

# ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 7 2001



Central European University  
Department of Medieval Studies  
Budapest



ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 7 2001

Central European University  
Budapest

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES  
AT CEU

VOL. 7 2001

Edited by  
Marcell Sebők and Katalin Szende



Central European University  
Budapest  
Department of Medieval Studies

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means without the permission of the publisher.

Editorial Board

János M. Bak, Neven Budak, Mary Beth Davis, Gerhard Jaritz, Gábor Klaniczay,  
József Laszlovszky, István Perczel, Marianne Sággy

Editors

Marcell Sebók and Katalin Szende

Cover illustration

The Hercules-fountain in the Royal Palace of Visegrád, Hungary  
(Photo by Péter Banyó)

Department of Medieval Studies  
Central European University  
H-1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 9., Hungary  
Postal address: H-1245 Budapest 5, P.O. Box 1082  
E-mail: medstud@ceu.hu  
Net: <http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/web/home/index.html>

ISSN 1219-0616

Non-discrimination policy: CEU does not discriminate on the basis of—including, but not limited to—race, color, national or ethnic origin, religion, gender or sexual orientation in administering its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs, and athletic and other school-administered programs.

© Central European University  
Produced by Archaeolingua Foundation & Publishing House

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' Preface .....	5
<b>I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES .....</b>	<b>7</b>
Orsolya Réthelyi <i>The Lion, the Dragon, and the Knight: an Interdisciplinary Investigation of a Medieval Motif</i> .....	9
Emese Nagy <i>Green Chamber Iconography from Saxony to Székelydány (Daia Secuiască): A Case Study</i> .....	39
Monica Neacșu <i>Slămnice Castle and Its Position in the Development of Military Architecture in Medieval Transylvania</i> .....	65
Iulia Caproș <i>Rome in Medieval Perspective: Two Poems of Hildebert de Lavardin</i> .....	97
Ottó Gecser <i>The Social Significance of Communion: Eucharistic Preaching in the Fifteenth-Century Hungarian Sermon Collection, Sermones Dominicales</i> .....	113
Matjaž Bizjak <i>Late Medieval Estate Economics: the Example of Škofja Loka, Slovenia</i> .....	135
<b>Last Wills and Testaments .....</b>	<b>155</b>
Introduction – Katalin Szende.....	157
Maria Lupescu Makó "Item lego..." <i>Gifts for the Soul in Late Medieval Transylvania</i> .....	161
Thomas Krzenck <i>Books in Late Medieval Wills in Bohemia</i> .....	187
Katalin Szende <i>From Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son? Intergenerational Patterns of Bequeathing Movables in Late Medieval Bratislava</i> .....	209

<b>II. REPORT OF THE YEAR</b> .....	233
Report of the Year – <i>József Laszlovsky</i> .....	235
Activities and Events in 1999/2000 .....	245
Academic Field Trips .....	247
Courses of the Academic Year 1999/2000 .....	251
Public Lectures .....	255
M.A. Thesis Abstracts .....	257
The Ph.D. Program – <i>István Perczel</i> .....	293
Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 1999/2000.....	297
Resident Faculty .....	321

## EDITORS' PREFACE

*Lectori salutem!*

Last year, the sixth volume of the *Annual* started a new phase in our departmental publication policy. The most important elements of this change were the reorganization of the yearbook, and as a parallel process, the regular publication of the *Medieval News*, the newsletter of the Department of Medieval Studies. This restructuring proved to be successful, we have received many positive comments on the more scholarly character of the *Annual*. The changes were based on the fact that the first five volumes of our yearbook have established an international audience for this publication. For them, the existence and the activity of the department is not a novelty any more. Our aim is rather to show the academic standards of our educational programs by the publication of scholarly papers which resulted from or were connected to the work at our department. Activity reports, except the Report of the Year, are now published in the *Medieval News*, which provides an up-to-date information for our alumni, friends and relations.

Therefore, the internal organization of the *Annual* seems to be standardized for the forthcoming years: articles and studies form the main part of our yearbook, while the summary of the previous academic year represents only a smaller, but still very important section. Similarly to last year, in addition to the abridged versions of the best M.A. theses, we publish a thematic group of papers as well. In this issue, a particular type of sources: last wills are discussed from different viewpoints.

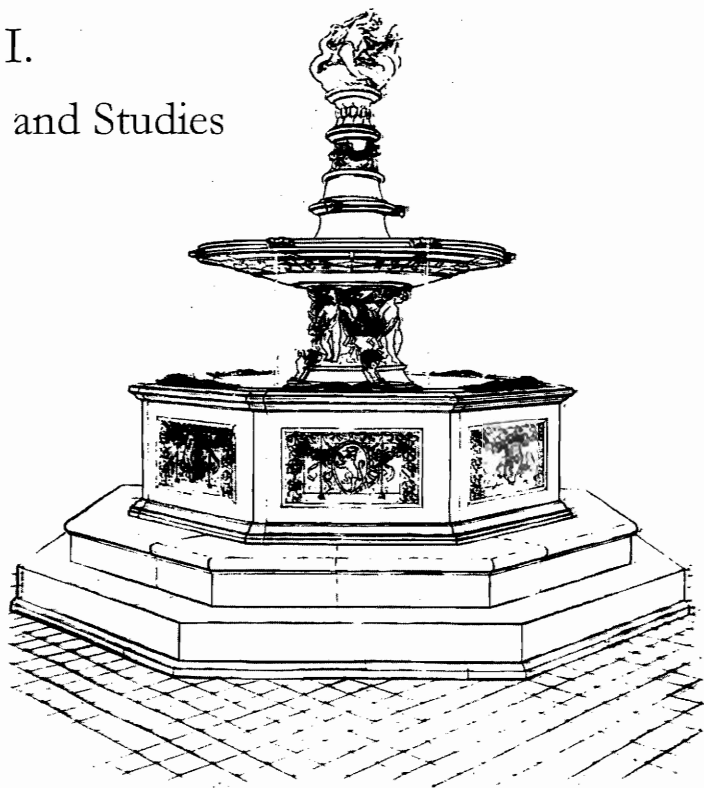
Another aspect of the reorganized *Annual* is its impact on our library collection which has benefitted to a great extent from exchange programs with other libraries. During the current academic year, the joint medieval library of Eötvös Loránd University and Central European University moved to a new location. With the financial support of the two universities, a much better and more conveniently organized library was set up in a very well-furnished building. With the new shelf system and a well-equipped reading room we have created the facilities to house more books and offer them for more efficient use by our students, guests and faculty. We hope that the *Annual*, with its more scholarly character, will be an even more attractive and worthy item of exchange and thus contribute to the availability of otherwise hardly accessible and precious volumes. The editors would like to thank all our colleagues and alumni who promoted the development of our library and we would like to encourage them to continue this activity.

The editors should also like to thank all the contributors of this volume for their assistance and cooperation. Judith Rasson, Jonathan Eagels and Matthew Suff helped us to improve the clarity of the texts, our doctoral students Nada Zečević, Zoltán Soós and Ottó Gecser assisted in copy-editing, and—as in the previous years—the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publication House created a handsome publication from the manuscripts.



PART I.

Articles and Studies



## THE LION, THE DRAGON, AND THE KNIGHT: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY INVESTIGATION OF A MEDIEVAL MOTIF<sup>1</sup>

*Orsolya Réthebyi* 

In the research of medieval objects one is often faced with a frustrating lack of historical context. Questions about date, creator, audience, function, and background abound, and there is hardly any factual evidence to use in trying to answer them. In such cases an interdisciplinary approach towards the objects is an option, by means of which the researcher tries to fill in the gaps of the historical context by finding relevant information in the related fields of art history, archaeology, literature, and so on. This paper is an exploration into the possibilities and limitations of such interdisciplinary research: it records the methodology of an approach through one specific case study. The objects of the investigation are a small sub-group of the medieval floor-tiles excavated at the Pilis Cistercian Abbey site (Hungary).

There are several difficulties involved in trying to discover more about the objects selected for analysis. The tiles are atypical to their place of excavation and they were found in a very limited number. There is scarce documentary evidence concerning the Pilis Cistercian Abbey, and the abbey itself was destroyed. Furthermore, the details of the excavation were not recorded and published very precisely, leaving many questions open. In addition to these difficulties the tiles are unique amongst the Hungarian and European material, which makes it difficult to draw general conclusions or analyse the tiles through investigating parallels. However, it is also precisely this unique quality which stimulates interest and makes them worth a thorough investigation.

In this study, the tiles are approached using an interdisciplinary methodology. Three different levels on which the tiles can provide information about their context are distinguished: the archaeological, the iconographic, and the literary level. First, the tiles are reconsidered as archaeological finds. The inquiry at this first level concerns the characteristics of the tiles as material objects: questions will be asked about their form, size, texture, material, function,

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a rigorously condensed version of my M.A. thesis defended at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, in June 2000. Since it is a methodological investigation, I have tried to retain the overall structure and logic of the original work despite the necessity to discard a large amount of the original text; although the steps of argumentation may have suffered at certain points.

location, and date.<sup>2</sup> At the second level, slightly more abstract and removed from the tiles as objects, the scenes depicted on the tiles are studied. The tiles are investigated as carriers of visual information: questions will concern figures, gestures, composition, design, and iconography. The third level, farthest away from the material quality of the tiles, is the literary level. Using the visual information gained from the investigation at the iconographic level, a step further is taken and the possibility of a narrative reference considered. Questions asked in the third section relate to concepts of story, time, literary motif, and symbolism. Naturally, these levels cannot, and should not, be strictly separated from one another, since they are merely perspectives from which the source material, the tiles, will be investigated over and over. The goal of the study is to gather fragments of information concerning the source material from these different levels and integrate these in the conclusion in order to map the larger context of reference for the tiles. I do not intend to provide definitive answers to the questions about who made these tiles, when and for what reason. However, I do hope to be able to clarify some of the details about them, which may bring us closer to understanding their context.

The Pilis Cistercian Abbey was founded by King Béla III (1172–1196) in 1184 as a *filia* of the monastery of Acey in the diocese of Besançon (France).<sup>3</sup> Information that would help to establish the building history of the monastery is very scarce. One definite date is the burial of Gertrude of Andechs-Merania, wife of King Andrew II (1205–1235) in the transept of the church in 1213. By this time the transept must have been completed and consecrated, and the construction work of the church was probably in an advanced state.<sup>4</sup> The church

---

<sup>2</sup> This chapter of the M.A. thesis has been most heavily abridged, since a book by the Hungarian archaeologist, Imre Holl was published about new results of the Pilis Cistercian Abbey excavation a few months after the completion of the thesis, in the autumn of 2000. His study supports several of my findings, in which details about size, number and place of excavation of the tiles can be found. Imre Holl, *Funde aus dem Zisterzienserkloster von Pilis*. (Budapest: Archeologisches Institut, 2000), 56–58. I would like to thank Professor Holl for his advice concerning my research.

<sup>3</sup> It is debated whether the monastery was founded on an existing Benedictine establishment. László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság*. (The Pilis Cistercian Abbey) (Szentendre: Pest megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1984), 4; Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria*. Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 7 (Roma: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984), 147; idem, "Részletek a pilisi apátság történetéből" (Details from the history of the Pilis monastery), *Studia Comitatus* 17 (1985): 597.

<sup>4</sup> Imre Takács, "A pilisi ciszterci apátság," in *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541: Képzőművészeti katalógus* (Art in Transdanubia, 1000–1541: Exhibition catalogue), eds.

was completed before the year 1233.<sup>5</sup> Judging from the evidence of the names of abbots and monks, the monastery retained its links with France and received regular reinforcements of monks up to the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1356 a monk from Austria was made abbot of the Pilis monastery,<sup>6</sup> and contact with Austrian monastic houses of the order replaced the French connections.

The monastery was devastated in 1526 by Ottoman troops, and the monks fled to the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz.<sup>7</sup> The graves of the monastery were plundered, the library burned, and some of the stones later reused as building material. The destruction of the monastery was so complete that very little of it survived into the modern period. After some earlier attempts, a thorough excavation of the area was begun in 1967 under the supervision of László Gerevich, who reported part of his findings in a series of preliminary publications.<sup>8</sup> The excavation brought to light a rich floor tile find from the monastery including geometric, floral, and figurative heraldic patterns. Among these tiles were two floor tile types depicting the lion-dragon-knight combat, the finding of which is first reported in Gerevich along with a photo of one tile from each type.<sup>9</sup> Photographs of the four existing fragments of these two tile types, along with a third belonging to the same sub-group, have been published and analysed thoroughly in the very recent publication by Imre Holl. This sub-group of tiles forms the subject of this paper.

The tiles measure 20x20 cm, made of red clay, with the pressed relief-decoration occupying only part of the surface. All fragments of the two floor tile

---

Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), 237. I would like to thank Professor Takács for his help, advice and support in writing this paper.

<sup>5</sup> Gerevich *A pilísi*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ferenc L. Hervay, "A ciszterci rend története magyarországon" (The History of the Cistercian Order in Hungary), in Lajos Lékai, *A ciszterciek: eszmény és valóság* (The Cistercians: ideals and reality) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991), 478.

<sup>7</sup> Hervay, "Részletek," 598–9.

<sup>8</sup> László Gerevich, "Villehard de Honnecourt Magyarországon" (Villehard de Honnecourt in Hungary), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 20 (1971): 81–105; idem, "Pilis Abbey a Cultural Center," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1977): 155–98; idem, "Ausgrabungen in der ungarischen Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 39 (1983): 281–310; idem, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1985): 111–52.

<sup>9</sup> In the publication of Gerevich, neither the size, material and number of the tiles, nor the place of excavation, or argumentation for the dating was specified. Photos of the two tiles can be found in Gerevich *A pilísi*, plates 41–42. The caption of the photos is the following: "Fairytale scenes of the combat of a knight and a dragon. Pressed floor tiles from the thirteenth century."

types depicting the lion-dragon-knight combat motif are damaged to some extent, nevertheless, the scene depicted on the tiles is clearly visible. The tiles are unique in the Hungarian corpus,<sup>10</sup> and the search for parallels in the international context has not led to any positive results either.<sup>11</sup> However, the tiles are not only unique in the sense that thus far no parallels have been found. There are two further distinctive characteristics that set them aside from the other floor tiles of the whole Pilis floor tile corpus, and in general. One of these characteristics is the complexity of the scene depicted on the tiles; the other is the fact that the two tiles represent two scenes with the same component figures, but in different positions and relationships to one another. Figurative floor tiles are not rare, even in the generally more austere Cistercian context. However, most of the heraldic figures are presented in isolation in a rather schematised manner. In contrast to the heraldic tiles, on the floor tiles with the lion-dragon-knight motif, there is a combination of different figures interacting with one another, and the depiction of several specific details. Even more unusual is the fact that there exist two tiles with the same figures arranged in different scenes. While the complexity of even one of the two suggests a reference to specific events, observing the two together strongly suggests that they represent episodes of some kind of narrative. This narrative quality, again, seems to be quite unique in floor tile material.

So far the tiles have been analysed as objects or artefacts in their historical context. Now the investigation will concentrate on information from one level further, the specific scenes depicted on the tiles and the abstraction of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in general.

On tile P-1 the composition of three figures, from left to right a lion, a knight and a dragon, is visible, in a frame decorated with triangular indentation of approximately 17.7 by 8.1 centimetres. Starting on the left side a lion can be

---

<sup>10</sup> András Végh has excavated and published information on a fourteenth-century stove-tile depicting a lion-dragon-knight combat scene from the Buda castle area. It was his speculation on the possible narrative background of the tile and its relationship to the Pilis floor tiles that started me on this investigation. I am extremely grateful to him for his ideas and help during the process of this investigation. See András Végh “V-30: Anjou-kori kályha csempéi,” in *Pannonia Regia*, 308–9; idem “Anjou-kori kályhacsempélelet a budai Szentpétermártír külvárosból” (An Angevin stove-tile find from the Buda Szentpétermártír outskirts), in “...*quasi liber et pictura*...” *Emlékkönyv Kubinyi András 70. születésnapjára* (Festschrift in celebration of András Kubinyi’s seventieth birthday) ed. József Laszlovszky. Forthcoming in 2001. The article includes an English summary. Since I have been able to read this article only in manuscript form, I cannot give page references.

<sup>11</sup> Holl, *Funde*, 57.

On tile P-1 the composition of three figures, from left to right a lion, a knight and a dragon, is visible, in a frame decorated with triangular indentation of approximately 17.7 by 8.1 centimetres. Starting on the left side a lion can be seen standing on its hind legs, facing the centre of the composition. Its posture makes it resemble a heraldic lion *rampant* with claws brandished and mouth open. The figure of a knight also facing the centre stands to the right of the lion. He is wearing a surcoat split at the knees and fastened with a decorated belt on which his scabbard hangs. His head is covered with a great helm with a crest, his pointed shoes are decorated with star-shaped spurs. He is holding a sword in what seems to be his left hand while with his right he holds up his heater shield emblazoned with a lion *rampant*. He is stepping forward with one of his legs as he strikes with his sword at the head of the dragon, which occupies the whole right half of the scene. The dragon has a serpentine body with long looped tail ending in a triple tassel. It has two powerful clawed legs, resembling those of a lion, and is stepping forward with its right leg as it charges at the knight. Its two wings are raised on both sides with five finger-like feathers spread out. The curved neck ends in a round head with a snout like a dog and long feathery ears at the back. Its mouth is open, displaying a set of pointed teeth in the lower jaw.

This scene shows the climatic moment of a combat between a lion, a dragon, and a knight. The actual clash is between the dragon and the knight, the teeth and claws of the former against the sword of the latter. The lion behind the knight is not immediately involved in the clash, though its erect posture, brandished claws and teeth depict it ready for fighting. There is a strong visual parallel between the heraldic lion *rampant* on the shield of the knight and the full-sized lion behind him. The lion blazon on the shield has the function of identifying the knight. Wearing such a closed helmet, the face would be unrecognisable and the shield would be the distinguishing factor.

The composition is very well-balanced and shows careful craftsmanship. The scene is divided into two halves with the two parties on either side. The place of impact, the sword of the knight thrust into the mouth of the dragon, is on the central vertical line. The curved tails of the dragon and of the lion frame the composition on the two sides. The knight's step forward and his raised sword mirror the stepping forward of the dragon and its raised wings. In some parts of the tile the original fine details are well preserved. Careful attention was given to the minuscule tufts of feather or hair on the dragon's wings, the design on the clothes of the knight visible through the split in his surcoat, and his star-shaped spurs.

The second type, tile P-2, has a frame identical to P-1, and contained within it is a composition of several figures. From the left we can see a knight in side view facing the centre of the composition. He is wearing a surcoat split at

the side, which is slightly longer than the one worn by the knight on tile P-1. On his pointed shoes he has star-shaped spurs, on his head he wears a great helm with a crest, but he does not have a shield. He is stepping forward slightly with one of his feet. Both his hands are extended together at breast height as he clutches the hilt of his sword with them. The blade of the sword is broken into three pieces, of which the hilt and lower third is held in the knight's hand.

Beside the knight is a dragon, also in side view, facing the centre of the composition. It has the same body features as the dragon in tile P-1, but it is standing in a different pose. Its long tail is looped once around the lower body of the knight and the remainder lies on the ground beside the dragon. Its wings are folded against its body. The head of the dragon occupies the exact centre of the composition. In its large mouth, full of sharp teeth in the upper and lower jaw, it grasps a lion by the middle of its back, practically biting it through. The lion stands on its hind legs with its back to the dragon and is seen in side view, in heraldic lion *rampant* position, very similar to the lion on tile P-1. Its tail, ending in a large tassel, is drooped between its legs and lies on the ground in front of its right foot. The very rightmost side of the composition is occupied by a sickle-shaped structure, probably signifying a cave, with its opening to the centre of the composition and decorated on the outer side with stylised leaf-like elements. From the opening, three heads look out one above the other. They are very similar to that of the dragon, only smaller, about half the size: they also have round heads with dog-like snouts, feathery ears at the back of their heads and sharp teeth. Small beards hang on their chins, and each has one claw protruding beneath the chin. All three have open mouths and are looking at the lion.

This scene seems to depict a fight with the knight and the lion in one party and the large dragon and the three small dragons, probably its offspring, in the other. It portrays the moment when the sword of the knight is shattered into pieces, probably after having made contact with the dragon, and the pieces are still in the air. The dragon is not really interested in the knight here, his attention is concentrated on the lion, but he makes sure the knight cannot escape by holding it close in the grip of its tail. In tile P-1 the centre of conflict was between the knight and the dragon, here it is between the dragons and the lion. The lion is in a desperate position, he is firmly held in the strong jaws of the large dragon and tries desperately to claw at the small dragons eagerly emerging from the lair and attacking him from the front with open mouths. While the scene depicted on tile P-1 was the climactic moment of impact between the two parties, without providing any suggestion as to which way the combat would end, this scene leaves little doubt about which side will emerge victorious. The lion is as good as dead in the lethal grasp of the dragon's jaws, while the knight

is held tight in the coil of the dragon's tail and his only weapon has just broken into pieces and become useless.

As in the case of tile P-1, P-2 also shows great craftsmanship. There is a great dramatic tension in the scene in which several details add up to create a sense of menacing desperation about the fate of the lion and the knight. Similarly to P-1, the scene is very dynamic: the figures show movement, even emotion. This scene also shows care for details: the sinews on the lion's leg, the pattern of the dragon's wing, and the wrinkles on the knight's sleeve are all painstakingly indicated. The composition is not centrally arranged in this case. Action accumulates in the right half of the scene where the lion is caught, surrounded by the four gaping mouths of the dragons. All eyes are turned to this focal point; even the tip of the broken sword points to it.

The first evident question that has to be addressed is the relationship of the two tiles with regard to their iconography. The first part of this question refers back to the archaeological context: does the iconographic comparison support the conclusion that the two tiles belong to the same series, made for the same occasion? The second part concerns the narrative quality of the floor tiles, addressed here and in detail below: supposing that the tiles have a symbolic and/or narrative reference, can it be said that the lion, the dragon, and the knight are the same on the two tiles, in other words, that the tiles depict different episodes of the same narrative?

A comparison of the frame design and the ratio of the width and length of the frames reveals that they are of the same series.<sup>12</sup> Comparing the types of figures in the scenes depicted, it can be concluded that a lion, a dragon, and a knight are present in both. Though there are some small differences in the pose (position of tail, position of left foot), the lions are very similar in both scenes, standing in the heraldic lion *rampant* position. The dragon on the two tiles is also of the same form, though it appears slightly different because of the dramatically raised wings in P-1, which are closed and pulled close to the body in P-2. However, the proportion and shape of the body parts, the details of the head, ears, and claws all point in the direction of the two being the same dragon. The knight's armour is basically the same in both scenes. The absence of the shield in P-2 is functional, since the knight has to hold the sword in both hands to strike down at the dragon. It can be concluded that there is a great resemblance between all three figures present on both floor tiles and that it is more than likely that the pictures have reference to the same lion, dragon and knight.

The complex question of the knight's armour will only be discussed very briefly here and will concern those features which may provide some additional

---

<sup>12</sup> Holl, *Funde*, 57–8.



information as regards the dating of the tiles. Two elements of the knight's armour are of special importance: the helmet and his spurs. As mentioned before the knight is wearing a great helm, the lower edge of which seems to be resting on his shoulders in both P-1 and P-2. The great helm was worn during the thirteenth century, but typically it is chin length, leaving the neck bare. Only from the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century does it come to rest on the shoulders of the knight, thereby covering the neck.<sup>13</sup> An even more significant element is the form of the spurs worn by the knight: star-shaped wheel spurs in both P-1 and P-2. In the early thirteenth century spurs had the shape of spikes, and then evolved in the second part of the century into the "early gothic spur," in the shape of a round spiked wheel. The knight's star-shaped spur as depicted on the tiles shows the greatest resemblance to the "gothic spur," typical of the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Both of these details point in the direction of a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century dating for the tiles.<sup>15</sup>

The third tile type, P-3,<sup>16</sup> does not depict a lion-dragon-knight combat, like the other two, however, an iconographic analysis of it is necessary to understand its relationship with tiles P-1 and P-2. The drawing shows the tile to have been in good condition, with only a narrow piece missing from the top of the tile, leaving the scene intact. The frame in P-3 is different from P-1 and P-2 in both size and design. Two identical frames are printed on the tile one above the other. In the left side of the frame is a dragon's head, occupying almost one third of the width of the frame. The head is round with a dog-like snout and nose, and resembles the dragon heads from P-1 and P-2. The mouth is slightly open, showing a set of sharp teeth. The ears on the back of the head droop down and are not feathery, in position and form they resemble the ears of the young dragons on P-2. Also like the young dragons, this head has on its chin a short beard ending in a point. A complex design of wavy lines emerges from the mouth of the dragon, beginning in a star under its chin and ending in another star and a semi-circular shape. The composition is very difficult to interpret because of the abstract quality of the scene depicted. Perhaps it is meant to

<sup>13</sup> David Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050–1350* (London: Greenhill, 1999), 188, and fig. 495–6, on page 445.

<sup>14</sup> János Kalmár, *Régi Magyar Fegyverek* (Old Hungarian Arms) (Budapest: Natura, 1971), 184.

<sup>15</sup> Roughly the same conclusion is made by Imre Holl in his analysis of the armour of the knight. Holl, *Funde*, 57.

<sup>16</sup> First published in Holl, *Funde*, 160, in the form of a drawing of the tile. I have not been able to find a photograph or the tile itself.

measurements of the tile, the frame, and the stylistic features of the sketch, is that tile P-3 belongs in the same series as P-1 and P-2.<sup>17</sup>

Combinations of two of the three figures of the lion-dragon-knight combat occur frequently in medieval art. Scenes in which lions fight with various beasts, including dragons, are a common motif in Romanesque church sculpture.<sup>18</sup> Also, the fight of an armoured knight against a lion or a dragon is widespread in several forms of visual representation.<sup>19</sup> The latter scene can often be identified as either the archangel Michael casting out Satan from Heaven or as a representation of the dragon-fight episode from the Saint George legend. The fight of a knight and a beast can also be non-specifically interpreted as the fight of mankind against the forces of evil: for example, the *Miles Christianus* of the Psalms and in the Letter to the Ephesians<sup>20</sup> who combats the Devil.<sup>21</sup> All three figures are depicted together in only one traditional visual topos: the representation of Psalm 91,13.<sup>22</sup> Christ is shown in the iconography of this theme as an armoured knight, standing on a lion with one foot and on a dragon or serpent with the other. Though all the three characters of the lion-dragon-knight motif appear here, the motif on the tiles has no connection to this type of depiction of Christ.

The search for medieval visual representations of the lion-dragon-knight combat has resulted in nine instances of the motif from the early thirteenth to the late fifteenth century from all over Europe. This group is not yet a complete collection of all occurrences, nevertheless, it is large enough to draw some conclusions concerning the motif, as well as to make possible an iconographic comparison between the motif as it appears on the tiles and on other artistic media.<sup>23</sup>

The most conspicuous characteristic of this group is the close connection of each example with the narrative tradition of the motif. In some cases this is explicit, as in manuscript illustrations or where the name of the knight is

<sup>17</sup> Supported by Holl, *Funde*, 56.

<sup>18</sup> See Richard Wiebel, *Drachenbilder und Drachenkampfdarstellungen in der romanischen Kunst* (Munich: Kaufbeuren, 1924).

<sup>19</sup> For a list of examples see Wolfgang Stammer, *Wort und Bild: Studien zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Schrifttum und Bildkunst im Mittelalter*. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1962), 61.

<sup>20</sup> Psalm 35,2 f; Eph 6.11.

<sup>21</sup> Stammer, *Wort und Bild*, 61.

<sup>22</sup> "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet."

<sup>23</sup> For a table of the iconographic parallels, see Appendix.

explicit, as in manuscript illustrations or where the name of the knight is specified in writing beside the scene (examples 5,6,8). In other cases the scene is one episode of a complete narrative cycle and the knight can be identified from the visual context of the scene (examples 2,9). The only case in the group when none of these is possible is the Valthjofstadr church door, which has given rise to an extensive debate. However, in this case as well, all scholars dealing with it assume a narrative connection. One could argue that the instances of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in visual art that can be connected to a narrative necessarily receive more scholarly attention, since they are of interest to scholars of both disciplines and therefore appear more frequently in publications. This may be true, but an extensive search for the motif in a purely art historical context has resulted in significantly few occurrences of the motif detached of narrative reference.<sup>24</sup>

For the present purpose of this study the detailed comparison of all available iconographic parallels to the scene tiles is superfluous; instead, a comparison of two aspects will follow, which have reference to the narrative aspect of the scene and thus may throw light on the iconography of the tiles. These aspects are the grouping of the figures, and the presence of a heraldic lion blazon on the knight's shield. A comparison of the positions of the figures of the lion, the dragon, and the knight on the seven visual representations of the motif which are available for analysis<sup>25</sup> results in the observation that, with two exceptions (1,5)<sup>26</sup>, all scenes show the primary combat to be between the dragon and the lion, where the knight is the third party, who solves the conflict by striking at the dragon. This is understandable, since the narratives to which these visual representations refer all have the lion-dragon-knight combat in the "grateful lion" version which has precisely this sequence of events.<sup>27</sup> Of the two tiles, P-2 fits this pattern to some extent, though there are other complicating factors, while P-1 does not fit it at all, since the combat here is between the knight and the dragon.

---

<sup>24</sup> The only example is from the Schottenportal of the St. Jakob Church in Regensburg, which I have not been able to investigate yet. See Richard Wiebel, *Das Schottentor*. (Augsburg, 1920).

<sup>25</sup> I have only had access to the wall paintings at Schmalkalden and Karden an der Mosel through verbal description.

<sup>26</sup> The figures on the scene on the Valthjofstadr door are entangled in such an intricate manner that any attempt to group them is impossible, while the mazer is the only example where the knight strikes at the dragon with a spear. This scene owes more to the usual St. George and the dragon iconography than any of the other examples.

<sup>27</sup> For an elaboration of the "grateful lion" motif, see my thesis.

An important detail of P-1 is the lion blazon on the knight's shield. The result of a comparison of this feature of P-1 to the other iconographic representations of the motif is that the knight has a shield in four of the seven cases (1,3,4,5), but which has a lion blazon only in one, the case of the Princeton manuscript (3).<sup>28</sup> In the miniature of the Paris manuscript the surcoat of the knight (Yvain) is decorated with a heraldic lion. In both cases the lion serves as an identification of the figure of the hero, the "lion knight". It can be assumed that on P-1 the lion blazon on the shield also serves as a means of identification and provides extra information about the knight.

One more aspect of the comparison must be mentioned, which is significant by its absence from the group of the visual representations of the lion-dragon-knight motif. There is no parallel for the menacing character of the scene on tile P-2, which is imbued with a concentration of ominous details: the broken sword, the dragon's tail wound around the knight, and the hopeless situation of the lion in the dragon's jaws, being snapped at by the young dragons. There is no visual parallel at all for these details. There is one parallel to the dragon's young looking out of the cave on the Valthjofstadr church door,<sup>29</sup> but the composition of the whole scene is very different in this case. In all seven scenes with the motif it is either the moment of the combat when the outcome is still undecided (4,6,7), or the point when it is evident that the knight and the lion are winning (1,3,5,8), but nowhere does the knight or even the lion seem to be in serious danger. The fate of the lion in particular has serious consequences for interpreting the plot of the events. As mentioned previously, all of the nine visual examples of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif have close connections to narrative sources of the motif. It has also been said that the context of the motif in all these narrative versions is the "grateful lion" anecdote, in which the lion, which is saved from the dragon, serves the knight from that point on out of gratitude. Clearly, if the lion is not saved by the knight, but is killed by the dragon, and perhaps even the knight does not survive the encounter, we are dealing with a wholly different version of the lion-dragon-knight combat. However, this question does not belong in the present discussion any more, but leads into the literary context of the motif.

---

<sup>28</sup> In all three cases where the knight does not have a shield he is striking down at the lion with his sword which he holds in both hands, thus not having a free hand to hold the shield in. This may also be the explanation as to why the knight does not have a shield in P-2, where he also holds the sword with both hands.

<sup>29</sup> Argued by Peter Paulsen, *Drachenkämpfer, Löwenritter und die Heinrichsage: Eine Studie über die Kirchtür von Valthjofstad auf Island* (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1966), though there is no mention of young dragons in the epic of Henry the Lion, which he believes is the narrative source of the carvings.

At the very beginning of the literary analysis it is necessary to justify the act of involving literary sources in the investigation of these objects. Of the four concepts used to define the visual information on tiles, decorative, figurative, narrative and symbolic, it is the last two which concern us in this part of the study. As previously discussed, there are certain qualities to the pictures that cause the viewer to suspect that they refer to some kind of narrative source. The most important of these qualities are the number of figures, the multiplicity of details, and the complexity of action, which shift the scene from the general to the specific. However, none of these is any definite proof of a narrative connection, and neither does their absence demonstrate the lack of such. The most one can say is that they may indicate a narrative reference, which can only be established if the text is identified and the details in the text and picture are congruent. Even in this case there are important restrictions on any conclusions with regard to the relationship.

Both investigated tile types fit the qualities mentioned above. Nevertheless, when embarking on the search for the context of these tiles the one aspect at least as important as these qualities is the fact that the lion-dragon-knight combat motif is well-known in medieval literature, especially from the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes. Therefore, it is possible to begin the investigation of literary aspects of the motif with the supposition that the tiles may have a literary reference, because of their specificity and because of the incidence of the motif in medieval literature. The goal of this level of investigation is to look at the development and the narrative occurrences of the motif. Special attention is paid to two groups: those cases in which the geographical and temporal characteristics of the texts make some kind of connection with the tiles possible, and those cases where the details of the texts show a similarity to the details of the tiles.

Before looking at the origins, the development and the examples of the lion-dragon-knight motif in literature it is useful to clarify in which ways a motif in literature is different from that in visual arts. Arguably, the greatest difference is the question of time: in the case of the tiles (and typically for most forms of visual art) one scene depicts one definite moment in time. In the case of a narrative, however, a scene involving the motif is preceded by some action leading up to it, and is followed by something happening after it. The scene of the motif is typically in some relationship with the rest of the story, whether it plays an important role within the whole narrative or not. At the level of iconographic analysis it sufficed to talk about the lion-dragon-knight combat motif, since this is the scene that appears on the tiles. However, when investigating the occurrence of the motif in literature, two terms, the “grateful lion,” and the “lion knight,” must be clarified in the following paragraphs, which will indicate

the relationship of the combat scene to the rest of the narrative. These two terms overlap, and they both include the lion-dragon-knight combat motif.

In trying to identify the narrative reference for the Buda oven-tile, Végh mentions as sources the *Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)* from Chrétien de Troyes, the *Iwein*, a translation/adaptation into German made by Hartmann von Aue, as well as a related version of the “lion knight” story in the *Lady of the Fountain (Owein)* from the Welsh *Mabinogion* collection.<sup>30</sup> All three of these works contain the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in the “grateful lion” context, which can be summarised in a few lines. *The knight encounters a lion fighting with a dragon in the woods. He decides to help the lion and kills the dragon, thereby saving the lion’s life. The lion is grateful and stays with the knight from that point on, helping him in his fights and hunting for him.* Chrétien’s *Yvain* is perhaps the best-known medieval narrative including the lion-dragon-knight combat motif, but it is by no means the only one. This motif has a widespread incidence across medieval genres, languages and centuries.

The first occurrence of the lion-dragon-knight combat scene can be found in a “grateful lion” anecdote in the writings of Petrus Damianus (d. 1072).<sup>31</sup> It has been argued convincingly that the origins of this anecdote lie in the *Androcles* story, well known from Antiquity throughout the Middle Ages. Later, the version recorded in writing by Petrus Damianus attained chivalric features and the “lion knight” idea developed, which then evolved into several different versions of the motif.<sup>32</sup> Three versions of the “grateful lion” or “lion knight” motif are known from approximately the same decade of the late twelfth century. These can be found in the very different contexts of Chrétien’s *Yvain* (1180’s), in Alexander Neckham’s *De Naturis Rerum* (ca. 1180),<sup>33</sup> and in the *Golfier-legend* recorded in the chronicle of Jaufré de Vigois (ca. 1184).<sup>34</sup> It is not completely clear which of these influenced the other concerning the motif; most probably all three go back independently to a chivalric elaboration of the

<sup>30</sup> Végh, “Kályhacsempe-lelet”.

<sup>31</sup> Epistola VI, 5, quoted in Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, “The Grateful Lion: A Study in the Development of Medieval Narrative,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 39 (1924), a very thorough analysis of the development of the motif, the relationship between its cases of occurrence in the twelfth century, and later incidence.

<sup>32</sup> Brodeur, “The Grateful Lion,” 493–524 and Marie-José Heijkant. “Der Ritter mit dem Löwen in der Tradition der ritterlichen Dichtung Italiens,” in *Die Romane von dem Ritter mit dem Löwen*, edited by Xenia von Ertzdorf, (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994), 403.

<sup>33</sup> Alexander Neckam. *De Naturis Rerum*, Lib. II, Cap. Cxlviii. Quoted in Brodeur, “The Grateful Lion,” 495.

<sup>34</sup> “Chronik von Jaufré de Vigois.” Quoted in Brodeur, “The Grateful Lion,” 494.

anecdote of Petrus. Due to the great popularity of Chrétien's *Yvain*, translations and adaptations were made of it into a number of languages. Beginning in the thirteenth century, after the first wave of translations, the motif of the grateful lion was also borrowed and integrated into other narratives from different genres; it can be found in chronicle, epic, and romance, as well as in exempla.<sup>35</sup>

The motif does not appear in the verse romances of French literature other than the *Yvain*,<sup>36</sup> however, it is used in chronicles, such as the later adaptations of the Golfier-legend and in the prose romance *Gilles de Chin*. The latter work borrowed the motif from the *Yvain*. The lion-dragon-knight combat motif is very widespread in Scandinavian saga literature. It appears in the translation of *Yvain* into Old Norse, the *Ívens Saga* (c. 1226), and Old Swedish, the *Herra Iwan Lejonriddaren* (c.1303), as well as in the *Thidreksaga* (c.1250), which is an adaptation of the Middle High German *Dietrich von Bern* epic. The motif can also be found in a number of Old Norse sagas not directly indebted to Continental works.<sup>37</sup> The translation of Chrétien's *Yvain* into Middle High German as *Iwein* by Harmannn von Aue (ca. 1203) was followed by the motif being integrated into the *Wolfdietrich* epic, related to the Dietrich von Bern group, and the Brunswick epic<sup>38</sup> about Henry the Lion.<sup>39</sup>

Beside the widespread presence of the grateful lion motif in epics and romances, it can also be found in exemplum literature. It is difficult to say through which sources the anecdote was handed down; it may have been taken from the Golfier episode in the chronicle just as well as from Neckam's version. In the influential collection of exempla by Étienne de Bourbon completed before 1261, it appears in two different versions, while the anonymous *Liber*

---

<sup>35</sup> The motif can be found in the medieval literature of all West European languages, however, I will only discuss its occurrence in French, Scandinavian (where it was very popular), German and East European literature. A very good collection of articles on the "lion knight" can be found in Ertzdorf (see note 32).

<sup>36</sup> Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, *Index des motifs narratifs dans les romans arthuriens français en vers (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*. (Genève: Librairie Droz S. A., 1992).

<sup>37</sup> Richard L. Harris, "The Lion-Knight Legend in Iceland and the Valtjófsstaðir Door," *Viator* 1 (1970): 129.

<sup>38</sup> Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," 542.

<sup>39</sup> The Henry the Lion epic was adapted into Czech in the first half of the fourteenth century. This is the first appearance of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in non-German Middle European vernacular literature. The Czech Bruncvík enjoyed an enormous popularity and was translated into Hungarian and Russian during the eighteenth century. Winfried Baumann, *Die Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen*. (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenburg, 1978); László Dobossy, "Das Schicksal eines tschechischen Volksbuches in der ungarischen Folklore und Literatur," *Studia Slavica* 11 (1965).

*Exemplorum* (1275–9), as well as five other collections of exempla, all include the motif.<sup>40</sup> It also occurs in the *Pomerium de tempore* of the Hungarian friar Pelbartus of Temesvár.<sup>41</sup>

Having looked at the prevalence of the lion-dragon-knight motif within the different medieval genres and languages, it is useful to look at what kind of role it plays within the context of the narrative, whether it can be interpreted as a symbol of some sort, and what it signifies. In the Bible, the most basic source of symbolic interpretation, the lion appears with negative connotations referring to the powers of evil or Satan in certain contexts (Psalms 22.22; 57.5; 1 Pet 5.8); however, it can also refer to Christ (as in the Apocalypse). The medieval interpretation of the lion was influenced to a large extent by the *Physiologus* and the elaboration and use of this interpretation by the Church Fathers. In the *Physiologus*, three alleged qualities of the lion<sup>42</sup> were interpreted as referring to Christ. In a more secular interpretation, however, one which is already present in the Bible, the lion also represented strength, power, and courage. The dragon or serpent, on the other hand, is always associated with evil, whether in the Bible, Bestiaries, or in commentaries by the Church Fathers. A fight between a lion and a dragon, therefore, would very probably be interpreted as a battle between good and evil.

In the case of the “grateful lion” motif, much has been written on the symbolic function of the lion and the lion-dragon combat in the different literary versions, which do not directly concern this investigation.<sup>43</sup> More worthy of note is Brodeur’s argument concerning the development of the lion-dragon fight motif as the misunderstanding of a religious allegory: the symbolic expression of the fight between Christ and Satan.<sup>44</sup> This interpretation is very similar to the symbolism of the motif used in the exempla, though there are some slight differences in the details. In the exempla the lion is the human soul, which is freed from the serpent, signifying the devil, by Jesus Christ, who is the

<sup>40</sup> Frederik C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1981), 240.

<sup>41</sup> This work does not have any direct implications for finding out more about the tiles, since it is from the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, in mapping the context of the motif in Hungary, it is worth mentioning that it is the only case known to me when the motif appears in a medieval written source in Hungary. Pelbartus de Temesvár, *Pomerium De Tempore*. Pars Hiem., Sermo 16, D. 1551.

<sup>42</sup> The fact that the lion sleeps with open eyes, the way it wipes its footprints away with its tail, and the way the lion wakes its young on the third day after their birth.

<sup>43</sup> James A. Rushing, *Images of Adventure: Ywain in the Visual Arts*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 184–5.

<sup>44</sup> Brodeur, “The Grateful Lion,” 510.



knight. The focal point of the story is the quality of gratitude, which the human soul should feel towards its Saviour. The grateful lion is presented as an example that should be followed and contrasted to the sinful human, who does not show his gratitude to Christ by following him but rather follows the devil and receives eternal death as a reward.

It is clear that the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in its general form enjoyed wide popularity in the Middle Ages and was adapted and integrated into several different types of narratives. In the next step of the inquiry the details of the scenes depicted on the tiles have to be compared to the text versions in search of congruent details. There are differences between the amount of specific details on the three tiles: P-1 is less specific than P-2. In the case of P-1, the only detail specific enough to be worth investigating is the knight's shield with the lion device. The situation with P-2 is wholly different. As has been shown in the iconographic comparison, in this scene several specific details, including uncommon and unique features, are present, which can help in identifying the possible narrative source. To be able to suggest some kind of textual connection in the case of P-2, narrative versions of the lion-dragon-knight combat must be found, which include the details of the broken sword, the lion caught in the mouth of the dragon, the dragon's tail wound around the knight, and the dragon's young. Obviously, the case of P-2 is the more difficult; however, if a narrative were to be found in which so many details agree with the scene on the tile the argument of a correspondence between image and text would be quite convincing.

Several narratives including the motif share the heraldic association of the knight with the lion. There are several levels at which this can be expressed. There is a group of historical persons with a lion device, who probably became associated with a form of the grateful lion motif because of their device. Two examples are Henry the Lion, who was identified with a lion in his name and on his seal,<sup>45</sup> and Gilles de Chin, whose coat of arms bore an azure lion on a gold shield.<sup>46</sup> As the literary counterpart to these historical figures, in the versions of the motif in the *Yvain* (and to a lesser extent in its translations), the lion becomes a part of the identity of the knight. He is identified as the "lion knight" and he is recognised on account of the lion. Finally, there is a type of narrative

---

<sup>45</sup> For the seal, see Jochem Luckhard, Franz Niehof and Gerd Biegel, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235: Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*. (Munich: Hirmer, 1995). For the heraldic aspect of the lion see Karl Hoppe, *Die Sage von Heinrich dem Löwen: Ihr Ursprung, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Überlieferung*. (Bremen: Horn, 1952), 27.

<sup>46</sup> Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," 513.

device or wants to attain one, such as the episode in the *Thidreksaga*,<sup>47</sup> the *Wolfdietrich*,<sup>48</sup> or the *Brunsvik*.<sup>49</sup> It can be concluded that the lion on the shield of the knight, as can be seen on tile P-1, is commonly an attribute of the “lion knight” and therefore demonstrates the possibility of the knight on the tile also being associated with one of these narratives. However, precisely because it is such a common feature in several different versions of the lion-dragon-knight narratives it is too general to use it to establish any connection to a specific version or even to demonstrate the link to the motif in a narrative form.

The situation is different with the specific details depicted on tile P-2. As mentioned previously, typically, the lion-dragon-knight combat scene is an element of the “grateful lion” narrative context in which both lion and knight survive the fight. From all the occurrences of the lion-dragon-knight combat in medieval literature, there are, to my knowledge, only two examples in which the lion does not survive the combat: the Old Norse *Thidreksaga* and the Middle High German *Wolfdietrich* (B and D versions). Both works are connected to the cycle of epics associated with the most popular medieval German hero, Dietrich von Bern, the figure of whom is based on the historical Ostrogothic king, Theoderic the Great (d. 526).<sup>50</sup> Both are dated to the thirteenth century,<sup>51</sup> and though they are two distinct stories, they share many details in the description of the lion-dragon-knight combat episode. Furthermore, a close reading of the text of this episode in both narratives shows a striking similarity of details with the scene on the tile.

In the *Thidreksaga*<sup>52</sup> the following details agree with the scene depicted on floor tile P-2: the knight is on foot; he strikes at the back of the dragon; he holds

---

<sup>47</sup> *The Saga of Thidrek of Bern*. trans. Edward Haymes (New York and London: Garland, 1988), 254: “King Thidrek remembered that he had a lion on his shield and because of this he wanted to help the lion.”

<sup>48</sup> “er fuorte an sînem schilte ... einen lewen von golde rô: / durch daz selbe gemâlde ... sîn helfe er im dô bôt.” *Ortnit und die Wolfdietriche*. *Deutsches Heldenbuch*. Eds. Arthur Amelung and Oskar Jänicke vol. 3, (1871, reprinted Zürich: Weidmann, 1968), 150.

<sup>49</sup> *Brunsvik*, translated into German by Winfried Baumann, in *Die Romane*, 597.

<sup>50</sup> E. E. Metzner, “Dietrich von Bern,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, edited by Burghart Wachinger et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter), 1015–22.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the dating of the *Thidreksaga*, see Metzner, “Dietrich von Bern,” 1021. *Wolfdietrich* B is dated to around 1225 in the edition of Jänicke (p. LXX).

<sup>52</sup> “King Thidrek heard in the forest what seemed to be some kind of battle. There were to be heard a great groaning and heavy blows and much breaking. Thidrek did not want to ride further until he found out what was going on. He spurred his horse on. He was so bold that he went wherever he was told. He had not ridden far into the forest when

his sword in both hands; his sword breaks; he is caught at the waist in the grip of the dragon's tail; the lion is caught in the dragon's mouth; there is a lair with young dragons. The following details do not agree: on P-2 the knight's sword does not break off at the hilt; instead the blade brakes into three sections; there is no tree in the scene; the time and location of the breaking of the sword and the presence of the young dragons is simultaneous, unlike the text, where the dragon flies off to the lair with the young dragons after the sword has broken.

