnlendinga saga," in *Eyrbyggja saga*, eds. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Íslenzk fornrit 4 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1935), 260–264.

[16] *Yngvars saga víðförla. Jämte ett bihang om Ingvarsinskrifterna*, ed. Emil Olson (København: S. L. Møllers, 1912), 35–36 and 39–40. Whether these encounters actually happened or not is irrelevant for the present discussion, since the main point is that the audience and composers of these accounts were aware of the problems which arose during trade relations with unknown people. The killing of a local reeve by the Vikings on the Dorset coast in the year 789 might also be the consequence of a mishandled trade transaction as looting did not follow the incident. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Michael J. Swanton (New York: Routledge, 1996), 54.

[17] In this regard, it should be briefly mentioned that translator and interpreter are not synonyms; the former concerns him/herself with the translation of a written text, whilst the latter is one who intervenes and "translates" in oral communication. The differentiation is important regarding the fact that interpreters could be (and often were) illiterate, and probably bilingual by education or from young age. These two professions are somewhat blurred in the sources, but presumably interpreters were more widespread, and they are the subject of discussion here. For this differentiation, see: Denis Sinor, "Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia," in *Studies in Medieval Inner Asia* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1997), 305–306.

[18] Omeljan Pritsak, "An Arabic Text on the Trade Route of the Corporation of ar-Rūs in the Second Half of the Ninth Century," *Folia Orientalia* 12 (1970): 257.

Ibn Fadlan from the Caliphate also had to employ an interpreter to understand the rituals of the Rus' whom he encountered at the River Volga in 922. The identity of the latter middleman is still subject to speculation, as it is hard to figure out from the Arabic text whether he was an Arab or perhaps a Slav.[19] However, the word *tólkr*, meaning an interpreter, came into the Old Norse language from Old Russian, presupposing the fact that the interpreters employed by the Scandinavians were of Slavic origin.[20] In addition, if the interpretation of the Old Russian word *tolkoviny* as interpreter is to be accepted, then its occurrence in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* as an attribute of the Slavic tribe, the Tivercians, is indicative again of the profession's Slavic roots.[21]

More interestingly, the Tivercians, who fought alongside the Rus', are sometimes considered to be a folk originally of Turkic stock, melded with the Slavic population of the Dniester–Dnieper area during the ninth century, something which suggests that they were bilingual.[22] The employment of interpreters goes back to a long historical tradition in Inner Asia and Eastern Europe.[23] Judging by Slavic words (*zakana*, *voevoda*) used in the conversation between the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (945–959) and his Pecheneg and Magyar informants, the negotiations between the Byzantines and these nomads likely

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[19] Jens Peter Schjødt, "Ibn Fadlan's Account of a Rus Funeral: To What Degree Does It Reflect Nordic Myths?," in *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, eds. Pernille Hermann, Jens Peter Schjødt, and Rasmus Tranum Kristensen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 133. Uncertainties about this situation might be well conveyed in the famous Hollywood movie, *The 13th Warrior*, in which the Arabic translator talks to his Viking colleague in Latin.

[20] Ian McDougall, "Foreigners and Foreign Languages in Medieval Iceland," *Saga-Book* 22 (1986–1989): 218; Bohdan, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus'*, 252.

[21] Most Russian scholars accept this interpretation and it is followed by the recent Hungarian interpretation too. *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése. A Kijevi Rusz első krónikája* [Tale of the Bygone Years. The first Chronicle of the Kievan Rus'], eds. László Balogh and Szilvia Kovács, trans. István Ferincz (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2015), 39. Sakharov, however, believes the term to mean "*allies.*" *Povest' Vremennykh Let* [Tale of the Bygone Years]. (http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4869#_edn89, n. 89, Last accessed April 02, 2018). Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor translate it as '*pagans*'. *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian text*, ed. and trans, Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge: Crimson Printing Company, 1953), 64 (henceforth: RPC). This, however, would not make much sense as all the other tribes enumerated next to the Tivercians in the *Chronicle*'s relevant passage were pagans at the time and there is no indication why would this be highlighted concerning the Tivercians.

[22] Compare with: Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 83–86; *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése*, 39.

[23] "Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia", in Denis Sinor, *Studies in Medieval Inner Asia* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1997), 293–320.

were conducted in Old Russian.[24] It was also suspected that during the Magyar campaigns in Iberia (942), a Slavic servant (many resided in Islamic Spain in the period) must have been mediating between the Magyars and the local Muslims.[25] In addition, the office of the *tulmač*, literally meaning a translator, was linked to the tribal princes in the Pecheneg tribal federation, highlighting its importance. The Hungarian form of the word, *tolmács*, is of Pecheneg and not Slavic origin.[26] Since the Slavic word was adopted from the Altaic languages, it seems valid to think that the profession/institution developed first in the Turkic world, and was adopted by the Slavs when the two groups established contact with each other.[27]

These examples imply that in communication, especially during the ninth century, translators must have been employed between the Viking Rus' and the Turks, something which might have partly changed in the course of the tenth century when Scandinavian groups gradually embraced Old Russian.

This, however, might not have excluded completely intermediaries who fulfilled a pivotal role in commercial transactions as is illustrated by the fourteenth-century manuscript of *Óláfs saga hins Helga*, in which the Old Norse word *brakki* (in the plural form *brakkarnir*), meaning an 'intermediary, broker', is equated to *túlkr*.[28] This implies that the job of interpreters was (and is) not merely formal translation work, but a sensitive task that also involved negotiations on behalf of one's master. Interpreters were useful tools, offered clear advantages in business relations, and probably were preferably recruited from one's own trusted neighborhood rather than from the locals on site where the transactions occurred. The high status of interpreters is not only testified by the nomadic *tulmač* office

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[24] Sinor, "Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia", 300; György Györffy, "A magyar-szláv érintkezések kezdetei és Etelköz múltja" [Beginnings of Hungarian-Slavic interactions and the past of Etelköz], *Századok* 124, no. 1 (1990): 16–18.

[25] György Györffy, "Vezéri szálláshelyek emlékei" [Memories of princely headquarters], in *Honfoglalás és régészet. A honfoglalásról sok szemmel*, Vol. 1., ed. László Kovács (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994), 130. On the Saqāliba slaves in Spain: Dmitrij Mishin, "Şaqlabī Servants in Islamic Spain and North Africa in the Early Middle Ages," Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 1999), 63–101.

[26] Gyula Németh, "Zur Geschichte des Wortes *tolmács* 'Dolmetscher,' " *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8, no. 1 (1958): 1–8.

[27] Sinor Denis, "Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia," 294–295; Peter B. Golden, "The Nomadic Linguistic Impact on Pre-Činggisid Rus' and Georgia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 10 (1998–1999), 75.

[28] *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga: Den store saga om Olav den hellige efter pergamenthåndskrift i Kungliga Biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to med varianter fra andre håndskrifter (1–2)*, eds. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1941), 776.

from which the word's 'translator' meaning developed, but by concrete historical examples as well. The delegation led by the Rus' Princess Olga to Byzantium in 945/947 for instance was accompanied by three interpreters, of whom one was linked to the personal service of the princess herself.[29]

The Use of an Intermediary Language

The society of the Rus' was multi-ethnic, and the question of which languages were used within their own communities is an intricate one. It is supposed by some scholars that Scandinavians assimilated quickly within the Slavic communities, usually illustrated by the appearance and dominance of Slavic names in the Rus' princely family and the Rus' elite from the mid-tenth century.[30]

Other evidence, however, suggest that Old Norse was still a spoken language among the Rus' during the tenth century. This is corroborated by the famous descriptions of the Dnieper rapids in the *De administrando imperio* of the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who provides the names of the river cataracts (crossed by Rus' merchants on their way from Kiev to Constantinople), both in Slavic and Old Norse.[31] A rare piece of evidence, a tenth-century Old Norse runic inscription carved into a stone on the island of Berezan, also testifies that a considerable part of the travelers of the Dnieper route came from a Scandinavian community.[32] Old Norse runic inscriptions on wooden sticks were found also in the northwestern Russian town, Novgorod.[33]

In the Byzantine Empire, Varangians also preserved the *dönsk tunga* ('Danish tongue'), as the language of the Scandinavians was referred to in their own words. The Byzantines employed their own Greek interpreters to communicate with

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[29] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, Vol. 2, ed. Johann Jakob Reiske, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 17 (Bonn: Weber, 1830), 597–598.

[30] Alexander Sitzmann, *Nordgermanisch-ostslavische Sprachkontakte in der Kiever Rus' bis zum Tode Jaroslavs des Weisen* (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2003), 58–61; Elena A. Melnikova, "The List of Old Norse Personal Names in the Russian–Byzantine Treaties of the Tenth Century", *Studia anthropomynica scandinavica: Tidskrift för nordisk personnamsforskning* (2004): 5–27; Bohdan, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus'*, 162–180.

[31] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Vol. 1, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 1 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 57–63 (henceforth: DAI).

[32] Fedor Braun and Ture Johnsson Arne, "Den svenska runstenen från ön Berezanj utanför Dneprmynningen" [The Swedish runestone from the island of Berezan following the mouth of the Dnieper], *Fornvännen* 9 (1914): 44–48.

[33] Elena A. Melnikova, "The Cultural Assimilation of Varangians in Eastern Europe," 457.

their Varangian bodyguards, which is confirmed by a Byzantine scal bearing the inscription "Michael, the great translator of the Varangians" probably dateable to the mid-thirteenth century.[34] The Danish chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, also describes an event that strengthens the theory of the usage of Old Norse in the Byzantine court. According to the story, the Danish king Eiríkr Ejegod (1095–1103), during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, arrived at the walls of Constantinople but was refused entry to the city owing to the anxieties of the Emperor that the Varangian guards of the palace might join their fellow Scandinavians. Finally, the *basileus* let out his Varangians to Eiríkr in small groups, sending spies with them who understood both Greek and Old Norse.[35] The Byzantine custom of foreign soldiers greeting the Emperor in their own native tongue during ceremonies might also signal that preserving the native language in Constantinople was a reality.[36]

Not all Scandinavians showed the same level of assimilation. In the case of those Rus' who settled among the Slavs in European Russia obviously a higher adaptability is to be expected but it should be borne in mind that this also took time especially in the rural areas.[37] The tenth century reflects a time of transition rather than the end of cultural-linguistic assimilation on the part of the Scandinavians in Eastern Europe as the *dönsk tunga* was still used there.

Evidence of Scandinavians learning Slavic nevertheless certainly exists. Scandinavian loanwords in Old Russian, and Old Russian terms in the Old Norse language both appear.[38] Scandinavian loanwords in the East Slavic language are ethnic, place and personal names, or terms mostly connected to commercial or political activities (e.g. *væringr* "Varangian," *griði* "retinue," *akkeri* "anchor," *pund* "pound"). Nearly the same can be said about Old Norse lexical borrowings from

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[34] Valentina S. Shandrovskaia, "The Seal of Michael, Grand Interpreter of the Varangians," in *Byzantium and the Viking World*, ed. Fedir Androshchuk, Jonathan Shephard and Monica White (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2016), 305–312.

[35] Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum. The History of the Danes*, Vol. 2, ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen, trans. Peter Fisher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), 888–889.

[36] Hilda Ellis Roderick Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1976), 200.

[37] Fedir Androshchuk, "The Vikings in the East," in *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink and Neil Price (London: Routledge, 2008), 534; Elena A. Melnikova, "The Cultural Assimilation of Varangians in Eastern Europe from the Point of View of Language and Literacy," in *Runica – Germanica – Mediaevalia*, Vol. 37, ed. Wilhelm Heizmann and Astrid van Nahl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), 464.

[38] Gunnar Svane, "Vikingetidens nordiske låneord i russisk" [Viking Age Nordic loanwords in Russian], in *Ottende tværfaglige vikingesymposium*, ed. Thorben Kisbye and Else Roesdahl (Aarhus: Hiruni, 1989) 18–32; Clara Thörnqvist, *Studien über die nordischen Lehnwörter im Russischen* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1948); Bohdan, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early* Rus', 229–254.

East Slavic (e.g. *safali* "sable," *torg* "market," *polota* "palace," *Girkir* "Greeks") pointing out socio-economic activities that tied together Old Norse speakers with the inhabitants of Eastern Europe.[39]

In addition to mutual borrowings, there is evidence that Scandinavians not only acquired the local language but adopted the Slavic script as well. In the St. Sophia Cathedral of Kiev, the Norse name Yakun (Hákon) appears written with Cyrillic letters.[40] This phenomenon is also confirmed by two graffiti on the walls of the St. Sophia Cathedral of Novgorod dating from the second half of the eleventh century and 1137. Birch bark letters from the Ladoga region dated to the same period also contain Old Norse names in Cyrillic letters. In a famous tenth-century boat grave of Gnezdovo, hiding a high status Rus' warrior, the first Slavic language relic (an amphora with the inscription *gorouhsha*) has been found.[41] Thus, besides preserving Old Norse, it is safe to assume that many Scandinavians living among the Slavs became bilingual by the tenth century.

According to most scholars, the *lingua franca* of the region at this time was Slavic.[42] This assumption is most probably valid since Slavic was a spoken (native) language from Poland through the vast areas of Kievan Rus' and the Balkans as far as the Caliphate's territory which contained a considerable number of Slavic slaves.[43] Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub al-Turtushi, a Jewish traveler in the middle of the tenth century reports that "*many Northern tribes speak the Slavic language, for they are mixed with the Slavs. Among them are the Germans, the Magyars, the Pechenegs, the Russians, and the Khazars.*"[44]

This quote also confirms that nomadic people – the Magyars, Pechenegs and Khazars – also spoke Slavic, which is additionally supported by a bilingual Turkic–Slavic graffiti in the St. Sophia Cathedral of Kiev.[45] Old Russian, therefore, could

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[39] Bohdan, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus'*, 229–254.

[40] Androshchuk, "The Vikings in the East," 535.

[41] Melnikova, "The Cultural Assimiliation of Varangians in Eastern Europe," 456.

[42] Golden, "Rūs," 621; Aleksander Gieysztor, "Trade and Industry in Eastern Europe before 1200," in *The Cambridge Economic History*, Vol. 2, eds. Michael M. Postan and Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 482; Dmitrij Obolensky, "The Byzantine Sources on the Scandinavians in Eastern Europe," in *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London: Variorum, 1982), 161.

[43] Ahmad Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs: 9th–11th Centuries* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademiczkie Dialog, 1998), 185–186.

[44] Dmitrij Mishin, "Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub At-Turtushi's Account of the Slavs from the Middle of the Tenth Century," *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* (1994–1995): 190.

[45] Omeljan Pritsak, "An Eleventh-Century Turkic Bilingual (Turko-Slavic) Graffito from the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 2 (1982): 152–166.

easily become an intermediary language between Turkic groups and the Rus' from the tenth century onwards.

Learning Each Other's Tongues

More complicated issues such as religious customs and concepts, which seem to have been adopted by the Rus' from the Turks, had to be transmitted (to some extent) perhaps in the vernaculars.[46] This must have taken place after spending considerable time together, and thus, even though not leaving evident traces in the written records, I find it probable that Turkic languages must have been involved in the transmission of ideas despite the fact that Turkic loanwords in the Scandinavian languages – if that interpretation is accepted at all – are extremely rare and their etymological interpretation stands on shaky grounds.[47] However, the outstanding adaptability of both the Scandinavian Vikings and Turkic nomads to learning foreign languages is attested in various sources.

Unfortunately, there are no sources referring explicitly to Scandinavians learning a Turkic language. *Konungs skuggsjá*, the late medieval Norwegian King's Mirror, advises merchants to learn the languages of the places where they do business, and (especially) Latin and French.[48] These languages might have been useful for merchants of the thirteenth century – when the source originates – but possibly there would have been other languages suggested for ninth-eleventh-century Scandinavian merchants who ventured in the East. This might be supposed by the case of the Danish Viðgautr, who conducted business in Novgorod smoothly due to his knowledge of foreign languages. *Knýtlinga saga*, the compilation of stories of the Danish kings in which Viðgautr's trip was recorded, adds that he never needed an interpreter.[49] Travelling merchants usually were fluent in languages used in the territories they visited as it is also reported about the corporation of Jewish merchants called the Radhanites – going from Western Europe to China –

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[46] On Turkic cultural influence on the Rus', see: Thorir Jonsson Hraundal, "New Perspectives on Eastern Vikings/Rus in Arabic Sources," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 10 (2014): 65–97; Victor Tarras, "Leo Diaconus and the Ethnology of Kievan Rus'," *Slavic Review* 24, no. 3 (1965): 395–406; James E. Montgomery, "Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsiyyah," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3 (2000): 1–21.

[47] Thorir Jonsson Hraundal, "The Rus in Arabic Sources: Cultural Contacts and Identity," PhD dissertation (Bergen: University of Bergen, 2013), 170–173.

[48] *Speculum Regale. Konungs-skuggsjá*, eds. Rudolf Keyser, Peter Andreas Munch and Carl Rikard Unger (Christiania: Carl C. Werner & Company, 1848), 6.

[49] "Knýtlinga saga," in *Danakonunga sögur*, ed. Bjarni Guðnason, Íslenzk fornrit 35 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1982), 246–247.

who spoke Arabic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Frankish, Andalusian and Slavic. Their activities are interpolated into the section about the route of Rus' merchants in the ninth-century work of Ibn Khurradadhbih.[50] The Varangian merchant, Hróðfúss, who was betrayed on his voyage by his trading partners, the *blakumen* (Wallachians or Cumans), according to an eleventh-century Gotlandic runestone inscription (G 134), also must have possessed the necessary language skills for such a partnership.[51]

A more precise example of a Turkic language having been learned comes from the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. Here a Kievan stableman speaking the language of the nomadic Pechenegs is presented, who due to his knowledge could infiltrate the Pecheneg lines and call reinforcements from a nearby Rus' army during Prince Sviatoslav's reign (945–972).[52] Unfortunately, the chronicle is silent about the ethnic origin of the boy, who could well be Scandinavian but just as easily (if not more likely) Slavic, judging by his occupation.

The Scandinavian Vikings were famous travelers, and Icelandic sagas, transmitted to us a few centuries later, all praise travelers with language skills.[53] The sagas unfortunately are not contemporary accounts and thus reflect vaguely the conditions of Eastern Europe in the ninth–eleventh centuries, especially concerning Turkic languages. This might be reflected by the semi-historical saga of Yngvarr the Far-Traveller, in which a local princess, Silkisif, besides being able to speak Roman, German, Norse, and Russian/Greek, was said to know "*many other [languages] spoken along the East road*" ("*margar adrar, er gengu um austurueg*"), without specifying any of them.[54] Even though the saga is unlikely to hold historical truth concerning Silkisif's existence, it can be safely assumed that after Latin, Norse, Slavonic and Greek, the Turkic languages held a prominent role in Eastern Europe and thus, a local princess being fluent in the language of the Turks is a potentially believable story in general.

Historical sources also support the notion that the contemporary elite did not look down on learning foreign languages. According to the testimony of Vladimir

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[50] Pritsak, "An Arabic Text on the Trade Route of the Corporation of ar-Rūs."

[51] Judith Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 257–258. The identification of the "*Blakumen*" (in other sources "*Blökumenn*") with the Wallachians and the Cumans is subject to debate. The latter would be an excellent example for nomad Turkic-Scandinavian commercial interactions, however newer research finds this probability less likely. See: Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, 105–107.

[52] *RPC*, 85.

[53] Marianne E. Kalinke, "The Foreign language Requirement in the Medieval Icelandic Romance," *The Modern Language Review* 78, no. 4 (1983): 850–861.

[54] *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 15. The translation here is mine.

Monomakh, his father Vsevolod I of Kiev (1078–1093), who was the son of Yaroslav the Wise (1019–1054) and the Swedish princess Ingigerðr, was fluent in five languages even though he never left the kingdom.[55] By this statement it can be claimed that one of the five languages he acquired must have been a Norse language as he was half-Swedish on his mother's side and thus probably bilingual from young age. The close ties with Scandinavia might have also prompted Vladimir the Great (980–1015) and Yaroslav the Wise to learn Old Norse. It has even been raised that a Slavic-Norse hybrid language could have developed in their courts.[56]

It is also known that Scandinavians easily communicated with Old English speakers,[57] and according to the ninth-century account of the Norwegian traveler, Ohthere, he was said to have communicated with a Finno-Ugric tribe in Bjarmaland (somewhere in the Baltics), by speaking the language of the Lapps.[58] In addition, it can also be postulated that some Norsemen learned Finno-Ugric languages as well. The Bjarmians' language that Ohthere did not understand and which was compared to the "*twittering of birds*" (*fuglaklið*) is usually believed to be a Finno-Ugric language.[59] According to the saga of Örvar Oddr, a Norwegian was able to communicate with the Bjarmians, which is surmised from the fact that he was dwelling with them for years.[60]

Bilingualism is also reported with nomadic people. Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells that the Magyars had been taught the language of the Khazars by the adjoining tribes of the *Kabaroi*.[61] Nomads' adaptability to absorb multiple languages stems from the nature of their organization, namely that they incorporated into their tribal federations other (often defeated) tribes who had a similar lifestyle. The Arabic author, al-Istakhri, also notes that the tongues of

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[55] *RPC*, 211.

[56] Henrik Birnbaum, "Yaroslav's Varangian Connection", *Scando-Slavica* 24, no. 1 (1978): 7.

[57] Matthew Townend, "Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society," in *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlements in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, eds. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richard (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 89–105; Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

[58] *The Terfinnas and Beormas of Ohthere*, ed. and trans. Alan S. C. Cross (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1981), 19–21.

[59] "Örvar Odds saga," in *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda*, Vol. 2, ed. Carl Christian Rafn (Copenhagen: Hardvig Fridrek Popp., 1829), 175; Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium*, 35.

[60] "Örvar Odds saga," 35–36.

[61] *DAI*, 174–175.

the Bulghars and the Khazars were the same.[62] If al-Istakhri is to be believed, this would mean that the Rus' coming to trade in the region could manage with a single language (if they did not wish to use intermediaries), as both of their main trading partners spoke nearly the same tongue.

Based on the above evidence, it could be proposed that Turkic nomads and Vikings were both accustomed to learning foreign languages more frequently than members of sedentary societies. Both nomads and Vikings amalgamated various groups into their communities and established contact with plenty of different cultural associations during their migrations. The dubious and brief statement by the Arabic writer, ad-Dimashqi, concerning the ignorance of the Northern barbarian *Waranks* (Varangians) to speak any languages, hardly challenges the evidence presented above.[63]

Instead, we should consider that certain groups of Turks and Scandinavians spending time together would learn each other's language to a certain degree. An interesting episode might help to illustrate this, even though its interpretation is far from certain. In the fourteenth-century Icelandic *Grænlendinga saga*, a character called Tyrkir, whose name means 'Turk', features in the story, traveling together with the Norsemen to America. Upon the expedition's arrival to the New Land, Tyrkir is sent out as a scout to discover the countryside. After returning from the exploration in a strikingly good mood, he starts to speak in a language ("*þýzku*") unintelligible to his Scandinavian companions. Tyrkir then switches back to Norse and explains his behavior by the fact that he had found grapes which reminded him of his homeland.[64]

There seems to be a general agreement among Western scholars that Tyrkir was a German, probably because he was speaking in "*þýzku*", that is German.[65] In Hungary, however, it is in fact believed that Tyrkir, as his name illustrates, was a Turk of Magyar or Pecheneg origin. The first scholar to articulate such an opinion

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[62] *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of the Darkness*, 158; Harris Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1954), 29.

[63] Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*, 115.

[64] *Grænlendinga saga*, 248–253.

[65] Sverrir Jakobsson, "Strangers in Icelandic Society 1100–1400," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (2007): 152; Birgitta Wallace, "The Discovery of Vínland," in *The Viking World*, eds. Stefan Brink and Neil Price (London: Routledge, 2008), 606; Halldor Hermansson, "Tyrkir, Leif Eiriksson's Foster-Father," *Modern Language Notes* 69, no. 6 (1954): 390; "The Saga of the Greenlanders," in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders. Including 49 tales*, Vol. 1, ed. Viðar Hreinsson (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1977), 23.

was Jenő Pivány in the beginning of the twentieth century.[66] Even though some of his arguments can be rejected based on the thorough investigation of the saga corpus,[67] some of them are compelling. Pivány for instance noted that Tyrkir's language could not have been completely unintelligible to his Scandinavian companions if he had been speaking a Germanic language.[68] As noted, Norsemen fluently communicated with Old English speakers and it feels odd that they would not have understood a word from Tyrkir's monologue if he had been speaking in German.

Another Viking group in the narrative, led by Karlsefni, could not communicate with the native American Indians as they did not understand their language.[69] This might suggest that the late medieval saga composers were aware of the difficulties which their predecessors faced when confronted by an alien language. The case of Tyrkir, therefore, would serve as a great example for a highly developed communication between Old Norse and Turkic speakers if his identity and historical existence could be validated. That acquiring distant languages was thought to be a reality (at least in the age of saga writings) is illustrated by an episode in *Eiríks saga rauða*, where two Vinland children are taken with the Norsemen and are taught the Old Norse language.[70]

Evidence of more trustworthy types can perhaps support the possibility of Easterners living among the Norsemen. In an eleventh-century birchbark letter from Novgorod, the Hungarian forename Ugrin has been deciphered,[71] illustrating that Hungarians could indeed have lived in distant lands in which Scandinavians

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[66] Jenő Pivány, "Magyar volt-e a Heimskringla Tyrker-je?" [Was Heimskringla's Tyrker a Hungarian?], *Századok* 43, no. 7 (1903): 571–577.

[67] According to Pivány, Tyrker originated on the steppe since he was a *suðrmaðr*, that is a *southerner*. Pivány, "Magyar volt-e a Heimskringla Tyrker-je?," 573–574. However, the designation *suðrmaðr* is applied differently in the Old Norse sources, and at the end of the saga, a merchant from Bremen (Saxony) was claimed to be a "southerner" for instance. "Grœnlendinga saga," 268.

[68] Pivány, "Magyar volt-e a Heimskringla Tyrker-je?," 575. It is assumed by Ildar Garipzanov that the ninth-century Danish Viking king Harald Klak supposedly also negotiated with the Franks in the "*lingua theodisca*," i.e. German. Ildar H. Garipzanov, "The Annals of St. Bertin (839) and Chacanus of the Rhos," *Ruthenica* 5 (2006): 11.

[69] "Grœnlendinga saga," 260–261.

[70] "Eiríks saga rauða," in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórdarson, Íslenzk fornrit 4 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1935), 432.

[71] Gábor Gyóni, "Egy Ugrin nevű személy a 11. században Novgorodban" [A man named Ugrin in eleventh-century Novgorod], in *Hadak Útján. A népvándorláskor fiatal kutatóinak XXIV. konferenciája Esztergom 2014. november 4–6. II.,* eds. Attila Türk, Csilla Balogh and Balázs Major (Budapest: Magyar Őstörténeti Témacsoport Kiadványok, 2016), 379–388.

were actively present. In Kievan Rus', Prince Vladimir's son, Boris, also had a Hungarian servant by the name György (George).[72] Though personal names are not definite indicators of ethnic identity, Tyrkir's case is also assisted by the story of the first Rus' martyr, Gleb, who in 1015 was stabbed to death by his cook called Torchin, also meaning a Turk.[73] The designation appears as a personal name once more in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* referring to a servant in Kievan Rus'.[74]

Common guard duties and retinue services, in which Scandinavians and nomads participated in Eastern and Southeastern European courts (e.g. Kievan Rus', Khazaria, Byzantium, Hungary) also could result in similar situations of cohabitation.[75] A specific instance would be the case of the Varangian Varayazhko recorded in the *Primary Chronicle*, who, upon Iaropolk's death and defeat from Grand Prince Vladimir, fled to the Pechenegs "*in whose company he fought long against Vladimir.*"[76] Situations like these presented ample opportunities for Scandinavians to acquire Turkic or Finno-Ugric notions, words or languages in general.

Conclusion

Despite the distance between the two language groups, communication between Old Norse and Turkic speakers might have been smoother during the ninth–tenth centuries than previously assumed. Away from hostility and warfare, even the most primitive ways of exchanging goods required a general understanding or awareness of the transactions by both parties. Even though loanwords are not discernible between Old Norse and any of the Turkic languages, it has to be noted that several of these Turkic languages are unknown to us, or we possess only a few words of their vocabulary. Regardless, the historical situation demanded that speakers of Old Norse and many of the Turkic or Finno-Ugric languages should understand each other. Due to the extensive military and commercial contacts, as well as the occasional co-habitation at various parts of the "Eastern Way" that Scandinavians travelled around from the eighth century onwards, communication channels between the two ethnic groups developed gradually.

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[72] *RPC*, 127.

[73] *RPC*, 128.

[74] *RPC*, 198.

[75] Csete Katona, "Viking és nomád eredetű kísérettagok a 9–11. századi kelet-európai udvarokban" [Viking and nomadic retinue members in courts along the "Austrvegr" in the ninth-eleventh centuries], in *Micae Mediaevales*, Vol. 7, eds. Csaba Farkas, András Ribi and Kristóf Gy. Veres (Budapest: ELTE, 2018), 49–64.

[76] *RPC*, 93.

In the ninth century, the primary communicative channels were provided by interpreters, most probably Slavs who understood the Scandinavians and also the other inhabitants of the region. By the next century, however, the majority of the Scandinavian community in Russia became bilingual, which must have resulted in easier communication with the Turks along the Volga and the Dnieper. Turkic groups living alongside the major rivers also practiced the Slavic language which became the "new" intermediary between the Rus' and the various Turkic tribes. In the course of time, Scandinavian groups spending considerable time in the vicinity or company of various groups with Turkic cultural backgrounds possibly felt the need to transmit or acknowledge some notions in the vernacular(s). Since according to the written sources, both Vikings and nomads of Turkic stocks showed outstanding skills in acquiring foreign languages, it seems probable that Scandinavians could also learn local languages other than Slavic in Eastern Europe, or that a few Turks were able to assimilate within the Norsemen.

Possibilities to learn each other's languages presented themselves in courts of the East, where Scandinavian and Turkic retainers were simultaneously hired. Mercantile relations on the border zones of the steppe and the forest regions, or international markets, where temporary dwellings were established, were places where Scandinavian–Turkic communications also developed. These fairs, supervised mostly by Turkic people, acted as vigorous melting-pots of different cultures where a multitude of contemporary languages were employed. Divergences could be manifold even within the same language group or tribal association due to multi-ethnic interactions and regional variations within the same unit.

Added to this, the international character of these markets is hallmarked by the use of interpreters, mediatory languages, bilingualism and acquisition of other foreign languages to varying degrees. Despite the gradual developments outlined above, it is reasonable to assume that all these factors (interpreters, mediatory languages, bilingualism) were also at work simultaneously, depending on the level of assimilation of each group. In addition, in business relations, it was advantageous in certain situations to hide one's own knowledge of the local language (e.g. during negotiations), or quite the opposite; namely, to acquire a basic knowledge in order to understand the transactions and one's partners' intentions in case of unreliable trading partners (illustrated for instance by the case of Hróðfúss). Interpreters, therefore, were possibly not abandoned with time but continued to operate even after the linguistic assimilation of the Scandinavians. These listed possibilities might have created endless combinations regarding the means of communication carried out by both Turkic and Rus' groups present simultaneously at the same location.

THE USE OF ENVIRONMENTAL-CLIMATIC THEORIES TO EXPLAIN THE EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF THE SALJUQ AND MONGOL EMPIRES: ARE WE GETTING "WARM" OR "COLD"?

Stephen Pow and *Yehoshua Frenkel* 📥

Introduction

The disintegration and collapse of enormous empires, as well as smaller states, has provoked the emergence of theories aimed at discovering the causes behind the revolving changes of governments and dynasties over the course of centuries. Historians of the Islamic world, as well as those studying other fields such as literature and political science, are widely familiar with Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) and his *al-Muqaddima*. Already in the late fourteenth century, the celebrated Tunisian jurist-historian had endeavored in this work to clarify the driving forces behind the periodic historical upheavals which characterized the successive rises and falls of dynasties. Indeed, he proposed a paradigm that was intended to explain these historical-political changes.[1]

In Ibn Khaldun's view, the rise and fall of any dynastic state proceeds through five stages, beginning with its establishment along ties of kinship or religion. The king at first acts as a mere chieftain with limited power and follows the same rules as his subjects. This is followed by the ruler's monopolization of power through a sort of natural evolution from the previous group-based power sharing. The ruler in this stage essentially eliminates those with whom power is shared, purchasing loyalty from bureaucrats and troops and using them to form a complex bureaucracy and army which are no longer based on ties of kinship. The third stage is a period of luxury when rulers leverage the wealth of the state to increase their own wealth and grandeur, often spending lavishly on building projects and monuments. These initial three stages constitute a rise characterized by sustained prosperity and the strong authority of the ruler, but inevitably it is followed by a fourth stage of complacency and comfort when rulers merely coast on the previously established stability and prosperity, confident it will continue. In a sort of dialectical, however, the seeds of the state's disintegration and collapse have been sown in this period of enervation. The fifth stage is when the state's disintegration takes place. With

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[1] For an overview of Ibn Khaldun's view on the drivers behind historical changes, see: Ali Çaksu, "Ibn Khaldun and Philosophy: Causality in History," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 30.1 (2017): 27–42.

the old bonds of religion and kinship dissolved, the ruler can only continue to purchase the support of the swelling army and bureaucracy. Ever increasing taxes yield smaller returns, making it impossible for the ruler to retain supporters while the population has become weak and thoroughly enervated by luxury. The people lose faith in their rulers while famine and epidemics wreak havoc in the overcrowded cities, even as magnates and foreign invaders snatch up pieces of the collapsing state. Ultimately the ruler is divested of his authority by his circle of retainers until only the insignia of power remain, and the crumbling state and its ruler make easy targets for domination by new, vigorous groups of conquerors.[2]

Ibn Khaldun saw the Saljuq and Mongol Empires as fitting his model and adhering to the pattern he advanced for successive empires. He noted how the Saljuqs had emerged to rapidly seize the former dominion of the Samanids in Transoxiana, but it took another thirty years before they managed to sweep away the Ghaznavids and shortly afterwards take possession of Baghdad and the caliph. Then, the philosopher observed, the Mongols emerged as the successors of the Saljuqs, rapidly conquering from the steppe into Khorasan by 1220, before taking another forty years to "gain dominion" – referring to the conquest of Baghdad and execution of the caliph in 1258.[3]

Despite the apparent human-agency-based orientation of Ibn Khaldun's model, his work has an overarching view of geographical and climatic determinants shaping societies, even stating, "It has thus become clear that Bedouins [nomads] and sedentary people are natural groups which exist by necessity" of their respective environments.[4] The third, fourth, and fifth prefatory statements of *al-Muqaddima* are entirely devoted to explaining how humans, tribes, states are products of their particular natural surroundings and climate. In this, however, he was just following a long tradition of environmental-climatic determinism in Islamic scholarship; the much earlier author al-Jahiz (776–869), writing in praise of Turkic hardiness and warlike prowess, noted that the reason Turkic steppe nomads were so fiercely patriotic was that this tendency emerged from something "in their constitution and

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[2] Syed Farid Alatas, "Luxury, State, and Society: The Theme of Enslavement in ibn Khaldun," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 30.1 (2017): 67–76; Barbara Stowasser, "Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History: The Rise and Fall of States and Civilizations," Lecture at Ankara University January 5, 1984, 186–187. Accessed at: http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/dergi/pdf/39/1/13_barbara_stowasser.pdf (June 2019)

[3] Franz Rosenthal (trans.), Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah,* vol. 2 (2nd edition: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 133–134.

[4] Franz Rosenthal (trans.), Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah,* vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1958), 250.

the component elements of their character, owing to the nature of their country, their soil, the similarity of their source," etc.[5]

Since its beginnings, modern scholarship too has seen its share of authors who addressed the question of the rise and fall of Eurasian empires, increasingly shifting from sociological, or *human*, factors to consider geographical and environmental factors as crucial. In the mid-nineteenth century, Karl Marx (1818–1883) was convinced that the geographical conditions of the arid region extending from the Sahara to India had shaped the social conditions and government structure of the region throughout history.[6] A well-respected orientalist in the first half of the twentieth century, Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), offered an interpretation for the expansion of the Arabs and Islam at the second quarter of the seventh century which can be seen as the implementation of climatological-historical approach. Hugo Winckler (1863–1913), an archaeologist, likewise imputed that it was climate change and the resulting desiccation of the Arabian Peninsula that initially drove the Arabs to initiate their conquests in the seventh century.[7] We might think besides of August Wittfogel (1896–1988) who advanced the concept of the "hydraulic civilization," noting that many of the great historical empires in arid regions exercised control over their populaces by controlling access to water. He thought that so-called Oriental despotism was an outgrowth of a farming economy involving "large-scale and government-managed works of irrigation and flood control."[8]

A major difference between scholarship of the past and that of the very recent present is that developments in climate science methods allow us to reconstruct past climate models with a degree of reliability rather than relying purely on source accounts, speculation, and rudimentary data. With the rapid growth of environmental studies, contemporary historians now collaborate in implementing its advancing methodologies while seeking explanations for the dramatic rise of

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[5] C. T. Harley Walker, "Jahiz of Basra to Al-Fath Ibn Khaqan on the 'Exploits of the Turks and the Army of the Khalifate in General,'" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oct. 1915): 678–679. For more recent translations: William M. Hutchins (trans.), *Nine Essays of Al-Jahiz* (New York: Lang, 1975).

[6] Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India," *New-York Daily Tribune* June 10, 1853. Accessed at: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/06/25.htm (June 2019)

[7] Fred M. Donner, "The Islamic Conquests," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East,* ed. Youssef M. Choueiri, pp. 28–51 (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 34, 48 n. 15 & 16. It should be noted that Donner sees such ecological and climatic explanations for Islamic expansion as "reductionist" and discredited.

[8] Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 3.

Eurasian nomadic confederations that frequently advanced from their homelands in Inner Asian steppe regions to conquer vast territories in Europe and Asia. Climatic explanations are also frequently used to describe the steppe rulers' eventual inability to maintain a stable government, resulting in the collapse of their empires. Climatological models can now be used in conjunction with source accounts to establish new interpretations.

The implementation of climatological models to clarify military successes and defeats, and to elucidate mass migrations and the collapse of old political systems, raises questions regarding the nature of sources at our disposal. Do chronicles or other narrative historical documents transmit a sizeable data base to prop up environmental hypotheses? Do historians interpret these texts accurately and gather from them sufficiently reliable evidence to support their reading of the past? While it is certainly a justifiable endeavor to explore the role of environment and climatic drivers in these fluctuations of the fortunes of steppe peoples and historical empires, the same explanations can often encounter claims of being overly reductionist or deterministic. For instance, a very well-known academic historian Kyle Harper received some concerted criticism for *The Fate of Rome* which attempted to explain the fall of the Roman Empire as a result of climate change.[9] In general, climate change is an extraordinarily hot topic with important implications for modern society and so the suspicion can arise that such explanations are advanced nowadays more for the purpose of attracting interest than actually resolving longstanding historical questions.

Here we want to devote the remainder of this paper to two highly contentious debates related to the rise of the Saljuqs in Western Asia and the contraction of the Mongol Empire from East-Central Europe. Specifically, the role of environmental-climate factors in the events of two nomadic onslaughts will be discussed. Proceeding in chronological order, the first case study is the migration of the Turks, headed by the Saljuq household in the eleventh century. The second case study is the advance and withdrawal of the Mongols from Hungary in the mid-thirteenth century.

The State of the Field

The modern discussion of environmental determinism in the history of steppe polities really began at the turn of the twentieth century with Ellsworth Huntington (1876–1947) and his *The Pulse of Asia*. Influenced by this work, the historian Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) was arguing in the 1930s that nomadic expansion

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[9] John Haldon et al., "Plagues, climate change, and the end of an empire: A response to Kyle Harper's The Fate of Rome (1): Climate," *History Compass* e12508 (2018).

from the steppe or retraction to the steppe was driven by two essentially mechanical causes tied to climate. As he noted in his famous *Study of History*: "Recent meteorological research indicates that there is a rhythmic alternation, possibly of world-wide incidence, between periods of relative desiccation and humidity, which causes alternate intrusions of Peasants and Nomads into one another's spheres." Essentially, periods of moisture and humidity saw the advance of sedentary, farming societies against the nomads, whereas it was periods of desiccation on the steppe that were the drivers of nomadic confederations mobilizing and riding forth on their spectacular conquests of the sedentary world. He imagined that the rise of the Saljuqs followed by the even more dramatic emergence of the Mongols were two developments that occurred during what was "probably the last dry period but one."[10]

Owen Lattimore (1900–1989), an American scholar of China and Central Asia, shared these views for a time, observing that "a very slight climatic variation is enough to upset the economy of people who depend on grazing to be found for their cattle. It is known that there have been such variations in Central Asia […] and it is arguable that most of the migratory wars of the barbaric hordes originated in the necessity so caused of finding new pastures."[11] Lattimore met resistance and many of his ideas were rejected by the academic world at the time. Later influenced by Oswald Spengler, he rejected the tidy but reductionist views of Ellsworth and Toynbee, arguing in the 1930s that if climate played some role in the nomadic migrations, they must have had fundamentally spiritual drivers.[12]

The roughly contemporary Soviet historian and ethnologist Lev Gumilev (1912–1992) came up with an opposing viewpoint to that of desiccation-driven migrations and conquests. He noted that the successful establishment of nomadic empires was accompanied by periods of moisture on the steppe. The Huns and several other steppe groups waged expansive wars of conquest in the fifth century during a period when Atlantic depressions and Pacific monsoons were again watering the steppes after a long period of desiccation.[13]

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[10] Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History,* Abridgement of Volumes I–VI by D.C. Sommerville (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 170.

[11] James Stephen Cotton, *Owen Lattimore the Political Geography of Asia* (Durham: Durham University, 1987), 6. Accessed at: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6712/ (June 2019)

[12] Ibid., 14. Toynbee too came to caution against accepting his own described pattern as all-explanatory.

[13] Lev Gumilev, *Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere,* 19. Translation and access at: http://gumilevica.kulichki.net/English/ebe.htm (June 2019)

The arrival of techniques for constructing past climatological models in our own time seems to have validated Gumilev's point of view that desiccation was not the environmental driver behind the emergence of powerful steppe empires. The startling finding of Pederson et al. in 2014, based on a study of tree rings, was that the period of the rise of the Mongol Empire was marked by consistent moisture – at an unprecedented level in the last thousand years – something that likely led to ample pasturage.[14] This finding flew in the face of the long-standing conventional wisdom that Chinggis Khan's Mongols were driven by drought to seek new pastures. Following that shock, the climatological research of Putnam et al. in the Tarim Basin found that the unusual increase in moisture, characterizing the onset of the Little Ice Age, led to the southward expansion of steppe grasslands, something that appears to have aided the Mongol Empire in its expansion. Its initial conquests coincided with a period of increased runoff and groundwater-surface rise in the arid belt of Mongolia. The partial "greening" of deserts likely facilitated the operation of the Mongol armies.[15]

Recent findings from climate science have thus done away with older speculations about the drivers behind the rise of certain steppe empires, but they continue to highlight the importance of environmental factors in these historic episodes – even if the causal relationships were not what scholars long suspected. Just as increased precipitation seems to have been beneficial to steppe polities, it seems that decreased precipitation and steady cooling may have exerted a negative effect on them. A recent article notes that this latter set of conditions in the territory of the Golden Horde, starting around 1280 and characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, could have played a role in the various crises and patterns of decline being experienced there in that period.[16] Environmental and climatic theories touching on the Mongol Empire especially have been attracting a good deal of scholarly and public attention of late, something which fits with a larger trend of interdisciplinary work that seeks answers to historical questions with the help of climate scientific techniques.[17]

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[14] Neil Pederson, Amy E. Hessl, Nachin Baatarbileg, Kevin J. Anchukaitis, and Nicola Di Cosmo, "Pluvials, droughts, the Mongol Empire, and modern Mongolia," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the USA* 111.12 (2014): 4375–4379. Accessed at: https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1318677111 (June 2019)

[15] Aaron E. Putnam et. al., "Little Ice Age wetting of interior Asian deserts and the rise of the Mongol Empire," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 131 (2016): 38–39

[16] Uli Schamiloglu, "Climate Change in Central Eurasia and the Golden Horde," *Golden Horde Review* 1 (2016): 16–20.

[17] See for instance: Mara Hvistendahl, "Roots of Empire," *Science* 337 (2012): 1596–1599. Accessed at: http://science.sciencemag.org/content/337/6102/1596.full?rss=1 (June 2019)

Case Study 1: The Rise of the Saljuqs and the Turkish Migration

Writing at the court of the Saljuqs (also written as Seljuks) in Khorasan in the second half of the twelfth century, Sharaf al- Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī (c. 1156–1200) produced an anachronistic picture of Turkic history, topography, and ethnography. Granted, his text provides a convenient point of departure as a condensed account of the tribal history of the Saljuqs and the land on the fringe of Khwarazm and Transoxiana (present-day Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) stretching back to a century earlier. Yet, there is no doubt that Turkic tribes already inhabited the same vast region as early as the sixth century. Arab geographers and travellers reported on their presence, providing data on the landscape and the climate of the land that the Turkic tribes occupied. Such, for example, is the account by Ibn Faḍlān who visited these people in the first decades of the tenth century.[18]

Modern geographers regularly label this vast territory "the Central Eurasian steppe" (Soviets referred to it as "Middle Asia" – *Srednyaya Aziya*).[19] It is a wide grassland prairie. To the south, it transitions into semi-desert and deserts (Kyzyl Kum and Kara Kum) interrupted by two great rivers, the Jayḥūn (Amu Darya), often known in Western literature as the Oxus, and the Sayḥūn (Jaxartes; Syr Darya). A third important river is the Zar-Afshān. The water from these rivers enabled the development of great oasis cities; Samarqand and Bukhara are perhaps the best known among them. It comprised a vast region populated by Turkic tribesmen among others. Muslims established communications and interactions with them already during the Umayyad period (c. 660–750). The caliph Yazid III (d. 744) is reported to have made the following boast about himself:

> "I am the son of the Sassanid Khusrau, my father is Abu Marwan
> A Byzantine Caesar is one of my grandfathers; another is a Turkic
> Khāqān."[20]

The following short study focuses on the history of Turkic people in that region on the eve of their invasion of the Caliphate's heartland and conquest of Baghdad in 1055. If we assume a climatological point of view, we can designate

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[18] Vladimir Minorsky (ed. & trans.), *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī (c. 1156–1200) on China, the Turks and India* [Arabic text (circa A. D. 1120)] (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942).

[19] John Dewdney, *A Geography of the Soviet Union* (Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press 1979), 33–34; Robert A. Lewis (ed.), *Geographic Perspectives on Soviet Central Asia* (New York: Routledge: 1992/2005), 73–78.

[20] Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (224–310/838–923), *Taʾrīkh al-rusūl wal-mulūk* ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dar al-Maʿarif, 1386/1967), 7: 298. On this historical figure, see Carole Hillenbrand (trans.), *The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate* (New York: SUNY, 1989), 56.

these years as falling within the parameters of the "Medieval Climatic Anomaly," also known as the Medieval Warm Period (c. 900–1300).[21] That span of centuries, more readily identified in another field of historical studies as the Early Middle Islamic Period 946–1258, is considered to have experienced higher precipitation than today.[22]

Before concentrating on the motive behind the Saljuqs' migration, a condensed summary of recent research on the climate history of the Inner Asian steppe ("The Belt of Earth" as it has been called historically)[23] would serve as a useful introduction. Winters in Inner Asia are cold. In the northern belt, temperatures are below freezing from November to March and up to seventy days of snow are recorded. In the southern belt, winters are shorter, seeing only a few days of snow cover on the land (January–February). With the rise of temperatures, snow disappears quickly. Springs are short (March–April) and summers are long and dry, during which clouds are barely seen in the sky. The cool autumn is also characteristically short (September–October). Low rainfall and high summer temperatures made the semi-desert and desert regions unfavourable to farmers, but the natural pastures have historically drawn nomadic shepherds to graze their herds.[24]

An eleventh-century author floridly described the seasonal conditions of the region:

> "And when he [Ilik Khān] passed Awazkand [ʾUwzkand/Ūzkand; modern Uzgen in Osh, Kyrgyzstan],[25] there was much snow, and he saw that the roads were obstructed, therefore he returned, until, at the time of the breaking of the weather, and the retrogression of the planets, and the opening of the winter, and the intercepting of the cold, and when the melting spring dissolved the silver of the snow upon the heated ground, and the hero Earth put off his mailed coat of ice, and the abundance of fresh herbage gave forth perfume, and the world

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[21] John L. Brooke, *Climate Change and the Course of Global History: A Rough Journey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 348–349.

[22] Elena Lioubimtseva and Roy Cole, "Uncertainties of Climate Change in Arid Environments of Central Asia," *Reviews in Fisheries Science* 14 (2006): 33.

[23] Vladimir Minorsky, "A Persian Geographer of A.D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia," *The Geographical Journal* (1937): 259–64; Anonymous (fl. c. 372/982), Hudūd al- ʿālam (Tehran, 1352/1933); V. Minorsky (trans.), *The Regions of the World: a Persian geography,* 372AH/982AD third edition by C.E. Bosworth (London: Luzac, 1970).

[24] For a general overview, see: Antony R. Orme, "Climate Change in Eurasia: Perspectives over Space and Time," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52.1 (2011): 12–29.

[25] Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 476, 478–479.

became quite young, Ilik Khān became eager for victory, and with his comrades marched forth towards his brother."[26]

The Qarakhanids

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Oxus River (Amu-Darya) marked the border separating the Ghaznavids and the Qarakhanids. Attempts by the latter group's al-Naṣr b. ʿAlī to advance and expand his rule southward were blocked by the armies of the founder of the Ghaznavid Dynasty, Maḥmūd of Ghazna (971–1030). Moreover, due his military strength, Maḥmūd was able to install one of his commanders as the ruler of Khwarizm (Khorezm).[27]

After the elimination of the Samanids in 999, the Qarakhanid Qaghanate's territory came to include Mavarannahr (Transoxiana), Shash (Tashkent), Ferghana, Isfijab (Sayram), Talas, Semirechʼe (region south of Lake Balkhash), and the western part of the Tarim Basin (*Fig. 1*). In line with past Turkic political arrangements, this vast land was divided between two senior "Great Khans." One based in the east ruled over Kashgar (Shule) and the Chu Valley, where the climate was characteristically hot and dry during the Medieval Climatic Anomaly of the years 1000–1200, resulting in small grain yields.[28] An "associate" khan, who bore the title Bughra Khān and whose capital was Bukhara, ruled the western part. This was a very common practice of Turkic (Inner Asian) nomadic states, and as was often the case, the Qarakhanid Qaghanate eventually (c. 1040) split into two independent qaghanates under two distinct branches of the dynasty. Since their story has little to do with the penetration of the nomadic Turkmen into the heartland of the Islamic Caliphate, this brief sketch of the Qarakhanids can cease at that point.

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[26] Abū Naṣr Muḥamma al-ʿUtbī (427/1036), al-Yamīnī fī akhbār dawlat al-Malik Yamīn al-Dawlah, Abī al-Qāsim Mahmūd ibn Nāṣir al-Dawlah Abī Mansūr Sabuktakīn ed. Yūsuf al-Hādī (Tehran: Markaz al-Buūth wal-Dirāsāt lil-Turāth al-Makhtūt 2008), 499 (Arabic); *The Kitab-i-Yamini: historical memoirs of the Amir Sabaktagin, and the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, early conquerors of Hindustan, and founders of the Ghaz-navide dynasty,* trans. James Reynolds (London: 1858), 372.

[27] On the Ghaznavids, see the articles and books by Clifford Edmund Bosworth and his contribution "Ghaznavids" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* vol. 10/6 (updated 2012): 578–583.