The description of the lion-dragon-knight combat from the *Wolfdietrich*<sup>53</sup> also shows a number of similarities with the scene on P-2 (these are not listed

---

so bold that he went wherever he was told. He had not ridden far into the forest when he saw an amazing sight where there was a large trail. A dragon had made the trail. He rode along the trail until he saw a dragon and a lion fighting fiercely, and this is what he had heard. King Thidrek remembered that he had a lion on his shield and because of this he wanted to help the lion. He sprang from his horse and drew his sword and advanced toward the dragon. He struck such a blow with both hands on its back that the dragon bent to the earth. But now Thidrek paid for having left Ekkisax at home, because this sword did not bite and the hilt broke off so that the blade fell out of his hands and came down on the other side of the dragon. King Thidrek called out: "Let Holy God help me! Since I have served you according to the true faith, this is the first boon I have asked of you. Protect me now Lord God, and if you do not save me, then I shall not be saved." He pulled up a large tree with its roots. At this moment the dragon became so angry that he took the Lion in his mouth, and he wrapped his tail around the middle of King Thidrek and pressed him so tight that he could do nothing against it, and with all of this load he took off and flew to his lair where the young were. He cast the lion before the young and they all ate the lion together and then they were full. Now when the large dragon was full, he straightened out his tail and King Thidrek was freed. It was so dark that he could not see him. He ran as quickly as he could to a place where he could avoid the beasts and now he jumped down and there were some clothes there. He took up the clothes and found there a sword. He took up the sword and struck so hard against the stone that fire flew up so that he could now see all around the mountain. He saw where the old dragon was lying. The young were asleep. He wished now to either gain honor or lose his life. He climbed up to the dragon and struck at its back. This sword bit the dragon and cut the backbone apart. He wielded the sword again and struck again and again until the dragon was dead. He saw where the young were lying. He did not leave the place until he had killed all of them." *Thidrek of Bern*, 254–5. (Translated into English by Edward Haymes).

<sup>53</sup> "Wolfdietrich rode in this manner through the gloomy forest, he was looking far and wide for the vicious dragon. He rode a while, for at least a mile when the noble warrior heard up ahead in the woods a violent battle, which a wild lion was fighting against the unearthly dragon. He carried on his shield a lion of red gold, because of this very image he offered the lion his help. (81–82) (...) The praiseworthy lord finally fell into a rage; he ran at the dragon brazenly. He slashed at him with all his might so that fire burned

separately since they are exactly the same as in the *Thidreksaga*). As regards disagreement, in addition to the three details already referred to in relation to the *Thidreksaga*, the one extra detail worth mentioning concerns the portrayal of the dragon: in the scene on P-2 neither has the dragon twenty-four feet nor does it spit fire.

Generally, it can be said that in both cases the similarities outweigh the differences, especially if one takes the limitations and conventions of the different artistic media into account. The fact that there is no tree on P-2 may be a result of size and composition of the scene on the tile. The difference in time and location of the breaking of the sword and the young dragons can be attributed to the different concepts of time resulting from the different possibilities of textual and visual representation. An episode described in a text as a series of events is often condensed in the visual arts into one scene representing the most typical details, as if a longer stretch of time were compressed into one moment. On P-2, since we are dealing with a fairly sophisticated piece of art, it is not

---

around him, as if a bundle of straw were set ablaze around the horrible dragon. Its backbone was hard and incredibly narrow. He sprang onto the dragon's back and hewed down on both sides. The sword broke apart at the hilt; never had anything so pained the virtuous man. (98–99) (...) He returned to his horse and wanted to mount it. The dragon pushed him off and pressed him under its tail. He held the generous man fast with such strength that Wolfdietrich had never experienced such distress. When the lion saw that its lord was thus caught, it began to pull until blood flowed over the grass. The dragon fell into a rage and threw the lion down so hard that it crushed the heart in its body. The lion let out a loud yell that reverberated in mountain and valley. The lion thus lay dead and no one was there to help the worthy man. The dragon took Wolfdietrich in its tail and the lion in its mouth and immediately carried them [home] as food for its young. It carried them by force over mountain and across valley. It produced a loud noise so that it would not drop them.(?) Its terrifying breath released an incredible stench; it had 24 feet, its gait was hideous. The young were shrieking for food; they were in need until the old dragon offered them the lion. As the young divided the lion with their jaws, the dragon loosened its tail. The lord was freed and he pulled himself up a little. The oldest dragon among the young looked at him with disgust. (i.e. hate), He jumped over his head (dragon or W?) and fell backwards, then he hid himself under many a human corpse. Once the young had finished off the lion, their appetites were whetted. They began to look for the praiseworthy prince where he had hidden himself under the dead men. (103–109)". The lion-dragon-knight combat episode from the *Wolfdietrich* is too long to quote in its entire length, so only excerpts are quoted here. The numbers at the end of the quoted sections refer to strophe numbers. The translation of this episode of the *Wolfdietrich* into English was made by Professor Maria Dobozy. I would like to thank her for the translation and for all the help and encouragement she has given me.

implausible that the artist condensed into one scene the most important and specific elements of one episode, from which it would be most likely to be recognised by the viewer. Finally, two details about the portrayal of the dragon: the disagreement of the number of feet of the dragon (in the *Wolfdietrich* it has twenty-four, in contrast to the two on P-2) can also be explained by the limitations of the visual medium. Regarding the detail of the fire emitted from the dragon's mouth as described in *Wolfdietrich*, no such is indicated on the scene on P-2. However, it is unlikely that the dragon would spit fire when it is holding something in its mouth (it chooses another moment to do so in the text as well), and even if it would, this could be difficult to represent visually. It can be concluded that with regard to the details of the events, a definite relationship can be established between the lion-dragon-knight combat as it appears in the textual versions of the *Thidreksaga* and the *Wolfdietrich* and in the visual medium of the Pilis floor tile P-2.

At this point of the investigation it is useful to set up a hypothesis that tile P-2 was in some way influenced by the story of the *Thidreksaga* or the *Wolfdietrich*. The next logical step is to find out whether and how the actual relationship between story narrative (not necessarily text) and visual representation is theoretically feasible and whether any evidence of this can be found. The *Thidreksaga* does not pass even the test of theoretical feasibility. The double barriers of the geographical distance between Scandinavia and Hungary, and the inaccessibility of Old Norse, the language in which it was written, rule it out as a possible influence. The *Wolfdietrich*, on the other hand, composed in Middle High German in the southern German area, is linguistically, culturally and geographically much less remote from Hungary and therefore, at least theoretically, a possible source of influence.

Before going on to test the hypothesis by the investigation of practical possibilities of a connection between the *Wolfdietrich* and the tiles, let us return to the scenes on P-1 and P-3 to see if the visual information on these also fits the hypothesis. On the scene on P-1 the knight and the dragon are directly involved in the fight, while the lion stands rampant with outstretched claws behind the knight. As previously mentioned in the iconographic analysis there is a strong visual parallel between the rampant lion on the shield of the knight and the real lion standing in the same pose behind him. As mentioned in the comparison of the scene to other visual representations of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif the arrangement of the figures on P-1 is not typical for the depiction of the "grateful lion" motif, which characteristically shows the knight interfering in a combat primarily fought between the lion and the dragon. In the episode from the *Wolfdietrich* quoted previously, the hero decides to come to the help of the lion and fight with the dragon because of the lion device on his shield. This is

82, 84, 86, 97). Furthermore, the knight addresses the lion and is understood by the animal on several occasions. He explains to the beast that they are companions (“gesellen”), first when he relieves the lion and comes to help him (86) and later when he asks for the lion’s help, since he cannot defeat the dragon alone (97). This means that in the reflection of the text, tile P-1 can either be interpreted as the concrete representation of the instance in the story when the knight asks for help from his “companion,” the lion, on the grounds of the lion on his device or as having a more symbolic function and expressing the concept of “companionship” between the man and the animal, some kind of physical and spiritual alliance between the hero and the animal on his device.<sup>54</sup>

To suggest a possible interpretation in the case of floor tile P-3, one has to take a step back and look at the function of the lion-dragon-knight combat episode in the complete *Wolfdietrich* epic.<sup>55</sup> In this textual background the scene with the two dragon heads on tile P-3 fits in very nicely with the idea of the two dragons devastating the land of Ortnit. A number of details support this theory: the similarity of the heads of the dragons on the three tiles (P-1, P-2, P-3), suggesting that it is the same dragon depicted in the three scenes; the representation of two dragons on P-3 in agreement with the two dragons of the text; the dragons represented as emitting flames from their mouths which cover the remaining area of the tile, suggesting the burning of everything; the importance of the element of the devastation carried out by the dragons in the system of cause and consequence of the plot: Ortnit has to ride out to kill the dragons which are devastating his land, *Wolfdietrich* rides out to kill the same

---

<sup>54</sup> I have not been able to find an entirely satisfying term in English to express the totemistic function implied in the German word “wappentier.”

<sup>55</sup> The epic has four different main versions (A,B,C,D) and a very complicated textual history. The dragon fight episode belongs to the original core material of the epic (Wolfgang Dinelacker, “Wolfdietrich,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd rev. ed., vol. 10, ed. Burghart Wachinger et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 1309–22. However, the details agree in version B and D: Ortnit (a friend of *Wolfdietrich*) is given two dragon eggs by his father-in-law, as a punishment for having eloped with his daughter. The dragons, when fully grown, devastate Ortnit’s kingdom. Ortnit has to save the country and rides out to kill the dragons, but before doing so agrees with his wife that in case he does not survive she would only marry the hero who does succeed in killing the dragons. While searching for the dragons Ortnit falls asleep under a magic lime tree and is carried by one of the dragons to its lair, where he is eaten by the dragon and its young. *Wolfdietrich*, returning from a crusade in the Holy Land, hears about his friend’s sad fate and decides to avenge him and kill the dragons. After his tribulations with the lion and dragons and broken sword he succeeds in doing so and thereby wins the hand of the widow.

dragons which are devastating his land, Wolfdietrich rides out to kill the same dragons to revenge the death of Ortnit. From these details the conclusion can be drawn, that the visual details on all three floor tile types (P-1, P-2, P-3) from the dragon-lion-knight combat group known from the Pilis excavation fit the textual details of the *Wolfdietrich* B and D.

Having narrowed down the search for a hypothetical narrative source of the scenes depicted on the floor tiles P-1 and P-2 to the *Wolfdietrich*, in the following section the hypothesis is tested and a conclusion made through examining dates, manuscripts and German cultural contacts of the Pilis monastery, which would make the connection between narrative and tiles possible.

The *Wolfdietrich* epic has survived in fifteen manuscripts and manuscript fragments: all of these (with the exception of one from the 1300s) are from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The date of origin of the written epic is believed to be around 1225–30.<sup>56</sup> The heroes Ortnit and Wolfdietrich are believed to be coupled with the “dragon fight,” “succession to the throne,” and “marriage with the widow” episodes either shortly after the Great Migration (represented by the followers of the “Ostrogothic theory”) or around the 1200s.<sup>57</sup> One more date to be taken into account is related to the fact that the literary motif of the lion-dragon-knight fight in the *Wolfdietrich* may have been taken from or influenced by the translation/adaptation into German of Chrétien’s *Yvain* by Hartmann von Aue around 1203.

The Pilis floor tiles with the lion-dragon-knight motif are dated by Gerevich to the thirteenth century,<sup>58</sup> Imre Holl dated them to the second half of the thirteenth century. During the iconographic analysis of this study it has been suggested that on stylistic grounds the most likely dating of the tiles is the late thirteenth- or, early fourteenth century. Comparing the dates of the tiles to the dates of the narrative it can be concluded that the scene on the tiles could theoretically have been influenced by the *Wolfdietrich* if they were made at any date after the supposed written version of the epic between 1225 and 1230. An influence of the narrative on the tiles at an date earlier than 1225–30, though less likely, is also theoretically possible, given the presence of the material in the oral form from at least 1200 onwards, and the availability of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif from the *Iwein* of Hartmann von Aue.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Pilis Cistercian Abbey was founded in 1184 as a *filia* of the monastery of Acey (France) and retained its

---

<sup>56</sup> Dinkelacker, “Wolfdietrich”, 1312.

<sup>57</sup> Dinkelacker, “Wolfdietrich”, 1319–20.

<sup>58</sup> Gerevich, *A Pilisi*, caption of plate 41–42.

to the middle of the fourteenth century. Only after 1356 were the links of the Pilis Abbey with France replaced by those with Austrian monastic houses of the order. The French artistic influence on the architecture and stone carvings of the monastery is emphasized repeatedly by Gerevich, and in connection with the sarcophagus of Queen Gertrude by Imre Takács. From these facts it would seem that French cultural influence was dominant in the monastery. The Pilis monastery also had a strong connection with the royal court. It had been founded by King Béla III in the Royal Forest of the Pilis, an area called the *medium regni*, in the triangle of the towns Buda, Fehérvár and Esztergom. There is evidence that the Abbots of Pilis were involved in diplomatic missions for the king. The previously mentioned Gertrude of Andechs-Merania, wife of Andrew II (1205–1235), was queen of Hungary between 1203 and 1213, when she was assassinated in the course of a magnates' plot and buried in the Church of the Pilis Cistercian monastery. In the 1230's a splendid sarcophagus was made locally with the involvement of French masters and placed in front of the main altar of the Church.<sup>59</sup>

Gerevich speculates that in her lifetime Queen Gertrude must have been one of the most important donators of the monastery, which was the reason she was buried there.<sup>60</sup> The South German/Bavarian cultural influence of Queen Gertrude and her retinue<sup>61</sup> must have been considerable in the royal court. The ten years she was a queen of Hungary and her connection with the Abbey could perhaps be conceived of as the German cultural context in which visual representations of the *Wolfdietrich* would gain meaning.<sup>62</sup> However, there are several counter-arguments, which make situating the tiles within these ten years unlikely. First of all it is difficult to say to what extent, if at all, the influence of Queen Gertrude affected the monastery, since we have no written or material records of this. Secondly, the dating of the tiles to the years 1203–1213 is realistically too early, regarding both the stylistic aspect of the scenes on the tiles

---

<sup>59</sup> Imre Takács, "Gertrudis királyné síremléke" (The tombstone of Queen Gertrude), in *Pannonia Regia*, 248–51.

<sup>60</sup> Gerevich, *A Pilisi*, 9. Though, this choice probably also had to do with the fact that she was assassinated in the vicinity of the monastery.

<sup>61</sup> For the problematic aspect of the "German relatives" in relation to the fate of Queen Gertrude see János M. Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. Ann Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 233–33.

<sup>62</sup> This is especially so if one takes into account a detail of the epic, which suggests a faint, but tantalising textual connection with the queen. In the *Wolfdietrich* the faithful follower of the hero is Berchtold of Meran. There is a possibility that the epic was in some ways connected to the court of Andechs-Merania. This question certainly has to be investigated further.



realistically too early, regarding both the stylistic aspect of the scenes on the tiles and the textual reference. Another possible way of connecting the tiles with Gertrude is to attribute them not to her personal influence, but as commissioned and produced in her memory on the occasion of the production of her sarcophagus. This hypothesis would fit Imre Holl's theory about the tiles as examples of a smaller set of tiles perhaps made to be put around a grave.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the date of the construction of the tomb, around 1230, is too early to fit the most likely dating of the tiles. Furthermore, this hypothesis raises the question of the function of the floor tiles, with scenes of combat from a heroic epic, around the sarcophagus of the Queen.

There is no evidence for German cultural influence from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries until the nomination of a German Abbot in 1356. It is possible that the tiles were made after this date, though this would put their production to a later date than those given by Gerevich and Holl. One aspect of the architectural history of the monastery has to be mentioned in relation to this dating, the construction of an altar-screen (*jube*) in the church in the 1360s.<sup>64</sup> It is possible that such a major construction work in the church was coupled with a relaying of certain sections of the floor, which were broken up during the construction. The hypothetical dating of the tiles to the 1360s would assign them to a later period than traditionally assumed, but would provide the possibility of a German cultural context as well as an architectural motive for making them.

The goal of this investigation was defined as mapping the context of a set of medieval objects through an interdisciplinary approach. The floor tiles have been examined from the perspectives of the different disciplines of archaeology, art history, and literature. The information provided by the tiles at these different levels has been integrated and used to suggest new possibilities of interpretation. Though none of the many questions surrounding the tiles has been definitively solved, the results of the investigation have provided a kind of map of the context of the tiles through which their position and function in the Middle Ages can be understood to a greater extent. In the process of the investigation of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif the possibilities and limitations of interdisciplinary research have also been discussed. Attention has been paid to recording the details of the methodology of the procedure. Through the case study it has been demonstrated that in certain cases the interdisciplinary

---

<sup>63</sup> Though not his dating.

<sup>64</sup> Imre Takács, "Kórusrekesztő töredékei" (Fragments of an altar-screen), in *Pannonia Regia*, 264–5.

through a more traditional approach. Finally, several new possibilities of interpretation and directions for further study have been suggested. These future studies will certainly add important details to the understanding of the context of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif and the tiles on which it is depicted.

### Appendix – The occurrence of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in the visual arts

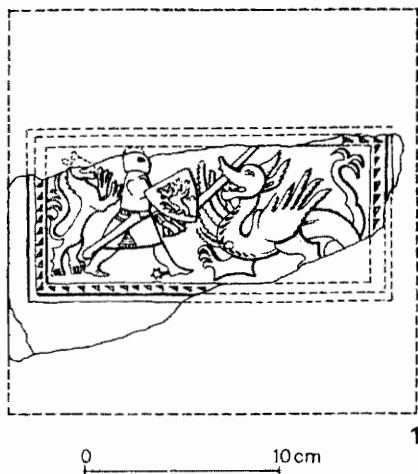
Form	Location	Date	Narrative
1. The upper panel of the carved wooden church-door*	Valjósstaðir, Iceland (now in the National Museum of Copenhagen)	First half of the thirteenth century	Diverse attributions
2. Wall-painting	Schmalkalden (scene 23)	c. 1240	<i>Iwein</i> by Hartmann von Aue
3. Illuminated manuscript*	Princeton University Library Garrett 125, folio 37r	1280–1298	<i>Yvain</i> by Chrétien de Troyes
4. Illuminated manuscript	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr 1433, folio 85r	1317–1340	<i>Yvain</i> by Chrétien de Troyes
5. <i>Mazer</i> or drinking bowl	St Nichols Hospital, Harbledown (UK), lent to Poor Priests' Museum, Canterbury	1300–1350	The romance of Guy of Warwick
6. Tapestry	Basel, Historisches Museum. Inv.Nr. 1902.7	1460–1470	The story of Henry the Lion
7. Illuminated manuscript	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod.poet.fol.4, folio 97r	1474	Michel Wyssenherre <i>Von dem edeln hern von Bruneczwigk, als er über mer für</i> (Henry the Lion)
8. Wall-painting	Husby-Sjutolft (Sweden)	1474	The story of Henry the Lion
9. Wall-painting	Karden an der Mosel (scene twelve)	1497	The story of Henry the Lion

\* = picture included

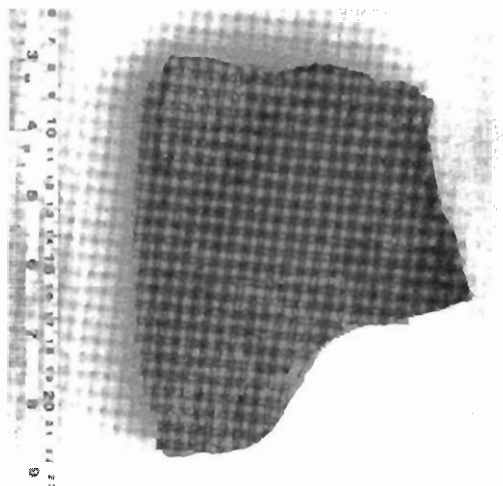
*P-1 Lion-dragon-knight combat*



*Photo (no. 42) in Gerevich (1984).*

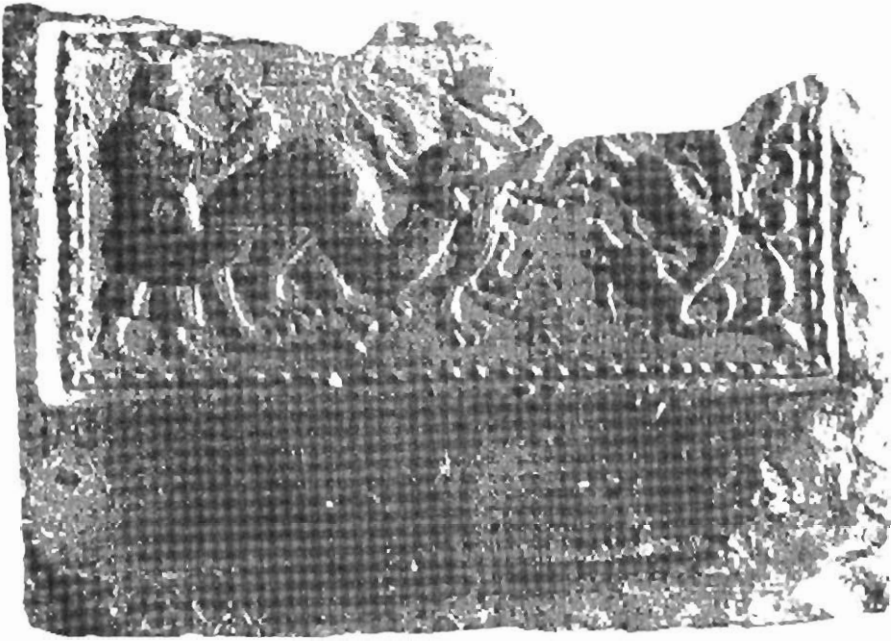


*Drawing (nr.1)  
in excavation documentation.*

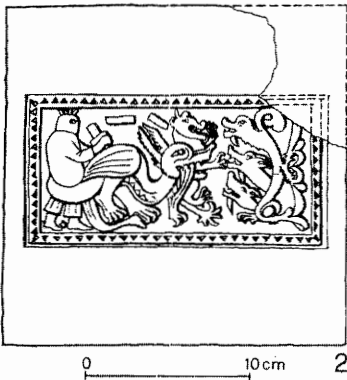


*Tile kept in the lapidarium of  
Pilisszentkereszt (no. 76.46.).*

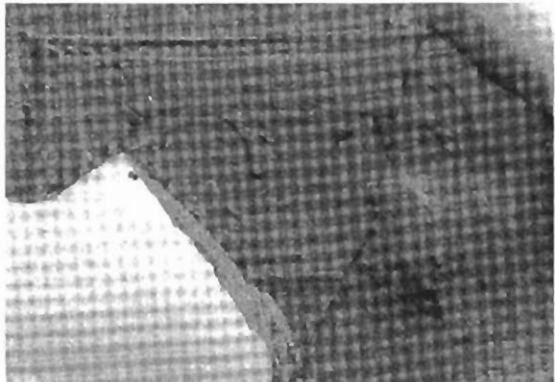
*P-2 Lion-dragon-knight combat with young dragons*



*Photo (nr. 41) in Gerevich (1984).*

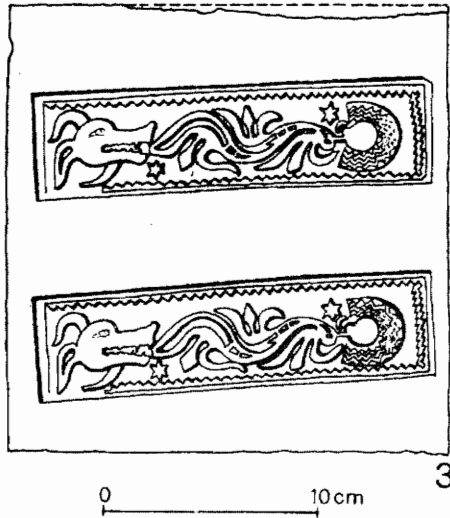


*Drawing (nr.2)  
in excavation documentation.*



*Tile kept in the lapidarium of  
Pilisszentkereszt (no. 76.389).*

*P-3 Dragon head*



*Drawing (no. 3) in excavation documentation.*

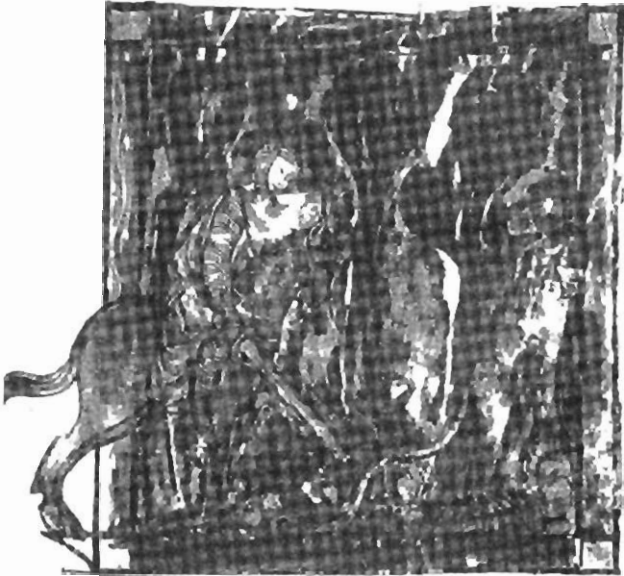
*B-1 Lion-dragon-knight combat*



*Stove tile from the Buda Szentpétermártír outskirts excavation.  
(Code number BTM-KO lt. sz. 44.31.1.10).*



*The upper panel of the wooden church-door from Valthjofstadr, Iceland. (National Museum, Copenhagen) from the first half of the thirteenth century.*



*Illuminated manuscript of Yvain by Chrétien de Troyes (Princeton University, Library Garrett 125, folio 37r) from 1280–1298.*

## GREEN CHAMBER ICONOGRAPHY FROM SAXONY TO SZÉKELYDÁLYA (DAIA SECUIASCĂ): A CASE STUDY<sup>1</sup>

Emese Nagy 

The pervasive presence of a special decorative pattern in fifteenth century art, the late Gothic leaf type, is well-known to art historians. The same stirring, looping leaf and stem decoration is present on architectural details, back-parts and frames of altars, manuscripts, tombstones, and heraldic shields of the period throughout Europe. The spread of the motif is primarily attested by etchings like those of Schongauer, Israhel van Meckenem, Master E.S., and most of the monogrammist masters. However, the motif was not limited to a secondary decorative role: during the fifteenth century a well-defined complex decorative program was developed, the bright green foliage being its most striking characteristic. The so-called “green chamber decoration” became a fashion in European buildings of the period.

Although the presence of the bright-green foliage decoration is known to the art historical literature, as are certain green chambers (most of them described and partly analyzed), this feature as a fashion in fifteenth century Europe seems to have escaped the attention of specialists.<sup>2</sup> The several examples of green chambers have never been gathered and analyzed as belonging to the same iconographical group, as having a common meaning, a common relation to the late Gothic—early Renaissance attitude. Still less was, it noticed that this decoration spread across an extremely large area from Saxony to Hungary. The most eastern example, the Transylvanian green chamber decoration in Székelydályá (Daia Secuiască, Romania), has always been treated as an exotic and inexplicable feature even by local specialists. Therefore, the present study tries to give both an overview and explanation of the European green-chamber, and a detailed analysis of the decoration from Székelydályá (Daia Secuiască), which has never been thoroughly described nor included in the iconographic group to which it belongs.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a shortened version of my M.A. thesis, defended at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, in June 2000.

<sup>2</sup> It is Joseph Krása, who already tried to give some explanation to the feature, which was however not satisfactory. He only spoke about the green foliage as a “natural frame” for the rest of the images. See Josef Krása, “Nástěnné malby žirovnické Zelené světnice” (Wall paintings of the green room in the castle of Žirovnice), *Umění* 12 (1964):

## The Green Chamber Fashion in Europe

“Green-chamber” ornamentation seems to have begun in buildings belonging to the high nobility, spreading from castles to town houses, town halls, and even monasteries. The decoration in point basically consists of a three-level iconographic arrangement.<sup>3</sup> The figurative level is represented by Old and New Testament scenes or/and by vernacular images (hunting scenes, carnivals, different courtly representations). The second—the heraldic—level consists of blazons, heraldic shields, and helmets of families or persons usually in some kind of relation with the history of the building or the decoration. The third, and in this case the most significant layer, as it gives the nature of the program, is the vegetal part. The bright green whirling leaves, stems and flowers unify the whole decorative program, covering, filling the surfaces, giving the impression of “horror vacui”. A very special feature of the ornamentation is, that the vegetation is “inhabited” by different figurative elements. Animals, birds, masks in grotesque patterns, or even human figures are incorporated into the vegetation, grasping stems, sitting on leaves, practically living in the garden.

The entrance tower of the Bohemian castle of Blatná contains one of the most complete and well-preserved green chambers. Because the owner of the castle, Lev of Rožmítal, was a learned man well-informed in matters of courtly art and fashion of the period, due to his journeys throughout Europe, it is not hard to explain the presence of such a room in his home. The decoration, which perfectly suits the three-level iconography of the green chamber decorative program, was probably carried out by the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Courtly images such as dancing figures, carnival scenes, buffoons, and musicians cover the lower part of the walls. Blazons on each wall and in the window-niches, belonging to the family of the owner and to different relatives, represent the heraldic layer of the decoration. Biblical scenes cover the side walls of the window-niches and the front-arches with the exception of one arch, where a hunting scene is represented. The whole decoration is unified by the vegetation covering the rest of the wall surfaces, consisting of whirling green leaves and stems with some red and blue blossoms. The wild growth of leaves is inhabited by birds and different animals resembling *drôleries*.

---

<sup>3</sup> The three-level arrangement was differentiated by Árpád Mikó and Miklós Szentkirályi, “Az ádámosi unitárius templom festett famennyezete (1526) és a famennyezet rekonstrukciója (1985)” (The painted wooden ceiling of the Unitarian church of Ádámos (1526) and its reconstruction (1985)), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1–4 (1987): 105.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Krása, “Nástěnná Malba,” (Wall painting) in *Pozdně gotické umění v Čechách* (Late Gothic art in Bohemia), ed. Jaromír Homolka, (Prague: Odeon, 1985), 281.



The green chamber of the Reifenstein castle (the classical example in art historical literature when speaking about the green chamber type of decoration) was used as a bedroom and is usually referred to as "Grien Camer" in the documents. The walls, the ceiling and even the wooden built-in wardrobes of the room are covered with the same late Gothic leaf-and-stem ornament. The vegetation in this case hides a bird- and butterfly-catching youngster, a fool with the special cap of a jester and several other figures. The inner walls of the window-niches are decorated with figures of saints: Saint Wolfgang, Saint Christopher, Antony of Padua, and so on, all of them painted in the same nuance of green as the surrounding leaves.<sup>5</sup> The decoration dates from the very end of the fifteenth or very beginning of the sixteenth century based on the architectural history of the building and the heraldic shields placed on and above the entrance.<sup>6</sup>

Green chambers, like those of the castles of Zvíkov, Žirovnice, Orava, Zólyom (Zvolen), Beckó (Beckov) or Salzburg are all classical and fairly well-known examples of the three level iconography.<sup>7</sup>

As already mentioned, the fashion of green rooms was not limited to castles. In a short time it became widespread and reached town houses as well. Homes of the lower nobility, of the middle society, of merchants and craftsmen as well as representative rooms of official buildings were often decorated with the same type of ornamental program. One of the ground-floor rooms of the so-called Thurzó house in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) is again a perfect example of the decorative program in point.<sup>8</sup> (*Fig. 1*). Wall-paintings having both sacred and worldly subjects decorate the walls and the barrel-vault of the room. Thus Saint George's fight with the dragon, Daniel and the angels, Christ and the Samaritan woman, and the Last Judgement are present just as scenes from Aesop's fables, the so-called "scene with a deer and a young man" or a scene of bear-leading. The heraldic level is represented by the coats of arms of King Matthias and by the family blazon of Queen Beatrix being placed on the vault.

---

<sup>5</sup> It can be perfectly understood by this example why the German term "Grün in grün monochrome Wandmalerei" came into being.

<sup>6</sup> Edmund Theil, *Burg Reifenstein bei Sterzing. Laurin Kunstführer 27* (Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1975), 10.

<sup>7</sup> For the geographical distribution of the green room type of decorations see the map and catalogue at the end of this article. A description of all the green rooms known to me would basically change the character of this study. Thus for the sake of concrete examples, I only gave a short description of the two most famous and best preserved green rooms.

<sup>8</sup> The example is—at the same time—the single preserved green room on the territory of medieval Hungary.

The green, late Gothic foliage hiding several tree-climbing figures unifies the whole decoration. The function of the room is still disputed.<sup>9</sup>

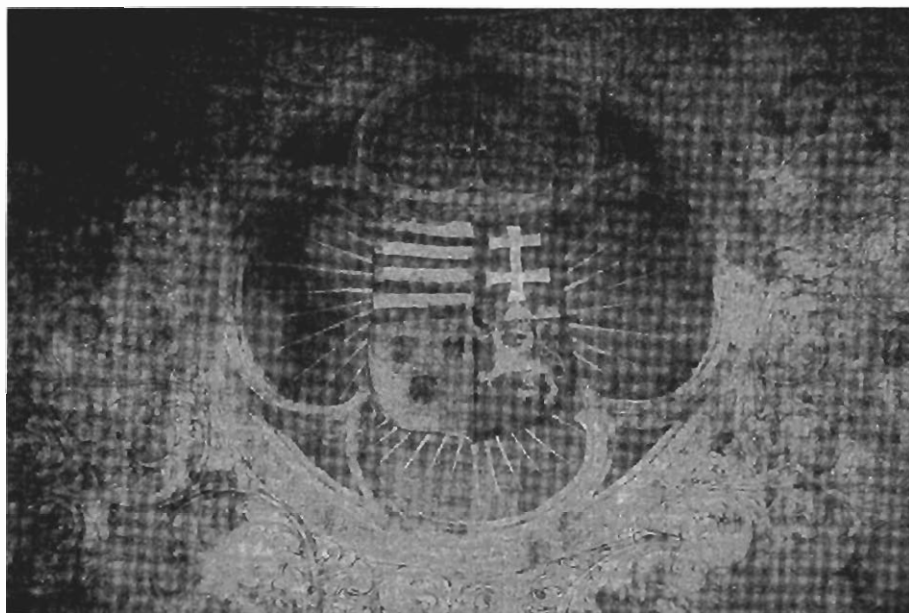


Figure 1. Blazon of King Matthias on the vault of the Thurzó-house in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) (Photo: Attila Mudrák).

The so called “green-house” in Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg), the House “Rote Stufen 3” in Meissen, the house no. 8 on the Obere Bachgasse in Regensburg, and a house in the center of Zvolen all mirror the spreading of the decoration in burgers’ houses.<sup>10</sup> Although some of these decorations do not

---

<sup>9</sup> Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay claims that the room could have functioned as a sort of private chapel, the paintings with a sacred topic being earlier than the rest of the decoration which can be dated between 1495 and 1500 on the basis of the blazons. However, the assumption has not been proved yet. Hereby, I would also like to thank Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay for her kind help and the information.

<sup>10</sup> For a long list of examples see Roland Möller, “Illusionistische und grünmonochrome Wandmalerei als Dekoration in Sakral- und Profanräumen der Spätgotik,” in *Denkmalkunde und Denkmalpflege. Wissen und Wirken. Festschrift für Heinrich Magirius zum 60. Geburtstag am 1. Februar 1994*. (Dresden: Karl M. Lipp Verlag, 1995), 223–239; and Maria Kodonova, “A beckói (Beckov) uradalom művelődéstörténeti jelentősége a későgotika korában” (The historical importance of Beckov in the late Gothic period), in *Művészet*

correspond perfectly to the three levels of green room iconography, they are still—undoubtedly—part of the same fashion. The bright green, looping vegetational ornament dominates the rooms and incorporates several figures or scenes, which can in some way be linked to the history or to the owners of the building or the town. The difference compared to the complete green room decoration-programs is only that some of the ornamental layers are missing: either the biblical sphere or the heraldic one. The same is true for several decorations of representative rooms in public buildings, such as the so called “Alte Kanzlei” in the town-hall in Lüneburg (Saxony)<sup>11</sup> or the “Huldigungs-saal” of the town-hall in Goslar (Saxony). Although in the last case the three-level iconography is complete, the foliage decoration has lost its dominance.<sup>12</sup> The walls of the “Huldigungssaal” are covered by a painted wooden paneling, decorated with figures of German and Roman emperors, showing a genealogy, which tries to legitimate the power of the prevailing German ruler. At the same time the wooden ceiling is decorated with saints. The panels above the royal figures are filled with a dense leaf and stem ornamentation hiding several blazons. Thus, the message transmitted by the decoration is represented by the figural part, the leaves being a mere frame—a very fashionable frame—for the rest.

The green-on-green monochrome foliage painting fills the walls of the refectory of the monastery at Lüne. The leaves and stems form the background for the seven male and seven female persons on the walls. However, neither courtly nor *drollerie*-like scenes nor heraldic signs are present: the figures on the walls are saints and church fathers painted on the vegetation, standing in front of the leaves and not in the same sphere with them. Thus, at the very end of the fifteenth century the monastery reformulated the green-room type of decoration (and especially its courtly layer) using it for own purposes. The same reinterpretation of the ornamental patterns took place in the Silvester-chapel of the Münster in Konstanz, St George’s chapel in Gerlikon, the Hašplířská-chapel of the St. Barbara church of Kutná Hora or the so-called “Praedikantenbibliothek” of the parish church in the Swabian Isny.

---

*Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437*. Eds. László Beke, Ernő Marosi and Tünde Wehli, Vol.1. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1987), 312–331.

<sup>11</sup> Doris Krystof, “Von gotischen Laubwerk zur Jugendstilranke – Ornamentgeschichtliche Betrachtung zu den Holzdeckendekorationen,” in *Raumkunst in Niedersachsen*. (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1991), 113–131.

<sup>12</sup> For an extensive analysis of the painting from Goslar see Gisela Goldberg, *Der Huldigungssaal im Rathaus zu Goslar*. (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians Universität zu München, 1960).

Examples like the town-hall of Lüneburg mentioned above, or the decoration of the so called "Altes Steinhaus" in Bad Wimpfen have the same intent and include several elements of the green chamber decoration. However, their artistic quality is far from that of the above-mentioned examples. The vegetation depicted is much simpler, much more stylized, and could be even called primitive. In contrast to the special late Gothic type of leaf which usually characterizes green chambers, the Lüneburg and Wimpfen decorations lack a certain natural depth and realistic character; they resemble much more the very elementary leaf pattern of the golden backgrounds of medieval altars.

The period between 1498 and 1508 is considered to be the summit of leaf and foliage decoration.<sup>13</sup> Karl Oettinger refers to the role of the "Ast- und Laubwerk" in this period: "als Ornament wie als Darstellungsform, als Sakralsymbol wie als Stimmungsträger."<sup>14</sup> Thus, certain artistic features of the period cannot be separated from the green chamber fashion, what is more, they can be considered as somehow belonging to the same tendency.<sup>15</sup> The well-known painted wooden ceilings of the period<sup>16</sup> are characterized by the same types of

---

<sup>13</sup> Margot Braun-Reichenbacher, "Höhepunkt des Ast- und Laubwerks," *Das Ast- und Laubwerk*. (Nürnberg: Verlag Hans Karl, 1966), 65.

<sup>14</sup> As ornament and as a form of representation, as symbol of the Sacred and also as a means for creating a certain atmosphere. Karl Oettinger, "Laube, Garten und Wald. Zu einer Theorie der Süddeutschen Sakralkunst 1470 bis 1520," In *Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr*, ed. Karl Oettinger, (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1962), 207. About the same topic Lottlisa Behling affirms: "Die Pflanze im Mittelalter hat vorwiegend symbolischer Charakter. Sie steht für einen geistigen Wert...Wo sie zum Ornament wird, kann man diesen Sinn nicht speziell fassen, sondern nur ein allgemein dahinter stehendes geistiges Geschehen erkennen." Lottlisa Behling, *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*. (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1957), 12.

<sup>15</sup> "Inhabited" foliage decorations present on altars cannot be strictly linked to the green-chamber fashion, however, they can also not be left unmentioned when speaking about the topic. The tryptich of the "Marienkirche" in Zwittau, which dates from 1479 is a work of Michael Wolgemuts workshop. The back (!) of the stable wing of the altar is decorated with a painted green whirling leaf ornament, different types of birds, made of paper, being stuck on the wood, giving the impression of living among the leaves. The outer side of the wings of the altar in the Thuringian museum of Eisenach, that dates from around 1500. Both wings have a heraldic shield in the center, surrounded by the already well-known bright green leaf ornament.

<sup>16</sup> See Barbara Wolff, "Einige Probleme der bemalten Holzdecken im Polen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1968): 243–256; Árpád Mikó and Miklós Szentkirályi, "Profane Wand- und Deckenmalerei," In *Raumkunst in Niedersachsen*, ed. Rolf-Jürgen Grote und Peter Königfeld, (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1991), 133–156.

leaves, heraldic elements, biblical and worldly scenes. The *verdures* of the Gothic Burgundy castles can be tightly related to the mentioned type of ornamental program, partly because of their color and partly because of the topics of the representations: hunting scenes, *drôleries*, and courtly figures.<sup>17</sup> Many vaults of the period try to hide their heavy, limited, material character, creating the impression of transparency with the help of carved or painted ribs. These stem or leaf-like details, foliage-imitating baldachins, tree-resembling piers all belong to the same late Gothic attitude, the same relation to nature.

The fourteenth-century decoration of the papal apartments from Avignon castle is one of the oldest preserved fresco cycles that can be related to this tendency. The intention of creating an impression of nature in these rooms, the arbor-like walls of the old papal chamber decorated with meandering stems and vine-leaves, the hunting and fishing scenes, and the landscapes depicted in the so called *chambre du cerf* of the palace can all be included in the category of garden representations, which become characteristic from the fourteenth century onwards.<sup>18</sup> The frescoes from Sorgues, the ones from the Sala delle Nuziale in the Palazzo Davizzi Davanzati in Florence or the decoration of the castle Runkelstein near Bozen are just a few examples of this kind.

It is in the fourteenth century that we have the first descriptions of profane gardens, of pleasure gardens, different from the previously known *herbularius* or *hortus* of a monastery.<sup>19</sup> In contrast with the simplicity of the herb garden, *pleasances* were much more luxurious.<sup>20</sup> The *herbularius* being the place for useful

---

<sup>17</sup> Mikó and Szentkirályi, "Az ádámosi templom," 105.

<sup>18</sup> We have to make here the distinction between 'illusionistic representations' in the sense art historical literature uses the term and these very much stylized decorations. As they lack perspective and a certain grade of verisimilitude, they should not be called illusionistic, although they do create the illusion of nature. This also applies to the green chambers presented.

<sup>19</sup> It is the Benedictine monk Walahfried Strabo (809–849) whose work, *Liber de cultura hortorum*, known as *Hortulus* is considered the very first medieval treatise on Gardens. The poem mostly deals with the *herbularia* and the usefulness of the flowers growing in it. After Walahfried's verses, a long time had to pass until the next text on Gardens was written. Petrus de Crescentis finishes his work *Opus ruralium...* in 1305, and devotes a part of it to the Gardens of Delights.

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed description of both pleasure gardens and herb gardens see Sir Frank Crisp, *Medieval Gardens*. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979 3<sup>rd</sup> edition); M. Caroll-Spillecke, ed., *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter. Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt* 57 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1992); Christopher Thacker, *The History of Gardens*. (London: London Editions Limited, 1979); Dieter Hennebo, *Gärten des Mittelalters*. (München-Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1987); Doris Kutschbach, "Das irdische

plants, a kitchen garden in fact, and thus no place for open air enjoyment, medieval artists and patrons began to create their own pleasure gardens. The garden became its owner's parlor and withdrawing room. Windows of castles overlooked the garden and interior walls began to be painted as a garden—as they had been in Roman houses—or to be decorated with tapestries with the same topic.<sup>21</sup> It is this period, when Petrarch (living by that time in Avignon) reports on the conscious nature-experience of people.

Descriptions and representations of the so-called “pleasurances” can be found in writings and images of the earlier Middle Ages, but it is only in the period preceding the formation of the green-chambers, in the fourteenth-fifteenth century, that we meet descriptions of arbours as a permanent element of gardens. Although the tradition of wooden pergolas and arbours goes back to ancient Rome, there is no description of them until Petrus de Crescentius' work in 1305.<sup>22</sup> By this time it was already considered a necessity—as we are informed by Crescentius—to build arbours and wooden fences in the form of houses, tents or pavilions, to construct “palaces” out of trees, stems and leaves which should serve for the nobleman as shelter whenever, in nice weather, he wishes to withdraw there with his lady.<sup>23</sup> From the fourteenth century on the feature turns up frequently; all the descriptions and representations of this period let us believe that the arbours not only had the function of shelter, but were also used as hideaways for lovers. The texts and the decorations of the romances, like those of Wolfram von Eschenbach or the *Roman de la Rose*, (which was published for the first time in a printed version by the end of the fifteenth century, thus making its spread easier) all give us an image of the arbours so fashionable in the period.

It is around 1470 that the arbour becomes an especially important motif in all the branches of art.<sup>24</sup> Arbours turn up in forms of baldachins, above altars, on paintings in profane and sacred architecture. The above mentioned late

---

Paradies. Liebesgärten im späten Mittelalter,” in *Jahreszeiten der Gefühle. Das Gothaer Liebespaar und die Minne im Spätmittelalter*. (Gotha: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1998), 82–92; Marilyn Stokstad and Jerry Stannard, *Gardens of the Middle Ages*. (Kansas, Lawrence: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1983); Pierre Grimal, ed., *Jardins du Moyen Age*. (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1995).

<sup>21</sup> Stokstad-Stannard, *Gardens*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Thacker, *Die Geschichte der Gärten*. (Zürich: Orel Füssli Verlag, 1979), 84.

<sup>23</sup> Thacker, 84. (The author gives a German translation of Crescentius' description of these arbours.) Crescentius' work was first published exactly in the period interesting for us: in 1471. This first publication was followed by the translation of the work to several languages which obviously helped the spread of the book, and thus of its ideas.

<sup>24</sup> Oettinger, “Laube, Garten und Wald,” 202.

Gothic vaults and ribs representing stems, leaves and branches, and the painted vault decorations all contribute to the appearance of the arbour in the architecture of the period. In the architectural sense, the late Gothic arbour is always a transition zone between inside and outside, between dark and light.<sup>25</sup> The arbour seems also to have led to the development of green chambers. Thus the new perception of nature, the fashion of profane gardens and arbours, together with the favorite pastimes of the nobility of the period: hunting, fishing, dancing, and hawking, could together have contributed to the formation of green room iconography. Turning up first in Gothic castles, these try to bring gardens and arbours inside the rooms; combining this with heraldic signs of power and social importance and with representations of courtly pastimes, the decoration seems to be closely related to the late medieval knightly notion of life. The style of living described by the troubadours gets thus a “painted wording”, the green chamber decoration becomes a comprised depiction of the late Gothic pleasures of a nobleman, a symbolic pleasure garden, a transition between inside and outside.

### **The Easternmost Example of Green Chambers: The Church of Székelydála (Daia Secuiască)**

As we have seen, green chamber decoration spread all over Europe and, as a fashion, gained space in several types of buildings. The former Catholic, presently Protestant, church of Székelydála (Daia Secuiască) represents the easternmost example of the decoration and owes its fame to the well-preserved bright-green foliage decoration on the vault of its sanctuary. (Fig. 2). The presence of the obviously profane character of the decoration in a former parish church has always embarrassed local art historians.

The village of Székelydála (Daia Secuiască) lies in the southeastern part of Transylvania, the southern part of the medieval *sedes Udvarbeliensis* (belonging to today's Harghita county), in the valley of the Dála. The place has been inhabited since the twelfth-thirteenth century by the Székelys from Telegd, settled in this region by the king.<sup>26</sup> The first mention of the village dates only

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> The origin of the Székelys (Szeklers) is a very much disputed question in historiography. However, there is a consent that they first settled close to the present-day Hungarian-Romanian border, in Bihar, around Telegd (Tileagd), later being settled by royal order to “Székelyföld”. For detailed discussion of the matter see Zoltán Kordé, “A székely eredetkérdés az újabb kutatások tükrében” (The question of the origin of the Székelys in recent research), *Aetas* (1993/3): 21–38; Gyula Kristó, *A székelyek eredetéről* (About the origin of the Székelys), Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 10. (Szeged:

from 1333: “*item Clemens sacerdos de Daya solvit II et medium banale.*”<sup>27</sup> Thus, we know of the existence of a church already in this period. In the very next year the village is mentioned again: “*item Clemens sacerdos de Daya solvit II. banales antiquos.*”<sup>28</sup>



Figure 2. Székelydály (Daia Secuiască). Inside of the church.

After these two mentions there is a considerable hiatus in the fifteenth-sixteenth century documents referring to the history of the village. The next preserved charters<sup>29</sup> related to Székelydály (Daia Secuiască) are only from the

---

Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1996); György Györffy, “Der Ursprung der Szekler und ihre Siedlungsgeschichte,” in *Siebenbürgen und seine Völker*, ed. Elemér Mályusz, (Budapest: Danubia, 1943), 76–131; Lajos Szádeczky-Kardoss, *A székely nemzet története és alkotmányja* (The history and the constitution of the Székely nation) (Budapest: “Hargitaváralja”, 1927. Reprint, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993); and others.

<sup>27</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*. Vol 1. (Budapest, 1887), 115.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> Published mainly in the *Székely Oklevéltár* (Collection of Székely charters). Vol 2. ed. Károly Szabó (Kolozsvár: Székely Történelmi Pályadíj Alap Felügyelő Bizottsága: 1873), 197, 204, 219, and Vol 4. 41.



second half of the sixteenth century; they reflect an augmentation of the population and of the standards of living. According to the register of the *primipili*<sup>30</sup> from 1566, in this year Dálya had the largest number of *primipili* among all the villages of *sedes Udvarhelyensis*, namely 15.<sup>31</sup> Another register of 1576 mentions 35 serf-houses in the village, all in the possession of the Prince of Transylvania. This clearly reflects the general situation, the social changes, which had taken place in the previously free and privileged Székely society during the fifteenth century.

Throughout the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries the Reformation led to great changes in the region; church-building also changed according to the new liturgy. We have practically no documentary information, however, referring to the village from this period, as the archives of the church of Dálya burned completely in a fire in 1766. This destroyed not only the archives of the village but the whole settlement, leaving only three houses. The number of the inhabitants was by this time about 500.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> The territorial organization of the Székelys was based on the *sedes* (seats), which were not parts of the county organization of the Hungarian Kingdom, but were autonomous administrative and juridical entities. The so-called mother-seat of the seven Székely seats was the *sedes Udvarhelyensis*, the one Székelydálya also belonged to. Although the Székelys were free to elect the juridical and military leaders of the seats, the supreme leader of the whole community, the *comes siculorum* (bailiff) was the representative of the king, and thus appointed by him. The Székelys, just as the Saxons, enjoyed several privileges: all of them were personally free, their land was considered a common property of the community. Having the duty of military service and border protection, they were also free from paying taxes. Thus, their status was similar to that of Hungarian noblemen.

The second half of the fifteenth century is the period when the Székely region becomes a center of social movements, due to the fact that the traditional free-peasant and military society of the Székelys reached a period of crisis. As a result of the changes in the Hungarian military system and in the personal wealth of certain Székelys, a social stratification began to develop in the previously equal Székely society. This process reached its summit with the royal order from 1473, when the three social layers of the Székelys (*primores*, *primipili* and *pixidarii*) became official. According to this order, the richest Székelys, who were able to offer at least three mounted mercenaries when necessary, belonged to the upper layer called *primores* (főemberek). Those who personally performed mounted military service belonged to the middle class and were called *primipili* (lófők), while those who could only afford to go to fight as foot soldiers (and could thus keep their personal freedom) were called *pixidarii* (közemberek). Those who could not finance themselves even as foot-soldiers were reduced to servitude.

<sup>31</sup> *Székely Oklevéltár*, II.197.

<sup>32</sup> Mihály János, "A székelydályai református templom kutatása" (Research of the Protestant church of Székelydálya), *Műemlékvédelem* 1 (1993): 26.

The church stands in the eastern part of the village, giving at first sight a fairly eclectic impression. A slender eighteenth century tower is joined on the western side to the rectangular medieval nave, which is closed from the east by a late Gothic polygonal chancel, the whole building being surrounded by a low wall. From the western entrance of this fence a closed doorway leads to the tower.<sup>33</sup> While the nave was once covered by a seventeenth-century wooden ceiling,<sup>34</sup> the two bays and the polygonal termination of the chancel are covered by a ribbed cross-vaulting, the ribs having the very simple profile of a single groove. This vaulting, in both the two bays and in the termination, is closed by a keystone. The keystone of the first bay bears a late gothic shield with a master-mark, while the one belonging to the second bay is a six-pointed star. The simple round keystone of the polygonal termination has no ornamentation. The cross-rib between the first and the second bay is decorated with an empty shield.

The literature dates the construction of the church (with an unknown *titulus*) unambiguously to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The latest archeological research has demonstrated that the first church had a rectangular sanctuary, which was demolished by the construction of the existing late Gothic one.<sup>36</sup> The late Gothic reconstruction took place by the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>37</sup> and this is the period when the interior

---

<sup>33</sup> Here, I do not give a detailed description of the building.

<sup>34</sup> The ceiling was removed for restoration almost four years ago.

<sup>35</sup> Works mentioning the church and the vault-decoration: Balázs Orbán, *Székelyföld leírása* (Description of the land of the Székelys), Vol. 1. (Pest [Budapest]: Tettei Nándor és Társa Bizománya, 1868–1873; Reprint Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1982); Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi reneszánsz* (The Transylvanian Renaissance), (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943); Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în ţările române* (The history of medieval art in the Romanian countries), Vol. 1. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1954); Dénes Radocsay, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* (Wall paintings in Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1977); László Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei* (Art Monuments of the Medieval Udvarhely-seat) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981). The latter one is the best reference work for the matter. Ödön Nemes, “Néhány székelyföldi freskóról” (On some frescoes from the land of the Székelys), *Székely Hírlap* (October 29, 1896): 3. None of these works gives a thorough description and analysis of the vault paintings.

<sup>36</sup> Daniela Marcu, “Biserica reformată de la Daia, Jud Harghita. Cercetări Arheologice” (The Protestant church from Daia, Harghita county. Archeological research), *Studii și cercetări de Istorie veche și Arheologie* 49 (1998): 157–179.

<sup>37</sup> According to László Dávid, the master-mark on the keystone of the church can be related to the late fifteenth-century master-marks of the parish churches of Nagyszeben (Sibiu) and Brassó (Braşov).

pictorial decoration of the chancel was begun. The wall painting preserved at the northeastern side of the chancel, identified by the researchers and restorers in 1991–1992 as a scene of the St Margaret legend, can be dated to the very end of the fifteenth century,<sup>38</sup> which means that it was completed just after the construction of the chancel. According to the surveys carried out in the nineties, no other wall-painting was ever on the walls of the chancel, although the plaster was prepared for it.<sup>39</sup> Mihály Jánó considered that the spread of the Reformation stopped the work. Although explanation is hard to give due to the lack of data, this seems rather improbable. The Reformation only reached this region around the fifteen-forties and in the meantime, shortly after the completion of the wall painting, the decoration of the vaulting was accomplished. The master of the vault decoration is obviously different from that of the wall-paintings.

The complete surface of the chancel vaulting is covered by a bright green vegetational decoration of a mixed *al secco* and *al fresco* technique. The ribs are ornamented with simple, pointed leaves of a rather low quality. Some of them are painted in brown and white, others have only a black contour and some shading. The edges of the ribs are painted green in one half of the vault, and brown in the other.

The vault-cells are all filled with a late-gothic foliage decoration. The swirling, looping, rolling stems and leaves resemble a jungle. The rank growth of the bright green, lush vegetation in front of dark brown, yellow, light or dark green backgrounds gives a fairly chaotic impression. Neither the flowers nor the leaves can be identified. Although most of the flowers resemble real ones—carnation, tulip, lily—they can not be clearly recognized. The type of late Gothic leaf used is the one known from fifteenth century German etchings, described in the art historical literature as “stylized acanthus”. The leaf ends, which usually roll back are mostly brown, differing from the otherwise green color of the leaf. Both the vegetation and the figures are drawn with strong, exact, black contours, having thin black shadings. All these details, just as the very accurate and proper use of the highlights throughout the whole decoration, characterize the high quality of the painting.

The first two cells (“a” and “b”<sup>40</sup>), are separated by a short additional rib going from the keystone towards the triumphal arch. A blue vase is the central

<sup>38</sup> Jánó, “A székelydályai templom,” 35.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>40</sup> The notation of the vault division is the one used by József Huszka on his aquarell copies from 1903. The aquarell copies are kept at the Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal (National Office for Monument Protection) in Budapest, and they helped a lot in the description of details of the vault-painting, which cannot be seen any more.

element of the field “*b*”, with its mouth towards field “*a*”. The flower (?) in the vase is cut by the rib that separates the two fields. The vase seems to be standing on a flower in the form of a plate. The remainder of the two cells is filled with vegetal elements on a faded brownish background. Each of the cells on the two sides of the two cross-ribs (fields *e*, *f*, *i*, *k*) contains two blazons on renaissance shields: one on the northern and one on the southern half of the field. On the northern side of cell *e* a shield with the three-towered entrance of a fortification can be seen on a red background. The entrance is rusticated and flanked by two loop-holes; the facade has a battlement and three round towers. The blazon can be identified as that of Segesvár (Sighișoara, Schässburg). (Fig. 3). The southern half of the field is decorated with the medieval Hungarian blazon with the gules and argent barry of eight (and not seven as it would be regularly) in a Renaissance shield. The vegetation surrounding the coats of arms grows out of two light green vases in front of a dark-brown background. (Fig. 4). Each is placed in the middle of the field, among a bunch of dark brown and green leaves, one turning towards the northern, the other towards the southern side.

In the middle of cell *f* a black flower with longish, curly blossoms and a yellow central seed seems to be the starting point of the leaves, winding in front of a yellow background. The northern shield is quartered, the white and red fields serve as background for a five-branched, open crown on a strong root. The coat of arms stands for the town of Brassó (Braşov, Kronstadt). (Fig. 3). The southern blazon of this cell again represents a five-branched open crown, between two swords that cross each other on a red background. The blazon can be identified with that of Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Hermannstadt). (Fig. 4).

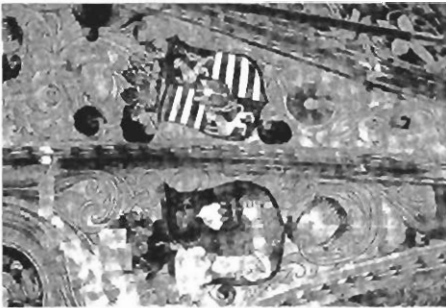
The center of cell *i* is a light green medallion filled with four little brush-like flowers on a dark background. The stems start out from this medallion-frame towards both the northern and the southern sides of the field. The northern coat of arms shows an armoured arm, holding a sword that stabs through a crown, a heart, and the head of a bear; the sword is flanked by a moon-sickle and a star. The blazon can be identified with the common coat of arms of the “Székely” community. (Fig. 5). The pendant of the Székely blazon is the one of the Saxons, which represents three white linden-leaves linked by their stalk. (Fig. 6). The surface under the blazon has the same brownish, red (priming) color as the background of the blazons and is merely filled with the white contours of the leaves; thus it gives the impression of being unfinished. The rest of the field, above the blazon, has a light green background of the same color as that of the leaves, which are thus only distinguishable by their black contours.



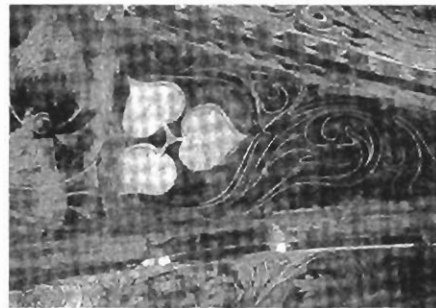
*Figure 3. Székelydálya.  
Blazon of Segesvár (Sighișoara)  
and of Brassó (Brașov).*



*Figure 4. Székelydálya.  
Blazon of Nagyszeben (Sibiu)  
and of the Arpadian Hungary.*



*Figure 5. Székelydálya.  
Blazon of the Székely community and  
Jagellonian coats of arms (Cell i and k).*



*Figure 6. Székelydálya.  
Blazon of the Saxon community  
(Cell i).*

The last cell of the vaulting that contains heraldic representations has no clear central starting point, as the previous ones had. However, a dark flower seems to indicate the center of the field. The northern blazon can be identified with that of the Jagellonians, its shield being quartered, the first and the fourth quarters showing the barry of seven, the other two representing the two-tailed,

crowned, Bohemian lions standing on their back legs. In the inescutcheon an eagle is shown. An open crown above the shield closes the blazon. (Fig. 5). The southern pendant of the Jagellonian coat of arms is that of the vice-voivode Lénárd Barlabássy (1501–1526). The blazon represents an ox-head with a star and a moon-sickle between its horns. (Fig. 7).

Cell *l* has a very dark background in front of which the leaves incorporate two masks. One of them is frontally represented, but it looks towards the west, giving the impression that it is not completely frontal. The round face has its mouth open and two strong stems grow out of it, while out of the ears two leaves grow, curling above his head like the cap of a jester. The mask has long hair in tresses, with a woven wreath on its forehead. The neck cannot be seen: two wings replace the shoulders. The other mask is placed above the already-described one, on a leaf growing out of a stem. The profile represented has a mustache and a beard and wears a woven wreath on its forehead, just like the previous one. (Fig. 8).

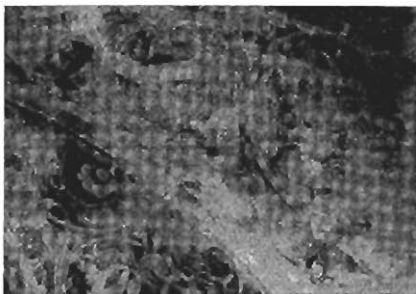


Figure 7. Székegyháza.  
Blazon of Lénárd Barlabássy (Cell k).



Figure 8. Székegyháza.  
Masks (Cell l).

At the very bottom of cell *m*, in front of a yellow background, a man steps upwards, trying to pull himself up by grasping a stem. (Fig. 9). He is wearing a broad-rimmed hat, the brim of which is bent up. As he steps, his wide gown has ridden up over his knee and his shoulders are covered with a blue shawl, which hangs down along his stretched arm, fixed to a dark brown wristband. The face and the dress are quite damaged, thus the characteristics of the figure can hardly be seen. The stem grasped by the man ends in a flower. In the calyx of the flower a tiny female figure is standing. (Fig. 9). The woman is of incomparably smaller size than the man at the bottom of the field. She wears a black dress and her head is bound with a white bonnet. In her right hand a spool can be observed; the thread is going over from one hand to the other.



*Figure 9. Székelydálya.  
Man with hat and spinning woman (Cell m).*



*Figure 10. Székelydálya.  
Figure of a Turk (Cell n).*

At the bottom of cell *n*, a huge figure of a Turk can be observed. (Fig. 10). His turban has slipped sideways, his face has been destroyed, only some remains of his mustache and his beard are recognizable. His light green caftan has an unbuttoned mustard-yellow cloak. A loose, coiled brownish belt surrounds him, winding also on his hands. His caftan pleats on his arm and between his feet, as he leans forward grasping with his left hand a stem that crosses his path. His right hand cannot be seen any more, however, the direction of his arm suggests that it also grasps the stem, trying to either cut it or tear it out. He wears blue boots with a narrow white edge around the high, pointed boot-leg. The remaining fields are missing this kind of figurative elements, they are merely covered by an overwhelming foliage.

The artistic quality of the vault decoration can be compared to the best European paintings of this kind. The fact that it belongs to the very characteristic feature of green chamber decorations need not be proven, although the figurative level of green chamber iconography is missing in this case. This would not be the single example, when the vegetation transforms earlier figurative paintings into a level of the green chamber iconography,<sup>41</sup> but at Székelydálya (Daia Secuiască) the biblical cycle on the walls was never finished and thus the three levels of a green chamber decoration were never accomplished.

The presence of the other two levels, the “inhabited” vegetation and the heraldic symbols, makes it clear, however, that we have to deal with the—probably—easternmost example of green chamber decoration. Heraldic programs on buildings, altars, stoves or other pieces of art became especially characteristic in the Hungarian regions in the period of King Matthias and the tradition went on in the period of the Jagellonian kings as well. The message, the

---

<sup>41</sup> See the case of Banská Bystrica presented above.

meaning of all these programs, gave the specialists a great deal to think about, some of them possible to explain, and some of them still representing a problem.<sup>42</sup> There are several famous examples of such heraldic programs, including the seventeen blazons on the three doors of the sacrament-house in the St Elisabeth church in Kassa (Košice) (1469–70) and the twenty-three coats of arms on the vault of the St Martin-church in Eperjes (Prešov) (dated by to inscriptions: 1476, 1487). The so-called Hunyadi-loggia of the Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara, Romania) castle and its heraldic decoration can be dated to around 1480, while the largest heraldic program of this period in Hungary was on the Visegrád Oriel (1477–1483). The last two are part of the personal representation of the king, symbolizing at the same time the whole country by the presence of the blazons of the regions and of the aristocracy. The series from Kassa (Košice) stands for a certain constellation of the internal politics of the kingdom. In Eperjes (Prešov) the vault has been decorated with the coats of arms of the members of aristocracy, nobles, and burghers who contributed to the construction of the chancel.<sup>43</sup> The meanings of the heraldic decoration on the Lászay chapel from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), that on the vaulting of the parish church from Megyes (Mediaș) or from Vingárd (Vingard) are still unknown.

The heraldic program of the vaulting from Székelydála (Daia Secuiscă) belongs to the enigmatic ones and unfortunately due to the complete lack of historical sources it is almost impossible to explain it. As mentioned previously, the eight coats of arms on the vault-cells can be identified with those of: Segesvár (Sighișoara), Brassó (Brașov), the Székely community, King Wladisław Jagello, Lénárd Barlabássy, the Saxon community, Nagyszeben (Sibiu), and the medieval Hungarian blazon with the barry of eight. As for the identification of the coats of arms, specialists have agreed so far on the identification of most of the blazons, with the exception of the Saxon one. Dénes Radocsay has identified the blazon showing the three linden-leaves with that of the village Rozsnyó (Rasnov)<sup>44</sup>—which is improbable, while László Dávid simply

<sup>42</sup> Gergely Buzás – Pál Lővei, “A visegrádi királyi palota Mátyás-címeres kályhája.” (The oven with King Matthias’s blazon from the Visegrád Royal Castle), In *Horler Miklós hetvenedik születésnapjára*. (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993), 206; Pál Lővei, “A Letters Patent Carved in Stone: The Visegrád Oriel,” *The Hungarian Quarterly* 35 (1994): 110–118; Ernő Marosi, “Tanulmányok a kassai Szent Erzsébet templom középkori építéstörténetéhez” (Studies on the medieval history of architecture of the St Elisabeth church from Košice), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 18 (1969): 1–45.

<sup>43</sup> Buzás-Lővei, “A visegrádi,” 207.

<sup>44</sup> Dénes Radocsay, *Falképek*, 164.



considered the blazon as unidentified.<sup>45</sup> Examining the coats of arms of the period, the identification of this blazon with that of the Saxon community<sup>46</sup> seems to be the only acceptable solution, in spite of the size of the leaves, much larger than usually on the Saxon blazon, and in spite of the missing heraldic crown.<sup>47</sup> Taking into consideration the presence of the coats of arms of three Saxon towns and of the Székely community's blazon on the vault, the blazon with the three linden leaves seems to fit into the program. However the presence of the Saxon-related coats of arms is fairly strange in the parish church of a village belonging to the most important Székely-seats. Having almost no historical information on the village, the church, or the circumstances under which the vault-paintings were accomplished, it is not possible to explain this feature. The good relations and collaboration between the two communities in this period are well-known, since the very first agreement, the "*Unio trium nationum*," came into being in 1437. This agreement on mutual help between the Hungarian nobility, the Székelys, and the Saxons was renewed on several occasions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>48</sup> We also have to take into consideration the fact that Székelydálya (Daia Secuiască) lies very near to the Saxon territories, the closest Saxon village, Homoróddaróc (Draas, Drăușeni), being only 6 kilometers away. On the other hand, the royal charters of the period show increasing freedom and privileges accorded to the Saxons (by King Matthias, followed by Wladislav), while the Székelys lost a large number of their social privileges in this period. Thus, the presence of Saxon blazons in a Székely village which lies in the borderland between the Saxon and the Székely territory could be understood as an attempt to show connections to the Saxons. The depiction of the blazons of the three Saxon towns could also have some more concrete reason related to the construction of the chancel and/or the vault-paintings, but these are unknown at the present stage of research. However, we also have to mention the fact that Saxon influence in the

---

<sup>45</sup> Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék*, 263.

<sup>46</sup> The Saxon community, the so-called *Universitas Saxonum* was, just as the Székely one, an autonomous, privileged region. Being settled by King Andrew II of Hungary in 1224, the Saxons gathered a famous wealth, the source of which was mainly long-distance trade. They were also in the military service of the king, but in a different way from that of the Székelys, as they only had to offer a group of soldiers, of 500. Another feature that differentiated them from the Székely community was that they were not exempted from all the taxes.

<sup>47</sup> Géza Csergheő, *Der Adel von Siebenbürgen* (Johann Siebmacher's grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch) (Nuremberg: Bauer und Raspe, 1898).

<sup>48</sup> 1490, 1492, 1506. In 1506 Székelys and Saxons even founded a common lawcourt. See Szádeczky-Kardoss, *A székely nemzet*, 101.

art of a Székely village is not a unique feature; in the case of the parish church of the nearby village of Székelyderzs (Dârjiu), Saxon architectural features have been identified by the art historians. The problem of Saxon and Székely collaboration in art pieces is known to researchers, but has not been solved in most of the cases yet.

The presence of the rest of the blazons is much less surprising: the Székely blazon as expression of political identity, the Jagellonian and the Barlabássy blazon are a representation of the recognized political power. The two blazons of King Władysław Jagello (1490–1516) and of Lénárd Barlabássy, vice-voivode of Transylvania (1501–1526), give us the possibility of dating the paintings to the first decades of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the absence of the coats of arms of the voivode is worth mentioning. The Székely community recognized first of all the power of the King of Hungary, serving him as personally free frontier-soldiers. Second, they recognized the power of the vice-voivode, which can be explained by the fact that from 1461 onwards the vice-voivode of Transylvania also bears the function of bailiff of the Székelys (Székely *ispán*).<sup>49</sup>

The heraldic program is symmetrically constructed: the easternmost pair of blazons being the two representing the royal power, the next pair representing the two communities, while the two western cells contain the town-blazons and that of medieval Hungary. The presence of the last one in addition to the heraldic representation of the actual king is not unique (for example also found at Visegrád). The painter makes in this way the difference between Kingdom and King. While in the time of the Arpadians, when the blazon with the barry of eight came into use, the two meant one and the same thing, after the dying out of the Arpadian Dynasty (1301) the situation was much different. While the kingdom was stable, kings and dynasties alternated with each other. The presence of both the Arpadian blazon of Hungary and the Jagellonian one might be interpreted as a reflection of this situation. However, the use of the coats of arms with the barry of eight might also fit into the need for symmetry of the master as regards the arrangement of the blazons. Thus, the heraldic program of the vaulting is a good reflection of the social and historical situation of the Székely community in this period and in a way it probably also reflects the circumstances under which the decoration was accomplished, but this assumption cannot be proved in the lack of historical data.

---

<sup>49</sup> Even previously, as the voivode had to deal with the problems of entire Transylvania, it was mostly the vice-voivode who was in charge of the special problems of the Székelys. From this date on, they were also officially recognized as *comes Siculorum*.

The whole vault-painting contains figurative representations in only three of its cells: *l*, *m* and *n*. The Turk depicted in cell *n* is very much drawn to life. His clothing corresponds perfectly to Turkish wear of the period. Above the long and wide caftan Turks usually wore a belt made of a long, woven scarf. Turkish boots of the period were made of two pieces of colored leather (blue and white in our case), the leather being sewn together in the back where the boots reached the calf of the man, while in front the boot-leg was pointed and reached the knees. The Hungarian (and the Transylvanian) population in this period was perfectly aware of the characteristics of Turkish clothing, especially that by this time Hungarian wear could only be distinguished from the Turkish one due to the lack of the turban, which was in the Hungarian case substituted with a high hat.<sup>50</sup> Thus the representation on the vaulting is a very exact one, showing even details such as the twirled moustache and the pointed whiskers (these being details on the face that are still visible to a certain extent) or the thoroughly represented “agitated pleats”. In comparison to the rest of the figure the left hand is very superficially drawn (repainted?), while the right hand cannot be seen at all. However the nature of the Turk’s motion makes us believe that he is shown as cutting or tearing out the stem he is grasping with his left hand. The missing details fit perfectly into the space of the cell, thus this representation does not give any answers to the question of whether the decoration was continued on the spandrel or not. The first natural reaction of the spectator when seeing a Turk on the vault of a parish church is probably that it must have some kind of a negative connotation. However, the representation does not clearly express any negative characteristics, the only thing that could be interpreted as such is the fact that the face is destroyed. Besides, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the figure of a Turk might not be clearly negative in the perception of common people. The art of the period does represent Turks—not so much in the sense of an enemy—much more as an “exotic” feature. It was fairly common to depict Turks on scenes of the Crucifixion in the Middle Ages, (the figure of Longinus, the centurion, or Pilate), which can be explained by the fact that Jerusalem has been in Turkish hands since 1187.<sup>51</sup> The most well-known representation of this kind in Hungarian art is on the Crucifixion of Master M.S.

<sup>50</sup> József Höllrigl, “Magyar és törökös viseletformák a XVI–XVII. században” (Hungarian and Turkish wears in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries), in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*. Vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940), 364.

<sup>51</sup> Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet* (Take the sword against the pagan. Turkish wars and fine arts) (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó, 1986), 11.

The man climbing up the rib in cell *m*, with the help of a stem which he grasps, wears a dress that makes it hard for us to decide which social class he belongs to. He could be a peasant or a craftsman, but by no means can he belong to the upper class. The woman standing in the blossom of the flower somewhat above the man is a married woman, as her bonnet makes it clear. She is busy with spinning. Throughout the Middle Ages, we can find representations of spinning women as allusion to their domestic virtues. However, the first and most common representation of spinning is that depicting Adam's and Eve's punishment after their expulsion from the Paradise. Adam is regularly represented digging or hoeing, while Eve is spinning near to him. There are also depictions of Maria with the spindle, either on Annunciation scenes as an allusion to the fact that she, as a virgin of the church of Jerusalem, was spinning purple wool for the curtain of the church or on other scenes as allusion to her domestic virtues. In the case of the vault painting from Székelydálya (Daia Secuiască), the woman spinning with the distaff in her left hand and the spindle in her right, seems only to represent the normal daily occupation of a housewife. The placement of the little figure into the blossom of a flower leads our thoughts to the traditional Tree of Jesse representations of the Middle Ages, where the kings, descendants of David, are represented as half figures standing in or on flower-blossoms. The same type of representation is taken over on several genealogical trees in the Middle Ages. Both the representation of the man and of the woman, their dress, and their characteristics can be paralleled to German pictorial sources.

The two masks shown in cell *l* unavoidably remind us of the grotesque representations of the Renaissance period. However, masks and several grotesque-like representations with leaves or flowers growing out of their mouths or ears are not rare in the Gothic period either. The mask represented in profile has an analogy in the green room of the castle of Árva (Orava): Dénes Rexa mentions a human head represented in profile as the closing motif of a stem. He evaluates the motif as being characteristic for the Renaissance.<sup>52</sup>

The "inhabitants" of the vegetation of green room decorations, the living creatures, human beings, animals or grotesque fantasy figures living in the space created by the vegetation are the most informal and the most imaginative part of green room decoration. They might have not been a part of the order of the sponsor, but may be a result of the choice of the artist. Just as in the edge-decorations of manuscripts, the space of the leaves and stems creates the possibility for the artist to work somewhat more independently, although he still

---

<sup>52</sup> Dénes Rexa, *Az árvai vár falképzei* (The wall paintings of the Orava castle), (Székesfehérvár, 1912).

had to submit himself to certain canons. The vegetation, the leaf and flower types that cover the whole vault, can be compared to the best quality etchings of this kind and the best quality green chambers of the period. The leaves having determined black contours, shadings resembling those known from the etchings and well-placed highlights make us believe that the artist of the vault-paintings was not one of the many provincial artists of Transylvania, but a much more learned one. The use of the different colors for the backgrounds seems to be conscious, creating thus several effects. The yellow, the black, and especially the dark green background give the impression of a certain perspective, of deepness, of space. By the use of light green for both the leaves and the background the artist creates the illusion of everything being covered by the vegetation.<sup>53</sup> The "horror vacui" is characteristic of the entire decoration.

### **Conclusion: Sacred or Profane?**

The use of a decorative program with so many profane connotations, such as the green chamber decoration, raises the question of how it could be accepted as the ornamentation of a sacred space. Generally, as we have seen, the origin of green chamber decoration comes indeed from a profane environment. However, it quickly became so fashionable that it spread from castles to town halls and town houses. It also overtook spaces and buildings which could be considered in this situation as passageways between the profane and sacred: refectories of monasteries, chapels of castles, and so on. Is the pattern in the sixteenth century already so widely spread that it can take over any kinds of spaces as just the filling of a surface or does it go through a certain change of meaning?

As already mentioned, the fifteenth century is the period when vault ribs lose their supporting role and become decorative, being transformed into branches or stems. Vaults are covered with painted tracery and carved or painted vegetal ornaments, architectural details are transformed into vegetation. The new late Gothic perception of nature shows itself in the sacred spaces just as in profane ones all over Europe.<sup>54</sup> All this contributes to an essential change in

---

<sup>53</sup> This is the classical coloring of the green rooms as described by Edmund Theil in the case of Reifenstein. The artist first covers the whole surface with green paint (which, according to him, is blue in the moment of the painting, and only turns green with time), drawing the vegetation with black contours afterwards on the background. See Edmund Theil, 11.

<sup>54</sup> See a long list of examples of churches with this type of vaulting and decoration and also their analysis in Joachim Bchner and his footnote 57; Lottlisa Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt der mittelalterlichen Kathedralen*. (Cologne-Graz: Bhlau Verlag, 1964); and Oettinger, "Laube, Garten und Wald".

the meaning, in the importance of the church building. The space of the church was until this point a symbol of the heavenly town, of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup> From the fifteenth century onwards the meaning of the church space changes from Heavenly Town into Heavenly Garden. This new meaning would reach its summit around the year 1490;<sup>56</sup> "Der Raum der Göttlichen zeigt sich jetzt als Naturraum," as Margot Braun-Reichenbacher states.<sup>57</sup> The arbour (*die Laube*) turns up in the sacred space and becomes under these circumstances—as a fusion between architectural and garden-forms—a symbol of Paradise.<sup>58</sup> The notion of the "Heilige Ranke" comes into being and becomes characteristic. In certain cases only the vegetation gives the new character of the building, but in other cases several representations (figures of angels, Tree of Jesse representations, saints) make the meaning of the space more understandable for common people.<sup>59</sup> As Karl Oettinger describes it, "es ist die Darstellung des himmlischen Paradieses im wirklichen Raum, in durchschreitbarer Körperlichkeit, in Menschengröße."<sup>60</sup>

In the case of the vault of Székelydála (Daia Secuiască) we presumably have to deal with the result of many processes acting in parallel. The green chamber type of decoration is already very fashionable in the period when it reaches the village of Székelydála (Daia Secuiască) at the beginning of the sixteenth century. By this time the decoration had probably lost its original meaning of a reflection of the late medieval knightly life and become a mere fashion, the well-known "grün in grün vegetabile Wandmalerei". Thus, in a period when both green room decoration and the illusionistic ornamentation of the vaults have become an overwhelming tradition, the paintings of the vault from Székelydála (Daia Secuiască) can be interpreted as the result. The wish of the sponsor to have such a green-monochrome decoration in the church could be accepted in a sacred space as a form of the late Gothic illusionistic vaults. At

---

<sup>55</sup> "der Kirchenbau ist nun ein Typus und Sinnbild der Himmelstadt, des Reiches Gottes" Günther Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*. (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1951), 62.

<sup>56</sup> Oettinger, "Laube, Garten und Wald," 225.

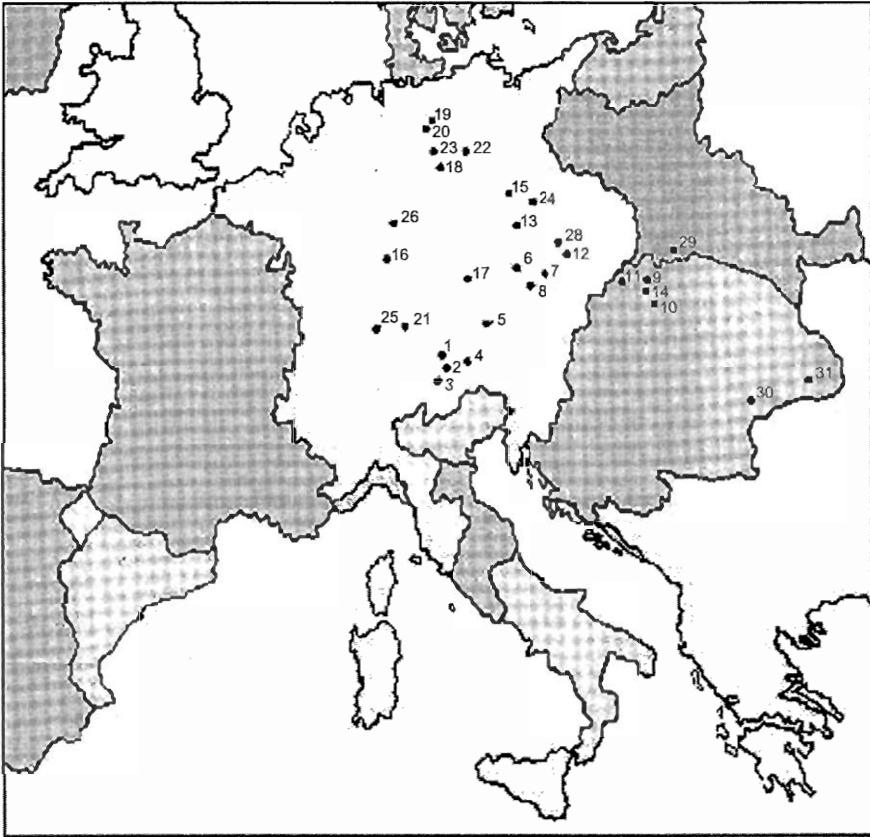
<sup>57</sup> The divine space appears now as a space in Nature. Braun-Reichenbacher, "Höhepunkt," 65.

<sup>58</sup> Wolff, 245.

<sup>59</sup> Joachim Büchner, "Ast-, Laub und Masswerkgewölbe der endenden Spätgotik," in *Festschrift für K. Oettinger zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Hans Sedlmayr and Wilhelm Messerer, (Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1967), 278.

<sup>60</sup> It is the representation of heavenly Paradise in the space of reality, in the scale of materiality, in human dimension. Oettinger, "Laube, Garten und Wald," 218.

the same time, although the sponsor or the artist might not have had the concrete intention of representing the Heavenly Garden here, it was probably inevitable for the common people not to think of Paradise at the sight of such decoration in the sanctuary of their parish church. Thus, the iconography of green chambers has been adapted in this little church from the architectural, ecclesiastical and social trends of the period.



**I. Map of Europe with the distribution of the green chambers.**

1. Reifenstein, 2. Planta, 3. Rapottenstein, 4. Kriebstein, 5. Salzburg, 6. Blatná, 7. Žirovnice, 8. Zvíkov, 9. Orava, 10. Zvolen, 11. Beckov, 12. Švihov, 13. Houska, 14. Banská Bystrica, 15. Meissen, 16. Bad Wimpfen, 17. Regensburg, 18. Goslar, 19. Lüneburg, 20. Lüne, 21. Isny, 22. Zieasar, 23. Magdeburg, 24. Zittau, 25. Konstanz, 26. Mühlheim, 27. Gerlikon, 28. Kutná Hora, 29. Debno, 30. Hunedoara, 31. Daia Secuiască.

# SLIMNIC CASTLE AND ITS POSITION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA<sup>1</sup>

Monica Neacșu 

Medieval castles and fortified churches are a topic of great current attention by scholars. In Transylvania, in particular, there is a great number of sources that have not yet been studied in detail, which offer many opportunities for original research. The investigation of a castle about which scholars have expressed different opinions, but which has not been studied in detail can facilitate our understanding of the construction of castles and fortified churches in this area during the Middle Ages.

Military architecture in Transylvania presents a complex picture, characterized by the dynamic co-existence of castles, community fortifications, fortified churches, and other types of defense architecture. Therefore, the development of Slimnic castle is a case worthy of a detailed examination. The purpose of this article is to reconstruct the different phases of construction of Slimnic castle, and to reach a conclusion concerning its possible functions.

The method that I have used for dating Slimnic castle is based on the interdisciplinary analysis of different sources. An analysis of the castle itself in written sources and a comparison with similar castles has helped me to establish both a relative and an absolute chronology of the different parts of this castle, and to determine the place of Slimnic castle in the military architecture of medieval Transylvania.

## A Critical Review of Previous Research

Scholars from different fields have written about Slimnic castle in the wider context of military architecture in Transylvania. Although Slimnic castle is mentioned in various publications, there is no agreement about the possible functions of this castle, its dating, who the builders were, and which parts of the

---

<sup>1</sup> The article is based on my M.A. thesis defended at the Department of Medieval Studies of Central European University, in June 1999. I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. József Laszlovszky, for his valuable advice and for the time spent on my work, Dr. Hermann Fabini, for his comments, Arch. Heidrun König, for all the help given with my research into material at the Landeskonsistoriums der evangelischen Kirche A.B. of Sibiu.



buildings are original and which are later alterations. Most publications about Slimnic have started by pointing out that there are many uncertainties concerning this building.

Slimnic has been mentioned in works about medieval Transylvanian fortifications from the second half of the nineteenth century. The first scholarly article was published by the architect Walter Horwath in 1940.<sup>2</sup> His view of Slimnic castle was that it was a fortified church rather than a royal castle with a palace in the middle.<sup>3</sup> He published a plan of the castle and the western façade – unfortunately, in a drawing with no scale. He also illustrated his hypothetical reconstruction of the church-type building, called the basilica in the literature, with an east-west section.<sup>4</sup>

Both Slimnic castle and the parish church of Slimnic have been analyzed by later twentieth-century scholars from various points of view. Gheorghe Curinschi mentions Slimnic castle in the wider context of Transylvanian architecture.<sup>5</sup> His opinion was that Slimnic castle functioned as a fortification for refuge. Curinschi's book includes the hypothesis that Slimnic castle was built with Sibiu's help in the fourteenth century, although he does not provide any supporting data.<sup>6</sup>

Virgil Vătășianu devoted more attention to the description of Slimnic castle and parish church, but he points out that archaeological research should be undertaken.<sup>7</sup> His study of Slimnic castle is based mainly on an analysis of its architectural elements and details and building materials employed, in order to date different parts of the castle. Considering the materials of the basilica (stone and brick), its massiveness and heaviness, and the shape and dimensions of the windows, he argues that it is an early Gothic building.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Walter Horwath, *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kirchenburgen* (Hermannstadt: Honterus, 1940), 97–101.

<sup>3</sup> “dass wir es hier zweifellos mit einer Kirchenburg zu tun haben. Somit müssen wir die Ansicht Halaváts', dass die Stolzenburg eine königliche Burg mit einem Palastbau in der Mitte wäre, unbedingt fallen lassen.” Horwath, *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kirchenburgen*, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Horwath, *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kirchenburgen*, 99.

<sup>5</sup> Gheorghe Vorona Curinschi, *Istoria arhitecturii în România* (History of Architecture in Romania) (Bucharest: Editura tehnică, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> Curinschi, *Istoria arhitecturii în România*, 110–1, 113.

<sup>7</sup> Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* (The history of feudal art in the Romanian Principalities), vol.1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romane, 1959).

<sup>8</sup> Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 280.

In his book *The Medieval Defense Architecture of Romania*, Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu suggests that Slimnic castle was probably once a monastery.<sup>9</sup> In his interpretation, the fact that a church is situated on one side of the surrounding wall with a tower and a chapel on the opposite side (the usual organization of Latin monasteries from that time), support this hypothesis.<sup>10</sup>

Iuliana Fabritius Dancu dates the first courtyard of Slimnic castle on the basis of an etymological transformation from Stolzenberg (1309) to Stolzenburg (1409).<sup>11</sup> She published a plan, in which the suggested periods of construction of the castle are similar to those proposed by Walter Horwath.<sup>12</sup>

Géza Entz presents an interesting approach to the interpretation of Slimnic castle and the parish church in the village. In his work on Transylvanian architecture from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, he places Slimnic in the wider context of similar fortifications.<sup>13</sup> He also takes into consideration documents that are connected with those other castles. According to his work, Slimnic castle was built around the middle of the fifteenth century and its function was to protect the people from the village against Ottoman invasions.<sup>14</sup>

Slimnic castle, the parish church, and the village are discussed in another recent scholarly work by Hermann Fabini on fortified churches.<sup>15</sup> This is a systematic catalogue where castles and fortified churches are studied in great detail, providing a useful source for discovering parallels between castles. The book mentions different documents about Slimnic and also refers to the secondary literature on this subject from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Fabini establishes a chronology of Slimnic

<sup>9</sup> Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu, *Arhitectura medievală de apărare* (Medieval defence architecture) (Bucharest: Editura tehnică, 1985), 170.

<sup>10</sup> "Slimnic castle is an initial monastic ensemble, eventually unfinished, with a classical organisation as Cîrta and all the Catholic monasteries known from that period. The main building, the church, was situated on a side of the surrounding wall; in Slimnic the opposite side had a tower and a chapel. The rectangular plan of this area, the place and the dimensions of the church are the arguments." Gheorghiu, *Arhitectura medievală de apărare*, 170.

<sup>11</sup> Iuliana Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania* (Saxon peasant fortifications in Transylvania) (Bucharest: Neuer Weg, 1980).

<sup>12</sup> Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Entz Géza, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században* (The architecture of Transylvania in the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 1996), 467.

<sup>14</sup> Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 131.

<sup>15</sup> Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen* (Hermannstadt: Monumenta Verlag Hermannstadt and Heidelberg: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1998), 712–6.

castle, the parish church, and the village, but leaves their interpretation open. Nonetheless, this is the most detailed work ever written concerning Slimnic castle, containing a description with references to primary sources and secondary literature.

The following articles are not scholarly studies, but more general publications for a lay readership. An article by Sebastian Stanca on the history of Slimnic castle was published in 1945 in one of Sibiu's local newspapers, including a hypothesis according to which the castle church was built around 1350.<sup>16</sup> Sorin Postolache, in a cultural review in the 1970s, presented a short history and also a brief description of the castle in order to point out its need of restoration.<sup>17</sup>

### **Military Architecture in Medieval Transylvania**

The different types of fortifications that emerged in medieval Transylvania are of great importance for dating Slimnic castle, and for the interpretation of its function and position in the military architecture of its time. An analogy between Slimnic and other castles will be used to suggest possible scenarios for the evolution of this building.

Research undertaken in the fields of history and the history of architecture has shown that the needs of defense determined different architectural solutions. This can be seen in the details, in the general concept and techniques of construction, and in urban development. A shape, a certain dimension, an open or closed spatial organization were not random occurrences, but were responses to certain needs.<sup>18</sup>

The castle-builders belonged to different social strata: the royal family, the aristocracy and the local community. Therefore, different types of fortifications emerged: royal castles, noblemen's castles and residences, fortified churches (monasteries, or community fortifications), and town fortifications.<sup>19</sup> While royal and noble castles also fulfilled the functions of providing residence and demonstrating prestige, the defense architecture of the community first and foremost functioned as protection.

---

<sup>16</sup> Sebastian Stanca, "Slimnicul sau: Falnica Cetate" (Slimnic or the great castle), *Foaia Poporului* 43/1945: 1–4.

<sup>17</sup> Sorin Postolache, "SOS Monumentele" (SOS the monuments), *Flacăra* 43/1978: 19.

<sup>18</sup> Gheorghiu, *Arhitectura medievală de apărare din România*, 39–40.

<sup>19</sup> Radu Heitel, "În legătură cu unele probleme ale arheologiei cetăților de piatră, medievale, din Transilvania" (Some archaeological problems of the medieval stone fortifications in Transylvania), *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* 2 (1970): 26–9.

The transformations of the fortifications over time were strongly linked to the evolution of the techniques of attack and defense.<sup>20</sup> This evolution had a strong impact on the form of the precinct, the dimensions of the walls, and the materials of construction. At the same time, especially in Transylvania, the defense function was included in architectural programs of dwellings, churches, schools, and monasteries.

Two main phases of the evolution of military architecture can be identified in Transylvania. The first runs from the thirteenth century, or even before, to the first decades of the fifteenth century, when guns appeared. The later phase can be dated from the middle of the fifteenth until the eighteenth century, based on the Vauban angular plan.<sup>21</sup> However, some elements of architectural styles not related to fortification are also found in castles. Gothic features first appear in Transylvania in the thirteenth century. Characteristic elements of Gothic architecture can be seen in the structure of the vaults and also in the decoration of the window and door frames. At the same time, Romanesque elements were still present. The Gothic style was predominant in Transylvania from the second half of the fourteenth century and remained so till the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>22</sup> The different architectural constructions meant for defense, royal castles, feudal castles, community fortifications and town fortifications appeared gradually between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth, when the Ottoman incursions started.

Between the middle of the sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth century, Transylvania was transformed into a principality. The buildings were influenced by Italian, Central European, and Ottoman military architecture. Artillery was being developed and the old castles were being adapted to the new military techniques.

### Sources on Slimnic Castle

In my investigation, Slimnic castle itself is used as the main source. The interpretation of this castle is based on a detailed survey, involving measurements, photographs, and drawings, in order to record different architectural features, forms, materials, and dimensions. In this process, different materials of construction were noted and the various dimensions of bricks and mortar recorded.

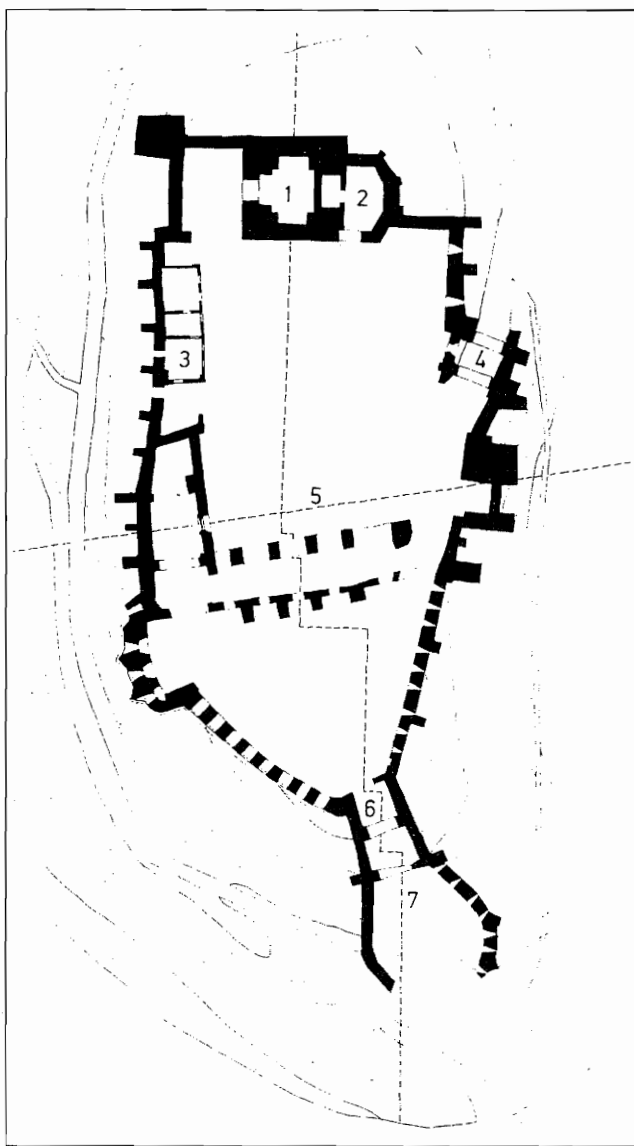
---

<sup>20</sup> Georghe Vorona Curinschi, *Arhitectură Urbanism Restaurare* (Architecture, Urbanism, Restoration) (Bucharest: Editura Tehnică, 1995), 159.