[28] Fahu Chen, Xiaozhong Huang, Jiawu Zhang, J. A. Holmes, and Jianhui Chen, "Humid Little Ice Age in arid central Asia documented by Bosten Lake, Xinjiang, China," *Science in China Series D: Earth Sciences* 49.12 (2006): 1280–1290.
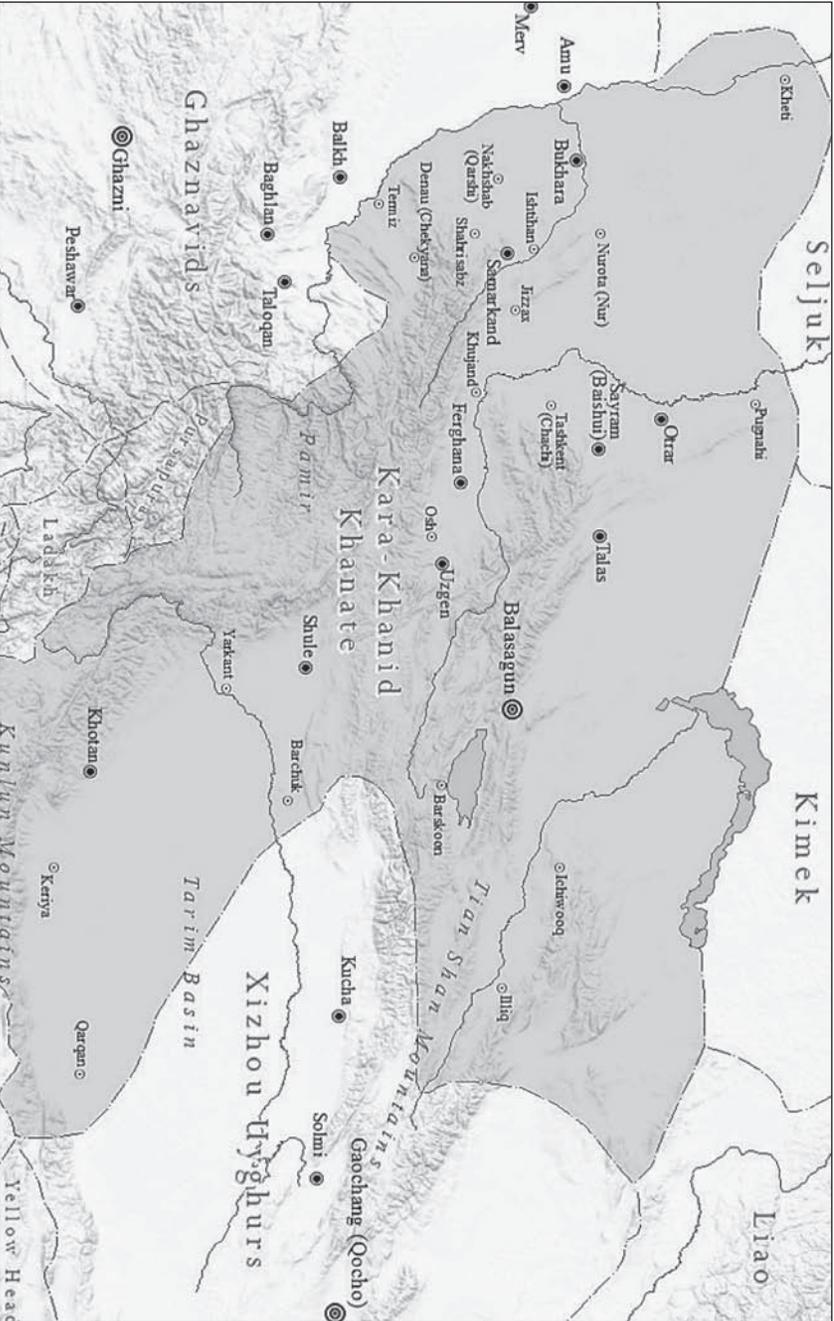
Fig. 1. The Qarakhanid state and relevant Inner Asian cities, c. 1000. Source: Wikipedia, Wikimedia Commons. Referenced from The Historical Atlas of China by Tan Qixiang. Accessed May 5, 2019: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kara-Khanid_Khanate.png

The Saljuqs

At the time when al-Birūnī was writing (995), a considerable number of the Turkish tribes who lived along the Oxus River were Muslims.[29] It was while Maḥmūd of Ghazna's forces were consolidating their rule over the Abbasid Caliphate's frontiers in Central-Asia (c.1008) that the House of Saljūq rose to prominence among the tribes. The eponymous founder Saljūq's three sons, Musa, Mikaʾil, and Arslan Israʿil, all commanded nomadic tribes, the Turkmens, and under their leadership, the nomads had been wandering in the Qara-Qum desert and roaming the borderlands of Transoxiana (Ma Wara al-Nahr) and Khwarizm. Headed by Mikaʾil's two sons, Tughrïl Bek Muhammad and Chaghrï Bek Daʾud, several clans of these Saljuqid tribes took advantage of the decline of the Ghaznavids' presence in Transoxiana and penetrated the vast territory of Khorasan. Arslan Israʾil also attempted to capitalize on the internal crisis among the Qarakhanids (c. 1020), but he failed. Their ruler, Qadir-Khan Yusuf, defeated and captured him in 1025.[30]

A short period of internal competition and changing coalitions ended in about 1034 when the Saljuq rulers Tughrïl Bek and Chaghrï Bek were defeated in battle at Yengikent (Otrar) by Shah Malik Barani the leader (*yabghu*) of another Turkic faction, the Oghuz. Led by the two brothers, the beaten Turkmen found refuge in the Ghaznavids' territory in Khorasan. Only a year later they turned on their hosts and overpowered a Ghaznavid force, thus conquering new territories. This was followed by a second victory over Ghaznavid troops at Sarakhs in 1038. Shortages of their food supplies, which can be attributed to a harsh winter, hampered the Ghaznavid war effort to overcome the bands of the Saljuqs in 1036–1037.[31] At this juncture, the Ghaznavid ruler, Sultan Masʿūd himself, led an expedition against the Saljuqids. However, his army was routed in 1040 at Dandanaqan, southwest of Merv, and Masʿūd fled to Ghazna. Tughrïl Bek was crowned on the battlefield as "the Ruler of Khorasan." Thus, a new "Saljuq" state emerged.

The next decades saw Tughrïl Bek's forces advance across the Iranian Plateau. His army proceeded towards Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate. With Tughrïl's entrance into the city and the establishment of marriage bonds between

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[29] Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (362–440/973–1048), Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin in Majalat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt alʿArabiyya 8 (1381/1962), 225, 246.

[30] For a general overview, see: David Durand-Guédy (ed.), *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[31] [Anonymous but attributed to] Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (1180–1225), Zubdat al-tawārīkh fī akhbār al-ʾumarāa wal-salātin al-saljuqiyya ed. M. Nur al-Din (Beirut: Iqra, 1405/1985), 38–39.

him and the reigning caliph in 1055, a new order emerged in Western Asia. The commander of the Turkmen tribes had become the true sovereign of the Islamic Sultanate. His heir succeeded in beating the Byzantine armies at Manzikert in 1071 so that the Saljuqs gradually established themselves as the rulers of Anatolia as well.[32]

The Arab and Persian sources that report on these dramatic developments do not attribute the Saljuqs' success to any weather catastrophe or climate trend. Climatological historians, on the other hand, are quick to highlight the warm period that was recorded in eleventh-century Europe and Central Asia. Even so, it seems difficult to assume that the breakdown of the old political order in Iran and Iraq was caused by climate changes when we see how so much hinged on the outcome of battles, alliances, and opportunism. Moreover, even if we accept the assumption that the Eurasian Steppes experienced "widespread aridity" during the eleventh century,[33] this would not explain the failure of the caliphate's armies to stop the Turkmens' penetration into Western Asia. Although it is tempting to replace political history with sophisticated up-to-date models, it is not always possible. Particularly, we must show reserve when the data from the sources is hindering such a novel approach.

Case Study 2: The Westernmost Limit of the Mongol Empire's Expansion

The westward drive of the Mongols from the Volga River to the borders of the Holy Roman Empire (1236–1242) was a major event in the Mongol Empire's history, and not simply from a myopically Eurocentric point of view. The princes who led their forces in the operation represented all four filial branches of the Chinggisid dynasty, i.e. they were sons of Chinggis Khan's four sons by his first wife, Börte. Moreover, Chinggis Khan's closest son among those not born to Börte also took part in the campaign until he was killed near Moscow.[34] Participation by such figures serves as a symbolic indication of the importance which the campaign held to the Mongols and their second khan, Ögedei. Yet, this episode ended up marking their empire's westward limit. The reason or reasons for the abrupt departure of the entire Mongol force from Hungary in 1242, after a military occupation

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[32] For an overview of these events, see: W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (3rd ed. London: Luzac, 1968/1977).

[33] Adam W. Schneider, "The Medieval Climate Anomaly as a factor in the history of Sijilmasa, southeastern Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies* 22.1 (2017): 142.

[34] J. A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York: Columbia, 1971), 56, 59.

which lasted roughly a year, is still the subject of debate.[35] Indeed, this episode might be considered one of the great mysteries to emerge from the history of the Mongol Empire.[36] The drive into continental Europe was launched from Galicia-Volhynia (modern-day Ukraine and Belarus) in very early 1241, and the Mongols managed to advance to the outskirts of Vienna and the fortified towns of the Adriatic Coast within a year. Judging by their repeated decisive victories recorded in sources describing their advance through Poland and Hungary,[37] coupled with a consideration of the amount of territory through which they passed, this last stage of the larger western campaign has the appearances of a very rapid and successful conquest. Particularly successful was the Mongol occupation of the Kingdom of Hungary where the invaders ultimately congregated their forces by the summer of 1241. Then all at once, the Mongols withdrew in the spring of 1242, something which was inexplicable to European observers and those in occupied territories. While the decision to withdraw is widely viewed as one which "saved Europe" from destruction, "a single, satisfying explanation" for why it happened has never emerged, as Greg S. Rogers noted.[38]

Faced with a mystery and no entirely satisfactory explanation in our source material, some academic researchers have sought to explain the withdrawal through "geographical" and environmental drivers. It must be admitted that there are two problems from the outset when we employ any such theories to explain the 1242 withdrawal of the Mongols from Hungary. One is that it is on the surface difficult to accept that the general long-term environmental conditions of Hungary proved difficult for the Mongol nomads to surmount when we consider some extreme environments, much less suited to nomadic animal husbandry, where they did

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[35] The latest debate regards whether short-term climate issues caused the Mongols to withdraw. See: Ulf Büntgen and Nicola Di Cosmo, "Climatic and Environmental Aspects of the Mongol Withdrawal from Hungary in 1242 CE," *Scientific Reports* 6:25606 (2016): 1–9. For the response of several researchers based in Hungarian institutions, see: Zsolt Pinke, László Ferenczi, Beatrix F. Romhányi, József Laszlovszky, and Stephen Pow, "Climate of Doubt: A Re-evaluation of Büntgen and Di Cosmo's Environmental Hypothesis for the Mongol Withdrawal from Hungary, 1242 CE," *Scientific Reports* 7:12695 (2017): 1–6.

[36] József Laszlovszky, Stephen Pow, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, and Zsolt Pinke, "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short and Long-term Perspectives," *Hungarian Historical Review* 7.3 (2018): 420–421.

[37] Joannis Dlugosz, *Historiae Polonicae.* Vol. XII, eds. Ignatius Zegota Pauli and Alexander Przezdziecki (Krakow, 1823), 266–272; János Bak and Martyn Rady, *Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 164–191.

[38] Greg S. Rogers, "An Examination of Historians' Explanations for the Mongol Withdrawal from Central Europe," *East European Quarterly* 30 (1996): 3.

succeed in imposing their rule such as the deserts of Iraq. Thus, we now see an alternative approach of researchers who argue that a short-term climate event may have triggered the withdrawal. A second problem is that the Mongol invasion and withdrawal occurred over such a brief timeframe that is difficult to imagine even a short-term climatic trend or shift in weather patterns could have triggered it. If normal conditions in Hungary would have allowed for the Mongols to continue their occupation after 1241, but an abnormal climate situation brought about their withdrawal, it is challenging to convincingly establish that argument when dealing with a rather short period of military occupation.

Despite their drawbacks, environmental theories have invited consideration in recent times because, among other reasons, alternative explanations have proved unsatisfactory. Based on the claims of the papal emissary John of Plano Carpini, it was long thought that the Mongols withdrew upon receiving news of the death of Ögedei Khan.[39] Apparently, the great khan's death required the princes to return to Mongolia for the election of a new khan. However, as Denis Sinor noted in a 1972-dated publication, the sources make it clear that Batu Khan, the commander of the entire westward campaign and the senior prince of the entire dynasty, never returned to Mongolia to take part in the election of a successor.[40] Sinor's new argument was that the Great Hungarian Plain simply had insufficient pasturage for the Mongols' horse needs, and therefore the Carpathian Basin was unsuitable for long-term occupation by nomadic armies. In fact, he used a calculation to show that even a modest Mongol army could not have been sustained in Hungary – and this must have been the cause for the withdrawal. Though it underwent changes, Sinor persisted with this explanation for decades.[41]

Much more recently in 2016, Büntgen and Di Cosmo combined their respective areas of expertise to develop an environmental hypothesis for the withdrawal. Although it had already been long established that the winter of 1241–42 saw unusual cold and high precipitation,[42] they combined dendrochronological evidence with an array of source material to argue that these climate conditions hampered the Mongol forces' ability to move, fight, and ultimately feed themselves.

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[39] Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 45.

[40] Denis Sinor, "Horse and Pasture in Inner Asian History," *Oriens Extremus* 19 (1972): 181 n. 44.

[41] Denis Sinor, "The Mongols in the West," *Journal of Asian History* 33.1 (1999): 19–20. Greg S. Rogers refers to Sinor's explanation as a geographic theory, but calling it an "ecological theory" is perhaps more apt.

[42] Andrea Kiss, "Weather events during the first Tatar invasion in Hungary (1241–1242)," *Acta Geographica Universitatis Szegediensis,* 37 (2000): 149–156.

Thus, a short-term climate anomaly brought about the Mongol withdrawal.[43] The explanation was greeted with much popular media interest worldwide for offering a new answer to a very old historical problem.

Here it must be stressed that these geographical-environmental-climatic theories need not be viewed as simply shades or variations of the same explanation. They do not all follow a similar methodology or see the same causation behind the withdrawal. They rely on very different evidence and argumentation. Nonetheless, they could be challenged with the essentially the same kinds of evidence in both cases because any such theory will tend to have three fundamental weaknesses. First, for such theories to justify the withdrawal, they inevitably must downplay or ignore the tremendous carrying capacity of the Carpathian Basin. Secondly, textual sources offer little support for these theories and sometimes seem to record the exact opposite of what they contend; sources pertaining to 1241–1242 show few signs of environmental problems affecting the Mongols. Thirdly, the subsequent decades of return invasions, calls for Europe's submission, threats of attack, and proposals for military alliances suggest that the Mongols still showed an interest in dominating Europe after 1242. While it has become a sort of myth in history textbooks that aggression against Europe ceased that year, the reality is more complex.

Turning to Denis Sinor's geographical theory initially, there are major problems. One is that Sinor could only provide a single statement in a primary source that directly supported his hypothesis. There is a brief mention in the account of Thomas of Split that the Mongol leader Qadan took only a portion of his full army in Croatia to approach Split because, it being the beginning of March and still bitterly cold, there was not sufficient grass for all their horses.[44] Nevertheless, the author of this statement clarified that the shortage pertained to a specific seasonal pattern. Additionally, a problem that occurred for the Mongols in the rugged coastal strip near Split on the Adriatic Coast is not particularly useful for understanding what was happening in the stretches of grassland in Hungary itself.

Sinor's argument focused on the number of animals that could be supported in the normal conditions of the country, but his representation of normal conditions was inconsistent. To best highlight the inconsistency of his argument, one can compare his theory in 1972 to another statement on it which he made in 1999 toward the end of a long and storied career. In *Horse and Pasture in Inner Asian*

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[43] Büntgen and Di Cosmo, "Climatic and Environmental Aspects," 1.

[44] Damir Karbić, Olga Perić, and James Ross Sweeney (trans.). *Thomas of Split, History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), 298–299. The relevant statement reads: "quia non erant herbe pro toto equitatu sufficientes."

History where his theory first appeared, Sinor wrote the following which has been slightly abridged from the original for clarity:

The Hungarian Plain (Alföld) is rightly considered the westernmost part of the great Eurasian steppe belt […] the so-called Nagy Alföld covers approximately 100,000 km², i.e. 24,710,400 acres. […] Both in Mongolia and in the U.S.A. five sheep or goats are considered the equivalent of one "animal unit", i.e. one head of cattle, horse or camel. The Mongol livestock of 1918 counted thus approximately 3,895,200 animal units. If for the sake of simplicity, we estimate the size of the Hungarian range as being 1/12 that of Mongolia we must reckon that it had a carrying capacity of about 322,933 animal units. […] A fairly productive grass range has a grazing capacity of 10 acres per animal month or, in other words, a range area of 120 acres is needed to support one horse for one year. On this basis, the Hungarian Alföld could support no more than 205,920 animal units as compared to over 2,500,000 of the Mongol grazing lands. Counting only three horses per Mongol horseman, the Hungarian range could provide for the mounts of only 68,640 warriors on the impossible condition that no other animals were using the pastures […] the Hungarian range was unable to provision a nomad "superpower".[45]

If we compare this statement to the following one which Denis Sinor made in his 1999-dated article, *The Mongols in the West,* we see some rather dramatic shifting of data:

The military strength of the great nomad empires, and that of the Mongols in particular, rested on their cavalry and on a virtually inexhaustible supply of horses […] There is evidence that each warrior had at least three or four horses, but Marco Polo spoke of about eighteen mounts for each man! Taking into consideration the losses suffered by the Mongols we may count with, say 100,000 men occupying Hungary who would then need, on a conservative estimate at least some 400,000 horses. It has been suggested that about 42,000 square kilometers (10,378,425 acres) can or could be used as grazing land. Estimates of grazing or carrying capacity of ranges vary widely but on the assumption that at that time about 25 acres were needed to support one horse for one year, the carrying capacity of the Hungarian range must be set at 415,136 animal units. On the completely unrealistic condition that no other animals were using these pastures, and counting five horses per Mongol horseman, the Hungarian range could provide for the mounts of 83,027 warriors, clearly far below the strength of the Mongol army. […] This is the reason why in the spring of 1242 the Mongols withdrew from devastated, overgrazed Hungary to the abundant pastures of the steppe.[46]

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[45] Denis Sinor, "Horse and Pasture in Inner Asian History," *Oriens Extremus* 19 (1972): 181–182.

[46] Denis Sinor, "The Mongols in the West," *Journal of Asian History* 33.1 (1999): 19–20.

The Carpathian Basin – which Sinor presumed to be the only grassland which the Mongols would occupy in Hungary and Europe – had a maximum carrying capacity of 68,640 troops in his initial estimate and 83,027 roughly three decades later when he revisited his theory. In 1999, he reiterated the same driver behind the Mongol withdrawal, but the numbers and statistics that undergirded his conclusion appear troublingly protean to any reader. Between the former and latter appearances of the theory, the Great Hungarian Plain's available pasturage appears to have decreased by more than half of its area, while the pasturage needs of horses also decreased by about 80%. It almost comes out in the wash, however, because each Mongol warrior would need five horses in 1999 compared to the three that he would require in 1972.

What accounts for the wild fluctuations of the inputs between his two papers? It can appear that Sinor was determined to reach a conclusion and the numbers were essentially filler. That is, he was determined to confirm a hypothesis and the conclusion took precedent over the data provided to support it. Indeed, the fluctuations are so great that the data inserted into the equation can seem irrelevant, making the result at least questionable. But what, then, could have been Sinor's motivation to keep the maximum number of Mongols at this range (c. 68,000–84,000) rather than let it increase substantially with the revised calculation of 1999 which noted a much lower pasturage requirement per horse than we see in the 1972 version? We cannot know but historians are permitted to play guessing games. In the literature we often read that 135,000 Mongol troops were poised to invade Europe based on the testimony of Friar Julian who heard these figures when he was in northeastern Russia very shortly before the massive Mongol attack commenced there in 1237–1238.[47] Göckenjan and Sweeney noted that 135,000 referred to the core of Mongol cavalry whereas an additional figure of 260,000 referred to troops levied from subjugated and defeated populations. In the view of these two scholars, Julian's figures were reliable based on comparison with data in the Secret History and Chinese sources, but the total figure of c. 400,000 referred to the full strength of the Mongol Empire's armies rather than just those taking part in the western campaign against Russia and later Europe.[48]

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[47] Roman Hautala, От Давида, царя Индий до ненавистного плебса Сатаны. Антология ранних латинских сведений о татаро-монголах [From David, King of the Indies to Detestable Plebs of Satan: An Anthology of Early Latin Information about the Tatar-Mongols] (Kazan: Sh.Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2015), 382. Friar Julian noted that there were said to be 135,000 troops who followed the law of the Mongols, ostensibly meaning the Mongols themselves but likely including similar Turkic peoples: centum triginta quinque milia de lege sua.

[48] Hansgerd Göckenjan and James R. Sweeney, Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250 (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1985), 109, 124–125 n. 58.

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Göckenjan supposed that roughly 130,000 troops, a third of the total, participated in Batu's western campaign; George Vernadsky earlier estimated 120,000 and V.V. Kargalov estimated between 120,000 and 140,000.[49] Perhaps Sinor was striving to demonstrate that Hungary's grasslands would not allow a force of nomadic cavalry troops even approaching these prior estimates. If he could show that fewer Mongols could pasture their mounts in Hungary than the common quotes of the Mongol army's size in 1241–1242, this would implicitly support his account of why the withdrawal happened when it did.

A more serious problem for Sinor's explanation is that real records of herd sizes from the Early Modern Period do not support his point of view. The sixteenth century was a golden age of Hungarian cattle breeding, seeing a huge increase in international export of cattle from the mid-sixteenth century. As a result of the desire of the Ottoman government to regulate and impose customs duties, many defters have survived – receipts recorded for taxes in treasury books. A profitable international trade fomented the creation of reliable records, for example bridge toll registers, which allow historians to ascertain livestock numbers even on the local level starting in those centuries.[50]. The administrative records of towns, as well, provide similar details. Based on such records, the map seen here (*Fig. 2*) provides some precise numbers regarding the size of herds within specific boundaries at certain times.

Turning to the administrative region of Debrecen, we notice a very illustrative case regarding the numbers of livestock that could in fact be raised in a small area. Boundaries fluctuated through the centuries, and when we get these specific number of animals in the 1700s, Debrecen had expanded to approximately 1437 km² (based on 250,000 *cadastral hold* – 1 cad. hold = 0.575 ha.),[51] but more like 920km² if one excludes the additional rental land (82,000 cad. hold). Crucially, however, István Balogh notes that in the eighteenth century, these 13,500 cattle, 18,000 sheep, and 1100 horses grazed in the exact borders of Debrecen's administrative area as it was in the fourteenth-fifteenth century. Moreover, his research found that out of the 48,000 hectares, only 17-20,000 was used regularly or occasionally as grazing land.[52] This means that on 480 km² of land, roughly 170-200 km² were

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[49] Hansgerd Göckenjan, "Der Westfeldzug (1236–1242) aus mongolischer Sicht," in *Wahlstatt 1241: Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegntiz und zu ihre Nachwirkungen,* ed. Ulrich Schmilewski (Würzberg: Bergstadtverlag Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1991), 39, 64 n. 38.

[50] Anna Horváth, "The Cattle Trade of a Hungarian Town (Szolnok) in the Period of Turkish Domination," in *Studia Turcica,* ed. Lajos Ligeti (Budapest 1971), 235–240.

[51] For the hold as a measurement, see: https://www.sizes.com/units/hold.htm

[52] István Balogh, "Adatok az alföldi mezővárosok határhasználatához a XIV–XV. században (Debrecen határának kialakulása)," *A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve* 3 (1976): 18–21.
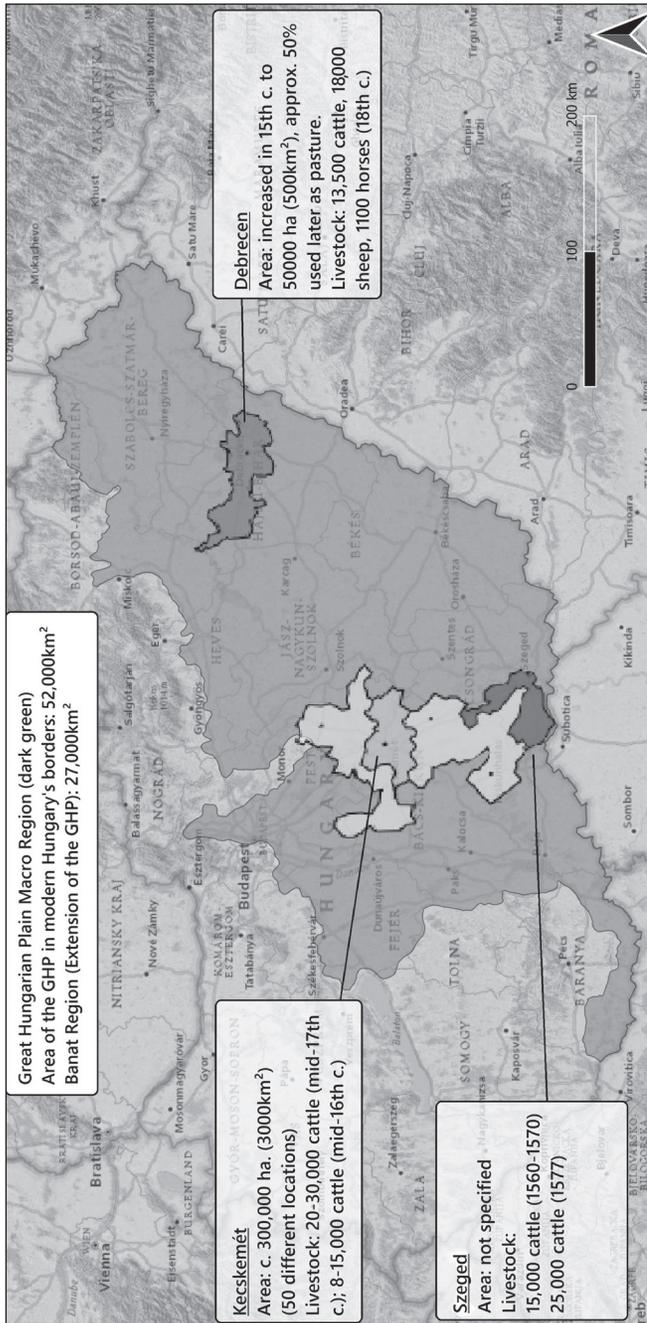
Fig. 2. Pasturage and livestock data for the Great Hungarian Plain (fourteenth-seventeenth centuries). Area of the GHP in modern Hungary: Dark green. Administrative boundaries: Debrecen – Forest green; Szeged – Red; Kecskemét before and after Early Modern expansion – Yellow and pale yellow. Map designed by László Ferenczi

Great Hungarian Plain Macro Region (dark green)
Area of the GHP in modern Hungary's borders: 52,000km²
Banat Region (Extension of the GHP): 27,000km²

Debrecen
Area: increased in 15th c. to 50000 ha (500km²), approx. 50% used later as pasture.
Livestock: 13,500 cattle, 18000 sheep, 1100 horses (18th c.)

Kecskemét
Area: c. 300,000 ha. (3000km²)
(50 different locations)
Livestock: 20-30,000 cattle (mid-17th c.); 8-15,000 cattle (mid-16th c.)

Szeged
Area: not specified
Livestock:
15,000 cattle (1560-1570)
25,000 cattle (1577)

being used as pasturage for 13,500 cattle, 18,000 sheep, and 1100 horses in the mid-eighteenth century. By Denis Sinor's own definition (5 sheep = 1 horse or head of cattle), we count 18,200 animal units in a space that was at most 200km². In a space that was 1/260 of the Great Hungarian Plain just within Hungary's much reduced modern borders, we can see livestock levels reach roughly a tenth of Sinor's original estimate for the carrying capacity of the entire kingdom. Certainly, the Debrecen community must have been maximizing land use, keeping as many animals as they could within 20,000 hectares because the ratio of land being used as pasture is quite high in this case. With the example of Szeged, we note that within visibly quite small boundaries, 25,000 cattle were being sustained in 1577.[53] In the case of Kecskemét, there is more complexity to the situation, but it can be said that within a 3000km² administrative boundary there were fifty separate locations of rented puszta land (implying formerly inhabited and now abandoned land) being used as pastures, and the total number of cattle climbed as high as 30,000 in the mid-seventeenth century.[54]

There are too many factors at play to simply take the Debrecen administrative boundaries as an example and conclude, based on this one specific situation, that we should expect to see exactly 2,875,600 animal units being sustained in the Great Hungarian Plain including its extension in the Banat region. However, what we can say is that based on real numbers for pasturage area and real numbers of livestock at specific points in time, we end up with numbers much higher than Denis Sinor estimated and it is likely that the maximum amount of livestock which the Great Hungarian Plain could sustain was in the millions.

Regarding Büntgen and Di Cosmo's newer "environmental hypothesis," several recent articles, already cited here, have explored it at length. Thus, many of the issues previously raised do not bear repeating here. Briefly, however, one of the main issues is that the textual evidence used in support of the hypothesis tends to refer to the famine experienced by Hungarian peasants in a looted and ravaged landscape after the Mongol withdrawal. The weakness of imputing the famine to short-term climate fluctuation is that many primary source accounts from diverse parts of Eurasia, written in a variety of contexts, consistently record that the Mongols and other nomadic armies intentionally triggered famines among

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[53] László Makkai, "Der ungarische Viehhandel, 1550–1650," In *Der Außenhandel Ostmitteleuropas, 1450–1650: Die ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa,* ed. Ingomar Bog, 483–506 (Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), 492–493.

[54] László Mészáros (Fenyvesi), "Kecskemét gazdasági élete és népe a XVI. század közepén," in *Bács-Kiskun megye múltjából 2. A késői feudalizmus kora,* ed. Tibor Iványosi Szabó (Kecskemét: n.p., 1979), 92–93.

sedentary societies, as a way of crushing their resistance.[55] In the case of Hungary in 1241–1242, contemporary sources clearly stated that the famine that ensued was a human famine related to killing farmers, taking their produce, and not allowing others to plant. There are no claims in the sources that animals were starving, but rather that the animals in Hungary were plundered by the invaders. A recent study that thoroughly examined the aftermath of the invasion, including the issue of the famine in Hungary c. 1243–1245, similarly concluded that it was a direct result of the depredations of the Mongols.[56]

Another issue relates to Büntgen and Di Cosmo's imagined model of what a cold and wet scenario would produce in the Hungarian agricultural landscape at large. Based on detailed studies of thirteenth-century Hungarian agriculture, a significant part of the available land was left as fallow in the central part of the kingdom. Even in the most intensively used areas, two-field crop rotation, and less characteristically three-field, systems were used which means a significant part of a parish was left as fallow, even in normal conditions. These fields did not turn into mud, but simply grew better grass in wet conditions. Even in the very wet early fourteenth century, with successive years of flooding and sustained precipitation – and when areas were under water as we know from surviving sources – there were no issues with feeding large quantities of animals. The reason would seem to be that grassland grew better in the wet conditions.[57] This relates to the previously mentioned point regarding documentary data on the numbers of animals kept in certain pastures of Hungary that survive from the late Middle Ages onward and which demonstrate that geographic and environmental theories tend to grossly underestimate the carrying capacity and resiliency of the region – if agriculturalists are not completely prevented from farming and animal husbandry.

Finally, regarding Büntgen and Di Cosmo's claim that the Mongols ultimately settled in the Volga Basin because it was "ecologically suitable to their economy, lifestyle, and military needs,"[58] this assertion becomes somewhat problematic if one is attempting to simultaneously argue that the Carpathian Basin was unsuitable. The

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[55] Stephen Pow, "Climatic and Environmental Limiting Factors in the Mongol Empire's Westward Expansion: Exploring Causes for the Mongol Withdrawal from Hungary in 1242," In *Socio-Environmental Dynamics along the Historic Silk Road,* eds. L. Yang et al. (Heidelberg: Springer, 2019), 312–314.

[56] Andrea Fara, "L'impatto delle invasioni mongole nelle terre ungheresi: la guerra e la carestia attraverso il Carmen miserabile di Ruggero di Puglia (1244)," in *Guerra y carestía en la Europa medieval,* eds. Pere Benito Monclus and Antoni Riera I Melis (Lleida: Editorial Milenio, 2014), 79.

[57] Special thanks to József Laszlovszky for his attention and expertise to these points.

[58] Büntgen and Di Cosmo, "Climatic and Environmental Aspects," 7.

authors do advance this point, noting that the Hungarian river system was prone to flooding and the creation of marshlands until the drainage works of the nineteenth century. It is true that settlements in the area east of the Tisza rose in altitude over the course of the Middle Ages so that settlements of the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth century were on average situated considerably higher than in preceding centuries.[59] This suggests that hydro-climatic changes associated with the Little Ice Age, flood proneness and crop damage, could explain why low-lying areas with patterns of dense settlement were abandoned toward the end of the thirteenth century. Hydro-climatic changes worked this effect in other parts of Hungary in the same period, and the flat areas of the Great Hungarian Plain were most heavily affected.[60] However, these same settlement abandonment trends during the Little Ice Age have been noted in the Volga Basin, suggesting climate change was producing the same sorts of challenge there. Flooding and the deterioration of environmental conditions in its Volga heartland has long been connected to the decline and disintegration of the Golden Horde.[61] Furthermore, archaeological surveys show that the abandonment of several major cities of the Volga region by the mid-fourteenth-century occurred probably due to effects of climate change and flooding. The abandonment of the Golden Horde's capital, Sarai in the same period and its transfer to New Sarai, farther away from the Volga Delta and the Caspian Sea was likely driven by this ongoing climate situation in the fourteenth century.[62] Thus, the Little Ice Age's effects were severely felt in the Volga Basin – just as they were in the Carpathian Basin – and there is an archaeological evidence of both regions experiencing similar long-term trends that forced settlement abandonment in low-lying areas.

Conclusions

Environmental theories to explain the development and collapse of the great empires established by steppe peoples are connected to the growing importance of climate

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[59] Zsolt Pinke, László Ferenczi, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Ferenc Gyulai, József Laszlovszky, Zoltán Mravcsik, Patrícia Pósa, and Gyula Gábris, "Zonal Assessment of Environmental Driven Settlement Abandonment in the Trans-Tisza Region (Central Europe) During the Early Phase of the Little Ice Age," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 157 (2017): 98–113.

[60] Laszlovszky et al., "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion," 435–436.

[61] Alexander Pachkalov, "Трансгрессия Каспийского моря и история золотоордынских городов в Северном Прикаспии" [Transgression of the Caspian Sea and the history of the Golden Horde cities in the Northern Caspian], in *Vostok-Zapad: dialog kul'tur i tsivilizatsii Evrazii* [West and East: Dialogue of Cultures and Civilizations of Eurasia] 8, ed. A.A. Burkhanov (Kazan: Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, 2007), 171–180.

[62] Ibid.

science and the consequences of climate change. These are hot topics with serious implications for society, reinforcing notions of humanity's dependence on the environment and its important role in shaping history. Cases from the past readily serve a didactic function and as a sort of warning in our present climatic turmoil. Furthermore, conclusions based on environmental findings often prove valid, adding insights and helping to support or refute longstanding theories first raised by past scholars. So, this is an avenue certainly worth exploring, especially when dealing with nomadic empires with which we are often forced to confront *lan cunae* and silences in the meagre surviving source material. A problem is that sometimes the overriding Zeitgeist of our era drives historians into a situation of actively desiring to observe climate and environmental determinism behind the major events in human history. Sometimes this temptation forces the textual sources and data to produce a desired narrative that is topical and likely to garner interest.

In the case of the spectacular rise and advance of the Saljuqs in the eleventh century, the sources from the period portray a political situation in which the collapse of the Samanids had produced a frontier zone between the Qarakhanids and the Ghaznavids. The Saljuqs were able to rise in this frontier by exploiting the tensions between the two empires. Yet, it seems their fledgling state could have just as likely expanded northeastward into Qarakhanid territory as it ended up doing southwestward into Ghaznavid land. The difference was that the Saljuqs were defeated when they attempted to conquer the Qarakhanids whereas they turned on and defeated the Ghaznavid hosts with whom they took refuge from the Oghuz. A scenario so heavily wound up in choices, dynastic politics, and the outcome of pitched battles does not favor an explanation based on climatic determinism.

Regarding the Mongol Empire's limited expansion to the West, explanations that rely on environmental drivers are seldom entirely persuasive. Mongol history is full of episodes of Mongols starving, losing their herds to cold or pestilence, suffering natural disasters, etc. The silence of the sources on any of these issues in 1241–1242 is thus rather problematic and can be read as an indicator that no such disaster was encountered by the Mongols themselves. It is difficult to assert that their withdrawal was precipitated by environmental issues, given the shortness of their stay. We have to continue to rely on various disciplines to outline a picture and find a clearer explanation of what was probably a multi-causal withdrawal, stemming from a variety of problems but which likely had little to do with the ability of the Mongols to feed their animals or themselves.

When the stormy weather was a serious problem for the Mongols during their two invasions of Japan, the sources emphasized it. During the so-called "Second Mongol Invasion of Hungary" in 1285, the Mongols suffered from cold, extreme

weather events, and hunger. These were well documented by several authors, including even one in distant Syria, who had heard of the debacle.[63] Besides historians in the Islamic world, a Russian chronicle also referred to the impact of a devastating famine for Mongol forces trapped in the Carpathians.[64] Despite there being much less surviving source material on the 1285 events compared to the earlier invasion, the material we do have is replete with these sorts of references. It was a great coup for Christian writers in 1285 to be able to say that God had shown his favor by inflicting these environmental hardships on their enemies. Writers of the time in Europe tended to see these types of events as expressions of divine wrath. Presumably, if such events had occurred in 1242, we would have heard no end of it from contemporary writers. About a decade before the first Mongol invasion, the future king of Hungary, Béla IV, invaded Galicia. The same Russian chronicle mentions how "the Archangel Michael" released a torrent of rain on the Hungarians as they advanced through the Carpathians, drowning their horses. When many Hungarians drowned in a river, the chronicle records that "the Dniester played a bad trick on the Hungarians," and when an epidemic struck the invading force, we read that "the Lord sent a plague… His angel struck them down."[65] When environmental factors worked devastation on invaders, medieval chroniclers were quick to notice and see meaning in it. Thus, the lack of such references regarding the Mongols in 1242, or the Saljuqs' rise earlier in the eleventh century, should be taken as indications that no such events happened.

Even if environmental and climatological explanations are not always applicable, there are many episodes for which they are. It is ironic that so much ink has been spilled on the climatic drivers behind the Saljuq expansion and the Mongol withdrawal, but there exists a somewhat overlooked issue of how the volcanic eruption of Samalas in 1257 – an absolutely extreme weather event with global-scale effects – was followed so quickly by the dissolution of the Mongol Empire. There are a substantial number of records of famines, droughts, and epidemics in the surviving sources for the subsequent years, and a convincing case might be made that environmental issues played a meaningful role in the dissolution of the Mongol Empire. Despite some false leads, the role of the environment in the history of Inner Asian empires was crucial and such studies will continue to yield important insights and raise useful questions.

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[63] V. G. Tizengauzen (ed.), *Sbornik materialov otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordy,* I (St Petersburg, 1884), 106.

[64] George Perfecky (trans.), *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle,* Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies 16:2 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), 96.

[65] Ibid., 37–38.

ILLUMINATING LOGIC:

RAMON LLULL'S *ART* AS A BASE FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE[1]

Gaetano Longo 📥

> *About logic let's speak briefly*
> *Because we must speak about God.*[2]

Ramon Llull (c.1232–c.1316), also known as "Doctor Illuminatus," was born in Majorca, a crossroads of cultures where Jews, Muslims, and Christians had been living together for many years. In one of his most famous works, *Blanquerna* (1283), the first novel in Catalan literature, we find a passage in which the author tells us that a cardinal in Rome had heard of a Christian and a Jew arguing about their religions. Both the Christian and the Jew claim to possess the only possible truth, therefore each of them believes himself right and that the other is wrong. Llull's advice to them is to "go to the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem*,"[3] where they can find his logical system, the *Art*, based on a universal language and rigorous mathematical calculations by which one could acquire universal knowledge and settle disputes. In order to examine Llull's logic in detail, I provide an account of the *Art* in Section 2 of this paper. In Section 3, I look at Llull's understanding of the divine attributes, which is of central importance to understand God's essence. In Section 4, I explore Llull's theory of the correlatives and the triadic structure of the whole reality. Finally, in Section 5, I analyze relevant passages from Llull's *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men* from the point of view of its relation to the *Art*.

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[1] This article is based on Gaetano Longo, "Ramon Llull, Logician and Philosopher of Interreligious Dialogue," MA thesis (Central European University, 2018).

[2] "De la logica parlam tot breu / car a parler avem de Deu" is what Ramon Llull says in the Catalan version of his *Logica Algazelis*. Cit. in Umberto Eco, "The *Ars Magna* by Ramon Llull," *Contributions to Science* 12 (2016): 47–50, here 50.

[3] See Ramon Llull, *Llibre de Evast e Blanquerna*, ed. Salvador Galmés, 4 vols (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1935–1954), 157–158: "Altra natura a l'enteniment a entendre, ço és a saber, que hom aferm possible cosa ésser aquella cosa que la volentat vol que·l enteniment entena; cor si, ans que·l enteniment la entena, aferma impossibilitat ésser en aquella cosa, l'enteniment no serà aparellat com pusca entendre la possibilitat o impossibilitat qui serà intel·ligible en aquella cosa. […] e si tant és que per totes aquestes no pusca entendre, cové que hom recorra a la *Art breuyada d'atrobar veritat*." Cit. in Alexander Fidora, "Ramon Llull frente a la crítica actual al diálogo interreligioso: el arte luliana como propuesta para una «filosofía de las religiones»," *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 10 (2003): 227–243, here 233.

The Llullian *Art*

To understand the Llullian *Art* we must start from the following scheme we get from the *Ars brevis*:[4]

	Princ. Abs.	Princ. Rel.	Quaestiones	Subiecta	Virtutes	Vitia
B	Bonitas	Differentia	Utrum?	Deus	Iustitia	Avaritia
C	Magnitudo	Concordantia	Quid?	Angelus	Prudentia	Gula
D	Aeternitas	Contrarietas	De quo?	Coelum	Fortitudo	Luxuria
E	Potestas	Principium	Quare?	Homo	Temperantia	Superbia
F	Sapientia	Medium	Quantum?	Imaginatio	Fides	Acidia
G	Voluntas	Finis	Quale?	Sensitiva	Spes	Invidia
H	Virtus	Maioritas	Quando?	Vegetativa	Charitas	Ira
I	Veritas	Aequalitas	Ubi?	Elementativa	Patientia	Mendacium
K	Gloria	Minoritas	Quo modo? / Cum quo?	Instrumentativa	Pietas	Inconstantia

Here we see a list of six meanings, each of them with nine items, that correspond to the contents of the nine letters of the Llullian alphabet. The principles in the first column are the absolute principles or divine dignities (in the *Ars brevis*, Llull never uses the word "dignitas/dignitates" as in his previous works, but he talks about "principium/principia") that are unprovable.[5] Such principles, as we will see, are the divine attributes to which Llull referred throughout his life. For the moment,

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[4] As for the development of the *Art*, see Ernesto Priani, "Ramon Llull," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sp2017/entries/llull/), ch. 5 (The *Ars*): "Its development is divided into two great phases. The first one is called the Quaternary Phase, for it is organized based on the model of the four elements which form the base of the majority of the analogies used by Llull. The Quaternary Phase comprises two main texts: the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem*, written by Llull following the revelation of the *Art* at the Puig de Randa Mount in 1274, and the *Ars demonstrativa* in 1283, in addition to other texts that comment or explain the *Ars*. The second phase is known as Ternary Period, for it allows the structure of a trinity. It began with the criticism experienced in Paris with the *Ars inventiva veritatis* (1290), followed by the modification of the *Tabula generalis* (1293–1294), and it concludes with the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–1308) and its abbreviated version, which incidentally had the most comments and discussions during the Renaissance, the *Ars brevis* of 1308." See also Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1997): 53–72.

[5] As Alexander Fidora, "Ramon Llull frente a la crítica actual al diálogo interreligioso: el arte luliana como propuesta para una «filosofía de las religiones»," *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 10 (2003): 227–243 (here 235), suggests, both the term *dignitas* and *principium* go back to the Aristotelian tradition of the *Analytica Posteriora*, where Aristotle says that each science starts from *per se nota* principles that cannot be proven as such, at least not in the same science. See also Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory. The Quest for a Universal Language* (London: Continuum, 2006), 33: "the 'roots' or real foundations of things, the principles of the art, and the "divine dignities" appear, in Llullian terminology, to be absolutely interchangeable terms."

it suffices to say that they cannot be proven because they are the conditions of the possibility of being and knowing as *principia essendi* and *principia cognoscendi* of the world. While the absolute principles are indistinguishable in God, we have relative principles reflecting the differences in the world, and the relations among the created beings. The rules of the *Art* are ten general questions to which every possible question can be reduced.[6] The cosmos is subdivided into nine subjects, that is nine levels according to the degree of their participation in the divine dignities: God (the best, the greatest, that is the highest step of the ladder of beings); Angels, without a body because they are pure spirits; Heaven, with the celestial spheres; Man, as a rational, both spiritual and material being; beings able to have imagination, that is the capacity to reproduce what they have perceived; beings capable of perception; beings which have a vegetative soul (nutrition, growth, and reproduction); the degree of the four elements; the degree of things composed of the four elements. Since human beings are characterized by moral actions, we find in the *Ars* a set of Virtues and Vices.

The First Figure of the *Art*, with the letter A (representing the absolute unity of God) in the center, is formed by a circle of the nine absolute principles, showing their predictability and convertibility in God. Llull draws all possible combinations of the letters that can form propositions of the kind "Bonitas est magna," "Duratio est gloriosa," etc. Since the principles appear as names when they are subjects, and as adjectives when they are predicates, each line in Figure A can be read in two (opposite) directions, that is as "Bonitas est magna" or as "Magnitudo est bona" (this explains why we have 36 lines, but 72 propositions).

The Second Figure, with the letter T in the center, is a mnemonic device that shows us the fixed relationships between the relative principles and does not refer directly to combinatorics. It "is formed by three concentric circles connected by three triangles. […] In the edges of the triangles the terms of the second meaning of the alphabet are found, each one of them unfolded in three species. Thus, for example: the first triangle deals with difference, concordance, and contrariety (B, C, D)."[7]

In the Third and Fourth Figures the letters can refer to any of the six meanings presented in the scheme above. The Third Figure considers all possible binary combinations (36 couples of letters) inside each square which Llull calls a *camera*. When we have the combinations, we do what Llull calls *evacuatio tertiae figurae* (*Ars brevis* VI); that is, we assign one of the six possible meanings to each letter.

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[6] See Ramon Llull, *Ars brevis* IV: "Regulae huius Artis sunt decem quaestiones generales. Ad quas reducuntur omnes aliae quaestiones, quae fieri possunt."

[7] Priani, "Ramon Llull," ch. 5.2.6.

This "system allows questions such as 'if goodness were great' or 'what is great goodness?' The Third Figure allows, at least in theory, 432 propositions and 864 questions."[8]

The Fourth Figure, the most popular and influential, shows three concentric circles and is a representation of ternary combinations. Its mechanism is mobile, as each circle "must be rotated to form the different combinations,"[9] depending on the alignment of the letters. Still, in *Ars brevis* V, Llull introduces the so-called *Tabula generalis*, a table in which we find all the combinations from the Fourth Figure and the letter T has only a syntactic function (it changes the meaning of the letters found before or after it). "Nine elements in groups of three allow 84 possible combinations (of the kind BCD, BCE, CDE). If in the *Ars brevis* and elsewhere Llull speaks of 252 combinations, it is because we can assign to each triplet the three questions designated by the letters that appear in the triplet. Each triplet generates a column of 20 combinations (84 columns!) because Llull transforms the triplets into quadruples by inserting the letter T. When a sequence such as BCTC is obtained, the letters preceding T should be read as absolute principles, and those that follow it as relative principles. Hence BCTC will be read as: 'If B, the goodness, being C great, as it contains C in itself, then things are consistent.' With this system, it is possible to obtain 1680 combinations."[10]

The question is whether we must accept all combinations or not. Let us consider, for example, the question of whether the world is eternal (*Utrum mundus sit aeternus*). We can say in advance that for Llull the world cannot be eternal, otherwise we lapse into Averroes' heresy. Moreover, we do not find any direct reference to *mundus* in the above scheme, that is, no letter refers to the world. Therefore, we have to start from the reference to eternity, that is from the letter D. From the triangle of the Second Figure we know that D refers to contrariety between sensible and sensible, intellectual and sensible, and intellectual and intellectual. The triangle links D, B and C. Still, we find the question *utrum* in the *Quaestiones* corresponding to B. Therefore, we can answer our question starting from the letters B, C and D, that is from the first column in the *Tabula generalis*. Now, the first *camera* is BCDT. From it, we deduce that if the world were eternal (we already know that the absolute principles are convertible and goodness is so great that it is eternal), we should have infinite goodness (*aeternum bonum*), so that eternity should let it last forever, and there should be no evil in the world. But this

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[8] Eco, "The *Ars Magna* by Ramon Llull," 49.

[9] Priani, "Ramon Llull," ch. 5.6.3

[10] Eco, "The *Ars Magna*," 49–50.

is not what happens according to our experience: *Sed malum est in mundo, ut patet per experientiam. Concluditur ergo, quod mundus non est aeternus.*[11]

Llull says that we can give the same answer starting from several columns in the *Tabula generalis*,[12] and this is what he actually does in the *Ars generalis ultima* immediately after the quoted passage, but the point is that his demonstrations are not based on the logical form of what we find in the *camera* we are considering, but on our experience. In Llull we find a criticism of scholastic syllogism because of its "insufficiency […] to find new truths" and because "demonstration by syllogisms only works through second intentions, that is, it describes relationships within logical propositions and not according to objects in reality, which are conceptualized as first intentions."[13] Llull is for a logic of first intentions, concerned with how we understand and refer to objects, not to our concepts of objects.

For these reasons, it is important to stress the difference between Llull's logic and formal logic. Even if the structure of the *Art* can lead the readers of Llull to think that it is an anticipation of modern formal logic, it deals with things, not only with their form or with language.[14]

The Divine Attributes in Llull

As we already know from the First Figure of the *Art*, we find in God a set of divine dignities or attributes or absolute principles, that are characteristic of the divinity in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. For Llull, such attributes play a very important role because they are the common ground of the three monotheistic religions. Their relation to God, however, was a concern increasingly raised by theologians in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the problem regards what the relationship is between God's essence and his attributes. In other words, how can we reconcile God's absolute unity with the plurality of his attributes? Moreover, if we say that God's essence is absolutely simple, whereas the divine attributes are given only in human understanding and perception of the created world, then God's nature

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[11] See Ramon Llull, *Ars generalis ultima* (V.I.I.), ROL XIV.

[12] See Ramon Llull, *Ars generalis ultima* (V.I.): "VTRVM MVNDVS SIT AETERNVS? Solutio huius quaestionis patebit per primam columnam Tabulae. Et potest fieri per alias columnas, eo quia columnae sunt colligatae."

[13] Priani, "Ramon Llull," ch. 5.1.

[14] See Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 33.

remains something ineffable and every discussion about it will be characterized as aporetic.[15]

In Islamic theology, the so-called *kalām*, we find two schools: the Mu'tazilites and the Ash'arites. According to the Mu'tazilites, we cannot accept the presence of the divine attributes within God because it would endanger the transcendent unity of the divinity. Still, they thought that every kind of divine plurality implies a form of polytheism. According to al-Ghazali, who influenced the Ash'arites, we can accept a plurality of attributes in God (as attested also in the *Quran*), because they "are neither identical with, nor different from, God's essence but are 'rooted in' it."[16] Moreover, Sufi mysticism accepted a form of plurality in the *hadrāt*, that is, the "presences of God, as a form of self-manifestation of the divine in the world."[17]

In Jewish theology, Moses Maimonides claimed the impossibility of ascribing several attributes to God without violating his absolute simplicity. However, we could accept attributes of action in God, since they do not endanger his unity: "For Maimonides God's actions are not part of God's nature, but merely follow from it."[18] Still, when we talk about God, we can do it only *per viam negationis* by affirming what He is not instead of what He is. Moreover, we find also in the Kabbalah, the mystical current of Judaism, the possibility of ascribing plurality to God in term of the divine emanations, the so-called *sefirōt*.[19]

According to Llull, there are different attributes in God, even if they do not call into question his unity. Indeed, the attributes of God are essential and perfect, whereas the attributes of man are accidental and imperfect. The divine attributes are convertible among themselves (*conversio* is proper only to God as distinct from the rest of the creation) and are one in God's essence; they are identical with this essence.[20] Moreover, they are essentially active from eternity. This means that God

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[15] See Annemarie C. Mayer, "Llull and the divine attributes in 13th-century context," *Anuario filosófico* 49/1 (2016): 139–154 (here 148–149).