<sup>21</sup> Heitel, "În legătură," 25.

<sup>22</sup> Curinschi, *Istoria arhitecturii în România*, 126.

However, the complete analysis of this castle would require a more detailed investigation, including architectural, archaeological, and natural science analyses.



*Fig. 1. Slimnic castle and its access route. Reprinted from: Hermann Fabini, "Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen," Hermannstadt: Monumenta Verlag, 1999, 713.*

The plans of Slimnic castle that I used for the analysis were those which corresponded best to the present situation (*Fig. 1*). One was taken from the published material and the other was an unpublished one in the Department of Historical Monuments in Bucharest. The plans were examined, and compared to the actual state of the castle. Elevations were made on the basis of Hermann Fabini's drawings<sup>23</sup> and my own photographs and drawings. In the Department of Historical Monuments in Bucharest, I found important information concerning the partial restoration of Slimnic castle that was made in 1959, plus the site plan and drawings of the part which was restored.

The written sources refer mainly to Slimnic village and its relations with the surrounding villages. Only a few charters could be interpreted with reference to both Slimnic castle itself and the parish church. I have used mainly published sources, but also unpublished material from the State Archives in Sibiu. No archaeological research has been carried out at Slimnic castle.

## Description

Slimnic castle, some time ago an imposing fortification, is now a picturesque ruin. It is situated seventeen kilometers north of Sibiu, on the Sibiu – Mediaş road, in the southern part of Transylvania, Romania. The castle is almost impregnable, situated on a rocky hill of about 500m in the vicinity of Slimnic village, on the southeastern side of the Slimnic River. The castle is accessible by a road that starts from the village and encircles the fortification. The building stones have no regular shape; both river stone and quarried stone were used. The other building material is brick of different types.

The dimensions of this fortification are among the most impressive in the region (see Comparisons and Analogies, below), making it possible to lodge many people and their belongings there. The castle has a length of 107 meters from north to south and a width of 33 meters from east to west. In the central part of the castle is a building whose dimensions are also impressive: 26x33 metres.

The castle has an irregular plan. A building of trapezoid shape, oriented east-west, divides the precinct into two courts: the northern one has a rectangular shape and the southern one is triangular. The northern wing has two square towers of different dimensions, which are still visible. The ground floor of the northern tower has walls three to four meters thick, and on each side pointed archivaults can be seen. Here there are traces of a cross-ribbed vault. The ground floor and the upper levels of the tower had wooden ceilings. On

---

<sup>23</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 713–4.

each wall there are ogee windows on the upper level. The same type of windows can be observed on the lower level, but only on the southern side of the tower. The base of this tower is a square with sides of 10 meters and walls three to four meters thick.

On the eastern side of the tower, on the ground floor, there is a polygonal area where brick walls are still preserved and there are traces of a vault with penetrations. The entrance into the polygonal space is through a rounded arch. On the eastern wall of the northern tower there is an ogee arch made of bricks measuring 300x(150–180)x60 mm. This has been walled up with bricks of 280x140x50 mm (Fig. 2). An entrance through a basket handle arch into a room at the bottom of the tower can still be observed. This entrance is also connected to the polygonal area. The bricks used here measure 300x(135–140)x60 mm and the mortar is 15–20 mm thick. On the upper part of the walls there is a row of large loopholes.



*Fig. 2. The eastern side of the northern tower. The Gothic arch is bricked up and a basement room has been created inside the wall itself.*



*Fig. 3. The south-eastern interior corner of the basilica. Superimposing of the different periods in the openings in the southern exterior wall.*

In the northwestern part of the castle is another rectangular tower. The walls of this tower incorporate different loopholes. The holes of the upper levels are tall and narrow, the ones on the level below are wider. They have a rectangular shape and are narrower on the interior side of the tower. This tower has

a separate entrance on each level. On the northern side of the exterior wall, the coat of arms of Slimnic village can be observed. This is still visible thanks to the restoration that was carried out here in 1959.

The walls of the northern part of the castle, now in ruins, are parts of the precinct wall. The wall that connects the northern tower with the northwestern one has the same type of openings as the upper floor of the northwestern tower. From small openings on the outside of the precinct wall, the openings fan out into larger ones, which are divided into two or three channels on the inside. The precinct wall, which is connected with the wall of the polygonal space, also has large loopholes in it. The bricks in this part of the precinct measure (280–300)x(145–150)x60 mm. The mortar is 20–25 mm thick.

The interior wall of the polygonal space and the wall which runs from this space to the eastern part of the rectangular precinct have three to four rows of small holes in them. Almost all the walls in the northern part of the castle have a lower part of stone and an upper part of brick. The stone tier reaches its maximum height in the northern tower.

The central building, oriented east-west and divided into three parts, will be called the basilica because its spatial organization corresponds to that of a basilica. The plan of the basilica is not a rectangle, but a trapezoid. This building is the most interesting element in Slimnic castle. The building is now in ruins; its exterior walls are extant on the southern, eastern, and western sides. To the west there are double walls. Other visible interior parts are the strong superimposed arches, which separate the central nave from the lateral south nave.

The only remains of the interior are parts of the southern lateral aisle (*Fig. 5*). The first four pillars (from west to east) are joined to the western interior wall, and among them there are two rows of Gothic arches that form the ground floor and the stand. In the interior of the main nave there are pillars with blunted edges, on the level of the first floor they are set back, making room for pilasters. The last two pillars to the east are connected by only one arch, so the last two bays of the south lateral nave do not have a stand. The pillars are connected to the wall of the lateral nave through archivaults, and there are other archivaults over the main nave. Different types of holes and openings can be seen in the walls and the pillars of the basilica. The openings have undergone diverse transformations over time. There are bricked-up openings of a Gothic appearance and different rows of small holes in the walls (*Fig. 6*).

Access to the basilica from the west was gained through an archway that is now bricked up. The space in front of the entrance is also connected to the southern courtyard. The western interior wall of the basilica has a semicircular arch that gives access to the main space of the basilica. The structural system over this arch and the three rows of brick that form the door frame are still visible.





*Fig. 4. The southern tower and the buttress that separates two periods of construction.*



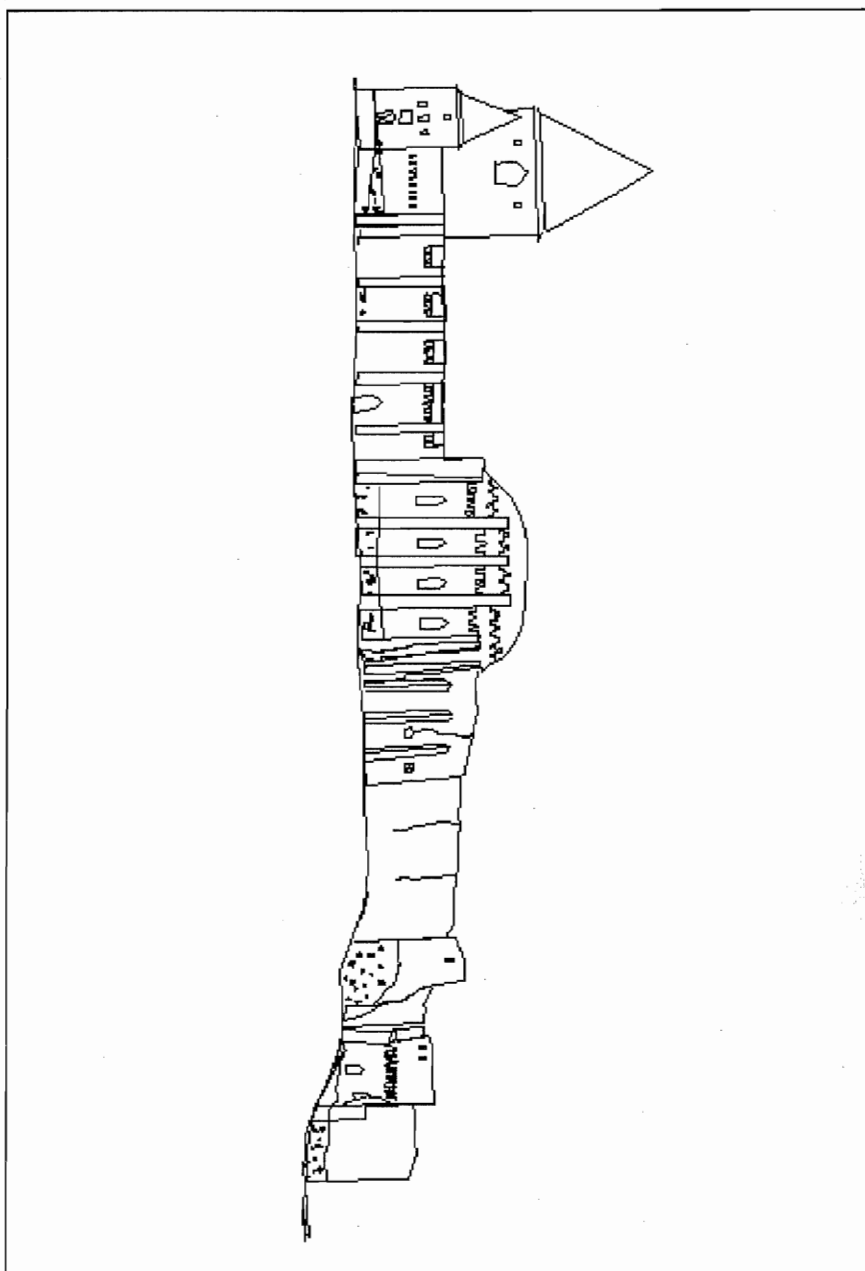
*Fig. 5. View of the basilica from the northern tower, showing the interior of the southern aisle.*

At the western and eastern ends of the southern wall there were two openings of an uncertain shape that have been bricked up (*Fig. 3*). On the eastern side a rectangular opening is enclosed in another pointed arch opening that has also been blocked. In the eastern part of the basilica, a square space can be seen. It has a barrel vault and a small niche with a basket-handle arch. Four or five rows of small holes can be seen on the exterior of the southern wall as well as on the interior walls of the basilica. There are buttresses on the exterior of the fortification and on the southern side of the basilica, corresponding to the vaults. There are also Gothic arches, indicating windows of medium dimensions. Relieving arches can be observed on the southern exterior wall.

The lower part of the building is made of stone and the upper part of brick, just like the walls of the northern part of the castle. There are basically two types of walls: one is made of a combination of brick and stone and one is only made of brick. The same type of masonry can be identified in the western and eastern interior walls of the basilica and in the lower parts of the pillars. The southern exterior wall of the basilica is made of bricks measuring 290x140x50 mm, and the mortar is 15 millimeters thick. The dimensions of the bricks in the western interior wall are (270–280)x(130–135)x60 mm. The walls of the basilica are between one and one and a half meters thick.

The wall that extends southwards from the northwestern tower has a row of machicolations that stop at the wall of the basilica. The basilica's exterior western wall is also machicolated at the original level, and on the upper part of the walls the crenellation is still visible. The wall was later raised above the crenellation, featuring new loopholes directly above.

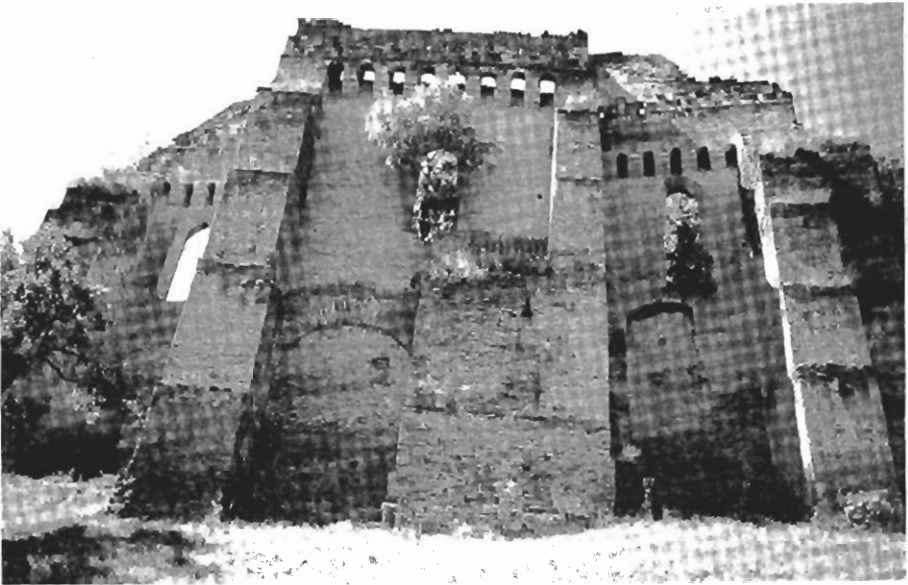
Today, the entrance to the castle is through the western wall (*Fig. 7*). Like the other walls, it has a lower part made of stone and an upper part of brick. The dimensions of the bricks are 290x140x(50–60) mm and the thickness of the mortar is 15 mm in the northern and 25 mm in the southern part. The western walls of the castle are between one and one and a half meters thick. Further south, two rows of loopholes are still visible. On the interior part of the wall, the remains of four rows of small holes can be observed. Two different walls meet at the join of the triangular precinct with the rounded southern walls, where a buttress marks the difference very clearly (*Fig. 4*). The southern wall also has a row of machicolations and a row of loopholes.



*Fig. 7. West elevation of Simnic castle.*



*Fig. 8. The southern barbican with the gate tower.*



*Fig. 9. The eastern wall of the precinct.*

From the north to the south, the wall of the eastern part of the precinct that runs to the basilica has loopholes in it. A gate-tower connected to the basilica is also situated in the eastern wing, the tower is oriented to the northeast and has almost collapsed. This gate-tower has a passageway with a pointed vault that connects it to the rectangular precinct. Above this level is a barrel vault, perpendicular to the pointed vault; the entrance to this space is at present through a rectangular door. The bricks of the gate-tower measure 280x140x(60–75) mm. The walls of this tower are one and a half meters thick.

The southern part of the eastern precinct walls is part of the basilica (*Fig. 9*). It has strong buttresses and a semicircular arch in the middle, corresponding to the barrel vault in the interior of the basilica. To the right of this arch, on the exterior of the wall, a horizontal rectangular area was built up to the face of the buttress. The crenellation is still visible on the upper part of the wall. Just as in the case of the western wall, another wall was built above this one, in order to make it higher and more difficult to scale. The same two rows of machicolations and loopholes can be observed. The eastern walls of the rectangular precinct are one and a half meters thick.

In the wall of the triangular precinct, two rows of loopholes can be seen. The curving part of the wall has a row of machicolations. The precinct walls are made of stone below and of brick above, like all the walls. The dimensions of the bricks in the northern part of the eastern side are (260–290)x140x55 mm, and in the southern part (270–290)x140x(55–60) mm. The thickness of the mortar varies between 20–35 mm in the northern and 15–20 mm in the southern part. The walls are one meter thick.

The eastern walls of the triangular precinct are one meter wide. In the southern part of the castle, the remains of the walls that protected the well follow a curved line. Also, the remains of another gate-tower can still be seen (*Fig. 8*). The semicircular arch of the gate is now bricked up. A small precinct was built with a round tower for defense and for the protection of the well. The presence of bulwarks should be noted. In the exterior wall there is one row of machicolations and one row of loopholes. Furthermore, in the interior of the walls there are two rows of small holes. Also, in the western wall there are two openings of a basket-handle arch form. The same type of opening can be seen in the eastern wall. In the lower part of the walls the stones can still be seen, and in the upper part the bricks. The dimensions of the bricks are 280x150x55 mm and the mortar is 20 mm thick. The curved walls are about one and a half meters thick.

The house of the warden is built of brick, against the western wall of the rectangular precinct. It has a different type of structure from the other parts of

the castle and the walls are only 300 mm thick. The house is not as high as the wall of the rectangular precinct.

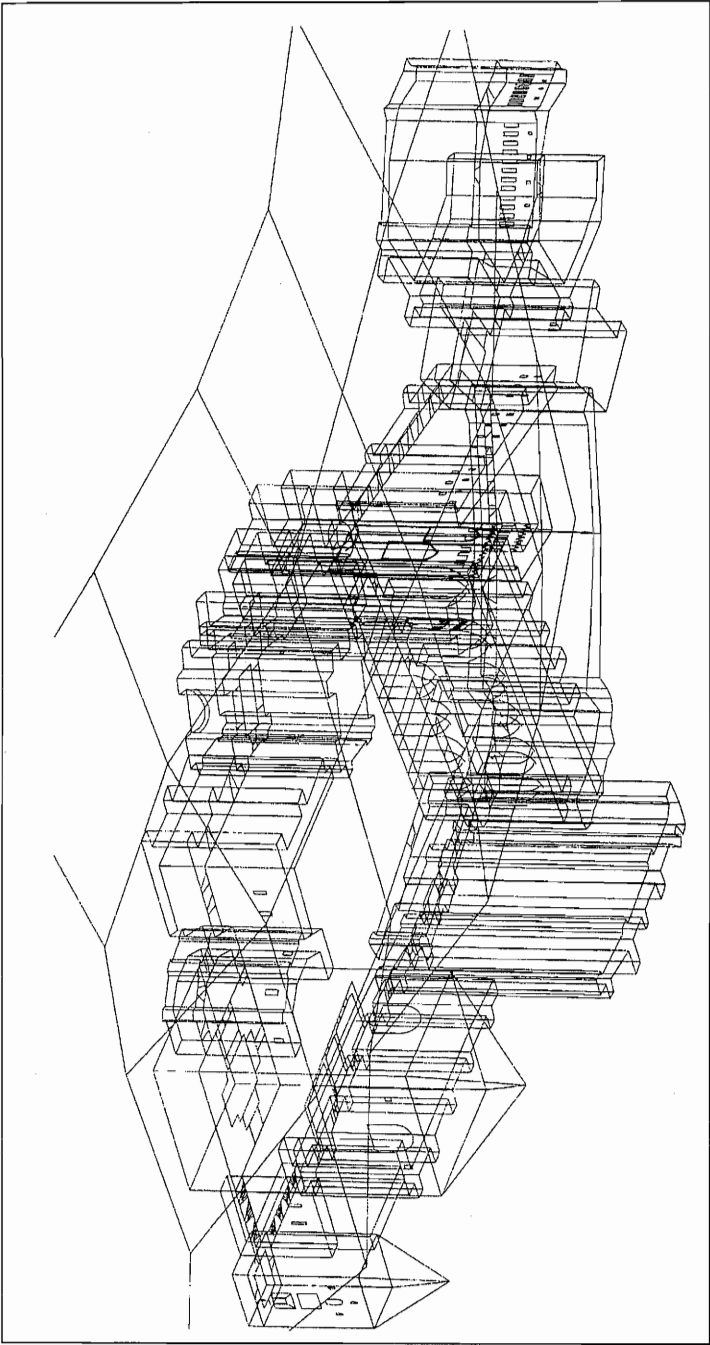
## Interpretation

Looking at the castle as a whole, evidence of many periods of construction can be seen. The establishment of a relative chronology involves different activities: measuring, drawing, archaeological recording, and interpreting the castle. The chronology is based on a consideration of the different building stages, materials, techniques of construction, and masonry typology. This chronological analysis will be developed on two levels: the macro-level, which considers the different elements of an architectural complex (*Fig. 10*), and the micro-level, which records changes in the masonry, such as the opening of windows, or the creation of joints at different stages of masonry construction.

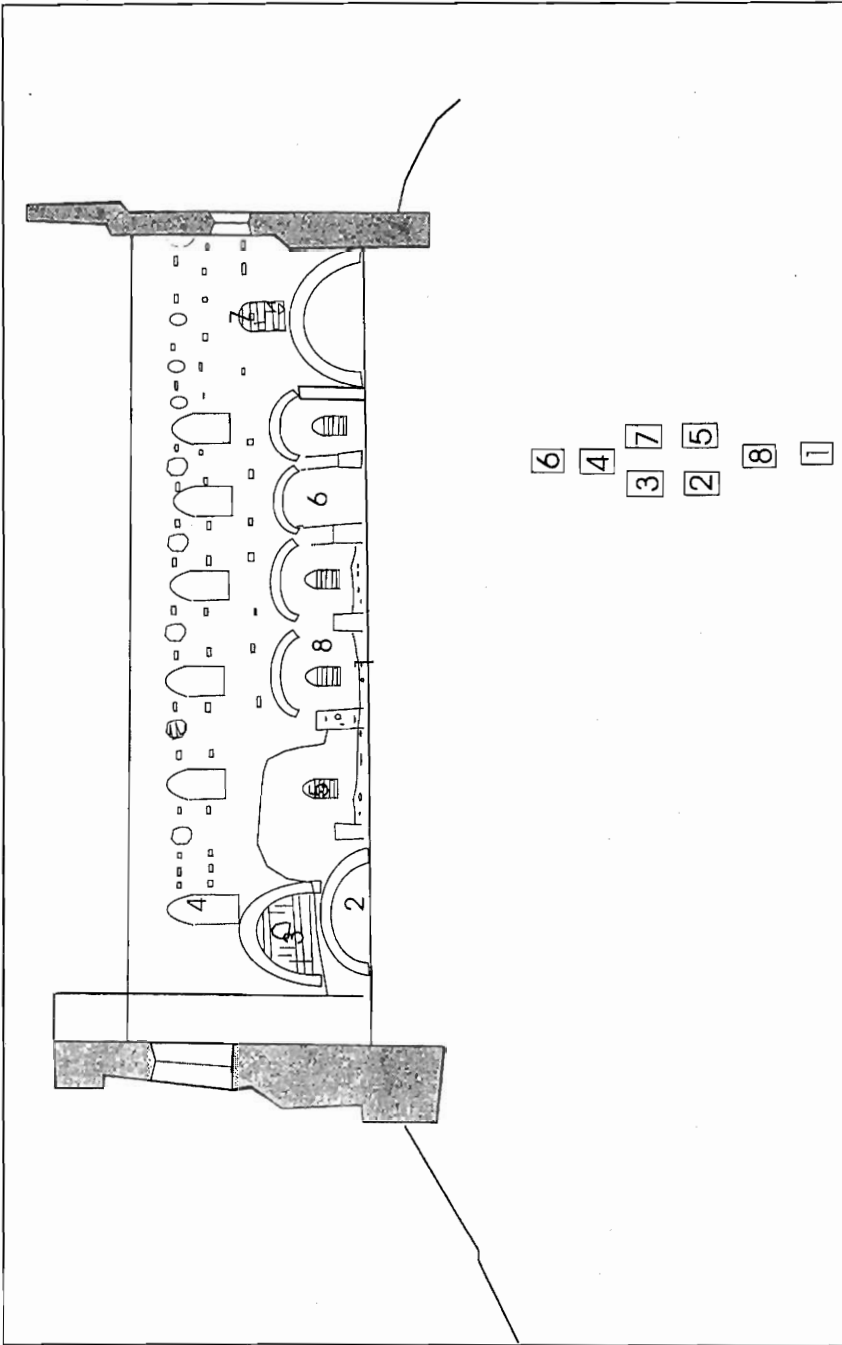
Another important factor in establishing the chronology of the castle is the thickness of the walls. It is obvious that the walls of the northern tower are the thickest in the castle. From this fact, and from the previous description, it can be concluded that the ground floor of the northern tower and the extant lower part of the ruined northern walls of the polygonal space are the oldest parts of the castle. The hypothesis that this part may have been a chapel can be supported by the presence of several architectural elements: the polygonal space, the late Gothic vault, the pointed vault of the ground floor of the northern tower and the pointed arch (now bricked up) between the northern tower and the polygonal space, which could be the triumphal arch. This will be discussed later.

Considering the later function of the northern tower, a possible theory is that it became a defensive tower, but there are no defensive holes in it. Another interpretation is that it was a belfry, which was in fact its last function. The presence of Gothic windows on the highest level is also evidence of its function as a belfry. A third hypothesis is that this tower was once used as a residence with a rectangular space on the ground floor, which may be interpreted as evidence of a later building period.

The northwestern tower has openings of diverse sizes and shapes for guns, and it definitely had a defensive function at a later date, after the appearance of guns. The upper part of the western wall, which is directly connected to the northwestern tower, can also be seen as a later addition, from the same period as the tower, since this, too, has loopholes and is built of brick. As already mentioned, the two entrances into the tower are set at different levels for better protection.



*Fig. 10. Axonometric drawing of Sirmic castle.*



*Fig. 11. Relative chronology of the southern interior wall of the basilica.*



The next element I will discuss is the most important and controversial one, namely the basilica. Due to the lack of archaeological research and written sources there is no consensus among scholars concerning the history or function of this building. Its interior eastern and western walls were probably the next elements to be built after the northern chapel. These walls were built of stone and brick masonry. From the shape of the building, the distribution of the space, and those architectural elements that are still visible, it might be suggested that at one point of its evolution this building could have had an ecclesiastical function.

On the site of the basilica, there may have been an earlier construction built of mixed masonry of stone and brick. The later Gothic basilica was probably planned with ribbed vaults, because some holes still exist where pointed arches should start in the upper part of the pillars and the wall, in the south lateral nave, and the main nave. It is clear that the vaults were never built, since there are no remains of masonry in the holes. The remaining southern wall of the basilica has different openings, which are partly bricked up, providing evidence for the possible later functions of this building (*Fig. 11*). As previously stated, the western entrance to the basilica was through an archway (now bricked up), which was also connected to the southern courtyard. It can be suggested that there was a grandstand over this archway. It is not clear whether the surviving western exterior wall of the basilica was independent or was built over the precinct wall.

In the eastern part of the basilica, the wall of a rectangular space and, on the exterior of the precinct, some strong buttresses can still be seen. If it really was a church, the space which could be termed the choir and the rectangular space, which could be interpreted as the altar, were presumably raised. This may have been due to the presence of a hypothesized passage-way under them from the north-eastern gate of the castle to the southern precinct. However, this part of the basilica has yet to be excavated. At the eastern end of the basilica there is a rectangular vaulted space. Originally there may have been a Romanesque gate here, which was later transformed into an apse.

The southern wall of the basilica shows no defensive elements. From this, it can be concluded that if the southern precinct had been conquered, the basilica would also have been taken. By analogy, it is assumed that the northern wall of the basilica likewise had no defensive architectural elements. In order to defend the basilica, a wooden floor might have been built over the vaults, to be used by the defenders of the castle. On the interior as well as the exterior walls the basilica has six horizontal rows of small holes, the remains of support for wooden beams. The holes are evidence for different storeys that the basilica had over time, or, these holes were possibly used for scaffolding. The fact that there

are so many holes may be a demonstration of changing floor levels over time. There was probably a connection to the two openings in the southern exterior wall (to the east and to the west) of the basilica and to the small holes in the walls of the triangular precinct. This is evidence for the existence of a passage wall.

On the exterior of the castle, this building has buttresses corresponding to the vaults. There are Gothic arches, indicating the presence of windows of medium dimensions. These results support the idea that it was an early Gothic construction.

Using the materials as a visible index of the construction phases of this building, it is possible to make the assumption that the interior eastern and western walls of the basilica are the oldest ones, since they are at the bottom of the basilica's walls and are composed of brick and stone masonry. The same applies to the lower part of the pillars where they can be seen. Archaeological research should provide more information. The rest of the basilica, for instance the arches and the exterior southern, western, and eastern walls, are made of brick, and probably come from a later period.

Another suggestion is that this building might have been a secular construction before it became a church, if indeed it became that. Perhaps only the original part of the building had such a function, maybe as a prestigious one, a palace, for instance. The different types of openings in the walls of the basilica suggest the diverse functions that this building could have had over time. The two brick arches on the eastern and western exterior walls might support the idea that there were entrances into the building (to the east) and into the building or precinct (to the west). The small holes in the walls are either evidence of the different storeys this building acquired over time, or of scaffolding. In this hypothesis, the initial interior spatial organization of this building is not so clear. A further argument for the ecclesiastical function is that on the western façade the building does not have the buttress that should have been there. It can be observed, when looking at the interior and the exterior of the western wall, that the bricked arch on the interior is not visible on the exterior. Therefore, the exterior part of the western exterior wall must have been built later than the previous interior one, which could have been the wall of the previous building.

The next elements in chronological order may have been the surrounding walls which now form the square and the triangular courtyards and the Gothic phase of the basilica. The loopholes and machicolation of the walls were probably accessible through wooden corridors. The increase of the height of the surrounding walls, i.e. above the crenellation, as well as other modifications due to the appearance of guns, can be seen in the western and eastern parts of the

basilica. Therefore, there were at least two periods of construction of the exterior walls.

A later addition is the southern part of the castle, or barbican, which includes the surrounding walls built to protect the well (*Fig. 8*). It was built from different materials. A clear demarcation line is visible between the older and newer wall. The use of different types of bricks and a different thickness of mortar from the other parts of the castle is another argument for considering this a new phase in the evolution of the building complex.

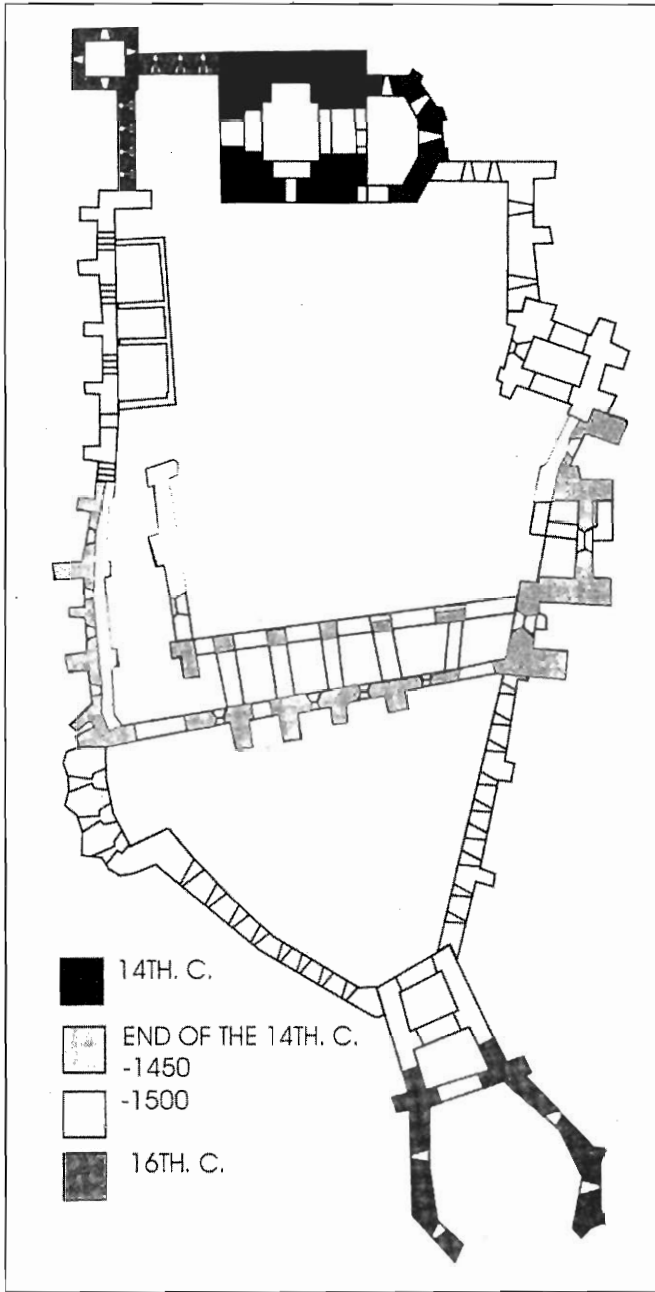
The most recent addition to the castle is the house of the warden. This is shown in the use of new materials and technique of construction, the thin walls, and the spatial arrangement. This part of the castle is the only one with a recent residential function.

To sum up, I suggest the following relative chronology of the evolution of Slimnic castle: first—the northern chapel, second—the building which was called the basilica, third—the rectangular and triangular precincts and the second phase of the basilica, fourth—the upper parts of the eastern and western walls of the basilica, the northwestern tower with the precinct extension walls and the barbican (*Fig. 12*). The house of the warden is a modern construction.

The materials of construction can be used for dating the building phases. The dimensions of the bricks indicate the period of construction. This approach is based on the results of Hermann Fabini, who shows that in Sibiu different types of masonry were used from the thirteenth until the fifteenth century. Fabini suggested the following relations between the dimensions of the bricks and the periods of time: 225x112x36 mm was common until 1350, 260(280)x130(140)x40–50 mm was used from 1350 until 1450, and 290x145x50–60 mm from 1450 until 1525.<sup>24</sup> Using the same method on Slimnic castle, different periods of construction can be identified. The basement of the northern tower and the remains of the pillars of the Gothic basilica are built of field stones and quarried stones. Therefore, these parts are presumed to be the earliest. Part of the brickwork of the basilica may be from the period 1350–1450, but most of the rest of the brickwork may be assigned to the years 1450–1525. However, it is clear from the history of Slimnic that the castle underwent many changes in time, and it is quite possible that some materials were reused.

---

<sup>24</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 77.



*Fig. 12. Plan of Slimnic castle. Absolute chronology.*

## Comparisons and Analogies

It may be useful to compare Slimnic castle with other castles in order to identify the different periods of evolution of architectural elements and to provide a dating framework. From the wide range of medieval Transylvanian castles only a few examples have been chosen to illustrate the various changes in their development. The castles Cisnădioara, Cîlnic, Feldioara, Saschiz, and Rupea were selected on the basis of common architectural features; the suggestions of Virgil Vătășianu, Gheorghe Vorona Curinschi, and Géza Entz; and references in secondary literature. They have been evaluated on the basis of their ground plans, structure, and materials of construction.

Each of these castles held a commanding position, dominating the surrounding area from a high vantage point. The precincts were adapted to the site in form and spatial organization. The techniques of construction were similar, and the building materials were stone, brick, or a mixture of the two. According to the ownership, the fortifications could be classified as royal, aristocratic, or episcopal, or belonging to an urban or rural community. Castles could function as feudal residences, border fortifications, or castles for refuge.<sup>25</sup> The ownership of a castle could be transferred from a feudal lord to the community, or be subject to other changes over time, according to historical circumstances.

The thirteenth century started with the intensive building activity of the Teutonic knights, who built fortifications in Țara Bârsei (Feldioara, Codlea).<sup>26</sup> During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were repeated invasions of Transylvania, the process of building fortifications became even more urgent after the Tartar invasion of 1241. In the fifteenth century, when there were numerous Ottoman incursions, the keep appeared (Cîlnic, Saschiz, Râșnov). So did refuge fortifications, covering a large surface surrounded by a wall, but without a keep, built to protect rural communities. Community churches were situated in the widest part of the main street or on a hill close to a village.

The first example I will consider is the church in the castle of Cisnădioara, a fortified church probably built by the Cistercian monastic order. Cisnădioara<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Bibliografia fortificațiilor medievale și premoderne din Transilvania și Banat* (A bibliography of medieval and early modern fortifications in Transylvania and the Banat) (Reșița: Editura Banatica, 1996), 13.

<sup>26</sup> Heitel, "În legătură," 26.

<sup>27</sup> Cisnădioara – Romanian, Kisdisznód – Hungarian, Michaelsberg – German. See Coriolan Suciu, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania* (Historical dictionary of Transylvanian settlements), vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968), 151.

is a settlement of Cisnădie town in Sibiu county. The church of St. Michael in Cisnădioara is the oldest Romanesque church in present-day Romania; it is mentioned in a charter from 1223.<sup>28</sup> The plateau on which St. Michael's church is situated is surrounded by a circular fortification, comprising one of the oldest castles in Transylvania. The crenellation of Cisnădioara castle has been dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The way in which the loopholes were built above the crenellation in Slimnic has a parallel in Cisnădioara. This was a common solution when older castles had to be adapted to meet new techniques of attack. The original crenellation of Cisnădioara castle has been dated to the thirteenth century and the later modification to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The church of this castle is a basilica with three naves, covered with an open-timber roof and separated by rectangular stone pillars, with a cross-vaulted square choir and a semicircular apse. The church dates from the same period as the crenellation.

Cîlnic<sup>30</sup> is a village situated in Alba County. The Cîlnic fortification is situated in the middle of the village of the same name, and is one of the oldest in Transylvania; the most recent evidence dates it to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The core is the oldest part: it belongs to the period of noble ownership, when the locality was the property of the Kelling counts. It included a precinct with an ovoid plan that had a strong parallelepiped keep (the Sigfried tower), mentioned in the years 1270–1272, four storeys of which the last was added later, a chapel, and two guard towers.<sup>32</sup> After 1430 the castle was transformed from an aristocratic residence into a community fortification,<sup>33</sup> the defensive system being completed with an exterior surrounding wall strengthened with a barbican and a round tower. The example of Cîlnic castle

<sup>28</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, vol. 1, 1191–1342 (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1892), 27.

<sup>29</sup> Heitel, "În legătură," 25.

<sup>30</sup> Cîlnic – Romanian, Kelnek – Hungarian, Keling – German. See Suciu, *Dicționar istoric*, 154.

<sup>31</sup> Archaeological research was carried out there when the restoration of the fortification took place and the oldest part was dated. See Ștefan Balș, "Restaurarea cetății țărănești din Cîlnic" (The restoration of the peasant-fortification of Cîlnic), *Monumente istorice. Studii și lucrări de restaurare* 2 (1967), 47.

<sup>32</sup> Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania*, 27.

<sup>33</sup> Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* (The history of feudal art in the Romanian Principalities), vol. 1, *Arta în perioada de dezvoltare a feudalismului* (The art in the period of the development of the feudalism), (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republica Populara Română, 1959), 78.

provides evidence that a feudal castle could become a community fortification, and that a castle could go through changes of ownership. When the restoration took place, a row of loopholes was found, and it was supposed that they were opened in the fifteenth century, at the same time as the village was fortified.<sup>34</sup>

Feldioara<sup>35</sup> (Marienburg) castle from Brașov County was the residence of the Teutonic knights during the time of their colonization in Țara Bârsei (1211–1225).<sup>36</sup> This fortification was built on a hill dominating the Olt valley, with an ovoid plan and four square towers. Later, the castle was transformed into a community fortification and rebuilt in 1457.<sup>37</sup> In Feldioara, there is also a church dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, which was originally Romanesque and was later transformed into Gothic.<sup>38</sup> The precinct was fortified during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As in the case of Slimnic, there were two main buildings, both of which belonged to the village, one on the hill and one in the village itself. There was a church only in the latter fortification. Thus Feldioara is another example where changes in the functions of a castle occurred over time.

On a hill that rises above the village of Saschiz<sup>39</sup> in Mureș County, there is a community fortification from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It has an irregular polygonal plan with square towers. In the center of the village there is a church, built between 1493 and 1496.<sup>40</sup> Its plan has a single nave, an elongated choir, and a polygonal apse. The whole church is surrounded by an arcaded wall passage on consoles, sustained by buttresses, and between the arcades and the walls there are machicolations. The church was surrounded by a fortified wall, which no longer exists. There is also a square tower with sides of six meters. This tower is presumed to have been built between the fourteenth and then fifteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> The same type of tower can be found at Râșnov castle and at Codlea. Some documents from the fifteenth century give evidence of the help

---

<sup>34</sup> Balș, "Restaurarea cetății țărănești din Călnic," 47.

<sup>35</sup> Feldioara – Romanian, Földvár – Hungarian, Marienburg – German. See Suciu, *Dicționar istoric*, 183.

<sup>36</sup> Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania*, 35.

<sup>37</sup> Vasile Drăguț, *Dicționar enciclopedic de artă medievală românească* (Encyclopedic dictionary of medieval Romanian art) (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976), 140.

<sup>38</sup> Drăguț, *Dicționar*, 140.

<sup>39</sup> Saschiz – Romanian, Szászkezd – Hungarian, Keisd – German.

<sup>40</sup> Drăguț, *Dicționar*, 266.

<sup>41</sup> Gheorghe Anghel, *Mittelalterliche Burgen in Transilvanien* (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1973), 58.

Saschiz village received from Sibiu for building of the church.<sup>42</sup> There is also evidence that Sibiu frequently helped the Saxon community with money to build fortified churches and even noblemen's castles.<sup>43</sup>

The castles of Feldioara, Saschiz, and Slimnic have similar characteristics; they were all built on hills and they all have surrounding walls for protection, in which there are machicolations and/or loopholes. As can be observed from the plans of Slimnic and Feldioara, each of these castles included a chapel and another building of great dimensions. These castles have no keeps, barbicans, and square towers in the precinct wall.

Rupea's<sup>44</sup> fortification is situated on a hill close to the settlement of Rupea in Braşov County. As in the case of Călnic, Rupea was first a royal castle, later becoming a community fortification.<sup>45</sup> Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries it was transformed into a refuge fortification for the villages in the vicinity.<sup>46</sup> There are four precincts, which are fortified with polygonal towers. Also, many interior gates made it possible to control the movement of people. The church in the town is a Gothic building of the hall type, dating from the period between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> The entire church was fortified, and it might have had a flat wooden roof for use by the defenders of the castle.<sup>48</sup>

In connection with Slimnic castle we may also consider Slimnic parish church because of their common history. St. Bartholomew's parish church in Slimnic is a hall church. Judging by their appearance, it is possible that the choir and the nave, which previously had a wooden ceiling, were built at the same time.<sup>49</sup> The choir is vaulted and has two Gothic bays divided into six parts, which are supported by consoles. The vault keystone has discs without any decoration, and pointed archivaults support the vaults. To the east and south, in the walls of the choir and of the nave, there are bifore windows. To the south is the sacristy, which also has Gothic vaults. The entrance to the sacristy and the southwestern entrance to the choir are ogival. All these architectural details date the church to the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>50</sup> The nave has late Gothic

<sup>42</sup> Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania*, 34.

<sup>43</sup> Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 215.

<sup>44</sup> Rupea – Romanian, Kőhalom – Hungarian, Repe – German. See Fabini, *Atlas*, 587.

<sup>45</sup> Drăguț, *Dicționar*, 266.

<sup>46</sup> Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania*, 35.

<sup>47</sup> Drăguț, *Dicționar*, 140.

<sup>48</sup> Fabritius Dancu, *Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania*, 35.

<sup>49</sup> Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 79.

<sup>50</sup> Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 248.



vaults. The main material used for the construction of the church was brick; stone was used only for the edges of the buttresses.

Based on my analysis of these many architectural details, different hypotheses concerning the functions of Slimnic castle can be suggested: it may have been a community fortification, a feudal castle, or a monastery. The community fortification hypothesis is supported by the immense dimensions of the castle, by the present form of the basilica which is close to that of fortified churches, by the precinct walls with their defense architectural elements such as loopholes and machicolations, and by the absence of an obvious residential space. Such living quarters could have been built of wood against the walls of the precinct; that would explain why they are not preserved. Slimnic castle may have been meant to protect the people from the village against attacks, and could have been used as a temporary residence in case of an invasion.

Slimnic also has some characteristics of a feudal castle: the crenellation, the square towers that may have been gate towers, the hourdings and the northern tower that may have had a residential function. This may be confirmed or disproved by archeological research.

Another hypothesis is that the Slimnic fortification could have been a monastery. In this case the basilica would have been a church. This hypothesis can be supported by the existence of a belfry and the earlier chapel. Furthermore, the well-defined rectangular plan of the northern precinct is typical for monasteries. Since there are no traces of other functional spaces such as residential and community quarters, which a monastery should have had, this interpretation is unlikely.

It is probable that Slimnic castle had different functions over time. One suggestion might be that Slimnic castle originally had a prestige function and later served to protect the community of Slimnic village and maybe other neighboring villages. Without archaeological research, this architectural analysis of Slimnic castle is not sufficient to prove any particular function.

### Historical sources

There is no written evidence concerning the building of Slimnic castle. Slimnic village<sup>51</sup> is first mentioned in a charter from 10 December 1282, when the rights of the priest, *Reynaldus plebanus de Stolchumbrecht*,<sup>52</sup> were confirmed by the

<sup>51</sup> For the name of Slimnic village in different languages see: Suciuc, *Dictionar istoric*, 137.

<sup>52</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, vol.1, *Regesten 1075–1300*, ed. G. D. Teutsch, Fr. Firmhaber (Vienna: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857), 129.

Archbishop of Esztergom. Stolzenburg was the name for the village given by the Saxon settlers who arrived from Germany in the 1220s. This charter is the first reference that can be regarded as evidence for the existence of a church in Slimnic, which could be either the village church or the chapel on the hill.

In a charter from 8 November 1342,<sup>53</sup> the chapel of All Saints from Slimnic is mentioned, which could also refer either to the village church or to the castle chapel. Assuming that it referred to the latter, this is the first mention of the chapel of Slimnic castle in a charter. The charter describes it in this way: “*capela, quae dedicata est in honore omnium sanctorum, in villa quae dicitur Stolzinbrech Strigoniensis diocesis*”.

The present parish church has the name St. Bartholomew and is a Gothic building dating from the fifteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, it can be identified with the church mentioned in a later charter from 1394. This would bring us to the conclusion that the chapel of All Saints was actually the castle chapel.

The castle and village of Slimnic were attacked several times by Mongols and Ottomans. A charter from 1453, issued in Hermannstadt, mentions an Ottoman attack of 1438.<sup>55</sup> This attack may have been the reason for the construction or reinforcement of the castle on the hill close to the village.<sup>56</sup> This may also have been the reason for the continuation of the building process at the church in the village. Saschiz, Feldioara, and Rîșnov castles were erected in the fifteenth century with the aim of protecting the village people and their belongings against different attacks. Géza Entz has suggested that the castles were built after the Ottoman invasions of 1438 and 1442.<sup>57</sup> Sibiu is known to have aided the Saxon communities of the villages in the construction of the castles. Likewise, Hermann Fabini has proposed the hypothesis that when Slimnic castle was built, Slimnic village was helped by several other villages and also by the town of Sibiu.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 2, ed. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, and Georg Müller (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1897), 2–3.

<sup>54</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 715.

<sup>55</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 5, 1438–1457, ed. Gustav Gündisch (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1975), 396–7.

<sup>56</sup> The idea that the castle was first constructed at this date was proposed by Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 467.

<sup>57</sup> Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 131.

<sup>58</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 712.

In 1529 the castle was captured by the troops of John Zápolya, the King of Hungary, previously the Voievod of Transylvania.<sup>59</sup> Three weeks later the village was recaptured with the help of Sibiu. In 1602 Slimnic castle was taken by Mózes Székely, the commander of the army of the Principal Sigismund Báthory. In 1658 the castle successfully resisted a siege commanded by Ali Pasha, although the village below was burned down.<sup>60</sup>

In 1706, in the War of Independence, the troops of Lorenz Pékri under the command of Ferenc Rákóczi, captured the castle through an act of betrayal. In 1707, before they left, they burned down the roof of the castle, removed the bells from the belfry, and blew up the surrounding wall of the triangular precinct. This action was the worst calamity that had ever befallen the castle.<sup>61</sup> From 1717 the castle was repaired and restored with the help of Sibiu. The rebuilding of Slimic castle was interrupted in 1719 by the last plague that occurred in Europe. In Slimnic village, the plague took 427 lives.<sup>62</sup>

In 1855, part of the wall of the unfinished basilica in the castle's precinct was pulled down.<sup>63</sup> The material was used for building a new wall for the protection of the village cemetery.<sup>64</sup> In 1870, the eastern tower collapsed, and in 1872 a part of the barbican collapsed too.<sup>65</sup> In 1916, an earthquake destroyed the remaining northern part of the arcades of the basilica.<sup>66</sup> In 1959, the northern towers and the southern walls were repaired with funding from the Romanian state.<sup>67</sup>

The scarcity of written sources does not contradict my suggestion based on the architectural analysis, namely that one function of Slimnic castle was that of a community fortification. Since a community fortification did not belong to a

---

<sup>59</sup> Materials from the Archiv des Landesconsistoriums der evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Sibiu (Romania).

<sup>60</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 712–13.

<sup>61</sup> Johann Plattner, *Stolzenburg: Skizzen aus seiner Vergangenheit*. (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: W. Krafft, 1907), 50.

<sup>62</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 713.

<sup>63</sup> Materials from the Archiv des Landesconsistoriums der evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Sibiu.

<sup>64</sup> Victor Roth, "Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kunst in der magyarischen Forschung," *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Landeskunde*, 39 (1915): 589.

<sup>65</sup> Roth, "Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kunst," 588 and Materials from the Archiv des Landesconsistoriums der evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Sibiu (Romania).

<sup>66</sup> Fabini, *Atlas*, 715.

<sup>67</sup> Slimnic – Restoration project 1959. The archives of the Department for Historical Monuments, Bucharest.

family, it is not often mentioned in the documents of that time. Charters concerning community fortifications built before the middle of the fifteenth century are rare and only became more common from the end of the fifteenth century.

Taking into consideration the documents concerning the other castles mentioned, another possible interpretation is that Slimnic castle was built at the same time and for the same purpose as those. The generous dimensions of this castle could support the argument that other villages, or Sibiu, or even both, helped Slimnic in the process of building. The Saxon community of Transylvania was strong at that time and it had various privileges. This supports the idea that Slimnic castle was not built only for and by Slimnic but also by other communities.

Regarding the building of Slimnic castle, another hypothesis may be put forward. Between 1394 and 1409 six to seven hundred people were living in the village.<sup>68</sup> This number is higher than the demographic average of Transylvanian villages at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Between the beginning of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century Slimnic had eight hundred and eighty inhabitants. The population decreased in the first half of the sixteenth century to four hundred and sixty people.<sup>69</sup> Considering these data, it might be supposed that the people from the village built the castle by and for themselves. This would also explain the dimensions of the basilica and the castle. Later the population declined, and this could be one of the reasons why the basilica appears to be unfinished.

## Conclusions

The architectural chronology that was established earlier in this article may be used for further interpretation in the light of the conclusions gathered from the other part of the analysis. One important point was the analysis of the masonry. The original stone or brick masonry of the castle can still be seen and the differences between various types of masonry are visible. Changes in the castle's function over time can be demonstrated by the various types of openings in its walls, some of which were bricked up. The differences between the types of masonry are very clear in the northwestern tower, which was restored in 1959,

---

<sup>68</sup> The number of the inhabitants of Slimnic village was calculated by Ștefan Pascu on the basis of a charter which can be found in *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3, 85–95. Ștefan Pascu published its demonstration in *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* (The Voievodship of Transylvania), vol. 2 (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1979), 366–7.

<sup>69</sup> Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, 367.

in part of the restored wall of the rectangular precinct next to this tower, and in the barbican, which had collapsed and was partially rebuilt, although since then it has collapsed again.

The overall chronology of the castle is based on the comparison of the results of the architectural chronology and from the analysis of the written sources and the comparisons with other castles. Among the charters the first relevant one dates from 1342. If we assume that the chapel of the castle—which is the oldest part of the building—is the one mentioned in that charter the castle may be dated to the fourteenth century. The form and shape of the chapel support this hypothesis.

The second phase of the architectural chronology can be identified with the basilica, where two different sizes of bricks were used; there are also two types of masonry. Therefore, this building may have gone through at least two periods of construction. On the basis of the dimensions of the bricks and of the Gothic and defensive architectural features, it seems that the building had a first phase from the fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century, and a second phase until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Gothic architectural features of St. Bartholomew's church in the village are to some extent similar to those of the basilica in its second building phase, therefore it is possible that the two constructions were built in parallel for a time.

It is clear from the architectural evidence that the rectangular and triangular precincts, with straight walls and exterior towers, were built at the same time, possibly in the same period as the transformation of the basilica in the fifteenth century. The northwestern tower and the walls connected to it were built as a later enlargement of the rectangular precinct, possibly in the sixteenth century. It should be remembered that the grouped loopholes in the precinct wall appear only here in the whole castle. The barbican is also a later addition: a separation line between the buttress of the gate-tower and the walls of the southern barbican is distinguishable. This part of the castle was restored in 1959, therefore the masonry here is only partly original. On the basis of analogies with these types of architectural defensive elements, it may have been built in the sixteenth century.

Having ascertained an overall chronology (*Fig. 12*), we may return to a tentative identification of the castle's functions over time, including a prestige function, a religious function (perhaps coming only later, when the basilica was transformed and the arches were bricked up), and a defensive function.

Considering the charter from 1342, which probably refers to the chapel of Slimnic, one might presume that if this was the first construction to appear on this site, the first function of the building was a religious one. The western part of this chapel was later transformed into a tower. The construction of a new

building on the site of the castle identified as a basilica in the previous analysis suggests a new function. However, this building, might in fact have had a prestige function. The assumption that Slimnic castle had a prestige function is supported by the dimensions of the basilica and by the traces of previous openings, which are not normal for an ecclesiastical building.

The castle developed further with construction of the rectangular and triangular precincts and the original building may also have been transformed. This meant changes in the function of the architectural ensemble. In this phase, the walls of the chapel acquired loopholes and took on a defensive function. The northern tower has no defensive architectural elements. The building whose lower levels have survived and been incorporated into the later phase of the basilica initially had big openings to the exterior on the ground floor and a row of almost rectangular windows. The fact that these openings were later bricked up indicates a change in the function of the basilica. One possible hypothesis is that it was used from this point onwards as a church, or as a refuge, and therefore had to be made less accessible, requiring the openings on the ground floor to be blocked. As the architectural evidence indicates, this transformation occurred at the same time for the basilica as for the walls of the precincts. Therefore, at this stage Slimnic acquired a predominantly defensive function. This function lasted for a long period, as can be seen from the transformations of the defensive architectural details such as machicolations and loopholes. The function of the castle probably changed during the fifteenth century. The generous dimensions of the castle's precinct could have served as protection for the population of the village against incursions, first of all from the Ottomans.

The written sources do not mention anything regarding the builders of Slimnic castle. It may be supposed that Slimnic as a Saxon village was helped by Sibiu and the Saxon community in the building process. The Saxon community was strong at that time, therefore it would have been possible for them to build such a large castle which probably served not only the protection of the community of Slimnic, but also some neighboring villages. Due to its size it may have been possible for the population of more than one village to defend themselves in the castle. The question concerning the function of the basilica before the castle was completed (and even later) has no definitive answer.

Slimnic castle is a typical example of the military architecture of Transylvania, since it passed through many changes during time. This study provides data for further interpretation on the medieval military architecture of Transylvania. It indicates the possible transitions between different architectural programs—royal castle, noble castle, fortified church—and at the same time it illustrates functional changes that also happened in other medieval Transylvanian castles.

## ROME IN MEDIEVAL PERSPECTIVE: TWO POEMS OF HILDEBERT DE LAVARDIN<sup>1</sup>

*Iulia Capros* 

Regardless of the immense variety of political, cultural, and religious events in the Middle Ages, the importance of Rome remained constantly present. As late as the twelfth century, Rome maintained its popularity and was the subject of a long tradition of symbolic interpretation, although several aspects of this changed over the centuries. The significance of Rome led medieval writers and poets to devote works to it, and it remains an incentive for modern scholars to research and seek to understand all that the city meant to those writers. Hildebert de Lavardin, archbishop of Tours, mentioned Rome in several of his poems, which mark a turning-point in the evolution of the concept of Rome in the eleventh century, and shed light on the cultural and social motives that brought about changes in Rome's representation.

Hildebert de Lavardin was born about 1056, at the Castle of Lavardin near Montoir on the Loire. Nothing is known about him until 1085, when Hoel, bishop of Le Mans, made him *scholasticus* at his cathedral school. Hildebert was appointed archdeacon in 1091, and he became bishop of Le Mans five years later. After the capture of Le Mans by William II of England in 1099, Hildebert was summoned to England by the king, who suspected him of aiding the duke of Le Mans against English rule. In 1100 he was permitted to return, and, later, participated in the Synod of Reims in 1119, and in the Lateran Council in 1123. In 1125 Hildebert was appointed archbishop of Tours.

Hildebert is the author of several works, such as the *Sermones* and the *Epistolae*. A few theological treatises are also attributed to Hildebert, and he has left a collection of poems whose variety of topics confers them with considerable interest. Four sermons have survived which can be assigned to him with a certain degree of probability, as well as a longer poem *De exsilio suo* and two examples of epigrams. His writings were edited by Bourassé,<sup>2</sup> but this edition is not a critical one. The first scholarly edition of some of Hildebert's poems was published by A. Brian Scott.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on my M.A. thesis, defended in June 2000, at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, in June 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *PL*, 171, 1–1453. All the following references to Hildebert's poems will be made according to this edition.

<sup>3</sup> A. Brian Scott, ed., *Hildeberti Genomannensis Episcopi, carmina minora*. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969).

Hildebert probably made three journeys to Rome. The first took place around 1100–1101, when he also reached Apulia and Sicily, then he went to Rome again in 1116 and, finally, in 1123 when he took part in the Lateran Council. The sight of the imperial city moved him to delight, and this resulted in his much-admired poems dedicated to Rome. What is important to mention is that his journeys happened after a new “sack of Rome” by the German soldiers of Henry IV and the Normans and Saracens of Robert Guiscard.<sup>4</sup> In his poem *De Roma* (hereafter 1), the author records his emotions on seeing the ruined city; in *Item idem de Roma* (hereafter 2), he celebrates Christian Rome, which appears more glorious under the standard of the Cross.

There are several aspects of Hildebert’s literary works which have been commented upon previously, albeit partially, in the scholarly literature. Raby, in his *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, acknowledged, but only generally, Hildebert’s literary importance.<sup>5</sup> Several attempts to analyze the writer’s depiction of Rome have been undertaken, one of the most considerable contributions being Walter Rehm’s chapter about Hildebert in *Europäische Romdichtung*, which emphasizes the humanistic aspects as a primary characteristic of Hildebert’s works.<sup>6</sup> The same has been done by Wolfram von den Steinen and Peter von Moos.<sup>7</sup> Charles Witke’s article<sup>8</sup> is mainly intended to underline the

---

<sup>4</sup> In March 1084, Henry IV had entered Rome, seized the Lateran, and was crowned in St. Peter’s Basilica by the Anti-pope, while Gregory VII held out in Hadrian’s mausoleum. The Septizonium was defended by the papal troops against the German soldiers. When Henry succeeded in storming the Capitol, it was already a desolation. Robert Guiscard came to relieve the Pope, Henry retired and left the Romans to the mercy of the Normans. The pope was rescued, but the city was destroyed almost totally. Churches were set in flames, precious monuments of antiquity, which had been spared by the Goths and Vandals, were utterly destroyed. A spacious quarter of the city between Lateran and Coliseum was burnt.

<sup>5</sup> F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry: From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

<sup>6</sup> Walther Rehm, *Der Untergang Roms im abendländischen Denken: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung und zum Dekadenzproblem* (Leipzig: Dieterich’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930).

<sup>7</sup> Peter von Moos, “Par tibi, Roma, nihil – Eine Antwort.” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 119–126. Wolfram von den Steinen, *Menschen im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Forschungen, Betrachtungen, Bilder*. Edited by Peter von Moos. Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1967.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Witke, “Rome as ‘Region of Difference’ in the Poetry of Hildebert of Lavardin,” in *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin



combination of several different aspects of Rome's interpretation by Hildebert, claiming that it is precisely this feature that set Hildebert's works apart from the literary tradition of that time, and Percy Ernst Schramm considers Hildebert an important literary figure who could shed light on the development of Rome's interpretation in the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> All these commentaries are rather restricted analyses of Hildebert's poetry; they all mention particular aspects of his works, not presenting any general overview of Hildebert's representation of Rome. I will try to connect ideas mentioned by previous scholars with a new textual analysis and to combine literary, philological, and historical skills in order to open fresh lines of inquiry in the approach to the importance and relevance of the city in the literary works of Hildebert.

Hildebert's work did not exist in a historical and literary vacuum; the greater part of it followed already existing pathways. From the tenth to the eleventh century, the papacy, which had a long time before established itself as the moral and political ruler of the (western) world, underwent a serious crisis.<sup>10</sup> Its prestige declined notably, and the popes were removed or granted power according to the political interests of Italian aristocrats. Although, especially in the eleventh century, a considerable number of religious reforms took place, it was also the time of the highest point in the conflict between Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV, a period during which the city of Rome was captured several times.

The same period is characterized by an increasing interest in Rome's past and Rome as a city, which, as we shall see shortly, was echoed in Hildebert's literary works, distinguished by a deep knowledge of classical works. Hildebert's poetry developed between two literary events of the time: the appearance of the first description of Rome, *Graphia-Libellus*, around 1030, and of *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, one hundred years later, both of which considerably enlarged the knowledge about the city and confirmed the steady interest in ancient, that is pagan, Rome and particularly in the physical aspect of the city.<sup>11</sup> These controversies are not directly mentioned in the poetry of our concern, yet they shaped

---

(Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), 406–407.

<sup>9</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Erneuerungsgedanken vom Ende des Karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> For more about the history of the church in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London and New York: Longmans, 1992), 138f.

<sup>11</sup> For more information about these two works, see Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 193–207; Hyde, "Medieval Descriptions of Cities," 308–340.

in one way or another the ideas expressed, such as, for instance, the admiration for the past and the emphasis on the true religion as the only means of salvation as expressed by Hildebert.

The poems of Hildebert de Lavardin provide enough material for analyzing the image of Rome in medieval literature. Hildebert wrote hardly anything else of the same importance, if one judges according to his influence on later literature, but he was reserved a definite place in several scholarly works: his poems *De Roma* and *Item idem de Roma* having been analyzed several aspects, namely their increasing usage of "classical reminiscence," more purposefully and successfully than such usage had been in the Carolingian Revival, the Christian interpretation of Rome, and their humanistic tendencies.<sup>12</sup> What several scholars emphasize is that the poetry of Hildebert was very unusual, untraditional and different from everything the Middle Ages had acquired or possessed before.

Previous scholarship has offered no plausible solution to the problem of dating the two poems, and there is no suggestion in the literature as to how this problem should be solved. Traditionally, it has been accepted that these poems were written after Hildebert visited Rome, that is, after the year 1101 at the earliest. At the same time there is no clear temporal distinction between each poem: it is not known if they were written at the same time or in different years or even different decades. Attempts to date them according to their content have been made, and many scholars give chronological priority to the poem *De Roma*. The second poem is considered to be the result of subsequent contemplation and spiritual thoughts of the author, and is often analyzed as a reinterpretation of the first in Christian terms.<sup>13</sup> There is no indication, either by Hildebert or in the scholarly literature, as to the reasons why the author would carry out such a reinterpretation, and the known data of his biography do not provide any exact answer. All of the arguments concerning dating are based mostly on textual interpretation, and since no other allusions to clarify the situation have been proposed thus far, I will accept the present explanations.

There are several significant aspects of Rome in Hildebert's poems. The city is represented as lying in ruins, and there are interpretations of the reasons which presumably led to this state. Hildebert also mentions the remnants of the

---

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*. A description of the scholarly literature concerning different aspects of Hildebert's literary works has been made by Peter von Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin 1056–1133: Humanitas an der Schwelle des höfischen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1965), 240–245.

<sup>13</sup> On issues concerning the dating, see Rehm, 51; Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin*, 244; Idem, "Par tibi, Roma nihil – Eine Antwort," 120; Witke, "Rome as 'Region of Difference'," 406; Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 268.

city's past beauty and glory, these achievements being mostly a result of human activity, but also destined by fate. Finally, Hildebert reflects on the current image of Rome and offers a new solution for Rome's revival, namely the Christian faith. These aspects will be investigated and discussed in the following.

### The motif of ruins in Hildebert's poetry

Rome, the point of focus of the two poems, is attributed with several qualities. The author himself explained his concerns about the city: he declared that one can and must refer back to Rome, because it has no equal among other cities: *Par tibi, Roma, nihil...* (1, 1). Consequently, the author remained attached to the relatively long literary tradition dating back to the classical period, when Rome figured as a subject of special praise, as the ideal of political society and imperial power. In the western part of the former Roman Empire, Rome always remained the head of the world, and no other city was able to come near the splendor and importance of *Vrbs aeterna*. At the same time, nothing is mentioned about Rome's function as seat of a world religion. What appears to interest the poet most are the material, external aspects of Rome; and his intellectual meditations proceed from the contemplation of Rome's ruins. In *De Roma* Hildebert is addressing a ruined city, no longer accessible in its wholeness: *...cum sis prope tota ruina; Quam magna fueris integra, fracta doces.* (1, 1–2).

What is being underlined is Rome's decay. As noted before, Hildebert's poems were written shortly after a military event, which destroyed Rome, as happened on several other occasions throughout the Middle Ages. But it is hard to believe that it was only this particular fact that generated Hildebert's reactions to the contemplation of the city as shown in his secular poems. The following line (showing Horacian influence) strongly suggests that Hildebert did not relate only to the destruction of Rome by Guiscard: *Non tamen annorum series... potuit hoc abolere decus* (1, 19–20). One cannot deny that the external aspect of the city as it was in those days influenced this gloomy picture. On the other hand, it is quite possible to assume that the motif of the ruins is used to underline the disappearance of Rome's glorious past, and is mostly an abstract sign of destruction: *Longa tuos fastus aetas destruxit, et arces Caesaris et superum templa palude iacent.* (1, 3–4).

Rome fell, and this is a fact that does not create any doubts for the author. This generates new thoughts about the passing fate of all earthly things. The impression one gets is that of the representation of a historical performance of epochal dimensions where the ruins are designated as a background. The ruins in Hildebert's poetry acquire a symbolic meaning: they become a frame, a metaphor of decay and even, with some restrictions on this interpretation, a

kind of past social utopia. The reader becomes a viewer invited to admire the impressive picture of what once existed.

Another aspect to be considered with regard to Hildebert's attitude towards the ruined past is his classical education, a fact which is mentioned as being one of the most relevant in all the scholarship dedicated to this author.<sup>14</sup> The classical age is seen as a desirable world, characterized by noble architecture in a perfect time. Thus, the ruins are important not because they exist, but because of what they once were. They represent the whole world, an entire historical era which now lies destroyed. The contemporary visitor sees the ruins as something that cannot either be restored or totally disappear, the present and the past being intertwined together. The collapse of a world order, and not only of a single city, can be seen in Hildebert's poetry; the realization of this fact makes the author declare pathetically several times in regard to the reality of the fall of Rome: *urbs cecidit* (1, 17); and to resume that *Roma fuit* (1, 18).

To conclude, it seems that the motif of ruins, which would very often be used and alluded to by later writers,<sup>15</sup> is conspicuous in Hildebert's poetry, related to several events of classical history. He conceived the ruins as the material proof of the fall of the city, although the emphasis laid on them does not necessarily mean that it was prompted by a specific historical event, as a result of which the city was destroyed. Hildebert pointed to the ruins of those buildings which in one way or another represented a higher symbolic meaning in the past: *templa superum, arces Caesaris*. He did not point simply to ruins in general, those ruins which might occur through ordinary material destruction. Rome was by no means the only city to be physically destroyed in that time; it is its past reputation which determined the level of catastrophe: the larger and more significant the past, the greater the fall.

---

<sup>14</sup> All scholars, whose works about Hildebert I have consulted mention as predecessors of Hildebert de Lavardin classical writers such as Vergil, Propertius, and Statius, late antique Christian poets such as Prudentius (on the martyr Lawrence, and on Hippolytus), Paulinus of Nola, Felix of Nola, and others. We also encounter a considerable amount of great names of Roman culture and history throughout Hildebert's poetry.

<sup>15</sup> For more information about Hildebert's reception, see Witke, "Rome as 'Region of Difference'," 405–406.

### Pre-humanistic reflections in the Poetry of Hildebert de Lavardin<sup>16</sup>

The poem *De Roma* is a reflection on classical values, devoid of any specific mention of Christianity, and underlines aspects of the city which would not normally be treasured by Christians, such as the statues of ancient gods and buildings of social importance. This different way of perception, based on the recovery of the classical culture, is the main characteristic of the pre-humanist tendency in Hildebert's writings. The second aspect of this tendency is the acknowledgment of human capacities and roles, those bestowed with particular creative force and potential. Both of these aspects combine in a successful way and generate that feature of originality, which set Hildebert's poetry apart from the literary context of the twelfth century.

Hildebert described the ancient city's social and military power, its perfect civic order and educational achievements, worldly peace and especially the beauty of buildings, all attributes of the pagan past. Rome was the concentration of universal beauty and artistic power; earthly and divine forces combined their efforts in order to create the long-lasting beauty:

*Expendere duces thesauros, fata favorem/ Artifices studium, totus et orbis opes.* (1, 15–16).

Although the city lies in ruins, as the author admits in several passages of the same poem, no calamity was able to destroy completely the immensity of its splendor, the greatness being visible even in this ruined state:

*Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis/ Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.*  
(1, 19–20).

Besides containing a sort of physical beautification of the city, the first poem abounds in classical realia and contains several allusions to the civic life of the state. The important political past of the city can easily be traced in Hildebert's poems and assessed by the images used: *longa tuos fastus* (1, 3); *arces Caesaris* (1, 3–4); *superum templa* (1, 4); *iura senatus* (1, 7); *Caesar (qui) magis optavit cum crimine solus habere* (1, 9–10), among others.

In order to demonstrate the city's grandeur and size, what emerges in Hildebert's writings is the juxtaposition of the efforts of modern man with the physical aspect of Rome. A new idea about the *cura hominum* (1, 27) is elaborated: the human being is creative, powerful, far-seeing, and the gods appear less powerful than man's creative potential. The author stresses the importance of the human being in creating the beauty of classical arts, particularly sculpture

---

<sup>16</sup> I shall use the term "pre-humanistic", since, as several scholars agree, Hildebert does not entirely belong to the humanist tradition as it will develop later. For more about this, see: von den Steinen, *Menschen im Mittelalter*, 199.

and architecture. The city's artistic values have been remarkable, and their ruins are still standing:

*Cura hominum potuit tantam componere Romam/ Quantam non potuit solvere cura deum.*  
(1, 27–28).

Emphasizing the power of men was not a topos proper for religious literature, and the role and the force of the human being received new interpretation by Hildebert. The gods participated in the construction of the city, yet, the presence of humans is more powerful, superior to their power. This confidence in the superiority of human forces above that of the pagan gods is amplified by the lines where, in Hildebert's opinion, only the artists of the terrestrial world can be entrusted with the reconstruction of Rome:

*Confer opes marmorque novum superum favorem/ Artificium vigilent in nova facta manus*  
(1, 23–24),

although, as he subsequently confirms, the renewal of Rome as it was in ancient times is unfeasible and the surviving ruins confirm that it is impossible to create something new equal to the greatness that existed before:

*Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans Aequari possit, diruta nec refici.*  
(1, 21–22).

*Non tamen aut fieri par stanti machina muro/ Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.* (1, 25–26).

The poem is not a lamentation for the city's unfortunate destiny, but the veneration of the physical beauty of Rome, which, although ruined, is still powerful and impressive. The pagan gods were bestowed with a particular function in the process of the adoration of ancient Rome: they came to admire the images dedicated to themselves and had to acknowledge their own inferiority in front of the creative power of the human being:

*Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi, Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.* (1, 29–30).

This is another important feature of Hildebert's poem: praise expressed for the sculptures of divinities; Rome is a storehouse of classical beauty, and the statues are the best illustration of this. The expansion of this idea follows:

*Non potuit natura deos hoc ore creare,  
Quo miranda deum signa creavit homo.  
Vultus adest his numinibus, potiusque coluntur  
Artificium studio quam deitate sua.* (1, 31–34)

It is not a new idea that the statues are to be admired as works of art and not only as cultic objects, yet in his poetry Hildebert underlines that the arts are a power given to human masters by nature and expresses his affection for those

ancient experts whose material, intellectual and artistic achievements seem stupendous.

### *Renovatio per excidium*

In the last two verses of the first poem, Hildebert expressed in a particular way his concern about the fate of the city:

*Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret/ Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide!* (1, 35–36)

These two lines suggest that the true religion was the right way to overcome the decay and the verses remind us of the fourth-century debates: Rome is not suffering because of its physical fall, and the true faith constitutes the well-being of the city. The poem *Iter idem de Roma* is a commentary about the superiority of Christianity as a dynamic and integrating force in the life of the city of Rome, superior to that of paganism in particular.

As already stated, the contradiction between the old classical Rome and the new Christian one, with the fall of Rome as a border between these two aspects in the history of the city, is undoubtedly perceptible in Hildebert's writings. An interesting approach may be seen in the second poem where he presents the city speaking for itself, as it does in Lucan's *Pharsalia*,<sup>17</sup> but obviously for entirely different purposes. The city's physical aspect is again prominent, and the opposition between the past and the present is patent:

*Dum simulacra mihi, dum numina vana placent,  
Militia, populo, moenibus alta fui...* (2, 1–2)

*Cesserunt arces, cecidere palatia divum,  
Servivit populus, degeneravit eques.  
Vix scio, quae fuerim, vix Romae Roma recordor,  
Vix sinit occasus vel meminisse mei.* (2, 5–8)

<sup>17</sup> Lucan's influence on Hildebert's poetry also becomes obvious when analyzing particular linguistic aspects of both poems (words in parentheses are extracts from Lucan's work): *longa tuos fastus aetas destruxit* (*sic longus aevum destruit animos*); *Caesar, quam socius et pius esse socer* (*iam bonus esse socer*); *expensas axis uterque* (*procul axis uterque est*); *fata favorem* (*longo fatorum crede favori*); *vultus adest his numinibus* (*vultus adest precibus*); *urbs felix* (*felix Roma*); *dum numina vana placent* (*Marcellusque loquax et, nomina vana, Catones*); *armorum vis illa perit* (*sceptrorum vis tota perit*) etc. An attempt to display similarities between Hildebert's poems and several classical works was made by Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 300–304. A comprehensive overview of the similarities in Lucan and Hildebert's writings is not yet complete.

and the same elsewhere:

*Quod ne Caesaribus videar debere vel armis,  
Et species rerum meque meosque trahat,  
Armorum vis illa perit, ruit alta senatus  
Gloria, procumbunt templa, theatra iacent,  
Rostra vacant, edicta silent, sua premia desunt  
Emeritis, populo iura, colonus agris.* (2, 17–22)

At this stage, a new interpretation of the ruins emerges: although they function as symbols for a world which has already passed, they may also very well symbolize the beginning of a new one: the fall of Rome was a necessary and unavoidable premise for the creation of the new world, where the ruins will serve as models for the renaissance of the city. The pessimistic function of the ruins recedes into the background, the fall is not a sign of tragedy anymore. The destroyed city becomes a perfect structural whole in itself: what was external and transitory can become internal and everlasting, this representing the concept of the optimistic fall.

*Gratior haec iactura mihi successibus illis/ Maior sum pauper divite, stante iacens.* (2, 9–10)

Before the twelfth century, Rome as a center of classical civilization had already been replaced by Rome as a religious center, and the destruction of the exterior structures of the city evolved into the consolidation of the inner spiritual elements. In his poetry, Hildebert tried to match the beauty coming from the classical past with the values of medieval religious writings, which were trying to present Rome as the capital of a spiritual world. Although Hildebert's educational background was based on the classical tradition, he obviously knew how to subdue ancient literary conventions to the generally accepted Christian norms. Hildebert was a churchman, and he tended to adapt classical forms to the Christian issues.<sup>18</sup>

Rome itself describes its present state as compared to the ancient one when it was patroned by pagan gods. This is again a reminiscence of the fourth-fifth century debate between pagans and Christians, a period when they tried to assess the values of their beliefs and to explain the city's destruction by blaming one another.

---

<sup>18</sup> Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 268.



*Dum simulacra mihi, dum numina vana placent,  
Militia, populo, moenibus alta fui;  
At simul effigies arasque superstitiosas  
Deiiciens, uni sum famulata Deo,  
Cesserunt arces, cecidere palatia divum,  
Servivit populus, degeneravit eques. (2, 1–6)*

This depiction of the actual degenerated state of things clearly portrays a contradiction between the two spiritual qualities of the city and may suggest to the reader that the glorious past was considered a paragon, as it is described in apparently positive colors. Yet in the following verses Hildebert immediately has Rome explain, in an Augustinian way, that it is not material values that concern, but spiritual concepts. The city of God is the eternal value, and the Christian faith is opposed to the former pagan beliefs:

*Gratior haec iactura mihi successibus illis;  
Maior sum pauper divite, stante iacens.  
Plus aquilis vexilla crucis, plus Caesare Petrus,  
Plus cunctis ducibus vulgus inerme dedit. (2, 9–12)*

The author explains that, while Rome was dominating earthly things before, now it triumphs over the kingdom of the dead, thus becoming evidently stronger and its power more influential. The material might of Rome was only an empire over men's bodies; Peter's empire is the true empire of human souls:

*Stans domui terras, infernum diruta pulso;  
Corpora stans, animas fracta iacensque rego.  
Tunc miserae plebi, modo principibus tenebrarum  
Impero; tunc urbes, nunc mea regna polus. (2, 13–16)*

The superiority of Christianity is represented according to the main issues of its doctrine, reminding us of the theological ideas of Christian humility as revealed in the Beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount. This poem displays two dominant influences in the life of Hildebert: his Christian faith and the sense of history, while comparing two epochs in the city's existence.

Hildebert used gloomy colors and images to portray the decay. The process of translation to the new Christian Empire passed ruins and destruction, and the remains of the ancient culture were condemned to consumption:

*Armorum vis illa perit, ruit alta senatus  
Gloria, procumbunt templa, theatra iacent,  
Rostra vacant, edicta silent, sua praemia desunt  
Emeritis, populo iura, colonus agris;  
Durus eques, iudex rigidus, plebs libera quondam  
Quaerit, amat, patitur otia, lucra, iugum. (2, 19–24)*

At the same time, Hildebert sees this state of things as a necessity, strongly connected with the Christian concept about the insignificance of secular values. The ruins are presented in order to emphasize the transitoriness of all earthly things; the pagan world had to fall, in order to free the way for Christianity:

*Ista iacent, ne forte meus spem ponat in illis, Civis et evacuet spemque bonumque crucis.*  
(2, 25–26)

Seeing that the greatest things of the earthly world were coming to an end, the Christian faithful, the *miles Christi*, would rather prepare themselves for the heavenly city, and expect salvation there:

*Cruce aedas alias, alios promittit honores, Militibus tribuens regna superna suis.* (2, 27–28).

Hildebert emphasized the superiority of the Christian Empire, and pointed to the benefits which could be acquired on becoming Christian. Because of their spiritually related values, these are incomparable with the privileges that the classical Roman state could offer:

*Sub cruce rex servit, sed liber; lege tenetur,  
Sed diadema gerens; iussa tremit, sed amat.  
Fundit avarus opes, sed abundat; foenerat idem,  
Sed bene custodit, si super astra locans.* (2, 29–32)

The author does not express concerns about the growth of the empire and the extension of its power, or the political renewal of the Roman Empire. Neither does he speak about the important role of the papacy as the governor of the Christian world. Yet, he does mention the significant power of the simple crowd, amplified by the vigor of faith:

*Plus aquillis vexilla crucis, plus Caesare Petrus, Plus cunctis ducibus vulgus inerme dedit.*  
(2, 11–12)

Even though Hildebert acknowledged the glory that has passed away, he remained loyal to the ideas of his time. The Christian world is obviously the one which brings salvation, and thus old Rome had to fall in order to become Christian: the “fall of Rome” is no longer a horrible catastrophe, the generator of a pessimistic and depressed world, but a must, a necessity which had been prayed for. After exploring the ancient past widely, any expectation for Rome’s renewal had to be abandoned; it had been the time for Rome to fall and no other possibility was plausible:

*Quis gladio Caesar, quis sollicitudine consul,  
Quis rhetor lingua, quae mea castra manu  
Tanta dedere mihi? Studiis et legibus horum  
Obtinui terras; crux dedit una polum.* (2, 33–36)

Since the contemporary restoration of ancient Rome was an impossible fantasy, Hildebert suggested another way for Rome's revival, the Christian Rome, as well as another means for salvation, the true faith.

### **Hildebert's poetry as part of the Evolution of the Concept of Rome in the Middle Ages**

Hildebert's poems about Rome are obviously a combination of several thoughts and ideas, different in their essence, although well woven together in a relatively small number of lines. They embody some of the essential contrasts and tensions of twelfth-century Latin literary convention, and in terms of cultural significance, these poems contain the themes and the organizational techniques established by a longer tradition of ancient and medieval Latin poetry.

That Hildebert knew classical authors from his educational background is beyond any doubt, and, thus, it is acceptable that he would, in general, appreciate the remains of classical culture expressed in literary or any other form. Even Augustine, whose influence during the Middle Ages was more than significant, suggested the study of lay poetry as a tool for a better understanding of Scripture.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, the language of Hildebert is a testimony of his classical learning; he constantly refers to ancient characters or realities. Both classical and Christian cultures combine in Hildebert's works. His first poem about Rome is influenced by classical ideas, while the second corresponds to the Christian way of thinking, being an attempt to reformulate the first one in Christian terms. The death and beauty of Rome in the first poem are read as life and salvation in the second; the author makes his poems enter a dialogue:

... les deux poèmes se présentent comme une débat in *utramque partem*-fausse et vraie grandeur de Rome-... ..les deux élégies se répondent: le poète dialogue effectivement avec Rome.<sup>20</sup>

Both poems could be regarded in their unity. Hildebert used the perception of classical Rome which became Christian and tried to stabilize a combination of these two ideas:

---

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, Pref., 11: "Immo vero et quod per hominem descendum est, sine superbia discat."

<sup>20</sup> Alain Michel, "Rome chez Hildebert," in *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople: L'image et le mythe de la ville*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986), 199.

Es geht also ... weder um eine Christianisierung der Antike noch um eine Antikisierung des hristilichen. Beide Werte werden in ihrer spezifischen Vollkommenheit gesehen.”<sup>21</sup>

This thought was preceded by Wolfram von den Steinen, who spoke about a “Humanistischen Christentum” in Hildebert’s poetry.<sup>22</sup>

Generally, Hildebert’s writings confirm the importance of Rome, which lasted through several ages, and underline the fascination medieval writers had concerning the city. The reason for Hildebert’s writing about the city remains open to debate. I have followed the commonly accepted supposition that the author expressed his personal feelings on contemplating the ruins, and, at the same time, tried to express several of his more general and universal thoughts and beliefs. This resulted in the creation of an image of Rome full of contradictions, which may very well prove that the city had a complex image for others in the twelfth century as well. Although faithful to the long tradition of Rome in its Christian interpretation, Hildebert directed his attention to the ancient past of the city, this aspect of Rome gaining considerable importance and weight in his work. Rome was represented as conveying ancient glory: the author repeatedly described the past achievements of the Roman Empire, emphasizing its unlimited power and great wealth, whether before or after its Christianization. Hildebert acknowledged the fall of Rome in his works; in its fallen state, contemporary Rome was presented as a conglomeration of ruins. However, Hildebert did not link this fall to any particular historical event, but imbued it with a more general, abstract meaning, alluding to the fall of the ancient world, and depicting the final end brought about by an unlimited grasping for wealth.

These poems do more than present different ways of perceiving and describing something very vast: Rome’s fallen state. They emphasize at the same time Rome’s material past and Rome’s literary past, the author translating the objective picture of the real city into the language of his time. Schramm, when providing an analysis of Hildebert’s poems in the last pages of his work, described the variety of thoughts and concepts thus:

Neben dem Kirchenmanne aber, der seinen Maßstab nicht aus dieser Welt nimmt, ist in Hildebert der Kenner und Bewunderer der antiken Bildung lebendig, dessen Augen gewahr sind, welche innerweltliche Einbusse das Christentum der Roma gebracht hat. Das ist eben das Merkwürdige an Hildebert, dass er die Einbusse ebenso stark wie den Gewinn sieht; das mischt in die Freude über den Sieg der neuen

---

<sup>21</sup> Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin*, 250.

<sup>22</sup> von den Steinen, *Menschen im Mittelalter*, 208.

Roma, in der sich Humbert und der Gregorianische Kreis einig waren, die Wehmut über das Vergangene, den Schmerz, die Trauer im Anblick von Ruinen.<sup>23</sup>

What Hildebert had to say about Rome should be connected with the historical entourage of the eleventh century. While Augustine and Orosius had to convince their audience that the fall was not the end of the *orbis Romanus*, and to defend the concept of eternal Rome, the clergy of the eleventh century did not have these concerns anymore. Hildebert acknowledged that ancient Rome had ceased to exist and that the world had changed, being aware of the existence of a border between two different worlds: classical Rome and Christian Rome.

While the authority of the Emperor and the Holy Roman Empire were most effective in the tenth and early eleventh centuries under the rule of the Saxon or Ottonian Emperors, who really attempted to present themselves as guardians and leaders of the Church and Christendom, and while the idea of *renovatio imperii* was more or less at its peak, Hildebert turned his attention to the classical past and did not do anything to support or amplify the idea of *renovatio* as seen by political leaders. Surprisingly enough, in Hildebert's poems there are no direct allusions to such matters, even though they were important for both the spiritual reputation and physical aspect of the city of Rome. Likewise, Rome is not represented as a city of martyrs, founded upon the blood of victims and eminent due to their martyrdom, although this topos was surely known to the author. For him, Rome is great in itself and always, and the fall is not an affliction, but the end of a stage in the city's history and the beginning of another.

Rome is not unique in Hildebert's poetry, but is rather a combination of ideas and interpretations generated by Hildebert's education, philosophical concepts, and facts of his life. It must be remembered that Hildebert's Rome is seen from the perspective of a medieval archbishop concerned about general values and supported by a strong classical literary education. Hildebert was a churchman, and he remained faithful to the long-lasting tradition of representing the city of Rome as the embodiment of the Christian city. This Rome came to replace the ancient one, and thus represented a new stage in the city's history. However, in his poetic texts Hildebert reconciles the values of ancient beauty from the classical past with those of the medieval clerical culture that presented Rome either as a goal for pilgrimage or as a capital of a spiritual empire. His references to the fall of Rome are not only an acknowledgment of (or lament for) the disappearance of a previous culture, but also a recognition of

---

<sup>23</sup> Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 298.

the difference between that culture and his own—and paradoxically—a bridge between the two.

Hildebert is an interesting author, and I believe his works deserve more attention than they have previously been accorded. He certainly did more than simply reproduce the way Rome was presented in literary writings of the beginning of the twelfth century. His work is an attempt at a polemic, mainly reflecting his concerns and reflections; it is not very much influenced by external political or social causes, and is characterized by an interesting combination of past, present and future, all of these having as a focus the image of Rome. He created in his writings a myth of the city: besides being a series of monuments, it became a part of universal history and religion. Hildebert managed to read the ancient images of Rome in order to recapture meaning from the past and to offer a new reading of Rome for the future.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNION:  
EUCHARISTIC PREACHING IN THE FIFTEENTH-  
CENTURY HUNGARIAN SERMON COLLECTION  
*SERMONES DOMINICALES*<sup>1</sup>

Ottó Geeser 

Preaching on the Eucharist had to accomplish a twofold task: (1) it had to *disseminate* the dogmas of the Sacrament, which every Christian had to believe and observe; and (2) it had to *display* the functions of the Sacrament, the role it was meant to play in human life, embedding it in the conceptual scheme of 'simple folk.' The following study will examine the accomplishment of the second task in sermons for Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi, the two main occasions for Eucharistic preaching in the late Middle Ages. On the one hand we will attempt to reconstruct the semantic field in which the Eucharist as food and medicine was embedded, and thus to understand the categories stemming from social experience through which the role of the Eucharist in human life was possibly perceived. On the other hand, we will interpret certain meanings and practices associated with the sacrament in eucharistic sermons as hints towards a contemporary classification of social groups according to their relation to the holy bread.

### The Sources

Sermons, like other texts, must be interpreted in context. But what is a context here? An evident answer is that the context of a sermon consists of the preacher and his audience. If we know who spoke and to whom we may understand the message in the manner they did.<sup>2</sup> The majority of medieval sermons, however,

---

<sup>1</sup> This study is a shortened version of my M.A. thesis, defended in June, 2000 at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest. I am grateful to my internal supervisor, Gábor Klaniczay, and to my external supervisors, Nicole Bériou and Edit Madas, for their comments and criticism.

<sup>2</sup> Comparisons of sermons and their immediate contexts can yield sharp, close-up pictures of religious ideas and practices; see, for example, Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998); eadem, *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: Sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1987); Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt,

produced from the thirteenth century onwards were not intended for a precisely defined group of listeners. Most of them were *model sermons*, compact outlines helping the preacher in the same way as lecture outlines help modern lecturers. Among the usual elements of such outlines we find first of all the *thema*, a short Biblical quotation forming the rhetorical focus of the sermon to be delivered. In addition to the *thema*, the compiler had to include in his schemes a number of citations from various *auctores*—a worthwhile aid, indispensable even for the most ingenious preachers. Lastly, there had to be some order brought into this host of citations by indicating the main interpretative headings or keys to the *thema*—called *divisiones*—under which the citations could be grouped. The actual preaching went along the *divisiones* commenting on the *thema* section by section or word by word (in technical terms *membrum* by *membrum*), applying the citations to underpin the commentaries and thus augmenting the laconic scheme to a lengthy delivery.<sup>3</sup>

There are some cases when we happen to know more or less reliably the resulting speech from notes (called *reportationes*) taken down by some member of the audience. In such cases we know how at least one listener understood the sermon, and usually we also know something about the situation in which the sermon was delivered.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, as a general rule, we have to be content with the outlines. In Hungary, for example, no *reportationes* have survived. If we have merely model sermons, their context must be defined without reference to a given, known audience. Although we can only reconstruct a broader context, this is not necessarily far from the context the compiler could have had in mind while composing his outlines, since model sermons were made for common preachers working in varied geographical areas and social situations.

Our main sources are two Eucharistic sermons—one for Maundy Thursday, one for Corpus Christi—in an anonymous collection, *Sermones Dominicales* (henceforth SD). Based on its two surviving copies, the SD was

---

and Anne T. Thayer, eds., *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University* (Louvain: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> On model sermons and the development of this new type of preaching in general, see David L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); for the *sermo modernus* in Hungary, see Edit Madas, *A középkori magyarországi prédikáció-irodalom forrásai (XII–XIV. század)* (The sources of medieval preaching literature in Hungary from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries), Ph. D. diss. (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> On *reportationes* in general, see the conference volume *Dal pulpito alla navata: La predicazione nella sua ricezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII–XV)*, *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (Firenze: Olschki, 1989).



edited by Áron Szilády in 1910.<sup>5</sup> About the *sermonarium* itself we know that it originates from the diocese of Pécs, Southern Hungary; it was dated by Szilády to the period between 1450 and 1456. We also know that out of its 127 sermons 45 are taken from Jacobus de Voragine with substantial modifications. The extent of the modifications hints towards intermediary stages in the transmission of these 45 texts. A part of the rewriting was certainly made in Hungary as newly inserted passages contain Hungary-specific materials. The other sermons—not taken from Voragine—are presumably from the period after 1350, since I did not find any of them in Schneyer's *Repertorium*, which contains information sufficient for identifying (theoretically) all sermons written between 1150 and 1350.<sup>6</sup> The collection was probably made for a clerical audience, and it seems a bit more convincing that the supposed addressees were secular rather than regular clergymen. They may have belonged to the chapter of Pécs, and it is also possible, though not proven, that the compiler occupied the official post for preaching established by Pope Martin V in 1428. As for the two eucharistic sermons, we cannot find in them even the smallest reference to Utraquism, either explicitly or by discussing the differences between priestly and lay communion, though the compiler was a contemporary of the still-widespread Hussite dissent, and (in another sermon) even claimed to have personally met John of Capistran, one of the leading opponents of the Hussites.<sup>7</sup> Hence it is eminently reasonable to think that both sermons stem from the second half of the fourteenth century (after 1350 but preceding the birth of the Hussite movement).

In order to see what are the routine elements and what is less usual in the SD sermons, I also consulted other late medieval Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi sermons. I tried both to use the most widespread texts and to represent the Catholic countries surrounding Hungary through the following authors: Robertus Caraccioli,<sup>8</sup> Vincent Ferrer,<sup>9</sup> Henricus Herphius,<sup>10</sup> Johannes de

---

<sup>5</sup> *Sermones Dominicales*, ed. Áron Szilády, 2 Vols. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910). Only two publications have been dedicated to the *Sermones Dominicales*. One of them is the introduction to the 1910 edition by the editor himself, the other is Andor Tarnai, "A budapest-németújvári 'Sermones Dominicales'" (The 'Sermones Dominicales' of Budapest and Güssing), *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 87 (1983): 23–31. For a detailed philological analysis of the collection see the first chapter of my M.A. thesis.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969–1995).

<sup>7</sup> "Audivi enim a fratre Johanne Capistrano, quod..." SD, vol. 2, 376.

<sup>8</sup> Robertus Caraccioli (Roberto da Lecce), *Sermones* (Lyon: Johann Clyn, 1502; ÖNB 19.H.41).

Capistrano,<sup>11</sup> Johannes Herolt,<sup>12</sup> Gottschalcus Hollen,<sup>13</sup> Oliverius Maillardus,<sup>14</sup> Osvaldus de Laskó,<sup>15</sup> [Paratus],<sup>16</sup> Pelbartus de Temesvár,<sup>17</sup> Peregrinus de Opole.<sup>18</sup> As an easily available indicator of popularity one may count the incunabula editions of these texts (if there was any) listed in the handbooks of Hain, Copinger and Reichling.<sup>19</sup> Johannes Herolt, for example, was available at least in 46 editions before 1500. Pelbartus de Temesvár and Osvaldus de Laskó were the most relevant Hungarian preachers in the fifteenth century; they were also quite popular outside Hungary due to the famous German printer Henricus Gran.

---

<sup>9</sup> Vincent Ferrer, *Sancti Vincenti Ferreri Opera seu sermones de tempore et sanctis cum tractatu de vita spirituali*, 2 vols. (Augsburg: Joannes Strötter, 1729; ÖNB 21.P.13).

<sup>10</sup> Henricus Herphius, *Sermones fratris Henrici Herp ... de tempore et sanctis* (Hagenau: Henricus Gran, 1509; ÖNB 18. G. 22).

<sup>11</sup> Joannes a Capistrano, *XLIV sermones Vratislaviae habiti a. D. MCCCCLIII*, ed. Eugen Jacob. Johannes von Capistrano, Teil 2: Die auf der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau befindlichen handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen von Reden und Traktaten Capistrans 3 (Wrocław: Trewendt & Granier's Verlag, 1911).

<sup>12</sup> Joannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis cum exemplorum promptuario* (Venice: Sessae, 1584; ÖNB 18.R.14).

<sup>13</sup> Gottschalcus Hollen, *Sermonum opus exquisitissimum ... super epistolas dominicarum per anni circulum* (Hagenau: Henricus Gran, 1520; ÖNB 20. CC. 113).

<sup>14</sup> Oliverius Maillardus, *Sermones de adventu, quadragesimales, dominicales et de peccati stipendio et gratie premio etc.* (Strasbourg: Knoblouch, 1506; ÖNB 19. F. 43).

<sup>15</sup> Osvaldus de Laskó, *Sermones Dominicales perutiles* (Hagenau: Henricus Gran, 1516; MTA RM III 81a).

<sup>16</sup> [Paratus], *Sermones parati de tempore et de sanctis* (Hagenau: Henricus Gran, 1513; ÖNB 32. F. 36).