[16] Annemarie C. Mayer, "The Future of Interreligious Dialogue in the Light of Ramon Llull's Contribution to the Encounter of Religions," in *Past, Present, and Future of Theologies of Interreligious Dialogue*, eds. Terence Mirrigan and John Friday (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 47–63 (here 56).

[17] Mayer, "The Future of Interreligious Dialogue," 56.

[18] Mayer, "Llull and the divine attributes," 152.

[19] Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, 69. The difference is stressed between the *Art* (which is "a rhetorical instrument") and the Kabbalah (in which "the combination of the letters of the Torah had created the universe rather than merely reflected it.").

[20] Llull introduced a new kind of demonstration: the *demonstratio per aequiparantiam*, the only one we can resort to in dealing with God. In this case, we do not go from the cause to the effect (*propter quid*), or from the effect to the cause (*quia*), but from an essential condition of the cause to another

and his attributes do not depend on the creation of the world, just as the three persons in the Trinity are eternally one and three before the incarnation.[21]

Llull adopts a Trinitarian exemplarism based on the similarity between real things and their exemplars in God's mind. However, this similarity is based not only on the divine attributes (that are principles of being), but also on the triadic structure of these attributes, as we will see in the next section.

The Theory of Correlatives

The conversion of the dignities or divine attributes is possible because of the metaphysical and linguistic structure adopted by Llull: the theory of the correlatives. The *correlativa* allow us to understand the dynamism of beings not according to the Aristotelian couple potentiality/actuality, but according to a triadic structure: *bonum*, the good, is divided into *bonificativum* or *bonificans* which express the active nature of the concept (what produces the good); *bonificabile* or *bonificatum* which express the passive nature of the concept (what becomes good); and *bonificare*, the connective activity between the active and passive natures, which represent the possibility of good to be in relation with the other dignities. In other words, according to the theory of the correlatives, a *principium* needs both *principiatum* and *principiare*, that is the activity, the passivity, and the connectivity between them.

Such correlatives give the "artistic" process its typical form, according to which we can have a rational explanation of the Trinity. "Llull identifies the divine correlatives in their intrinsic action through the Trinity, namely the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, while their extrinsic action, through the Dignities, will result in creation."[22]

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essential condition of it (*per aequiparantiam*). This demonstration is based on Llull's explanation of being from the principles and their correlative structure. Each being is composed of general principles, the divine dignities. The demonstration consists of a process that gives a conclusion relying either on the constitutive elements of being, that is universal principles, or on the correlative structure of the world. For reasons of space I cannot discuss this question in detail. On this subject, see for example Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull. A User's Guide* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 66.

[21] That allows Llull to distinguish the intrinsic activity of a divine attribute, for example goodness, from its extrinsic activity as goodness perceptible in the world. For if both activities were one and the same, God's goodness should produce infinite goodness and there would be no evil. See Mayer, "The Future of Interreligious Dialogue," 57.

[22] Priani, "Ramon Llull," ch. 3.3.

In the *Ars brevis*, we find an interesting definition of man as a *manifying animal*.[23] Man has a double nature because he is composed of soul and body. Indeed, he can have knowledge through the senses of his body, but he can go up and down the ladder of being. When he goes up, he understands the world through the principles. When he goes down, he understands the principles through the world.

In the definition of man, Llull refers to his theory of the correlatives: *Homo est animal homificans* or *Homo est ens, cui proprie competit homificare*, both definitions being better than *Homo est animal rationale mortale*.

"The reason for this is that manification is something only proper to man, whereas rationality and mortality are proper to many things."[24]

Man is the most important *subiectum* in the hierarchy of being. Indeed, even if angels are by their nature superior to human beings, they are actually less perfect because they do not possess two human faculties: they are not consanguineous of Jesus Christ and cannot reproduce.[25] As for Llull's definition of man, we see how *homificare* and *homificans* are correlated, *homificare* being the connectivity between the active *homificans* and a passive – here not explicitly quoted – *homificatum*. In particular, the term *homificans* represents the three main activities of the human beings, namely "knowing, remembering, and loving, which correspond to the three superior faculties of the soul: understanding, memory, and will."[26]

The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men and the *Art*

In the *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*,[27] Llull's most important apologetic work, three wise men start presenting their own religions after they have convinced their

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[23] Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232–1316)* (henceforth: *SW*), vol. I, 608–609 (my italics), *Ars brevis* (IX.4); Alois Madre, ed., *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* (henceforth: ROL), vol. XII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975): "Homo est animal homificans."

[24] *SW* I, 628, *Ars brevis* (XI.2), ROL XII: "Ratio huius est, quia homificatio soli homini competit, rationabilitas autem et mortalitas multis."

[25] See *Ars compendiosa Dei* (dist. XXVIII,), ROL XIII: "Homo est consanguineus Domini nostri Iesu Christi per naturam humanam, et multiplicat suam speciem; angelus uero non. Et sic per tales instantias simpliciter angelus non est super hominem."

[26] Priani, "Ramon Llull," ch. 4.

[27] Ramon Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. Antoni Bonner (Palma de Mallorca: Patronat Ramón Llull, 2001), English translation in *SW* I: 91–304. On this work, see Annemarie C. Mayer, "Ramon Llull and the Indispensable Dialogue," *Quaderns de la Mediterrània* 14 (2010): 53–59.

agnostic[28] interlocutor (the Gentile) of the existence of God and the resurrection of the body, according to a method based on five trees and ten conditions (which corresponds to the Lullian *Art*).[29] The first task of the wise men is to demonstrate, according to this method, that there is one God and the resurrection of the body. Even if we do not know who is giving the proof as they are actually talking about the common ground for the three monotheistic religions,[30] they can prove:

> to the Gentile, by the flowers of the trees, God's existence and the existence in Him of goodness, greatness, eternity, power, wisdom, love, perfection, and [to make] the Resurrection evident to him.[31]

After that, the Gentile realizes that the three wise men belong to different religions and asks which religion is better, that is, which of them is true. Then, the wise men decide to organize a debate in front of the Gentile. After they have agreed on the method to use – the method Lady Intelligence taught them – one of them proposes that:

> whoever can, according to his belief, make the articles in which he believes best accord with the flowers and with the conditions of the trees, will reveal and demonstrate that his belief is better than the others.[32]

Before analyzing this point, however, we have to consider the means by which the wise men prove God's existence. In the first book of the *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, there are sixteen proofs,[33] the first six of which are of a metaphysical nature: they point to the truth of God on the basis of the uncreated virtues we find on the leaves of the first tree. The other ten proofs are divided as follows: the first three are related to the second tree on the basis of the necessary concordance

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[28] The gentile is actually agnostic rather than an atheist. See Walter Artus, "Actitud y respuestas de Lulio al ateismo," *Estudios Lulianos* 30 (1998): 31–41 (here 33): "Más que un ateo muy hostil, el gentil parece ser un agóstico o una persona sin conciencia alguna de la existencia de un ser divino, por la simple razón de que desde su niñez nunca ni siquiera había oído hablar de una divinidad."

[29] See Bonner in *Doctor illuminatus*, ed. A. Bonner (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 78: "The flowers of the trees are of course a pleasantly disguised version of the binary combinations – the cambres or 'compartments' of this stage of the *Art*."

[30] See, for example, the following passage, *SW* I 127: "When the wise man had proved that God exists, that He has in Him the flowers of the first tree, and that the Resurrection must also exist, then the other wise man began to prove these same things by the second tree, and he chose some of its flowers to prove those same things the first wise man had proved by means of the first tree."

[31] *SW* I, 146.

[32] *SW* I, 149.

[33] Here I follow Artus, "Actitud y respuestas de Lulio al ateismo," 36.

among the uncreated virtues; two are related to the third tree on the basis of the opposition between the uncreated virtues and the capital vices; the next two are related to the fourth tree on the basis of the concordance among the created virtues; the last three are related to the fifth tree on the basis of the opposition between the created virtues and the capital vices.

In what follows we will take into account the first metaphysical proof of God's existence, and the argument for the resurrection and the Trinity in the *Book of the Gentile*. However, since the *Art* in this work appears in a disguised form, it is necessary to stress the importance of the uncreated virtues. They are analogous to the "transcendental perfections"[34] we find in every being in an analogic way, and to the absolute principles we talked about in the first section (in the *Book of the Gentile* the virtues are seven instead of nine for combinatory reasons). As we can see, Llull uses a different terminology in different works and periods of his life, but there is a deep consistency in his way of thinking.[35]

The first proof is based on the first flower containing the binary combination of goodness and greatness (the flowers correspond to the *camerae* or "compartments" of the *Art*).

> It is clear to the human understanding that good and greatness accord; for the greater the good, the more it accords with essence, or with virtue, or with both together. And evil and smallness, which are contrary to good and greatness, accord with nonbeing; for the greater the evil, the more it accords with lesser than with greater being. And if this were not the case, and the contrary were true, it would follow that everybody would naturally prefer nonbeing to being, and evil to good; and they would prefer lesser to greater, and lesser being to greater being. But this is not true, as reason demonstrates to the human understanding, and as bodily vision shows us in the representation of visible things.[36]

As we see in this passage, the basis of the proof is the principle of the goodness and greatness of being, and the evidence for the human understanding of the concordance between perfection and being on the one hand, and imperfection

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[34] See Artus, "Actitud y respuestas de Lulio al ateismo," 36 (Artus talks of "perfecciones trascendentales").

[35] See Amador Vega, *Ramon Llull and the Secret of Life*, transl. by James W. Heisig (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2002), 74–75.

[36] *SW* I, 119.

and nonbeing on the other. This is the principle of convenience,[37] implicit in the *reductio ad absurdum* and the *demonstratio per aequiparantiam*[38] which are the two forms of demonstration Llull uses in the proofs of God's existence. The principle of convenience allows us to reject, by means of a *reductio ad absurdum*, a non-Trinitarian monotheism. This principle should not be confused with concordance because it is the transcendental condition of concordance between things that accord and opposition between things that differ.

The proof continues as follows:

> "Sir," said the wise man to the Gentile, "you see that all the good which exists in plants, living things, and all other things of this world is limited and finite. Now, if God were naughty, it would follow that no good would be in accord with infinite being, and that all existing good would be in accord with finite and limited being, and infinite being and nonbeing would be in accord with one another. Since, however, finite good accords with lesser being and infinite good with greater being (because infinity and greatness are in accord, as are finiteness and smallness); therefore it is revealed and demonstrated that if finite goodness, which is lesser and in accord with nonbeing, is in being, how much more fitting, without any comparison, that there should exist an infinite good and that it be in being. And this good is, my dear friend, our Lord God, who is the sovereign good of all goodness, without whose being there would follow all the above-mentioned inconsistencies.[39]

As Bonner argues, "This is the classic proof of the existence of God by means of the degrees of perfection or of being, with a long history from Plato to Aquinas, and often used by Llull."[40] Indeed, from the equivalence of goodness, greatness, and perfection, Llull deduces the empirical existence of all things in our world which have a lesser degree of perfection. From the concordance between infinity and greatness and finiteness and smallness, and from the fact that finite goodness is in being, it follows that there must be an infinite good: God. This proof is based on the equivalence of the uncreated virtues in God and on the impossibility to accept the contrary of what the wise man is saying.

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[37] See Francisco Canals Vidal, "El principio de conveniencia en el núcleo de la metafísica de Ramón Llull," *Estudios Lulianos* 22 (1978): 199–207.

[38] See Note 20.

[39] *SW* I, 119–120.

[40] *SW* I, 120 (Note 3).

In a similar way, Llull shows the necessity of resurrection on the basis of the flower containing goodness and eternity:

> The goodness of God is eternal, and the eternity of God is the goodness of God. Now, since eternity is much greater good than something that is not eternal, if God has created man's body to be everlasting, there is even greater goodness in the purpose (that is to say, the reason for which God created the human body) than would exist if the body had an end (that is to say, nonbeing), after which it did not exist. This being the case, if man's body rises up again and lasts forever after the Resurrection, God's goodness and eternity will be exhibited in greater nobility and in greater results. And since, according to the conditions of the trees, one should attribute greater nobility to God, therefore it necessarily follows, according to divine, eternal influence, that through that influence there come grace and blessing to the human body, by which it may achieve resurrection and be everlasting to the end of time.[41]

As we see, Llull reaffirms that the divine dignities comprise one essence in God and convert among themselves, whereas in the human beings this is not the case. However, the resurrection of human bodies gives God even greater nobility than would be the case if there were no resurrection. From the next flower (showing greatness and power), we know that if God did not resuscitate human beings, "He would not demonstrate His power to be greater than that of nature."[42] For this would be a limitation of God's perfection, which is contrary to the uncreated virtues. Finally, from the next flower (eternity and wisdom), we know that God must "be eternally wise in matters of justice," and:

> reward or punish that thing which is man; which thing would not be man if it had anything less than a human body, and justice would not be in accord with the flowers of this tree, and the flowers would be contrary to one another.[43]

As for the Trinity, the Christian wise man introduces it in the third book where he resorts once again to the demonstration by equivalence in relation to the divine attributes. Still, as we already know from the section about the theory of the correlatives, every action has a triadic structure: there is an active element, a

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[41] *SW* I, 124.

[42] *SW* I, 125.

[43] SW I, 125–126.

passive element, and their connection. This is also true of the divine attributes. In order to be perfect, they need this triadic structure, which is exactly what we find in God. For Llull, God is the active element, the Son is the passive element, and the Holy Spirit is their connection. As we see, the intrinsic activity of the divine attributes or uncreated virtues or generally a form of plurality is what allows Llull to find a personal alterity within God, that is the mystery of the Trinity, on which Llull's logic is modelled.[44]

In conclusion, Llull thinks that if we want to evaluate the other religions, we have to rely not only on Christian presuppositions, but also on common logical assumptions. However, for him, general logic coincides with the Christian doctrine. As for the divine attributes,[45] the resurrection, the Trinity, and the general structure of reality, we can affirm that, for Llull, Christianity is the religion which makes its articles of faith "best accord with the flowers and the ten conditions of the trees."[46]

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[44] As for Llull's "Augustinian exemplarist geometry of the Trinity," see Frances A. Yates, "The *Art* of Ramon Llull: An Approach to It through Llull's Theory of the Elements," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954): 115–173 (here 162).

[45] For example, Llull regards the Islamic concept of the divine attributes as inadequate because the Saracens do not consider the intrinsic activity of God's essence as in the Trinity. See Llull, *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, in "Projet de Raymonde Lulle De acquisitione Terrae Sanctae. Introduction et edition critique du texte," ed. Eugène Kamar, *Studia Orientalia Cristiana Collectanea* 6 (1961): 103–131, 117: "Sarraceni sunt aliqui in philosophia bene literati et sunt homines bene rationales, sed de Essentia Dei et dignitatibus suis parum sciunt." Cit. in Mayer, "The Future of Interreligious Dialogue," 47–63, here 58.

[46] See Ramon Llull, *Libre d'Amic e Amat*: "Digues, foll! ¿En què has conoxença que la fe cathòlica sia vera, e la creença dels jueus e dels serrayns sien en falsetat e error? – Respòs: En les. x. condicions del *Libre del gentil e dels tres savis*." (Tell us, fool, how do you know that the Catholic faith is true and the beliefs of the Jews and Saracens are in falsehood and error? He answered: From the ten conditions of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men* [my translation].) Cit. in A. Bonner, "La situación del *Libre del gentil* dentro de la enseñanza luliana de Miramar," *Studia Lulliana* 22 (1978): 49–55, here 53.

RECONSIDERING THE USE OF AMBULATORIES IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CENTRAL EUROPEAN CATHEDRALS

Anna Kinde 📥

Introduction

Cathedrals are the most complex ecclesiastical buildings of medieval Christianity, and cathedral spaces lend themselves to a vast number of possible uses. This applies to the subject of this article, the ambulatory, as well. The ambulatory in the context of medieval Christian architecture refers to a hallway around the main apse of medieval churches. It may be either semicircular, polygonal or rectangular, conforming to the shape of the apse, and may have chapels around it. Ambulatories evidently could serve many different purposes. The present work will speculate on the possible historical, prestige-related, liturgical, architectural and alternative reasons why the ambulatories might have been the choice of the builders.[1] The problem will be approached mainly from an art historical perspective, comparing the ground plans and, when possible, decorations and architectural solutions of the churches, while also considering the written and visual sources for the building history.

In the fourteenth century, ambulatories with or without radiating chapels appeared in six Central European Cathedrals: Kraków, Gniezno and Poznań in the Polish Kingdom, Eger and Várad in the Hungarian Kingdom and in Prague in the Kingdom of Bohemia (at that time part of the Holy Roman Empire). This article argues that cathedral ambulatories could and did fulfill multiple roles. In the case of Kraków and Prague, the two most important centers, royal prestige, honoring the patron saint, liturgical considerations and creating a place for high-profile burials were all reasons that probably contributed to the choice to construct one. In all the cathedrals, ambulatories provided an ideal solution for wealthy patrons and bishops who wished to be buried close to the main altar. In addition, in the archcathedral of Gniezno and the cathedral of Várad, the development of the cults of Saints Adalbert and Ladislaus probably influenced the respective architecture.[2]

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[1] Anna Kinde, "Ambulatories in Fourteenth-Century Central European Cathedrals." MA Thesis, Central European University, 2018.

[2] Regarding Kraków, I have decided not to use the anglicized form because the original name is well known and widely used in the literature. The situation is similar in the case of Várad, present-day Oradea, Romania. That city's currently used names include Nagyvárad in Hungarian and Grosswardein in German. However, in the Hungarian literature and in English language publications, Várad is used when referring to the medieval city.

Fourteenth-century building histories are heavily disputed and sometimes contradictory interpretations emerge. Despite these problems, it is apparent that there was a cathedral-reconstruction wave in Central Europe at important bishopric and archbishopric seats where the builders chose to expand the eastern side of the churches. The choir or eastern end of churches, where the main liturgy took place, could be built several ways in the Late Middle Ages. Besides the polygonal apse, ambulatory and radiating chapel types, there was another type with an elongated apse, either polygonal or rectangular, with smaller side apses, and also the hall-church type, where the aisles were as tall as the church and the side apses and the main apse ended at the same place.[3]

An outline of a chronology of the fourteenth-century choir constructions would look like this: it may have started in 1293–1296 at Gniezno, with a polygonal apse and ambulatory, although this construction seems to have been abandoned early on. An attempt under Wenceslas II at Kraków came next (1295–1305), with a possible polygonal apse, ambulatory and radiating chapels. This did not proceed much beyond laying the foundations, then was followed by laying new foundations by Bishop Nanker (1320–1326), and finally the present cathedral was built under Bishop Grot (1327–1364). Both of these featured rectangular apses with ambulatories. The next constructions were probably Gniezno (1342–1376, though possibly started a few years earlier), continuing the previous attempt. At the middle of the century, featuring a polygonal apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels, Várad (1342–1402) and Prague (1344–1385) were built, as well as Eger Cathedral's new choir, probably started after bishop Nicholas of Dörögd came to power in 1330 and still not finished by the time of his death in 1361. In Poznań, the choir constructions were started in 1380 and the polygonal apse and ambulatory probably finished by 1399, with the three additional chapels probably added between 1403 and 1412.

The Cult of Saints

The classic function that ambulatories are associated with is pilgrimage, and it is imagined that the pilgrims walked to the tomb of the patron saint in the eastern

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[3] For the eastern part of the churches, in this article the word *choir* will be used. Strictly speaking, the choir in a medieval church only refers to the place where the clergy and church choir sit during mass. Despite this, it is one of the most widely used terms in Central European academic literature for denoting the whole eastern end of churches. Other terms like *sanctuary*, *chancel, presbytery* or *chevet* all struggle with the same kind of ambiguity.

end in the ambulatory.[4] It seems that there was a competition among pilgrimage sites regarding who could provide the richest experience for the pilgrims and incorporate more and more sanctuaries. The ambulatories could serve well in this ambition by making more chapels accessible and streamlining the ambulatory experience.[5]

The image of the church with corresponding ambulatory was so widespread by this time that any lost pilgrim could easily recognize the shape of the building.[6] There are more examples for this "advertising" value of the apse with an ambulatory. [7] An important case to consider is that of Clairvaux itself, where the enlargement of the choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels took place shortly after Bernard's death, at the same time his vitas were written. These were responses to both the concept of the saint's dignity and the need of attracting and retaining pilgrims. [8]

In the case of Kraków and Prague, the royal centers, it has previously been suggested that an arrangement with an ambulatory could benefit the cult of the local patron saints. In Kraków, there had been a continuous struggle to raise its ecclesiastical status and compete with the archdiocese in Gniezno, while in Prague, the newly built archcathedral needed to match the other prominent churches of the Holy Roman Empire.

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[4] The assumption that the ambulatory behind the main apse was intended for visitors, or even accessible to them, is not a self-evident one. See Paula Gerson, "Art and Pilgrimage: Mapping the Way," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (London: Blackwell, 2006), 603–604. Pierre Martin argues that there is no material evidence for this theory, proposing instead that the ambulatory was needed for the structural support of the apse, and it provided better lighting and made use of the spreading and newly invented practice of vaulting. See Pierre Martin, *Les Premiers Chevets à Déambulatoire et Chapelles Rayonnantes de La Loire Moyenne (Xe–XIe Siècles): Saint-Aignan d'orléans, Saint-Martin de Tours, Notre Dame de Mehun-Sur-Yèvre, La Madeleine de Châteaudun* (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2010).

[5] Emma Wells, "Making 'Sense' of the Pilgrimage Experience of the Medieval Church," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3, no. 2 (January 1, 2011): 122–146.

[6] Claude Andrault-Schmitt, "Édifier: les enjeux de la création architecturale dans les stratégies de promotion de la sainteté (XIe–XIIIe siècle)," in *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident*, ed. Edina Bozóky, Hagiologia 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 325.

[7] See the example of Saint-Pierre Le Dorat (c. 1130) in the fifth chapter of the dissertation of Eric Sparhubert, "Les commandes artistiques des chapitres de chanoines séculiers et leurs enjeux : édifier et célébrer à Saint-Junien (XIe–XIIIe siècles)" (Université de Poitiers, 2008), http://www.theses.fr/2008POIT5002.

[8] Andrault-Schmitt, "Les enjeux de la création architectural," 329–337.

In 1254, the body of St. Stanislaus was placed in the center of Kraków cathedral.[9] The canonization of St. Stanislaus in 1253 and the flourishing of his cult would have provided a good reason for expanding the cathedral.[10] This did not happen, probably for political reasons. In 1295, Bishop Jan Muskata took office and set out to demolish the cathedral's Romanesque choir and begin laying the foundations for his new one.[11] The 1295–1305 construction, suspected to have had the form of an ambulatory and radiating chapels instead of focusing on St. Stanislaus, drew on the patronage of St. Wenceslaus, the ancestor of the Přemysl dynasty, who had ties to both the Czech and the Polish people and would become the patron saint of the new Polish-Czech Kingdom of Wenceslaus II. The 1320 construction, however, focused on St. Stanislaus, as the church was planned around his tomb, situated *in medio ecclesie*, and he became the patron saint of the Piasts and the renewed Polish Kingdom, especially after the coronation of Władysław the Short at his tomb.[12]

Paul Crossley has demonstrated that the arrangement at Prague Cathedral was influenced by Kraków, especially the placement of the shrine of St. Stanislaus in the middle of the church and connecting the cathedral to the royal palace through the south transept. Not only this, but the whole concept of the royal cathedral as mausoleum, coronation church and place of veneration for the national saint first appeared in Central Europe in Kraków.[13] Petr Uličný has analyzed the choirs of Prague's St. Vitus in detail, reconstructing the complicated liturgical setting of the cathedral. It seems that the relics of saints played an important part of the concept, as well as in the overall liturgical program of Charles IV. The relics of St. Wenceslas were given a prominent place in the new chapel near the south transept in a lavish tomb. Adalbert's more modest tomb was situated in the west, St. Sigismund on the north side and the tomb of Saint Vitus was located at the apse in the east. The patron saint's tomb protruded into the ambulatory (*Fig. 1.*), where lay people could

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[9] Tomasz Węcławowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu: w rocznicę konsekracji 1364–2014* [Royal Cathedral Church on Wawel Hill in Krakow: jubilee of the consecration 1364–2014] (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, 2014), 142.

[10] Tomasz Węcławowicz, "The Bohemian King, the Polish Bishop, and Their Church: Wenceslas II's Cathedral in Kraków (1295–1305)," in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, eds. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 178.

[11] Węcławowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 163–164.

[12] Węcławowicz, 207–208.

[13] Paul Crossley, "'Bohemia Sacra' and 'Polonia Sacra:' Liturgy and History in Prague and Cracow Cathedrals," *Folia Historiae Artium* (2002): 9.
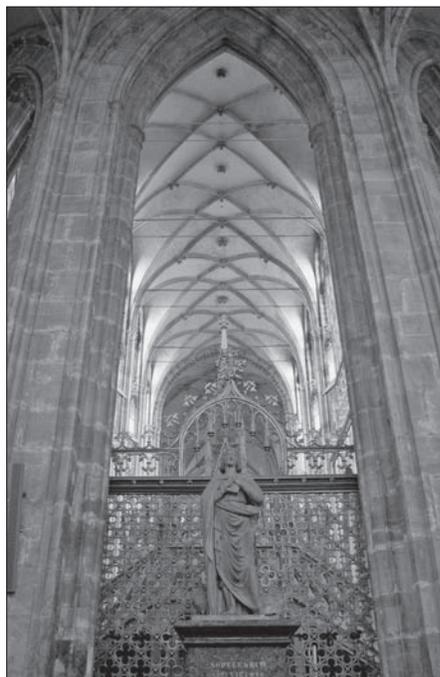
Fig. 1. St. Vitus Cathedral, Prague. The choir from the ambulatory with the tomb of St. Vitus. Photo: Anna Kinde

have direct contact with him. Most people would have walked around here, as suggested by a source from 1412. [14]

Although the cathedrals of Kraków and Prague have been thoroughly analyzed in this respect, much less data is available from the other four cathedrals, and thus they have evaded thorough evaluation. The places where the cult of a saint would have influenced the appearance of a cathedral are probably the cathedrals of Gniezno and Várad. In the thirteenth century, Archbishop Jakub Świnka (1218–1314) aimed at increasing the role of Gniezno by developing the cult of Saint Adalbert as the patron of Poland, and, according to Tomasz Janiak, started rebuilding the choir in 1293.[15] The fact that a polygonal apse with an ambulatory (*Fig. 2.*) was chosen as a fitting form for the new eastern end could point to the associations with pilgrimage sites.

In the case of Várad, the new form seems even more fitting, as King Ladislaus I, the knight-saint was buried there. His cult was also undergoing development, mostly by the Angevin kings Charles I and his son, Louis I, to cement their political status.[16] To emphasize the dynasty's sanctity, when Queen Beatrix was buried in the cathedral in 1319, King Charles I founded an altar dedicated to an Anjou saint, Louis of Toulouse (1274–1297), who

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[14] Petr Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague: A Marriage of Liturgy, Coronation, Royal Necropolis and Piety," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168, no. 1 (November 1, 2015): 186–233, https://doi.org/10.1179/0068128815Z.00000000050.

[15] Tomasz Janiak, "Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie w świetle danych archeologicznych" [The beginning of the Gothic conversion of the chancel in the cathedral in Gniezno based on archaeological findings], *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura* R. 108, z. 7-A (2011): 401.

[16] For the role of the cult of Saint Ladislaus and other dynastic saints in the representation of the Angevin Kings of Hungary see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 295–367.

Fig. 2. The eastern part of Gniezno Cathedral. Photo: Anna Kinde

was canonized in 1317. St. Ladislaus also prominently featured in Bishop Andrew's sigil, where he can be seen in a *maiestas* position reserved for kings, towering over the small kneeling figure of Bishop Andrew.[17] The cult also flourished under Sigismund of Luxemburg.[18]

Prestige – Bishops and the "Royal Cathedral"

Considering everything related above, it is evident that the design of the cathedrals was a part of royal or episcopal presentation. As bishops often came from influential families, oversaw huge properties and were among the most powerful lords of the kingdom, they had the necessary income and power to shape their public image and leave a mark in their diocese.

The modification of the eastern end of a cathedral was troublesome in the sense that it disturbed liturgical activity much more than construction at the

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[17] Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum: Várad vára.* [Varadinum: castle of Várad], vol. 1, Művészettörténeti Füzetek 13 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 17–18.

[18] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 390.

Fig. 3. The choir of St. Vitus Cathedral from the East. Photo: Anna Kinde

western end. In the fourteenth century, the dominant type of church modification that can be much more directly linked to prestige seems to be that of the western end, the main façade and the main gate.[19] The only other place where we know the eastern end was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, besides Eger and Várad, is Veszprém where a new, elongated polygonal apse was built around 1380–1400.

Another issue that must be explored is the idea of the "royal cathedral" or *Königskirche* as formulated by Hans Sedlmayr in 1950, and whether it applies to the fourteenth century developments in Central Europe. Sedlmayr claims that wherever a cathedral was built outside of France but with the High Gothic form of polygonal apse, ambulatory and radiating chapels, that indicates that it is related to either the royal family or another person closely related to the court.[20]

The concept of the royal cathedral has been discussed in relation with the design choice for most of the cathedrals discussed above. One of the most obvious examples, Prague Cathedral (*Fig. 3.*), has also been interpreted as the royal, or rather imperial church of Charles IV.[21] In Kraków, the association has been suggested by

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[19] Bishop Nicholas of Dörögd worked on the western side at Eger, Andrew of Bátor at Várad, Andrew of Szécs (1320–1356) at Gyulafehérvár, Archbishop Csanád of Telegd (1330–1349) at Esztergom and Paul of Horvát (1379–1386) at Zagreb. Bishop John of Hédervár (1386–1415) completely rebuilt the cathedral at Győr, but nothing remains of that part today.

[20] "Wherever the Northern French Gothic cathedral outside France appears, it is closely related to the kingship of the single European kingdoms. Not every royal church in Europe since about 1200 is a 'cathedral', but every cathedral outside France following the model of the French royal cathedrals is a royal church, or more precisely a royal bishop church. This sentence sets the historical rule. Exceptions are possible, but each time they require a special justification, while the sentence itself can generally be justified…" (translated from German by Anna Kinde). From: Hans Sedlmayr, "Die Kathedrale als europäische Königskirche," in his *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1950), 467.

[21] Milena Bartlová, "The Choir Triforium of the Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond," in *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe,*

Tomasz Węcławowicz.[22] If the choir of Jan Muskata would have been built in Kraków, it would have been the first High Gothic ambulatory and radiating chapels structure in Poland.[23] Regarding Gniezno, Zygmunt Świechowski argued for the reconstruction with polygonal radiating chapels, which expressed the ideological aspirations of the Gniezno milieu, as an answer to the fact that coronations were held in Krakow in the first half of the fourteenth century.[24] Szczęsny Skibiński proposed a different theory, a polygonal ambulatory without radiating chapels

Fig. 4. The eastern part of Poznań Cathedral.
Photo: Anna Kinde

as an answer to the rectangular choirs of the cathedrals of Wrocław and Kraków. This was supposed to emphasize that in the religious hierarchy, the archbishopric of Gniezno stood above the two dioceses. The Gniezno cathedral would have achieved this without directly invoking the French royal cathedral type.[25] Of course, if we accept Tomasz Janiak's theory instead, and propose that the construction started and the form was chosen at the end of the thirteenth century, the construction can be tied instead to Jakub Świnka, and through him to Przemysł II.

According to Szczęsny Skibiński, in Poznań the new choir (*Fig. 4.,* although heavily rebuilt) and the sarcophagus of Boleslaw Chrobry indicate that the intention was to build a new royal cathedral like Krakow and Gniezno. The choir, especially

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The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions (Leeds: British Archeological Association, 2009), 81.

[22] Węcławowicz, "The Bohemian King, the Polish Bishop, and Their Church," 182, and later in Węcławowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 169.

[23] Jiří Kuthan, *Počátky a Rozmach Gotické Architektury v Čechách* [The origins and expansion of Gothic architecture in Bohemia] (Prague: Academie, 1983), 201.

[24] Zygmunt Świechowski, "Gotycka katedra gnieźnieńska na tle współczesnej architektury europejskiej" [The Gothic cathedral of Gniezno in the background of European architecture], in *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, ed. Aleksandra Świechowska (Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin, 1970), 62.

[25] Szczęsny Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie* [Polish Gothic cathedrals] (Poznań: Gaudentinum, 1996), 115.

the triforium level of Poznań was inspired by the choir of Prague cathedral, but that could only be achieved in brick construction by a Pomeranian architect. [26]

The associations of the *Königskirche*, however, seem to wane as we shift toward Hungary. In the case of Várad, it seems that Bishop Andrew's ties with the royal court were most active between 1330–1335, when it is presumed that the modernization of the western side took place. If we believe the written sources, the eastern side was started in 1342, the year in which Charles I died and his son, Louis, ascended the throne. In the Hungarian Kingdom, there already was a royal basilica, although it was not a cathedral: the church of Székesfehérvár, where the coronations were held and where most of the kings since Stephen I were buried. Charles I had decided by 1327 that he wanted to be buried there, and started revaulting the church, which was probably still not completed by 1342. The idea that Várad would become a royal church or that Andrew of Bátor would want to appeal to the royalty by creating this association does not seem probable. The memory of St. Ladislaus would have been more than enough to guarantee its prestige. In the case of Eger, the association of *Königskirche* seems even less likely. Although Nicholas of Dörögd was close to the royal family before almost becoming the archbishop of Esztergom, after the fiasco of 1330, the relationship seems rather neutral.[27]

It appears that the *Königsbischofskirche* or *Königskirche* is an idea that cannot be applied to the abovementioned cathedrals not located in royal castles. The two churches that (in the case of Várad, presumably) seem inspired by French cathedrals do not have convincing royal connections, while in Gniezno and Poznań, we only see a reduction of this form, and the political motives are not much stronger than in the Hungarian examples. In more centralized kingdoms like Poland and Hungary, the bishops under whom the new choirs were constructed were in contact with the royal court anyway, since they were learned men and had to participate in their respective kingdoms' politics. Choosing this form outside of royal centers seems to have no royalty-related political meaning in Central Europe in the fourteenth century.

Instead, it is possible that the form might have played a part in religious politics. In the Hungarian context, especially in the case of Eger, it seems possible that Bishop Nicholas, having been denied the seat of the archbishopric of Esztergom,

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[26] Szczęsny Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska* [The cathedral of Poznań] (Poznan: Patria Polonorum, Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 2001), 148; Skibiński, 69–70.

[27] László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320–1380)" [Elisabeth Piast and her court (1320–1380)] (PhD dissertation (Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2007), 118–126, http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/szende/diss.pdf.

chose the form of the archcathedral found in the other archdiocese, Kalocsa. Várad was a suffragan of Kalocsa, so for them, it would make sense to adopt this form. In Poland, Poznań was the place of royal burials and the de facto secular center of the kingdom, while Gniezno was the place where kings were crowned. Both lost some prestige after these functions were moved to Kraków. If the ambulatory was seen as prestigious, it could mean that the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno were trying to win back some of their prestige this way.

Burials

The eastern ends of churches, consisting of an apse, ambulatory and adjacent chapels, have strong associations with funerary practices. This was demonstrated especially in the Cistercian tradition and in the cases where the patron saint's body or their relics were present. Before the fourteenth century in the Cistercian monasteries, it was the monks who were interred in the churches, especially at the eastern ends. In the fourteenth century, patrons were increasingly allowed to be buried in the eastern parts of the churches, a part which was closed off to laity burials previously.[28]

There is evidence that, for example, in the mendicant churches, the funerary practices changed to incorporate wealthy families. Their donations would last for a long time, providing a steady source of income for the monastery. By the end of the thirteenth century, tombs and floor slabs in the interior were important when planning the architectural spaces.[29] This aspect could also be important in the case of cathedrals, where the construction works required an enormous amount of money, and there are numerous cases throughout the Middle Ages of work stopping due to stalled cash flow.[30] The steady income left for funding the masses said for the deceased would have been important for the chapter.

By the fourteenth century, the eschatological value of the burials became increasingly linked to the visibility and grandeur of the tomb.[31] The possibility to have the tombs on display, either in the ambulatory chapels or in the ambulatory itself, lined up next to the wall or placed between pillars, would have been

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[28] Emilia Jamroziak, "Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses of Northern Europe," *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (2010): 52.

[29] Frithjof Schwartz, *Il bel cimitero. Santa Maria Novella in Florenz 1279–1348: Grabmäler, Architektur und Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009).

[30] Robert A. Scott, *The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 137.

[31] Jamroziak, "Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses of Northern Europe," 58.

Fig. 5. The ambulatory of Poznań Cathedral. Photo: Anna Kinde

desirable. There was a tradition of placing the tombstone into the wall near the main altar, starting with Archbishop Hugo of Amiens, whose tomb was embedded into the external wall of the ambulatory at Rouen Cathedral at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[32]

In the cases of Kraków and Prague, this aspect of the new churches is well analyzed.[33] In Kraków, four tombs are located in the eastern end, of which three are in the ambulatory, and the tomb of Elisabeth of Pilcza Granowska (d. 1420) is in the chapel of St. Mary, which was a later addition. In Prague, the tombs were either near the main altar in the apse, or in the ambulatory chapels.

In the other four cathedrals, the need for burial space near the main altar should be considered. As Poznań was a royal necropolis, it would have made sense to try to uphold the tradition and offer the opportunity to influential people willing to be interred there, as they were later, if we consider the addition of the chapels during the fifteenth century. Today, even though the church was reconstructed, there are tombstones present in the ambulatory wall, possibly continuing an earlier practice (*Fig. 5.*) In Gniezno, we know that the tomb of Boleslaw Chobry was placed in the ambulatory after the renovations, and it might have shared the fate of other, less important tombs. In Várad, both Andrew of Báthor (1329–1345) and Demetrius of Meszes (1345–1372) were on good terms with the king, and the fact that Charles I's third wife, Beatrix of Luxemburg, was buried at Várad (d. 1319), along with the later Queen Maria of Anjou (d. 1395) and Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg (d. 1437) who

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[32] Anne Mcgee Morganstern, "Liturgical and Honorific Implications of the Placement of Gothic Wall Tombs," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (January 1, 2004): 81–82, https://doi.org/10.1484/J.HAM.2.305298.

[33] For the Prague cathedral, see Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague." For the Kraków Cathedral, see Marek Walczak, "Topography of the Royal Necropolis at the Cracow Cathedral in the Middle Ages," in *Epigraphica & Sepultura*, ed. Jiří Roháček, 6 (Prague: Artefactum, 2015), 67–91.

already announced his will to be buried at Várad in 1406, resonates well with the previous examples in which a royal necropolis was established at the site of the veneration of a dynastic saint.

We know that Bishop Andrew of Báthor is probably buried in a chapel he built, where he likewise founded an altar dedicated to St. Brice, in memory of his father. Bishop Demetrius of Meszes did the same and founded the altar of St. Demetrius, and Bishop Dominic Bebek (1372–1374) also built a chapel and founded one to St. Dominic. The chapel of St. Demetrius and an unnamed new chapel, where the wife of Palatine Ladislaus of Oppeln was buried, were in the new choir (*in novo sanctuario*). We also know of the chapels of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist from before 1375, and the chapel of St. Catherine and the *capella Corporis Christi* before 1418. The first three of these were founded specifically as funerary chapels, and the others were also used for this purpose.[34]

Liturgy and Other Possible Considerations

When listing the possible reasons for reconstructing a church, the main activity that the church is used for – performing liturgical activities – must be considered. Any change to the architectural space would affect the way the chapter celebrates masses in the church. As Milena Bartlová argues in the case of Prague Cathedral, the chapter and the already established liturgy might have played a great role when deciding about the shape of the cathedral.[35]

The main liturgical activity that the ambulatory would presumably be used for is the procession – walking in and around the church, or even around the city, in a highly ceremonial manner. When considering the effect of liturgical changes, we must consider that there were many contemporaneous cathedrals without ambulatories that had many processions throughout the liturgical year. In an article of Tamás Fedeles, compiled about late medieval processions, there is no mention of differences between processional activities based on the shape of the churches' choirs.[36]

The history of liturgical processions and the physical aspects of liturgical performances in the different dioceses across Central Europe is a subject that

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[34] Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1:16–17.

[35] Bartlová, "The Choir Triforium of the Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond," 81–83.

[36] Tamás Fedeles, "Vallásos áhítat, közösségtudat, reprezentáció: A középkori körmenetek főbb jellemzői" [Religious devotion, sense of community, presentation: The main aspects of medieval processions], *Aetas* 22, no. 3 (2007): 59–82.

requires further research. This research would be needed as a prerequisite to studying the relationship between late medieval liturgical practices and cathedral spaces. Without this background, it is not possible to convincingly argue for or against general trends – the evidence so far is inconclusive.

Conclusion

Examining the possible reasons why an ambulatory was the choice of the builders, it seems that multiple reasons are likely. The traditional association of pilgrimage and the effect of the cult of saints, although prominent in the case of Kraków and Prague, are not enough to explain the form of the churches. Only in Várad and Gniezno, where particularly important saints were buried, can this theory be supported. The fact that a new and larger church would provide prestige to the diocese is evident: however, a choir with ambulatory and possibly radiating chapels could have played a part in religious politics, especially in the case of Eger, Poznań and Gniezno, all three of which have had reasons to try and outshine some archdioceses in their vicinity. It seems that ambulatories can be frequently associated with burials, as they were highly useful when someone wanted to be buried close to the main altar. The possibilities provided by the ambulatory, expanded with chapels at the same time or subsequently, seemed desirable for the builders, especially if it could provide the cathedral with a steady source of income through the donations made for the benefit of the deceased. Lastly, in the case of liturgical practices and other possible considerations, the results seem inconclusive. It seems obvious that a choir with ambulatory could provide a wider range of liturgical possibilities. However, it cannot be determined presently whether there were any liturgical changes so profound that they would influence the choice of the church builders. This last part needs further research, and an analysis could greatly benefit from increased research results from historians of late medieval liturgy throughout Central Europe.

The present article was but a brief overview of what might have influenced a fourteenth-century cathedral builder to choose a particular form – the choir with ambulatory. The ideas presented here could and hopefully will be elaborated further, as they connect to a wider area of research, one located at the fringes of art history, liturgical studies and the history of mentalities. Through considering these factors, we might catch a glimpse into the past, and see how medieval people interacted with their surroundings, how they used their most beautiful and majestic buildings, the cathedrals, not only for the mass, but to express themselves, honor their dead and engage in other devotional activities.

THE FATHER OF THE BOHEMIAN REFORMATION:
IOHANNES MILICIUS DE CREMSIR'S "ARS PRAEDICANDI"[1]

Olga Kalashnikova 📥

To medievalists, especially those dealing with the history of Bohemia, Iohannes Milicius de Cremsir (Jan Milíč z Kroměříže/Johann Militsch, d. 1374) is the most charismatic and ambiguous Bohemian preacher before Iohannes Hus. Born in Moravia, he moved to Prague after becoming priest and entered Charles IV's chancellery in 1358. Up to 1360 he worked there as registrar and corrector, and by the year 1362 was promoted to the office of notary or scribe. In 1361 Milicius was granted a benefice. Then he left the chancellery in 1362 and was appointed vicar-archdeacon. Finally, in 1363 he received the position of canon of the St. Vitus Cathedral. However, all of a sudden, in the same year Milicius resigned his benefice and duties to flee to Horšovský Týn where the future preacher spent several months and afterwards returned to Prague to spread the Word of God. Milicius quickly became a popular preacher, and in 1367 he headed to Rome to present Urban V with his views about the moral disgrace of the clergy. He was imprisoned because of his attempt to preach about the end of time. After returning to Prague, Milicius vehemently criticized "fallen" clergymen, and thus in 1372 he bought a former brothel with the help of Charles IV to establish the "Jerusalem" Community, representing the moral renovation he was preaching. The activity of this community was the last straw for his opponents who composed twelve articles of accusation against him and sent them to the pope. To defend himself, Milicius went to Rome where he proved his innocence, but on his way home he died in 1374.[2]

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[1] Although in the Middle Ages *ars praedicandi* referred to rhetorical treatises instructing how to compose a sermon, I use this term here to describe Milicius's preaching activity.

[2] See more on the preacher's biography in Otakar Odložilík, *Jan Milíč z Kroměříže* (Prague, 1924); Miloslav Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže* (Praha: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1975); Michal Flegl, "K Životopisu Miliče z Kroměříže" [To Iohannes Milicius's biography], *Listy Filologické* 103:3 (1980): 164–166; Lucie Mazalová, "Původ Milíče z Kroměříže" [The origins of Iohannes Milicius], *Časopis Matice Moravské* 131, no. 1 (2012): 135–143.

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For some historians, preaching was a central point of Milicius's activity, determining other spheres of his life.[3] Scholars traditionally regarded him as an ideal priest imitating Christ, a radical preacher opposing the Church and, thus, the "father of Bohemian Reformation."[4] However, this article will explore the key features of Milicius's preaching activity outside of his relevance for the Hussite movement. To identify them, I will critically compare the information about Milicius the preacher we obtain from his two biographies (the anonymous *Vita Venerabilis Presbyteri Milicii, Praelati Ecclesiae Pragensis* and the *Narracio de Milicio* by Matthew of Janow who was Milicius's disciple) to his published sermons (*Sacerdotes contempserunt*, *Grex perditus*, *Audite reges* and *Sermo de Die Novissimo*).

I will argue that Milicius's biographies present the preacher in a hagiographic, exaggerated manner. Nevertheless, I will demonstrate some similarities between the hagiographic image of Milicius-*praedicator* and his actual manner of preaching. Lastly, I will show that Milicius used a mixed genre of homily and scholastic sermon depending on the audience and occasion.

Hagiographical Features in Milicius's Biographies

Historians have been concerned about the character and veracity of the *Vita* and the *Narracio* for decades. While František Palacký and František Loskot[5], for instance, took the information from the two biographies as fact, Peter Morée and David Mengel argued for their hagiographical features.[6]

As typical biographies, the *Narracio* and the *Vita* have a linear structure. However, the *Vita* includes a prologue subtly underlining Milicius's virtues and clarifying the reason for writing the life of the preacher, a feature which Michael

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[3] Eleanor Janega, "Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV: Preaching, Power, and the Church of Prague," PhD thesis (University College London, 2015), 16; Peter Morée, "The Eucharist in the Sermons on Corpus Christi of Milicius de Cremsir," in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* (henceforth: BRRP), ed. Zdeněk David, David Holeton, vol. 5, part 1 (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2002), 66.

[4] This term was first proposed by František Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže, Otec České Reformace* [Iohannes Milicius, The father of Bohemian reformation] (Prague: Volná myšlenka, 1911).

[5] See František Palacký, "Předchůdcové husitství v Čechách" [Precursors of Hussites in Bohemia], in F. Palacký, *Radhost, Sbírka spisův drobných* [Radhost. Collection of minor writings] II (Prague, 1872), 297–356; Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže,* 160.

[6] This argument is stressed in the following works: Peter Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia: The Life and Ideas of Milicius de Chremsir (+ 1374) and His Significance in the Historiography of Bohemia* (Slavkov: EMAN, 1999), 42–69; David Mengel, "A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit: Making the Life of Milíč," *BRRP* vol. 5, 33–55.

Goodich, in his literary analysis of thirteenth-century hagiography, identifies as a typical part in hagiographic texts since it hints at the holiness and virtues of the saints.[7] Although neither text depicts all the episodes of Milicius's life from his childhood, and especially not the accounts of his *post-mortem* miraculous activities which are characteristic for hagiographical texts, it is obvious that Milicius as a literary character has an "afterlife," taking part in religious rivalries. Matthew's and the anonymous author's selective approach to composing the account of the preacher's life may demonstrate their own subjectivity and ambitions for being prominent and beloved,[8] as Milicius is in the texts of the *Narracio* and the *Vita*: the authors respectfully portray him as the "most honorable"[9] leader of the "Jerusalem" Community and a hard-working preacher, writer and defender of the poor.[10]

Although the supernatural *post-mortem* part is absent in these texts, Milicius, following the models of exemplary saints, clearly endures sufferings, which is another vital component of medieval hagiography, as Andre Vauchez stresses.[11] For instance, both biographers underline that the preacher was always accused during his life. He was even persecuted by his opponents, and he "died in exile in Avignon."[12] In addition, the antagonism between Milicius and the people surrounding him is particularly accentuated in the *Vita*: not only friars accuse him of being schismatic,[13] but also his own flock mocks him because of his Moravian accent and poor knowledge of religious feasts, evident when the preacher starts speaking publicly.[14] Moreover, Milicius voluntarily gives up material goods and bodily pleasures; he is called "another Elias," who fasted, whipped himself, had penance regularly and basically lived in austerity.[15]

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[7] Michael Goodich, "A Profile of Thirteenth-Century Sainthood," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18, no. 4 (1976): 437.

[8] As Matthew underlines, Milicius's name means "the most beloved" in the Czech Language. Matej z Janova, "Zpráva o Milíčovi z Kroměříže" [The report on Iohannes Milicius], in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* (henceforth: FRB), ed. Josef Emler, trans. Josef Truhlář, vol. I (Hildesheim–Zurich–New York, 2004), 431.

[9] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 431.

[10] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 432–433; Josef Truhlář, ed., "Vita Venerabilis Presbyteri Milicii, Praelati Ecclesiae Pragensis," in *FRB* vol. 1, 405, 406, 407.

[11] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 190.

[12] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 436.

[13] *Vita Venerabilis*, 423–424.

[14] *Vita Venerabilis*, 405.

[15] *Vita Venerabilis*, 414–415, 404; Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 431.

As we can see, Milicius was depicted as an admirable model for *imitatio* and, as Matthew stresses, he was *filius et imago Domini*.[16] Thus, one may trace the didactic function of the preacher's virtues throughout the texts which have to transmit the model of *imitatio* to the audience. Claudia Rapp defines this as one of the typical features of hagiographical texts from late antiquity onwards.[17]

Although one can hardly identify the evidence of miraculous reports in the *Narracio,* the supernatural element frequently appears in the text of the *Vita* in various forms. For example, Milicius has two symbolic mystical visions. In the first one, the Devil-fornicator tries to seduce him in the Garden of Eden when he is about to renounce a lay life and become a preacher.[18] Later, the preacher predicts his own death and dictates to his disciples letters addressed to powerful acquaintances.[19] The fact that both authors emphasize Milicius's numerous virtues, namely chastity, patience, and compassion, reminds one of the late-medieval hagiographic didactic tradition replacing *intra-vitam* miracles with virtues. In addition, both authors present Milicius as a "self-made" man, the hagiographic construction following the image of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, which emerged, as Vauchez notes,[20] in the times of an "evangelical crisis" in 1300–1370.

Indeed, the *Life of Bernard of Clairvaux* is a pillar, which Matthew and the anonymous author could use in composing their texts, since by the end of the fourteenth century, Bernard's *Life* had become the model of writing the hagiography of Vauchez's "educated man." To support this connection, Mengel, in his article analyzing Milicius's *Vita*, explored direct citations from Bernard's *Life*.[21] Not only does the very first paragraph of the *Vita* hardly differ from the beginning of St. Bernard's *Life*,[22] but also the account of the foundation of "New Jerusalem" is reminiscent of the foundation of the Clairvaux monastery by Bernard.[23] Apart from noticeable citations from the *Life of St. Bernard,* both sources about Milicius praise

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[16] *Vita Venerabilis*, 432.

[17] Claudia Rapp, "Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes. Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. W. E. Klingshirn and L. Safran (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 111, 122.

[18] *Vita Venerabilis*, 405.

[19] *Vita Venerabilis*, 428.

[20] André Vauchez, *Sainthood,* 392.

[21] Mengel, "A Monk," 36, 38.

[22] Compare William of Saint-Thierry, Arnold of Bonneval, and Geoffrey of Auxerre, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Hilary Costello, Cistercian Fathers Series 26 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2015), 11 to *Vita Venerabilis,* 410–411.