<sup>17</sup> Pelbartus de Temesvár, *Pomerium sermonum de Sanctis* (Rouen, 1521; MTA RM III 104).

<sup>18</sup> Peregrinus de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. Richard Tatarzyński, *Studia "Przeglądu Tomistycznego"* 1. (Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum, 1997).

<sup>19</sup> Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD, etc.*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart and Paris: J. G. Cotta and Jules Renouard, 1826–1838); W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 3 vols. (London: Henry Sotheran, 1895–1902); Dietrich Reichling, *Appendices ad Haini-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 7 vols. (Munich: Jakob Rosenthal, 1905–1914).

## Food and Medicine: The Eucharist in Its Socially Determined Field of Associations

It is bread and wine that we find in the center of religious concerns in an age which was characterized impressively by Jacques Le Goff as a “universe of hunger.”<sup>20</sup> Since the first premise of all human history is, of course, the existence of living human individuals, we cannot over-emphasize this deep-rooted tension underlying eucharistic discourse. Life involves before everything else eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing and many other things, which can be summed up in two words: nutrition and health.

The immediate importance of these two concepts for the material subsistence of man influenced the language of comprehending and describing the spiritual realm in the Old Testament—God cures the sick and feeds the needy: “For I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds, saith the LORD; because they called thee an Outcast, saying, this is Zion, whom no man seeketh after” (Jer 30,17);<sup>21</sup> “O LORD my God, I cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me” (Ps 30,2); “Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help ... which giveth food to the hungry” (Ps 146,5–7). An even closer parallel between the material and the spiritual in these terms is created by the juxtaposition of sin and illness: “I said, LORD, be merciful unto me: heal my soul; for I have sinned against thee” (Ps 41,4); “Bless the LORD, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits: Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases” (Ps 103,2–3).

In the New Testament, Jesus, the Son, becomes the heavenly food, the true bread, which the provident Father sends to the Earth to feed his people: “For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world ... he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst” (Jn 6,33–35). And it is also Jesus who embodies the full healing power of God both in the physical and in the spiritual sense, removing corporeal sickness from the body, and sins from the soul. Christ’s twofold mission, feeding and healing, is merged in the concept of his Body being food and medicament at the same time: “For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.” (Jn 6,55); “Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed” (1 Pet 2,24).

The image of Christ as the heavenly bread, the food of eternal life, is one of the main *topoi* of Christian literature from patristic times onwards. There is,

<sup>20</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1964), 290.

<sup>21</sup> I used the King James version.

however, another—less ubiquitous, but still important—*topos* as well, in direct connection with the former one: the image of Christ as *medicus*. Apart from the Biblical tradition, we find at its origin the Greek-Roman idea of the healer-gods *Apollo medicus* and *Asklepios soter*.<sup>22</sup> In the West, a writer as early as Tertullian refers to Christ as *salutificator* and *artifex salutis*. Somewhat later, in the words of Novatianus Romanus (d. 250), Christ is *corporum et animarum medicus*. Evodius in the next century calls him *Medicus Salvator Christus*.<sup>23</sup> Augustine, who has an explicit predilection for this medical imagery, in one of his sermons compares humankind to an enormous sick man stretching himself out across the whole world from the East to the West, while Christ, the *omnipotens medicus*, descends to his bed to heal him:

*Aegrotat humanum genus, non morbis corporis, sed peccatis. Iacet toto orbe terrarum ab oriente usque in occidentem grandis aegrotus. Ad sanandum grandem aegrotum descendit omnipotens medicus. Humiliavit se usque ad mortalem carnem, tanquam usque ad lectum aegrotantis. Dat salutis praecepta, contemnitur: qui audiunt, liberantur.* (It is not bodily disease Humankind suffers from, but sin. The bed of this huge Sick one is the whole round world from the East to the West. An omnipotent medicus comes down to the Earth to heal him. Humiliates himself to the mortal flesh as he bends down to the bed of the sick. Gives medical instructions – he is denigrated; those who hear him are saved.)<sup>24</sup>

There is nothing unfamiliar, then, nothing to surprise the audience, when Vincent Ferrer in his first sermon for Corpus Christi, explaining why Christ does not appear on the altar in human shape instead of the disguise of bread and wine, compares the Lord to a *medicus* who wraps the bitter pill in a host: *Christus medicus noster, cujus caro est pilula nostrae salutis, quia aliter non possemus salvari, nisi per communionem, cooperit ne videatur, neque sapor carnis sentiatur.* (Christ, our *medicus*, whose flesh is the pill of our salvation since otherwise we could not be

<sup>22</sup> Heinrich Schipperges, *Die Kranken im Mittelalter* (München: C. H. Beck, 1993), 203; Karl Kerényi, *Der göttliche Arzt: Studien über Asklepios und seine Kultstätten* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1948).

<sup>23</sup> Schipperges, *Die Kranken*, 204; see also Hans Martin von Erffa, “Christus als Arzt,” in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2 (München: C. H. Beck, 1948), 639 f.

<sup>24</sup> Augustine of Hippo, “Sermo LXXXVII,” in *Sermones*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 38 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1861), col. 537 (my translation); see also “Sermo CLXXV,” “Sermo CCXLVII,” and “Sermo CCXCIX.”

saved, if not by communion, hides himself neither to be seen, nor the taste of flesh to be perceived.)<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, the use of medical imagery in medieval sermons is not restricted to the ancient *topos* of *Christus medicus*. Hervé Martin argues that in northern France in the later Middle Ages, it is the semantic field of sickness and healing that most metaphors of preaching stem from.<sup>26</sup> General medical knowledge is frequently mobilized to apprehend religious problems in vivid images. It is especially true of the discourse on sin. Heresies, erroneous religious ideas, were correlated with various diseases; the more mysterious a disease and the more heavily loaded with Biblical associations, like leprosy, paralysis, epilepsy, and so on, the more suitable it is for moralizing parallels.<sup>27</sup> We also find contemporary principles of healing used in a religious context. John of Capistran, for example, in his sermon for Maundy Thursday, applies the “law of opposites” to the relation between Adam’s sin in the garden and Christ’s Passion on the cross:

*Deus non potuit convenientiorem modum et aptissimum excogitare quam quod pro nobis morietur in cruce quia sicut contraria contrarijs curantur regula medicorum Sic sicut Adam extendit manus suos ad lignum sic Christus ad crucem peccavit in voluptate gustus Christus est potatus amaro gustu aceti et fellis Audivit Adam verba blanditoria Christus blasphemias Adam nudus in paradiso Christus nudus in cruce* (God could not have found out a way more appropriate and more apt to die for us, than crucifixion, since – as the medical rules say – what has a contrary is cured by that; hence as Adam stretched out his arm toward the tree, Christ stretched his arm toward the cross; as Adam was guilty of the pleasure of tasting, Christ had to taste the bitterness of vinegar and gall; Adam heard enticing words, Christ heard blasphemies; Adam was nude in the Garden, Christ was nude on the cross).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Vincent Ferrer, *Opera seu sermones*, “In festo Corporis Christi,” sermo 1 (my translation). Its popularity notwithstanding no pictorial representation of *Christus medicus* is known from the Middle Ages. The first such picture seems to appear only in 1510, in a Dutch book of engravings—see von Erffa, “Christus als Arzt,” 640ff.

<sup>26</sup> “La métaphore du malade (le pécheur) et du médecin (le prêtre ou le Christ) est sans doute celle qui revient le plus souvent dans l’ensemble du corpus.” Hervé Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Âge (1350–1520)* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 452.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Ziegler, “Medical Similes in Religious Discourse: The Case of Giovanni di San Gimignano OP (ca. 1260 – ca. 1333),” *Science in Context* 8 (1995): 112ff.

<sup>28</sup> Capistran, “Sermo de sacramento,” in *XLIV sermones*, 177 (my translation).

At the heart of this “law of opposites” resides the seminal idea of *natural balance*, which distinguishes the Galenian medical heritage reaching the medieval West through Arabic intermediaries. The central concept that provides a rational link between disease and therapy is that of complexion (*complexio*). Complexion means the normal or healthy balance of the qualities of wet, dry, cold, and hot, different in every human being and relative to ethnic groups and geographical regions as well. Moreover, every organ and every part of the body has also its own characteristic complexion including the four humors: phlegm, blood, bile, and black bile. In turn, these humors are responsible for the maintenance of the individual’s overall complexional balance, that is, for his health. This is why methods of influencing the ratio between these humors—by bloodletting, vomiting, and so on—had a prominent place in the repertoire of late medieval doctors of every social rank.<sup>29</sup> The general character of the physician which Capistran and his audience might have had in mind, inventing, and understanding, respectively, the above simile, was quite different from that of patristic times. According to Katharine Park “the period after about 1050 witnessed two processes that were to transform the practice of medicine. The first was a series of moves to limit the number and variety of healers by excluding certain groups from legitimate medical practice; the second was a process of differentiation among the practitioners themselves.”<sup>30</sup> Lay doctors and municipal hospitals were to take the former role of monasteries in large scale healing; the profession as such was governed more and more by guilds, protecting some and deterring others; the emergence of medical education at the universities opened a gap between high-level specialists and barber-type polymaths. Still, even the barbers, the surgeons, the apothecaries and the like were to become clearly distinguished by their guild membership from midwives and benevolent family members. They had to undergo some sort of apprenticeship and prove their abilities at the end.<sup>31</sup> Capistran’s imaginary doctor was a “popular empiricist,” who based his diagnosis on materialistic inspections

---

<sup>29</sup> For a general discussion of the theory of complexions, see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 101ff; see also Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 48ff, and Heinrich Schipperges, *Der Garten der Gesundheit: Medizin im Mittelalter* (Zürich: Artemis, 1985), 103ff.

<sup>30</sup> Katharine Park, “Medicine and Society in Medieval Europe, 500–1500,” in *Medicine and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 76.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 80ff. cf. Schipperges, *Der Garten der Gesundheit*, 190ff.

and, above all, on his own experience. Here is another, very impressive medical *similitudo* from the same sermon:

*Medicus cognoscit infirmitates hominis sepe ex urina et sanguinis exterioribus sed magis ex experientia s. quando per se patitur hanc infirmitatem Jesus ab inicio cognovit infirmitates hominum sed antequam fuit expertus nostras infirmitates plagavit horribiliter peccatores in lege antiqua. Sed quando venit et expertus est infirmitates nostras et dolores Nunc misericors est omnibus* (The *medicus* often recognizes human diseases from the urine and from the outward quality of blood, but more frequently from his own experiences of having suffered from the disease in question; Jesus knew the human diseases from the beginnings, but before experiencing our illnesses, under the Old Law, he punished the sinners horribly. Nevertheless, when he had come and experienced our illnesses and pains, he became merciful to everyone).<sup>32</sup>

We should see the holy bread *as host* in the light of this medical practice. When Vincent Ferrer in fifteenth-century Spain (a country especially developed in medicine due to Arabic influences) compares Christ to a doctor who wraps the bitter pill in a host, just as the Lord hides his precious body beneath the accidents of corporeal bread, he had in mind not merely the *Christus medicus* of the Fathers, but also a late medieval professional—if not an expert with a university degree, at least a barber with an earned guild membership.

The idea of natural balance as one of the essential features of medieval medical practice—which gradually becomes more and more professional in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—is vital, though in a much simpler sense, also to nutrition, the other definitive element of the semantic field where the Eucharist was embedded.<sup>33</sup> One has to eat day by day, counterbalancing the disequilibrium caused by hunger. In the long run, however, eating is built on a slightly different idea of balance, that of *dynamic equilibrium*. One can remain healthy for a long time without any significant change in one's physical state: this is a *static equilibrium*—"They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to

<sup>32</sup> Capistran, "Sermo de sacramento," 178 (my translation). In fact, inspecting the patient's urine was the most widespread diagnostic method. As Nancy Siraisi observes, "the proliferation of brief handbooks and color charts giving rules for diagnosis by inspection of urine leaves little doubt that, in actuality, many practitioners relied primarily and perhaps exclusively on such observations of urine." Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 125.

<sup>33</sup> For the importance of natural balance to the ideals of "healthy lifestyle", see Schipperges, *Der Garten der Gesundheit*, 241ff.

repentance” (Mk 2,17). Satiety, at the same time, is constantly undermined by digestion, though we take pains to re-establish this fragile balance at least every single day. This daily rhythm of becoming hungry and satiating oneself with food is used as an essential metaphor in connection with the effects of the Eucharist. Thomas Aquinas, discussing the question *Utrum per hoc sacramentum remittantur peccata venialia?* (Is venial sin forgiven by this sacrament?), writes the following:

*hoc sacramentum sumitur sub specie cibi nutrientis. Nutrimentum autem cibi necessarium est corpori ad restaurandum id quod quotidie deperditur ex calore naturali. Spiritualiter autem quotidie in nobis aliquid deperditur ex calore concupiscentiae per peccata venialia, quae diminuunt fervorem caritatis* (this sacrament is received under the form of nourishing food. Now nourishment from food is requisite for the body to make good the daily waste caused by the action of natural heat. But something is also lost daily of our spirituality from the heat of concupiscence through venial sins, which lessen the fervor of charity).<sup>34</sup>

There is another difference between the concepts of food and medicine, closely connected to the former one: medicaments can be taken in advance, preventively, while food cannot. According to the Italian preacher Giovanni di San Gimignano, the righteous who do not suffer from any spiritual sickness need only *medicina praeservativa vel confortativa*.<sup>35</sup> Thus, in the context of the problem of frequent communion, the Eucharist as food on the one hand, and the Eucharist as medicament on the other, represent the two opposing views, frequent and infrequent reception of the sacrament. If it is a medicament, one could be content with taking it only a few times a year as prevention against sin, for it was believed to strengthen the soul in case of temptation and against the power of demons. This latter point is emphasized by an *exemplum* from the Corpus Christi sermon in the SD:

*legitur, quod [erant] tres juvenes (latrones) satis malitiosi, transeuntes per quamdam viam ad latrocinia exercendum. Tunc de coelo facta est vox dicens: percutite primum, ne amplius ambulet in terra, et mox fulminatus est (m e g h i t e m e n); et iterum dixit: percutite secundum, et illico secundus fulmine percussus expiravit. Tunc tertiaro vox insonuit dicens: percutite et tertium. Statim clamor daemonis auditus est sic: non possum, quia dum sacra communio fiebat i.e.*

<sup>34</sup> *Summa Theologiae*, 3 q.79 a.4; I used the following edition: *Summa theologiae Sancti Thomae Aquinatis* (Madrid: La Editorial Catolica, 1950–51). In English: *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1981).

<sup>35</sup> Ziegler, “Medical Similes,” 111.



*missa celebrabatur, interfuit* (there were three quite wicked young brigands going along a road looking for some robbery. Once they heard a voice from heaven: "Kill the first one, do not let him walk on the earth anymore!" – and he was suddenly struck by a lightning. Then again: "Kill the second one!" – and he, struck by a second lightning, died on the spot. The voice started to speak even for a third time: "Kill the third one as well!" In that moment the demon began to wail: "I cannot do that, because when the Holy Communion was administered, that is, during the mass, he was present").<sup>36</sup>

In the Maundy Thursday sermon one of the effects of the Eucharist is referred to as *contra temptationes diaboli armatio*.<sup>37</sup> Ferrer in the same context calls it *medicamentum universale*; in Caracciolo it is *spiritualis medicina*, which *defendit ... preservando a peccatis futuris*.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, living exclusively on celestial food, on the Lord's body, was a common theme in devotional literature, especially in the environment of pious women like Juliana of Cornillon, the initiator of the process that led to the establishment of Corpus Christi as a universal feast.<sup>39</sup> For these women, daily reception—whether in reality or merely in visions—was the inversion of priests' daily consecration, a practice from which they were excluded by definition; but it was also an inversion of their social role as providers of daily food. Fasting in the material world, and eating in the spiritual one was the only ascetic way of life which was open to medieval women. In the words of Caroline Bynum, "since women were usually not able to renounce property ... they chose to renounce food, the one pleasure they not only fully controlled but were also chiefly responsible *by role* for preparing for all society."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> SD, vol. 2, 443. (my translation). The words in brackets are contemporary glosses either in Latin or in Hungarian; the two types of brackets indicate that some glosses are only in the one, some only in the other of the two surviving manuscripts.

<sup>37</sup> SD, vol. 2, 77; cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3 q.79 a.6: "Utrum per hoc sacramentum praeservetur homo a peccatis futuris."

<sup>38</sup> Ferrer, *Opera seu sermones*, "In festo Corporis Christi," sermo 5; Caracciolo, *Sermones*, "Feria secunda hebdomade sancte." In Johannes Herolt the sacrament was instituted by Christ partly "in medicamentum nostrae infirmitatis," Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore*, "In festo Corporis Christi," sermo 2.

<sup>39</sup> For the emergence of the feast, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 164ff; and Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1933), 71ff.

<sup>40</sup> Caroline Bynum, "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991), 142; see also eadem, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 189ff;

Nonetheless, fasting in general was not restricted to pious women. Abstaining from food was an occasional duty for all Christians. "The medieval year resembled a chessboard of black and white squares. It was patterned with periods of fast and feast, each distinct and limited in time, yet each dependent on the other for its significance and worth."<sup>41</sup> Apart from Lent, people were required to fast on Wednesdays, remembering the day when Judas made his deal with the high priest to betray Jesus, on Saturdays, for Mary's virginity, and most importantly of all on Fridays in memory of the Passion. This last one was to be observed strictly. There were also special fasting periods four times a year, the so called *quattuor tempora*, when severe fasting was called for on each of the above three days: in the third week of Advent, in the first week of Lent, in the week after Pentecost, and in the week following 14 September.<sup>42</sup> The most important time for fasting was, of course, Lent—a period of extraordinary religious activity, when preachers were urged to deliver sermons every single day, and their flocks were not only deprived of meat and eating before evening, but they had to be moderate in all joyful aspects of life. Lent was also a main structuring element of the entire Church year, being a preparation for Easter, the focal point of the calendar. It was argued by Dietz-Rüdiger Moser that Pope Urban IV had placed Corpus Christi on the Thursday after Trinity with the intention to create a symbolic counterpoint to *Dominica Septuagesima*, the third Sunday before Lent and the beginning of the Carnival.<sup>43</sup> Certainly the two feasts are arranged symmetrically around Easter, and Easter must really have been perceived as a threshold. The pre-Easter period was marked by *sin*, either through over-accentuating it in colorful excess during the Carnival, or—as a sharp contrast—through repressing it in sorrowful repentance during Lent. The post-Easter period was characterized by the theme of *salvation*, hence joy and solemn celebration culminating in the feasts—closely related in both time and meaning—of Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity and Corpus Christi. Easter, the

---

and Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 84ff. Caracciolo relates the example of St. Catherine of Siena who "sepius communione suscepta per dies plurimos sine cibo et potu persistebat absque aliqua sui corporis lesione," Caracciolo, *Sermones*, "Feria secunda hebdomade sancte."

<sup>41</sup> Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 28.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 29ff; and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 12f.

<sup>43</sup> Dietz-Rüdiger Moser, "Fastnacht und Fronleichnam als Gegenfeste: Festgestaltung und Festbrauch im liturgischen Kontext," in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, eds. Detlef Altenburg, Jörg Jarnut and Hans-Hugo Steinhoff (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), 359–376.

threshold, was the first time that people could consume meat again. In Hungarian "Húsvét," the word for Easter, literally means "taking meat." The fourth Lateran council set the date of the yearly compulsory communion at Easter; thus the Body of the Lord was, so to speak, the first piece of meat given to the faithful after six weeks of fasting.<sup>44</sup> But fasting meant first of all relying on bread, since fish was very expensive, even in salted form, or entirely unavailable due to problems of transportation.<sup>45</sup> Communion at Easter, then, merged the symbols of Before and After by offering the precious Body *sub specie panis*.<sup>46</sup> The following table sums up the main dichotomies which determine this semantic field of food and medicine:

illness	health
sin	salvation
starving	satiating
before Easter	after Easter

There is, however, a problem with the right side of the table, one also perceived by the compiler of the SD (or the one who composed the eucharistic sermons): health and satiating oneself are associated not only with salvation and the post-Easter period but also with *richness*. Richness was a recurring problem throughout the history of the Church; it was either accepted or refused, but never praised.<sup>47</sup> There is a digression about food in the sermon for Corpus Christi which occupies almost the third of the whole text. It starts thus:

*Et ex quo fit mentio de cibo, nota quod scriptura sacra quadruplicem cibum commemorat sc. mundi prosperitatem (divitias), doctrinae veritatem, aeternae gloriae delectabilitatem, et animae satietatem. Primus ergo cibus est mundi*

<sup>44</sup> There were constant debates concerning the extent of the acceptable delay of the Easter communion. From the point of view of the parish priests it was a real burden to communicate everybody within two days; see Peter Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster: Regensberg'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1940), 71ff.

<sup>45</sup> Massimo Montanari, *Éhség és bőség: A táplálkozás európai kultúrtörténete* (Hunger and abundance: A cultural history of eating in Europe), trans. Katalin Kövendy (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1996), 95ff.

<sup>46</sup> Mary Douglas places this twofold nature of the consecrated Host as bread and meat in the context of the Old Testament dichotomy of cereal and animal sacrifice; see Mary Douglas, "The Eucharist: Its Continuity with the Bread Sacrifice of Leviticus," *Modern Theology* 15 (1999): 209–224.

<sup>47</sup> For attitudes to richness in medieval sermons, see Jussi Hanska, "And the Rich Man Also Died; and He Was Buried in Hell:" *The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997).

*prosperitas i.e. mundanarum rerum copiositas (i.e. multitudo), unde Eccli XXX<sup>o</sup> dicitur: confundet te sc. diabolus vel mundus in cibis tuis i. e. in divitiis* (And since food was mentioned, we have to keep in mind that the Holy Scripture contains four meanings of food: worldly prosperity or richness, truth of doctrine, delectability of eternal glory, satiety of the soul. Thus the first meaning of food is worldly prosperity, that is, abundance or multitude of worldly things, as in Ecclesiasticus 13,8: **he**, that is, the devil or the world **will shame thee by his food**, that is, richness).<sup>48</sup>

According to this *distinctio* food has four meanings out of which one refers to corporeal—*mundi prosperitas*—and three to spiritual food—*doctrinae veritas*, *delectabilitas aeternae gloriae*, and *satietas animae*. The first meaning is glossed in one of the surviving codices with the word *divitiis* leaving no doubt concerning the central issue. The quotation from Ecclesiasticus 13,8—*confundet te in cibis tuis*—also contains two telltale glosses. The dangers of richness, however, stem only from its abuse: *Et vere confundet, si homo divitiis abutitur i.e. male utitur* (And he will shame thee indeed, if you misuse, that is, wrongly use, richness).<sup>49</sup> The above *distinctio* makes clear that food must be understood predominantly in the spiritual sense, since in the latter sense it has three meanings, while in the corporeal sense it has merely one, and only the corporeal sense entails the possibility of sin—in the case of misuse. The implicit goal of the passage is a total *dissociation* of the concept of food from that of richness. After a reference to the story of the rich man from Luke 16<sup>50</sup>—to the torments he has to suffer in Hell—and to some affirmative *auctoritates* (Aristotle, Boethius and Augustine) the process of dissociation gets a powerful underpinning in the form of a *similitudo* about wolves:

*dicit enim Plinius . . . , quod lupus quando esurit, tunc fame artatus i.e. compulsus [k e x e r e t t e t h i k], praedam invadit, et cibis multum se replet, et si videt venatorem advenire, tunc ut possit evadere, propter levificare se, evomit cibum sumptum, sic multi qui esuriunt in paupertate, tandem per fas et nefas congregant divitias, eisdem divitiis cupidine [i.e. cupiditate] ducti, se nimium replentes, et si infirmantur et vident eis advenire mortem tamquam venatorem: tunc non*

<sup>48</sup> SD, vol. 2, 439. The Biblical quotations without the interpolations are written in bold. Here, since Ecclesiasticus is not included in the King James version I used the Douay-Rheims translation and changed the word “meats” to “food.”

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> According to most missals this story was read on the first Sunday after Trinity, that is, three days after Corpus Christi. In mendicant sermons commenting upon this parable, gluttony was usually discussed as a sin typical of the rich; see Hanska, *The Social Ethos*, 50f.

*miser cordia ducti, sed timore coacti, evomunt ipsa temporalia.* (Pliny says that the wolf, when hungry, forced by hunger, brings down the prey, fills himself with food, and if he sees the hunter coming, then to be able to escape, to unburden himself, throws up what he has eaten; similarly, many who are starving in poverty and finally, in some way allowed or not, make a fortune led by the desire for richness, satiate themselves excessively; and if they become ill and see death, the hunter, coming, then, lead not by mercy but forced by fear, they throw up all the worldly goods.)<sup>51</sup>

Here the useless transience of wealth is displayed through the tangible contradiction between eating and vomiting. Vomiting then becomes a symbol of vanity reinforced by quotations from Job: *quos devoravit evomet* (Job 20,15) and Peter: *canis reversus ad vomitum* (II Pet 2,22). The original context of the first Biblical quotation conveys directly the message of vanity; the second one, however, is taken from a passage about false prophets who teach erroneous doctrines. Richness, namely, and particularly the desire for richness, is an erroneous doctrine. The image of the *multi qui esuriunt in paupertate, tandem per fas et nefas congregant divitias*, is not an image of reality, of course; it is a warning against vain desire. People must not long for abundance of corporeal food, that is, richness—they will throw it up in their last hour; nevertheless, a modest quantity of corporeal food is not detrimental provided that it is not longed for:

*Aliquando autem iste cibus, sc. mundi prosperitas, non nocet; immo prodest, sicut cibus moderate sumptus, puta his qui habent divitias, sed non amant eas; unde ... b. Augustinus dicit: Quis [i.e. aliquis] divitias potest habere sine peccato, sed non amare sc. sine peccato.* (At times, this food, that is, worldly prosperity, is not harmful; rather it is useful just as food eaten in moderate quantity is, as Saint Augustine ... says: Anyone can have a fortune but no one can love it without committing a sin.)<sup>52</sup>

### Access to the Sacrament: Communion and the Structure of Communities

We cannot live without categories. Sciences of culture depend on various classifications of social groups. One can invent the required clusters quite easily on a statistical basis, say, by ranges of yearly income. Such *statistical* clusters, however, will not necessarily be homologous with those categories by which real

<sup>51</sup> SD, vol. 2, 439f. The simile probably comes from a bestiary; in *Historia naturalis* I could not find its original.

<sup>52</sup> SD, vol. 2, 440.

individuals map their social world. Real individuals have their own clusters, and if we want to understand their behavior, we have to know how they categorize others, what groups they distinguish, and what criteria they use. Of course, we cannot take a peek at the thoughts in their heads—not to mention the even more difficult case which obtains if they happen to be dead already. Nevertheless, there are certain tangible signs, reifications of potential thinking, which can satisfy our intellectual voyeurism and reveal important elements of real social categorization. Regarding the 1960s, long hair and jeans could provide a case in point. In what follows, I will argue that in medieval society the Eucharist is such a tangible sign as well. Differences in access to the sacrament are congruent with the perceptual categories of social difference.<sup>53</sup>

In the previous section our initial premises were the real individuals and the material conditions under which they lived: their health and nutrition. Now we turn men and their circumstances upside-down as in a *camera obscura*, and take the image as a starting point: it is the Eucharist which represents men's social relationships. The basic criterion of difference, the basic structuring principle of these relationships is *sin*. St. Thomas writes in his famous hymn, a central part of the Corpus Christi mass, *Lauda Sion*, which is quoted under Gregory's name in the SD:

*Sumunt boni, sumunt mali:  
sorte tamen inaequali,  
vitae vel interitus.  
Mors est malis, vita bonis:  
vide paris sumptionis  
quam sit dispar exitus*

(Good and evil men are sharing / one repast, a doom preparing / varied as the heart of man; / Doom of life or death awarded, / as their days shall be recorded / which from one beginning ran.)<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> For another such contemporary system of classification reflected in the canon of the mass, see John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700," *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 36ff.

<sup>54</sup> S. Thomae Aquinatis, "De Officium Festo Corporis," in *Opera omnia*, ed. Roberto Busa (Stuttgart: Friedrich Fromman, 1980), vol. 6, 581f (the English translation is from the Anglican Missal). The false attribution of the hymn can be interpreted as a hint to the presumable tacit knowledge of the compiler. He was certainly not a Dominican. He did not even perceive that the hymn must be much later than Gregory, as it is the summary of Thomas' eucharistic theology using the whole conceptual repertoire of high-scholastic theology; so he was certainly not a theologian with a university degree, either. He probably did not know anything about the history of the *Lauda Sion* and the

In the context of communion one can be considered a *sinner* in two ways: either by eating the Eucharist undeservedly and hence committing a sin, or because of previous sins that make communion impossible. From a theological point of view both are mortal sins leading to eternal damnation. From a sociological one, however, they are different. In the first case, since the sin remains hidden, no earthly punishment can be given. In the second case, the priest has to know who the sinner is to be able to refuse communion: sinners in this sense must be easily distinguishable. The *Lauda Sion* stresses the first type of sin, and most sermons did so, for preachers saw the problem from the theological point of view; their task was to save from the fires of Hell those who cannot be persuaded by means of earthly correction.

*Probet autem seipsum homo et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat* ("But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup," I Cor 11,28)—this is the *thema* for Maundy Thursday in the SD, and the whole sermon concentrates on the problem of worthy reception. At the heart of this problem we find the opposition of spiritual and sacramental communion. This opposition means first of all, using the terms of Heinz Robert Schlette,<sup>55</sup> an opposition between the *personal* and the *sacramental* aspect of communion, that is between what is required from the receiver and what is given by the holy bread. If nothing is required from the receiver, if there is no personal side, the Eucharist is conceived as pure sacramental *power*. If, on the other hand, only the personal aspect is emphasized, the Eucharist becomes irrelevant. This problem has much in common with the healing miracles performed by Jesus, and later imitated by the saints. In these miracles it is first of all faith which is required on the invalid's or his intercessor's behalf: "Fear not: believe only, and she shall be made whole" (Lk 8,50); "O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt" (Mt 15,28); "Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole" (Mk 10,52). Healing is the reward of faith, not simple miraculous power, a mere unintentional flow of energy from the healer to the sick.<sup>56</sup> According to one

---

origin of the Corpus Christi liturgy, and attributed the hymn to Gregory, the father of Catholic liturgy.

<sup>55</sup> Heinz Robert Schlette, *Die Lehre von der geistlichen Kommunion bei Bonaventura, Albert dem Großen und Thomas von Aquin*, Münchener Theologische Studien, Systematische Abteilung 17 (München: Max Hueber, 1959), 5ff (this is a differentiation used throughout the whole book).

<sup>56</sup> Sofia Boesch Gajano pointed to an exception in Luke 8,43–46: "And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, which had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed of any, came behind him, and touched the border of his garment: and immediately her issue of blood stanch'd. And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they that were with him said, Master, the multitude throng thee and

interpretation, then, the difference between spiritual and sacramental communion means a difference between worthy and unworthy reception: *Sacramentaliter igitur tantum mali i.e. in peccatis mortalibus existentes manducant, et tamen non manducant: manducant quidem, quia corpus Christi sacramentaliter sumunt, et tamen non manducant sc. spiritualiter, quia animae salutem non percipiunt.* (It is the wicked man existing in the state of mortal sin who communicates merely sacramentally, and hence does not communicate: communicates in the sense of eating Christ's body sacramentally, but does not communicate—spiritually—because he does not experience the health of the soul.)<sup>57</sup> Why does someone communicate if he knows that for him this is a mortal sin which leads to eternal damnation? What are his motives? Let us see who these obdurate sinners are according to the same sermon:

*Sed nota, quod sacramentaliter tantum, et indigne manducantium tria sunt genera: primi sunt qui ad corpus Christi accedunt cum peccandi voluntate ... Secundi sunt ypocritae, qui latent in peccatis sub pulchra specie religionis. ... Tertii sunt praesumptuosi, qui non timent communicare vel celebrare in magnis criminibus et manifestis.* (Note that there are three kinds of those who communicate merely sacramentally and undeservedly: firstly, those who approach the body of Christ with the intention to sin ... secondly, the hypocrites who hide their sins under the splendid cloak of religion ... and thirdly, the insolent who dare to communicate or celebrate in the state of evident and grave sin.)<sup>58</sup>

In the first group we find those who want to commit sin voluntarily. The author/compiler of the sermon presents no explicit motives, but surely they are moved by their belief in the power of the sacrament: they think that it is worth eating anyway. This is the group of people we meet in various *exempla*, who steal the consecrated host and use it for sorcery.<sup>59</sup> The second category consists of the hypocrites who want to conform to the requirements of community life. One should remember that the fourth Lateran council threatened those who

---

press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me? And Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me: for I perceive that virtue is gone out of me." Here the healing power (*virtus*) works automatically, see Sofia Boesch Gajano, *La santità* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1999), 9.

<sup>57</sup> SD, vol. 2, 72.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> One such story, going back to Peter the Venerable, can also be found in the SD, see vol. 2, 446; and the second chapter of my M.A. Thesis. For abusing the host in the context of popular religion, see Peter Browe, "Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930): 134–154; and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 334ff.



failed to communicate at Easter with exclusion from the Church. Sins can remain hidden, but neglecting the duty of communion cannot, since everybody has to communicate at the same time. In the last group we find those who simply do not care about the dangers. This is a strange group anyway, since their sins are significant and manifest; maybe they are the powerful who can go to the church, listen to the mass and communicate, though everybody knows that they are sinners. These three categories of sinners have to be persuaded that they will not gain the benefits of the sacrament, and what is more, they will be severely punished in Hell. The author/compiler lists the *octo mala* which happen to those who receive the Lord's body merely *sacramentaliter*.<sup>60</sup>

There is, however, another interpretation of the difference between spiritual and sacramental communion; in this respect the question is whether the sacramental part is necessary at all if the receiver prepares himself thoroughly and keeps longing for the host in meditation. Here both types of receivers—those who communicate only spiritually, and those who communicate spiritually and sacramentally at the same time—are good Christians: *triplex est modus manducationis corporis Christi sc. sacramentalis tantum, spiritualis tantum, sacramentalis et spiritualis simul ... Primo modo manducant mali christiani, secundo et tertio modo manducant solum boni*. (There are three modes of receiving the body of Christ: merely sacramental, merely spiritual, sacramental and spiritual. The bad Christians receive it according to the first mode; according to the second and the third communicate only the good Christians.)<sup>61</sup> The author/compiler of the SD sermon does not perceive the difference between the two, either in terms of the “mystical approach,” which stresses the primacy of a mystical, non-sensual union with Christ,<sup>62</sup> or in terms of Aquinas' distinction according to which spiritual communion is imperfect communion justifiable only in case of necessity.<sup>63</sup> In Johannes Herolt we find a perfect formulation of the “mystical approach,” when he answers the question *qui sunt isti, qui sic spiritualiter hoc sacramentum accipiunt* (who are these who thus receive the sacrament spiritually):

*qui ex puro corde Deo serviunt & cum magno desiderio hoc sacramentum appetunt attamen ex humilitate & reverentia sacramenti non audent ad hoc sacramentum accedere: sic omni die quilibet homo qui habet magnum affectum et devotionem ad hoc sacramentum potest sic spiritualiter communicare* (those who serve God

<sup>60</sup> SD, vol. 2, 73ff.

<sup>61</sup> SD, vol. 2, 71f.

<sup>62</sup> For the “mystical approach” in Eucharistic controversies, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c.1080–c.1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 73ff.

<sup>63</sup> *Summa Theologiae*, 3 q.80 a.1.

with a pure heart, and feel a deep longing for this sacrament but due to their humility and reverence do not dare to approach it; so anybody who feels deep affection and devotion concerning this sacrament can thus communicate spiritually every day).<sup>64</sup>

The history of spiritual communion as a legitimate and widespread form of popular devotion started as the elevation of the host became common practice by the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>65</sup> The role of the elevation is to mark the moment of the consecration and to offer the Lord's body for veneration. The practice of elevation was latter complemented by various forms of festive display, when the sacrament was shown to the faithful outside the mass. As a main element of Corpus Christi processions, the Host was carried around in a monstrance. The growing number of such occasions was due to the growing awe the Eucharist tended to inspire during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.<sup>66</sup> The most important momentum, from our point of view, is that the distance which a given form of devotion keeps from the sacrament defines a category of good Christians in relation to the Eucharist. Let us see such a classification from the Corpus Christi sermon in the SD:

*Quaeritur utrum omnes christiani obligantur ad istius sacramenti manducationem? Respondetur primo quod aliqui obligantur solum ad credendum et amandum, sicut illi qui [sunt] in servitute paganorum (i n s e g b e n) ... Secundo aliqui non solum ad credendum et amandum, sed etiam ad venerandum obligantur. Quilibet enim christianus non impeditus tenetur ad minus in diebus dominicis, et praecipuis i.e. colendis festivitatis, secundum praeceptum ecclesiae missam audire ... Tertio dico quod aliqui non solum obligantur ad credendum, amandum et venerandum (i.e. audiendum) hoc divinissimum sacramentum, sed etiam ad sumendum ... ter in anno, sc. in festo nativitatis, resurrectionis, et pentecostes ... Quarto aliqui non solum tenentur ad credendum, amandum, venerandum et sumendum, sed etiam ad conficiendum i.e. ad consecrandum (a l d a n i), sicut sacerdotes. (Question: whether every Christian is*

<sup>64</sup> Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore*, "In festo Corporis Christi," sermo 3.

<sup>65</sup> For the beginnings of this practice, see Peter Browe, "Die Elevation in der Messe," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 9 (1929): 20–66; idem, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie*, 26ff; and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 55ff; concerning Hungary, see Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* (The religious life of the Hungarians in the era of the Jagello dynasty) (Budapest: METEM, 2000 [1940]), 72.

<sup>66</sup> Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 288ff. The related idea that hearing the mess and being present during the consecration of the host has in itself protective effects in case of temptation and against the power of demons was stressed, without relating it to the doctrine of spiritual communion, in the exemplum of the three brigands cited above.

obliged to receive this sacrament? Answer: firstly, there are some who are obliged solely to believe and to love it, as those living under pagan rule are ... Secondly, there are some who have not only to believe and to love but also to venerate it. Any Christian, unless not being hindered, is required to hear the mass at least on every Sunday and on every major feastday according to the prescription of the Church. ... Thirdly, there are some who are obliged not only to believe, to love and to venerate, that is, to hear, this most divine sacrament but also to receive it ... three times a year, that is, at the feasts of Nativity, Resurrection, and Pentecost ... Fourthly, there are some who have not only to believe, love, venerate and receive but also to consecrate it as the priests do.)<sup>67</sup>

There are four types of good Christians arranged in four concentric circles around the Eucharist. Those who belong to the outermost circle have only *credere* and *amare*. Those in the next one have *credere*, *amare* and *venerare*. In the third circle Christians have *credere*, *amare*, *venerare* and *sumere*. Finally those who belong to the innermost circle have *credere*, *amare*, *venerare*, *sumere* and *consecrare*. The first and the fourth groups are explicitly defined: those living under pagan rule, and priests, respectively. In the second and the third groups are the "ordinary" Christians. All of them have to hear the mass, which is a form of spiritual communion, but it seems that only some of them have to communicate sacramentally as well, beyond the compulsory communion at Easter.

These good Christians are easily distinguishable through their characteristic religious practices. But who are those easily distinguishable sinners we mentioned above, who can be (and must be) deprived from the possibility of communion? On what basis other than sin can someone be deterred from eating the Lord's body? In the appendix attached to the Maundy Thursday sermon of the SD we find various guidelines concerning who can receive the Lord's body and who cannot. The arguments are taken word by word either from Thomas or from two important canonical collections the *De consecratione* and the *Liber extra*, hence it does not make sense to discuss them as if they were characteristic of the SD sermons. It is enough to see which groups are mentioned at all: *istriones*,<sup>68</sup> *amentes*, *pueri*. Johannes Herolt in a similar discussion mentions *pueri*, and *amentes*.<sup>69</sup> Gottschalcus Hollen declares that *excommunicanti* and *interdicti* cannot even be present at the mass.<sup>70</sup> Osvaldus de Laskó has maybe

<sup>67</sup> SD, vol. 2, 443f.

<sup>68</sup> For the communication of actors, see Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion*, 93ff.

<sup>69</sup> Herolt, *Sermones Discipulū de tempore*, "In Coena Domini."


<sup>70</sup> Hollen, *Sermonum opus exquisitissimum*, "In festo corporis Christi," sermo 2.

the longest list: *pueri, amentes, histriones vel ioculatores, notorii et manifesti infames, aleatores, usurarii, excommunicati, interdicti* and *suspensi*.<sup>71</sup> We find such lists also in sermons which were certainly not written for a priestly audience, though the problem pertains to priests alone. There was an explicit tendency in sermons written for Coena Domini and Corpus Christi—the feasts which celebrate the union of the Church through the common spiritual meal partaken in the memory of Christ—to remind the members of the community of its own social borders; and to strengthen these borders by specifying who can and who cannot sit at the Lord's table.

---

<sup>71</sup> Oswaldus de Laskó, *Sermones Dominicales perutiles*, "In Cena Domini."

## LATE MEDIEVAL ESTATE ECONOMICS: THE EXAMPLE OF ŠKOFJA LOKA, SLOVENIA<sup>1</sup>

Matjaž Bizjak 

At the south-eastern border of the German Empire a process of establishing a network of estates that was completed roughly by the end of the eleventh century, formed a new foundation for social and economic relations that remained practically unchanged during most of the Middle Ages. The agricultural potential of the territory began to be utilised in a more intensive way under the organizational framework of relatively large estates, whose emergence was mostly a result of royal donations of land to the upper social strata of the nobility (*Hochfreie*) and the clergy (*Kirchenfürsten*). While the estates of the former went through a number of changes and were mostly disintegrated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and their parts reincorporated in new formations, those of the latter, to a great extent, continued into the fifteenth century in their original forms. Development of their estate economy and administration was adjusted to the fact that the residential seat of the lord was as a rule, situated outside of the given province.

Such an estate, that of the Bishop of Freising, Škofja Loka/ Bischofslack in Upper Carniola, present-day Slovenia, inspired the present study. There, well-preserved sources—charters, land registers (*urbaria*), and above all, estate account books—covered (with interruptions) most of the fifteenth century. An attempt is made here to draw an outline of the estate economics as well as some closely related aspects of its administration.

### • The Estate

The bishopric of Freising came into possession of its landed property in Upper Carniola by several imperial donations between 973 and 1033<sup>2</sup> as a part of the

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a shortened version of my M.A. thesis, defended at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, in June 2000.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Urkunden Otto des II*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae (= MGH, D) 2.1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888), 56–7, No. 47; 78–9, No. 66; *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II und Arduins*, MGH, D 3 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1900–3), 35, No. 32; Franz Schumi, ed., *Urkunden- und Regestenbuch des Herzogtums Krain 1* (Ljubljana: privately printed, 1882–3), 146, No. 164. However, not all the donation charters are known. The latter was still

administrative and defensive reorganization of the southeastern borderland after the Hungarian invasion. In order to stabilise these vulnerable territories, the Ottonians tended to grant their land, which was by that time very sparsely populated, to the lay and ecclesiastical nobility who were establishing a new estate organization. In practice it did not mean that the Freising bishopric got an entirely depopulated property, but it was certainly the first to build an officially recognised system of administration on it.<sup>3</sup>

These circumstances enabled the bishop to create a geographically bordered and homogeneous estate on a territory of approximately five hundred square kilometres. The core territory consisted of two valleys, Selce/Selzach in the north and Poljane/Pölland in the south, leading from the western Carniolian border toward the east, together with the fertile lowland of the Sora/Zeier plain, which spreads in a northeasterly direction from the point where the valleys meet. Besides that, the bishop possessed a smaller area around Dovje/Lengenfeld, some twenty kilometres to the north, which although not contiguous, was considered a part of the Škofja Loka estate.<sup>4</sup>

During estate formation the broad framework of land units was kept. The original organization of a *župa*, a unit containing several villages governed by a patriarch, was modified in a way that the land was divided anew into individu-

---

seen in Škofja Loka in 1798 (V. F. Klun, "Diplomatarium Carniolicum," *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereines für Krain* 7 (1852): 59), while there is absolutely no information about the donation of the western part of Poljana valley. So far it was assumed (Pavle Blaznik, ed., *Urbarji freisingške škofje* (The land registers of the Freising bishopric), Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo 4.4. [Ljubljana: SAZU, 1963], 26) that the trade contract about a not precisely located property in Carniola between the chapter and bishop of Freising from c. 1030 (Shumi, *Urkundenbuch*, 31–2, No. 23) referred to this territory, but, in my opinion, it more probably concerned the north-eastern part of the estate (*predium Strasista vocatum, et quicquid intra tres fluvios Libniza, Sabum, Zoura . . . situm est*), which Henry II in 1002 donated to bishop Gotschalk († 1006) *et post illius vite terminum Frisingensis ecclesie canonicis* (MGH, D 3, 35, No. 32). The problem requires a separate discussion.

<sup>3</sup> The so-called *Supaneiverfassung*, a sort of self-government over the land by the community of free commoners, was, however, not recognized as a proper ownership and therefore the land, subject to these social relations, was considered a ruler's property. Sergij Vilfan, "Zemljiška gospodstva" (Estates), in *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev* (henceforth *GDZS*): *Zgodovina agrarnih panog 2. Družbena razmerja in gibanja* (Economic and social history of the Slovenians: History of agriculture, vol. 2, Social relations and movements), ed. Pavle Blaznik, Bogo Grafenauer and Sergij Vilfan (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije for SAZU, 1980), 108.

<sup>4</sup> Pavle Blaznik, *Škofja Loka in Loško gospodstvo (973–1803)* (Škofja Loka and the Loka estate [973–1803]) (Škofja Loka: Muzejsko društvo, 1973), 11–5.

ally possessed hides<sup>5</sup> (*hobae* or *mansi*). *Župe* were turned into lesser administrative units (*officia/ämpter*)<sup>6</sup> subordinate to the estate administration, although no ordinary estate-employed officials were introduced above them. The prior “clan chiefs” or *župani* (*sculteti/suppanen*) kept their position within the local community; additionally, they were incorporated into a newly established estate administration as heads of *officia*, who mainly ensured that their people delivered their dues in kind as well as labour services for the landlord.<sup>7</sup> Newly settled land (the first, medieval, phase of settlement took place between the early eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries)<sup>8</sup> was organised in the same way, as the settlers were brought to the estate in relatively large, ethnically homogeneous groups, able to form separate *officia*. As a remnant of their foreign origin, different terms denoting leaders of the non-native communities can be followed deep into the fifteenth century; compared to the *župan* of the natives, the head of the Bavarian settlers from the territory of the Freising diocese was called *preco*, while the Carinthian immigrants from the possessions of the Freising chapter around Wörthersee/Vrbsko lake kept their *stifterius*.<sup>9</sup> The success of these arrangements can be demonstrated by the very low percentage of abandoned hides in the next centuries; 2,2% in 1318 and 3,9% in 1501.<sup>10</sup>

At the end of the fourteenth century the estate consisted of seventeen *officia* with almost 1300 hides (see *Table 1*). This relatively large territory was managed by a well-organized administrative system. At the top of it stood a resident administrator (*capitaneus/pfleger*), responsible for the management of the

<sup>5</sup> The size of a hide depended on the type of landscape (flat land, mountain area, etc.); in the Škofja Loka estate it varied between 9 and 11 hectares. Sergij Vilfan, “Kmečko prebivalstvo po osebnem položaju” (Peasant population according to personal status), in *GDZS* 2.2, 322.

<sup>6</sup> As any translation into English would be misleading, the Latin term *officium* will be henceforth used to denote these lower territorial administrative units.

<sup>7</sup> Sergij Vilfan, “Soseske in druge podeželske skupnosti” (Rural communities), in *GDZS* 2.2, 36–8; Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 67–8.

<sup>8</sup> Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 39–41.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the Bavarian settlers of the *officium* Sorica, for instance, where settlement was still in process in 1291, it is stated in the land register that of the twenty hides they had at the time, “*preco, qui eisdem [Bavarians] pro tempore praesuerit, habeat unam [hutam] ratione sui officii.*” Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 165. A new, uniformed terminology was not introduced until 1501; the land register from that year uses the term *suppan* (*župan*) for the head of any *officium*. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Values are calculated on the basis of Blaznik’s table with inclusion of data on the *officium* Dovje from both land registers. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, tab. between page 430–1; Idem, *Urbarji*, 211, 315.

whole estate. It was he who represented the bishop in this remote place far away from Freising;<sup>11</sup> he appointed and deposed lower officials, controlled the usage of forests and rivers, took care of the defence system and town buildings, and even represented the bishop in the Carniolian diet.<sup>12</sup>

The second position on the estate in terms of importance belonged to the granary keeper (*granator/kastner*). The entire economic activity of the estate fell under the jurisdiction of the granary office (*kastenambt*): running the settlement, resettling fallow hides, gathering the peasants' dues and ducal taxes, storing and selling gathered goods. The *granator* was obliged to keep documentation regarding this activity and, at least until the mid-fifteenth century, report about it directly to Freising in the form of annual accounts.<sup>13</sup> This shows some degree of independence, which was later much diminished, as the administrator took over the care of estate account books.<sup>14</sup> When the link between the granary keeper and the central administration was abolished, the former became entirely subordinate to the administrator, to whom he reported annually about his office. In spite of this, it is likely that he kept control of the estate treasury.<sup>15</sup> As both of the offices were quite often granted to the same person,<sup>16</sup> it is not always possible to distinguish between the functions of each official. The situation was

---

<sup>11</sup> The distance of approximately 500 km took the bishop (with his escort) between two and three weeks. Pavle Blaznik, "Stare prometne povezave med Škofjo Loko in Freisingom" (The old traffic connections between Škofja Loka and Freising), *Loški razgledi* 15 (1968): 53–4.

<sup>12</sup> The bishop, as a landowner in Carniola, was obliged to attend the provincial diet, but because of the distance he tended to pass that obligation on to his administrator. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 59–60.

<sup>13</sup> Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 60–1.

<sup>14</sup> This kind of practice is documented from 1488 onwards. Accounting Revision of the Škofja Loka Estate Granary Office, 1488–1490, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, (= BayHStA), Hochstiftliteralien (= HL) 3, Repertorium (= Rep.) 53, Faszikel (= Fasz.) 295, Nummer (= Nr) 4, fol. 1 ff.

<sup>15</sup> This is indicated in a confirmation attached to one of the few preserved granary keeper's registers, which shows that the administrator was receiving money from the former: "Ich, Jacob Lamberger [the administrator], bekenn mit diser meiner handtgeschrifft, das ich von meinem gueten frewndt Jorigen Sigesdorffer [the granary keeper] al[le]s das empfangen hab, das in dem register [of expenses] stett und sol im in der rayttung abgezogen werden." Register of the Škofja Loka Estate Granary Office, Feb.–June 1491, Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, Munich (= AEM), Heckenstalleriana (= Heck.) 164, fol. 29'.

<sup>16</sup> In the periods of 1349–1367, 1437–1440, and 1455–1488. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 450–4; Account Book (= Acc. B.) Freising (= Fr.), 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 7, 47, 54.



more or less stabilised by the administrative reform of 1491, which at least for some thirty years re-established the “normal” state of affairs: namely, the division of responsibility.<sup>17</sup>

Table 1. Number of Hides on the Škofja Loka Estate in the Fifteenth Century<sup>18</sup>

Officium	Number of hides		Officium	Number of hides	
	Direct Admin.	Fiefs		Direct Admin.	Fiefs
Bitnje/Feichting	278	29	Žiri/Sairach	87	
Gadmarii	18		Hlevni vrh	29	
Godešič	83	10	Strmica	70	
Poljšica	55	18	Stripnik	82	
Brode/Wrodech	53	2	Selce	84	
Javorje/Afriach	71		Rudno	66	
Charinthianorum	80	2	Sorica/Zarz	31	
Poljane	94		Dovje	26	
Hotavlje	91				
<i>Total</i>				1298	61

However, the entire property was not joined under the estate administration; from the earliest periods the bishop followed the practice of recompensing his officials by giving them land in fief. The oldest land register from 1160 mentions twelve of them.<sup>19</sup> Their number increased considerably during the thirteenth century due to the extension of the administrative structure, but then it largely stabilised. In 1291, according to the later land registers, ninety-eight hides had been conveyed from the estate; this number decreased to ninety-two in 1318 and did not change again until 1501.<sup>20</sup> Some of the hides were donated to parish churches and monasteries or pawned to burghers and peasants (usually

<sup>17</sup> Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 170–4; Idem, *Urbarji*, 63, 364–6.

<sup>18</sup> Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 48–31; Idem, *Urbarji*, 211, 315; Pavle Blaznik, “Kolonizacija in kmetsko podložništvo na Sorškem polju” (The colonization and peasant subjects in the Sora plain), in *Razprave 2* (Dissertations, vol. 2), ed. France Stele (Ljubjana: SAZU, 1953), 175–87; Pavle Blaznik, “Zemljiška gospostva na besniškem ozemlju” (The estates in the Besnica territory), in *Razprave 2*, 250–56.

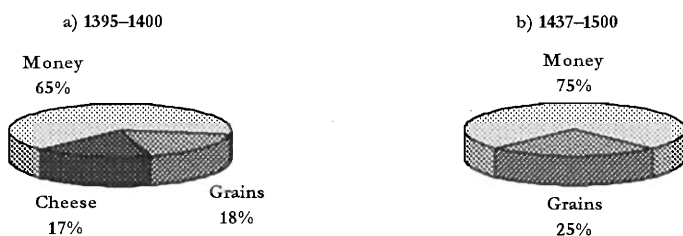
<sup>19</sup> “*Absque his restant duodecim beneficia, que diuisa sunt inter diuersos officiales . . .*” Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 128.

<sup>20</sup> Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 53, 408–29.

split into small pieces);<sup>21</sup> however, according to a fief register from the 1420s, sixty-one hides were enfeoffed to estate officials (see *Table 1*).<sup>22</sup>

### General Features of Income and Expenditure

The economic potential of the estate was based mainly on crop production and livestock-breeding, in which the latter—as far as it can be determined on the basis of the rents—presented a less important part. Production was almost exclusively organised in the form of individual tenant holdings, which might have paid approximately one third of their yield to their lord.<sup>23</sup> The tenants delivered most of their rents in the form of money; moreover, the share of delivery of rent in kind decreased over the course of time. By the end of the fourteenth century the estate collected about two thirds of its income in cash, 18% in grain, and 17% in cheese; however, the latter began to be completely replaced by cash by the first half of the fifteenth century (see *Fig. 1*). Thus, the share of money in the estate income rose to three quarters in the period 1437–1500. A detailed analysis shows that the actual growth must have occurred between 1400 and 1437,<sup>24</sup> when the share of goods decreased proportionally (see *Fig. 2/a, b*). However, the rise in the percentage from grain in this period (25%) is due to rising prices, especially in the last decade of the century (see *Fig. 3*).



*Figure 1. Proportionate sources of income for the Škofja Loka estate 1395–1500.*

<sup>21</sup> Blaznik, "Kolonizacija," 187–202.

<sup>22</sup> Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 222–40; Idem, "Kolonizacija," 175–87.

<sup>23</sup> Although, it is impossible to investigate the estate production beyond the rents, according to some opinions cca. one-third would be an acceptable proportion. Pavle Blaznik, "Podložniške obveznosti do zemljiškega gospostva" (Tenants' dues), *GDZS* 2.2, 257.

<sup>24</sup> No compatible sources are available for the period between 1400 and 1437, but the situation is noticeable from 1437 onwards.

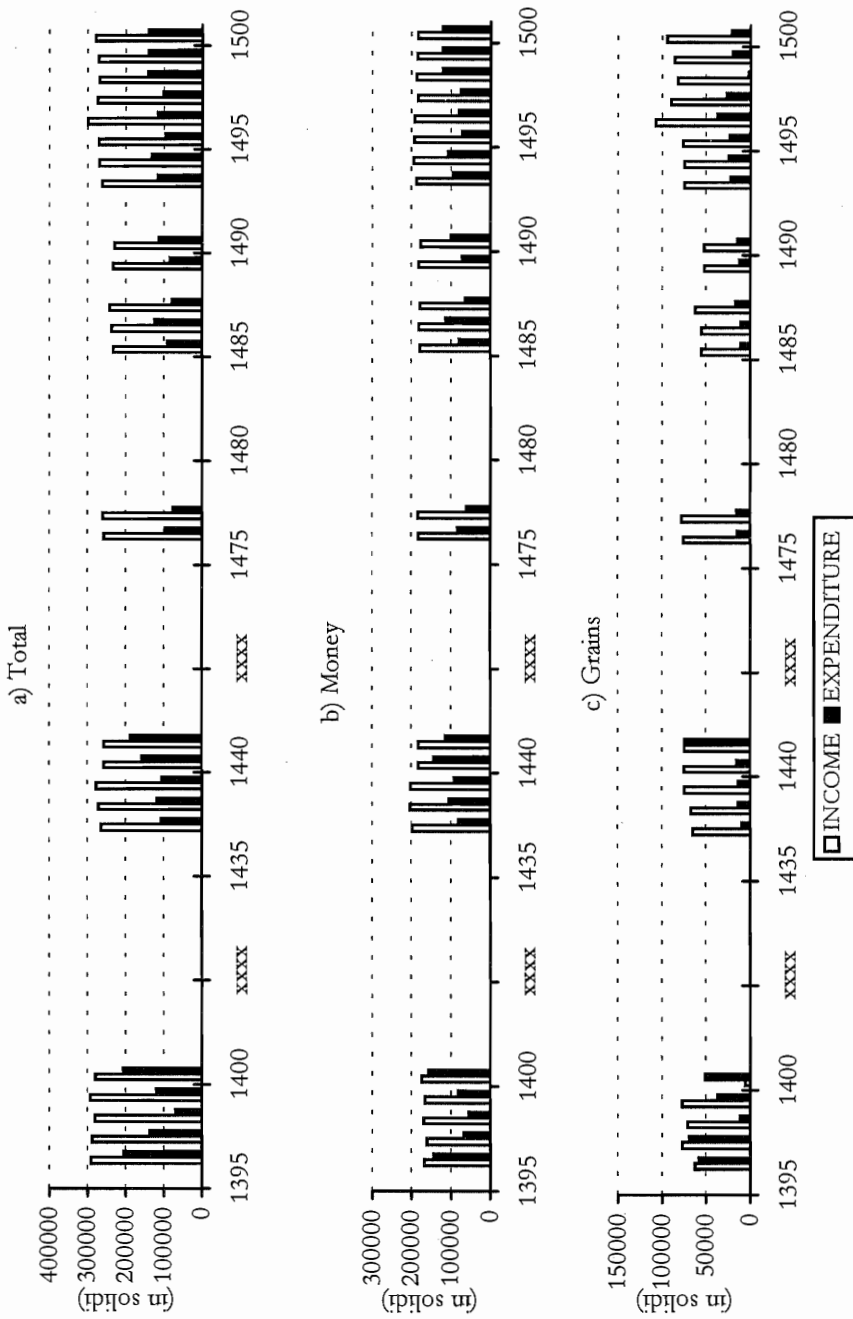


Figure 2. Yearly distribution of the income and expenditure for the Škofja Loka estate, 1395–1500.

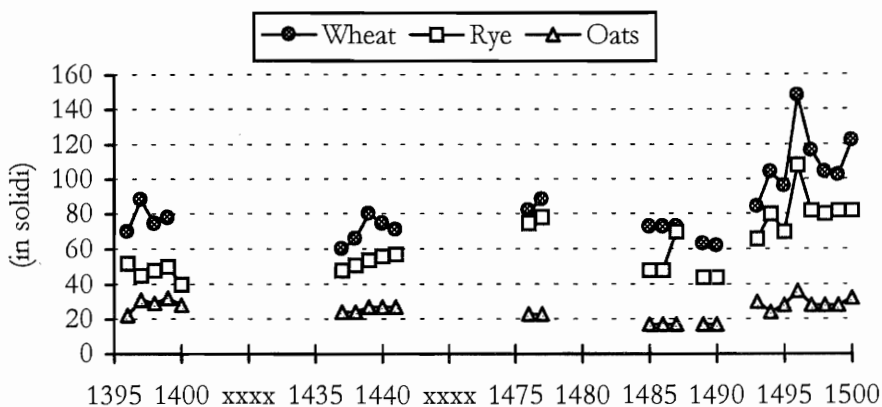


Figure 3. Fluctuation of the prices of grain per mut<sup>25</sup> on the Škofja Loka estate, 1395–1500.

Up to the end of the fourteenth century total income probably grew constantly, mainly due to an on-going process of settlement, but partly because of rising rent and higher prices.<sup>26</sup> In the 1390s it reached its highest level of approximately 1800 marks, which was never attained again until 1500 (with 1495 the only exception). A slight, but steady decline in income occurred throughout the fifteenth century, following an average of 1660 marks at the end of the thirties (1437–1441), 1620 marks in the late seventies (1476–1477), and 1470 marks at the end of the eighties (1485–1490), however, the economic growth is noticeable again in the last decade, when the total income reached around 1700 marks per annum (see Fig. 2/a).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The *mut* of Škofja Loka contained c. 123 litre. Matjaž Bizjak, "Žitne mere freisingških gospostev Škofja Loka in Klevevž" (Measurements for grain in bishop of Freising's estates Škofja Loka and Klevevž), *Loški Razgledi* 45 (1999): 144.

<sup>26</sup> On the basis of existing sources it is extremely hard to give reliable conclusions before the 1390s. As far as settlement is concerned, remarkable changes can be noticed between the land registers of 1160, 1291, and 1318. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 127–67, 179–218. The only more or less complete pre-1390s list of annual income, which is preserved from 1309, records a total to the tune of 918 marks 106 pence. [Joseph] Zahn, ed., *Codex Austriaco-Frisingensis* 3, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum: Diplomataria et acta* 36, (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1870), 127–8. According to Blaznik, a growth of almost 50% in the next eighty-seven years is due to all three above mentioned factors. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 111–3.

<sup>27</sup> In the territory under investigation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Aquileia-Venetian monetary system was in use: 1 mark (m.) = 160 *solidi* (s.) or pence

Searching for the causes of this decline, it must first be pointed out that settlement, one of the major stimuli to the economic growth of an estate, was completed by roughly the mid-fourteenth century, which excludes any positive effect, even delayed, on the income in the period under investigation. Decisive factors can be found outside the estate, seen in the chain of events that affected the estate both directly and indirectly. A brief look at the chronology is quite illustrative:

- 1) In 1417, the Škofja Loka estate was pawned to the counts of Celje/Cilli for a period of four years in exchange for a huge loan of ten thousand guilders.<sup>28</sup>
- 2) From 1437 to 1443, during the war between Duke Frederick of Habsburg and the counts of Celje, the estate was exposed to fighting, especially in 1439, when it raged around Škofja Loka. The same year the inhabitants of Dovje complained about the violence done by the garrison of the neighbouring Celje castle Bela Peč/Fusine.<sup>29</sup>
- 3) A similar situation reoccurred some twenty years later, when Carniola became the scene of a struggle over the inheritance of the counts of Celje, who died out in 1456; a year later Škofja Loka was demolished and some villages in the *officium* of Bitnje were seriously damaged.<sup>30</sup>
- 4) In 1476, sixty hides in the Poljane valley were burned as a result of two Turkish attacks,<sup>31</sup> and finally,
- 5) in 1488, a peasant uprising broke out, mostly initiated by the unreasonable increase of provincial taxes.<sup>32</sup>

The above-mentioned disturbances resulted in two types of consequences: the first type immediately followed the event and was probably ameliorated in a few years; a 1477 account records a loss from burned hides in the amount of 13,5m. 16s., which was not even subtracted from the incomes but listed among

---

(*denarii Aquilegense/Aglaier pfenning*). In addition, the florin and Hungarian guilder (gld.) were used with equal values of 86–93s. in 1396–1399 and 127–133s. in 1437–1500.

<sup>28</sup> BayHStA, Fr. Urkunden (= U.), 1417, March 7, published in P. Carolus Michelbeck, *Historia Frisingensis* 2.2. (Augsburg: Merz & Mayer, 1729), 222–3, No. 316.

<sup>29</sup> Blaznik, *Urbanji*, 30; BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 49, Nr 368.

<sup>30</sup> Franz Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli* (Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1883), 140; BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 42, Nr 221–g.

<sup>31</sup> A list of hides burned down is included in Annual Account Škofja Loka (= Ann. Acc. Šk. L.), 1476, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr 194, fols 5'–6.

<sup>32</sup> Blaznik, "Upori loških podložnikov konec XV. in v začetku XVI. stoletja" (Peasant uprisings in Škofja Loka at the end of fifteenth and in the beginning of sixteenth centuries), *Loški razgledi* 2 (1955): 65–8.

the expenses.<sup>33</sup> Of far greater importance, however, were those disturbances affecting the estate economy over the long run. A reduction of one of the tenants' rents called *stewra annalis* or later *stewr(a) extraneorum* (to distinguish it from the town tax), because of the gap in sources first noticeable in 1437,<sup>34</sup> which cut 75 marks out of the annual estate income, can be put in connection with the discontinuity of authority between 1417 and 1421. It was never raised to the previous level again until at least 1500. This does not explain the further decline of income after 1441, however, and its rise in the early 1490s. A separate inspection of the fluctuation of the different shares in the yearly income from 1476 onward shows exactly the same trend with an even greater proportion for the grains and a rather stable situation in the case of money (see *Fig. 2/b, c*). In fact, these results match quite well the change of prices for the most important sorts of grains. In comparison to 1477, in 1485 prices of wheat fell 18%, those of oats 26%, and those of rye 38%, and the trend continued in 1489. A shift occurred in the early 1490s compared to the period of 1485–1490; the 1493–1500 average of the prices for wheat and rye grew 61%, while that of oats increased as much as 73% (see *Fig. 3*). The slight variations in the share of money are due to the fluid parts of income of minor importance, such as judicial penalties, *sterbrecht*, and *kauffrecht*, or rents paid every third year, for example *poklon (sbaigelt)*, used for maintaining the constant number of sheep in the flocks.<sup>35</sup>

If it were hard to say anything reliable with regard to estate income before the end of the fourteenth century as far as expenditure is concerned, nothing could be said at all.<sup>36</sup> According to the oldest preserved account books, in the period of 1396–1400, 74% of the total was expended in cash, 25% in grains, and only 1% in cheese (see *Fig. 4/a*). The significant difference compared to the corresponding shares of the income, where cheese and grains were balanced, results from the fact, that almost the entire cheese supply was sold, which was not always the case with grain. On average, 24% of grain was still used for paying wages to estate officials, providing food for workers performing their duty of villeinage, or hosting the bishop's retinue and their horses during a

<sup>33</sup> Ann. Acc. Šk. L., 1477, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr 194, fol. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. lists of income in Acc. Bs Fr.: BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 69, fol. 145' (1395–1401); Nr 70, fol. 7' (1437–1450).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. e.g. Ann. Accs Šk. L.: BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 516, fols 3–3' (1494); HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr 8, fols 5–5' (1495).

<sup>36</sup> Apart from some sporadic information on costs for *custodia castri* or wine purchases (e.g. Zahn, *Codex diplomaticus Austriaco-Frisingensis* 3, 126), there is no data available.

stay.<sup>37</sup> This changed slightly during the fifteenth century, according to the account books, mostly because of the bishop's absence. The share of grain dropped to 17% on account of increased sales, which resulted in a higher share of money (83%; see *Fig. 4/b*).

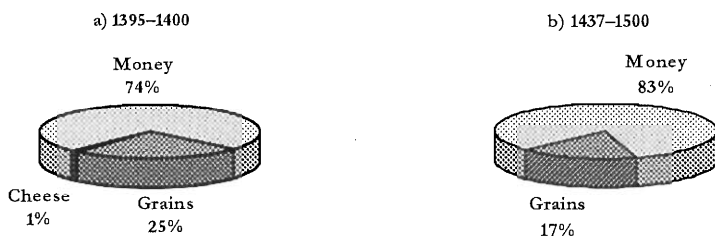


Figure 4. Proportionate expenditure for the Škofja Loka estate, 1395–1500.

In the years 1396–1400, total expenses oscillated between 434 and 1296 marks per annum. Lower amounts were noticeable in the period of 1437–1441 (668–1174m.), while in the rest of the century a gradual increase of expenditure can be observed as far as the average values of the documented periods are concerned: 540 marks between 1476 and 1477, 618 in 1485–1490, and 771 marks in 1493–1500. A very high level of annual expenditure for several years in the first two periods is due to exceptional situations in which the estate found itself at the time.

At the end of the fourteenth century a major project of improving the town walls was in progress. As far as we know, the town was surrounded by walls as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> After almost one hundred years they might have become obsolete, required a thorough renewal, or perhaps had become too confining for the growing settlement. Whatever the reason, it resulted in construction activity of such dimensions that it cannot be compared with any other documented medieval period in Škofja Loka. The total amount of construction expenses in five years exceeds one thousand marks. The highest effort was put into the works in 1400, when more than 451 marks or 43,5% of the construction total were invested (see *Tab. 2*).

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Acc. B. Fr., 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 69, fols 146'–7'.

<sup>38</sup> Bishop Conrad III invested 156 marks in improving the walls in 1314. Pavle Blaznik, "Loško mestno obzidje" (The town walls of Škofja Loka), *Loški razgledi* 4 (1957): 15.

Table 2. Expenses for Town Fortification in the Period 1397–1401<sup>39</sup>

Year	1397	1398	1399	1400	1401	Total
Amount	140m. 103s.	100m.	131m. 39s.	451m. 33s.	213m. 82s.	1036m. 97s.
Share Concerning the Five-Year Construction	13,6%	9,6%	12,7%	43,5%	20,6%	100%
Share Concerning the Annual Expenditure	13%	23%	17,3%	34,8%	?	

As already discussed, in the period between 1437 and 1441 the estate was witness to warfare. In the first four years this is noticeable in the accounts only through the increased activity of messengers<sup>40</sup> and an enlarged amount of losses (between 50 and 100m.), explained sometimes also as *von prunst wegen*.<sup>41</sup> It was not until 1441 that Škofja Loka had to support a squad of mercenaries. They cost the estate 286m. 6gld. and 240 *mut* of oats (= 40,5m.),<sup>42</sup> which explains the higher level of expenses in that year (see *Fig. 2/a*).

After 1476 no significant unusual expenses can be found in the account books. The gradual growth of expenditure should therefore be ascribed to growing operational costs of the estate, in accordance with general trends, which can also be observed in the fluctuation of grain prices (see *Fig. 3*). This is most efficiently illustrated by the expenses listed under the title of *potenlon et zierung*, which covers the costs of messengers, business trips, guests, and the like. These expenses constantly increased during the given period; from 4,5 marks in 1476 to 151m. 58s. in 1490.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The extension of the time-span to 1401 in this particular case is because separate accounts were kept for construction in this period. Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 69, fols 85–6', 97–8, 148'–9.

<sup>40</sup> Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 9–9', 49–49', 56, 70'.

<sup>41</sup> Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 11, 52', 57', 72'.

<sup>42</sup> Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 123', 127'.

<sup>43</sup> The full (reachable) set of expenses reads as follows: 4,5m. in 1476, 9m. 57s. in 1477, 29m. 111s. in 1485, 28m. in 1486, 43m. 126s. in 1487, 50m. 31s. in 1489, and 151m. 58s. 1490 (the last decade of the fifteenth century is left aside, because the accounts from 1493 onwards do not specify this classification). Ann. Accs Šk. L.: AEM, Heck. 142, p. 229 (1476); BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr 194, fol. 2' (1477); fols 4'–5 (1485); HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr 1, fols 3'–5 (1486); Nr 2, fols 3'–4 (1487); Nr 4, fols 5'–6 (1489); fols 12'–16 (1490).



Comparing the expenditures in cash fully characterises the general flow of expenses, which is not a surprise in light of a predominance of cash expenditures. In the few years when grain expenditure noticeably affected the total—1396, 1397, 1400, and 1441—this is always due to an increased consumption of oats, by the horses either belonging to the episcopal retinue or serving military purposes (see *Fig. 2/d*).<sup>44</sup>

The annual balance, which can be considered as the estate profit, reached a level close to one half of income in the period up to the 1441, generally speaking. From his Škofja Loka estate the bishop of Freising made between 1395–1400 an average of 870 marks a year or 48% of the total estate income; and in the years of 1437–1441, 814 marks or 49%. In the last decades of the fifteenth century the situation improved slightly: the estate profit reached 856 marks or 58% of the income between 1485–1490, and 946 marks or 55% in the years of 1493–1500. The percentage of 1476–1477, 77% (1084m.) is surprisingly high but this two-years period is too short to yield representative results, as the resources could have been accumulated for a few years and then disbursed (see *Fig. 2*).

### The Modes of Transfer of Revenue

As discussed, the costs of the estate management took roughly one half of the annual income. The other half represented the bishop's profit, but the actual revenue of the remote landed property—which Škofja Loka certainly was from the Freising perspective—depended on finding the most rational ways of transferring earnings to the places where they were needed (not necessarily to the residential and administrative centre). The transport of victuals, which was, according to Gertrud Thoma, practised during the early centuries,<sup>45</sup> was by the period under investigation replaced more and more by the transfer of money. Money was on the one hand acquired through the sale of goods, undertaken by the local management, and on the other hand increasingly provided by the peasants, who entered the market themselves and were able to pay their rents.

By the end of the fourteenth century only an insignificant part of the yield was still delivered in kind. In fact, the yield was not even a product of the

---

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Acc. Bs Fr.: BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 69, fol. 14, 147 (1395–1401); Nr 70, fol. 127' (1437–1450).

<sup>45</sup> Gertrud Thoma, "Räumliche Mobilität als Folge von mittelalterlichem Streubesitz: Die Beziehungen des Bistums Freising zu seinen alpinen Besitzungen," in *Räumliche Mobilität und Grenzen*, ed. Thomas Busset and Jon Mathieu, Geschichte der Alpen 1998/3 (Zürich: Chronos, 1998), 153.

estate's land, but an imported commodity. The only thing that was still worthy of a long distance transport was good quality wine. Every year a caravan with approximately ten horses left for Trieste to buy *rebula* (*rainfall/rybolio*), white wine from the Istrian coast. The shipment was reloaded in Škofja Loka and sent further, usually as far as Oberwölz in Upper Styria, the centre of another estate of the bishop, where further transport was taken over by the local authorities. The wine was transported was considered a villeinage and, therefore, the peasants were not paid for it.<sup>46</sup>

Compared to this, much higher sums were involved in collection of money; this was the most usual way of realising the value of the estate resources. To some extent the delivery of the yearly profit was attached to the rendering of the annual accounts; however, it was not simply about paying up the balance. Until the mid-fifteenth century these financial acts took place before the bishop in person.<sup>47</sup> The granary keeper took a certain sum of money along with his accounts, but this was only the last instalment of the yearly delivery. The surplus (when the balance of the estate accounts was positive) was usually transferred into the next accounting period to cover current expenses. These sums were not very high (between one and three hundred marks) and their greater part consisted of goods that still had to be sold. Most of the money came into the bishop's treasury more frequently, by several remittances during the accounting period. The first preserved accounts (1396–1400) do not give detailed information on this; they only distinguish between the expenses covered through the receipts issued by or in the name of the bishop (*literae domini*) and sums which were delivered by the officials together with their accounts. However, those from the late 1430s and early 1440s reveal the transfer of money very clearly. Most of the yearly profit was sent to the bishop's Viennese residence in several instalments. Although the delivery could have been entrusted to any reliable employee (the transfers were probably initiated on

---

<sup>46</sup> Elaborated entries concerning the wine purchase are part of every annual account. E.g. Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 9<sup>r</sup>–10, 51<sup>r</sup>, 56<sup>r</sup>, 71<sup>r</sup>, 124; cf. Blaznik, "Stare prometne povezave," 50–2.

<sup>47</sup> Whenever the bishop paid a visit to his Škofja Loka residence—which at least at the end of the fourteenth century occurred quite often—it was most natural to use this occasion; otherwise, the granary keeper carried his accounts to the nearest residence used by the bishop at the given time. Among the annual accounts of the Škofja Loka estate from the period of 1396–1448 eight were rendered in Vienna and three in Škofja Loka. Acc. Bs Fr.: BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 69, fols 10<sup>r</sup>, 34, 81<sup>r</sup>, 94, 146 (1437–1450); Nr 70, fols 7, 47, 54, 68, 122, 140<sup>r</sup> (1395–1401).

the bishop's request<sup>48</sup>) or exceptionally carried out by the granary keeper himself,<sup>49</sup> a few persons were regularly involved in these affairs. They belonged to the middle strata of the estate officials as far as can be judged on the basis of the rather short period from 1437 to 1441. In these years most of the deliveries were completed by the town judge Frederick: besides him, the scribe George and a certain Peter Mayer are frequently mentioned.<sup>50</sup> Sometimes they had to carry the money all the way to Vienna, but their usual destination was Villach/Beljak in Carinthia. There they turned over the money to John of Škofja Loka (?), the bishop's trustee, who arranged the further transfer to Vienna.<sup>51</sup>

By the mid-seventies this practice had changed. The changes accompanied the new policy concerning the rendering of accounts. In the second half of the fifteenth century the financial supervision was no longer done by the bishop himself; every year a mission was sent to all the bishopric's estates to audit the accounts. Not a single trace of remittance can be found among the expenses listed in contemporary accounts of Škofja Loka. On the contrary, strong proof exists for the auditing commission being entrusted with the entire transfer of money from the estate. In 1493, for example, the balance showed a surplus of 1089 guilders. One thousand of them were delivered in cash to the commission after rendering the account and the granary keeper gave them a promissory note for the rest, and they also took to Freising eighty-five guilders of the arrears from 1492.<sup>52</sup> But things did not always go that smoothly. In 1486 the commission managed to collect only 8,5gld. 15,5s. of the annual profit from the previous business year, while 1150 guilders remained unpaid. The reason for this peculiarity lay in the arrears that Jacob Lamberger, the administrator and granary keeper in one person, carried over from previous years; therefore, almost the entire collection of 1486–1469 guilders out of 1477,5—went on

<sup>48</sup> They certainly did not occur on a regular basis; the number of deliveries varied from three to six, the terms were not fixed, and the amounts of money were also very different. Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 11–11', 52', 58, 72'–73, 124'.

<sup>49</sup> Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fol. 72'.

<sup>50</sup> Acc. B. Fr., 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 70, fols 9', 11', 50, 56', 73.

<sup>51</sup> Johannes von Laakh was a well-situated merchant in Villach, also the town judge at the time, who arranged several money transfers for the bishop of Freising. Josef Žontar, "Villach und der Südosten. Zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen und verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen Villachs und seiner Bewohner zu Krain, dem Küstenlande und Kroatien bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *900 Jahre Villach. Neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Neumann (Villach: Stadt Villach, 1960), 462–3. I was not able to determine whether the title "von Laakh" refers to Škofja Loka or not.

<sup>52</sup> Ann. Acc. Šk. L., 1493, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr 7, fol. 16'.

account of these huge debts.<sup>53</sup> These commissions proceeded following the bishop's instructions and represented his authority; according to the instructions from 1487, they were given the power to remove Lamberger from his position if he were not be able to pay his debts, which actually happened in 1491.<sup>54</sup>

Before these commissions were introduced, a significant part of estate profit was spent by the bishop and his retinue during their frequent visits in Škofja Loka. Theoretically speaking, this was probably one of the most efficient ways of making use of the estate's profit, as all the problems and costs of the transfer were avoided. However, the image of the bishop's court travelling around and proportionally burdening all parts of the property with its presence would be quite misleading. The use of the secondary residences was predominantly a result of the bishop's administrative activity;<sup>55</sup> thus their frequency of use changed with the current episcopal administrative policy. Once the auditing missions to all estates on a regular annual basis were introduced, the mobility of the bishop's court was considerably reduced. In the years between 1396 and 1400 the bishop of Freising paid five visits to Škofja Loka, of which three took place in 1400. In the previous year his retinue stayed there for sixteen days, spent 142m. 53s., and consumed 152 wheels of cheese, 63 *mut* of wheat and rye, and 466 *mut* of oats (the value of the goods equalled approximately 122 marks<sup>56</sup>), which was close to one quarter of the annual estate profit. From the mid-fifteenth century onward these visits became quite rare; four of them are recorded between 1449 and 1475,<sup>57</sup> but not a single one from the last quarter of the century. Instead of this, accounts from this period list expenses of the auditing commission, which were much lower: recognisable expenses varied between 10 and 13 guilders plus 24 to 44 *mut* of oats.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> "Dy rät so zw Lokech sein gebesen, haben eingenomen alte schuld von dem pfleger facit i<sup>m</sup> iiii<sup>m</sup> lxxiiii ducaten s. 32, item von der neuen schuld ducaten viiii<sup>m</sup> s. xvii, . . . item dy schuld Jacob Lamberger macht xii<sup>m</sup> ducaten." Ann. Acc. Šk. L., 1485, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr 194, fol. 6'.

<sup>54</sup> Pavle Blaznik, "Sixtova pisma" (Letters of Sixtus, bishop of Freising), manuscript, pp. 18, 39, Rokopisna zapuščina dr. Pavleta Blaznika, Zgodovinski Arhiv Ljubljana, Enota Škofja Loka.

<sup>55</sup> Thoma, "Räumliche Mobilität," 151–5.

<sup>56</sup> The prices can be found in Acc. B. Fr., 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Fr., Nr 69, fol. 94'–96; cf. *Tab. 5*.

<sup>57</sup> The only proof are charters, issued by the bishop in Škofja Loka: BayHStA, Fr. U., 1449, April 22 (original lost, inserted in Fr. U. 1491, May 20); 1454, June 29; 1458, October 16; 1475, June 28.

<sup>58</sup> Only some of the later accounts specify this type of expenses: Ann. Accs Šk. L.: BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr 194, fol. 2 (1485); HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 259, Nr 2, fol. 2 (1487); Nr 7, fols 8, 16 (1493); HL Fr., Nr 516, fols 8, 15' (1494).

\*\*\*

The Škofja Loka estate proved to be well-organized and carefully administered by its episcopal owner, responding dynamically to most of the internal as well as external changes or threats. At least until the end of the fifteenth century the management succeeded in keeping the landed property homogeneous, losing only insignificant pieces of property in favour of fiefs, and reaching and maintaining the optimal level of settlement. While the latter was in progress—that is, up to the mid-fourteenth century—it was probably one of the main stimuli for the constant growth of the estate income, which stopped in the fifteenth century. Despite unfavourable circumstances in the middle of this century the income did not drop much; in fact its oscillation to a great extent corresponded to the general economic trends of the time. For most of the period studied the variation in total expenditure depended on occasional needs; the gradual growth on account of expanding administration is noticeable only in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. An increase of the proportion of cash in accounts of incomes and expenses in kind, which could also be ascribed to general late medieval trends, is here intensified by another factor; namely the long distance of the estate from its administering centre. The latter in fact represented a challenge to the episcopal administration searching for the optimal way of using the estate potential. It was found in transfer of cash combined with strict control over the local officials. This recipe survived long beyond the Middle Ages.

## APPENDIX

STATISTICAL DATA<sup>59</sup>

Table 3.\*

*Proportionate Sources of Income and Expenditure for the Škofja Loka Estate, 1396–1500.*

Period	MONEY		GRAINS		CHEESE	
	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses
1396–1400	167 949	100 237	68 745	45 415	46 650	2 517
1437–1500	178 432	95 656	73 881	20 962	—	—

\* Cf. *Figs 1 and 4.*

<sup>59</sup> All the values in the tables are given in Aquileia–Venetian *solidi*.

Table 4.\*\*  
*Yearly Distribution of the Income and Expenditure in Škofja Loka Estate, 1396–1500.*

Year	TOTAL		MONEY		GRAINS	
	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses
1396	291 172	204 269	168 126	143 136	62 390	57 915
1397	288 488	137 715	161 257	66 500	77 310	68 967
1398	282 008	69 464	170 142	54 606	71 066	11 940
1399	292 786	121 057	165 970	80 870	77 128	36 985
1400	280 082	207 364	174 250	156 071	55 832	51 291
1437	264 345	106 964	199 655	97 134	64 689	9 830
1438	270 916	118 454	203 624	104 267	67 273	14 187
1439	277 825	105 897	202 745	91 787	75 079	14 110
1440	257 063	158 047	182 099	142 974	74 964	15 100
1441	258 277	187 826	183 212	113 466	75 065	74 359
1476	258 022	97 204	182 045	82 989	75 977	14 251
1477	261 728	75 574	183 736	60 549	77 991	15 025
1485	234 443	91 233	179 333	80 521	55 109	10 712
1486	237 943	125 799	182 833	114 875	55 109	10 924
1487	241 861	79 645	179 020	63 192	62 841	16 462
1489	234 468	84 169	181 875	71 462	52 593	12 706
1490	230 713	113 590	178 295	99 381	52 418	14 209
1493	262 079	116 913	186 723	94 680	75 347	22 233
1494	270 069	131 822	194 898	107 226	75 171	24 596
1495	270 832	96 111	194 171	72 507	76 660	23 604
1496	299 923	117 701	192 046	80 333	107 877	37 368
1497	274 897	102 199	184 961	75 135	89 936	27 069
1498	269 274	142 042	186 777	120 106	82 479	21 936
1499	271 869	139 881	185 784	120 278	86 085	19 603
1500	279 725	141 242	184 805	120 278	94 954	20 963

\*\*Cf. Fig. 2.

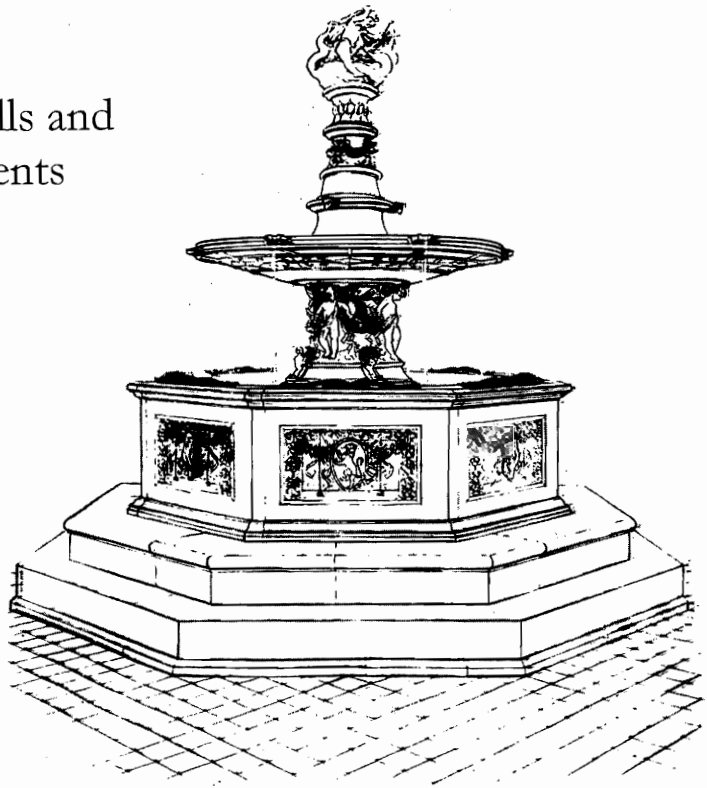
Table 5.\*

*Fluctuation of Prices of Grain per Mut in the Škofja Loka Estate, 1396–1500.*

<i>Year</i>	<b>WHEAT</b>		<b>RYE</b>		<b>OATS</b>
1396	70		52		22
1397	88		45,3		30,7
1398	75,8		48		38,7
1399	78		50		32
1400	—		40		28
1437	60		48		24
1438	66		51		24
1439	80		54		27
1440	75		55,5		27
1441	70,5		57		27
1476	82		75		23
1477	88		78		23
1485	72,5		47,5		17
1486	72,5		47,5		17
1487	72,5		70		17
1489	62,5		43,5		17
1490	61,5		43,5		17
1493	84		66		30
1494	104		80		24
1495	96		70		28
1496	148		108		36
1497	116		82		28
1498	104		80		28
1499	102		82		28
1500	122		82		32

\* Cf. Fig. 3.

Last Wills and  
Testaments





## LAST WILLS AND TESTAMENTS—INTRODUCTION

"...*nihil certius morte et nihil incertius hora mortis...*"—thus runs one of the typical introductory formulas of medieval and early modern wills, in Latin and in several vernacular languages alike. This combination of certainty and uncertainty, closeness and distance, expectancy and fear characterized the attitude towards death all over Europe in the Middle Ages. The awareness of the end of human life had a decisive impact on the thoughts and deeds of medieval people. The wish to achieve the best possible reputation in the community of survivors and—what was even more important—before God and his heavenly community prompted men and women, old and young alike, to provide for the time after their death. Before crossing the threshold of eternity, composing a testament was also the last chance for the testators to deal with mundane matters, with goods acquired during their lives, and to take care of people from whom they would soon be irretrievably distant.

The earliest group of scholars to study medieval wills, at the end of the nineteenth century, were legal historians whose main question was how testaments were embedded in the ecclesiastical and secular legislation of their age. The increased interest in wills from the 1970s, however, was connected to other disciplines, like social, economic, and cultural history, and the history of everyday life. Scholars in these fields have discovered that wills can provide answers to a series of questions concerning demography, family structure, gender-specific roles in the division of labor and in the accumulation of wealth, to name just a few. Moreover, wills give a different and more matter-of-fact insight into topics where normative sources could only give a one-sided and often idealized picture, for instance religious life and devotion, charities, civic consciousness, or the material and moral obligations of rearing children.<sup>1</sup>

All these fields have been discussed in several studies on testaments from Italian-, English-, French-, and German-speaking territories of Europe. We must emphasize, however, that the custom of making wills did not stop at the Elbe or the Leitha, as one might assume from the lack of references to comparative material from East Central Europe in practically all the works published by western scholars. Last wills were put in writing and preserved as

---

<sup>1</sup> For a recently published short, but critical review of previous scholarship on wills see Gabriela Signori, "Absolon und die anderen... Ein Beitrag zum erzieherischen Gehalt letztwilliger Verfügungen," in *Disziplinierung im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit Nr. 17 = Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. 669, (Vienna: ÖAW, 1999), 99–119, esp. 105.

far as Latin Christianity reached. Therefore, wherever the conditions of past centuries allowed it, the central and town archives of present-day Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia boast abundant and wide-ranging collections of wills, comparable to the material of settlements of similar sizes anywhere on the continent.

After the early publication and analysis of selected wills by members of the local elite, the study of medieval testaments from East Central Europe as serial sources for social history and related disciplines started to flourish in the last ten or fifteen years. The research on the Czech and the Croatian material is especially worth mentioning; the former because of studies on the influences of Hussitism and on material culture, using wills from Prague, Plzeň, Tabor, Kutná Hora, and some smaller towns;<sup>2</sup> the latter because of the contributions to family and church history on the basis of testaments from Dubrovnik, Rab, and Zadar.<sup>3</sup> The development of the Dalmatian towns was in fact part of the Mediterranean cultural circle, and can be compared to Italy in many respects. In Hungary several studies have been devoted to the wills of the nobility and of town-dwellers alike, concentrating on their use as sources of art history, everyday life, gender-related questions, religious attitudes, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

The three articles presented below represent three different approaches to wills, from the rather spiritual to the almost entirely material. The first one, by Mária Lupescu Makó, concentrates on the testators' attitude to the afterlife, and the arrangements connected to the final resting place of their bodies and souls after death. Thomas Krzenck chose as the focus of his study the most 'immaterial' objects: books, whose physical existence cannot be separated from their spiritual contents, therefore their possession and bequeathing was also bound to spiritual needs, unlike the allocation of any other type of movable. The more humble objects of everyday life serve as starting points of the third article, which examines how and why these were passed on to various generations within the testator's family or to others outside the circle of relatives.

The three articles also differ in the scope of the source material they utilized. The first one draws on examples from fifty selected wills from

---

<sup>2</sup> On the historiography of Bohemian wills see notes 8–12 in Thomas Krzeck's article below.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Pro anima mea et predecessorum meorum' Death and the Family in Fifteenth-Century Dubrovnik," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 35 (Krems, 1996) = *Otium* 3/1–2 (Zagreb, 1995): 25–34; Dušan Mlacović, "The World of Dominchiellus Meçigna (The Testators, the Commune and Family on the Island of Rab in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century)," *ibid.* 85–106.

<sup>4</sup> On the historiography of wills from medieval Hungary see note 8 in Mária Lupescu Makó's article below.

Transylvania, from the circles of both the nobility and the urban population, the second focuses on urban wills from all over Bohemia, while the third is concerned with the abundant material of a single town in medieval Western Hungary. This diversity of sources explains the various levels of quantification and abstraction in the different approaches. Finally, the articles are different in their origin as well: the first is based on an MA thesis defended in our department, an earlier version of the second study was a guest lecture, and the third piece was a conference paper presented by a member of the resident faculty.

Our aim with presenting this selection of studies based on wills from East Central Europe is to point out the potential of the material for local studies and comparative research. This group of sources, due to their similar spiritual and legal background all over the continent, readily reveals similarities or diverging tendencies in religious attitudes, social development, material culture, and several other fields of medieval Europe.

The basis of inter-regional or long-term comparisons must be a thorough investigation of the primary material. The Department of Medieval Studies at CEU has contributed to this field of study by encouraging its alumni interested in social and religious history to take up the study of last wills or to use them as complementary material in their research. Academic support for this work is provided, among other members of the faculty, by Prof. Gerhard Jaritz, who has devoted several studies to the use of wills as sources on everyday life and is currently undertaking the edition of the *Testamentsbücher* of Vienna, and Prof. Gábor Klaniczay, who has stimulated the interest of several students in the transcendental aspects of wills as sources on piety and devotion. The writer of these lines also utilized wills extensively in her PhD project on urban social life and material culture.

So far, the following M.A. theses defended at our department have used last wills as their primary sources:

- Zoran Ladić (Croatia), *The Religious Life of the Citizens of Sopron According to their Last Wills* (supervisor: G. Jaritz, defended in 1994)  
zladic@mahazu.hazu.hr
- Carmen Florea (Romania), *Devotion and Patronage of Saints in Late Medieval Transylvania* (supervisor: G. Klaniczay, defended in 1999)  
carmenfl@bcu.ubbcluj.ro
- Mária Lupescu Makó (Romania), *Catholic Piety in Transylvania during the Middle Ages: An Analysis of the Donations and Testaments Given to the Monasteries and their Churches* (supervisor: G. Jaritz, defended in 1999)  
mphlum01@phd.ceu.hu


The following Ph.D. dissertations based on testaments are in progress:

- Zoran Ladić (Croatia), *The Religious Life of the Citizens of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) as Reflected in Wills* (supervisor: G. Jaritz)  
zladic@mahazu.hazu.hr
- Mária Lupescu Makó (Romania), *Catholic Piety in Transylvanian Royal Towns on the Basis of Donations and Testaments* (supervisors: G. Jaritz and K. Szende)  
mphlum01@phd.ceu.hu
- Judit Majorossy (Hungary), *Urban Religious Life in the Late Middle Ages in the Mirror of Last Wills* (supervisor: G. Klaniczay)  
mphmaj01@phd.ceu.hu

*Vivant sequentes!*

Katalin Szende

## “ITEM LEGO...” GIFTS FOR THE SOUL IN LATE MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA<sup>1</sup>

Mária Lupescu Makó 

### Introduction

I, Magdalene, the wife of the late honorable George, mason of Kolozsvár, and Franciscan *confratrissa* of the Virgin Mary Franciscan Friary in the same Kolozsvár, founded, considering with mature mind how useless and how false is the glory of the world, how dangerous and how uncertain it is in all things, being frightened that my hour of death will come suddenly on the grounds of illness, or, being in death agony, I will not be able to talk, or I will lose my senses from which God forbid; while I am still alive, sound in my body and my soul, I dispose and enumerate all my movable and immovable goods which God has given to me, and I make this testament concerning them in the manner which follows:<sup>2</sup>

Thus runs the typical introductory formula to a will written in the first half of the sixteenth century in Transylvania, in this case composed in 1531 in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) by George the Mason's wealthy widow, Magdalene, Franciscan *confratrissa*. Magdalene's will continues in almost two thousand words, first detailing the generous gifts she would make to her burial place, the Franciscan Friary of Cluj, the town's parish church, other mendicants, and certain charities. Although I will return to her property, my principal concern here is not with Magdalene's religious sensibilities, but with the issue of her gifts and their significance, both in her will and in forty-nine others from the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. These gifts of cash or in kind were left as pious donations to religious institutions, namely friaries and monasteries, or for religious purposes.