[23] Saint-Thierry, *The First Life,* 42.

wisdom and education as holy virtues and highlight the preacher's enthusiasm for studying the Scripture according to the model of a "learned man."[24]

Both biographies were influenced not only by the *Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, but also by other holy preachers' *Lives*. Since severe strife surrounded Milicius during his life and after his death, which J. M. Clifton-Everest regards as "a direct testimony of his popular influence,"[25] the intention to protect the preacher by depicting him as equal (or maybe even more outstanding) to mendicants is definitely clear in both texts which frequently refer to Milicius as a defender of poor men and women. It is striking, however, that neither Matthew nor the anonymous author ever mention Saint Francis or Saint Dominic. Nevertheless, while the *Vita* partly follows the story from the *Life of Saint Francis* (which actually was first depicted in the *Life of Saint Martin*) describing the saint giving a warm cloak to a poor person,[26] Matthew subtly refers to the episode of Dominic's *Life* in which the saint sells his books to save the poor from famine.[27] Nevertheless, Matthew's motif of comparing the figure of Milicius to Francis or Dominic seems to be more obvious, as he condemned monasticism (including Franciscan and Dominican convents).[28] Moreover, as the Franciscans and Dominicans were also regarded as the most powerful preaching orders, the image of Milicius as an excellent preacher outdoing his colleagues in it may be fictional.

For these reasons, Milicius's image in the *Narracio* and the *Vita* cannot be definitely perceived as the figure of a common citizen, and the text itself cannot be categorically called a "credible biography." The hero of the narrative is described not only as a poor and suffering evangelical saint, but also as an educated "self-made" holy man and an eager, although modest, preacher. Additionally, the texts of the *Narracio* and the *Vita* are ornamented with hagiographical features to make their accounts and Milicius's figure appear more influential. Therefore, following the concept of Thomas Heffernan,[29] I will call the *Narracio* and the *Vita* "sacred biographies." On the one hand, both sources were undoubtedly based on real facts from Milicius's life

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[24] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 435, 407–408.

[25] J.M. Clifton-Everest, "The Eucharist in the Czech and German Prayers of Milič z Kroměříže," *Bohemia* 23 (1982), 2.

[26] Compare *Vita Venerabilis,* 410 to Thomas of Celano, *The First Life of St. Francis,* Chapter 28 *(http://www.indiana.edu/~dmdhist/francis.htm#1.28,* last accessed December 14, 2018).

[27] *The Libellus of Jordan of Saxony,* Chapter 10 (http://opcentral.org/resources/2012/08/23/the-libellus-of-jordan-of-saxony/, last accessed December 14, 2018).

[28] William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism: A-L*, vol. 1 (London: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2000), 351.

[29] Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 16–17, 55.

(this can be proved by papal bulls and municipal documents),[30] but on the other hand, the texts are apologetic and intend to legitimize and, hence, promote the preacher in a hostile environment surrounding Milicius and his disciples.

Milicius as the Model of a Holy Preacher

The narrative sources present an explicit image of Milicius-*praedicator*. The two sources refer to places Milicius chose to preach in, his audience, the languages of his sermons, his performance, and the sources that he used to compose sermons. Although some data from both sources about Milicius's preaching are similar, there are striking discrepancies as well.

Remarkably, only the *Vita* mentions directly *loci* connected to Milicius's preaching. While at the very beginning of his preaching career he presented his sermons at the church of St. Nicholas in the New Town of Prague and then at the church of St. Giles in the Old Town,[31] after he became well-known and established the "Jerusalem" Community, the preacher would present sermons five times a day[32] at different locations: St. Giles's Church, the Church of St. Virgin in the Old Town, the house of the "Jerusalem" Community, St. George's Basilica within Prague Castle, and the *Vita* also refers to the Church of Saint Michael the Archangel in the Old Town.[33] There are reports that Milicius preached not only in Prague but also in Olomouc in Moravia.[34] If we consider this information credible, it indicates that Milicius's preaching literally covered the whole city of the fourteenth-century Prague on both sides of the Vltava River and spread to the southeastern part of the Bohemian Kingdom.

Additionally, both sources report the variety of languages Milicius preached in, namely Czech, Latin, and German.[35] In order to identify his audience, one may correlate this with the urban places he used for preaching. Despite the fact that Milicius's biographers specify several social groups who attended his sermons (prostitutes of the "Jerusalem" Community,[36] nuns of St. George's Convent,[37]

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[30] Caroli Stloukal, ed., *Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia. Acta Gregorii XI Pontificis Romani 1370–1378*, vol. IV (Prague, 1949), 444–445, 451–452; Mengel, "A Monk", 39.

[31] *Vita Venerabilis,* 405.

[32] *Vita Venerabilis* , 406, Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 435.

[33] *Vita Venerabilis,* 413.

[34] *Vita Venerabilis* , 410.

[35] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 435; *Vita Venerabilis,* 408, 413.

[36] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 432; *Vita Venerabilis,* 406.

[37] *Vita Venerabilis,* 406.

so-called "viri literari"[38] at the Church of St. Michael – probably students and professors of the University of Prague, which is located nearby, and also noble women, craftsmen and lenders),[39] his audience must have been even more diverse. Moreover, if one accepts that normally all sermons to the laity were preached in the vernacular on the one hand, and the information from the *Narracio* and the *Vita* that Milicius preached in German at St. Virgin's once a day, and in Czech at St. Giles's at least twice or three times a day on the other hand,[40] this may lead us to the assumption that the greatest part of his flock were laymen. Strangely enough, Matthew and the anonymous writer do not mention the fact that Milicius was invited to preach at synods to the clergy albeit this probably elevated Milicius's reputation. I would explain this fact through the acute rivalry between Milicius's followers, including both authors, and the official Church, which declared them heretics.

Milicius's enthusiastic preaching is described in the texts as a celestial gift. According to the *Vita*, although initially people mocked Milicius because of his Moravian accent and inattentive preaching,[41] gradually his performance became so powerful that not only poor people, but also noblemen and women, left their preachers and started attending Milicius's sermons instead.[42] Although the preacher usually spent around one hour on preparing a sermon,[43] he would present it for two or three hours and always modestly relied not only on his memory, but also on his written materials. Unfortunately, no other accounts of Milicius's preaching have survived, and since a hagiographic manner of describing him is absolutely clear here, one may perceive the information about the way Milicius preached as a literary device to strengthen his authority.

Lastly, both the *Vita* and the *Narracio* refer to Milicius's high capacity of studying the Scripture and the Church Fathers.[44] As Matthew reports, even the postils, which the preacher composed for students, do not contain his own thoughts, but rather citations from these authorities.[45]

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[38] *Vita Venerabilis,* 413, 417.

[39] *Vita Venerabilis,* 406.

[40] *Vita Venerabilis,* 413; Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 435.

[41] *Vita Venerabilis,* 405.

[42] *Vita Venerabilis,* 405.

[43] *Vita Venerabilis,* 406.

[44] *Vita Venerabilis,* 407.

[45] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva," 436.

Milicius as a Composer of Sermons – Features of His Narrative

Although Milicius's "sacred biographies" offer a range of data concerning his preaching activity, one should assess them critically because of their obvious hagiographic character. Therefore, to show that the information from the "sacred biographies" can be at least partly regarded as credible, I will compare it to Milicius's published sermons: three synodic sermons *Sacerdotes contempserunt, Grex perditus, Audite reges* and one sermon on the end of the world, *Sermo de Die Novissimo*. The synodic sermons were chosen because of their homogeneous nature, but they will be compared to the *Sermon of the Last Day* to demonstrate similarities and differences in Milicius's preaching.

From the foundation of the archdiocese of Prague in 1344, synodic sermons were presented twice a year to the local ecclesiastical community: on St. Vitus's Day (15 June) and St. Luke's Day (15 October).[46] The synodic preacher was usually chosen from the most illustrious and humble priests by the highest clergymen to remind them of the role model of an ideal priest and preacher.[47] As Robert Swanson emphasizes, during the clerical synods, bishops issued legislation to maintain discipline and standards within the Church. As a result, it was common that synodic sermons dealt with condemnations of the clergy or their abuses.[48] Hence, a trope such as the critique of clergymen's "sins" was widespread to stress that *ecclesia semper reformanda est*: The Church should constantly reform and maintain its purity.

Regarding Milicius's synodic sermons, researchers encounter some problems. First and foremost, none of Milicius's autographs have been preserved, but a multitude of later copies of the sermons are extant. Another obstacle is that the dating of the sermons is still unclear. There are several suggestions in historiography regarding this question. Loskot was the first to approach this problem, dating two of the synodic sermons (he had some doubts regarding the authorship of *Audite* reges) between the years 1366 and 1371.[49] Vilém Herold and Milan Mráz

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[46] Miloslav Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže* (Prague: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1975), 63.

[47] Zdeňka Hledíková, *Svět České Středověké Církve* [The world of Bohemian medieval church] (Prague: Argo, 2010), 35.

[48] R. N. Swanson, "Apostolic Successors: Priests and Priesthood, Bishops, and Episcopacy in Medieval Western Europe," in *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, eds. Greg Peters and C. Colt Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 22.

[49] Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže,* 43.

attributed the sermons to the timespan between 1364 and 1373.[50] Morée proposes a different approach to the dating, placing the sermons between 1364 and 1371.[51] Another source – *Sermo de Die Novissimo* – was produced in 1367 in Rome while Milicius was suspected of heresy and imprisoned.

Before discussing Milicius's liturgical discourse and typologically dividing his sermons, it seems reasonable to define *sermo antiquus* and *sermo modernus* and establish the main differences between these types of sermons.

The interpretation of *sermo antiquus*, as medieval authors referred to a homily,[52] seems to be clear and coherent among the specialists in sermon studies. They usually interpret it as the oldest type of preaching, which presumably emerged in the time of the Church Fathers to fight paganism and promote Christianity.[53] These sermons were extremely popular approximately until the thirteenth century and served as a spoken commentary on a biblical text or a long lecture with no precise structure,[54] their aim being to discuss the moral life of a flock.[55]

As opposed to a homily, the *sermo modernus*[56] that existed from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century[57] has a clear organization, which consists of *thema*, *prothema*, *divisio*, and sometimes *subdivisio* as essential parts. The *thema* – a selected

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[50] Milan Mráz and Vilém Herold, eds., *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales* (Prague: Academia, 1974), 13.

[51] Morée, *Preaching,* 72.

[52] Wenzel, *Medieval "Artes Praedicandi,"* 64. For more on scholastic/university sermons, see Nicole Bériou, "Introduction," in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Age: Etudes réunies*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Age, 5) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 7–22; Beverly M. Kienzle, "The Typology of the Medieval Sermon and its Development in the Middle Ages: Report on Work in Progress," in *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale: Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9–11 juillet 1992)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université catholique de Louvain, 1993), 83–101; Pavel Soukup, "Rytíři ducha na pražské univerzitě. Jakoubkovo kázání Abiciamus opera tenebrarum" [The chivalries of spirit at the University of Prague. Jakoubek's sermon Abiciamus opera tenebrarum], in *Evropa a* Čechy *na konci středověku: Sborník věnovaný Františku* Šmahelovi [Europe and Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages], ed. Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Filosofia Praha, 2004), 413–432.

[53] Morée, *Preaching,* 90.

[54] David D'Avray, "The Transformation of Medieval Sermon," PhD dissertation (University of Oxford, 1977), 95.

[55] Wenzel, *Medieval*, 16.

[56] Scholars refer to it in different ways: a scholastic, university, modern, or thematic sermon. All of these definitions speak for themselves and describe at least the structure and one of the institutional affiliations of these sermons.

[57] D'Avray, "The Transformation," 93.

citation from the Scripture – opens the sermon, followed by a *prothema* which functions as prologue in which the preacher introduces his position regarding a certain topic and cites the authorities. After a prayer and the repetition of the selected citation, the text of the sermon is divided into several arguments (usually three), which, in turn, may be "subdivided" as well.[58] By the end of a scholastic sermon, the preacher can propose his own "recipe" to resolve the problem discussed and closes the sermon with a prayer. Unlike a homily, the *sermo modernus* may refer not only to the Bible and to Church Fathers, but to contemporary (i.e. medieval) authors.

Admittedly, by the time of Milicius's activity, the scholastic sermon was the dominant model of preaching, especially among the mendicants. The composition of Milicius's synodic texts shows that the preacher also followed the scholastic model of the sermon with divisions and subdivisions of topics discussed. Remarkably, the structure of Milicius's synodic sermons was gradually changing and becoming more complex. If in the *Sacerdotes contempserunt* the preacher did not use subdivision, the *Grex perditus* and *Audite reges* demonstrate that Milicius split his texts into subparts. The division of one argument into six sub-arguments in *Grex perditus* seems to be slightly unusual for the scholastic model of composing sermons.

The structural analysis of another sermon by Milicius – *Sermo de Die Novissimo* – shows that the preacher did not choose the scholastic model for all of his texts. This *Sermon on the Last Day* represents a homiletic lecture interpreting a fragment from the Gospel of Matthew 24.15.[59] Milicius intentionally imitates the composition of the *Apocalypse* and, hence, constructs the text not as a well-structured argumentation, but rather as a narrative.

Therefore, I will agree with the suggestion proposed by Zdeněk Uhlíř that Milicius's style of composing sermons might have drastically changed over time. If Morée convincingly argues that in Milicius's early work, the unpublished postil *Abortivus*, the preacher followed the scholastic model of the sermon,[60] Uhlíř demonstrates that in his late postil *Quadragesimale*, the preacher presents himself

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[58] Wenzel, *Medieval*, 67.

[59] Iohannes Milicius, "Sermo de Die Novissimo," in *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367,* eds. Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998), 35: *Cum videritis abhominationem desolationis, que dicta sunt a Daniele propheta, stantem in loco sancto, qui legit, intellicat. Et tunc, qui in Iudea sunt, fugient ad montem.*

[60] Morée, "The Eucharist," 67–72.

rather as a patristic author and, thus, chooses a complex mixture of homily and scholastic sermon.[61]

The second criterion to evaluate the composition of Milicius's sermons is the usage of multiple citations in his texts. At first glance, the preacher often refers to more authoritative sources instead of expressing his ideas in his own words to depict sinful clergymen. This is a very clever strategy: by doing this, Milicius subtly expresses his sharpest accusations through the words of authorities and thus legitimizes his point. For example, in the *Sacerdotes contempserunt* the preacher uses citations to depict the level of clergymen's disgrace:

(1 Timothy 4) In novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium.[62] [In latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of demons, speaking lies in hypocrisy.]

(Ezekiel 22) Principes eius in medio eius quasi lupi rapientes predam ad effundendum sanguinem et ad perdentas animas et avare sectando lucra.[63] [The princes in the midst of the Church are like wolves tearing the prey to shed blood, to destroy people, to get dishonest gain.]

(Romans 2) Quid alium doces, te ipsum non doces, qui praedicas non furandum, furaris, qui dicis non mechandum, mecharis, qui abhominaris idola, sacrilegium facis. Qui in lege gloriaris, per prevaricationem legis Deum inhonoras.[64] [You teach others and not yourself; you, who are a preacher and should not steal, steal; you saying not to commit adultery, commit it; you, who are praising idols, commit sacrilege. You boasting on law, dishonor God by transgressing it.]

However, even under the "veil" of citations, Milicius manages to speak for himself by slightly changing the composition of the text. For instance, in one of the passages in the *Grex perditus*, he illustrates the flaws of the sinful clergy by citing 2 Timothy 3. If we compare this part of the text to the original Epistle in the table below, the traces of Milicius's editing become obvious.

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[61] Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Milič z Kroměříže a kazatelský styl jeho homilií [Iohannes Milicius and the preaching style of his homily]," in *Manu propria,* eds. Zuzana Adamaitis and Tereza Paličková (Prague, 2012), 33.

[62] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, 49.

[63] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales,* 52.

[64] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales,*52.

Grex perditus	*2 Timothy 3*
Hoc scito quia in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa et erunt homines se ipsos amantes *ecce amantes se ipsos non Deum* cupidi elati superbi blasphemi parentibus inoboedientes *maxime spiritualibus ut praelatis* ingrati scelesti sine affectione sine pace criminatores incontinentes inmites sine benignitate proditores protervi tumidi voluptatium amatores magis quam Dei habentes speciem quidem pietatis virtutem autem eius abnegantes et hos devita.[65]	[…] hoc autem scito quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa et erunt homines se ipsos amantes cupidi elati superbi blasphemi parentibus inoboedientes ingrati scelesti sine affectione sine pace criminatores incontinentes inmites sine benignitate proditores protervi tumidi voluptatium amatores magis quam Dei habentes speciem quidem pietatis virtutem autem eius abnegantes et hos devita […]

Noticeably, while Timothy speaks about "people" (*homines*) and their flaws in general, Milicius puts the word "prelates" (*praelatis*) before the most severe accusations and, hence, accuses his clerical colleagues of many serious transgressions.

Moreover, although the preacher cites only the Gospels in his apocalyptic *Sermo* following a homiletic model, one may also find several mentions of scholastic authors in the synodic sermons. The following list presents the diversity of Milicius's citations.

- *Sacerdotes contempserunt*: Ezekiel, Matthew, Paul, John Chrysostom, Augustine, Pope Gregory X, Richard of Saint Victor, Jerome.[66]
- *Grex perditus*: Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzus, Bernard of Clairvaux, Pope Gregory I, Paul, Haymo of Halberstadt, John Chrysostom, Matthew, Zechariah, Richard of Saint Victor, Ezekiel.[67]
- *Audite reges*: Ezekiel, Pauline Epistles, Augustine, Jerome, Peter Damian, Matthew, Bernard of Clairvaux, Ambrose of Alexandria, Seneca, Peter, John Chrysostom, Petrus Ravennas (Peter Chrysologus), Pope Gregory I, Peter of Blois, Hugh of Saint Victor, Jeremiah.[68]

This data demonstrates that Milicius must have used a scholastic pattern while composing his synodic sermons.[69] Therefore, he presented a certain type of

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[65] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, 76.

[66] See Johannes Milicius de Chremsir, *Sermones synodales*, Prague, Czech National Library, MS X.D.5, ff 132va–136rb.

[67] Johannes Milicius de Chremsir, *Sermones synodales,* ff 136rb–141vb.

[68] Johannes Milicius de Chremsir, *Sermones synodales,* ff 141vb–147rb.

[69] As Wenzel demonstrates in his book, there were many variants of scholastic sermons following a three-fold composition but slightly differing in terms subdivision, using exempla and other devices. Wenzel, *Medieval*, 64.

sermon depending on his audience. Given the fact that he preached at synods in front of educated clergymen, who were specialists in doctrinal questions, the most appropriate type to present his ideas was the scholastic sermon. In the case of *Sermo de Die Novissimo,* Milicius must have intentionally decided against this structure (and thus discussion of doctrinal questions) since he was suspected of heresy and substituted it with a homily. Moreover, the fact that the preacher cited Seneca in the *Audite reges* shows that he was probably familiar with antique literature and, therefore, an educated man.

The last important feature of the sermons analyzed is their undebatable connection to Milicius's apocalyptic ideas. Not only does Milicius use metaphors and compare spoiled clergymen to weeds among crops, wolves threatening sheep, unprofessional greedy pastors,[70] and others to sound more influential and emotive, but he also reminds his audience about the coming end of the world. Indeed, not only in the *Sermo* but in each of the synodic sermons, one may find some allusions either to the Antichrist or to the Last Judgment, as is shown below:

> *Sacerdotes contempserunt*: Tertia transgressio incipit nunc, id est in tempore evangelii, sed adveniente ultima persecutio sub Antichristo;[71]
> *Audite reges*: Quid ergo tibi cum corpore Christi, qui per carnis illecebrose luxuriam membrum factus es Antichristi![72] […] Ministri Christi sunt et servient Antichristo...[73]

This may be the evidence of two tendencies in Milicius's activity. On the one hand, it is clear that by the year 1367 apocalypticism had become one of the central points of the preacher's discourse. On the other hand, we cannot be absolutely sure whether Milicius was an eager and genuine proponent of eschatological views or just used this literary tradition in his sermons, which was quite common in the Middle Ages, to call his audience's attention to the moral flaws of the Church and society, namely simony, having concubines, and moral disgrace.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that Milicius's synodic sermons are not his autographs and we do not know their precise dating, these source units serve well to depict the following features of Milicius's preaching. Firstly, the preacher uses either a scholastic three-fold sermon or an exegetic homily depending on the occasion and audience.

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[70] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, 54, 80, 121.

[71] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, 49–50.

[72] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, 107.

[73] *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, 113.

Milicius's next feature as the composer of sermons is that he often refers to Church authorities, medieval intellectuals, and even antique authors (although one of his biographers convinces us that he used only the Bible) and expresses his views by means of the most forceful and sharpest citations. Lastly, to make the sermons more emotional and touching, Milicius often links the Church's sins to the anticipated end of the world.

Generally, Milicius was not the first and, surely, not the last to call the attention of his audience to the moral crisis within the Church and among laymen. Therefore, regarding his preaching to the clergy, I would use the term "the follower of the tradition *ecclesia semper reformanda est*," rather than the "father of Bohemian Reformation" or a "radical preacher" as he has been presented in historiography. Moreover, although Milicius is depicted one-dimensionally in his biographies as a follower of the apostolic church, his synodic sermons demonstrate the difference from his hagiographic image and indicate that the preacher would employ a scholastic composition for his sermons depending on his audience.

ITALIAN MINT-MASTERS IN POLAND

Leslie Carr-Riegel 📥

At the dawn of the fourteenth century, the commercial revolution that had been pushing steadily forward was sent into overdrive as it was combined with a coinage revolution. The increased availability of money, minted from newly discovered precious metal mines, added liquidity to markets and increased economic growth.[1] Rulers took swift advantage of the situation, asserting royal prerogatives over mines and seeking to concentrate mint rights under their firm control allowing them to issue new types of coins. At these new mints, rulers asserted their ancient right of *seigniorage* – which required subjects to sell bullion or turn in old coins to the mint in exchange for new coins which would be returned minus a tax. The tax included the actual costs of manufacturing a new coin at the mint – *brassage* – plus a profit margin for the ruler. This privilege could be easily abused. As a rule, usually fewer coins were returned than were handed in, and there was little guarantee that the new coins would contain the same percentage of silver as the old issue.[2] During the fourteenth century it further became common practice for a ruler to farm out the right to collect *seigniorage* to a third party who acted as mint-master, seeking to squeeze a profit from the difference between a set amount they promised to provide the ruler, *brassage* costs and the price paid to acquire raw materials of old coins or bullion. Profits and prestige were generated through the production of higher-value coins but these required access to sufficient bullion to make it possible and a prosperous enough market to make such large denominations useful. Once that critical mark was reached, however, mints became more centralized and far larger and could benefit from having an experienced manager at the helm. It is therefore not surprising that we see a direct correlation between an attempt to radically change a county's coinage and the appearance of an Italian officer to run the mint.

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[1] New silver deposits were discovered in England (Beer Alston), Sardenia (Iglesia), and in Bohemia (Jihava/Iglau) together with the greatest of all (Kutna Hora/Kuttenberg), led to a sea-change occurred in European precious specie stocks between 1250–1412. During the peak years of 1298–1306, a full ten tons of silver was being put into circulation each year. This, combined with gold mines discovered in Hungarian lands (Kremnica/Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz) and increasing amounts of gold traded from North Africa, fueled the currency revolution. Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109–130, 163–186; Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy, and Minting in the Middle Ages: Continuing Afro-European Supremacy, 1250–1450*, Vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), 950–971.

[2] Spufford, *Money and Its Use*, 95.

Leslie Carr-Riegel

The Movement of Italian Masters Abroad

Italians were popular as mint-masters, having been the first off the blocks in terms of commercial development and monetary policy during the twelfth-century commercial revolution; Northern Italian mints were the front-runners in coin development, technology, and managerial practice. Logically, rulers outside of this zone, empowered by the greater amounts of precious specie available, not only adapted their coins after Italian models, but beginning in the 1280s recruited Italians to manage their new mints.[3] During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century rulers across Western Europe in England, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, all invited in Italians to run their mints, most notably recruiting men originating from Asti,[4] Lucca,[5] and above all, Florence.[6]

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[3] The topic of Italian mint masters has received significant scholarly interest in recent years. Begun in 2002, the Elgivs database proposes to collect the names of all individuals working in Italian mints from ancient times to the present and while focusing only on those active within Italy itself, is a useful reference point. Luca Gianazza, "Eligivs Database," *Sibrium*, https://www.sibrium.org/en/Eligivs/index.htm (last accessed: January 17, 2019). It is further hopeful that the proposed project of William Day to track all Florentine minters abroad will soon come to fruition. William R. Day, Jr, "Fiorentini e altri italiani appaltatori di zecche straniere (1200–1600): un progetto di ricercar," *Annali di Storia di Firenze* 5 (2010): 9–29.

[4] Asti mint masters were employed at Namur by the Count of Flanders (1285), and in Geneva (1300). Spufford, *Money and Its Use,*194.

[5] Lucchese masters were running the mints in London for Edward I (1272), Paris (1281), Montpellier and Sommieres (1280/90s), Eliencourt and later Arleaux for the Counts of St. Pol (1306), Castello di Ponte della Sorga near Avignone for Pope John XXII (1322), Bruges (1343–1362), Leinze for the Count of Gorizia (1361). Martin Allen, "Italians in English Mints and Exchanges" in *Fourteenth Century England,* Vol. II., ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 54–55, 61; Day, "Fiorentini e altri," 15, 19; William C. Hazlitt, *The Coinage of the European Continent: with an Introduction and Catalogues of Mints Denominations and Rulers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1893), 100; Raymond De Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges: Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money Changers – A Study in the Origins of Banking* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 21 fn 77; Kurt Weissen, "Florentiner Kaufleute in Deutschland bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Zwischen Maas und Rhein Beziehungen, Begegnungen und Konflikte in einem europäischen Kernraum von der Spätantike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert,* Ed. Franz Irsigler (Trier: Kliomedia, 2006), 368.

[6] Florentines meanwhile were running mints in: Trent (1269), Naples for Charles IV Anjou (1278), London (1279, 1300–1302, 1325), Dublin and Waterford (1280–1284), Paris (1295), Hall in Swabia (1300), Provence (1301), Kutná Hora (1300, 1345–1354), Périgord (1306), Lübeck (1342–1358), Legnicza (1345–1354), Prague (1350), Leinze for the Count of Gorizia together with a Luccehese (1361). Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2009), 234–235; Ignazio Del Punta, "Tuscan merchant-bankers and moneyers and their relations with the roman curia in the XIIIth and early XIVth century," *Rivista Di Storia Della*

Such arrangements were not made on a whim, and for an Italian to be enlisted, a few requirements had to be met. First, the ruler needed to be in a position where they held firm control over a centralized mint and desired to make a reform to the current coinage. Second, they had to have sufficient bullion reserves acquired either through direct access to precious metal mines or through trade. Finally, they had to be willing to negotiate favorable *seigniorage* terms that would allow the master to make a profit. As the minter's profits were gained on the margin between the cost of bullion and production minus the owed *seigniorage*, the fee couldn't be prohibitively high. Obviously, rulers were interested in gaining as much tax revenue as possible but exorbitant fees would fail to attract investment. A high *seigniorage* could be balanced by access to cheap bullion, but when both raw materials and tax overheads rose above a certain level there was little incentive for Italians to take on such positions. This, as we shall see was the reason that very few Italians became mint-masters in Poland. Interestingly, regarding this dynamic whereby minting operations were leased out in the form of tenders, the Italians who managed foreign mints had only sometimes ever set foot in a mint in their home city. None of the mint-masters active in Poland for example, are known to have had previous coining experience. It certainly helped if the would-be master at least had some experience in managing a larger-scale venture but even this was not always the case. A certain amount of accounting and managerial know-how combined with access to ready capital were the key ingredients.

The Movement of Italian Masters to Central Europe and Poland

In Central Europe, Italians first began working at the mint in Bohemia beginning in 1301 and in Hungary in the early 1330s.[7] Italians were enticed to these positions by the prodigious precious silver and gold mines in these countries which sustained the stamping of high-quality large denomination coins which produced extensive profits for the mint. As Bohemian and Hungarian kings sought to reform their

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Chiesa in Italia 64/1 (2010): 49; Day, "Fiorentini e altri italiani," 19; Spufford, *Money and Its Use,* 194; Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimages C. 700–c. 1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 147; Dana Stehlíková, "Some Enamels of the XIV Century from Czech Collections," *Annali Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa. Classe Di Lettere E Filosofia*, Serie III, 24, no. 2/3 (1994): 647–648.

[7] For Bohemia see: Antonin Boček and Josef Chytil, eds., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae 1294–1306,* Vol. 5 (Bruno: ex typographia Aloysii Skarnitzl, 1858) (henceforth CDM V), 127, charter no. CXXII. For Hungary see the work of Martin Štefánik, "Italian Involvement in Metal Mining in the central Slovakian Region, from the Thirteenth Century to the Reign of King Sigismund of Hungary," in *I Tatti Studies. The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies* 14–15 (2011–2012): 17–22.

currencies, they invited Italian experts and investors in as managers. Italians would continue to dominate in these positions throughout the fourteenth and into the fifteenth century, particularly in Hungary where between 1387 and 1487 every single mint manager recorded in written documents was of foreign extraction.[8] Poland's other neighbors, Silesia to the West, the Teutonic states to the North, and Lithuania to the East on the other hand each in their own way failed to provide persuasive business opportunities for Italians to take up posts. The case of Silesia was somewhat unique as it briefly had gold and silver in abundance but due to the fragmented nature of its political sphere, failed to centralize its minting operations and attract extended Italian interest.[9] The Teutonic lands and Lithuania meanwhile, were centralized polities but lacked precious metal resources and in the case of Lithuania the political will to initiate large-scale monetary reforms to run a profitable mint.[10] Poland fell somewhere in the middle of these two zones. The country had no precious metal resources to speak of but after centralizing its mint on the capital Krakow in the 1330s, depended on trade of its own robust lead, salt, wax and fur resources to bring in the bullion required to under-writing a number of currency reforms. King Kazimir the Great was the first to make significant efforts in this direction but met with only limited success.[11]

Italian Mint-masters in Krakow

Of the fifty-six identified mint masters active at the Krakow mint between 1300–1500 there are only three who can be firmly identified as Italians and their

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[8] Stehlíková, "Some Enamels," 646–649; Márton Gyöngyössy, "Coinage and Financial Administration in Late Medieval Hungary (1387–1526)," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó, and András Vadas (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 295–298.

[9] Borys Paszkiewicz, "Between Centralization and Fragmentation: Silesian Mints and Coinage in the Fifteenth Century," *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966–)* 163 (2003): 237–259.

[10] For the state of the Teutonic mints see: Borys Paszkiewicz, "A Chronology of the Teutonic Prussian Bracteates," in: *Magister Monetae: Studies in Honour of Jørgen Steen Jensen*, ed. Michael Andersen, (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 2007); Oliver Volckart, *Die Münzpolitik im Ordensland und Herzogtum Preußen von 1370 bis 1550,* Quellen und Studien des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau, Band 4. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), 152–166. For Lithuania see: Ramutė Macienė and Dalia Šatienė, eds., *Coins of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the Money Museum of the Bank of Lithuania Catalogue* (Vilnius, Pinigų muziejuje, 2015), 43–47.

[11] Borys Paszkiewicz, " 'De moneta in regno currente.' Polish coinage of King Casimir the Great ('De moneta in Regno currente.' Mennictwo polskie Kazimierza Wielkiego)," *Roczniki Historyczne* 74 (2008): 34–35, 40–41; Marcin Starzynski, "Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis. A Sketch of the Town Politics of Kazimierz Wielki (part II)," *Studia Historyczne* 56/1 (2013): 26–27.

combined stays in office amounted to no more than six years.[12] This list does not include three individuals who had been put forward previously as Italian mint masters active in the city but who upon further research can be firmly excluded. The first of these is Reynharius of Florence, who headed the Italian consortium invited in 1301 to reform the mint in Bohemia by King Wenceslaus II Přemysl and who had some tangential connections to Krakow.[13] A year prior to Reynharius's arrival in Bohemia, Wenceslaus II had succeeded after many years of striving in having himself crowned King of Poland. He was therefore technically ruler of Poland at the time he implemented the monetary reforms in Bohemia, and it could be argued then that this marks the first instance of Italian minters into the Polish sphere. This would still be only a very loose connection except that a second charter issued by Wenceslaus II in 1305 now listed Reynharius as "*Capitanus Cracovie.*"[14] Despite these connections, he is excluded from the list for two reasons. First, because the role of *capitanus* is assuredly not the same as *monetarius* and there is therefore no indication that his work was involved with the Krakow mint, and secondly because due to the premature deaths of Wenceslaus II and his heir Wenceslaus III, the Přemyslids quickly lost their grip over Polish territory and it may be that Reynharius never made it to the city at all. He appears in no contemporary Polish documents. The second mint-master regularly seen in historiography listed as an Italian, is Bartko, the infamous mint-master of Kazimir the Great. The career of Bartko and his involvement in the monetary reforms of Kazimir is an extremely interesting one with ramifications for the history of Polish coinage, but he was not of Italian origin and therefore will not appear in this study. The unfortunate mistaking of Bartko for an Italian can be traced back to the scholar Jan Ptasnik who claimed that he was the son of a certain Fredericus Gallicus of Genoa but provided no source to support this identification.[15] In fact,

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[12] The list of known mint masters was compiled using previous works together with my own analysis of the sources. Franciszek Piekosiński, *O Monecie i Stopie Menniczej w Polsce w XIV i XV Wieku* [Coins and Minting in Poland in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries] (Krakow: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1878), 136–139; Marian Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy Krakowskiej* [History of Krakow Coinage] (Poznań: Drukarnia Rolnicza Poradnika gospodarskiego, 1927), 45, 51.

[13] CDM V, 127, charter no. CXXII, 177, charter no. CLXIX.

[14] CDM V, 177, charter no. CLXIX.

[15] Having gone through the relevant sources, I have found no indication that Bartko was related to any "Gallicus." Jan Ptašnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem krakowskim" [Study of the Krakow Patrichiate], *Rocznik Krakowski* 15 (1913): 56; Jan Ptaśnik, *Kultura Włoska Wieków Średnich w Polsce* [Italian Culture in Medieval Poland] (Warsaw: Pánstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959), 156. Both Kiersnowski and Suchodolski repeat this error having picked it up from Jan Ptasnik. See: Ryszard Kiersnowski, "L'art monetaire et les italiens," in *Italia Venezia e Polonia tra medio evo e eta*

evidence suggests rather that Bartko's father was a certain Hilmann de Brestze.[16] Given these findings, Bartko is not to be included in the list of Italian mint-masters operating in Poland. The third individual also to be excluded from this listing is Leonardo di Bartoli of Florence who was supposedly mint master in Krakow in 1406.[17] The problem with this last identification is that it rests upon the inchoate interpretation of a single document.[18] The document in question is a copy of a letter uncovered in the Florentine archives in the nineteenth century describing an embassy from the Florentine city council to the Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło. The letter introduced a gift of two lions for the king, to be delivered by a small party including, *Johannes decretorum doctore*, *Petrus Bichierarius de Venetiis*, and *Leonardums Bartoli de Florentia, monetariums*. The letter itself, and the individuals described are real enough. Johannes, the doctor of canon law, was possibly John Śledź of Lubień, a Polish clergyman, well acquainted with Italy and an intimate at court.[19] An identification more credible than that put forward by Francesco Bettarini who argued that the mentioned Johannes was in fact "Giovanni of Bicci Medici," who while a renowned merchant-banker never gained the title of doctor of canon law.[20] The second individual Pietro Bicherano of Venice, is well known from Polish sources. He would go on to successfully manage the royal salt mines

moderna, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1980), 318; and Stanislaw Suchodolski, "D'où venaient les monnayeurs de l'atelier monétaire de Cracovie à la fin du XIVe et au début du XVe siècle?," *Revue Numismatique* 6/158 (2002): 347.

[16] He is mentioned listed in a papal document issued for Bartko in 1366. Michel Hayez, Anne-Marie Hayez, and Janine Mathieu, eds., *Urban V an. (1362–1370) Lettres Communes,* Vol. 5 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1979), nr. 15838.

[17] Kiersnowski, "L'art monetaire," 319; Suchodolski, "D'où venaient les monnayeurs," 349; Ptaśnik, *Kultura Włoska,* 18.

[18] Florentia, Archivio di Stato, Signoria, Missive, F Canc, reg. 27, i. Reproduced in: August Sokołowski and Józef Szujski, eds., *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti 1384–1496*, Vol. 1 (Krakow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1876), nr. 25.

[19] Frustratingly, the letter fails to give us John's surname. However, given that he was described as "*venerabili vero Johanne decretorum doctore, nuntio et familiari et commensale vestrae clementiae,*" the right honorable John, doctor of canon law, ambassador and table companion of the king, he is most likely to have been John Śledź of Lubień, who had earned his doctorate in canon law from the University of Padua and had served as Władysław II's personal chaplain since 1391. Krzysztof Ożóg, "University Masters at the Royal Court of Hedwig of Anjou and Władysław Jagiełło," in *Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages: A Cultural History*, ed. Piotr Górecki and Nancy van Deusen (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2009), 152.

[20] Francesco Bettarini, "The New Frontier: Letters and Merchants between Florence and Poland in the Fifteenth Century," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge [En ligne]* 127/2 (2015), http://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/2648 (Last accessed January 28, 2019).

and at times act as Venetian ambassador before dying in Krakow in 1424. As we shall see, he was also very briefly mint-master in Krakow himself. The final individual, Leonardo Bartoli of Florence, who was named in the document as *monetarius,* very likely worked in the Florentine mint and would no doubt have been welcomed by the Polish king to Krakow, but I believe he never arrived.[21] It is my contention that the letter uncovered in the Florentine archives was nothing but a draft copy, the outline of a grand plan never carried to fruition. There is no register of the letter in Polish records, no notarial books or chronicles of the time make any mention of the embassy and the surviving royal account books include no sudden note of lion food or a den being prepared. Further, no obligatory "thank you" letter appears to have left the chancery of the Polish king. The arrival of so splendid a gift, so exotic and stupendous an occasion as a lion coming to town would warrant a mention somewhere, and yet the Polish historical record remains deafeningly silent. It seems very likely then, that the planned lion embassy in which Leonardo Bartoli was included, perhaps as a second sort of "gift" to King Władysław II who was just then seeking to reform his currency, for some reason failed to leave Florence. This supposition is further bolstered by the fact that Leonardo Bartoli appears in no Polish written records, nor do his initials appear on any Polish coinage as was customary at the time. Given this dearth of evidence, I suggest excluding Leonardo from the list of Italians active in Poland.

Monaldo de Lucca (1394–1396)

The first securely identifiable Italian to help manage the Krakow mint was Monaldo de Lucca. He was an eccentric figure who would go on to work as a professor at Krakow University, write two medical treatises, and come close to a charge of heresy when he was accused of engaging in crystallomancy and demon assisted treasure hunting in the king's garden at Zwierzyniec.[22] He first appears in Krakow in 1387 embroiled in a dispute with a number of Prague merchants and a group

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[21] The names of numerous members of the Bartoli family appear in connection with the Florentine mint. Leonardo himself had further been made a member of the *Arte del' Cambio* guild in 1405, which would have made him eligible for a position as mint master, as members of the *Arte del' Cambio* nearly had a monopoly on positions as they appointed officers responsible for the silver and base coinages produced by the mint. Gianazza, "Eligivs Database;" Filippo Argelati, *De Monetis Italiae Variorum Illustrium Virorum Dissertationes, Quarum Pars Nunc Primam in Lucem Prodit,* Part 4 (Milan: Ex aedibus Societatis palatinae, 1752), 51–52; A. Carson Simpson, "The Mint Officials of the Florentine Florin," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 5 (1952): 123–124.

[22] Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 2010), 217.

of Italians for which he and his co-conspirators were banished from the city but then pardoned by the king.[23] In 1393 he was made mint master together with the prominent Krakow merchant, Peter Bork, in what was probably a private rental arrangement with the crown although no contract has survived.[24] The sources show that he and Bork answered directly to the king and queen, presenting them with the *seigniorage* for 1393–1394 which amounted to 5478 marks from the stamping of the largest denomination silver coins.[25] Marian Gumowski calculated that such a return would have meant that some 1,051,777 pieces would have to have been minted during the eighteen months covered.[26] This was an impressive increase in production. The new coins also had a higher silver content than their predecessors and were more artfully shaped than previous versions. Smaller denomination silver coins were also stamped and on these appeared for the first time a minter's initial mark – MP – the first letters of the Christian names of the masters, Monaldo and Peter.[27] The practice of adding a minter's mark was typical of Italian manufacture and used to help ensure quality production and as a sign of authenticity. It appears that the Krakow mint continued to issue high quality silver coins for the length of Monaldo's brief tenure but by 1395 he appears to have left the post. The reason for his departure is probably because the mint had begun once again to have difficulties in securing a reasonably priced bullion supply, decreasing profits.[28] Monaldo continued to live in Krakow and acted regularly as a representative for the city council abroad. He was a fixture at court and eventually succeeded to a chair at the newly reopened Krakow University while on the side experimenting in mystical arts. He never again worked with the mint. While his term in office

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[23] Bożena Wyrozumska, ed., *Księga proskrypcji i skarg miasta Krakowa 1360–1422 / Liber proscriptionum et querelarum civitatis Cracoviensis 1360–1422* (Krakow: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2001), nr. 785.

[24] The author has helpfully collected the relevant references into a comprehensive listing. Stanisława Kubiak, *Monety Pierwszych Jagiellonów: 1386–1444* [Coinage of the first Jagiellonians: 1386–1444] (Wrocław: Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1970), 226–228.

[25] Marian Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy Krakowskiej* [History of Krakow Coinage] (Poznań: Drukarnia Rolnicza Poradnika gospodarskiego, 1927), 38–39.

[26] Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 38–39.

[27] Kubiak, *Monety Pierwszych*, 254–255.

[28] In 1396, the king was convinced of the need to revalue the currency in relation to the international standard set by the Prague *grosz* as the coins currently being minted no longer contained enough silver to maintain the old ratios, demonstrating a paucity in the silver supply. Franciszek Piekosiński and Josef Suzujski, eds., *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 – do 1400* [The earliest notary books and accounts of the City of Krakow from 1300 to 1400] (Krakow: Czasu, 1878) (henceforth: NKiRMK), 151–152; Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 41.

was brief, Monaldo can perhaps be credited with improving production quality and quantity at the Krakow mint as well as initiating the trend of placing the minter's mark on coins. After Monaldo's departure the mint continued under the administration of Peter Bork and then other members of the Krakow patriciate until 1401/3 when an Italian once arrived on the scene – Simon Talenti.[29]

Simon Talenti (1401–1404)

Simon Talenti was from a Florentine family, members of which had moved to Hungary after a brief stint in Bologna in the 1380s.[30] Simon and his brothers Johannes, and Thalentus acted as merchants but were also deeply involved in Hungarian mining and minting initiatives.[31] They spread themselves strategically across the region, eventually gaining citizenship rights in Zadar, Pest, Pécs, and Košice and it was from their base in Košice that the brothers became interested in pursuing business in Poland.[32] Košice was located along a strategic trade route running through the Tatra mountains that connected Poland and the Kingdom of Hungary and it was through this gateway that Hungarian silver poured. At some point around 1401 Simon Talenti became engaged at the Krakow mint as demonstrated by coins issued bearing the first initial of his name S as a minter's mark. These coins were of high quality, containing a significant amount of silver and it appears likely that Simon and his brothers with their strong connections in Hungary were able to procure bullion supplies at a decent price. A year later, Andrzej Czarnysza, a prominent Krakow burgher joined the consortium and the

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[29] There is some lack of clarity surrounding when Simon first became involved in the Krakow mint. Written sources place him there only in 1403 but some numismatic evidence apparently points to 1401–1402. Given that Polish coins during this period carried no date stamps it may be that in light of the written source evidence the issuance of the dating of S and AS initialed coins should be moved forward from 1401–1402 to 1403–1404. If this were the case, then Simon Talenti's time as mint master would be shortened to as brief as the single year 1403–1404. I lack, however, the numismatic training to confirm this hypothesis. Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 229–230; Piekosiński, *O Monecie*, 74, 137.

[30] Suchodolski argued for Simon Talenti being of French origin from the village de Talent in the *département* of la Côte-d'Or in Bourgogne. However, given the ubiquity with which Italians were referred to in Polish sources as "Gallicus" as referring solely to Italians, and the contributions of Arany's research which positively identifies Simon and his brothers as originating from Italy, this identification can be safely disregarded. Suchodolski, "D'où venaient," 349–350; Krisztina Arany, "Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century," PhD dissertation (Central European University, 2014), 44, 127, 237.

[31] Arany, "Florentine Families," 237.

[32] Arany, "Florentine Families," 127.

minter's mark changed to AS.[33] These coins, stamped between 1402–1403 show a slight drop in silver content but were still of decent quality. Work appears to have been going well enough that in March of 1403 Andrzej Czarnysza loaned Simon 505 marks in goods and funds in order for he and his brother to purchase more silver in Hungary for use at the mint.[34] The order ran into trouble, however, as a court case held in Košice three years later reveals that Simon had yet to pay Andrzej back.[35] The problem, it turns out, was not perfidy on Simon's side but larger intervening events, as demonstrated by a question posed by King Władysław II to the Krakow city council in the same year asking for advice on how to deal with problems at the mint. The council's reply informed the king that a certain Marcus of Nuremberg, who was acting head of all Hungarian mining chambers, held a current monopoly on the silver supply and was refusing to sell bullion to Polish merchants at anything but exorbitant rates.[36] For this reason, the production of quality coins had become prohibitively expensive.[37] This price hike was part of a larger ongoing trade war between Hungary and Poland which was fueled by King Sigismund of Hungary's unsteady position on the throne, together with Marcus of Nuremberg's shrewd business acumen and pushes by various South German companies to corner the market on Polish lead and salt. Two years earlier, Marcus had gained a near total monopoly on export of Hungarian silver and copper resources and began raising prices. In retaliation, Polish lead producers organized a boycott of sales to Hungary, but they could not sustain the initiative and in 1405 were forced to begin selling once again, losing that round in the trade war. In these circumstances, the councilors recommended that instead of seeking

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[33] For more on the life and carrier of Andrzej Czarnysza see: Marcin Starzyński, "Andrzej Czarnysza († 1416) i jego autograf [Andrzej Czarnysza († 1416) and his autograph]," *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 6 (2014): 85–92.

[34] Jan Ptaśnik, ed., *Italia Mercatoria Apud Polonos Saeculo XV Ineunte*: *Opera* (Rome: Loescher, 1910), nr. 12

[35] Elemér Mályusz, ed., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár II. (1400–1410): Első rész (1400–1406)* [Cartulary of the Sigismund period II (1400–1410) First part (1400–1406)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó,1956), nr. 4749.

[36] Wolfgang von Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer im Karpatenraum: ein oberdeutsches Buntmetall-Oligopol 1396–1412" [Nuremberg entrepreneurs in the Carpathian region: a Upper German non-ferrous metal oligopoly 1396–1412], *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 16/4 (1968): 654–658; Wolfgang von Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz, 1350–1450,* Vol 1 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970), 143–148.

[37] Jan Ptaśnik and Stanisława Pańków, eds., *Cracovia Artificum: 1300–1500* (Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1917), nr 154. For more on this incident see: Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz,* 147–149.

to procure new bullion, the king attempt an old-fashioned *renovatio monetae*, calling in old silver coins from circulation in order to profit from the minting of new ones. They warned, however, that such a project would have its drawbacks as the stamping of large numbers of new coins, particularly if they were of low quality, could prove very damaging to internal markets.[38] The king may have made a brief attempt at restraint, but the Hungarian blockade could not have come at a worse moment as Poland made preparations for war with the Teutonic Knights.[39] Already by 1407 Polish coins had lost a quarter of their silver content and the currency would continue to depreciate as Władysław II sought to fund his way to victory.[40] After the triumph at Grunwald in 1410, some of the pressure came off of minting activities but with the coinage's silver content by now reduced to near half its earlier standard and with half a million such coins now in circulation, the mint closed in 1414.[41] It would remain shuttered for the next sixteen years.[42] Given the circumstances, it is utterly unsurprising that Simon Talenti appears to have dropped his interest in the Polish minting project and returned to his more lucrative affairs in Hungary.[43]

Pietro Bicherano of Venice (1406)

The final Italian to become involved in the Krakow mint was Pietro Bicherano of Venice (*Petrus Bicharanus de Venetiis*). Evidence of Pietro's involvement is limited to a brief line in the notarial records of Lviv entered in 1406.[44] The Lviv record involved a case of money being sent to Rome to assist in the promotion of a

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[38] *Cracovia Artificum,* nr. 154.

[39] Borys Paszkiewicz, "Monety koronne Władysława Jagiełły: między Wschową i Krakowem?" [Crown coins of Władysław Jagiełło: between Wschowa and Krakow?], *Biuletyn Numizmatyczny* 2 (358) (2010): 116; Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 43.

[40] Paszkiewicz, "Monety koronne," 113; Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 43.

[41] Numismatic evidence put forward recently by Paszkiewicz argues persuasively that although mention of the Krakow mint disappears from all written sources in 1414, coins were likely still minted in the city until 1422 rather than at a mint in Wschowa as had been previously thought. In any event, it seems highly unlikely that any Italians were employed in the running of this suppose of mint that continued to stamp out badly depreciated coins between 1414–1422. Paszkiewicz, "Monety koronne," 118.

[42] Paszkiewicz, "Monety koronne," 113; Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 43.

[43] Arany, "Florentine Families," 237.

[44] Aleksander Czołowski, ed., *Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta, 1404–1414* [Book of revenues and expenditures of the city] Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z archiwum miasta 2 (Lviv: Gmina król. stoł. miasta Lwowa, 1896), 28.

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local parish priest with the help of *Petrus Gallicus monetarius in Cracouia*. Pietro Bicherano is identifiable as the "Gallicus" mentioned in Lviv not only because he was the only Italian by that name working in Poland at the time, but further as a note from Krakow's notarial records confirms that in that same year "*Petro Pikaran de Wenetiis*" made arrangements for a trip to the Roman curia.[45] Pietro had first arrived in Krakow in 1404, after having worked for some time in Wrocław.[46] He had begun working with merchants at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in his home city of Venice in the 1390s and by 1406 was well connected to the Medici bank and the Southern German Kammerer-Seiler company who had Klaus Kezinger as their agent in Krakow.[47] Pietro arrived in Krakow to help Kezinger manage a large loan from the Kammerer-Seiler company which was partially backed by the Venetian branch of the Medici bank.[48] The loan had been made to Nicholas Bochner, a prominent Krakow burgher and current leaseholder and manager of the lead mines and royal salt mines near Krakow, who was having difficulties meeting his obligations.[49] Bochner had first rented the rights to manage and profit from these mines from King Władysław II in the 1390s and had run them profitably for a number of years. He made a few poor investment choices, however, just and as the king's same need for ready cash to fund war preparations that was badly influencing the mint, caused him to lean heavily on the salt-mine manager to meet production and sales targets.[50] Simultaneously, the trade war that had broken out with Hungary was making it nearly impossible to sell anything. To meet demands, Bochner was forced to borrow heavily from Kezinger and the Kammerer-Seiler company.[51] When the Polish lead boycott having collapsed in 1405 with merchants

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[45] Pietro did not go himself but paid to send a representative. Cracow State Archive, Consularia Cracoviensia nr. 427, 436. See: Jan Ptaśnik, *Włoski Kraków: Za Kazimierza Wielkiego I Władysława Jagiełły* [Italians in Krakow: From Casimir the Great to Władysław Jagiełło], Krakow: Society of History and Monument Enthusiasts of Krakow, 1910), 18 fn. 3.

[46] Philippe Braunstein, *Les Allemands À Venise: (1380–1520)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016), 225, 402–403; Ptaśnik, *Italia Mercatoria*, 39.

[47] Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz,*121–125; Raymond De Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 240 fn. 72; Braunstein, *Les Allemands à Venise*, 225, 402–403.

[48] Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz,*145.

[49] Jan Ptaśnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem krakowskim wieków średnich" [Study of the Krakow Patriciate during the Middle Ages], *Rocznik Krakowski* 15 (1913): 66–70; Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer," 654–657; Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy,* Vol 3, 1520–1521.

[50] Ptaśnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem," 68.

[51] Cracow State Archive, Consularia Cracoviensia, nr. 427, p. 237, 261. See: Ptaśnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem," 68.

being then forced to sell the large amounts of stockpiled lead at a poor price, Bochner found himself faced with an enormous debt of 25,000 marks he was unable to repay and was forced to declare bankruptcy. He was stripped of his lease of the salt mines and his assets were seized.[52] In the wake of Bochner's fall, the lead mines were taken over by Klaus Kezinger, and Pietro Bicherano was able to secure the lease of the salt mines from the king, a role he would fulfil with great acumen and profit for the next ten years.

Pietro's involvement with the mint in Krakow thus came at a moment of intense flux. The trade war had badly affected the pocket books of many of the premier merchants of Krakow; one of their most esteemed members, Nicholas Bochner had been forced into debtor's prison and the city councilman Adreas Wierzynek, scion of the famous Wierzynek family was so desperate that he plundered the city cash-box and was later tried and executed for this crime.[53] With the attempted lead embargo having failed, Polish merchants were left in an even worse position than before while the position of Marcus of Nuremberg, whose monopoly on Hungarian silver trade had forced Simon Talenti to resign his post at the mint, was strengthened. Marcus could continue to dictate silver prices, making a profitable running of the mint nearly impossible. Yet this intractability must also be put in the context of the steady downward slump of silver output by Hungarian mines. It was not simply that Marcus wished to put pressure on Poland or reap great profits for himself by charging monopolistic rates, there was also simply less silver to offer as Europe was by the deep in the Great Bullion Famine of the fourteenth century that lasted from 1392–1412/25.[54] Hungarian silver mines were becoming tapped out and so prices for the metal naturally rose. It was in part in response to this slump that the South German firms were so eager to gain possession of Polish lead supplies as using the new *saiger* method would allow them to extract previously unexploitable silver ore. Manipulated or not, silver during these years would not come cheap. Finally, even should the mint attempt a *renovatio monetae* that might produce profitable results, the king was at that moment seeking to raise as high a *seigniorage* payment as possible to meet war demands and so profits for the mint

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[52] A charter issued in 1414 by Władysław II recorded Bochner as still owing "*viginti milibus marcam vel cirta personaliter obligato.*" See: Franciszek Piekosiński, ed., *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski 1257–1506* [Records of the region of lesser Poland 1257–1506] vol. 4 (Kraków: NAU, 1903), 146; Ptaśnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem," 68; Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*, 148–149.

[53] Nicholas Bochner was imprisoned briefly for his debts before being released in order to try to raise cash to cover his default. Ptaśnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem," 68–70; Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer," 656.

[54] Blanchard was not particularly well informed about Italians operating in Poland and so his comments in this regard should be taken with caution. Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy,* Vol. 3, 971–974.

master would be rendered very slim indeed. Given the state of things, this was not perhaps the best time to try to seize responsibility over the Krakow mint, and Pietro was involved for only a brief period of a few months in 1406. For the next few years, the mint would be managed by a revolving series of individuals until at last in 1414 it was forced to close and would remain so for the next sixteen years.[55] Although the mint would open again for brief runs during the rest of the fifteenth century, it would produce almost exclusively large numbers of low denomination coins of a middling quality.[56] The Polish mint was simply unable to attract the amount of bullion required to strike high quality coins during continued periods of overall low precious metal supplies in Europe and so also to attract Italian interest.[57] The importation of silver and gold from the New World would change the overall dynamic, but Pietro Bicherano was to be the last Italian to manage the Polish mint until the sixteenth century.[58]

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[55] Kubiak, *Monety Pierwszych*, 252; Gumowski, *Dzieje Mennicy*, 45.

[56] Piekosiński, *O Monecie*, 66–68; Kubiak, *Monety Pierwszych*, 253; Borys Paszkiewicz, "Wojna trzynastoletnia w mennictwie Polskim i Pruskim" [The Thirteen Years' War in Polish and Prussian coinage], *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warminskie* 1 (2017): 35.

[57] Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy,* Vol. 3, 1063–1088.

[58] Kubiak, *Monety Pierwszych*, 253.

THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN THE KINGDOM OF BOSNIA DURING THE REIGN OF KING STJEPAN TOMAŠ (1443–1461)

Paweł Cholewicki

This article is a condensed version of my MA thesis of the same title,[1] which treated the problem of the role of the Franciscans during the reign of the penultimate king of Bosnia, Stjepan Tomaš, whose reign was a period of major progress for Catholicism. My work problematized the activities of the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary through looking at their entire mission, the Observant reform, their role at the royal court and the organization of an anti-Ottoman crusade. The reign of Tomaš was essentially a time of the Franciscans' triumph over the heretical Bosnian Church, the traditional spiritual pillar of political power in Bosnia. The spheres of life that these two rival organizations were competing to dominate were fully taken over by the friars during the reign of Tomaš. At the same time, the expansion of the Observant movement contributed to the partition of the large Bosnian vicary into smaller Observant units. The conflict between the Franciscans of Bosnia and their Observant superiors went on during the entire reign of Tomaš and brought the monarchy and the vicary closely together.

The main sources that I used in my research were documents issued by the Papal chancellery and the Ragusan chancellery, as well as general documents of the Franciscan order. To a lesser degree, I also used Franciscan chronicles. The Franciscans of Bosnia in general have received ample scholarly attention from the scholars of different disciplines and backgrounds. However, their status in the last years of the Bosnian kingdom remains a topic discussed only within wider narratives. In most cases the description of their situation in the last years of the kingdom is very brief, which strongly suggests that the topic, focusing on the friars in the given timeframe, has not been adequately problematized thus far. Juxtaposing the interests and needs of the king, the papacy and the friars with the rapid contemporary changes in Southeastern Europe, in the Kingdom of Bosnia and in the Franciscan order, my thesis reveals their symbiosis as well as tensions between them.

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[1] Paweł Cholewicki, "The role of the Franciscans in the Kingdom of Bosnia during the reign of King Stjepan Tomaš (1443–1461)," MA thesis (Central European University, 2018).

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Bosnia and the Franciscan Mission before the Reign of Tomaš

Geographically, Bosnia was positioned on the historic boundary between the Eastern and Western Roman empires, Greek and Latin, Catholic and Orthodox Christianity; thus, it was an area of interwoven external influences.[2] Politically, Bosnia emerges in the context of the Byzantine withdrawal from Southeastern Europe after the death of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1118–1180). During the Middle Ages, Bosnia remained by varying degrees in subordination to Hungary, and Hungary had various pretensions toward Bosnia, sometimes even invading it militarily.[3] With its elevation from banate to kingdom in 1377 under Tvrtko I (c. 1338–1391), Bosnia became an important political player in the region. It managed to expand territorially into Dalmatia and partly into Serbia which, after death of Tsar Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1308–1355), entered a phase of decentralisation. During the reign of Tvrtko I, Bosnia flourished, its rich deposits of silver attracted Saxon miners, Ragusan merchants and other various foreigners.[4] These changes, combined with the establishment of the Franciscan vicary in 1340, contributed to the Bosnian (re)integration into Latin Christendom.

However, after the death of Tvrtko I in 1391 the Bosnian kingdom entered a phase of decentralisation. Royal power weakened in favour of local aristocrats, the "Lords of Rusag" (bos. Rusaške Gsopode), who initiated rebellions and foreign interventions into Bosnia in the name of pretenders. Moreover, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the Ottomans emerged from the East and their expansionism endangered Bosnian integrity and existence. From 1415 onward, the Bosnian kingdom was forced to yield as a tributary to the Ottomans. Given its strategic position, it was used as a passage for further raids into Dalmatia and Hungary, some of which devastated Bosnia itself.[5] Thus, when Tomaš occupied the

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[2] Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krist i Donator: Kotromanići između vjere rimske i vjere bosanske – I" [Christ and the donor: Kotromanići between the Roman and the Bosnian faith Pt.1], in *Fenomen "Krstijani" u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* [The "Krstijani" phenomenon in medieval Bosnia and Hum], ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb – Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu/Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), 194.

[3] The relationship between medieval Bosnia and Hungary has its own historiography, main contributors being Lajos Thallóczy, Nada Klaić, Pál Engel, Dubravko Lovrenović and others.

[4] Đurđev Branislav, "Rudarstvo u Bosni i Herzegovini u srjedjem vjeku" [Mining in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Middle Ages] in *Radovi sa simpozijuma Rudarstvo i Metalurgija Bosne i Herzegovine od prahistorje do početka XX vijeka*, ed. Hamdija Kulović (Zenica: Izdanja muzeja grada zenice, 1999), 185–210.

[5] Emir Filipović, "The Key to the Gate of Christendom? The Strategic Importance of Bosnia in the Struggle against the Ottomans," in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (London–New York: Routledge, 2016), 157.

throne of Bosnia, he inherited a largely decentralised kingdom with an imperialistic, expansionist neighbour at its doorstep. When looking for potential allies against this menace, Tomaš had to face yet another factor playing to his disfavour; that is, Bosnian heretical dissidence.

Although Bosnian confessional problems began as early as the thirteenth century, the controversy that caused major consequences for the Bosnian Middle Ages arose in 1230s after the papal legate James of Pecoraria replaced an unknown bishop, who was a follower of the Slavic liturgy, with the famous Dominican, John of Wildeshausen (?–1252). The avalanche of events that this triggered resulted in the Bosnian bishopric's transference from the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Dubrovnik to the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Kalocsa, and in the early 1250s its seat was permanently translocated to Đakovo in the Kingdom of Hungary.[6]

By this turn of events, Slavic Christianity in Bosnia, until that moment organised by the Catholic *Ecclesia Bosnensis,* was snatched from the community of the universal Church and entered a process of developing its own independent ecclesiastic structures that appeared as a fully-fledged "Bosnian Church" (Bos. *Crkva bosanska*) in one of the few surviving documents of local origin dated to 1326–1329. The Bosnian Church was present in Bosnia until its expulsion by Tomaš.[7] It was accused of holding heretical, dualistic views by both the Catholic and the Orthodox Church. From the nineteenth century until this day, regional scholarship has been engaged in extraordinarily prolific discussions of whether it was indeed heretical/dualist in its beliefs.[8] The relative longevity of the Bosnian Church was a result of its vital function in the Bosnian banate/kingdom.[9]

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[6] Franjo Šanjek, ed., *Bosansko-humski krstjani u povjesnim vrelima (13.–15 st.)* [Bosnian-Hum Christians in the historical sources (13–15 c.)] (Zagreb: Barbat, 2003), 134–135.

[7] Lovrenović, "Krist i donator [I]," 203, 207.

[8] The discrepancies in sources of local and foreign origin, as well as significance of the Bosnian Church in national narratives fueled the scholarly debate. In his recent publication, Dautović divides the works dealing with the Bosnian Church into three frameworks: First, the Orthodox framework of Božidar Petranović, which presumes that the Bosnian Church was Orthodox since its foundation, similar to that of Serbia. Second, the Dualist framework of Franjo Rački, which presumes that the Bosnian Church was moderately dualistic, as described in Catholic anti-heretic treatises. Third, the Orthodox framework, which includes works containing a variety of different approaches but agreeing that the Bosnian Church was orthodox in its Christology. Dženan Dautović, "Crkva Bosanska: Moderni historiografski tokovi, rasprave i kontroverze (2005–2015)" [The Bosnian Church: Modern historiographic flows, debates and controversies], in *Historijska traganja* [Tracing history], ed. Vera Katz, vol. 15 (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2015), 129–131.

[9] Unlike the dualist movements in the Latin West, the Bosnian Church should be considered more a public church rather than a sectarian organization. Jaroslav Šidak, *Studije o "crkvi bosanskoj" i bogumilstvu* [Studies on the "Bosnian Church" and Bogomilism] (Zagreb: Liber, 1975), 96.

The major challenge to the Bosnian Church's position was the establishment of the Bosnian Franciscan vicary in 1340 at the general chapter in Assisi. Its emergence elevated the international diplomatic position of Bosnia. The Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary were detached from Hungarian expansionism, and, thus, they found a great ally in the Bosnian monarchy, which at the same time remained tolerant of the Bosnian Church. The confessional life of the Bosnian rulers, as well as many Bosnian noblemen, started to rest on the principle of confessional balance and compromise.[10] Their ability to oscillate between the vicary and the Bosnian Church was indispensable for a successful government.[11]

In Bosnia, the friars worked outside of the Catholic structures. In their task of returning Bosnia to Catholicism they struggled to overcome legal and economic challenges as well as an insufficient supply of missionaries. These challenges were first pronounced in a letter that Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić (r. 1322–1353) sent in 1347 to the pope.[12] Eventually, especially during the term of Bartholomew of Alverna as the vicar of Bosnia, the Franciscans made gradual progress in securing their position and their sustenance mainly by expanding their vicary, which at its greatest extent had houses in medieval southeastern Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria and Serbia, i.e. a large part of Southeastern Europe, and it also controlled a few convents in Apulia.[13]

With the creation of the vicary, the friars and the Bosnian Church entered a phase of competition to dominate the royal court and ultimately to win Bosnia. Traditionally, the Bosnian Church, by mediating the content of the charters and by guaranteeing their fulfilment, positioned itself as a spiritual pillar of the political stability in Bosnia. Even Catholic Dubrovnik tolerated the Bosnian Church's confessional dissent for the sake of its mediatory potential. The ongoing competition was manifested in the appearance of the friars in political roles as well. A good illustration of this competition of the two organizations on the eve of Tomaš's reign is a document from 1442 in which the duke of Dubrovnik (Lat.

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[10] John Fine, *The Bosnian Church, its Place in State and Society from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries: A New Interpretation* (London: SAQI, The Bosnian Institute, 2007), 225–227.

[11] Lovrenović, "Krist i Donator [I]," 197.

[12] Eusebius Fermendžin, ed., *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestus ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752* (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1892) (henceforth: Acta Bosnae), 28; Bazilije Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca od 13. do 15. st. u Bosanskoj državi" [Activities of the Franciscans from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in Bosnia], in *Kršćanstvo srednjovjekovne Bosne* [Christianity in medieval Bosnia], ed. Marko Karamatić (Sarajevo: Vrhbosanska visoka teološka škola, 1991), 247.

[13] Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* [Franciscan Bosnia] (Rome: Hrvatski Povijesni Institut, 1968), 73–81.

Rector) promised King Tvrtko II that his deposit of silver in the city would be available to him whenever he would send an envoy with a sealed letter written "in the presence of monks either of the Roman or the Bosnian faith."[14]

A Difficult Beginning

This relative confessional balance was disturbed during the reign of King Stjepan Tomaš, who took the throne in late 1443. At the beginning of his reign, Tomaš faced several major problems regarding his legitimacy as king. As an illegitimate son of King Stjepan Ostoja (?–1418, king in 1398–1404, 1409–1418), he was raised in the Bosnian faith and before he was entrusted with the government of the kingdom, he had already been married to Vojača (1417–1463), a woman from the lower nobility. Moreover, Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (?–1466), one of the most powerful Bosnian magnates, refused to recognize the new king and took a stand in favor of the king's brother, Radivoj (?–1463), who had already been promoted as pretender by Sandalj and the Turks a decade earlier. This drove Bosnia into a civil war at the beginning of Tomaš's reign.[15] As if internal problems were not enough, the Ottomans were already at the doorstep of Bosnia.

The papacy under Eugen IV (1383–1447, pope from 1431), in the process of restoring its universal power and observing the "unstoppable" expansion of the Ottomans, turned its attention to Bosnia. For Tomaš, who confessed the "Pataren errors" while ascending the throne, Catholicism might have seemed like a potential solution to all the challenges of his reign and from its very beginning he established his ties with the papacy mainly thanks to the mediation of legate Thomas Tomassini (?–1469).[16] It is not clear when exactly Tomaš officially declared himself to be converted to Catholicism, but he was baptized only in 1457 by Cardinal Carvajal.[17]

The offer of official conversion to Catholicism was possibly supplemented by an offer of papal justification concerning the most troublesome obstacles for his government. Already on 29 May 1445 Pope Eugene IV issued bulls where he removed the "*defectum natalium*" from the king and dissolved his marriage to

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[14] Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* [Old Serbian charters and documents]*, vol. 1, (Belgrade–Sremski Karlovci: Srpska manastirska štamparnja, 1929), 516.

[15] Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* [Prince Stefan Vukčić Kosača and his age] (Belgrade: Posebno izdanje SANU 176, 1964).

[16] Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), vol. 2 (henceforth: *Vetera monumenta historica*), 264.

[17] *Acta Bosnae*, 202.

Vojača.[18] Tomaš used the occasion and on 21 May 1446, he married Catharine, the daughter of Stjepan Kosača, to put an end to the civil war with him. Also, Tomaš attempted to elevate his legitimacy by receiving a coronation according to the Catholic rite but ultimately this was unsuccessful.[19]

Members of the most powerful noble houses showed an interest in Catholicism during the second half of the 1440s.[20] The royal couple was engaged in the foundation of new Catholic churches and friaries; this activity expanded beyond the major centers of their power.[21] Some researchers argue that the pro-Catholic course of politics was decided on at the so-called Council of Konjic of 1446.[22] Despite these changes, there is no evidence for persecution of the Bosnian Church until 1459.

The Catholicization process is reflected even in numismatic material. Tomaš, in the first years of his reign, was issuing coins with an image of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329–390), a father of the Eastern Church whose cult was promoted by the Bosnian Church. However, after Tomaš officially accepted Catholicism he started to issue coins with the image of St. Gregory the Great (c. 540–604); one of the Latin Fathers.[23] (*Fig. 1.*)

There is a wide-spread opinion in scholarship that Tomaš's initial tolerance towards the Bosnian Church resulted in a conflict with the Franciscans in late 1445, when they allegedly refused to administer the Holy Communion to him.[24] However, this information is based solely on one source included by Daniele Farlati

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[18] *Acta Bosnae*, 198.

[19] Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krist i Donator: Kotromanići između vjere rimske i vjere bosanske – II. (Konfesionalne posljedice jednog lokalnog crkvenog raskola)" [Christ and the donor: Kotromanići between the Roman and the Bosnian faith, Pt. 2 (Confessional consequences of a local church schism)], in *Tristota obljetnica stradanja samostana i crkve u Olovu (1704–2004)* [The third anniversary of the destruction of the monastery and the church in Olovo], ed. Marko Karamatić, (Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologia, Sarajevo 2008), 33.

[20] Lovrenović, "Krist i Donator [II]," 34.

[21] Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien* (Werl: Dietrich-Coelde, 1991), 167.

[22] The only information about the council come from a forged decree. Pejo Ćošković, *Bosanska kraljevina u prijelomnim godinama 1443–1446* [The Bosnian kingdom during the groundbreaking years 1443–1446] (Banjaluka: Institut za istoriju u Banjaluci, 1988), 133–154.

[23] Dubravko Lovrenović, *Bosanska kvadratura kruga* [Bosnian quadrature of a circle] (Sarajevo: Dobra Knjiga, 2012), 29.

[24] Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* vol. IV (Venice: 1769), 257–258. Jaroslav Šidak criticized John Fine for his rejection of the document's authenticity without valid reasons. The reasons I presented in my MA thesis can be roughly summarized as: the lack of the document's existence in the modern editions of the papal cartulary registers, an odd comment about Tomaš's Catholic education since his youth, and arguably whether the Franciscans would actually refuse the sacraments to Tomaš after the

Fig. 1. Two coins issued by King Stjepan Tomaš. The one on the left displays St. Gregory of Nazianzus and the one on the right St. Gregory the Great. The coins are part of a permanent medieval exhibition in Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine in Sarajevo. Photos by Paweł Cholewicki.

in his *Illiricum Sacrum*, and in my MA thesis I questioned its authenticity, at least in the form preserved in his work. Whether we are to accept the source's authenticity or not, the problems that the vicary and the monarchy faced compelled them to find common ground soon after.

The Disintegration of the Bosnian Vicary

All reconfigurations that followed Tomaš's turn towards Catholicism at first sight indicate the most favourable period for the Bosnian Franciscans. However, while Catholicism prospered in Bosnia, the Bosnian vicary was facing separatist tendencies that challenged its integrity and effectively ripped it apart in the years 1445–1447. The crisis of the vicary was related to the ongoing Conventual/Observant conflict within the Franciscan order.[25]

The Observant Franciscans became interested in Bosnia as early as the fifteenth century because of the good reputation of its missionaries. The first Observant convents in Hungary and in Dalmatia were under the jurisdiction of the Bosnian vicary and were initially supervised by the *Custos domus Bosnensis*, and later by the vicars themselves. In 1432 the famous observant friar, James of the Marches (1391–1476), started to reform the Bosnian community as *commisarius* of Minister General and in 1435 he became the vicar of Bosnia. His actions exposed the differences between the lifestyle and the pastoral ministry in Bosnia and those

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very long period of toleration of the Bosnian king's contacts with the Bosnian Church. Jaroslav Šidak, "Heretička Crkva bosanska" [The heretic church of Bosnia], *Slovo* 27 (1977*)*: 181.

[25] The Conventuals accused the Observants of destroying the order's integrity while the Observants accused Conventuals of dissent from the original Rule. They both become effectively two separate Franciscan communities. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 451.

demanded by the Italian reformers. While James was resisted by the Bosnian friars, who defended their missionary privileges and concession, the Dalmatian and the Hungarian parts of the vicary developed strong Observant tendencies and started to demand separation. The Franciscans of Bosnia wanted to maintain the vicary's integrity and tensions grew.

Despite the resistance of the Franciscans of Bosnia backed by King Tvrtko II, James of the Marches found a powerful patron in Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368–1437, King of Hungary from 1387, Holy Roman Emperor from 1433), who forced the Bosnian king to allow James to conduct his reform without interference. On Sigismund's insistence, the document *Universalis Ecclesiae* was issued by the Council of Basel in April 1434, guaranteeing that the Bosnian vicar would come from the Observant family. A subsequent bull of Eugene IV from January 1445 subjugated the Bosnian vicar under its Cismontane branch.[26]

James of the Marches and the vicars who followed him conducted a Hungary-oriented policy until 1447. They fought against the Hussites in the Kingdom of Hungary and Moldavia rather than against the Bosnian Church.[27] Concessions for new convents were given for Hungarian territories rather than Bosnian ones. There was a tendency for replacing Slavic friars with Hungarians.[28] Such reconfigurations were unacceptable for the Bosnian friars, and a major conflict broke out in the vicary between the Bosnian and the "Sclavi" friars on one side and the Hungarian on the other. Each side elected their own vicar.[29] The bull of January 1445 annulled the self-proclaimed Hungarian Observant vicary, but it confirmed Fabian Kenyeres of Bačka, favored by the Hungarian side, as the vicar of Bosnia.[30]

In 1446, James Primadizzi became the Cismontane vicar of the Observants and he took steps in favour of the separatists within the Bosnian vicary. During his term, the Apulian, Dalmatian and Hungarian parts of the vicary were removed from it. Primadizzi gave an autonomous standing to local Observant communities; this was his contribution for the promotion of the Observant movement. The first part to be taken away was Apulia, where the vicary had the custody of St. Catharine. James Primadizzi decided to transfer this custody to the newly organized Apulian

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[26] *Acta Bosnae,* 189; Stanko Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa u Dalmaciji i Istri: opservantska obnova i samostani Provincije sv. Jeronima u 15. St* [The Franciscan renaissance in Dalmatia and Istria: Observance renewal and convents of St. Jerome Province in fifteenth century] (Zadar–Split: Franjevačka provincija sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri, 1999), 36–37.

[27] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 223; Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna,* 113.

[28] Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa,* 56.

[29] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 225; Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 111.

[30] Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 112.

Observant vicary of St. Nicholas.[31] At the end of 1446 or at the beginning of 1447, the pope also confirmed the Hungarian Observant vicary, giving a legal framework to what was most likely already reality by then.[32] In time this vicary become the Observant *provincia SS. Salvatoris*.

The convents that the vicary had on the Adriatic coast arguably played the most important part in sustaining the vicary. Initially, in 1437, the papacy strictly forbade taking the Dalmatian convents away from the vicary. However, in September 1447, James Primadizzi convinced Pope Nicholas V to put five key Dalmatian houses of the vicary under his immediate jurisdiction, as well as those that would be built there in the future.[33] In this way, at the beginning of 1448, the Bosnian vicary – with many of its possessions in the Catholic lands taken away and many of its Balkan convents lost to the Turks – was effectively reduced to the Kingdom of Bosnia and a few possessions in Dalmatia.

After this disintegration, the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary even temporarily detached themselves from the Observant authority. In spring 1448, they sent a list of complaints against Primadizzi to Nicholas V. [34] The pope allowed them to elect their own vicar who would be directly under the jurisdiction of Minister General Antonio Rusconi, a Conventual himself. However, most likely already in 1449, the new Bosnian vicar, Michael of Zadar, accepted Capistran as his superior. The latter was re-elected that year in the Observant chapter in Florence for the office of Cismontane vicar. Nevertheless, the document *Status locorum vicariae Bosnae* issued in 1450s and the election of Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce, the controversial preacher (at least in Observant circles), as the vicar of Bosnia in 1454 indicated that the Franciscans of Bosnia kept their own pastoral lifestyle and their own channels of sustenance, as well as skepticism towards Observant establishment.

With the integrity of the vicary broken, the sustainability of its houses inside Bosnia were at issue. King Tomaš created a special tax for his subjects to be paid for the vicary *vel voluntarie vel invite*, but the Cismontane vicar Marko of Bologna wrote to the king that according to their rule, the Franciscans could accept only

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[31] Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia, ed., *Bullarium franciscanum Romanorum pontificum, constitutiones, epistolas, ac diplomata continens* I (Rome, 1759) (henceforth: *Bullarium franciscanum*), 446.

[32] *Bullarium franciscanum* I, 591; Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle (vers 1450–vers 1540)*, Bibliotheca seraphico-capuccina 83 (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini , 2008), 33.

[33] *Acta Bosnae,* 160; Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 113. The bull indicates that Nicholas V was aware of the role which the Dalmatian convents, especially Dubrovnik, played in the Bosnian vicary's system of provisions and sustenance and in it he assured the right of the vicary to collect alms in Dalmatia. Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa,* 126–129.

[34] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 250.

alms given voluntarily.[35] The Franciscans of the Bosnian vicariate, backed by King Tomaš and legate Tomassini achieved a partial success in recovering the vicary's possessions on the Adriatic coast. However, the Bosnian friars again engaged themselves in conflicts with the Dalmatian friars and the Ragusan senate.[36] Their quarrels continued after the death of Tomaš so that Pope Pius II in 1464 created a united Bosnian-Dalmatian province and appointed Bernardino of Aquila as its head. The province did not survive the predictable internal strife and was annulled in 1469.[37]

Tomaš's Court between the Roman and the Bosnian Faith

The king supported the Franciscans of Bosnia in their struggle to maintain the vicary's integrity not only becouse he promoted the Catholic cause, but also because he needed their assistance. The threatening expansion of the Ottomans and the dubious confessional identity of the Bosnian kingdom required him to employ men of good reputation from within Catholic circles, capable of political mediation for his diplomatic efforts.[38] Legal permission for the friars' presence at the royal court was reinstated by Pope Nicholas V on 18 June 1447.[39] Friar Marino of Korčula was promoted to become royal chaplain and he proved to be Tomaš's most trusted advisor and agent.[40] Many other Franciscans were employed for diplomatic missions as well.

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[35] *Acta Bosnae,* 217–218; Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 120.

[36] Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 75.

[37] Leonard Lemmens, ed., *B. Bernardini Aquilani Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae: Ex codice autographo primum* (Rome: Typis Sallustianis, 1902), 106.

[38] Anto Babić, *Iz istorije srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of medieval Bosnia] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972), 113.

[39] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 235.

[40] He appeared as *custos* (warden) and chaplain in the document confirming the alliance between Tomaš and Dubrovnik in December 1451. He was frequently dispatched to Dubrovnik as an envoy and the Ragusans counted on his mediation while sending their own agents to Bosnia. In October 1458, Mario was sent to Buda to discuss Tomašević's marriage with Helen Branković. After the fall of Bosnia in 1463, he started to actively propagate the crusade in the Dalmatian towns, which caused him trouble with the Venetian authorities. In 1467, he tried to stop the disintegration of the united Bosnian-Dalmatian province against the will of the General chapter in Mantua. In early 1480s, together with Francis Zlatarić, he organised the custody of Kraina and Hum. Babić, *Iz istorije*, 114; Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 89–90, Mladen Ančić, *Na rubu Zapada. Tri stoljeca srednjovjekovne Bosne* [On the edge of the West, three centuries of medieval Bosnia] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 46, 173.

Particular attention should be paid to the Franciscan contribution of achieving the inclusion of Bosnia into an anti-Ottoman front. The organization of the crusade that would put an end to the Ottoman expansion was one of the major projects of the fifteenth-century papacy. The efforts increased after the fall of Constantinople, and even more so when Callixtus III became pope in 1455.[41] The recent Bosnian turn to Catholicism and its "bulwark" position conceptualized it as the *antemurale* of Christendom, which was exploited by Tomaš's diplomacy.[42] After the conquest of Constantinople, the sultan increased the required annual tribute and in 1456 he requested four strategically-located towns in Bosnia. It was clear that the policy of delaying the Ottomans by paying tribute would soon lead to the annexation of the entire country. Possibly encouraged by the victory in Belgrade in 1456, in spring 1457 Tomaš was willing to go to war with the Ottomans and asked Callixtus III for the crusading banner and the holy cross for the Christian army.[43] The same request was repeated in June 1457 by friars Britio de Pannonia and Demetrio de Albania.[44]

Effectively, Bosnia was included in Callixtus III's network of preaching and money collection for his crusade. In June 1457 an Observant friar, Marino of Siena, was given the responsibility to organize the crusade in Hungary, Bosnia, Serbia, Dalmatia and local friars were obliged to help him in his task.[45] Ultimately, Tomaš's ambition to organize the crusade against the Ottomans in autumn 1457 was fruitless and most likely that has to be understood in terms of raising external support rather than his readiness for personal commitment.[46] In either case, the Franciscans played a significant role in favor of the Bosnian monarch, advocating for his pious image. Friars Marino of Siena and Paulo of Ragusa assured the pope about the sincerity of the decision to dispatch his army in September and Britio de Pannonia and Demetrio de Albania also spoke of him in a positive tone, so that the pope called Tomaš *miles Christi* in one of his letters.[47]

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[41] Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 138–140.

[42] Filipović, "The Key," 156.

[43] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 292.

[44] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 296.

[45] Antonín Kalous, *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus?: papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450–1526)* [Plenitudo potestatis in partibus?: papal legates and nuncius in Central Europe at the end of the Middle ages (1450–1526)] (Prague: Matice moravská, 2010), 191–192. His concessions were renewed in 1459.

[46] Lajós Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (Munich–Leipzig: Duncker und Humbolt, 1914), 415–416.

[47] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 296–299.

Given the decisive domination of the pro Catholic direction of Tomaš's policy, as well as the increase of the importance of the Franciscans at the court, the Bosnian Church gradually disappeared from positions it previously held. The moment of replacement was highlighted by Anto Babić who used sources issued during the war between Stjpan Kosača and the Republic of Dubrovnik over trade monopolies on the Adriatic. It began in June 1451 and ended in April 1454, involving an unexpected number of players and reconfigurations.[48] According to these documents, the Franciscans as well as legate Tomassini well situated themselves in the role of the king's agents and mediators of political agreements, i.e. those positions which were earlier held by members of the Bosnian Church.[49] According to the document from 1452, after agreeing to make peace with his king, a powerful Bosnian magnate, Voivod Vojsalić, confirmed his fealty before the assembled Bosnian nobility and invoked Tomassini and two friars as guarantors (Lat. *fideiussores*) of his oath.[50] At the same time, the members of the Bosnian Church played their "traditional" roles on Kosača's side. It is worth mentioning that Gost Radin, undoubtedly the Bosnian *Krstjanin* best known in the scholarship, contributed largely in saving Kosača from a very precarious situation.

Babić presumed that the clear division of roles illustrates that the Bosnian Church was already expelled from Bosnia by Tomaš.[51] However, the *Commentaries* and letters of pope Pius II reveal that the expulsion happened most likely later and that it was related to the fall of Smederevo, at that time under control of Tomaš's son, Stjepan Tomašević, on 20 June 1459. The Hungarian envoys at the council of Mantua accused Tomaš of betraying the Christian cause by conspiring with the Ottomans to whom he supposedly sold the stronghold.[52]

Contemporary scholarship rejects the existence of a Bosnian-Ottoman conspiracy.[53] What happened in Smederevo was most likely not a result of ill will but necessity. Pius II who decided to examine this accusation, pointed out, as an argument in support of the king's sincerity, the recent expulsion of heretics from

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[48] Babić, *Iz Istorije* 112–116, 284–285.

[49] Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita ab Innocentio PP. III. usque ad Paulum PP. III.* (Rome, 1863), 447–450, 457–460, 465–469, *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 265–266

[50] *Vetera monumenta historica* II, 265–266. It is questionable whether custos Mariono de Canali (Canali-Konavle) mentioned in the source was actually Marino of Korčula or another individual.

[51] Babić, *Iz Istorije, 284.*

[52] Farlati, *Illiricum sacrum* IV, 73.

[53] John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 575–576.

Bosnia.[54] In this light, it seems that the king's decision to expel the Bosnian Church in 1459/60 was a desperate attempt to save his reputation in the Catholic world.

The Franciscan vicary and the Serbian Orthodox church both took advantage of Bosnian Church's decline and disappearance. The letter sent by John Capistran to Pope Calixtus III in 1455 illustrates that already in the mid-1450s, they clashed for the converts.[55] This conflict, in a variety of forms and manifestations, carried on long after the Ottoman conquest.

King Tomaš died in the second half of 1461 and was buried in Bobovac. Late in 1461, Stjepan Tomašević ascended the Bosnian throne and was crowned in Jajce with the papal crown by the legate Nicholas of Modruš. The Bosnian monarchy as a political entity was finally included into the sphere of Latin Christendom. However, in less than two years the Ottomans conquered Bosnia, opening yet another chapter in its complex religious history.

Concluding Remarks

The reign of Stjepan Tomaš was the period of the most spectacular Catholic progress in Bosnia. The king's initial weakness compelled him to maintain close ties with Rome. The Franciscan vicary, the only successful Catholic structure in Bosnia, was a natural beacon for increasing Catholic influence. This period was the final act of the struggle between the vicary and the Bosnian Church in the vacuum left by the "exiled" canonical bishopric. The spheres of life that these two organizations were competing to dominate were fully taken over by the friars during this time. Several high-ranking Franciscans, especially Marino of Korčula, were personally involved in the most important political initiatives taken by Tomaš.

The Franciscan action in Bosnia was prompted and bolstered by the papacy and the Bosnian monarchy. The papacy included the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary in two of its major fifteenth-century projects: the reunification policy and the organization of the anti-Ottoman Crusade. The sources regarding the potential crusade illustrate the pragmatic motivation behind Tomaš's cooperation with the vicary. The king's self-representation as a defender of Christendom was necessary if external help for his kingdom was to ever materialize.

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[54] From the *Commentaries*: "King of Bosnia to atone for having surrendered Senderovia to the Turks and to give proof to his religious faith (or, as many thought, to cloak his avarice), forced the Manichaeans […] to be baptized or to emigrate leaving their property behind them." William Gray and Harold Faulkner, eds., *The Commentaries of Pius II*, trans. Florence Gragg (Northampton: Smith College Studies in History) 1937, 366.

[55] Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 110–113.

Even though the Franciscan actions in Bosnia were diversified at the time, a common denominator is conspicuous in everything they did. Whether it was the pastoral lifestyle described by Vicar Bernardino of Aquila, the maintenance of the vicary's integrity, or their resistance to the radical reformists, their persistent attempts to dominate the royal court and to organize a crusade, all these actions originated from their particular understanding of the Franciscan vocation, which was immersed in the missionary foundation of the vicary.

THE BOUTSIAN TYPE OF MARY AS *MATER DOLOROSA*

Éva Bárdits 📥

> *The whole of Christianity is mankind's fit of crying,*
> *of which only salty and bitter traces are now left to us.*[1]

Around the second half of the fifteenth century, an image-type of striking emotive intensity was becoming widespread: half-length portraits of the Virgin Mary depicted as Mater Dolorosa (the Sorrowing Mother or Mother of Sorrows). Here I will examine the occurrence of the type where it is most prominently present, namely, in the workshop of Dirk and Albrecht Bouts, depicting the Virgin with her face in three-quarter view, looking towards the right side of the panel, and her hands clasped together in prayer, crying. For the purposes of this essay, questions of dating and attribution will be of little relevance: the fact that these images were created in the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century in and around Leuven are satisfying enough. The first occurrence of the type, preserved in The National Gallery in London, is dated as early as the 1450s,[2] while some are dated as late as the third decade of the sixteenth century,[3] the composition remaining virtually unchanged: even though stylistically different – with modified backgrounds and painterly techniques, along with a dissimilar treatment of space in the latter piece mentioned – the size of the panels and the figures of Mary, with her outline and all her components in minute detail, are essentially identical.

It is impossible to accurately determine how many of these images actually exist as many are preserved in private collections, hence, there is not much information about them at hand, and some are only known in old photographs; moreover, the distinction between the production of the workshop led by Dirk Bouts, by his son, Albrecht, and the copies that were created in neither, is quite problematic. In a fairly recent catalogue there are at least ten paintings that could be considered more or less identical to the London image, not counting apparently distant copies and different variations of basically the same iconographic type.[4]

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[1] Emil Cioran, *Tears and Saints* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995 [1937]), 30.

[2] See the Appendix, image no. 1.

[3] Appendix, no. 4.

[4] Valentine Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts* (Brussels: IRPA-KIK, 2011), 373–405, especially cat. nos. 54, 55, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 83, 87, 96, 104, 105.

However, for our purposes what matters is the type itself, and that it was repeated persistently throughout the second half of the fifteenth century. What can explain this continuity, i.e., why was this type reproduced over and over again? What demand did it fulfil, and how was it even used? How does all this fit in the veneration of the Virgin Mary and the various roles associated with her? And finally, how do these roles and demands relate to her womanhood?

Within the limited scope of this essay I will not attempt to even outline the development of the Virgin's cult throughout the Middle Ages. What needs to be noted here, on the one hand, is that textual and pictorial depictions of Mary crying are widespread: the suffering, mourning, weeping, or melancholy Virgin is more or less ubiquitous and seems to have been remarkably significant in her cult from various aspects, in varying contexts, and had multiple meanings. On the other hand, in addition, there seems to be renewed special attention dedicated to this aspect in the fifteenth century, which is generally deemed to be a period in which a shift in devotional practices and religious attitudes had occurred, and which very much manifested in artworks. In the North,[5] and especially in the Netherlands, the popularity of the writings of mystics like Saint Bridget, the Pseudo-Bonaventurian *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, the works of Ludolph of Saxony and Thomas à Kempis, along with the growing influence of religious orders (Cistercians, Carthusians, and Franciscans) and confraternities, all contributed to a new kind of piety that emphasized and centered around the personal identification with the human life and suffering of Christ.[6] Parallelly, devotional practices also transformed, in a sense that collective forms of piety were more and more replaced by individual ones, such as private contemplation and meditation, manifested in the emergence and spreading of the so-called *Andachtsbilder*, i.e., images that do not depict an actual moment of the Bible's narrative, but are iconic compositions, displaced from time, and thus are usually believed to be used as aids to prayer, as objects of contemplation and meditation – like the image-type in question.

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[5] I use the term "North" to refer to basically anything non-Italian in Europe. This peculiar terminology is standard in art history-writing, even though it can be somewhat misleading as on the one hand, it obscures the vivid connections between Netherlandish and Italian centers (and falsely implies that these are homogenous units in themselves), and on the other hand, it suggests a geographical orientation that is no less false, as "Northern art" usually incorporates areas "as far south as Spain" or "as far east as Krakow." See Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4. I am sticking to this terminology due to its commonness.

[6] This can be considered a default scholarly view, summarized by, e.g., John Oliver Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits: Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (Washington, D.C. – Antwerp – Cambridge: National Gallery of Art – Koninklij Museum voor Schone Kunsten – Harvard University Art Museums, 2006), 3.

1. Mater Dolorosa, *workshop of Dirk Bouts, c. 1457. 37 × 28 cm. London, National Gallery*

2. Christ crowned with thorns, *workshop of Dirk Bouts, c. 1457, 37 × 28 cm. London, National Gallery*

Notably, these Marys of Bouts do not appear to operate as individual *Andachtsbilder* in themselves, but are believed to always accompany portraits of the suffering Christ, who is depicted as the Man of Sorrows, Ecce Homo, or something in -between.[7] The image-type has predecessors in the thirteenth century, occurring in Byzantine icons and Italian examples, still, in the North it originated in a painting by Robert Campin. However, the pairing of a deeply saddened Mary turning towards a no less miserable Christ, paired but separated in two panels,

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[7] The Man of Sorrows is most generally distinguished from the Ecce Homo by the presence of the wounds, i.e., depicting Christ after the crucifixion, while the Ecce Homo shows him as presented to the people by Pilate, with various attributes of his torture (like the robe or the crown of thorns). But when these two iconographic themes are rendered into a portrait, the distinction is not always possible (e.g., when presenting Christ alive, in a robe with a crown of thorns but with visible wounds), and not necessarily even relevant: an essential element of *Andachtsbilder* like these is that they do not represent narrative moments of the Passion. The Virgins are nearly exclusively paired with Christs who fold their hands at the bottom of the image, thus it is not possible to determine if they are already wounded or not (see the Appendix, no. 2). It should also be noted that there are some weeping Virgins of the type that do not have a known pair; and that there are far more Christs that stand alone, hence the assumption that the Marys were created to accompany these Christs (see Hand et al., *Prayer and Portraits*, 13.) Still, I believe we cannot completely rule out the possibility that these Marys could have been also functional in themselves.

can be considered an invention of Bouts.[8] So, how can this pairing along with the heightened degree of pain and emotion be interpreted in the context of fifteenth-century devotion?

On the one hand, Mary could play a crucial role in the new pious attitude: the source of Christ's human nature, a Mediatrix, an intercessor to humankind, a mediator rendering the divinity approachable.[9] Through her identification with Christ's suffering, her *compassio*, she became not only a "primary intercessor," but a "model of compassion" and thus, a model of emotional devotion.[10] The emergence of a confraternity dedicated solely to Mary's pains, namely the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary, vibrantly exemplifies and underlines this. Discussing the confraternity and the relating diagrammatic images of Mary's sorrows, Schuler interprets the Boutsian type as a part of a process towards the individual worship of the Mater Dolorosa, i.e., the veneration of the suffering Mary herself.[11] In the meantime, Schuler debates the otherwise routinely mentioned notion[12] that this compassion would place Mary in the role of a "co-redemptrix," a companion to Christ in salvation.[13]

On the other hand, the format itself, the diptych,[14] is of relevance to the meaning of the image. The popularity of small-scale diptychs substantially grew in the second half of the fifteenth century,[15] supported by the new kind of piety (and demand for objects of private devotion), the changing patterns of workshop-practice (creating images for an open market in large numbers), and the widening of the class of people who could afford to buy art.[16] In a very typical form of these diptychs the donor is depicted on one panel (or donors in a couple, or even whole families) with a Madonna on the other. However, not all diptychs are of a religious theme: secular topics are less common, but they definitely exist; a typical variation depicts a married couple, husband and wife, separately but facing each other on

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[8] Martha Wolff, "An Image of Compassion: Dieric Bouts's 'Sorrowing Madonna,'" *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): 120.

[9] Wolff, "An Image of Compassion," 118.

[10] Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe," *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21, no. 1/2 (1992): 15.

[11] Schuler, "Seven Sorrows," 13, 28.

[12] Wolff, "An Image of Compassion," 121.

[13] Schuler, "Seven Sorrows," 15, n. 36.

[14] Here, I use the term "diptych" not only to refer to foldable diptychs that are hinged together in their frames, but merely as images that belong together in a pair.

[15] Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 2.

[16] Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 4.

3. Ecce Homo and Mater Dolorosa, *Workshop of Albrecht Bouts.*
Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen.

the two panels.[17] Diptychs are usually imagined to be stood up when in use, not completely open, but with the two panels unfolded at an angle, slightly facing each other. However, it seems to be the case that the Boutsian Sorrowing Mothers were not hinged together but instead were pendant paintings.[18] This is reinforced by the fact that unlike portable and foldable diptychs, these panels are not painted on both sides[19] (even though certain variations of the same iconographic type are occasionally decorated with marbling on their backs).

Discussing a Mary of this type attributed to Bouts in Chicago,[20] James Elkins approaches the image through the emotional response it induces. He suggests that only by looking carefully, by immersing oneself in the details deeply enough, can one actually feel Mary's and the medieval devotee's pain.[21] In a way, this is very much in accordance with the default scholarly view that these images were

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[17] Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 2. For the most famous example, a diptych by Nicolas Froment, see Appendix, no. 6.

[18] Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 13.

[19] Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 13

[20] Appendix, no. 5.

[21] James Elkins, "Weeping, Watching the Madonna Weep," in *Pictures and Tears: A History of People Who Have Cried in Front of Paintings* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 130: "…we did not need to know about empathy because we simply felt the Madonna's emotions."

primarily aids of private devotion that spoke to the viewer on an emotional level, as an invitation to identify with the figure of the Virgin. What sets this study apart is its criticism of the dry and distant rhetoric of the scholarly discourse, which Elkins does not consider adequate for discussing such an image.[22]

Undeniably, there is something fundamentally antagonistic about the "sober and controlled tone"[23] of scholarly discourse when it comes to such an image that is supposed to work on the level of emotions, just as in the fact that we preserve, visit, and remotely admire objects in museums isolated from their contexts, which are so distant that we cannot even fully reconstruct, let alone understand and thus truly identify with them. The case is that – as Elkins kind of disappointedly remarks – present-day viewers do not react to the image in the way the author implies to be a primary emotional response.[24] He explains this by assuming that people do not actually look at the painting "properly." But the fact that "devotional images require devotion"[25] is relevant in its double meaning, as in this context, devotion simultaneously refers to one's willingness and dedication to immerse oneself in the details of the painting (i.e., to allow the image's emotional effect to play out), and to religious practices, and thus an embeddedness in and dedication to the belief-system the image represents.

The problem is that it is not a straightforward task to reconstruct how these images were exactly felt about and looked at, what people actually did with them, and how they behaved in front of them. The evidence supporting all the general assumptions is scarce and indirect.[26] Even though we might empathize and sympathize with late medieval religious culture as we imagine it, it is always going be a construction whose verity might never be confirmed. The study of Elkins inherently claims to be able to disclose an "authentic" emotional response to such an image by examining the details, by identifying with the emotions he believes the Virgin represents. However, it needs to be highlighted that this response cannot be considered universal, rather it is culturally determined (as the differing reactions of present-day viewers demonstrate); it is merely a reconstruction that, no less than any other, rests on hypothetical grounds. Nothing exemplifies this better than the beginning of Elkins's mental exploration by setting the image up as a portable diptych, folded in front of himself,[27] even though, as I already mentioned above, it is very probable that the Chicago Mary was a pendant image, suggesting that

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[22] Elkins, "Weeping," 133–34.

[23] Elkins, "Weeping," 134.

[24] Elkins, "Weeping,"135.

[25] Elkins, "Weeping," 130.

[26] Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 4.

[27] Elkins, "Weeping," 127.

4. Mater Dolorosa, *after Dieric Bouts,*
c. 1520–30, 40,6 × 31,8 cm.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

5. Mater Dolorosa, *Workshop of*
Albrecht Bouts, c. 1480–1500.
39 × 30 cm. Chicago, Art Institute

nobody ever interacted with this particular object through such direct, intimate physical contact.[28] Nonetheless, Elkins provides a convincing case for "compunctive devotion," of crying as an ever-present form of piety.[29]

So how does all this relate to Mary in her capacity as a woman? There is a famous quote by Michelangelo, cited by Elkins and many others, underlining the emotive aspect of Flemish painting, that might provide a clue:

And smiling [Vittoria] said, "I wish to know, since we are on the subject, what Flemish painting may be and whom it pleases, for it seems to me more devout than that in the Italian manner." "Flemish painting," slowly answered the painter, "will, generally speaking, Signora, please the devout better than any painting of Italy, which will never cause him to shed a tear, whereas that of Flanders will cause him to shed many; and that not through the vigour and goodness of the painting but owing to the goodness of the devout person. It will appeal to women, especially

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[28] Interestingly, a slightly different version of the type with a Sorrowing Mary and an Ecce Homo, preserved in Aachen, was built into a foldable construction at some point in its history. Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, cat. no. 3.

[29] Elkins, "Weeping," 125.

6. Nicolas Froment, Portrait diptych of René I, Duke of Anjou and Jeanne de Laval,
c. 1480, 18 × 13 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

to the very old and the very young, and also to monks and nuns and to certain noblemen who have no sense of true harmony."[30]

I believe that this quote can be interpreted not only as a testament to the differences between Italian and Flemish attitudes towards imagery, or the contrast between devotional and artistic aims, but it can be also seen as a document of the genderedness of affective piety, of "compunctive devotion," and emotivity itself: here, women are deemed incapable of intellectual assessment of art, but are implied to be *par excellence* "good devouts." In this reading it seems plausible to suggest that picturing the Virgin as the ideal of an "emotional" devotee, or a model of compassion, could have been supported by this same stereotype (i.e., "women are emotional," a dogma very much alive to this very day), but in this case with a positive overtone, as it was something to be imitated.

A study of Barbara Newman offers another possible framework for conceptualizing Mary's womanhood in these diptychs. Inspired by Freudian psychoanalysis, she interprets various depictions of the Holy Trinity with Mary as representing the inherently contradictory nature of the medieval Christian worldview. She argues that Mary was simultaneously the mother, the daughter, the wife, and the sister of God (as Jesus and the Father); Newman proposes that the

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[30] Quoted by Elkins, "Weeping," 131.

ancient taboo of incest represented in these simultaneous roles, while repressed by all means in Christian morality, becomes not only possible but it is elevated to the level of the highest sanctity in these images, advocating the idea of "incestuous familial love as a final reward," that in God everything is conceivable.[31] In this context, it might not be completely out of line to entertain the idea that the format itself could allude to the already mentioned secular double portraits depicting husband and wife on the two panels, thus associating a wife's love of her husband to a devotee's love of God; it is a parallel that would be perhaps worthy of further investigation.

In the end, many questions remain unsettled, the most frustrating one concerning the concrete handling of such objects by their contemporary viewers. What is more, various aspects of the veneration of Mary have not been examined here in detail or have been left out altogether. Still, focusing merely on the painfulness and emotional power of the image, i.e., following the "salty and bitter traces," led to an interpretation of Mary as a model devotee, a sorrowing mother, or maybe even the sorrowing wife of God; all these three aspects are closely related and thus strengthened by her womanhood, yet none are restricted to it. We might conclude that the persistence of the Mater Dolorosas of the Bouts workshop suggests that they "captured the spirit of the time,"[32] but it is in this very spirit that they remain somewhat obscure and mysterious.

Sources of the images[33]

1. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Worskhop_of_Dieric_Bouts_-_Mater_ Dolorosa.jpg (Henderiks, *Blut und Tränen*, 73.)
2. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wokshop_of_Dirk_Bourt_-_Christ_ crowned_with_Thorns_NG_712.jpg (Henderiks, *Blut und Tränen*, 73.)
3. https://images.rkd.nl/rkd/thumb/650x650/316f25cb-88a2-0750-d7e1-4facac985bb9. jpg (Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 40, cat. no. 3.)
4. https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/ep/original/DT241954.jpg (Dating according to https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/263736.)
5. https://www.artic.edu/artworks/110673/mater-dolorosa-sorrowing-virgin
6. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nicolas_froment,_dittico_ di_matheron,_1475_ca..JPG (Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, 82., cat. no. 10.)

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[31] Barbara Newman, "Intimate Pieties: Holy Trinity and Holy Family in the Late Middle Ages," *Religion & Literature* 31, no. 1, Visions of the Other World in Medieval Literature (Spring, 1999): 92.

[32] Wolff, "An Image of Compassion," 119.

[33] The data (attribution, the sizes of the panels, the dates of creation and place of preservation) in the captions are of the same source listed here, unless indicated otherwise in parentheses.

COMMEMORATING
MARIANNE SÁGHY

OBITUARY

MARIANNE SÁGHY
(1961–2018)

Our friend and colleague Marianne Sághy, associate professor at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, and at the Department of Medieval and Early Modern Universal History, ELTE, Budapest; President of the Hungarian Hagiography Society, passed away, after several years of heroic fight with her illness, on 21 September, 2018.

Marianne Sághy graduated at ELTE in 1985, in History and French. Her academic interest turned initially to the history of late medieval France. She spent several months at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale in Poitiers. She wrote her MA Thesis on *Pierre Dubois' Plan for the Recovery of the Holy Land in 1306,* and her D. Phil. Thesis on *Political Dreams in Late Medieval Europe: Philippe de Mézières and the Reformation of Christendom.* In 1986–1987 she was among the first group of junior scholars who could study a year in Oxford with the stipend of the Soros Foundation. In 1989 she was admitted with a PhD scholarship to Princeton University, where she studied with Natalie Zemon Davis and Peter Brown. Under the direction of the latter she turned to the study of Late Antiquity and defended her PhD with a thesis on *Patrons and Priests: The Roman Senatorial Aristocracy and the Church, A.D. 355–384* in 1998.

She started teaching at the Department of Medieval Universal History, at ELTE in 1985, a teaching activity she continued till the end of her life. In 1993 she became a founding member of the Department of Medieval History at CEU, which became her principal workplace. In the past two and half decades she worked as an imaginative and dedicated teacher, directing the work of several dozens of MA and PhD students, and caring about their subsequent academic careers. Her

academic services included the organization of workshops, large international conferences (among others on *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome* in 2012, *Piroska and the Pantokrator: Dynastic Memory, Healing and Salvation in Komnenian Constantinople* in 2015, *Saints of Rome. Diffusion and Reception from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* in 2017).

Her work as a scholar of late antique and medieval cult of saints and religious culture was internationally recognized, presented at a large number of international conferences, several authored or edited books, source editions and around 60 scholarly studies, not only with a thorough research material but also written with a care for style. Her books include the Hungarian monographs *Versek* és *vértanúk: a római mártírkultusz Damasus pápa korában, 366–384* [Poems and Martyrs. The Roman Cult of Martyrs in the Time of Pope Damasus] (2003), *Isten barátai, Szent* és *szentéletrajz a késő antikvitásban* [The Friends of God. Saints and Hagiography in the Late Antiquity] (2005), *Szent Márton, Krisztus katonája* [Saint Martin, Soldier of Christ] (2018). Among the collaborative volumes she has edited two volumes on *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome: Conflict, Competition and Coexistence in the Fourth Century* (with Michele R. Salzman and Rita Lizzi Testa, 2015) and *Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence, New Approaches* (with Edward M. Schoolman 2017) should be mentioned; two other volumes are fdue to appear in June 2019: *Piroska and the Pantokrator, Dynastic Memory, Healing and Salvation in Komnenian Constantinople* (with Robert Ousterhout) and *A Rózsaregény. Kontextus, üzenet, recepció.* Upon these volumes she kept on working till the last moment. Her French translation and bilingual edition of Pierre Dubois, *De la récupération de la Terre Sainte* also appeared after her death, in 2019 in collaboration with Pierre-Anne Forcadet.

Beside her own research she dedicated much energy to making known in Hungary the most up-to-date results of international scholarship in patristics, hagiography and medieval studies. She translated to Hungarian two books by Peter Brown (*The Cult of the Saints; Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*), one by Robert A. Markus (*Saint Gregory the Great and his Age*), and one by Pierre Riché (*Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare*). Her mediation of scholarship was also active in the other direction, in making known Hungarian research results and the work at CEU Medieval Studies on the international scene. Among others, she invested much energy in organizing the French translation and publication of the monograph on Saint Margaret of Hungary by Viktória Hedvig Deák. She participated in the editorial board of the *Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies,* and the *Hungarian Historical Review.* Between 1999 and 2003 she served as the academic secretary of the Hungarian Cultural Institute in Paris – a mission that enabled her

subsequently to develop the contacts of CEU and ELTE with French universities and research centers. She was also very active in collaborating with Italian colleagues and research centers. Both these scholarly milieus were welcome additions to the mostly Anglo-Saxon and German networks CEU has been integrated in. Her participation in the work of Hungarian Society for Patristics since 2001, and her foundation of Hungarian Hagiography Society (closely cooperating with Croatian, Italian, French and American colleagues) since 2016, were also serving these goals.

In the person of Marianne Sághy CEU Medieval Studies have lost a beloved friend and colleague whose cheerful presence at departmental field trips and everyday discussions will be sorely missed by students and faculty. More than this, CEU and the Hungarian academic community is mourning the tragic, premature death of a talented, internationally active scholar, fully engaged in new, promising individual and collective research projects, promoting scholarship among students, colleagues, and the broader public. We preserve fondly her memory.

Gábor Klaniczay

MY TEACHING PHILOSOPHY

Marianne Sághy

If I had to summarize my teaching philosophy in three words, these were dialogue, democracy and debate; if this should be done in two words, it would be learning with love. During my thirty-years teaching career, I have been constantly striving to engage students in the great intellectual adventure of the humanities through open dialogue and debate. My ideal is active and engaged learning. My main objective in class is to make students realize the novelty of thought in different historical periods, combat commonplaces, make the familiar unfamiliar, and make the unfamiliar attractive and understandable. To reach this goal, I often ask "provocative" questions that turn accepted wisdom upside down – I always warn the students beforehand, however, that I will put highly unusual questions. I try to facilitate learning by providing students with a solid scholarly basis and a sound methodology and thus helping them to acquire the necessary skills to take control of and become active participants in their own learning. I always refer to cutting-edge scholarship in class, even if the students are beginners in the field.

My emphasis on methodology has been stressed in the student evalutations of my courses, and my references to the world of research and innovation have been particularly and constantly appreciated by students – a memorable example is that of David Movrin (Ljubljana) who after having spent a year in the Institut für Klassische Philologie, Mittel- und Neulatein in Vienna University, learnt in my class about the great discovery of new letters of Saint Augustine made by one of the professors of that Institute. He said he would have never thought that he had to come to Budapest to learn about new discoveries in Late Antique scholarship and that he was very grateful for that.

Learning, however, cannot be reduced to a rational process alone, it is also an emotional engegement: nobody can learn a subject that s/he hates. Students often do not remember precisely what they had learned, but remember very precisely what they had felt when they learned. Learning in the humanities must have an emotional appeal that offers an intellectual and spiritual discovery contributing just as much to the progress of scholarship as to the building of the human personality and human society. The sense of awe and discovery is what I sought to implant in my students. Engagement shodul not be confused with subjective value judgement. Even if objectivity in scholarship remains a noble (often unrealizable) ideal, combating biased and commonplace views is a duty that I teach to my students. At the same time, I uphold the respect for national, religious

and historical traditions as well as an ethical approach to the subject that we study. I try to create a very respectful, empowering and encouraging atmosphere in class so that every student feels that his/her opinions and contribution are important. I make special effort to ease oral expression (which is often difficult because we all speak English, not our mother tongue) and help students to get rid of their complexes. My aim is to create an environment in which students blossom. The student evaluations stress the good atmosphere in my classes.

Teaching Late Antique and medieval history is at once a fascinating and challenging endeavour that involves both student and professor in interactive dialogue about historical events that happened in a distant past, and about theological- religious concepts that were formulated very long ago but are still relevant. My role is to enable students to obtain an historical context through which they can understand the motivations behind the decisions made by historical figures, critically evaluate those motivations, and assess the significance of the actions taken as they analyze the events themselves. My goal is to show that the study of history is a creative process based upon the analysis of historical evidence which results in a constructive conversation between the historian and the historical actors being studied.

Teaching at CEU is a challenging and variegated exercise. It is challenging to teach graduate students who come with precise research plans; to teach graduate students who do not have yet a well-formulated research project; and especially to teach graduate students coming from wildly different backgrounds and cultural baggage. In the past twenty-two years we experienced an immense technological progress with which we kept pace, and a decline in Classical languages and Classical learning. Sources that were difficult of access a decade ago are now available online, but students come less well prepared to understand and interpret them. The transition from long hours spent with archival work to one click on wikipedia has its problems that we have to face. I strive to practice hands-on, on-the-spot teaching: I make a special point to show international students Late Antique and medieval material culture available in Hungary, and I assign topics during the Medieval Studies Department's field trip that are very well received by the class. I organize museum outings during term and in the field trip students practice scholarly communication about historical events and cultural monuments.

One of the main problems of students is to speak in front of an audience. This this could be helped, perhaps, if we could film and analyze student presentations – a better method than making comments that may sound as critical and thus are taken poorly by the students. I also think that students should leave their courses with skills that they will use in their everyday lives.

These basic skills include problem solving and critical thinking, research and writing proficiency, and effective communication ability. I have designed all of my courses to include components that impart these skills. All of my upper division courses require research for papers and presentation, and students must also participate in group work. I am very committed to providing a learning environment that is both exciting and rigorous, one that empowers both student and teacher in pursuing learning. I devise various assessment strategies that allow me to fairly assess student learning regardless of the student's learning styles. Above all, I treat my students with the utmost respect, creating an environment where students feel safe to candidly discuss topics which they might otherwise be hesitant to address. This aspect of my work has been stressed by the student evaluations.

I mentor carefully my MA and PhD students, devote extra research time for them and give instant feedback to them. I encourage and support my students' conference participation, I discuss their project with them and comment on their work – Trpimir Vedriš, Marijana Vuković, Andra Juganaru, Johanna Rákos-Zichy and Igor Razum are the best examples of successful student progress and conference participation.

I encourage students to become teaching assistants, because this greatly helps them learn how to speak to audiences and how to present the gist of an argument. Students are empowered to take responsibility by preparing their own questions designed to promote class discussion as well as help other students learn by preparing and presenting short analyses of specific readings to begin class discussions or working together on research projects. I had wonderful teaching assistants in the past three years: I have learned a lot from them and I trust they did learn from me during our cooperation. We worked very well in sync and I was lucky that the teaching assistants replaced me when I had to be absent at conferences or for medical checkups due to my health condition.

I view teaching as inextricably linked with research scholarship. I emphasize new directions in research and organize international conferences and summer schools on cutting-edge topics, where I encourage student participation. University education must go beyond simply passing on information. It should involve rigorous training in the methods of developing, analyzing, and communicating new knowledge. International cooperation and cooperation with local Hungarian institutions and research sectors are key factors in this process as well as in my teaching practice. This had been very favourably acknowledged by my students and colleagues alike – the summer school that I organized last year was so successful that we will repeat it this year. The conferences I organized were similarly very successful in student-faculty cooperation.

PUBLICATIONS OF MARIANNE SÁGHY
UNTIL 31. 12. 2018

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PART 2

Report on the Year

REPORT OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2017−2018

Katalin Szende

The Academic Year 2017–2018, the twenty-fifth in the life of our Department, was a good occasion for self-reflection and planning, as well as a source of pride and inspiration. However, this respectable anniversary had to be celebrated in strong headwind that affected the sailing of CEU as an entire institution. At the same time, we completed another busy and successful year of teaching, research and outreach, with many successful events and pleasant moments to remember and record.

Teaching Programs

The group of new students and those in the two-year program returning from their summer research, as has become usual in the past few years, represented a dozen countries from three continents. Besides a traditionally strong Central and Eastern European concentration (students from Croatia, Hungary and the Russian Federation being the most numerous), we welcomed students from Albania, Columbia, Greece, India, Italy, Peru, Turkey and the Ukraine. This year we had again 32 master's students: 11 in the one-year program, 11 in the beginner cohort and ten in the second-year cohort of the two-year program. Four ERASMUS students also joined us for one or two terms from the Czech Republic, Germany, and Italy.

The proposed MA research topics were equally varied as the places of origin of our students (although students seldom took topics from their own local environment), reaching from the world-famous Late Antique Seuso treasure to cooperation between the Viking Rus' and the Turkic nomads of the steppe to the private and public use of space in seventeenth-century Istanbul. The sources and methods for exploring them ranged from the philological analysis of philosophical and theological texts through the study of buildings and artefacts to the narrative analysis of hagiographic accounts and a sixteenth-century German diary. The abstracts of the defended theses following this report in the Annual give a more nuanced picture of this thematic richness. In the PhD program, five new students

enrolled, including one who graduated last year from our recently established Cultural Heritage Studies two-year MA program. This program, now in its fourth year of existence, has a fully global outreach, with the nine newly enrolled students representing seven different countries: Bhutan, Ghana, Hungary, India, Tajikistan, the UK and Zimbabwe.

Our traditional warming-up Fall field trip took our newcomers this year to Vác and Nógrád County, a hilly area northeast of the Hungarian capital. Besides visiting the cathedral of Vác and a number of ruined but spectacular castles and monasteries, students gained insight into the musealization of vernacular architecture and lifestyles at the village museum of Szügy and the UNESCO World Heritage site Hollókő. By the end of the introductory weeks of the pre-session, our new cohort had established itself on the campus and in Budapest and was ready to embark on their courses and research.

The courses throughout the year covered, as in the previous years, the chronological and thematic range from "The Eastern Mediterranean World: from Justinian to Muhammad" to "The Mongol Empire in Eurasia and its Impact on Central Europe", from "The Holy Roman Empire" to "Urban Health from Antiquity to the Renaissance". While our resident Ottomanist, Tijana Krstić, was on research leave working on her OTTOCONFESSION project, we were fortunate to have with us as visiting professor Günhan Börekçi who offered courses on "Sources, Methods and New Perspectives in Ottoman History, 15th to 18th century" and "Dynastic States and Royal Courts in Early Modern Eurasian History, 1450–1700". Marianne Sághy taught a core course on "Saints and Society: Late Antique and Medieval Hagiography" and electives on "Monasticism in Late Antiquity" and "Angevin Europe and the Late Crusades" which, tragically, turned out to be her last courses ever.

When designing the course list, we planned to offer a variety of opportunities for students to develop research-related skills. This aim was fulfilled in a novel way by the course "Texting: Approaches to Medieval and Early Modern Literature" designed and co-directed by Zsuzsanna Reed and Floris Bernard with the support of a Teaching Development Grant. The course was "designed to provide a survey of theoretical approaches to medieval literatures through personal exploration, discussion and research practice […] to provide students with a hands-on experience of literary theory and its applications to specific texts." Besides the two conveners, experts on English and Byzantine literature respectively, teaching faculty included several alumni and other specialists of medieval and early modern literature: Ágnes Drosztmér (Hungarian), Dávid Falvay (Italian), Tamás Kiss (Ottoman Turkish),

Orsolya Réthelyi (Dutch) and Levente Seláf (French). Among other tasks, the participants also developed a blog: https://textingatceu.wordpress.com/.

Teaching source languages (Ottoman Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew, and Arabic, besides the usual Latin and Greek) 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 Middle English, as well as Greek and Latin paleography and codicology so that our students develop their skills to work with manuscript sources. There is an increasing demand for digital approaches and skills in the Humanities, which was met partly in cooperation with faculty members from other departments, like Victor Lagutov from the Department of Environmental Science and Policy who offered the course "GIS and Spatial Data Visualization". It was also partly fulfilled by our own faculty who played a pioneering role in the Digital Humanities Initiative. Marcell Sebők's course on "Mining History: Digital Practices in Humanities Research" is a good example for the latter.

The Faculty Research Seminar in the Fall term, for the first time formally connected to the "Introduction to Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies" course convened by Balázs Nagy and myself, tackled the foundations of our work by discussing the question of "The Middle Ages: a period or a concept?" from various chronological and disciplinary angles. Besides members of our resident faculty such as Gábor Klaniczay and Floris Bernard, we welcomed as guest lecturers our alumnus Gábor Farkas Kiss (now professor at the Eötvös Loránd University), Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität Hagen), Chris Jones (University of St Andrews) and – as the most distinguished contributor – Natalie Zemon Davis, who by coincidence gave her talk on her own 89th birthday. In the Winter term, following our initiative from the previous Academic Year to engage with globalization in our academic world, the overarching theme proposed by István Perczel was "Global Minorities in the Early Modern Period". Lecturers included Tomasz Grusiecki, CEU's Early Modern Studies Fellow for 2017–2018, Ute Falasch, research fellow at the Center for Religious Studies, CEU, our alumna Eszter Spät, Lucy Parker (University of Oxford), our colleague Carsten Wilke, Ines Zupanov (EHESS, Paris) and Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie (University of Bucharest).

After two busy terms and the research break, 19 MA students submitted their theses. Before the defenses, we embarked on our spring field trip, this time to Slovenia. We visited this small but extremely varied country last time in 2004 (when we joined the celebration of the EU accession of the Central European countries on 1 May as we were our way back through Ljubljana). Our trip this time, led by József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács, followed a similar route

across hilly and mountainous landscapes down to the Adriatic and the pretty coastal town of Piran, visiting must-goes like the frescoes of Hrastovlje, the cave-castle of Predjama and the lake of Bled with its island and monastery. Students of Late Antiquity particularly appreciated the Orpheus monument and the Mithras shrine at Ptuj (ancient Peotovio), whereas the participants of the Cultural Heritage Studies program paid special attention to Skofja Loka, a small town with an intangible world heritage tradition, the passion play put on by the locals. Further site visits were offered on the "Medieval Heritage of Budapest" course. Besides this traditionally popular course, the Spring term was enriched by renowned visiting lecturers: Edit Lukács (University of Vienna) gave a course on "Anonymity in the Medieval History of Thought"; Béatrice Caseau (Paris I. Sorbonne) on "Food and Religion: the Byzantine Food Culture"; Eszter Spät on "The Interface of Orality and Scripturality: Verbal and Written Charms in the Middle East"; and our colleague István Perczel on "Proclus Abrahamicus? The Fate of Proclus' Elements of Theology in Christianity, Islam and Judaism".

Following the Spring term courses, the thesis defenses were chaired in the usual strict but supportive manner by visiting professors Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA), Patrick Geary (Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study), Nancy van Deusen (Claremont Graduate University), and Benedek Láng, our alumnus and now Professor at the Department of Philosophy and History of Science at the Budapest University of Technology. In the Cultural Heritage Studies Program, eight students defended their final projects. In the doctoral program five students presented their research prospectuses, and nine young scholars from the cohorts of earlier years successfully defended their dissertations during the year: Mircea Duluş, (Romania), László Ferenczi (Hungary), Sona Grigoryan (Armenia), Andra Jugănaru (Romania), Andor Kelenhegyi (Hungary), Eszter Konrád (Hungary), Dóra Mérai (Hungary), Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu (Romania) and Noel Putnik (Serbia). Their abstracts are included in this volume, and the full text of their dissertations is available in the Electronic Thesis Database of CEU Library (https://library.ceu.edu/ceu-library/electronic-theses-and-dissertations-etds/). From this respectable list, Andor Kelenhegyi stands out as our 100th doctoral graduate, a symbolic milestone in the life of our doctoral program.

There is one more memorable success to report which is connected to our PhD students. In 2018, CEU organized the so-called 3MT, that is, three-minute thesis competition for the first time. This initiative of the University of Queensland (Australia) to invite PhD students to explain the essence of their dissertation in three minutes to the general public was embraced by the Provost and the Dean of Students. Among all the brave participants who entered the contest it was our own

Dan Knox, a third-year PhD student, working on the topic of the correspondence of Ennodius of Pavia (474–521), who won the first prize. In his presentation he compared his sources to the tweets of President Trump and thus showed that working on a Late Antique or Early Medieval topic can be very timely and just as "easy" as understanding modern-day politics.

At the end of the Academic Year, we had to say farewell not only to our graduating students, but also our colleague, Floris Bernard. He worked for two years with us as Assistant Professor of Byzantine Studies and has now accepted a job at the University of Ghent which is more convenient for him on account of family reasons. In spite of the short time he spent at CEU, Floris gained the appreciation of students and faculty members alike. Beyond his primary field of Middle-Byzantine literature, he contributed to teaching general courses on Empires and the Eastern Mediterranean, and gave a more accentuated profile to literary studies and literary theory at our Department. We hope to keep in touch with him in the future. Selecting his successor, which is a strong pedagogical necessity given the importance of Byzantine Studies in our curriculum, will be the task of the coming Academic Year.

We also had to say goodbye to Kyra Lyublyanovics, our Research and Event Assistant, who spent two and a half academic years with us in this capacity after having graduated as a medievalist and archaeozoologist with a PhD *summa cum laude* in 2015. Her dissertation which was published as *New Home, New Herds. Cuman Integration and Animal Husbandry in Medieval Hungary from an Archaeozoological Perspective* in the BAR series was presented at CEU by László Bartosiewicz in February 2018. Kyra's work for us was full of humor and inventiveness as well as precision and helpfulness. Among many other tasks, she had the lion's share in organizing the 25-year anniversary celebrations described below. We wish her good luck in her future career and all her endeavors!

Research Projects and Conferences

The reports of the past couple of years have already presented two important ongoing research projects carried out by faculty members of our Department. The first is the OTTOCONFESSION with Tijana Krstić as Principal Investigator; this project organized an important conference on "Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on Community and Confession-building Initiatives in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries" between 1 and 3 June, 2018. The conference's almost forty participants discussed, "How did various religious communities in the Ottoman Empire develop their confessional identities between

the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and what was the role of the Ottoman state as well as of other communities within and beyond the empire in this process?"

The second major project is JewsEast (Jews and Christians in the East: Strategies of Interaction between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean), hosted by the University of Bochum, 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 is a vibrant hub of exchange currently directed by Tolga Esmer from the History Department, where Medieval Studies faculty members, students and alumni are actively involved, and which has organized an impressive number of lectures and workshops. These are extensively documented on their website http://cems.ceu.edu/.

A third, new Horizon2020 project where our departmental faculty is involved is the "OpenHeritage: Organizing, Promoting and Enabling Heritage Re-use through Inclusion, Technology, Access, Governance, and Empowerment", a four-year project launched in June 2018 (https://openheritage.eu/). The project partner Metropolitan Research Institute presents the essence of these project as follows: "OpenHeritage concentrates a consortium of 16 partners: universities, SMEs, think tanks and NGOs, led by Metropolitan Research Institute. The project will aim at creating a sustainable management model of heritage assets, working with an open definition of heritage, and involving sites that are not listed or incorporated into the official heritage discourse. Instead, the consortium chose to focus on buildings, complexes, and spaces which lie outside traditional and centrally located heritage spaces, and rather have a symbolic or practical significance for local and trans-local communities. Through community and stakeholder involvement, resource integration and territorial embeddedness, OpenHeritage will select, survey and analyse peripheral, often neglected heritage sites spread over sixteen Observatory Cases and six Cooperative Heritage Labs in 10 European countries." One of the 16 partners is the Cultural Heritage Studies program of CEU and its director, József Laszlovszky. The former coordinator of the program, Dóra Mérai also joined the project as Post-doc Researcher. One of the Cooperative Heritage Labs is the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta complex archaeological-environmental heritage site where József Laszlovszky has been conducting research with the help of our students for almost a decade. The inclusion of this site will allow finding a complex and economically sustainable functionality for the site that promotes the heritage value of the assets, integrates it with the surrounding National Park and helps the sustainability of the site and the recently established training center; integrating it regionally and nationally into heritage paths; building co-operation with local

institutions using the concepts of local historical heritage; and inviting the local community to redefine the message of the site.

After several successful bilateral cooperation projects with German universities, we have submitted to DAAD a project entitled *Regions and Regional Exchanges in Medieval Central Europe* with the University of Heidelberg as one of the last efforts of this Academic Year. The program will entail organizing four thematic workshops and research visits of students and faculty connected to these events. The project leaders are Jörg Peltzer and Julia Burkhardt from Heidelberg and Katalin Szende on behalf of CEU. At the time of writing this report, we have already received the good news that the project, involving around ten faculty members and close to twenty PhD students altogether from the two institutions, has been approved for the years 2019–2020.

"Central Europe" was likewise the call-word for the conference of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN), organized in April 2018 in Zagreb with the title "Between Three Seas: Borders, Migrations, Connections". This was already the third in the series of MECERN's biennial gatherings, following the first, foundational conference in Budapest in 2014 and the second one in Olomouc in 2016. The three-day conference, involving more than 80 active participants, was organized by our friends, colleagues and alumni at the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Croatian Institute of History. Special thanks are due to Luka Špoljarić, Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, Trpimir Vedriš, Neven Budak and Gordan Ravančić for creating an atmosphere of hospitality and inspiring academic exchanges.

Speaking of collaboration and solidarity of our alumni, I need to highlight an event at the beginning of the 2017–2018 Academic Year as well. The International Symposium on European Humanism and Its Challenges was organized in Ljubljana, September 8–9, by our alumnus David Movrin at the Department of Classical Philology, University of Ljubljana as part of the Vilenica International Literary Festival. To emphasize his commitment to academic freedom and the values represented by CEU, David invited our Department as co-organizer of the symposium. The purpose of the symposium was "to bring together scholars from different fields of humanities, arts and literature, and to investigate the present social and spiritual condition, when it sometimes seems that the role of humanistic tradition is diminishing. The papers shed light on these challenges, discussing the role of the arts and their relevance for the world and the human person, as well as their role in the future of an open and solidarity-based democratic society." The keynote lecture titled "Broadening Horizons of Humanism" was given by our faculty member, György Endre Szőnyi.

Besides conferences and workshops, public lectures delivered by prominent scholars also enhanced the academic offerings of the Department. The by-now-traditional Natalie Zemon Davis lecture series this year was devoted to "Configuring Persons" in the later Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, delivered by Gadi Algazi (Tel Aviv University). Natalie Zemon Davis herself also came to Budapest for these lectures and, besides her lecture mentioned above, she held a special session with doctoral students where she gave much appreciated feedback on their individual work. Further distinguished public lecturers this year included: Phillip Lindley (Leicester) and Stephan Sander-Faes (Zürich). We also welcomed two HESP excellence fellows, Andrea Vanina Neyra from Argentina who works on the Christianization in the new Central European monarchies around the first Millennium and Tin Naing Win from Myanmar who prepares an interdisciplinary study of traditional Myanmar cartography, particularly the cloth maps of the eighteenth century. Both presented their work at special lectures.

The summer also kept many of us busy with participating in or organizing conferences. The International Medieval Congress in Leeds, a traditional target for medievalists in early July, had a special anniversary in 2018: it turned 25 – and so did we. To mark this not entirely accidental coincidence – both the Congress and our Department was born in an atmosphere of reuniting Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain – we organized a series of thematic sessions (Urban History, Byzantine Studies, Ethnic Identities, Jewish Studies, Monasticism, Settlements, natural resources and economy) under the IMC 25 – CEU 25 banner on the incentive of our colleague, Gerhard Jaritz, who has participated in every single IMC so far. The most prestigious event was a roundtable entitled "International Medieval Congress and Central European University, Being 25: Networks of Medieval Studies and Their Future". The main focus was "ideas, possibilities, and difficulties in continuing network endeavors of medievalists and strengthening the co-operation of researchers and research groups among each other", particularly in the current political, financial and intellectual climate which appears to be much less favorable than it was 25 years ago. The event was moderated by our long-term friend Marco Mostert (University of Utrecht). Participants included Gábor Klaniczay (CEU), Axel E.W. Müller (University of Leeds), our PhD student Mária Vargha and above all Emilia Jamroziak, Professor of Religious Studies and the Director of the Institute for Medieval Studies at Leeds, and alumna of our Department. There could not have been a better sign of interconnectedness! The roundtable was followed by a reception at the Marquee organized by our colleague Balázs Nagy, where we were happily joined by more than a hundred alumni and friends.

A second important event in the summer was the fourth Undergraduate Conference in Historical Studies, by now a traditional venue for students from around the globe. We have been organizing this series together with CEU's History Department since 2015, bringing together talented students and introducing them to the academic environment at CEU. Every year, the conference has a different theme although it is broad enough to enable a large variety of topics across time. This year, the main theme was "Coping with Crisis", analyzed through case studies or broader overviews from various periods from pre-history to the present, discussing the perceptions and explanations for fall and rise, as well as responses and coping strategies to these challenges. One of the keynote lectures was given by our colleague, György Geréby.

Finally, let me mention a conference that took place far away from Budapest but will remain sadly close in our memories. This was the conference "Pantokrator 900: Cultural Memories of a Byzantine Complex", organized by Marianne Sághy in cooperation with Koç University and the ANAMED Research Center (Paris) in Istanbul in early August 2018. The Christ Pantokrator Complex that included the mausoleum of the imperial dynasty, a monastery, a hospital, an orphanage, a home of the elderly and a poorhouse was founded in 1118 by Empress Piroska-Eirene and Emperor John II Komnenos. The monument (today's Zeyrek Camii), the second largest Byzantine church still standing in Istanbul after the Hagia Sophia, is the most significant monument of twelfth-century Byzantine architecture and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. To commemorate the nine hundred years of the Pantokrator Complex, Marianne Sághy initiated a co-operation between our Department, the Humanities Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Hungarian Hagiography Society (http://hagiografia.hu/en/2018/06/23/pantokrator-900-2/). The conference highlighted the social, architectural and artistic meanings or memories of this outstanding monument. Participants represented several scholarly traditions, from German through French to American and Turkish, and included our colleagues Floris Bernard and Béla Zsolt Szakács as well as PhD students Yuri Rudnev and Çiçek Dereli. The latter was instrumental in the local organization of the event. The proceedings of the event will be dedicated to the memory of Marianne Sághy who initiated and prepared the program but was not able any longer to attend.

A Celebration and a Review

As already indicated at several points of this report, this year we celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the existence of our Department. The celebration culminated in the event *Visit the Middle Ages – 25 years of Medieval Studies* on 23 March organized

by Kyra Lyublyanovics, with the help of our coordinators Csilla Dobos, Johanna Tóth and Ágnes Drosztmér. On a Friday afternoon, the Middle Ages took over the Atrium of the recently remodeled Nádor utca 13 building. Students, alumni and other invited scholars hosted demo tables centered on medieval-related research fields of study, such as medieval painting techniques (Alexandar Pantić), medieval paleography (Cristian Gaşpar) and manuscript restoration (Henriette Fehrentheil), medieval archaeozoology (Kyra Lyublyanovics), medieval dresses (Orsolya Zay and her colleagues), medieval maps (Zsuzsa Reed and Magdolna Szilágyi), medieval herbs and healthcare (Chloe Miller), the Pomáz archaeological excavation (Tünde Komori), or medieval archery (Csaba Hidán). Guests: medievalists and "laymen", long-term friends and newcomers, including many children, had the opportunity to discuss the exhibited objects and related questions with these experts, and to recollect memories of time spent with us. Others were having their first encounter with the concept of interdisciplinary medieval studies.

The evening was made memorable by a demonstration of medieval armor by József Laszlovszky who proved to be a perfect medieval knight (just lacking his horse). Other kinds of warrior traditions were also on display such as the steppe nomadic warfare brought to life by the Golden Sabre Fencing School. Then, in a more peaceful vein, the founding fathers, János M. Bak and Gábor Klaniczay, recalled the crucial events, meetings and conversations around 1991–1992 that led to the birth of our Department in 1993. Their speeches were followed by a short overview of the many meanings of the Unicorn, the symbol of our Department, and then the consumption of a huge cake decorated with this very motif. Finally, in the evening, a concert was held in the Nador 15 Auditorium, featuring *Sárkánykönny* (Dragon tears), a band of musicians including our student, Anna Kinde, who use medieval music as base of inspiration and inspired many of us to dance.

The festivities were soon followed by another way of summarizing the academic achievements of the Department, namely a regular strategic review together with the History Department, initiated by CEU's senior leadership. In fact, preparations for the review took up much of our attention during the entire year. Collecting an extensive set of factual data on curricula and syllabi, the student constituency, research fields, placement statistics, publications, collaborative projects, and much more, and preparing a report was a big task for the Departmental Review Committee (Alice Choyke, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky, Zsuzsa Reed, Marcell Sebők, Katalin Szende, Daniel Ziemann) and our departmental coordinators. The report was discussed at several forums by the entire faculty and by the joint committee with the Department of History. The materials put together not only collected quantitative data and qualitative analysis

of the work accomplished so far in teaching, research, and public outreach, but also formulated a vision and recommendations for the future. We were honored by the personal visit of Professor Walter Pohl of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, who was our external reviewer, and Professor Lyndal Roper from the University of Oxford who concentrated on the Department of History, but also participated in the common discussions and meetings. Perhaps the most pleasant and relaxed part of the review was the joint meeting with the alumni and alumnae of both departments, some of them already Heads of Department at various universities in Budapest, others active at NGOs or in university administration.

The main questions that the reviewers had to examine were the curricula of the two departments, their profile in the light of recent academic trends, their future strategies, and their place within the university structure. Professor Pohl's report highlighted that the organizational set-up of the Department "provides a sound basis upon which the excellence of the department in teaching and research rests" and that its autonomous existence "contributes decisively to its international visibility and strategic flexibility". Professor Roper, based on her interviews with the faculty and students of the History Department, also emphasized the importance of institutional continuity: "both postgraduate programs have built up a strong, different, and distinctive identity and reputation over many years which it would be unwise to disrupt now." Professor Pohl emphasized the flexibility provided by the different degree programs offered by the departments and welcomed the proposal of the strategic plan for offering more personalized curricular options.

Concerning CEU's future bi-campus arrangement, Professor Pohl stated the following: "It is to be hoped that the well-designed humanities program will be accepted as one of the planned 4-year BAs at the Vienna Campus. A Medieval Studies contribution will surely add to the quality of the program. In the present difficult political situation, I can only hope that CEU will be able to remain in Budapest, where it has a very important role to play. Should the necessity arise for a transfer to Vienna, Medieval Studies will be very welcome there. With its large Austrian Academy Institute for Medieval Research and the Institute for Austrian Historical Research, Vienna is another hub of international medieval studies. The CEU Department of Medieval Studies is complementary to Medieval Studies in Vienna, and would not be regarded as a competitor." This is a very reassuring and collegial stance. However, my personal hope is that CEU, including Medieval Studies, will continue to fulfil its mission first and foremost in Hungary, and the addition of the Vienna campus will only serve to diversify the options available to our future students.

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2018

The Transformations of Vrana from the 12ᵗʰ to 14ᵗʰ Centuries: A Comparative Analysis of the Templar and Hospitaller Periods
Levente Baján (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende, József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Zsolt Hunyadi (University of Szeged)

The thesis is a contribution to the study of Christian military orders and their landed estates in Europe, which served as a supportive framework for the crusaders in the Holy Land. Among these European holdings the preceptory of Vrana, located on the Dalmatian coast of Croatia, was one of the most important possessions of the Templars and later of the Hospitallers in the surrounding region. The thesis aims to understand the complex sets of relationships around Vrana from three focal points: the papacy, the Hungarian monarchy, and the locals. It provides answers to the larger questions of how and why the developments or transformations of this relationship network occured, and how the power struggles between the above-mentioned parties affected Vrana's territorial layout over time. By dividing up the analysis according to the preceptory's Templar and Hospitaller periods respectively, the thesis also provides a *longue durée* comparison between the two orders, demonstrating the geopolitical and territorial transformations that Vrana went through over the two and a half centuries under study.

Philological and Historical Analysis of the Treatise *On Paradise* by Niketas Stethatos
Uliana Boiarintseva (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: Floris Bernard, István Perczel
External Reader: Bogdan Bucur (Duquesne University)

This thesis is dedicated to the treatise *On Paradise*, written by the Byzantine theologian of the eleventh century, Niketas Stethatos (c. 1005–c. 1090). The main aim of my work it to reconstruct the historical and philological background of the treatise in order to provide a better understanding of his work. The thesis includes three chapters, intending to answer the following questions:

1. In which historical circumstances did Niketas create the treatise and what kind of agenda did he have?
2. Which authors did Niketas rely on and how did he apply their ideas on the philological level?
3. Which exegetical models did he use and how were they reflected in the composition of the treatise?

In my thesis I claim that while composing his treatise, Niketas followed a specific "politics" of referencing, implying a particular hierarchy of authors, expressed in the author's mode of quoting. While he quoted some authors word for word, the traces of others can only be distinguished after a deep analysis of the treatise's structure. Therefore, I argue that the treatise *On Paradise* had different levels of meaning, corresponding with Byzantine exegetical schemes, already well formed by the eleventh century.

Extramural Churches in Late Antiquity: Revisiting the Case of the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, Macedonia
Kelsey Brunasso (United States)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Snežana Filipova (Ss. Cyril & Methodius University in Skopje)

Studies on Late Antiquity are focused on questions of transformation, continuity, and decline, especially with regards to urban and rural landscape development. However, a crucial element of the landscape remains understudied: extramural churches. This thesis explores the role of extramural churches in the late antique landscape through the case study of the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, Macedonia. It provides an updated understanding of the Cemetery Basilica and then examines the church in context, discussing its relationships with the city of Stobi and comparing it to other extramural churches in the region. The results of this exploration question previous assumptions about the function of the Cemetery Basilica and extramural churches throughout the region. It also demonstrates the need for further comprehensive study of extramural churches in late antique Macedonia and throughout the Mediterranean.

The Use of Space by Sûfîs in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul in Light of Seyyid Hasan's Diary, the *Sohbetnâme*
Fatma Deniz (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, Brett Wilson
External Reader: Ahmet T. Karamustafa (University of Maryland)

This thesis explores how Sûfîs in seventeenth-century Istanbul used various types of spaces in their everyday lives, based on a spatial and textual analysis of the *Sohbetnâme* (1661–1665), a diary written by the Halvetî dervish Seyyid Hasan.

Taking the *Sohbetnâme* as a case study, I argue that the main principle that informed Sûfîs' use of space was not institutional, with the lodge serving as the primary site of residence, worship, and socializing as suggested in the secondary literature, but rather much more diffused, intimate, and ad hoc, organized around the spaces that the close-knit group of Sûfî brethren mentioned in the diary felt comfortable in. This spatial organization of daily life marginalized the role of the lodge as a communal center for the Sûfîs in the diary, as they constantly created alternative, "private" and "semi-private" venues for their social and religious gatherings. I also argue that multiplying the locations for such gatherings pushed and pulled these Sûfîs into an itinerant way of life and blurred the distinction between what we typically think of as "private" and "public" spheres, leading us to question the relevance of these categories.

The present thesis aims to contribute to the growing field of Sûfî studies and the history of everyday life in the Ottoman lands, while also addressing the "spatial turn" in cultural history. Although they are based on one particular source, the findings discussed in this thesis constitute grounds for future studies on this topic.

Invading Her Space: The Violent Dismantling of Female 'Enclosures' in Shakespearean Comedy
Dyese Elliott-Newton (United States)

Thesis Supervisor: Zsuzsanna Reed
External Reader: Tamara E. Lewis (Southern Methodist University)

Based on close readings of Shakespearean comedy, specifically *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Measure for Measure*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, this thesis metaphorically uses "enclosure" to define specific characteristics that made women targets for violence in early modern England. *Taming* depicts the widespread practice of

land enclosure and offers this practice of privatizing land as a catalyst for violence against women in the enclosure of the private domestic space. *Measure* depicts a woman's virginity as being one possible culprit that could lead to her being subjected to violence. This idea is explained by looking at both the hymen and the convent as enclosures for women. Moreover, the play juxtaposes brothels with convents, brothel mistresses with nuns, in order to showcase how these two institutions (and the women therein), posed a threat to a male-oriented society, since they were female-dominated spheres, not subject to external male authority. *Merchant* rethinks the concept of skin as an enclosure and assesses the ways in which dark-complexioned (African) women were dehumanized and marginalized in Elizabethan-Stuart England. Conceptual metaphor theory is used to assess the nature of enclosure within the context of each work. This theory rests on the idea that metaphors begin as literal, decontextualized terms, to which individuals can then supply personal understanding and meanings. Finally, the metaphor is born when these decontextualized and individual definitions are fully merged and generally understood by society at large. And so, the metaphor of "enclosure" is effectively employed by Shakespeare to showcase his understanding of identity and gender in early modern England, a society reaffirming its own identity in the wake of the Protestant Reformation.

"Let's Ban Applause!" The Cultural Politics of Music in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Iraq
Tamás Juhász (Hungary)

Supervisor: Brett Wilson
External Reader: Zoltán Szombathy (Eötvös Loránd University)

In ninth-century Abbasid Baghdad music gained an elevated status among the highest social and political circles, meanwhile, the first known legal dispute over music in the Islamic context was written. I argue that these two occurrences are connected to each other and the cultural changes of the Abbasid court started the emergence of legal disputes over music. Around the same time the Sufis of Baghdad started to hold musical gatherings; the nature of these even concerned some of the Sufis themselves. I point out that in a cultural context these musical gatherings and the ones of the Abbasid court are connected.

A Preacher, a Prophet, a Humanist?
Reconstructing the Life of Iohannes Milicius
Olga Kalashnikova (Russia)

Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Peter Morée (Charles University)

This thesis is a three-faceted analysis of the activity of Iohannes Milicius of Cremsir (Jan Milič z Kroměříže, d. 1374), an official at the royal court of Bohemia, an apocalyptic prophet, and a popular preacher. The thesis examines to what extent Italian early humanism and Cola di Rienzo in particular could affect Milicius. To find out whether Milicius could be regarded as a "proto-humanist," my thesis focuses on three questions: Why was there Bohemian "proto-humanism" at Charles IV's court?; What was Cola di Rienzo's impact on Milicius' apocalyptic vision?; and What were the key features of Milicius' preaching activity and to what extent did they fit the concept of "Bohemian proto-humanism"? By answering these questions, I aim to examine Milicius not as a reformist and Hus' precursor, but as a stand-alone intellectual, and to provide a better understanding of how texts and ideas migrated to Bohemia. I argue in this thesis that we may perceive Milicius as an intellectual who was at least partly influenced by the notion of Bohemian "proto-humanism," since he was surrounded by "proto-humanists" at the royal court, was familiar with works of Cola di Rienzo, referred to antique literature in his sermons, criticized the clergy, and promoted the vernacular language. However, while Cola's effect on Milicius is unquestionable, similar apocalyptic visions and programs of the Church's reformation were expressed long before Milicius; therefore, we should analyze his figure through the lens of medieval continuity.

Cooperation between the Viking Rus' and the Turkic Nomads
of the Steppe in the Ninth–Eleventh Centuries
Csete Katona (Hungary)

Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Readers: Judith Jesch (University of Nottingham), Sverrir Jakobsson
     (University of Iceland), Neil Price (Uppsala University)

Early medieval Scandinavians operating in European Russia, often labelled as Rus' or Varangians in contemporary sources, were in extensive contact with nomadic steppe tribes since the ninth century. These contacts, however, are largely

neglected in scholarly discourse. In the present thesis, it will be pointed out on the basis of Byzantine, Muslim, Slavic, and Old Norse written sources that apart from occasional hostilities, the relationship of the Viking Rus' with the various (culturally) Turkic groups of the Volga-Dnieper region (with emphasis on the Volga Bulghars, Khazars, Pechenegs, and Magyars) could have been fruitful on multiple levels. Besides the Slavs, Turkic nomads were the main partners of the Viking Rus' in the ninth through eleventh centuries, testified to by close commercial ties and joint operations in warfare. It will be argued that these contacts resulted in cultural borrowings and contributed decisively to the development of Rus' identity during the course of the ninth through eleventh centuries. Although mainly a historical study, the investigation will be occasionally supplemented with archaeological and linguistic evidence.

Fourteenth-century Ambulatories in Central European Cathedrals
Anna Kinde (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Tomasz Węcławowicz (Kraków University)

While the ambulatory with polygonal radiating chapels was very popular in French cathedral architecture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it became less popular by 1300. By the fourteenth century, its use would have been outdated in Western Europe, however, it saw a resurgence in Central Europe in six cathedrals: Kraków, Gniezno, and Poznań in the Polish Kingdom; Eger and Várad in the Hungarian Kingdom; and in Prague in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

The aim of this research is to assess the reasons why the builders chose this choir type for the above cathedrals. The monuments, along with the most important written and visual sources, are examined in order to reconstruct their fourteenth-century building history, and then the possible reasons behind the builders' choice are considered. The traditional association of the ambulatories with pilgrimage seems less fitting for the more complicated political and liturgical settings of the fourteenth century.

I argue that cathedral ambulatories could and did fulfill multiple roles. In the case of Kraków and Prague, the two most important centers, royal prestige, honoring the patron saint, liturgical considerations, and creating a place for high-profile burials were all reasons that probably contributed to the choice. In all the cathedrals, ambulatories provided an ideal solution for wealthy patrons and bishops who wished to be buried close to the main altar. In addition, in the archcathedral

of Gniezno and the cathedral of Várad, the development of the cults of Saints Adalbert and Ladislaus probably influenced the architecture.

Johannes Aventinus and his Entries about the Reign of Henry III
Iván Kis (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Balázs Nagy
External Reader: Farkas Gábor Kiss (Eötvös Loránd University)

In my thesis I study and analyze a significant late-medieval chronicle, known as *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* (the seven books of the Bavarian annals), written by a Bavarian humanist historian, Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534). My main goal is to examine the annals' entries about the reign of Henry III, because these parts contain an unusually large quantity of so-called "unique" entries, which can only be found in the annals. However, to prove the veracity of these "unique" entries about Henry III – that is, whether they were fictitious accounts inserted by Aventinus or taken from a lost source – certain examinations are necessary. I first summarize the life of the Bavarian historiographer in order to understand his historiographical practice and personal viewpoints, and thereby, evaluate Aventinus as a historian. Secondly, I present the historiographical practice of Aventinus's historical writing and his historiographical principles, which can be detected in his texts. I demonstrate that there are three discernible historiographical principles that appear in Aventinus's annals: his patriotism, his love for rhetorical devices, and his disapproval towards the Catholic Church. It was precisely these principles that occasionally made Aventinus alter the content of his sources. Following this chapter, I identify the sources of the annals regarding the reign of Henry III, and finally, I deal with the so-called "unique" entries of Aventinus.

Ramon Llull, Logician and Philosopher of Interreligious Dialogue
Gaetano Longo (Italy)

Supervisor: György Geréby
External Reader: Gábor Borbély (Eötvös Loránd University)

In this thesis I examine Ramon Llull's concept of interreligious dialogue. In order to do this, in the first chapter I focus on the apologetic work of the Catalan philosopher (especially the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*). In the second

chapter I concentrate on Llull's logic in relation to God's essence. By checking the philosophical consistency and the relationship between logical arguments and theology in his work, I try to answer the question whether (or to what extent) Llull's project is a valuable contribution to the current debate on interreligious dialogue or only a disguised form of indoctrination.

Alan of Lille's Concept of Trinitarian Personhood in the *Summa Quoniam Homines*
José Osorio (Peru)

Supervisors: György Geréby, István Perczel
External Reader: Lydia Schumacher (King's College London)

This study focuses on Alan de Lille's (d. 1203/1204) concept of Trinitarian personhood. It explores Alan's definition of personhood and his solutions to puzzling questions of how to express personhood in theological discourse. The analysis pays particular attention to Alan's use of the trivium – speculative grammar and logical and grammatical theory from the *logica modernorum* – and the influence of Boethius in Alan's theological method. First, I argue that Alan's theological method is deeply intertwined with logic and grammar. Next, I affirm that Alan is conversant with contemporary developments in fallacy theory. I then suggest that Alan's primary logical source is the *Fallacie Parvipontane*. Finally, I claim that Alan is critical of Boethius' Trinitarian theology. I do this by showing that Alan applies contemporary philosophical concepts to Boethius' theology in order to incorporate the late antique authority into his theology.

Reading the Seuso Hunting Plate: Text, Image, and Identity in the Later Roman Empire
Zoltán Pallag (Hungary)

Supervisors: Volker Menze, Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar
External Reader: Martin Guggisberg (University of Basel)

My thesis explores the complex relationship between texts and images on a fourth-century silver plate, the so-called Seuso Hunting Plate, using a close reading of both its inscriptions and visual images. The texts on the plate consist of a verse

inscription in Latin and two name labels (*Innocentius*, *Pelso*) while the images represent various scenes of the daily life of a villa estate.

The plate was probably found in Hungary in the 1970s as a part of a larger hoard. The introduction presents the topic in its modern context, since without understanding the issues of its provenance it cannot be understood why it is much safer (in terms of archaeological research) to deal with plate alone and not with the treasure in general.

From the data currently available, we can distinguish at least four key phases or social contexts in which the Seuso Hunting Plate participated. These are the contexts of the patron, the maker, the owner, and the viewer. Although it is impossible to identify the exact patron of the object examined, the textual and visual sources are sufficient to provide a profile of the probable patron of the Seuso Hunting Plate, using two traditional methods: epigraphic analysis and iconological analysis.

This Late Roman silver plate conveys the patron's messages, which are incorporated into the object through conscious and unconscious choices. My aim is to unpack these messages by using different strategies of examination.

After the analysis of the texts (chapter 1) I contextualize the imagery (chapter 2) of the plate: the outdoor banquet, the hunting scenes, and the rural landscape. My starting point is that the composition of the plate is abstract and referential rather than illustrative, so the focus falls on the images and the meanings represented by them, which convey certain symbolic values.

The analysis of the visual language of the plate shows that the iconography is not an ad hoc depiction of a real picnic, hunt, and villa estate but a carefully constructed iconography referring to good life and a *locus amoenus*. Further, the banquet scene, rural estate, and hunting scenes fit very closely into the domestic space décor of the age.

The goal of this thesis is to demonstrate the potential of an integrated and contextual approach in the study of Late Roman silver and art in general, since the relationship between visual representations and written sources are highly complex and we should not choose to analyze only one of them.

'Wie die truck sagt…' Transmission of News from Print to Manuscript in the Diary of Hermann von Weinsberg
Krisztina Péter (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Katalin Szende
External Reader: Manfred Groten (University of Bonn)

The thesis is devoted to the Cologne burgher Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–1597). In his vast diary, which is one of the main sources for the history of sixteenth-century Cologne, Weinsberg collected many topical news items, partly based on printed news. The thesis aims to study the methods by which Weinsberg selected, described, edited, and interpreted his news material through the examination of some selected items of news. The comparisons with the original texts highlight the characteristics of the printed news as well, showing the similarities and differences between pamphlets and newsletters made for sale and private records in terms of information gathering, accuracy, elaboration, style, commentaries, etc. The aim of the study is to examine these interactions and transitions between the different genres, between print and manuscript.

Explaining Divine Providence: Vices, Virtues, and the Bible in the Narratives of the Second Crusade
Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo (Colombia)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Matthias Riedl
External Reader: Jacques Paviot (Université Paris-Est Créteil)

Medieval historiography aimed to communicate moral lessons and prove the hand of God behind the unraveling of human events. Crusader narratives, like any other piece of medieval history writing, had the same goal. Analysis of the crusades has mostly focused on explaining the different dynamics that gave rise to these expeditions and their transformations, while a historiographical analysis of the narratives has attracted relatively little attention from scholars; most of the studies concerned with the characteristics of the narratives of the crusades have focused on the ones about the First Crusade (1095–1099).

This study offers a historiographical insight into the two contemporary accounts of the Second Crusade (1146–1148): Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* and the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. The goal of this thesis is to analyze the explanatory tools used by these two narratives to explain why the

crusade to the Middle East had failed and why the siege of Lisbon had ended in victory. I focus on three elements of medieval historiography: the representation of vices and virtues, the uses of the Bible, and the role of God in the events. The study is based in a dialectical approach between the sources and the context that produced them, keeping into account the transformation of the crusader movement from 1099 to 1148, the nature of history writing in the Middle Ages, and the theological framework developed to justify the crusades during this period.

The Cult of Saint Dorothy in Medieval Hungary
Dorottya Uhrin (Hungary)

Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Ottó Gecser (Eötvös Loránd University)

The present thesis discusses Saint Dorothy's cult in medieval Hungary. How did the cult arrive? Who were the promoters? What were the main features of the cult? The first two chapters provide the historical circumstances of the formation of the virgin martyrs' cult and the emergence of Saint Dorothy's cult in Europe. Saint Dorothy was a young virgin, who during the reign of Emperor Diocletian suffered martyrdom in Cappadocia in Late Antiquity. Legends were produced about her life from the early Middle Ages, however, only from the mid-fourteenth century did she become popular in various European regions, including Italy and Germany. She was particularly popular in German-speaking territories.

The third chapter presents the arrival of Saint Dorothy's cult in Hungary and shows that she was unknown in the Árpádian period. It seems that the cult emerged during the Angevin era. Her veneration became widespread only from the 1360s. Dorothy's cult was probably connected to clerics from Poland, who arrived in the entourage of Queen Elizabeth Piast, wife of Charles I. Other traces suggest German origins, since her cult was mostly popular in the German-speaking territories of Hungary. The two origins are not mutually exclusive, because the Polish towns were also frequently populated by Germans. Dorothy's veneration centered in Szepesség in Hungary, where an extensive fresco cycle commemorates her suffering.

The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century textual and pictorial representations emphasize the importance of Dorothy's intercessory power. Besides her *imago*, the most frequent depiction was her rose miracle. On late medieval altars she accompanied the Virgin Mary with other virgins, which refers to her status as *sponsa Christi* and to her intimate relationship with the mother of Christ. Interestingly,

hospitals were also dedicated to Saint Dorothy (usually she was a co-patron), which might have derived from the fact that she promised to help rescue people from poverty.

Christianity in the Territory between the Neretva and Cetina Rivers from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century
Ante Vučić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Trpimir Vedriš (University of Zagreb)

This thesis examines the development of Christianity in the territory between the Neretva and Cetina Rivers from the fifth to the eleventh century with the emphasis on the late antique and early medieval (dis)continuity. The methodological approach is threefold: the *longue durée*, the interdisciplinary, and the comparative. The answer to the question whether there was continuity or discontinuity is a complex one. On the one hand, there is obvious discontinuity regarding the Church administration, for contrary to Late Antiquity, there were no bishoprics in the territory during the early Middle Ages. The early medieval ruling elites of Pagania constructed their identity in opposition to Christianity and did not cooperate with the Church. Thus, the surrounding Slavic population labelled them as Pagani. However, the archaeological finds indicate that Christian communities remained in some peripheral areas, especially on the island of Brač.

Dreaming about Animals: Animal Symbolism in Ancient and Medieval Greek Dreambooks
Milica Vujnović (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Jelena Erdeljan (University of Belgrade)

The recent growing interest in the study of dreaming in general has also generated attention to Greek dreambooks. However, only a small number of these studies deal with particular social-historical topics because of the complex nature of the oneirocritic sources. Dreams about animals and their interpretations play a significant part in dreambooks and the ubiquitous animal symbols offer a wide scope for the analysis of gender and social aspects in the Greek oneirocritic

tradition in general. This study deals with four Greek dreambooks – Artemidorus, Daniel, Achmet, and Manuel – which were written over a period of more than a millennium, between the second century and the fifteenth century. The animal motifs are extracted from the dreambooks and examined in three chapters that deal with different cultural constructs of gender, society, and emotions. The focus of the study is the question how animal symbolism was used to convey the gender, social, and emotional status of the dreamer depicted in these dreambooks.

The Text and the Visual: Shaping the Literary Image of the Devil through Performative and Visual Art in Reformation Germany
Arina Zaytseva (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Alexander Makhov (Russian State University for the Humanities; Gorky Institute of World Literature; Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

The main questions that the present thesis is concerned with are connected to the development and functions of the devil's image in the sixteenth-century literary tradition of the Devil's Literature. How was this image shaped in the Late Middle Ages and in the Reformation? How did it influence readers? In order to answer these questions, I compare the images of the devil presented in the late medieval treatise *Satan's Trial Against Humankind* and a text of the Lutheran preacher Andreas Musculus, *On the Devil's Tyranny, Power, and Might*. In the assessment of these treatises I implement the methodology of theatricality. This notion connected visual and performative elements in literature and art by assessing the level of its engagement with the audience. This methodology is useful in the analysis of the devil's image, as it highlights the visual and performative properties of a written text as well as its emotional impact on its readers.

The devil's image presented in *On the Devil's Tyranny* was mainly influenced by popular theater and Lutheran sermons. Luther's ideas influenced the image of the devil presented in *On the Devil's Tyranny*, as it became more frightening and tangible than the late medieval image of the devil. This image evoked an emotional response from readers and thus was a useful instrument of moralization and installation of Lutheran beliefs.

PHD DEFENSES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2017−2018

**Rhetoric, Exegesis and Florilegic Structure in Philagathos of Cerami:
An Investigation of the *Homilies* and of the Allegorical Exegesis
of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika***
Mircea Duluș (Romania)

The examination committee at the public defense on February 9, 2018, consisted of István Bodnár (Department of Philosophy, CEU), chair; Floris Bernard (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Niels Gaul (School of History, Classics & Archaeology, University of Edinburgh); István Perczel (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Elizabeth Jeffreys (Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, University of Oxford) and Nunzio Bianchi (Department of Ancient and Late Antique Studies, University of Bari Aldo Moro).

My dissertation offers the first comprehensive analysis of the oeuvre of Philagathos of Cerami, who flourished during the reigns of Roger II (1130–1154) and William I (1154–1166) in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. On the one hand, the study addresses Philagathos' collection of sermons, on the other hand, it aims to revisit the standard philosophical affiliation (Neoplatonic/Neopythagoric) ascribed to Philip-Philagathos' ἑρμηνεία. The analysis focuses on three interrelated aspects: the rhetorical method, the compositional technique, and the method of scriptural exegesis. After introducing the editions and the chronology of the *Homilies*, I discuss in the Introduction the historical context that circumscribes Philagathos' activity.

Part I begins with discussing the emphasis on depicting emotions in Philagathos' *Homilies* by drawing on Henry Maguire's characterization of the Byzantine homily as a rhetorical form concentrated on the display of emotions or as "an internal drama." The analysis takes its starting point from the constitutive Christian notion of incarnational economy as conveyed by Philagathos. Mirroring the Byzantine theological tradition, the homilist portrayed Christ as teaching the proper display of emotions. For Christ played out completely the drama of human

suffering by submitting to human emotions and at last to death itself, curing by this the frailty of the human condition and its liability to passions. Philagathos used many rhetorical techniques for making the audience experience the reality of the events narrated in the Gospel, including dialogue and monologue. Examples include Christ's conversation with the Widow of Nain, the dialogue with the sick man paralyzed for thirty-eight years, Peter's monologue when witnessing the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor, and the conversation with Mary Magdalene and Peter after the Resurrection. The analysis reveals the homilist's extensive usage of late antique novels – Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* – for describing miracle stories, various episodes surrounding the Resurrection of the Lord, and the emotions experienced by the characters of the sacred story. For instance, I indicate that the great recognition scene in the *Aethiopika* is grafted onto the episode of Mary Magdalene's conversing with Jesus, because Magdalene's bewilderment at the tomb is modelled after the astonishment that seized the Ethiopian queen Persinna when Charikleia brought forth the crucial recognition-token of her royal identity. In another sermon, for depicting the emotions of fear and grief that vanquished the Apostles after the Passion, Philagathos appealed to Heliodorus' description of Charikleia's grief aroused by the capture of her beloved Theagenes. Philagathos found the novels instrumental for conveying the momentary human reactions or the emotional shifts undergone by the characters of the sacred story. The description of Herod's emotions when he was rebuked by St. John the Baptist over his unlawful liaison with her brother's wife Herodias and the description of Peter's emotions experienced at the Transfiguration of Christ are both based on an episode from Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*, which features the paradoxical emotional reaction of Melite described as the coincidence of conflicting feelings (i.e., shame, love, anger, and jealousy). For depicting the emotional confusion experienced by two disciples while they were walking on the road to Emmaus, Philagathos appealed to the final sequence of Heliodorus' novel, which presents the whole crowd caught up in contradictory feelings (i.e., joy and grief, tears and laughter) at the recognition of Charikleia and Theagenes.

Part II is dedicated to Philagathos' usage of the rhetorical techniques of *threnos* (lament), *ekphrasis* (description), *diegesis* (narration), *synkrisis* (comparison), and *antithesis* (contrast). These techniques constitute an integral part of the underlying Christian message of the sermons serving a twofold purpose: to instruct the listeners and to stir them emotionally. First, I approach Philagathos' handling of rhetorical lament by analyzing the sermon "On the Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain" (Part II.1). In this sermon, the preacher's ability to evoke the absent scene

of the miracle reaches *virtuoso* levels. It encloses descriptions of a wide range of emotions, from excessive displays of sorrow to astonishment and great happiness. The spectators' shedding of tears testifies to the effectiveness of Philagathos' speech. When observing the panorama of rhetorical models employed, the artistry of this composition becomes all the more apparent. In its first part, the lament encloses an extensive nominal citation from Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*. Then, for his own account Philagathos retrieves vivid imagery from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on Psalm 44*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Sermons on the Beatitudes* and *Life of Saint Macrina*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *In praise of the Maccabees (oration 15),* Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Procopius of Gaza's lost *Monody for Antioch*, from the *Life and Miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra,* and perhaps from Pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra's *Narrations*. Suggestive for Philagathos' method is the degree of precision in weaving into the text of the sermon passages on the same subject culled from such a multitude of sources.

In Part II.2 Philagathos' extensive application of *ekphrasis* in the *Homilies* is analyzed. In addition to describing buildings or works of art in examples such as the *ekphrasis* of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, the *ekphrasis* of the ceiling of the church of St. Mary of Patir (Rossano, Calabria), or the *ekphrasis* of a painting of the massacre of the Holy Innocents, the homilist used this rhetorical technique for picturing Salome's licentious dancing, ridiculing a sleeping deacon, picturing a man enraged, rendering the tumult of a storm, etc. The analysis pays close attention to the rhetorical models informing these compositions. For Salome's licentious dancing the investigation reveals that the homilist incorporated vignettes culled from Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on the Martyr Gordius*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Eulogy of Saint Basil*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*, Lucian of Samosata's *Toxaris*, Alciphron's *Letters*, as well as two references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The *ekphrasis* of a deacon caught sleeping during the exposition of the doctrine is a close adaptation from Procopius of Gaza's *ekphrasis* of a painting featuring Phaedra and Hippolytus. For depicting storms, the homilist amassed passages from a multitude of authors. Identified snippets come from Alciphron's *Letters*, Gregory the Presbyter's *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*, the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes, Lucian's *Toxaris*, and Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*.

Then, Part II.3 is devoted to Philagathos' rendition of narrative episodes by looking at three different narrations: the story of Jephthah, who sacrificed his only daughter when returning victorious from war; the story of Thamar, who disguised herself as a prostitute to seduce Judah; and the story about Theodora, the wife of the iconoclast emperor Theophilos, and Denderis, the imperial court jester who

witnessed the empress venerating holy icons and divulged the event to the emperor. I point out that Philagathos selected these stories on account of their evocative and emotional content, which he thought fit to "upgrade" with vivid imagery derived from different sources. For the story of Jephthah, Philagathos turned to Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. The description of Jephthah's daughter coming to greet her father is fashioned after the passionate embrace between Charikleia and Theagenes. As for the theological meaning of the story, Philagathos appropriated Gregory of Nyssa's account of Abraham and Isaac from Nyssen's *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam*. However, the peak of Philagathos' narrative technique is encapsulated by his vivid rendition of the story of Thamar. For achieving a dramatic representation, Philagathos embroidered passages and vignettes from Procopius of Gaza's lost *Monody for Antioch*, from Alciphron's letters, and perhaps from Choricius of Gaza's *Opus* 29. For specifying Thamar's art of seduction, Philagathos retrieved the episode of Thisbe seducing Knemon from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. Similarly, the rendition of the story about Theodora and Denderis is again significant, for the homilist recasts a negative account of self-reflection and mirror gazing based on Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiōn* into a positive affirmation of iconic theology.

Next, in Part II.4 the centrality of *synkrisis* and *antithesis* in Philagathos' *Homilies* is presented. For Byzantine homiletics, as Henri Maguire pointed out, *synkrisis* and *antithesis* are more than just rhetorical devices. These techniques represent a hermeneutical tool that defines the so-called "Byzantine habit of thinking in pairs." There are sermons entirely structured around *synkrisis*, such as the homily "For the third Sunday of Lent," which encloses an original and extensive comparison between Peter and Moses mostly based on Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of perpetual progress. As in much of Byzantine theological literature the preacher resorted to antithetical thought for elucidating Mary's role in the history of salvation, the paradoxical aspects of Christ's Resurrection, and for interpreting miracle stories from the Scripture. Thus, in *hom.* 78 Philagathos presents an original juxtaposition of Christ's virginal birth with his Resurrection from the sealed tomb and the subsequent apparition through the closed doors. Another example features the juxtaposition of the Virgin as Theotokos (Birthgiver of God) with the image of the unconsumed burning bush of Genesis in *hom.* 25. The parallel between God's incarnation and the bush being burnt without being consumed is traditional in Byzantine literature. Notwithstanding, Philagathos fashioned the comparison from an original perspective by drawing on Achilles Tatius' description of the mystic fire of Aphrodite, which spares the object of its flames despite furiously burning.

Part III is devoted to the compositional technique of Philagathos' sermons, or more precisely, the argument whether the structure of the *Homilies* evokes the so-called Byzantine "florilegic habit" or "culture of collection" (*cultura della syllogé*) as Paolo Odorico contended. The analysis of Philagathos' usage of rhetorical techniques already made manifest the preacher's proclivity for amassing passages about various emotions (i.e., deep grief, mourning, seduction, love), works of art, and descriptions of storms, persons, and events from various sources, which he retrieved in the appropriate homiletic contexts. Additionally, it appears that Philagathos' method of citation and practice of reading were structured around general (theological) themes. In this sense he gathered up passages and snippets about human nature, death, and pleasure, which he frequently reused in different sermons. For instance, for the subject of death and mourning discussed in *hom.* 34 the homilist collected and embroidered passages from Gregory of Nyssa's *De mortuis oratio*, Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*, Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*, and Michael Psellos' *Oration 4*. Similarly, for describing human nature and Christ's incarnational economy, Philagathos excerpted passages from Gregory of Nyssa's writings, Gregory of Nazianzus' orations, Michael Psellos' theological commentaries, Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*, and the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes. I indicate that there are homilies made up almost entirely of citations with fragments collected from sources thematically linked with the subject of the sermons. Furthermore, the same "florilegic habit" often stands behind Philagathos' scriptural citations. In particular, the numerous citations from the *Song of Songs* and from the *Minor Prophets* depend on their correlative contexts in Gregory of Nyssa's *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*.

Overall, the analysis reveals that Philagathos' florilegic habit works at every level of exegesis. At the rhetorical level, the homilist amassed passages for achieving vividness and persuasion. A case in point is the piercing description of Lazarus' rotting body for which the homilist appropriated passages from Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* and *The Life of Moses* and Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*. The same florilegic habit accounts for the usage of scientific explanatory remarks for interpreting difficult passages, natural phenomena, and objects that turn up in the commentary of the Gospel pericopes. Such were the homilist's inquiries into the attributes of the mustard seed, the mandrake, the sycamore, the pods that the swine ate, the anatomy of the eye, the peculiarities of snakes, and the elucidation of lightning. Similarly, the citation of scriptural ἀπορίαι, of various ζητήματα, is determined by the homilist's strategy of collecting passages about the Gospel text under scrutiny. Most indicative of

Philagathos' florilegic habit is the plethora of sources exploited in the *Homilies*. Foremost stand the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, which the homilist lavishly used for his own rhetorical elaborations, for scientific lore, and for spiritual and mystical interpretations. A vast thematic usage of Nyssen's works with excerpts indexed and allocated to the appropriate sermons is visible throughout the thesis. The patristic authorities most often cited by name are Gregory the Theologian and Maximus Confessor. The former is most often cited in small snippets that illustrate important theological doctrines. Maximus on the other hand is seminal for Philagathos' allegorical exegesis. Another significant source previously undocumented in the *Homilies* is Michael Psellos. In the homily "On the Sending Forth of the Twelve Disciples," Philagathos' extensive appropriation even favors a limited restoration of Psellos' *Opusculum 76*, a text defectively transmitted. Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* and the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* also feature prominently in the sermons. Further, Philagathos cited and used various works of Basil of Caesarea. Special mention should be given to Basil's spurious work *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam*. In addition, Philagathos quoted by name John Chrysostom, Epiphanius of Salamis, John the Ladder, John of Damascus, and Symeon Metaphrastes. Besides these luminaries, the homilist drew on Aeneas of Gaza, Antiochus the Monk, Nylus of Ancyra, Proclus of Constantinople, and Makarios Magnes, sources hitherto unknown to have been used in the *Homilies*. Trying to account for Philagathos' handling of his sources one may suppose that he compiled a private florilegium of citations to which the author turned for illustrating his compositions, as Elizabeth Jeffreys suggested for the homilies and letters of Iakovos the Monk. Indeed, the multitude of exegetic contexts that simultaneously stamp Philagathos' compositions may involve a thematic florilegium.

The first level of Philagathos' theological exegesis, the exposition according to the "literal/historical sense," is explored in Part IV. Foremost, the analysis includes an extensive discussion of Philagathos' dealing with various scripture-related discrepancies, contradictions, and difficulties that questioned and subverted the "literal meaning" of the Gospels. Perhaps the most significative finding is Philagathos' substantial usage of Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes* (Part IV.1). In fact, it turns out that the *Monogenes* is one of Philagathos' major sources. Besides collecting scriptural ἀπορίαι, the homilist exploited Makarios Magnes' treatise for adorning his sermons with various vivid illustrations. Furthermore, I show that Philagathos used the late antique treatise for framing theological doctrines as well. An example discussed was Makarios' argument pertaining to Christ's nature inferred from the grammatical analysis applied to Peter's statement: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 15:16). Part IV.2 continues with

the examination of Philagathos' citations from Emperor Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* by taking into account the larger spectrum of the late antique, anti-Christian polemics. Significantly, Philagathos' testimony permits us to further map the textual relations between the chief ancient repositories of anti-Christian arguments (i.e., between Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*, Porphyry's *Contra Christianos*, and the *Monogenes* of Makarios Magnes). When trying to assess Philagathos' sources of pagan reprimands the fact that the homilist used the same Christian refutation that stands behind Theophylact of Ochrid's citations of Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*, as Stefano Trovato pointed out, becomes particularly valuable. For it points out that behind the homilist's references to anti-Christian arguments often stands a (lost) Christian confutation wherefrom the homilist appropriated the pagan points together with their rebuttal. In Part IV.3 the plethora of scripturally related difficulties cited by Philagathos as originating in the writings of the late antique polemicists are highlighted. Although not nominally ascribing the authorship to a pagan opponent, the type and stylistics of the critique cited by Philagathos point to the late antique dossiers of anti-Christian reprimands. Philagathos' interest in solving exegetic difficulties is further documented in Part IV.4 in relation to the references made to the New Testament *Apocrypha*. The homilist's reliance on the genre of *quaestiones et responsiones* is then considered in Part IV.5. The analysis points out that the queries scattered throughout the *Homilies*, such as those about the genealogy of Jesus, the Lord's Passion, the Resurrection narratives, and the Transfiguration of the Lord referred to with the technical title of ζητήματα καί λύσεις, are typical of the *quaestiones et responsiones* genre. Then, in Part IV.6 the homilist's practice of amassing scriptural queries also from reputed Christian commentators is documented. The analysis features examples involving authors like Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Maximus Confessor, and Michael Psellos. Next, the investigation brings to the fore the traditional approaches centered on philological and grammatical analysis involved in Philagathos' literal exegesis (Part IV.7–8). The analysis makes evident the homilist's delight in explaining curious or foreign words and issues in human anatomy or physical phenomena, such as the explanation of "lightning" derived from the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, *De mundo*. An example of this discussed in the thesis is Philagathos' medical explanation of demonic possession by means of the four humors theory, which he derived from Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* and Makarios Magnes' *Monogenes*. In similar fashion, for explaining the likeness of the Kingdom of God with a mustard seed, Philagathos turns to Makarios Magnes' description of the curative properties of mustard. As I have argued, these variegated approaches to the literal sense are subsumed to a florilegic perspective.

The final section, devoted to Philagathos' exegesis in the *Homilies* (Part V), approaches the spiritual level of interpretation (θεωρία). First, the analysis situates the south Italian preacher within the Alexandrian exegetical tradition, for which spiritual exegesis subsumed typological, allegorical, moral, and anagogical modes of interpretation. For Philagathos, as for Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor, spiritual exegesis discloses spiritual realities with the goal of opening up the listeners' desire for ascent and a virtuous life. The analysis underscores the importance of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor for Philagathos' spiritual exegesis. Secondly, the analysis highlights a distinctive feature of Philagathos' homiletic style represented by the systematic recourse to etymology and arithmology (Part V.1). By collecting explanations from various sources related to almost all the names and numbers that surfaced in the Gospel lections the homilist affirmed his florilegic stance. There are 57 instances when etymologies of names were employed and 29 instances of numbers. Indisputably, Philagathos' application of etymological and numerical speculations for deriving spiritual meanings brings to light a consummate exegetic technique frequently inspired by Maximus' exegesis. In fact, Philagathos' profound assimilation of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor's thought with reference to the doctrine of perpetual progress is investigated in Part V.2. This doctrine of progress or straining (ἐπέκτασις) toward the infinite God originates in Gregory of Nyssa's theological anthropology elaborated in relation to the notion of divine infinity. Maximus Confessor later modified it in the context of refuting Origenism. Philagathos applies this doctrine to the scriptural episode about Martha and Mary (*hom.* 32), to the episode of Martha's encounter with the resurrected Christ (*hom.* 49), for interpreting the apparition of the Lord on the road to Emmaus (*hom.* 75), and for exploring the meaning of Mark 8:34 ("Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself") in *hom.* 46.

All these features of Philagathos' exegesis unfold conspicuously in his allegorical reading of the *Aethiopika*, which constitutes the last part of the present dissertation (Part VI). At variance with the thesis that ascribes the commentary to the Neoplatonic tradition of interpretation, I show that Philip-Philagathos' spiritual reading of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* is firmly grounded in Maximus Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa's exegetic principles. In particular, the investigation argues that the etymological and numerical speculations displayed in the ἑρμηνεία reflect Maximus Confessor's exegesis, whereas Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of spiritual progress from the *Homilies on the Song of Songs* and *The Life of Moses* is reflected in Philagathos' reading of the novel as an allegory of the soul yearning for unity with the divine. Overall, when considering Philagathos' spiritual reading of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, the striking influence that the novel exerted upon the *Homilies* acquires

new intelligibility and prominence. Thus, it certainly appears that Philagathos' *Homilies* corresponds to the more general tendency of twelfth-century Byzantine literature to be interested in and experiment with the novelistic genre. In fact, the examination of Philagathos' rhetorical models exposes his rigorous consonance with contemporary Byzantine rhetorical taste. For, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Lucian, Alciphron, and Synesius were the authors recommended by Gregory of Corinth in his handbook of style, *On the Composition of Speeches*.

To conclude, the analysis of Philagathos' oeuvre sheds more light on the religious and cultural context of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and offers an answer to the enduring popularity of this homiletic corpus in the Byzantine world. For his achievement derives from the harmonious blending of rhetorical refinement and scientific lore with the mystical interpretation and didactic clarification of scriptural issues.

Management of Monastic Landscapes. A Spatial Analysis of the Economy of Cistercian Monasteries in Medieval Hungary
László Ferenczi (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defense on June 21, 2018, consisted of László Pintér (Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy, CEU), chair; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Beatrix F. Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church). The external readers were: Emilia Jamroziak (University of Leeds) and Beatrix F. Romhányi.

This thesis aims at studying the economy of Cistercian abbeys in Hungary, demonstrating the potentials of topographical research, combining different types of sources, and applying a comparative methodology. A topographical and comparative approach has been warranted by both the need to surmount the difficulties raised by the scarcity of archival records and to contribute to a more nuanced interpretation of Cistercian economic practices on a regional basis – in this case, Central Eastern Europe. By focusing on the study of local archives concerning a selection of Hungarian Cistercian estates, the thesis intentionally distances itself from the generalizations concerning a uniform Cistercian model on the one hand – as has been criticized by many scholars such as Isabel Alfonso, Werner Rösener, and Emilia Jamroziak – and on the other hand from the traditional debate on "ideals" versus "reality," which entails a predisposition to emphasize

decline not only chronologically, but also in connection to the spread of this model into different regions – instead of adaptation and diversity. In doing so, the thesis generally advocates a practical, functional viewpoint on the Cistercian economy, contesting the views of religious and cultural history, which tend to overemphasize deviation from the norms.

Landscape archaeological and historical topographical studies typically focus on the following issues concerning monastic economy: (1) the site location of monasteries; (2) the topography of monastic precincts; (3) the transformation of the landscape in the vicinity of the abbeys (in terms of water management and the expansion of agricultural lands, e.g., cropland and pasture); (4) the re-configuration of estate management (with regard to the changing role of the manorial economy); and (5) the role of markets and towns. The four thematic chapters explore mainly the last three points, as aspects of the manorial economy of Cistercian estates. They rely primarily on archival evidence and included – where possible – comparative research concerning other monastic orders (Benedictines, Paulines) to illustrate how Cistercian practices relate to these strategies and what the characteristic points are.

Chapter 1 looks into the topography of granges and other farms. The comparative analysis of the physical topographical character of manorial sites and farmlands confirms that despite that there is a great diversity, when looking on a European scale, evidence for Hungarian, Bohemian, and Polish abbeys reflect that farms had a similar layout – characteristic were the regular arrangement, the inner and outer courts, and chapels. They typically had relatively large croplands (arable), and as far as the Hungarian examples are concerned, their size was basically identical to that of other large farms of, for example, Benedictine monasteries. Concluding from this, it would be difficult to argue that the size of farms was an innovative element of the Cistercian economy in a local context.

In regard to management, the topographical situation of the farms can be used as a proxy, since data on the role of *conversi* are scant. Farms clearly had a mixed character: some are referred to as being, and could be in fact, managed as granges, supervised by monks and laybrothers, and equipped with new buildings, while others were of the traditional type (mentioned simply as *predium*). Different types of manorial farms could sometimes form a conglomerate. Originally, most of the farms we hear about in the records seem to have been established before the Cistercians settled and it seems that the monks were only converting some of them into granges and perhaps new ones were also established (particularly in the vicinity of the abbeys, like the one near Pilis, at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi puszta).

By compiling quantitative data on the farms, it was also possible to measure – so to say – the economic footprint of the abbeys. It seems that major Cistercian estates had a considerable network of farms, each with a large (ca. 200–300 ha) arable section. On the estates of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd, and Topuszkó four to five granges could be counted, and there was a similar number of *predia* as well. These were situated both nearby and distantly, and they were usually tied to a tenanted settlement, which were situated in their vicinity. This mixed system – consisting of privately managed farms (granges) and traditional farms – confirms the criticism put forward by Alfonso concerning the neglected feudal character of Cistercian estate management. The topographical data, as well as the scant evidence concerning the *conversi*, suggest that the impact of the order in shaping the medieval landscape through the introduction of a grange economy was less substantial than elsewhere. This had been anticipated earlier by László Koszta and Beatrix F. Romhányi, yet, there is now also substantial evidence to argue that major Cistercian abbeys did have a small network of granges and were interested in keeping up a grange economy as late as the end of the fourteenth century, most probably focusing their production on special cultivations – predominantly viticulture and crop (wheat) farming – and sometimes managing farms at more distant locations that were of particular importance. Overall, data on the method of management, the economic preferences, and activities do not reflect a particularly "Cistercian" character. However, the data illustrates that wealthier Cistercian estates (the royal foundations) were more successful in managing economic assets than other Cistercian foundations.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss animal husbandry and industrial activities, i.e., themes that have been relatively less well researched or completely ignored, partly due to lack of sources and also due to lack of interest. In connection to large-sized farms, potential arable-pasture ratios as well as livestock compositions were calculated based on aggregate data from individual charters. Relying on animal lists (available in foundation charters and late medieval household accounts), it was also possible to "measure" and compare the significance of animal farming of different monastic and lay estates. These examples were geographically diverse and reflected different landscape characteristics. Based on archaeozoological data and samples of other types of documents (e.g., court cases) as well as historical-ethnographical data, it seems feasible to argue that regional preferences in animal farming were just as transparent in medieval times as in later centuries.

However, the comparative analysis of animal lists from different periods also points to drastic changes in livestock composition from the early to the late medieval period. Except for pig husbandry (which served the late medieval monastic diet),

there seems to have been an almost total collapse of animal husbandry on monastic estates already in the fourteenth century. Sheep husbandry definitely disappeared, but more generally animal farming, as a labor-intensive branch of the economy, did not seem to recover from the socio-economic crisis.

Chapter 5 presents a case study, focusing on the Abbey of Pilis and its nearby grange. Based on topographical and landscape archaeological data from past and recent field surveys, this particularly well-documented example illustrates how landscapes in the vicinity of the monasteries could have gone through a profound transformation. One of the key points here is the complex use of resources (fishponds, mills, and both agricultural and industrial use of woodland). The economic activities of the Cistercians were likely limited by the fact that their lands were situated within a royal forest, but the scope of their activities was diverse. Chronologically, the creation of a grange likely followed the desertion of an early medieval settlement and was perhaps the outcome of a project coordinated by the Austrian abbey of Heiligenkreuz in the late fourteenth century to renovate monastic life at Pilis. The results of recent excavations have revealed that at a later point the site became a center for local glass production. In connection to the material remains recovered thus far, the themes of technology transfer and production circles are problematic. One could hypothesize that the technology arrived here with the new group of monks recruited from Austrian and German abbeys and that the products of the workshop were intended for the markets of nearby royal towns.

In Chapter 6, the connection to markets and towns is explored further. Rösener underlines that the analysis of the connections between the grange/manorial system and the developing urban centers is a particularly important theme in the study of the Cistercian economy. The overall impression is that such connections were comparatively weak in Hungary. While in the northern regions of East-Central Europe it was more typical that Cistercians took the initiative of founding new urban centers, as they were actively taking part in colonizing these areas with settlers, this does not seem to be the case in Hungary. The data suggests that the organization of their estates benefited from existing settlement hierarchies (Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd settled very close to existing marketplaces), but they also promoted – to a certain extent – the legal recognition and economy of central places situated in the vicinity of the precinct or near the abbey. This way, Cistercians also contributed to the late medieval development of market towns, and they (and their tenants) were definitely "using" the urban networks around the estates to bring produce there. These connections likely developed to a level of regular business, in which peri-urban manors played a central role. There has been

some circumstantial evidence found to argue that Cistercians supplied the towns with food from their manors. Their premises could have included butcher stalls (Nagyszeben, Sopron, Pozsony), as well as cellars, wine shanks (Buda-Kelenföld, Pozsony). Due to the geographical positions of the towns of Sopron and Pozsony, along the main water-transport route, the Cistercians of Borsmonostor and Pilis could also use their connections to get involved in foreign trade – similarly to Topuszkó's unique connection with the Adriatic port of Senj. Notably, the documents concerning Sopron and Pozsony also reveal that Cistercians cultivated excellent relationships with the local elites from the very start and this facilitated business and could have prevented later conflicts.

As for the future prospects of research on the economy of Cistercian houses in Hungary, I would emphasize in the first place – as a possible focus point – the study of historical/chronological aspects, particularly the development of transactions between the abbeys and their neighbors, the discussion of which has been deliberately omitted here. These can be interesting from multiple viewpoints: (1) how the management of the estate was re-focused with regard to the changing role of manorial farms and granges; (2) the preferential patterns of land transactions (e.g., selling, long term leases, *Rentenkauf*, etc.); (3) the economic-historical perspective, namely, how this practice reflected/responded to the fourteenth-century crisis; (4) the social-historical perspective, that is, identifying what social groups were interacting with the abbeys (e.g., castle warriors, local nobility) and their possible socio-economic motives. To explore these themes, however, there is a very narrow sample of data available primarily on Borsmonostor and Topuszkó.

To improve the quality of topographical analysis, I should also underline the possibility to systematically integrate archaeological settlement and environmental-archaeological data into the discussion. On the one hand, this would improve our understanding of the settlement conditions prior to the Cistercians' arrival. This is the most relevant where written records are not representative of the medieval topography – for example, in case of Pilis and Zirc, and the Pilis and the Bakony woodlands, where Péter Szabó already accomplished this work, or in case of Szentgotthárd, where systematic landscape surveys are yet to be done. Surface collection of archaeological finds would also be desirable to provide a relative chronology for the Árpád period (concerning which there is a lack of archival data), and to identify the topographical locations of medieval settlements and farms.

As far as the integration of archaeological and historical evidence is concerned, another challenge is to collect archaeological data on the transformation of Cistercian landscapes. As has been demonstrated with the example of the Pomáz–Nagykovácsi site and the area surrounding Pilis Abbey, extensive landscape surveys

discovered remains of fishponds, dams, and other earthworks and were able to identify economic activities that would have been left unnoticed otherwise as there is no written record of them. Systematic surveys combined with environmental sampling would be required to study other Cistercian estates too, to obtain a possibly complete view on the scope of landscape transformations – focusing on problems of water management and woodland economy. Thus far, environmental investigations have been carried out on fishponds in the Pilis and the results are promising. One should note, however, that environmental conditions in Hungary are generally unfavorable for the preservation of such materials and it is often difficult to make sampling effective for complex environmental analysis – particularly in upland regions. Some of the samples collected in the Vasi Hegyhát region, in the case of Szentgotthárd, as well as in the Pilis region (in the case of Pilis) did not return datable or suitable samples.

Nonetheless, it is exclusively through this type of data that one is able to provide a reliable account on changes associated with woodland management and pasturage. The contribution of the present study to this research is that it has identified the potentially interesting sites for future archaeological investigations. Applying both invasive and non-invasive techniques will be able to produce new data on Cistercian farming and management of different natural resources, complementing the study of archival records and perhaps diversifying the picture presented in this thesis.

Poetics of Ambivalence of al-Maʾarrī's *Luzūmīyāt* and the Question of Freethinking
Sona Grigoryan (Armenia)

The examination committee at the public defense on May 18, 2018, consisted of Matthias Riedl (Department of History, CEU), chair; Aziz Al-Azmeh (Department of History, CEU), supervisor; Nadia al-Bagdadi (Department of History, Institute of Advanced Studies, CEU); Zoltán Szombathy (Institute of Oriental Studies, Eötvös Loránd University); Mushegh Asatryan (School of Languages, Linguistics, Literatures and Culture, University of Calgary). The external readers were: Zoltán Szombathy and Mushegh Asatryan.

My dissertation is a study of the eleventh-century Syrian writer Abū'l ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 1058) and his diwan entitled *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (*The necessity of what is not necessary*). By historical contextualization and with the revision of analytical

terms of reference, such as freethinking, atheism, deism, sincere belief, and *taqīya* (dissimulation) previously applied to the study of al-Maʿarrī and his *Luzūm*, the research aims to enhance our understating of both al-Maʿarrī and the general dynamics of the period in which the poet lived and worked. Previous studies of *Luzūm* had shared the general assumption that a uniform, pietistic religious culture was the central driving force of society, even prior to the formal institutionalization of "*ulamā*" under the Seljuqs, Ayyubids, and Mamluks. Most of these studies also assumed that, at the time of al-Maʿarrī, the dynamics of cultural and intellectual life were entirely driven by the rigid dichotomy between orthodoxy and unorthodoxy. Finally, previous studies, inattentive to and perhaps intolerant towards any sort of incoherence, dissonance, paradox, and confusion, ended up presenting reductive – and, as a result, often superficial – studies of *Luzūm*. As a result, al-Maʿarrī has been presented as an eccentric alien and a complete outsider to his age. Likewise, *Luzūm* has been presented as a completely unconventional work. The aim of the thesis is to argue against the dichotomizing paradigm of the extant scholarship on al-Maʿarrī.

One aim of this dissertation is to reassess the meaning and the value of contradictions in *Luzūm* through a study of ambivalence. While it is true that, in terms of its literary features, Luzūm is unconventional in some ways, its contradictory content does not really make it so odd. Demonstrated through a close reading of the text in light of these contradictions, especially those regarding matters of faith and religion, this work shows that *Luzūm* is not as foreign or strange for its time as had once been assumed. Al-Maʿarrī wrote *Luzūm* at a time of great cultural and religious diversity, intellectual pluralism, and epistemological, political, and normative anxieties. In matters of faith and religion al-Maʿarrī deliberately remained ambivalent in order to underline doubt, anxiety, and confusion over certainty. In fact, any statement of certainty in matters of faith and religion was severely rebuked by al-Maʿarrī. In the midst of competing truths and orthodoxies, al-Maʿarrī, through determined ambivalence and through affirmation and negation of the same concept at the same time, positioned himself against all kinds of certain and categorical conclusions. Al-Maʿarrī's *Luzūm* was therefore directly informed by the heated intellectual and religious debates of the day – which, to his mind, led nowhere. In this regard, *Luzūm* must be seen as a genuine reflection of the intellectual and political environment in which it was created. It was neither as alien, nor as inappropriate to its age, as scholars have often suggested.

Another aim of this dissertation is to provide some understanding of al-Maʿarrī's freethinking. In modern scholarship there have been two major trends in assessing al-Maʿarrī's religious thought. One presents al-Maʿarrī as a nonbeliever, a freethinker like Ibn ar-Rāwandī and Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī, who practiced dissimulation,

taqīya, because of the threat of persecution, and therefore concealed his unbelief by contradictions. The other trend, however, presents al-Maʿarrī as a sincere and pious believer. This dissertation shows that, in regards to the context of al-Maʿarrī and the milieu in which *Luzūm* was composed, notions involving dissimulation, including *taqīya*, concealed writing, and sincerity are not apt analytical tools.

These are the ideas that are proposed in this dissertation. In the first chapter, in order to contextualize my ensuing analysis of the *Luzūm*, I present the intellectual, religious, and political states present in al-Maʿarrī's time. I also offer a survey of al-Maʿarrī's biography, works, networks, standing, and reputation, resulting in some key observations. First, there were two main factors that reinforced a sense of doubt and confusion in al-Maʿarrī's work. One was his short stay in Baghdad and, as a result, his immersion in the rich cultural life of the cosmopolitan capital. The other was the constant political instability in North Syria, which provided yet another cause for his anxieties. Second, with regard to his oeuvre, this chapter shows how admonitory and didactic works constituted a large portion of his corpus. Some of his epistles are also distinct due to their interplay of humor, irony, and sarcasm. It is clear that *Luzūm* is not al-Maʿarrī's only work with severe stylistic and formal constraints, as he applied rigid compositional rules to many of his works. Third, although al-Maʿarrī was an ascetic, he was also an active member of society, as can be seen through his teaching and writing. His social network consisted of students from a myriad of intellectual backgrounds and from different parts of the Islamicate world, men of authority, and people from his hometown of Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān. Fourth, in regards to al-Maʿarrī's possible affiliation to shiʿi trends, it was shown that, even if at one point the poet welcomed some Ismāʿilī or Qarmāṭī teachings, in the end he denied the legitimacy of all of them. Finally, this chapter shows that, next to his fame as a poet and prose-writer, al-Maʿarrī did in fact have the reputation of being an unbeliever during his lifetime.

The second chapter is dedicated to the analysis of some of the literary aspects of *Luzūm*. I argue that al-Maʿarrī composed *Luzūm* not only for instructive and didactic purposes for his students, but also in order to receive distinction and acknowledgement of his virtuosity. Al-Maʿarrī exceeded the traditional ways of writing poetry and applied extraordinary rules of versification and prosody that would ultimately exhibit his literary skills and excellence. The mannerist desire to strike and impress stood behind the creative dynamics of *Luzūm*. For al-Maʿarrī, language was the only medium in which order and certainty could be established. He shows this through *Luzūm* as well as through his many other works that contain complex and exigent formal rigidity. While order and consistency through the medium of language can be demonstrated through verbal mannerisms, confusion

and anxiety can be demonstrated through the mannerism of angst caused by tension, contradictions, and ambivalence.

It is at this point that this dissertation shifts from the context and form of *Luzūm* to a critical examination of the notions of belief and unbelief, which are significant themes present in the text. The third chapter presents a general survey of some of the essential aspects necessary to the study of unbelief and freethinking. This shows that, despite a temporal gap, there are similar – if not identical – sets of moods, motifs, and patterns present in both the European and 'Abbasid histories of unbelief and freethinking, which make the use of comparisons legitimate. Further, there are possible links and channels between the two, as can be seen in the *Book of the Three Impostors*. I speculate on the possibility that al-Ma'arrī might have been a link in this chain, especially when we consider the scope of his Andalusian network. This chapter also stresses that the consideration of *taqīya*, sincerity, and persecution cannot support any analytical contention if they are not properly related to both text and context. All of the previous analyses of *Luzūm* have failed to maintain this relationship between text and context, which has resulted in extremely reductive readings and definitions. This chapter argues that using ambivalence as a main interpretative tool in analyzing al-Ma'arrī's *Luzūm,* and also in matters of belief and unbelief, supports a reading that provides a proper space for the presence of contradictions, doubt, and uncertainty. This also provides a more nuanced understanding of al-Ma'arrī's freethinking, which becomes apparent through moods rather than argumentative statements and does not have any imposing tone as is the case with other freethinkers. This chapter also argues that, while reading *Luzūm*, attention must be paid to its polemical content, specifically to situational statements made against other religions and sects and their teachings. Statements that show adherence to Muslim teachings and preference to a generic Islam over other religions are neither occasioned by *taqīya*, nor do they necessarily express sincere belief in Islam, as has been suggested by contemporary scholars. These were, instead, denominational and generic statements with a specific polemical purpose.

The fourth chapter provides a detailed analysis of the notions of God, revelation, and reason in *Luzūm* in the light of the ambivalent attitude al-Ma'arrī expressed towards them. It is shown that al-Ma'arrī displayed significant ambivalence towards notions of God, which, by and large, shaped his attitude towards faith. As for his attitude towards revealed religions and prophets, this chapter shows how al-Ma'arrī was torn between an awareness that religions are of no use and can even be harmful – by making blunt statements about this – and the awareness that they also carry moral messages that ought to be followed. This dissonance remains

unresolved in *Luzūm.* Al-Maʿarrī also did not develop any specific paradigm of reason, something he is frequently celebrated for having done. While he praises the faculty of reason and urges people to turn to it, he simultaneously discredits its power against corrupt human nature and turns, instead, to fatalistic statements. Al-Maʿarrī's ambivalence, therefore, makes him different from previous freethinkers with whom he has been frequently identified in contemporary studies.

The final chapter shows how the matter of unbelief was secondary to al-Maʿarrī's fame as a poet and teacher. His social status was maintained by his literary virtuosity and his excellent knowledge of Arabic letters. This chapter argues that al-Maʿarrī escaped persecution, not due to his successful application of *taqīya*, as has been previously suggested, but because there was no need for persecution. There was in fact no social or political situation present that was conducive to his persecution. It was only well after his death that al-Maʿarrī's image was divided between two poles of reception: some made his unbelief his primary identifier, while others saw him as a pious believer in order to save his poetic merits. Such dichotomies and rigid boundaries were not present during his lifetime and they are only constructs among posterity.

Family Double Monasteries in the Fourth and the Fifth Centuries: An Inquiry into the Theological Roots, Social Context, and Early Evolution of an Old Practice
Andra Jugănaru (Romania)

The examination committee at the public defense on June 8, 2018, consisted of István Bodnár (Department of Philosophy, CEU), chair; Marianne Sághy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; István Perczel (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), co-supervisor; György Geréby (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Samuel Rubenson (Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, University of Lund); Simeon Paschalidis (School of Pastoral and Social Theology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). The external readers were: Samuel Rubenson and Simeon Paschalidis.

My dissertation is the first attempt to analyze and contextualize an ascetic trend that appeared simultaneously with the emergence of cenobitic monasticism in different regions of the Christian world. This inquiry involves an interdisciplinary approach, combining history, theology, philosophy, and philology. At the beginning of the fourth century, after Christianity changed its status from persecuted to official recognition in the Roman Empire, an "ascetic revolution" spread especially among

the members of the high aristocracy and of the middle class. Sometimes several members of the same family, men and women, embraced the ascetic enthusiasm, experimenting with different ascetic *modi vivendi* in proximity to each other or in cohabitation. While authoritative Church Fathers legitimized some of the newly emerging communities, at the same time, they rejected other forms of double-gender asceticism, which they labelled as chaotic and "unruly."

Family double monasteries are rooted in pious Late Antique households, generally belonging to the high aristocracy, with one notable exception – precisely the very one that had set the tone for this practice. Relatives, men and women, shared their inclination towards asceticism in proximity to each other either on their own family estates, or in new places. They formed quarters of monks and nuns who belonged to the same monastic unit, sometimes having unique guidance (often a woman). They were economically and liturgically interdependent, but they lived separately, and their encounters were thoroughly regulated.

Thus, the flourishing communities that sprang from a family milieu and received the recognition of the Church Fathers are, in chronological order, the monastery of Tabennesi (Upper Egypt), founded by Pachomius and his sister, Mary (ca. 333–336); the monastery in Annisa (Cappadocia), which developed on the family estate of Macrina the Younger, her mother, and her brothers (ca. 345–356); the community founded in Bethlehem by Jerome, his brother, Paulinianus, and his spiritual daughter, Paula, together with the latter's daughter, Eustochium (386); the monastery of Nola, founded by Paulinus and his wife, Therasia (395–396), which became a magnet for other "monastic spouses" and formed a monastic network; the monastery that emerged at Primuliacum due to Sulpicius Severus, his wife, and his mother-in-law, Bassula (396–403); and the monastery founded on the Mount of Olives by Melania the Younger, her husband, Pinianus, and her mother, Albina (431–436). At the same time, other spouses renounced their matrimonial relations and continued to live as spiritual siblings in their own pious households, which they slowly transformed into ascetic dwellings, or, rarely, fled elsewhere. Not all of the monastic spouses founded new communities, some of them either joined already existent monasteries, or, after years of living in proximity, they separated. This thesis analyzes them as part of the double-gender family asceticism that was recognized and legitimized.

In the secondary literature scholars have been using the *terminus technicus* "double monastery" almost indiscriminately, for all eras and for all the regions, with the meaning of a coenobitic establishment that hosted ascetic men and women in seclusion. Generally, the term was opposed to other types of double-gender communities called "mixed monasteries," "neighbor monasteries," or

"distant monasteries." Literature published from the nineteenth century until today distinguished two main stages of research, one lasting until the beginning of the twentieth century, and another one that started at the end of the 1980s. In this period, two disciplines, history and Church law, have been dealing with the problem of double monasteries. The syntagm "double monastery" cannot be easily applied to the fourth-century context, since the terms "duplex monasterium" and "διπλοῦν μοναστήριον" are first attested in 546, in Justinian's Novel 123, while sources never use the other terms proposed in scholarship. However, since in English no other syntagm is able to cover accurately the particularities of the fourth- and fifth-century communities that my dissertation scrutinizes, throughout my work I conventionally referred to them by adopting the formula "family double monasteries."

Several common conditions led to the gradual development of this model of monasticism. First, a charismatic ascetic man attached to his male monastery a community of pious women who followed him, and he set up a set of rules that concerned both groups of ascetics and their interaction. In other instances, male and female relatives transformed their "pious households" into ascetic establishments. In this case, they did not cease to live in the same environment, but at a later stage in their evolution, groups of monks and nuns were secluded, and a set of rules established the legitimate contacts between them. Yet, in other situations, relatives founded a community for both monks and nuns in a different place than their household. Such a place attracted other ascetically oriented family members, creating "monastic networks." Finally, in some situations, spouses decided to renounce their family connections and to become ascetics. Sources describe several stages in the accomplishment of such a decision, which had noticeable consequences at the social level.

The sources pertaining, directly or indirectly, to the communities that my thesis investigates are mostly written. The hagiographies, letters, monastic rules, dialogues, homilies, sermons, and poems each have their specific set of rules that concern their production, audience, and way of dissemination. Most of the sources belong to more than one category, a fact that is not surprising for the fourth-century context. Moreover, all the texts have male authors, a detail that becomes essential when analyzing references to ascetic women. Besides the variety and complexity of the written evidence, an additional challenge is posed by the various scholarly approaches to the surviving texts. In some instances, the scholars' survey of monasticism is limited to small regions of the Christian world, thus missing the opportunity of analyzing the networks established due to the circulation of people and ideas. In other instances, the texts that have to be analyzed are passed through various filters of interpretation, more or less suitable to this kind of investigation.

The scarce archaeological evidence survived and has been explored at least to a small extent does not provide any substantial data.

Although the family double monasteries seem to raise exclusively theological questions, in fact they stand at the crossroads of an economic, social, and theological competition. The secular and ecclesiastical legislation on marriage brought changes to the traditional social order after the Constantinian turn. The choice of virginity instead of marriage was a novelty that challenged the social expectations of the fourth century. The Church Fathers had always praised virginity, while their opinions on marriage varied, from a union allowed by God after the Fall to a choice leading to a smaller reward in the afterlife. Ideally, men and women alike would replace an earthly marriage with a mystical union with Christ, the only relation accepted as "spiritual." Authoritative Church Fathers rejected other forms of "spiritual marriages" between ascetically oriented men and women, although such forms of symbiosis had been present for centuries in Christian, Pythagorean, Essenian, and Gnostic communities. Renunciation of marriage and the choice of asceticism were followed by a set of practices that affected social requirements. Women who refused to get married acquired the autonomy and social authority to transfer their wealth to the Church instead of transmitting it to their offspring and aristocrats renounced the social benefits of their positions.

Sometimes, turning one's family to asceticism involved transforming the family's household (whose essential part was the *villa*) into an ascetic residence. Thus, the public-private border shifted, allowing for a larger private space dedicated to personal prayer. Aristocratic families directed their "building program" to ascetic settlements. Responsibility for one's household, including all its members, remained an essential duty, which, in an ascetic context, could lead to socially burdensome practices, such as the release of slaves, in accordance with the Church Fathers who described a "theology of freedom," in which the necessity of the renunciation of slavery has scriptural roots. Renunciation of one's wealth, another *topos* in the discourses of the Church Fathers, was another means of acquiring virtues. Besides its moral value, this practice was also a way of escaping the burdens of one's social obligations. Renunciation of slaves and wealth could create social insecurity for the slaves who remained without a master and could also raise additional questions of inheritance. Thus, when one's wealth exceeded the average, its disposal became a long-lasting and difficult process.

Men and women took equal part in asceticism, but the views on women varied. Church Fathers both praised women for their holiness and were concerned that their presence would bring temptations. Among the variety of ascetic practices that women assumed, some of them aimed at annulling the gender differentiation

or at confirming that the ascetics were able to overcome bodily temptations. Such were women who wore masculine clothes and cut their hair short or ascetic women and men who cohabitated. Disputes arose around the differentiation between genders and its preservation after the resurrection. The Church Fathers who persisted in recognizing the manifested ontological differentiation of men and women opposed both the theological speculations regarding the absence of gender in the afterlife and the cohabitation of ascetic men and women. Such experiments like *syneisaktism*, or ascetic communities in which men and women did not live separately, were perceived as challenging. The bishops condemned these and got involved in family double monasteries not only to legitimize this form of asceticism, but also to limit the participation of the ascetics in public affairs.

In each family double monastery, the ascetics changed their views on their family ties while the communities to which they belonged were developing. Each community emerged from a pious household whose members replaced their fleshly family with an ascetic brotherhood of relatives in spirit who shared the monastic vocation while continuing to use the same vocabulary pertaining to the semantic field of "family." Consequently, the expectable hierarchy of a traditional family was also reshaped. In these new, ascetic arrangements, parents and children in flesh became spiritual siblings or, even more, parents became spiritual offspring of their earthly children. Marriage relations were severed, and spouses became spiritual siblings. Earthly generations were also redefined. In a family double monastery, the "first generation" did not comprise the eldest members anymore, but those most advanced in asceticism. Consequently, unlike t traditional households, the members of these family double monasteries were ascribed new roles, duties, and, sometimes, hierarchical positions at odds with the tradition.

The simultaneous secluded closeness and closed seclusion of monks and nuns influenced several aspects of a family double monastery's daily life. Sources refer to ascetics using the landscape for its natural borders, such as rivers or mountains, as a way to seclude ascetic men from ascetic women. For the same purpose, ascetics could use a certain arrangement of the buildings either on their own family estates, or in the monasteries built in new places. The physical proximity of monks and nuns and their appurtenance to a spiritual family created complex relations between them. *Amicitia* stood apart, since the ascetics added a "monastic seal" to the classical counterpart concept. Another innovation that family double monasteries brought was the authority of women, who were often described in sources as "teachers of philosophy." At the same time, monastic *paideia* heavily relied on the Scriptures and on the lives of the martyrs, but ascetics were acquainted with the classical type of education as well. Liturgical practices were also adapted to the gender

seclusion. The sources create exemplary portraits of holy women. Their presence in written accounts had a prominent rhetorical function, besides its pedagogical role. Reassessing and reusing classical motifs, such as Plato's Diotima, the male authors presented holy women as their omnipresent companions and leaders on the way to the philosophical-theological quest, which ended once the "true philosophy," that is the monastic life, was reached.

My dissertation does not aim at proposing a new terminology for the communities that are part of its study, rather it argues that it is essential to be aware of the origin, history, and evolution of meaning that the term "double monastery" had. All the examples that have been brought together succeeded in winning the competitions in which they had to engage. Thus, they showed that *it was possible* for kindred monks and nuns to lead their monastic vocation in close proximity, respecting a certain set of norms and being formally recognized by the authorities of their time. It is not surprising, though, that similar monastic arrangements have continued to exist up to our days, in spite of repeated interdictions, without receiving the label "double monasteries."

Thus, the importance of these communities lies also in the model that they were able to transmit. Overcoming the fears arisen by the proximity of the two genders, their closeness being supported by the account of mankind's Creation as man and woman and by the idea of a non-distinction between them in Christ, the fourth- and early-fifth-century family double monasteries were not burdened with the heavily negative connotation that they acquired in legislation issued later on.

The Beast between Us: The Construction of Identity and Alterity through Animal Symbolism in Late Antique Jewish and Christian Tradition
Andor Kelenhegyi (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defense on November 2, 2017, consisted of Mária M. Kovács (Nationalism Studies Program, CEU), chair; Carsten Wilke (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; György Geréby (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Mireille Hadas-Lebel, Emerita (Paris-Sorbonne University); Günter Stemberger, Emeritus (University of Wien). The external readers were: Mireille Hadas-Lebel and Günter Stemberger.

My dissertation is a study of Late Antique Jewish and Christian interrelations, with a special focus on how animal symbolism contributes to the formation of identity and alterity within the two communities. In recent decades the study of Jewish–Christian relations ceased to function only as a particular field of historical

curiosity and evolved into a discipline of its own, yielding numerous influential publications. Although these focus on Jewish–Christian interrelations, their findings often have greater relevance and help transform broader scientific fields by providing observations applicable to historical, sociological, and philosophical scholarship in general.

By studying Jewish–Christian interrelations through the theme of animal symbolism, I intend to carry on with the tradition of such scholarly endeavors. However, my special focus, animal symbolism, is itself part of a novel research direction, animal studies. In recent decades, animal studies has undergone a change similar to the one affecting Jewish–Christian studies, evolving into a discipline in its own right. Since the perspective of animal studies constantly forces the scholar to reflect on human-animal relationships and the precarious nature of the boundary between the two entities, it offers a particularly fruitful vantage point to the study of the complex interrelations of Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity. Moreover, one of the major forces that triggered the emergence of animal studies as an independent field of study during the seventies and the eighties was the conviction that the Biblical tradition, and the Judeo-Christian worldview based upon it, was responsible for millennia of exploitation and mishandling of animals. Therefore, the intersection of these two novel disciplines is expected to contribute significantly to the understanding of Jewish–Christian relations and yield results extending to various related fields.

My dissertation is driven by two research questions. On the one hand, I wish to investigate how the identification of an ingroup and outgroup with animal symbols serves the process of defining and negotiating borders between Jewish and Christian communities. On the other hand, I am interested in deciding whether animal symbolism serves only as a means of creating hierarchy between dehumanized outgroups and the human ingroup or if it is used also as a tool of conceptualizing the other on an equal level.

This twofold objective is achieved by studying the textual sources of the two communities, focusing mainly on exegetical materials. By analyzing a wide variety of source texts from a political, theological, and exegetical point of view (and infrequently also from a philological standpoint), I attempt to draw a comprehensive picture of how the two communities regarded themselves and the respective other. The geographical frame covers the wider *Mediterraneum* (including Greek, Latin, and occasionally Syriac sources from Christian, and Hebrew and Aramaic sources from Jewish tradition). As for the time-frame, I focus exclusively on textual material from the first six centuries CE.

My dissertation comprises a detailed introduction, four core chapters, and a conclusion. The four chapters present a thematic overview of major issues relevant for the two communities' understanding of animality and animal symbolism, but at the same time they constitute a linear argumentation leading toward my major conclusion, namely, that animalization was not only a tool for distancing otherness but also a way of enabling intercommunal communication, the description of otherness, and the vision of interaction, proposing solutions to the permanent difficulty of the two communities' proximity and to the threat they are seen to pose to each other.

A concise term of the peculiar interrelation of Jewish and Christian communities, "proximate otherness" can be very well applied to the relationship between humans and animals. The parallel between these two – similarly ambiguous – relations is a source of a particularly rich contribution to the study of Jewish–Christian interrelations. Due to its dependence on questions of defining humankind and its relationship with its environment, the study of animal symbolism allows the scholar to investigate how the mutual representation of the two traditions was related to their most profound anthropological and theological persuasions. Furthermore, both traditions draw their animal imagery either from a shared corpus of scriptures or from the shared cultural good of Graeco-Roman natural historical and mythological tradition. Therefore, the symbolic values expressed by animals are not only assets that the two communities strive for, but also a common metalanguage through which alterity can be grasped and addressed.

This zoological language has a twofold appeal for representatives of the two traditions. On the one hand, animalizing otherness helps translate intercommunity borders and differences between rival communities into an easily comprehensible language. By expressing difference in a zoological language, Jewish and Christian thinkers could present cultural demarcations as parts of a natural order. This can be presented in a setting of dehumanization, which depicts the outgroup as animalistic, while emphasizing human traits of the ingroup. Alternatively, the outgroup in an animal form can be contrasted with an ingroup that is also represented by such a symbol. This way of presenting community relations does not rely on the narrative of dehumanization. Instead, it capitalizes on the explanatory power of the taxonomical nature of the human view of fauna. By representing both the ingroup and outgroup in animal form, Christian and Jewish thinkers could bring order into chaos, depicting convoluted relationships of the human world in transparent interrelations between clearly demarcated animal species. The four chapters of my dissertation analyze these two settings, laying a much bigger emphasis on the second, non-dehumanizing version of animal–animal contrasts.

In the first chapter, I argue that the distinction between humans and animals is far from secure and that neither rabbinic nor patristic exegetes could arrive at a set of mutually exclusive definitions of animality and humanity. Their concern with this situation shows to some extent that both communities entertained the possibility of a passable boundary between the two groups of beings. Nevertheless, the ambiguity of human–animal difference was apparently more a source of appeal than a reason to avoid this metaphorical language, and the similarity between the ambiguous relationships of humans and animals on the one hand, and Jews and Christians on the other was exploited in both exegetic traditions. Thus, the animalization of the respective other was not exclusively a tool of distancing, but also an expression of anxiety concerning the penetrable border between ingroup and outgroup.

Coupled with a similarly fundamental shift in the conceptualization of animals in the course of Late Antiquity, the ambiguity of human-animal relations was even more palpable. This fundamental shift was prompted by a number of economic and societal changes (urbanization, the transformation of sacrificial cults, a widespread tendency of emphasizing the moral aspect of religious rituals, etc.) and resulted in a transformation of everyday relationship between humans and animals. This, in turn, enabled an emphasizing of symbolical and metaphorical interpretations of the scriptural narratives featuring various animal species. The second chapter is dedicated to the study of this change through the analysis of interpretations of sacrifices and the metaphorical meaning of sacrificial animals. I argue that the religious transformations of Late Antiquity, and in particular the end of sacrificial rituals, enabled a novel way of interpreting sacrificial victims. Exegetes formulated a discourse in which animals were not seen as passive objects, tools of communication between the divine and the human sphere, but voluntary victims, as suffering subjects. And although the role of sacrificial victim is still a passive one, the voluntary nature of its devotion indicates a shift toward active agency in the perception of animality. Since self-sacrifice invokes the concepts of consideration, decision, and desire, metaphors featuring sacrificial animals capable of deciding to offer themselves present animal agents with a morality and a potential of comprehension. This change is most evident in the case of sheep. In certain narratives, sheep are presented as comprehending animals capable of being educated and learning proper morality. Such a metaphorical image occurs in alignment with a transformation of the image of shepherding within Jewish and, more notably, Christian tradition. I argue that from a political concept presented by the Hebrew Bible and retained in the rabbinic mindset throughout the centuries, the patristic tradition diverged toward an interpretation of shepherding as *magisterium*, aimed at guiding sheep toward moral perfection. In this symbolism, sheep are not simply

obedient, but become active subjects. They are not understood as being only driven toward certain goals, but – to an extent – expected to engage in self-improvement.

The increased emphasis on the morality of the individual and the search for the allegorical meaning behind both rituals and religious codes, triggered the allegorization of not only the interpretation of sacrificial animality, but also of the related dichotomy of animal purity and impurity. Since the opposition of pure and impure animality captured the interest of both Jewish and Christian exegetes, the third chapter of my dissertation is dedicated to the study of these categories. While only the rabbis maintained the validity of the distinction between the two types of animals in matters of alimentation, both exegetic traditions treated the opposites as symbols expressing identity and alterity. Due to the fact that the notion of purity is presented in the Hebrew Bible in a quasi-medical framework of contagion, contamination, and purification, the identification of the outgroup with an impure animal is not only an act of classification and distancing, but also an indication of perceived danger. As the concept of impurity survived in exclusively metaphorical-moralistic terms in the Christian tradition, and since to an extent these aspects were developed in rabbinic tradition as well, the identification of the outgroup with an impure animal invoked the assumption that the other poses a danger of contaminating and defiling the ingroup in a moral sense. This was a further step in the process of subjectifying animals, since the image of an animalized other capable of seducing members of the ingroup attributes an immoral and subversive agency to animality, irrespective of whether the affected ingroup was depicted in the form of a pure animal or that of a human.

In the fourth and last chapter of the dissertation I explore the most profound expression of animal–animal comparison in the two traditions: the opposition between wild beasts of the wilderness and domesticated animals of human lands. This theme is at the same time the climax of implementing animal symbolism as an expression of intercommunal conflict, and the field within which imaginary solutions are presented to the constant threat of proximate otherness. The identification of the outgroup with wild animals is not only a representation of physical danger but also an expression of immorality, which – similarly to the contagious concept of impurity – poses a danger of corruption. The respective domains of these two groups of animals (the wilderness and human lands) are seen in a dichotomy, governed by an overtone of liminality, which enables not only the wilderness and its inhabitants to invade, occupy, and devastate domesticated lands and its animal representatives, but also the domesticated animals to conquer and transform their wild counterparts. By describing the outgroup as symbolized by a wild beast and, at the same time, pointing out the possibility of its taming, exegetes of the two communities could exploit

the full potential of their subjectification of animalization. Narrative frameworks in which both parties are identified as animal species interacting with each other provide a literary fantasy of addressing the outgroup in a secure way. By these means, interpreters of both groups could invent ways of facilitating the toleration of proximate otherness: by relegating its solution to a messianic perspective they could accommodate to leaving it intact in the present.

Since all this effort took place only on a literary level and it was addressed to one's own group, these solutions were not intended to affect the relationship of the two communities, but to construct and maintain one particular perception of it. In the two communities, the reconciliation with or removal of the animalized outgroup was mostly relegated to the eschatological future. Through arguing that the wild beasts would ultimately be removed from the land of Israel, the rabbis could make good use of their identification of the outgroup with such animals. The vision of most Christian Fathers, announcing the future coexistence and peace between wild and domesticated animals, capitalizes much more on the subjectification of animals. In this narrative, the imaginary coexistence of two types of animals (tame, but originally wild, and gentle ones) was interpreted as a description of the future peace and reconciliation of proximate others. This vision represents animals as not only subjects interacting with each other, but also as agents capable of being changed and changing each other.

My findings show that while naturalizing difference through animal symbols functioned as a method of creating boundaries, the subjectification of animals could serve an opposite aim as well. For these two communities, animalization was not a tool of severing connections, but a way of potentially establishing them. By identifying communities with different animal species, the distinction between them was recognized and expressed, fostering a process of crystallizing boundaries and community identities, ultimately allowing authors to use animal symbols as an intercommunal metalanguage. Thus, by crossing over from one community to the other, animalization transgressed boundaries, but also confirmed them.

The Representation of the Saints of the Mendicant Orders in Late Medieval Hungary
Eszter Konrád (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defense on December 11, 2017, consisted of Károly Bárd (Department of Legal Studies, CEU), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Marianne Sághy

(Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Nicole Bériou (Department of History, Université Lumière-Lyon 2); Ottó Gecser (Institute of Sociology, Eötvös Loránd University); Edit Madas (National Széchényi Library). The external readers were: Nicole Bériou, Ottó Gecser, and Edit Madas.

The dissertation examines the ways and means used by the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders for introducing, appropriating, and preserving the memory of the saints and blessed particularly venerated by their own orders in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary between the early thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In addition, it also explores how the fame of local saintly figures reached Italy and found their way into works that circulated widely, and through which they reached eventually the convents of these two orders in different parts of Europe. Using hagiographic and sermon literature, miracle collections, liturgical books, chronicles of the orders, charters, as well as visual representations in private and public spheres, the research aims at providing a more complex understanding of how these saintly figures were presented to and were perceived by different audiences, with special attention to the activities of the friars whose endeavors were supported by the royal house and the nobility from time to time. I present eleven canonized saints and more than a dozen blessed of these two orders. Since, with the exception of Louis of Toulouse, none of the saints who gained papal recognition had a special connection to Hungary, I assumed that the investigation of the traces of the veneration (and, in some cases, cult) of these "imported" new saints – taking into account a wide range of sources – would show some instructive results and supply additional details to the "saintly politics" of the two great mendicant orders as well as other agents besides the well-known cases of the Dominican nun Margaret of Hungary (d. 1270) and the Observant Franciscan John of Capistrano (d. 1456). In Chapter I I present the social and historical background of the friars' activities and the source material.

    The protagonists of Chapter II were St. Dominic (canonized in 1234) and Peter of Verona (canonized in 1253), the early saints of the Order of Preachers. The presence of their relics – which was essential in the implementation of their local cults – in the country before 1260 shows the special importance of the Hungarian Dominican Province and the friars' particularly good relationship with King Béla IV in that period. I argue that it was presumably the joint decision of the Hungarian ruler and the prominent members of the Order of Preachers where to place the relics. Dominic had an intense local cult in the priory of Somlyó in southeastern Hungary where his finger relic was preserved since the 1250s at the latest. Based on the *acta* of the general chapters and the miracle accounts incorporated in his hagiography, the entire procedure of the promotion and the preservation of his

memory could be reconstructed: on the institutional level, the master general called for the collection of the saint's miracles from all the provinces; on the informal level, the local village dwellers and the parish priests fostered his local cult mainly by visiting his relic and spreading the fame of his healing power, which attracted pilgrims from the nearby counties. I demonstrate that the saint's finger relic was never moved to Székesfehérvár: this widespread tradition in Hungarian scholarship is the result of a mistranslation of a Latin source. Peter of Verona's unspecified relic was placed in northeastern Hungary on the way leading to the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia from where further Mongolian intrusion was expected. I have analyzed the thirteenth-century sermons on these saints written for novices (*Sermones compilati*) and found that they were transmitting the image of a founder whose activity as preacher was combined with learning and teaching, while the sermons on Peter Martyr presented a saint targeted primarily at the eradication of the moral and theological sins of the people. Dominican saints were rarely depicted in murals and on altarpieces. The presence of the two Dominican and the two Franciscan saints on high-quality art works such as the diptych of Andrew III and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can be related to their commissioner/owner's general piety, a part of which was their devotion to the various religious orders. A more secure indicator for a particular devotion to St. Dominic (based presumably on sharing the same name) and his order can be seen in the breviary of Domokos Kálmáncsehi. Regarding St. Thomas Aquinas (canonized in 1323), even if he was not as popular as a saint as he was as a theologian in Hungary, his vernacular legend in the *Debreceni Codex* and his depiction in the company of the Virgin Mary and the founder in the Dominican church of Brașov indicate that in Hungary he was renowned around the sixteenth century in his quality as Doctor of the Church – at least in areas where the Order of Preachers were active.

Chapter III is centered on two large topics: the cult of St. Francis (canonized 1228) in Hungary and the Franciscan blessed from Hungary who had a local cult around their tomb and whose memories were preserved primarily in the Franciscan catalogue of saints. In the first part, I present a concise summary of the evolution of the hagiography of St. Francis and the accounts of his stigmatization in Latin produced in Italy in order to be able to evaluate the material produced in Hungary. I pay particular attention to the *Jókai Codex*, the earliest extant book written in the Hungarian vernacular, and I argue that the original context in which the *Speculum perfectionis* and the *Actus beati Francisci* had been written was of little relevance more than half a century later in a different geographical area not reached by the "Spiritual" versus "Community" controversy, and what in fact mattered was to provide additional material to the official legend of St. Francis. Moreover, there is

evidence that such works were known in Hungary outside the Franciscan milieu, too. I have also put forward the revision of the dating of the earlier Hungarian translation of the *Jókai Codex*. Thanks to the relatively high amount of the extant source material, it was possible to individuate different themes and episodes from the saint's life that were widespread in Hungary, of which his stigmatization was of utmost importance. The authentication of the stigmatization was crucial in the written and visual sources alike. The two Observant Franciscan preachers Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko provided explanations in their sermons to questions that might have arisen concerning this event, and it was also described in detail in the vernacular codices used by the Dominican and the Clarissan nuns in the surroundings of Buda. Except for the artworks made for private use, the images depicting St. Francis were all accessible to a lay audience that could experience the saint's uniqueness in terms of bodily and spiritual conformity to Christ both through seeing and hearing. In the visual sources from medieval Hungary the stigmata were attributes only of St. Francis, and there is only one extant exception to this, a wooden panel on which also St. Catherine of Siena is represented as a stigmatic. St. Francis became a participant in biblical scenes and in the history of salvation, too. In the second part of the chapter, I concentrate on those holy Franciscans who were related to Hungary either because of their origin or as a result of their activity there. They, despite their *fama sanctitatis*, were never canonized. I present the evolution of Franciscan catalogues of saints from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century that report accounts of different length about friars who had a local cult or suffered martyrdom on missions, paying special attention to the *Memorialia*, the earliest Franciscan catalogue of saints and the first printed one in the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (1504).

Chapter IV is made up of three parts discussing the saints canonized in the first period of Franciscanism ending symbolically in 1317. After some sporadic traces of earlier veneration, St. Anthony of Padua (canonized 1232) became popular in Hungary thanks above all to the publication of his *vita* as part of the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie* in the 1480s and to the sermons of the two Observant Franciscans mentioned above. St. Anthony's intention, inspired by the example of the friars who suffered martyrdom in Morocco, to convert the Muslims became a favored theme in the sermons produced in Hungary, which must have been related to the "canonization" of the five martyrs of Morocco in 1481 and the current political situation. Several episodes from Anthony's life were used for religious instruction, and his fame as a great miracle worker was widespread by the end of the fifteenth century. In visual representations, he appears always together with St. Francis holding a book or a cross, and later on, a fish, a reference to one of his most

popular miracles connected to preaching. Although the overwhelming majority of the written and visual sources about St. Clare of Assisi (canonized 1255) is related to the Franciscans, her veneration was not restricted to the Franciscan milieu. The Latin and vernacular sermons built on the *themata* connected to light are centered on her virtues, chiefly virginity. The two most conspicuous features of her sanctity were her devotion to the *Corpus Christi* used with pleasure by preachers and artists alike for the promotion of Eucharistic piety and her powerful prayers that made her a popular intercessor on behalf of women. By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century the monstrance had become her distinctive attribute also in Hungary. The case of St. Louis of Anjou, the Franciscan bishop of Toulouse (canonized in 1317), following a promising start being the uncle of King Charles I, proved to be less successful. Although his figure would turn up in some fifteenth-century works of art, his popularity significantly decreased after the Angevin period. In the sermons of Pelbartus and Osvaldus, Louis of Toulouse's dynastic relations were thrust into the background, and it was his simple lifestyle as a bishop and his care for the poor that came into the foreground in order to underline the Christological parallels.

Chapter V is dedicated to those holy figures of the Order of Preachers that were related to the reform in the fifteenth century. Since with the exception of Margaret of Hungary the legends of those blessed of the order who had local veneration in Hungary do not survive in Hungarian sources, I turned to the works of Dominican authors from German-speaking areas and Italy. Most of these works were written during or following the reform, often by authors who were the protagonists of this religious revival. The reform friars started to concentrate on their duties as spiritual guides of the nuns under their care, which was reflected in the composition of saints' lives and other types of devotional literature in the vernacular. They also included holy nuns and tertiaries in their hagiographic collections based also on earlier material, such as Thomas of Cantimpré's *Bonum universale de apibus*. I present the *De Viris Illustribus* collections, a genre in hagiography, which emerged in the early fifteenth century, made up of the lives of the Dominican male and female blessed. The accumulation of these *vitae* attests to (at least some of) the authors' assiduous research in the order's past, but it was the form of the legends that was revised in order to imitate the classical tradition, not their content. The legends of Buzád, Mauritius of Csák, and Margaret and Helen of Hungary survived thanks to the Dominicans' careful record keeping and the constant up-dating of the material. This proved to be particularly successful in the case of Margaret and Helen who became significant figures in the (reform) Dominicans' long-lasting struggle to gain papal recognition of Catherine of Siena's sanctity. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the Dominican Vincent Ferrer (canonized 1455) and the Sienese

mantellata Catherine of Siena (canonized 1461). I came to the conclusion that, similarly to St. Thomas Aquinas, the Valencian Dominican's works were known in Hungary but his veneration as a saint did not go beyond the Dominican convents. I surveyed the extant sources that bore witness to Catherine's popularity in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Hungary. She seems to be the only canonized female saint about whose spiritual experience a Dominican female community could hear in their mother tongue. I argue that her stigmata were not regarded as an issue of particular concern in the early sixteenth century for a non-Dominican audience: she was a stigmatic saint just as St. Francis was.

In Chapter VI I examine the cases of the last two saints of the Order of Minor Brothers who were canonized in the Middle Ages. Bernardino of Siena (canonized in 1450) was known in Hungary already in his lifetime thanks primarily to those members of the entourage of King Sigismund who spent considerable time in those parts of Italy where the Observant preacher was active. Apart from the sermons of the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans, a wide range of sources that sprang up immediately after his canonization testify to his veneration in Hungary, some of which can directly be associated with John of Capistrano's activity there and in the neighboring regions. The case of Bonaventure (canonized 1482) was quite the contrary: he was a figure from the past and could hardly be associated with the present. What has come down to us from Hungary about Bonaventure as a saint – because he was an acclaimed theologian and parts of his works (or works attributed to him) were translated into the vernacular – are from the sermons of Pelbartus and Osvaldus. In addition to the two saints who gained papal recognition, I have traced back a Franciscan friar closely related to Bernardino and the Observant movement: Blessed Lancelao de Ongaria. With the help of the collation of the two earliest versions of his story written in the Italian vernacular by authors who had a major role in the creation of the new Observant hagiography, I show how a character of secondary importance in someone else's legend composed in the second half of the fifteenth century was promoted to the rank of a real saint with his own *vita* by the first decades of the sixteenth century.

In the Conclusion I review the outcomes of each chapter from a different, thematic point of view. The dissertation contributes to a more nuanced view of what role Dominican and Franciscan saints and blessed played in devotional life in late medieval Hungary and how they were mediated to the public with the help of the friars and other churchmen.

Memory from the Past, Display for the Future: Early Modern Funeral Monuments from the Transylvanian Principality
Dóra Mérai (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defense on December 14, 2017, consisted of Balázs Trencsényi (Department of History, CEU), chair; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Péter Farbaky (Budapest History Museum); Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Phillip Lindley (University of Leicester); Pál Lővei (Hungarian Academy of Sciences). The external readers were: Phillip Lindley and Pál Lővei.

This thesis is a study of funeral monuments created in the Transylvanian Principality in the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century: how people used them to preserve and evoke the memory of their dead in order to present them to contemporaries and future generations. Though tomb monuments constitute a major group of material heritage from the principality period, they have never been surveyed, inventoried, and have never been analyzed as a coherent group in any respect.

Funeral monuments and burial sites have appeared as part of the heritage of certain Transylvanian communities, as a reference point in their identity construction. Separate Hungarian, Romanian, and German historiographies evolved, and funeral monuments were incorporated into these narratives. The changing framework of interpretation was interconnected with the history of the memorials, since certain objects were highlighted by moving and displaying them for a broader public, while others were left to decay. In terms of scholarly aims, studies on specific pieces fell into the scope of art history in the Central European academic tradition, which mostly focused on identifying sculptors' hands and stylistic origins. However, a significant number of the funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality cannot be interpreted in terms of art because of their simplicity and poor quality; instead they belong to the sphere of visual or material culture.

This work builds on approaches towards early modern monuments in Europe developed by historians, archaeologists, and art historians in the recent few decades, which utilize models provided by anthropology, social history, linguistics, and literary criticism, and interpret the memorials in relation to their social meaning, embedded within the social history of death. The main functions of these objects have been defined as preserving the presence of the dead among the living, offering

models to follow, and evoking acts of memory. The form, size, material, images, and texts of the monuments were all chosen to ensure that they properly fulfill their function. Funeral monuments are seen here as a means of communication in the social process of commemoration, as the manifestation of a system of visual signs. Consequently, by going back to the social context, their comparative and contextual analysis can uncover the choices that were made about them and unfold the reasons why.

Choices were made by all those people who were involved in the creation of the memorial, from the commissioner through the poet who wrote the verses to the sculptor and the painter who finalized it. Individual solutions inspired by the wishes of a certain commissioner were built into the repertoire of the stonecutters and the concepts about memorials of the prospective patrons and subjects. Moreover, funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality in their present state were impacted by a series of later decisions too: some people chose to preserve or to get rid of certain tombstones, others moved or modified them, and monuments have been involved in creating collective or social memories over the centuries. We inherited these layers of meanings too as part of the objects, sources for the research. Keeping this in mind, the primary aim of this work is to find out what kind of memory people from the Transylvanian Principality – all those who contributed to the creation of funeral monuments – intended to preserve and evoke about their dead and themselves among their contemporaries and the posterity and why, in order to understand more how material and visual culture is used by humans to define, express, and influence their place and role in the world.

The message of early modern tomb monuments has two basic components: one concerns the place of the individual in earthly society, and the other one their position concerning what is beyond, that is, their religious status. During the period of the Transylvanian Principality the ideas of religious reform initiated by Martin Luther spread to the region, and the country, due to the coexistence of a diversity of Christian denominations, has been known as a land of exceptional religious tolerance. The collection of tomb monuments from the principality is a suitable body of sources to examine the impact of the Protestant Reformation on commemoration and material, visual culture in a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional environment.

This work entails an inventory project based on fieldwork, the primary results of which are presented in a catalog as an appendix, containing 314 items. This is the most complete corpus of funeral monuments ever compiled from the Transylvanian Principality. The thesis itself is composed of an introduction, five core chapters, and the conclusions.

Chapter 1 defines the circle of objects that are in the focus of this research as well as the geographical and chronological framework in the context of the relevant scholarly traditions. The previous scholarship of Transylvanian tomb monuments, their interpretation history, is presented to understand how it contributed to the meanings we attribute to the objects and how it has been interrelated with their physical history.

Chapter 2 presents the results of the research concerning the physical history of Transylvanian funeral monuments based on the main site types: urban and village churches, churchyard cemeteries, communal cemeteries, and museums, in order to interpret their present visual and material condition and spatial context. Several tomb monuments included here had been previously unknown and unpublished. In case of numerous others, this research produced a new identification of their subject or provenance, or specified their dating. The second part offers a system of typology that is meaningful for the analysis, developed to present both the similarities and the differences among the objects in as many respects as possible.

The next two chapters unfold how people who were involved in the production of funeral monuments influenced certain aspects – the location, visibility, size, material, form, images, architectural details, ornaments, and texts – by their decisions and explore why they made exactly these choices. Chapter 3 deals with the producers. Previous scholarship aimed to identify certain masters' oeuvres based on some signatures on the memorials and to distinguish their "own" works from "workshop products" based on compositional and stylistic similarities. Due to the collected corpus of tomb monuments, the knowledge base about the circumstances of production could be broadened, and several tomb monuments could be organized into groups according to analogous characteristics that point to workshops in Sighişoara, Sibiu, Braşov, Cluj, and probably in Bistriţa, some of which have not been identified before. Those memorials whose quality surpasses the average and are customarily labeled in scholarship as imported pieces present a special problem for research, together with the pieces that cluster around them. These groups and clusters, however, either suggesting local or foreign origins, cannot be interpreted in an identical manner. Their contextual study leads to the conclusion that the term "workshop" can only be applied as an abstract analytical category that refers to different aspects of the production: sometimes to people, sometimes to structures or geographical spots, and sometimes to clusters of forms and carving styles. The reason for this is that neither the commissioners, nor the tomb makers thought about funeral monuments as artworks, and they did not leave any signs that would suggest that they claimed an appreciation of individual

artistic achievement. They saw the stone memorials as functional objects, and this attitude determined their expectations.

This statement leads to the role of the commissioner side. Chapter 4 focuses on this group, including the patrons as well as the subjects (a total of at least 500 individuals), since there is often no way to distinguish the roles. The known funeral monuments were made for members of three major social groups: the nobility, the townspeople, and the clergy. An in-depth investigation into the status of the subjects demonstrates that the uppermost layer is by far overrepresented even within these privileged groups of the principality: most of the memorials were installed for the most prominent aristocrats among the nobility, the elite of the towns, and church leaders. This creates a remarkably contrasting background for the generally simple design and poor quality of the funeral monuments, especially if compared to the memorials of similar social groups in the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule and the rest of Central and Western Europe.

The quantitative analysis of the urban memorials is based on three relatively large samples from Sibiu, Braşov, and Cluj, while the smaller ensembles from the rest of the towns were used to corroborate the interpretation of the results. A closer look at the particular towns demonstrates that in Sibiu and most of the Saxon towns, town leaders dominate among the subjects. In Cluj, however, only a few funeral monuments belonged to the administrative elite; most of the subjects were craftsmen and their family members. While the Saxon towns were dominated by adult men, in Cluj women outnumbered men, and the share of children is significant.

This difference in the social composition of the subjects is associated with an essential dissimilarity between the sites where the known funeral monuments were set up: while in the Saxon towns they originate from church interiors, most of the objects that survived in Cluj and Târgu Mureş are gravestones from cemeteries. The type, form, and iconography of the tomb monuments are determined by the type of the sites from where they survived: modestly decorated gravestones from the cemeteries, and ledgers from the pavement of churches complemented by a few memorials placed on and against the walls in the interiors. The composition and decoration of the ledgers were especially complex in Sibiu. The series of town leaders' ledgers, in addition to commemorating the prestige of individuals – their social persona characterized by specific mental and moral qualities – also served as a professional gallery referring to the entire Saxon nation. Spatial proximity to predecessors' burials, the repetition of forms, the addition of secondary subjects to old ledgers, as well as indicating influential patrons on the memorials, all contributed to this message about power, competence, and continuity. The simple

funeral monuments preserved in Braşov apparently did not serve as this kind of personal and communal display. However, the single figural ledger that survived the late seventeenth-century fire, as well as the series of retrospective monuments from the eighteenth century suggest that commemoration in the church space might have had a similar function there as well.

In contrast with the practice in the Saxon towns, commemoration in graveyards – dominant in Cluj – no longer benefitted from the weekly church attendance of the community and the attention of the town's visitors. This weakened the role of funeral monuments in the social display; at the same time, they became available for a much broader layer, which resulted in a shift from public towards private commemoration. This characteristic difference in type, form, and quality influenced the later fate of the ensembles as well: since the Saxon funeral monuments in the churches were more suitable for representing the glorious past and continuity in a new national context from the nineteenth century onwards, they were selected, elevated, and displayed. In contrast, most of the gravestones from Cluj were either lost or removed from their original environment and taken to the museum.

Among the nobility, last wills suggest that four factors influenced their decision about the site of burial and tomb monument: family ties, the location of their residence, the offices they held, and religious affiliation. Most of the funeral monuments – ledgers and tomb chests – were set up at their own estates, in the parish churches, often among the tombstones of ancestors or family members, and can be interpreted as a means of representing their local power. Case studies presented in the chapter demonstrate that funeral monuments also offered an opportunity for the commissioners to mark their presence in the church space. The dominance of men characterizes the subjects, even if women and children from the highest-ranking families were more likely to receive a separate memorial.

Religious status was tightly interrelated with social position in the Transylvanian Principality, though the religious context of a funeral monument covers different things in the case of distinct social layers. Chapter 5 focuses specifically on this aspect. In towns, one can talk about a Lutheran and a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian environment where the town management officially accepted one or another denomination, even if the others were also present. Individual confessions determined the religious background of nobles' funeral monuments. The clergy, as a third category, was the official representative of the respective churches.

Since the eschatological meaning of medieval burial topography lost its function with the Reformation, all Protestant churches urged to move the cemeteries from around the church to outside the settlements. In practice, Lutherans were

much less radical, and this phenomenon can be observed in Transylvania too: in the Lutheran Saxon towns, burial in the church interiors was allowed for the administrative and financial elite and the clergy, manifest in the rich ensembles of their tomb monuments. The administration of the Antitrinitarian-Calvinist Cluj, however, in accordance with the relevant ecclesiastical regulations, prohibited burials in the churches. Though there are a few tomb monuments that survived from a church interior in Cluj, it seems that the commemorative practice complied with the picture suggested by the regulations, and even among the urban elite. Tomb monuments of priests all over Transylvania also suggest that church regulations played a role in shaping the social norms and customs: for Lutherans (90% of all priests' memorials), they were set up in churches, while for Calvinists and Antitrinitarians, in the cemeteries.

Transylvanian ecclesiastic and secular authorities did not elaborate specifically on the applicability and form of funeral monuments, which were not affected by Protestant iconoclasm there. However, the different views of denominations on images can be captured on the objects. No portrait memorial or biblical scene is known from a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian urban environment. Narrative scenes were not widespread among the Lutherans either, but portraits were favored on their tombs by the clergy and the urban elite. Funeral monuments are in general much more modest among the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian townspeople and clergy than among the Lutheran Saxons.

The dominant tradition of the nobility, burial in the church, was explicitly supported by Catholicism, while it resulted in a clash with the ecclesiastical guidance issued by the Calvinist Church. However, the customs were apparently so powerful that by the mid-seventeenth century, the church had to comply with them, and they allowed the elite to use their traditional burial sites. In contrast with the towns and the clergy, tomb monuments of the nobility did not display any significant difference based on religious affiliation, and some iconographic elements even contradict the relevant theological doctrines; apparently, the commissioners were not concerned about these details. In contrast, priests' tombs were carefully planned to distinguish them according to denomination.

The preserved pieces suggest that the Transylvanian elite did not expect innovative artistic products but preferred to connect to the traditions. Even in those few cases when they chose a tomb or a sculptor from abroad, the products were somehow associated with the previous funeral monuments in their environment; the only exception was the first wall monument in Alba Iulia ordered by Prince István Báthory from Poland. A possible reason for this phenomenon may lie in the geopolitical separation of the country, and the commissioner side was apparently

not motivated to overcome these difficulties to any extent. Memorials in the principality were primarily expected to express continuity, power, and stability in the face of social and political changes and the shock of death.

Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda:
Iconographic Aspects in the Representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*
in Church Mural Painting (14th – Early 16th Century)
Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu (Romania)

The examination committee at the public defense on March 28, 2018, consisted of László Kontler (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Maria Silvia Crăciun (Department of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Zsombor Jékely (Museum of Applied Arts). The external readers were: Zsombor Jékely and Vinni Lucherini (Humanistic Studies Department, University of Naples Federico II).

This doctoral dissertation examines the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* during the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century as they appear from the perspective of religious mural painting. Judging by the great number of surviving murals with their image, the representation of the holy kings of Hungary on the walls of churches was a highly popular phenomenon during the Late Middle Ages, which served both religious and political purposes.

The collective representation in church painting of the holy kings of Hungary – namely, St. Stephen (r. 1000/1001–1038), the founder of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary, who deserved his sanctity for having ruled as *rex iustus* and having converted his people to Christianity; St. Emeric (1000/1007–1031), the former's son, a pious and chaste prince, who was educated to become a virtuous Christian ruler, but died before succeeding his father to the throne; and St. Ladislas (r. 1077–1095), ideal ruler and knight, the country's defender against pagan enemies, and *athleta patriae* – appeared as a consequence of their joint cult, which emerged around the mid-fourteenth century in the royal milieu. During the reigns of King Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382) and King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), this collective depiction spread in great extent among the noblemen of the kingdom. It then continued to be popular among the country's various estates and ethnic groups throughout the following century and until the spread of the Reformation.

The first chapter of the dissertation offers a general overview of the cults of the three holy kings of Hungary from their emergence as individual cults (around 1083 and around 1192, respectively) to their configuration as the cult of holy predecessors for the last Árpádian and first Angevin rulers, and as a politically-motivated joint cult during the reign of King Louis the Great of Anjou. The combined discussion of both written and visual sources is meant to offer an integrative perspective to the complex cults of the three holy kings of Hungary, underlining their various stages of evolution. The chapter discusses first the characteristics of the holy kings' individual cults and then looks for evidence in the time's written sources for the merging of the individual cults into a joint cult of the holy predecessors of the Árpádian and Angevin dynasts. It underlines the royal support of this cult and highlights its various purposes, that is, to revere one's holy predecessors as a guarantee of things' good functioning, or to acquire sacred capital and political legitimacy. By looking both at the Hungarian (Árpádian and Angevin) and foreign (Neapolitan Angevin) visual evidence, it establishes the moment of emergence of the iconography of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* around the mid-fourteenth century. Although the support of this cult is mainly a royal affair during the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, other supporters and promoters (e.g., ecclesiastical figures, noblemen, burghers, etc.) started to appear during the second half of the fourteenth century.

These new supporters and promoters contributed to the generalization of the cult, that is, the spreading and transformation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* into the patron saints of the country. Because the first murals with the holy kings' collective image started to appear only during the late-fourteenth century, this first chapter has the purpose to offer the background information for the cult of Hungary's holy kings and the premises for understanding their representation in religious mural painting.

The iconographic analysis of the murals depicting Hungary's holy kings commences with the next chapter, which examines the main iconographic features (both individual and collective) of the representation in religious mural painting of the Hungarian royal trio. By looking into the question of patronage and commissionership, it establishes that the donors' motivation for venerating the *sancti reges Hungariae* and for having their images in church decoration were both devotional and political. It then shows how the pictorial trio of Hungary's holy rulers was employed in various historical circumstances for the purpose of political propaganda and how, by means of complex visual and heraldic strategies, the collective image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* conveyed efficiently ideological messages.

Continuing the iconographic analysis, the following chapter examines in detail another iconographic type that gathers only the effective rulers and excludes St. Emeric. After examining in detail the iconographic characteristics of this group of murals, which selects SS. Stephen and Ladislas only, places them on the pillars of the triumphal arch, and depicts them in the company of the Old Testament Prophets, the analysis turns to the discussion of a number of various written sources (e.g., political-theoretical and historical works, saints' lives and offices, sermons, etc.). They reveal the attempt of medieval authors at shaping the image of the two holy kings after the model of the two Old Testament Kings Solomon and David, thus presenting St. Stephen as a predominantly wise and righteous ruler and St. Ladislas as a predominantly brave and strong ruler. These sources help one understand the reasons why the two Hungarian holy kings were depicted in the company of the Old Testament Prophets, whereas the architectural symbolism of the place their images were located in (i.e., the pillars of the triumphal arch) reveals the awareness of medieval iconographers that SS. Stephen and Ladislas were ambivalent figures, both sacred (saints) and secular (kings), and that they were the embodiment of the two main royal virtues, namely, wisdom and strength. The examination of the frescoes' chronological distribution reveals that this iconographic type precedes the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as a trio, whereas looking into the problem of commissionership establishes another interesting devotional pattern for the donors of murals depicting SS. Stephen and Ladislas.

Examining both written and pictorial evidence, the next chapter addresses the diffusion of St. Sigismund's cult from Bohemia to Hungary during the late fourteenth century and the saint's subsequent transformation during the fifteenth century into one of the patrons of the country. In so doing, it assesses the significance of King Sigismund's actions to promote his personal patron in Hungary and shows that the king emulated the model of his father, Charles IV of Luxemburg. King Sigismund promoted his spiritual patron within his country and associated him with St. Ladislas, the traditional patron of Hungary; he succeeded, thus, to accommodate the foreign saint to a new home and to transform him for a short interval into one of Hungary's holy protectors. The natural consequence of this "holy and faithful fellowship" was the cult's transfer from the royal milieu to that of the kingdom's nobility. Willing to prove their loyalty to the king, Hungarian noblemen decorated their churches with St. Sigismund's image and depicted him in the company of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. This chapter illustrates how a period's political transformations facilitated the spreading of a new saint's cult from his cult center to another region, and that a saint's veneration was sometimes motivated politically.

The next chapter is a complex case study, which examines in detail those representations of holy kings that were commissioned or used by Orthodox Romanians, as well as those depictions made by painters of Byzantine tradition, who worked for either Catholic or Orthodox patrons. After a brief overview of scholarship and several methodological clarifications concerning the question of hybridity in medieval religious art, the pictorial and devotional hybridity of these images is analyzed at several levels, namely: the murals' internal features, the saints' accompanying inscriptions, the images' iconographic context, and their commissioners. This analysis reveals that the discussed levels of hybridity functioned in different ways, depending on the images' specific contexts of creation, commissioning, and usage. When painting these Catholic saints, the artists formed in the Byzantine artistic tradition made continuous adjustments during the process for conveying the meaning requested by their commissioners, but their low familiarity with these saints has led to iconographic departures or peculiarities in the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. These saints' accompanying inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic or mixed languages reveal, on the one hand, the awareness that Hungary's holy kings belonged to a different cultural and confessional background than that of the painters and their commissioners, and, on the other hand, they show the artists' and patrons' attempt at assimilating these Catholic holy rulers. The examination of the relationship between these images and the neighboring representations in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița indicates that their particular iconographic setting enriched the meaning of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, who were perceived by the two churches' *ktetors* as originators and guarantors of legal rights. The discussion of donors established new patterns of devotion and artistic patronage that reveal that the artistic and devotional hybridity of these images was equally meaningful for their painters, commissioners, and medieval audience. The transgression of artistic and confessional borders by the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was undoubtedly the direct consequence of their high popularity during the Late Middle Ages, Hungary's holy kings succeeding to acquire a political, social, and also devotional relevance for the larger community of faithful, Catholic and Orthodox alike.

The concluding chapter of the dissertation summarizes the main findings of this new research on various devotional and political aspects in the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting between the fourteenth century and the early sixteenth century. Secular and sacred figures alike, the three holy kings of Hungary were highly cherished for the role they played in the existence of both the Hungarian Kingdom and its Catholic Church, having managed to acquire their sanctity precisely on account of their major part assumed

during their lives in the country's political and religious affairs. The veneration of the *sancti reges Hungariae* by the kingdom's various estates and ethnic groups, and the subsequent commissioning of murals with their image functioned sometimes as a statement of the donor's political allegiance either to the king or directly to the kingdom. However, the political component of these depictions did not exclude the personal veneration of the three royal saints by the murals' commissioners, many of them being (or having their family members) named after them. The *sancti reges Hungariae* succeeded to become a powerful symbol of the country, which was used equally by Hungarian kings and nobility: the former for proving their legitimacy to rule the kingdom, whereas the latter for showing their political allegiance to the ruling king or – whenever the king's person was considered unsuitable to rule – directly to the kingdom and against the king himself. During the fifteenth century, the veneration of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas disseminated in various degrees among all the kingdom's estates (i.e., Hungarian and Szekler noblemen, Saxon citizens, etc.), ethnic groups (i.e., Hungarians, Saxons, Slovaks, Szeklers, Vlachs/Romanians, etc.), and even confessions (i.e., Catholic and Orthodox). The outcome of this long process was the final transformation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* into veritable symbols of the country/kingdom.

<h3 style="text-align:center">Obtinere Mentem Divinam:
The Spiritual Anthropology of Cornelius Agrippa
Noel Putnik (Serbia)</h3>

The examination committee at the public defense on January 9, 2018, consisted of Matthias Riedl (Department of History, CEU), chair; György Endre Szőnyi (Medieval Studies Department, CEU), primary supervisor; György Geréby (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), associate supervisor; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Benedek Láng (Budapest Technical University); Christopher Ian Lehrich (University of Boston). The external readers were: Benedek Láng and Christopher Ian Lehrich.

My dissertation is a study of the literary work and thought of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), a German humanist most famous for his reputation as a magician. Along with Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Lodovico Lazzarelli, and many others, Agrippa belonged to the type of humanists who sought to reform or "enrich" Christianity by introducing elements from various heterodox philosophical and spiritual traditions. Agrippa himself was most fervently dedicated to the study of magic, in which he recognized an ancient

wisdom tradition compatible with the genuine spirit of Christian teachings. The result of his lifelong studies was his well-known encyclopedia of magic, *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Three books of occult philosophy), in which he presented and discussed practically all the forms of occult knowledge known in his time.

On the other hand, Agrippa was actively engaged in the religious controversies and theological debates of his time, taking sides with Biblical humanists such as Erasmus and closely following the emergence of Martin Luther's movement and other Reformation groups. This other major field of his interest resulted in the production of non-magical works either of a skeptical-devotional character, such as his famous declamation *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* (On the uncertainty and vanity of sciences and arts), or of a theological and exegetical nature, such as his less known treatises *De originali peccato* (On original sin) and *Dialogus de homine* (A dialogue on man). Taken in its entirety and at its face value, Agrippa's literary opus reveals an author with incoherent and sometimes mutually conflicting attitudes. Reading his works suggests a tense coexistence of a Hermetic magus who relied on personal initiative for gaining supernatural powers and a Christian humanist devoted to the principle of *sola fide*. Agrippa's apparently inconsistent religious and philosophical convictions still remain a considerable hermeneutic challenge. The existing scholarly interpretations of this problem are usually based on two types of dichotomy perceived in his thought: that of Agrippa's skepticism versus his religious devotion, and that of Agrippa's involvement in the occult versus his self-proclaimed adherence to Christian orthodoxy.

In my dissertation I revisit the second dichotomy, that of Agrippa's dedication to the theory and practice of magic vis-à-vis his religious self-identification as a pious and devoted Christian. More precisely, I examine a hybrid notion that Agrippa attempted to articulate and defend against his critics: that of a pious Christian magician, which is how he fashioned himself in some of his writings. My dissertation is a further development of the ideas delineated in my MA thesis, in which I analyzed Agrippa's magical doctrines and argued that they were based on the notion of spiritual ascension or deification – in other words, that they were eminently religious in nature.

In my work I focus on the apparently Pelagian character of Agrippa's understanding of ascension, especially when considered in relation to the other, supposedly orthodox side of his thought. I approach the problem by analyzing Agrippa's works in the perspective of his anthropology and with the idea that his views on man can help us clarify his ambiguous position in the intellectual history of early sixteenth-century Europe. I start off with the presumption that Agrippa's anthropology is a meeting point between the magical and Christian

sides of his thought. By anthropology I imply a complex set of beliefs, notions, and doctrines concerning issues such as the self, personhood, the relations between body and soul, etc., that governed Agrippa's understanding of the phenomena he dealt with in his writings. Thus, my main research questions can be formulated as follows: What, according to Agrippa, constitutes the human being? How does he understand the relations between body and soul? What is Agrippa's attitude towards the physical body, which plays a crucial role in the Christian doctrine of salvation? What is man's position within the created world and with regard to the transcendental realm and God? How did man get to the created world and how does he leave it? Finally, what do Agrippa's anthropological views tell us about his religious self-identification? Can they shed more light on the problem of his evident heterodoxy and self-proclaimed orthodoxy?

The main sources for my examination are Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* and three smaller treatises that have so far received little scholarly attention, although they are of paramount importance for understanding Agrippa's anthropology. These are *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (On the three ways of knowing God), the unfinished *Dialogus de homine* (A dialogue on man), and Agrippa's only surviving exegetical work, *De originali peccato* (On original sin). Occasionally, I also take into consideration Agrippa's second major work, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium*, as well as small parts of his huge surviving correspondence. To my knowledge, none of these works has been systematically analyzed in the context of Agrippa's anthropology and I hope that my dissertation will contribute to filling in that gap in the pertinent scholarship.

The methodology applied in this work is twofold: the first step consists in a careful philological analysis of the passages from the above-mentioned works that are of relevance for my research questions. I am particularly interested in Agrippa's terminological choices and the meanings with which he loads the chosen terms, especially with regard to his sources of references, both synchronic and diachronic. In other words, I provide a comparative perspective by juxtaposing the texts I analyze with those that Agrippa drew on in his own search, ranging from the earliest (such as Plato's) to the more or less contemporary texts (such as Ficino's and Lazzarelli's).

The second step consists in developing an interpretation of Agrippa's anthropological views based on the analyzed texts and within the conceptual framework of the academic study of Western esotericism as a newly emerged branch of religious studies. Finally, this leads to an interpretation of Agrippa's religious self-identification and the problem of his orthodoxy, which I address by proposing a polyvalent notion of piety and a tripartite model of Christianity.

Throughout my analysis I take into consideration what I call a "linguistic turn" in the present-day scholarship on Agrippa: an increased awareness and recognition of his literary and rhetorical strategies, especially his nuanced and intentionally ambiguous style of writing and argumentation based on his conviction that the true, inner knowledge should be concealed and protected from unqualified or malevolent readers.

The main body of the dissertation is divided into five chapters. In Chapter One I provide a necessary historical introduction with an emphasis on those aspects of Agrippa's life and writings that I examine more closely. In this chapter I also give a detailed overview of the relevant scholarship and discuss my own approach and methodology with regard to the main research questions. In Chapter Two I scrutinize the basic tenets of Agrippa's cosmology and cosmogony with the idea that they are intrinsically linked to Agrippa's views on man's nature and his ontological status, in tune with the well-known Renaissance idea of the correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Chapters Three and Four form the core of my analysis of Agrippa's anthropological ideas. In Chapter Three I argue that Agrippa articulated his views on man in two triads: that of soul, body, and spirit, and that of sensitive soul, rational soul, and the mind. I analyze each of the triads in the context of perceived tensions between the anthropological monism peculiar to orthodox Christianity and the anthropological dualism more closely related to Neoplatonic and Hermetic paradigms. In Chapter Four I apply the results of my analysis to Agrippa's magical theory with the idea of elucidating the mechanisms lying behind different types of magic. I argue that his magical theory is intrinsically tied to his religious self-identification. Finally, in Chapter Five I examine Agrippa's ideas on man's fall and salvation, mostly on the basis of his treatises *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* and *De originali peccato*. In my analysis of the latter, which is Agrippa's only extant exegetical work, I demonstrate how the German humanist interpreted the Biblical account of the fall in the predominantly Hermetic conceptual framework. In the end, I use the results of my analysis to focus on the problem of Agrippa's religious self-identification and offer a new interpretation of the tense coexistence between the two sides of his eclectic thought.

Based on my examination, I come to the following conclusions, which are here delineated in a necessarily simplified form:

1. Agrippa's views on man, his origin, ontology, and eschatology are crucially determined by the Neoplatonic and Hermetic paradigms, which are based on anthropological dualism. Man's true identity is in the transcendental realm, where he coexists with God as an immortal, spiritual entity partaking of the divine virtues

and powers. In other words, man is not different from the divine mind or *mens*. Alternately, Agrippa calls him the "inner" or the "essential" man.

2. The fall of man, which appears to coincide with the emanation of the created world, takes place as the emanation of the mind itself: within the created world, it projects itself into the celestial *ratio* (or the rational soul) and the semi-earthly *idolum* (or the sensitive soul). Whereas *mens* remains in the transcendental realm, *ratio* and *idolum* are joined to the physical body and thus form the earthly man, unaware of his transcendental origin. Agrippa calls him the "external" man.

3. This scheme gives Agrippa the grounds for defining the nature of spiritual ascension: it means nothing else but the reverse process, whereby *ratio* and *idolum* are united to the divine *mens* and thus to God himself. Adopting the formulation from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, Agrippa refers to it as the process of obtaining the mind (*obtinere mentem*). Through this process, man regains his prelapsarian state along with his lost divine powers. However, the process also requires the abandonment of the physical body, which is seen in the traditional dualist perspective, that is, as a *carcer animi* or *sōma sēma*.

4. Such a view on man is evidently incompatible with Christian anthropology as first theologically articulated by the apostle Paul. Thus, perhaps the only way to account for Agrippa's self-proclaimed orthodoxy is to conclude that he construed Christianity in ways radically different from the theological benchmark of the Church. In my view, he conflated the Hermetic and Christian notions of piety and developed a nuanced, polyvalent view on Christianity, based on the primacy of gnosis, or direct personal revelation, which transcends the boundaries of religious traditions and ultimately abandons the exclusivity of the Christian religion itself. Along the lines of Marsilio Ficino's *prisca theologia*, Agrippa attempted to build, promote, and defend the heterodox notion of a "pious Christian magician."

Based on the standpoint that anthropology can serve as one of the best litmus tests for determining one's spiritual allegiance, my main conclusion is that Agrippa's hybrid religious identity is clearly reflected in his anthropological ideas and beliefs. I hope that in my analysis I managed to validate the above conclusions and that my dissertation will thus make a contribution to the steadily growing scholarship on Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim.

The *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, more than any comparable annual, accomplishes the two-fold task of simultaneously publishing important scholarship and informing the wider community of the breadth of intellectual activities of the Department of Medieval Studies. And what a breadth it is: Across the years, to the core focus on medieval Central Europe have been added the entire range from Late Antiquity till the Early Modern Period, the intellectual history of the Eastern Mediterranean, Asian history, and cultural heritage studies. I look forward each summer to receiving my copy.

Patrick J. Geary