---

<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Katalin Szende who assisted me in working on this material both in counselling and in pointing to the relevant literature. I would also like to express my special thanks to Gerhard Jaritz for his advice and professional help during the writing of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Elek Jakab, ed., *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* (Chartulary for the first volume of Cluj history) vol. 1 (Buda: Magy. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1870), 372–73 (henceforth *KoOk*).

This examination of the bequests made by medieval Transylvanians for the health of their souls is based almost exclusively on evidence drawn from wills of the period. The medieval ecclesiastical sources of Transylvania are by no means abundant, and wills in particular have survived in small numbers. Perhaps it is because of the scarcity of the source material that Transylvanian testaments have not been subjected to examinations similar to those recently undertaken on English,<sup>3</sup> French,<sup>4</sup> German,<sup>5</sup> and Italian wills.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the Transylvanian

---

<sup>3</sup> John Craig and Caroline Litzenger, "Wills as Religious Propaganda: The Testament of William Tracy," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 415–31; J. D. Alsop, "Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989): 19–27; C. R. Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead: Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 837–58; Margaret Murphy, "The High Cost of Dying: An Analysis of *Pro Anima* Bequests in Medieval Dublin," in *The Church and Wealth*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 111–22; P. Heath, "Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills," in *The Church, Politics, and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. B. Dobson (Gloucester: Polys, 1984), 209–34.

<sup>4</sup> Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past & Present* 151 (1996): 3–45; Jacques Chiffolleau, "Les testaments provençaux et comtadins à la fin du moyen-âge: Richesse documentaire et problèmes d'exploitation," in *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Paolo Brezzi and Egmont Lee (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), 131–52; idem, "Ce quit fait changer la mort dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, 1983), 117–133; idem, "Sur l'usage obsessionnel de la messe pour les morts à la fin du moyen-âge," in *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècles. Table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome, en collaboration avec l'Institut d'histoire médiévale de l'Université de Padoue (Rome, 22–23 juin 1979)*, 240–45, Collection de l'École française de Rome 51 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981); idem, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà, les hommes, la mort et la religion en Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rome: Collection de l'École française de Rome, 1980); Kathryn L. Reyerson, "Changes in Testamentary Practice at Montpelier on the Eve of the Black Death," *Church History* 47 (1978): 253–69.

<sup>5</sup> Brigitte Pohl-Resl, *Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit. Das Wiener Bürgerspital im Mittelalter* (Vienna and Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1996); Brigitte Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes und zum Wohl der Familie-Kölner Testamente von Laien und Klerikern im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Janus, 1995); Gerhard Jaritz, "A végrendeletek és a városi mindennapi élet: A Duna-völgy példája a késő-középkorban" (Testaments and urban daily life: The case of the Danube valley in the Late Middle Ages), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 325–30; idem, "Die realienkundliche Aussage der sogenannten 'Wiener Testamentsbücher'," in *Das Leben in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 171–90; idem, "Österreichische Bürgertestamente als Quellen zur Erforschung

testaments have not been used to shed light on the laity's religious beliefs and practices, charity, funeral customs, and attitudes towards death, while similar English or Bohemian evidence has been effectively utilized for these purposes.<sup>7</sup> However, in the past decades a number of studies on testaments have appeared, emphasizing the postmortem services, the duties of survivors, the rituals of gift-giving, and the testamentary practices in medieval Hungary.<sup>8</sup> Over the last years' art historical research has offered an important tool for historians as well.<sup>9</sup>

---

städtischer Lebensformen des Spätmittelalters," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 8 (1984): 249–64; Paul Baur, *Testament und Bürgerschaft. Alltagsleben und Sachkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Konstanz*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen XXXI (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Martin Bertram, "Bologneser Testamente. Zweiter Teil: Sondierungen in den Libri Memoriali," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 71 (1991): 195–240; idem, "Hundert Bologneser Testamente aus einer Novemberwoche des Jahres 1265," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 69 (1989): 80–110; idem, "Mittelalterliche Testamente. Zur Entdeckung einer Quellengattung in Italien," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 68 (1988): 509–54; Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150–1250* (Cambridge, MA and London: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Owen D. Hughes, "Struttura familiare e sistemi di successione ereditaria nei testamenti dell'Europa medievale," *Quaderni Storici* 33 (1976): 929–52.

<sup>7</sup> Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215 – c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Barbara F. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); John Klassen, "Gifts for the Soul and Social Charity in late Medieval Bohemia," in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna: SB Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1990), 63–81.

<sup>8</sup> András Kubinyi, "Főúri és nemesi végrendeletek a Jagelló-korban" (Testaments of aristocrats and noblemen in the Jagellonian period), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 331–42; idem, "Egy késő középkori főrangú hölgy végrendelezésének tanulságai" (The lesson of an aristocratic lady's testament from the Late Middle Ages), *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997): 401–10; László Solymosi, "Két középkor végi testamentum Szabolcs vármegyéből" (Two late medieval testaments from Szabolcs county), in *Emlékkönyv Rácz István 70. születésnapjára* (István Rácz memorial volume in honour of his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday), ed. Ágnes Kovács (Debrecen: KLTE Történelmi Intézet, 1999), 203–225; idem, "Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mortuárium a 11–14. századi Magyarországon" (Ecclesiastical and lay (noblemen's) mortuary in Hungary from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries), *Századok* 120 (1987): 547–83; idem, "A helytörténet fontosabb középkori forrásainak kutatása és hasznosítása" (The investigation and exploitation of the local history's more important medieval sources), *Történelmi Szemle* 19 (1976): 133–36; idem, "Középkori végrendeleteink forrásértékéről" (About the source value of our medieval

Last wills and testaments in medieval Transylvania, similarly to those from Western Europe, expressed people's wishes, attitudes and intentions with respect to both worldly and otherworldly matters. They reflected attitudes towards other family members, to property, to life and death, to communities (both lay and ecclesiastical), to saints, and to God. Most wills contained bequests for the soul (*pro anima*) which were to assist the deceased's passage into the world beyond. They show that while lay people continued to believe in prayers and liturgy in spiritual support of the dead, their piety also had a strongly pragmatic and worldly side. The act of bequeathing itself had an almost judicial meaning: by giving properties, fisheries, forests, and various objects necessary for the church service, testators created a "functional reciprocity," a well-understood contract under which the testator both offered and received certain benefits.<sup>10</sup> These benefits were primarily spiritual.

Transylvanian testators made gifts for purposes ranging from the directly spiritual (the salvation of the soul) to the pragmatic (provision for the necessities of the friars). The two purposes were not incompatible; on the contrary, they were linked, and the interplay between them ensured that success in achieving one purpose implied success in the other.

---

testaments), *Tisztafaj* 28.6 (1974): 26–29; Katalin Szende, "A magyarországi városi végrendeletek helye az európai joggyakorlatban: A középkori Sopron, Pozsony és Eperjes példája (The place of the Hungarian urban testaments in the European legal practice: The cases of medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 343–56; eadem, "Families in Testaments: Some Aspects of Demography and Inheritance Customs in a Late Medieval Hungarian Town," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 35 (1996): 107–20; eadem, "Handwerkerwitwen in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft von Ödenburg," in *IV. Nemzetközi Kézművesipartörténeti Szimpózium* (The fourth international symposium of handicraft history), eds. Klára Dóka and István Éri (Veszprém: MTA Veszprémi Akadémiai Bizottsága, 1994), 72–77; eadem, "A nők szerepe a kézműiparban a késő-középkorban a sopronyi és pozsonyi végrendeletek tükrében" (Women's role in handicrafts in the Late Middle Ages in the testaments from Sopron and Bratislava), in *Házi Jenő emlékkönyv* (Jenő Házi memorial volume), eds. Péter Dominkovits and Éva Turbuly (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár, 1993), 169–79; eadem, "A soproni későközépkori végrendeletek egyház- és tárgytörténeti tanulságai" (The history of churches and objects as reflected in the late medieval testaments of Sopron), *Soproni Szemle* 43 (1990): 268–73.

<sup>9</sup> Géza Entz, *Erdély építésze a 14–16. században* (The architecture in Transylvania between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries) (Cluj: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996) (henceforth Entz 1996); idem, "Középkori végrendeletek művészeti vonatkozásai" (The artistic aspects of the medieval testaments), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 2 (1953): 171–75.

<sup>10</sup> Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 211, 232.



### Choosing the Burial Institution

A significant number of a testator's bequests went to the burial institution, the place where he or she had decided that his or her body would rest until the Day of Judgement. One can see the importance of the place of burial from the fact that out of the fifty wills examined, twenty-one cases specify a desired burial place in the church of a particular friary. When Ladislas Papfalvi made his testament on November 27, 1492, among the beneficiaries he named were the Dominican friars of the Virgin Mary Friary of Cluj, who received pieces of bacon, a horse, and a forest with the condition that they could use it for eight years, after which they had to give it back to his wife and his son. The bequest was made because he wanted to be buried in their church.<sup>11</sup> A similar wish was expressed by Albert Marai. In his testament made in 1502 in front of the Dominican friars of the Holy Cross Friary of Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz), Marai stated that the main beneficiaries of his testament were to be the Dominican friars because he wished to be buried in their church.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Farkas' case is interesting because in his testament made on November 14, 1502, he asked for a burial place in the Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur (Kolozsmonostor) not only for himself, but also for his wife.<sup>13</sup> Dressing in the habit of one particular order before death was a widespread custom in the medieval world. In Hungary, habits worn by the Paulines and also by the mendicants were donned by some faithfuls before death. A relevant example is that of Denise Veres of Farnas, the castellan of Cetatea de Baltă (Küküllővár, Kokelburg) who not only requested a burial place in the Franciscan church of Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt) in return for his gift, but also specified that he wanted to be buried in Franciscan habit.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "... elegit sibi sepulturam apud fratres predicatorum Koloswar": Entz 1996, 344 cp. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei, 1289–1556* (The convent records from Cluj-Mănăștur, 1289–1556) *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai* II, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), no. 2832 (henceforth *KmJkv*).

<sup>12</sup> For the burial place, Albert Marai bequeathed the Dominican Friary of Bistrița with possession of Mărtinești (Szentmárton), worth three-hundred golden florins: Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* (Historical geography of Hungary in the era of the Hunyadis) vol. 5 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1913) 801 cp. *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3485.

<sup>13</sup> "Corpora eorundem ... in ipsa ecclesia ... virginis Marie sepellantur ...": Entz 1996, 332 cp. *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3257.

<sup>14</sup> "Ita tamen ut corpus meum in habitu fratrum Cheremiensium scilicet in cappa tradent sepulture": Entz 1996, 379. Parts of his testament were published by Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (The history of popular education in Hungary

Family connections with various institutions were of course important. The belief in bodily resurrection made it desirable to be buried in close proximity to one's beloved, and many wills contained instructions for burial next to deceased spouses. This was the path taken by Magdalene, widow of the mason George, when she made her testament in Cluj in 1531. The most important part of her valuables went to the Virgin Mary Franciscan church of Cluj where she wished to be buried beside her late husband.<sup>15</sup> The prestige of venerated relics in a church or the tomb of an important or pious individual could make an ecclesiastical institution a more desirable burial site.<sup>16</sup>

There was undoubtedly a certain amount of rivalry between the religious institutions to attract and secure wealthy interments, with all the lavish endowments they could entail. Religious houses sought to establish their churches as fashionable places for burial, and they often became involved in disputes over important interments.<sup>17</sup> A famous case involved the St. Michael parish church of Cluj, and concerned the burial of the members of the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary's confraternity. In 1460, some members of the confraternity complained that Gregory, the parish priest, had buried some members of the confraternity in the parish church by main force. An important issue in the affair was the fact

---

until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906), 290 cp.; Zsigmond Jakó, "A Farnasi Veres család. Az 1467. évi erdélyi lázadás kutatásához" (The family Veres of Farnas. On the research of the Transylvanian revolt of 1467), in *Emlékkönyv Imreh István születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (István Imreh memorial volume in honor of his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday), ed. András Kiss, Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, and Ferenc Pozsony (Cluj: Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület kiadása, 1999), 221–22. For the custom of putting on a particular order's habit before death, see: Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* (The religious life of the Hungarians in the Jagellonian period) (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940), 8.

<sup>15</sup> "Item sepulturam eligo in iam fato Claustro Beate virginis fratrum Minorum quemadmodum et Maritus meus predecessor...": *KvOkL*, 373 cp. Entz 1996, 340.

<sup>16</sup> Although we do not have such information for medieval Transylvanian friaries, a similar case was related on February 13, 1451. Sometime before this date, Potenciana, the widow of Mark Herepei, the vicevoivode of Transylvania, gave some relics to the Virgin Mary Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur because her husband was buried there and this was his wish: "... de reliquiis sanctorum, quas habebat in bona copia huic monasterio ... in quo corpus eiusdem Marci existit tumulatum": *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 429.

<sup>17</sup> This topic was totally disregarded in Hungarian religious history. Recently, a case study was published on the rivalry between the parish priests and the Franciscan Friary of Sopron: Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, "A plébániai papság és a koldulórendi barátok kapcsolatai a magyar városokban: Sopron példája" (The relationship between parish priests and mendicant friars in Hungarian towns: The case of Sopron), *Soproni Szemle* 52 (1998): 196–208.

that with this gesture Gergory violated on the one hand the old burial custom of the confraternity which required that members should be buried in the Dominican church, and on the other hand the privileges of the Dominican order and that of the confraternity.<sup>18</sup> The disagreement between the parish priest of Cluj and the mendicant orders continued into the sixteenth century. In 1533 the register of the general chapter of the Franciscan order of the Hungarian St. Salvator province noted that the two parties had agreed on the burial right. According to this agreement, the funerary mass had to be held in the parish church of Cluj after which the body could be transported and buried in the Franciscan church if that was the wish of the deceased.<sup>19</sup>

An examination of desired burial places tells us something about the religious preferences of the laity at a given time, what orders and institutions were favoured and which were fashionable. The small number of wills available for such an examination in medieval Transylvania makes it difficult to identify definite patterns. It is very likely that the vagaries in the surviving evidence give a distorted picture. I should also mention that this article is based only on the published documentary sources on the topic under discussion, which are not comprehensive, so the interpretation and conclusions leave room for future refinement. However, even with such a small sample certain trends emerge, and it is possible to comment on them without claiming them to be definitive. In medieval Transylvania it seems that the friaries were chosen by well-to-do testators, mostly burghers and nobles. Unlike the poorer testators, who were buried in cemeteries, these richer testators instructed that they be buried inside the church, often in prominent positions, for example in front of the high altar. Gabriel Polnar, in his will made in 1501 in the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj, instructed that he should be buried in the choir of the Virgin Mary Dominican church of Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schässburg) beside the high (main) altar.<sup>20</sup> Michael, the priest of Budacu de Jos (Szászbudak, Budek), Nicasius, the

<sup>18</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1465–1466, 1470 cp. Entz 1996, 343 and Gustav Gündisch, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 6 (Bucharest: Verlag der Akademie der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien, 1981), 84 (henceforth *Ub*).

<sup>19</sup> V[ince] Bunyitay, R[ajmond] Rapaics, and J[ános] Karácsonyi, eds., *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából* (Ecclesiastical-historical records from the Hungarian Reformation) vol. 2 (Budapest: Szent-István-Társulat, 1904), 473.

<sup>20</sup> Gabriel Polnar's case is a very interesting one. Coming from a Saxon burgher family in Sighișoara, Gabriel Polnar had an impressive ecclesiastical career. He was already a Dominican friar when he became bishop of Bosnia and royal secretary. Around 1495, he became the abbot of the Virgin Mary Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur. For his last will, see: K[arl] Fabritius, "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schässburg," *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 5.1 (1861): 12 cp. Jolán

priest of Vulcan (Volkány, Wolkendorf), and Andrew of *Ewlysz*, also a priest, requested burial places in front of or next to the St. Dominic altar in the aforementioned friary.<sup>21</sup>

The burial institution was enriched by the testators in a number of ways. Firstly, of course, the sums left for the funeral and burial and the services surrounding them must be taken into account. Most testators were very particular about the arrangements for their interment. The way one was buried was considered to have a direct influence upon one's salvation. In dealing with the economic aspect of funeral arrangements a difference is noted between the wills of rich and poor testators. The less well off were very specific about sums of money. For instance, Anthony Heenn, a burgher probably from Bistrița, gave five florins and forty denars to the Dominicans of Bistrița to provide for a decent funeral in the Holy Cross Dominican church.<sup>22</sup> But many of the richer testators were rather vague about how much they were leaving for such practical affairs, perhaps because they had no fear of being assigned to a pauper's grave. Thomas Farkas, a burgher from Cluj-Mănăștur, left two parts of a vineyard and his house to the Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur in his testament made in 1502, in order to cover the funeral expenses for him and his wife.<sup>23</sup> In 1503, Elizabeth, the widow of Stephan Weymer, stated in her will that all her real estate and movables should be divided equally between the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary and the Saint Giles Dominican Nunnery, both in Cluj, as beneficiaries of her testament.<sup>24</sup> However, the difference between the wills of rich and poor testators could also be expressed in precise sums of money, although the bequests of the former were far larger than those specified by the poorer testators. In his testament made in 1525, Leonard Barlabási of Héderfája, vicevoivode of Transylvania, gave one hundred florins to the Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș. In making this donation, he was motivated by his choice of a burial place in the Virgin Mary Franciscan church of Târgu Mureș.<sup>25</sup>

---

Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance, 1460–1541* (The Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460–1541) vol. 1 (Cluj: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 196 and Entz 1996, 439.

<sup>21</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 13–14, 17–18.

<sup>22</sup> "...corporis sepulturam ecclesie sancte Crucis ad fratres ordinis predicatorum ... fratribus ordinis predicatorum florenos 5 denarios 40": Entz 1996, 240.

<sup>23</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3258.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 3295.

<sup>25</sup> Samu Barabás, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Sacri Romani Imperii Comitum Familiae Teleki de Szék. A Római Szent Birodalmi Gróf Széki Teleki család oklevéltára*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895), 450 (henceforth *TelOkel*) cp. Entz 1996, 380.

Along with the money left to cover the actual services on the day of one's interment, the sums left for wax and candles must be considered. It was generally believed that a multiplication of candles multiplied the soul's chances of salvation, and candles left alight in churches for a period after the burial were considered especially effective.<sup>26</sup> Usually the testators left a specified sum of money for wax or a quantity of wax to make candles. Some testators left instructions as to exactly what they desired. John Sleser's widow Margarete, who made her testament in 1454, specified that she was leaving wax worth two golden florins to make candles to be used at the feast of the Assumption.<sup>27</sup>

Closely connected to one's funeral service was the gift of a horse. It is known that leading a horse was an intrinsic part of the funeral procession during medieval Hungarian noble funerals. Later, the same horse was bequeathed to the church where the nobleman was buried. Although it was not explicitly stated in Leonard Barlabási's testament that the donated *subflavum vulgo keek* horse was to be used in his funeral procession, it is very possible that this was the reason for granting it.<sup>28</sup> Ladislas Papfalvi's horse-gift might be explained similarly. In 1492, he left to the Dominican Friary of Cluj, his chosen burial-place, one *flavei coloris* horse which could be either yellow or blue/grey.<sup>29</sup>

### Donations for Church Buildings and Equipments

The money to be spent on one's own funeral was usually followed in the wills by a bequest for the construction or completion of a monastic settlement, or repairs to be made on friary or church buildings. Some sums, particularly those left to the large religious houses, were simply stated as being 'for works' or 'for renewal'. These bequests sound very formal. In 1454, John Sleser's widow, Margaret, gave twenty-five golden florins toward the construction of the Dominican church of Cluj.<sup>30</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ladislas

<sup>26</sup> Murphy, "The High Cost of Dying," 115.

<sup>27</sup> *Kmjku*, vol. 1, no. 1153.

<sup>28</sup> This sentence leads to the same conclusion: "... fecimus tale testamentum, quod ad sepulturam nostram, quam in claustro de Zekel Wasarhel fieri volumus, legamus florenos centum et quinquaginta ac unum equum videlicet maiorem subflavum vulgo keek...": *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 450. For horse-leading in funeral processions, see: Kubinyi, "Fő-úri és nemesi végrendeletek," 336 and Solymosi, "Két középkor végi testamentum," 214.

<sup>29</sup> *Kmjku*, vol. 2, no. 2832. For the meaning of the horse color, see: Iván Boronkai and Kornél Szovák, eds., *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Hungariae. A magyarországi középkori latinság szótára*, vol. 4 (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1993), 108.

<sup>30</sup> *Kmjku*, vol. 1, no. 1153 cp. *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 198 with wrong date.

Bolkysz left a certain sum of money to the Dominican Friary of Sighișoara for the construction of the dormitory and to pay the wages of the carpenters.<sup>31</sup> However, gifts to the churches of the friaries for building projects and the purchase of necessary liturgical items were often specific and displayed good knowledge of what was needed. No doubt, priors ensured that likely benefactors knew, for example, that the vault and the panel-painting were in need of repair. Sums were left for both of these purposes in several Transylvanian wills. In his testament Gabriel Polnar, the abbot of the Virgin Mary Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur, left significant sums of money for specific purposes to the Dominican friaries in Cluj and Sighișoara. As a result, the Dominican church in Cluj was vaulted, the walls of the Dominican church in Sighișoara were raised and vaulted, an organ was installed, glass windows were fitted and the All Saints altar was built.<sup>32</sup> When Magdalene, the widow of the wealthy mason George from Cluj, made her will in 1531, she left one florin to the Sts. Fabian and Sebastian chapel of the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj in order to repair the panel-painting.<sup>33</sup>

Bequests to buy liturgical items were also popular, and money was often left to purchase vestments and chalices. This same Magdalene left different sums to the Virgin Mary Franciscan Friary of Cluj to purchase liturgical vestments.<sup>34</sup> In his testament made in 1453, Denise Veres of Farnas left sixteen and a half silver marks for the purchase of a chalice for the Virgin Mary Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș.<sup>35</sup> One will left a sum for the repurchase of a Psalter, another to buy a dalmatic. The aforementioned Denise Veres of Farnas gave twelve golden florins to the same friary to redeem from pawn a Psalter needed for the liturgy.<sup>36</sup> In 1519, the widow of Simon Sartor left a certain sum to buy a

---

<sup>31</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>33</sup> *KvOkL*, vol. 1, 374.

<sup>34</sup> "Item similiter lego viginti quinque florenos ad unum indumentum altaris, quod fiat ad ... maius altare de alba kamwka, item lego florenos quinque pro uno alio indumento sacerdotali ad ... ecclesiam Fratrum Minorum, quod fiat de nigro atlasio wigo atlatcz in memoriam defunctorum. Item similiter lego florenos quinque, quibus ematur kamwka nigra pro indumento altaris defunctorum, quod consistit in ... ecclesia Fratrum Minorum sine organo": *KvOkL*, vol. 1, 373 cp. Entz 1996, 148–49, 340. For the *kamwka* and *atlasz*, see: Walter Endrei, *Patyolat és posztó* (Cambic and cloth) (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1989), 227, 216.

<sup>35</sup> Entz 1996, 379.

<sup>36</sup> "... (pro) ecclesie monasterii beate Marie virginis de Wasarhel pro redemcione psalterii duodecim florenos in auro": *Ibid.*, 379 cp. Jakó, "A Farnasi Veres család," 222.

dalmatic “in order to praise and decorate Virgin Mary’s house.”<sup>37</sup> Sometimes sums were left to buy liturgical books. Thus, in 1511, Stephan Pistor’s widow left in her testament a sum to buy a graduale of saints and an antiphonar.<sup>38</sup> Apart from donations of money or goods to be sold for the purpose of improving the fabric or contents of the churches and friaries, many testators left personal possessions, items which could be converted to liturgical uses: crosses, goblets, and bowls. In the inventory of the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj from 1509, a cross decorated with precious gems and the image of Virgin Mary was used to decorate a chasuble. The cross was given by Elizabeth, the widow of John Pongrácz of Dengeleg, and the chasuble by Valentine, a Dominican provincial prior.<sup>39</sup> In 1512, a similar gift containing a silver cross, one chasuble, and “two red dalmatics elegantly gilded” was made by Sinsiana, John Farkas’ widow, to the Holy Cross Franciscan Friary of Bistrița.<sup>40</sup> The Franciscans of Cluj received a silver gilded goblet in 1519 through the testament of Agatha, wife of Sigismund Gyerőfi of Kiskapus.<sup>41</sup> In 1448, George Apafi’s wife, Ana, left a silver bowl to the Paulines of Sâncraiu de Mureș (Marosszentkirály).<sup>42</sup> Gabriel Polnar left a similar gift in 1501 to the Dominicans of Sighișoara. He also gave four hundred florins to purchase silver candlesticks, one silver *lavatorium* and one silver bowl “for the decoration of the altar.”<sup>43</sup> Most of these personal belongings were bequeathed to the friaries, the burial institutions or the personnel of the burial institution. Such items were rarely left to other churches.

Gifts of textiles and towels appear with instructions that they are to be made into altar cloths or used in the service of the church. The inventory of the

<sup>37</sup> Fabritius, “Zwei Funde,” 18.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 15–16.

<sup>39</sup> The inventory specified the color of the chasuble and its provenience as well: “... domina Elizabet ... contulit huic nostro conventui unam crucem extoto de gemmis factam, habentem imaginem virginis gloriose, et hec crux apposita est ad casulam purpuream rubeam aureis floribus intextam, quam ad hoc ipsum Reverendus magister Valentinus quondam provincialis ex Venetiis attulerat”: János Eszterházy, “A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról címzett domonkosok, jelenleg ferencziek egyházának történeti és építészeti leírása” (The historical and architectural description of the Holy Virgin Dominican Friary, at present Franciscan Friary in Cluj), *Magyar Sion* 4 (1866): 582 cp. Balogh, *Az erdélyi*, 202, 343.

<sup>40</sup> Albert Berger, *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen, 1203–1570*, Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens XI.1, vol. 1 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1986), 552.

<sup>41</sup> Entz 1996, 347.

<sup>42</sup> *TelOké*, vol. 2, 39.

<sup>43</sup> Fabritius, “Zwei Funde,” 12.

Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj mentioned above preserveds many notations of textile donations. A very generous gift, a scarlet cloth with golden embroidered flowers, was bequeathed by Francis Bánfi of Losonc. This piece of textile originally belonged to King Matthias. Francis Bánfi stipulated that the textile was to be made into five different objects: one choir cappa, two dalmatics, one antependium for the main altar, and one chasuble.<sup>44</sup> Dorothy, wife of the Cluj burgher Peter Pauer, left two decorated towels to the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary in her will made in 1424.<sup>45</sup> Robes were also donated with the same intention. Anthony Polnar designated his robe for a choir cappa in the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Sighișoara.<sup>46</sup> Readymade liturgical vestments were sometimes left to a specific destination, mostly for an altar or to the sacristy. In 1499, Nicholas Bethlen, the patron of the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Sighișoara, left two chasubles to the Holy Cross altar.<sup>47</sup> Gabriel Polnar also gave two chasubles to the All Saints altar of the same

---

<sup>44</sup> The textiles and the liturgical clothes were very precisely described: “Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo nono. Egregius ac Magnificus dominus Franciscus Banffi contulit huic nostro conventui Coloswariensi ordinis predicatorum unam peciam magnam de nobiliori purpura rubea, habente aureos flores non quidem intextos, sed ab extra magistraliter applicatos. Sed quia idem dominus Franciscus habuerat eandem peciam ex spolio bonorum Serenissimi quondam regis Mathie, videbatur pertinere ad Illustrissimum Wladislaum regem antedicti regis Mathie successorem: Idcirco cum idem rex Wladislaus videre venisset Transylvaniam contulit ad supplicationem huius conventus eandem peciam seu paramenta ecclesiastica ex eandem pecia facta, huic nostro conventui irrevocabiliter tenenda et habenda ... Item ex pecia purpurea quam contulerat Magnificus dominus Franciscus Banffi, facta est cappa choralis cum floribus aureis desuper applicatis cum clipea ex gemmis quem conventus presens fieri fecerat. Item ex eadem pecia facte sunt due dalmatice cum floribus aureis desuper applicatis, ac eciam antependium rubeum maioris altaris cum similibus floribus applicatis. Item ex eadem pecia facte sunt due casule rubei sine floribus quarum unam prefatus dominus Franciscus dedit ecclesie sue ville reliquam reliqui hic in conventu”: Eszterházy, “A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról,” 578, 582 cp. Balogh, *Az erdélyi*, 343.

<sup>45</sup> “... duo manutergia figurata”: Entz 1996, 343 cp. László Makkai, *Kiadatlan oklevelek Kolozsvár középkori történetéhez* (Unpublished charters on the medieval history of Cluj) (Cluj: Kolozsvári Bolyai Tudományegyetem Erdélyi Tudományos Intézete, 1947), 18.

<sup>46</sup> Fabritius, “Zwei Funde,” 12.

<sup>47</sup> “Duas Insuper Casulas unam de Purpura aureis floribus contextam cum Dalmaticis eiusdem coloris et floribus contextis Stolum vero de Rubeo Purpura Veneciana de meliori wigo Swemmeth cum Dalmaticis et cum duplici Antependio eiusdem Altaris eiusdem valoris et coloris Casularum”: Fabritius, “Zwei Funde,” 8–9 cp. Balogh, *Az erdélyi*, 345–46.



friary.<sup>48</sup> Michael, the parish priest of Budacu de Jos, donated a chasuble for the sacristy of the Virgin Mary Dominican church of Sighișoara; Nicholas, the parish priest of Vulcan, made a similar gift.<sup>49</sup> Chasubles and choir cappas could appear, however, among the gifts made by testators to the friaries without any specification as to their destination. Around 1479, John Pongrácz of Dengeleg's widow, Elizabeth, left two chasubles decorated with crosses to the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj.<sup>50</sup> The aforementioned inventory of the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj also listed a choir cappa with flowers, a gift made by Matthias Pongrácz of Dengeleg in his testament. An unknown Italian man left another choir cappa of gilded damask in his will.<sup>51</sup>

Goblets, spoons, and girdles were bequeathed to be converted into chalices. Margarete, widow of John Sleser, a burgher from Cluj, left in her testament two silver goblets and seven silver spoons to be converted into a chalice. For this work, she bequeathed twelve golden florins.<sup>52</sup> In 1520, John Knochenhair's wife Cristine left a silver belt and a silver *picarium* in her testament in order to make a chalice.<sup>53</sup> Magdalene, the mason's widow, precisely described the girdle which she bequeathed to be made into a chalice for the Franciscan Friary of Cluj, the other silver objects she gave for this purpose, and the sum of money she left for the purchase of the chalice.<sup>54</sup> Sometimes the kind of silver goods that were to be made into a chalice was not explained. For instance, in 1511, Stephan Pistor's widow left "all her silver things to be made into a chalice."<sup>55</sup>

Theological and canon law books were also bequeathed. In 1502, priest Matthew Kőhalmi enumerated in his testament the books which were to be

<sup>48</sup> "... duas casulas unam flavei coloris floribus aureis contextam videlicet Damszkiit, aliam Rubei coloris de optimo a wlgo nunccupante Swmeth Veneciarum": Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 12 cp. Balogh, *Az erdélyi*, 196, 346.

<sup>49</sup> "... deditque casulam optimam pro Sacristia cum Cruce pulcherrima ac nobilissimo labore...": Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 13–14.

<sup>50</sup> The chasubles were described as being "... ex purpura brumatica aureis floribus intextam ... cum cruce aurea habente crucifixum cum gemmis. Item eadem domina contulit unam casulam ex purpura aurea viridis coloris cum cruce aurea": Balogh, *Az erdélyi*, 582.

<sup>51</sup> Eszterházy, "A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról," 582.

<sup>52</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1153.

<sup>53</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 19.

<sup>54</sup> "Item Quattuor Baltea cum suis Bullis, et Coclearia argentea novem, et fibulas XVIII, et picarium unum Argentum lego ad sepefatum Claustum fratrum Minorum, ut ex his fiat calix ad Cultum divini Obsequi ... Item Tres Armillas ad predictam calicem conflandas lego ... Item Ad preparationem dicti calicis florenos X": *KvOkL*, vol. 1, 374–75.

<sup>55</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 15–16.

given to the Dominicans of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), with the stipulation that they could be used by the testator's nephews but were to remain at the Holy Cross Dominican Friary "forever."<sup>56</sup> In most cases, books were left without stipulation. For instance, Nicholas, a priest of Jegerdorf in the diocese of Olmütz, in his testament made in 1435 in the Virgin Mary Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur, left three books for the same institution: a Contemplation on Sunday gospels, the *Gestis Romanorum*, and the Saints' Sufferings.<sup>57</sup> These types of bequests were seen as benefiting the soul in different ways. They were yet another method of converting one's material possessions and the earthly products of one's labor into spiritual credit. The soul gained by the very act of leaving them for pious uses.

The gifts also illustrate the importance of a friary as a burial institution for the testator and his desire to contribute to its material condition. Usually the whole maintenance of the church was taken into consideration, but sometimes the testator was careful to ensure that the immediate surroundings of the burial site were to be improved. John Erdélyi of Somkerek, his wife, Justine, and his brothers Thomas and Martin donated a fishpond in Jucu (Zsuk) in 1491 to the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj. Beside this, a chapel dedicated to the Rosary was founded by John, in the place where Justine and her daughter desired to be buried. Some time after this date, John Erdélyi of Somkerek instructed in his will that the Dominicans of Cluj and Bistrița should sell the fishponds which he had donated to them and which they owned in common, and a panel-painting should be made "on the altar of his chapel." He enriched the chapel with textiles for chasubles, and gems for a cross. A robe was to be sold in order to purchase yet another cross.<sup>58</sup> His material possessions were

---

<sup>56</sup> "Item omnes libros meos videlicet totum corpus iuris positum cum scriptis super libros decretalium, practicam novam, vocabularium iuris, instituciones, Margaritham deoce. (sic!) et alios libros iuris canonici, item Bibliam, Sumam Reyneris que alias Pantheloya intitatur 2° 2° (sic!) continen. Sancti Thome, Rationale Divinorum, Mariale Bernardini ordinis Minorum et alios duos libros videlicet Thomam de veritate et Contra Gentiles et plures alios libros tam in theologia quam in iure canonico pro ut in registro continentur pro monasterio Sancte Crucis taliter et adio si nepotes mei videlicet Stephanus et Andreas de his necessitatem haberent ut eis amministrentur taliter ut ipsi semper pro monasterio restituere teneantur": Karl Fabritius, "Das Testament des Schönberger Plebans Mattheus von Reps aus dem Jahre 1502," *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 12.2 (1874): 375–76.

<sup>57</sup> Entz 1996, 116, 329.

<sup>58</sup> Although it was not precisely stated, it is very probable that John Erdélyi desired a burial place in the Rosary chapel which he had founded and where his wife and daughter also wished to be buried. It seems that at the moment of the writing of the Dominican

therefore to be used to enhance particularly the space he and his family were to occupy after their death.

There was a further advantage in bequeathing items to be displayed in the church. The gifts would remain visibly associated with the deceased, and this increased the chances of being remembered in the prayers of the friars. When Nicholas Apași donated a crucifix of wood to ornament the wall of the Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș in 1537, he could be sure that his name would from that time onward be remembered both by the friars and the faithful.<sup>59</sup> Friar Benedict Bethlen won fame as the donor of the beautiful Renaissance stalls for the Holy Cross Dominican Friary in Bistrița, as the inscription shows: *Hoc opus fieri fecit venerabilis pater Benedictus de Bethleem ordinis praedicatorum ad honorem beate Marie Virginis*.<sup>60</sup> Stephan Erdélyi of Somkerek, vicevoivode of Transylvania, would have had the same goal when he stated that one hundred florins should be paid for a panel-painting representing the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin

---

inventory, namely in 1509, Justine and his daughter were already dead, since it is stated that they lie together in the aforementioned chapel in one sepulchre. The panel-painting ordered by John Erdélyi for the altar was finished in 1510, and it was noted that “the gilding was not perfect”. The textiles for the chasubles are described in the following manner: “Item reliquit duas vestes pro casulis fiendis unam videlicet de veluto seu de purpura aureo rubei coloris, alteram vero eciam de veluto cum floribus elevatis viridis coloris. Item reliquit gemmas pro fienda cruce ad unam casulam auream, et pro labore illius crucis reliquit aliqua metreta annone. Item pro fienda alia cruce reliquit subducturam unius vestis proprie gobelen ... unam ex purpura rubea aureis floribus in texta (sic!) ex qua facte sunt due casule, et aliam ex purpura viridi cum floribus elevatis, ex qua similiter facte sunt casule”: Eszterházy, “A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról,” 573–75, 582–83. It seems that the chapel was finally dedicated to the Virgin Mary and had two “patrons”: John Erdélyi and Francis Mikola: *KvOkel*, vol. 1, 354–56. See also note no. 65 below.

<sup>59</sup> Today the crucifix is in Eremitu (Nyárádremete) on the main altar of the church: Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* (The wooden statues of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 204; Lajos Kelemen, “A nyárádremetei feszület” (The crucifix of Eremitu), in Idem, *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in art history) vol. 1 (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1977), 170–172, 257–259.

<sup>60</sup> Today the stall is in the Lutheran church of Bistrița. In the literature there were some problems concerning Benedict Bethlen’s identification. For the elucidation of both this problem and his gift, see Eszterházy, “A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról,” 576; *TelOkel*, vol. 2, 345, 349; Pál Lukcsics, ed., *Diplomata pontificum saec. XV. XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár II, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), no. 249; Balogh, *Az erdélyi*, 68, 146, 173–74, 325–26. The coat of arms decorating the stall with the inscription 1516 shows the possible date of the donation.

for the Dominican church of Cluj.<sup>61</sup> Dorothy, the widow of Martin Cruz, found a very visible way to express her wish to be remembered: she built a chapel at her own expense in front of the Virgin Mary Dominican church of Sighișoara and it had decorated with a panel-painting worth twenty-four florins. She also left twenty-six florins in order to purchase a chalice and two chasubles.<sup>62</sup> Elisabet, the widow of John Pongrácz of Dengeleg, gave similar instructions.<sup>63</sup>

Liturgical vessels could have the same meaning. Since the chalice and the silver altar-cruet were used during mass, Michael, the parish priest of Budacu de Jos, was convinced that the friars would always be grateful to him.<sup>64</sup> The desire for visibility was strong among medieval testators, and some people missed no opportunity to jolt the memory and solicit prayers from the living. Nicholas Vizaknai, vicevoivode of Transylvania, enriched the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Cluj so generously that the prior, John of Saxonia, and the subprior, friar Maternus, granted that his anniversary be noted in the calendar of the friary, and on that day each mass was to contain the vigile for the deceased and orations in his memory.<sup>65</sup> A similar request was made by Stephan and Ladislav Mikola in 1521 with the specification that masses mentioning their names should be held on their anniversaries.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, we must again underline that this type of bequest also illustrates the testator's wish to be associated with the sacred function of the Church in a

---

<sup>61</sup> The panel-painting was made by a certain Thomas the Painter as specified in the will made in 1485: Entz 1996, 344.

<sup>62</sup> "... fecit propriis suis in expensis fabricari Capellam ante fores Ecclesie In honorem virginis gloriosissime Marine (sic!) atque beatissimi patris nostri Dominicii et beati Franciscii necnon Beati Hupertii et Beati Widalricii Fecit denique testudinem sive Boltam fieri in eadem Capella et cum tabula pro 24 fl. ornari Insuper fecit ecciam fieri Calicem pro 26 fl. et duas casulas de optimo serico vulgariter Damaszkite Albo cum omnibus pertinenciis et antependiis": Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 16–17.

<sup>63</sup> "... ad instanciam ... domine Elizabet conventus fecit capellam beati Anthonii cuius structure partem ipsa domina prompta pecunia solvit, et similiter Tabulam eiusdem capelle suis expensis fieri fecit...": Eszterházy, "A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról," 573.

<sup>64</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 13.

<sup>65</sup> *Ub*, vol. 6, 219–20 cp. Eszterházy, "A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról," 568, 579.

<sup>66</sup> This show of appreciation was the result of a donation made by them, consisting of a fishpond, a piece of land and one half of a grove. These immovables had to be used for the completion of the Virgin Mary chapel near to the Dominican church, the construction of which had been started by their fathers, Francis Mikola and the older John Erdélyi, as well as for the requested masses for their souls: *Közl.*, vol. 1, 354–56 and *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3803 cp. note no. 57.

quite material manner after his or her death, by donating personal, often domestic, items to the burial institution. A cup which had been in the deceased's household, when converted into a chalice, would hold the blood of Christ, while his bed linen might cover the altar as an antependium. The fact that these goods went to the churches of the friaries meant that they in some way remained associated with the testator's body. The items which had surrounded the testator in life would still be around him in death as he lay either within or outside the church whose fabric he had also improved.

Gifts with a practical reason could be made not only for the construction or repair of a friary or church, as discussed above, but also for the personal needs of the friars. These gifts, including food and vestments, illustrate the more worldly and material aspects of the bequests. The aforementioned Ladislás Papfalvi<sup>67</sup> and Leonard Barlabási donated slabs of bacon,<sup>68</sup> Andrew Toldalagi fish,<sup>69</sup> and Ladislás Folti<sup>70</sup> as well as Francis Várdai, bishop of Transylvania, wine and wheat. The bishop gave four casks of wine each to the Dominican and the Austin Friary of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg), to the Pauline monastery of Szentmihályköve (not existing anymore) and to the Franciscan Friary of Teiuş (Tövis, Dreikirchen), as well as twenty cubices of wheat to both friaries of Alba Iulia.<sup>71</sup> Gifts of wine were also noted in the testamentary register of the Holy Cross Dominican Friary of Bistriţa, transcribed by the town's authorities in 1413. Thus, Andrew the Ankle-strap-maker left two urnes of wine, George Brewnil twenty-one urns of wine from Hoel mountain, Nicholas Merkil and his son fifteen urns of wine from Czolysch mountain and Peter Ivan two urns of the same wine, Valentine Nossler four urns of wine from Gallic mountain, and Peter the Knife-maker three urns of wine from Patibulum mountain.<sup>72</sup> Sometimes a sum of money was given to provide for the friars'

<sup>67</sup> Cp. note no. 10.

<sup>68</sup> The vicevoivode stated in his will that the Franciscans of Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad) Friary should receive ten slabs of bacon: *TelOkel*, vol. 2, 453.

<sup>69</sup> Cp. note no. 57.

<sup>70</sup> In his will made in 1527, Ladislás Folti left for the Franciscan friars of Orăştie one barrel of wine: Entz 1996, 462.

<sup>71</sup> Francis Várdai's testament was published by Vince Bunyitay, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház későbbi részei s egy magyar humanista* (The later constructions of the Alba Iulia Cathedral and a Hungarian humanist) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1893), 28–29.

<sup>72</sup> On the verso of the parchment another fifteenth-century handwriting noted four other gifts of wine: Peter Knechtel three urns, Peter Simon two urns, Ladislás Bartmon five urns, and George Lockmen six urns of wine: Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, and Georg Müller, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 3 (Sibiu:

needs and kitchen. John Sleser's widow Margarete left ten golden florins for the kitchen of the Dominican Friary of Cluj.<sup>73</sup> George's widow Magdalene bequeathed fourteen florins for the friars' clothes at the Virgin Mary Franciscan Friary of Cluj.<sup>74</sup> The royal judge John Drágfi, in his will of 1524, gave one hundred florins to the Franciscan friars of Coșeiu (Kusaly) and fifty florins to the Franciscans of Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch) for clothes and food.<sup>75</sup>

Some gifts to the friars had no liturgical connotations and were intended merely to please the recipients and possibly make them feel well-disposed towards the deceased and more likely to remember them in their prayers. In 1520, John Knochenhair's wife Cristine left a cup ornamented with flowers to Peter of Ruppe, the prior of the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Sighișoara.<sup>76</sup> In 1502, another testator, priest Matthew Kőhalmi, left a glass *picarium* to magister Jacob, the Dominican prior of Cluj.<sup>77</sup> The frequently mentioned Magdalene left her mantle to "her friend" Helene, a Franciscan nun of the Third Order from Cluj.<sup>78</sup>

### Gifts for Masses

After the required payment for the ceremonial surroundings of the actual burial and the gifts to the reconstruction of church buildings, the largest single expenditure was on masses, mostly to be said for the testator's soul. Examples include Nicholas Vizaknai and Michael Szobi,<sup>79</sup> but wills also gave people the opportunity to pay for prayers for the souls of their ancestors, spouses, descend-

---

Ausschuss des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1902), 570–71 cp. Iván Borsa, ed., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Chartulary from the time of Sigismund), A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II, vol. 4 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), no. 734.

<sup>73</sup> *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 198.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 373.

<sup>75</sup> Gedeon Mészöly, "Drágffy János 1524-iki végrendelete" (John Drágfi's testament from 1524), *Magyar Nyelv* 13.3–4 (1917): 122. Drágfi had a second will from 1526, both written in Hungarian.

<sup>76</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 19 cp. Radvánszky who supposed that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there existed a "Transylvanian cup" with a specific shape and decoration: Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and household in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) vol. 1 reprint (Budapest: Helikon, [1986]), 135.

<sup>77</sup> Fabritius, "Das Testament," 377.

<sup>78</sup> *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 374.

<sup>79</sup> *Ub*, vol. 6, 219; *Kmjkw*, vol. 2, no. 2807.

ants, and benefactors. Ursula, Paul Zylahy's wife, making her testament on October 24, 1531, gave one hundred florins to St. Michael's parish church and to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Cluj. The sum was to be equally distributed between them with the instruction that it should be used to purchase chasubles, and any money that was left over should be used for the good of her and her late husband's souls.<sup>80</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Francis Kolmis left eight possessions to the Virgin Mary Dominican Friary of Sighișoara in his testament and required masses to be said for himself, his wife, and both his ancestors and descendants.<sup>81</sup> Benedict of Túr left three parts of the Túr family possessions, a fishpond called Túritó and a mill with two wheels, in his will to the Dominican Friary of Cluj with the instruction that the friars should pray every day for the souls of himself, his wife, Ana, and both sets of parents. Besides this, the whole community of the Dominican Friary of Cluj had to sing the offices of the dead for them and had to read nine *lectiones* during the vigils of All Souls' day.<sup>82</sup> When Andrew Toldalagi made his testament in 1471, he stated that except for four pieces of land, he gave the Toldalag property, together with a fishpond and a mill on it, to the Paulines of Sâncraiu de Mureș for the good of his and his relatives' souls.<sup>83</sup> When Dorothy, Martin Cruz's widow, made her testament in 1520, she required masses to be said for the souls of her parents and her late husband every week for twenty years.<sup>84</sup> The 1499 testament of Nicholas Bethlen, vicevoivode of Transylvania, is a particularly impressive example of prayers of remembrance requested for his benefactor. He asked for perpetual prayers to Christ and Virgin Mary not only for his, his heirs' and his descendants' souls, but also for the soul of the late King Matthias. It is also significant that the days on which the prayers were required were specified: every Tuesday a funeral mass for the late King Matthias, every Friday a mass of Christ's sufferings for Nicholas Bethlen, his heirs and his descendants, and every Saturday a mass in honor of Virgin Mary. In addition, vigils, special prayers for the dead, were requested. On February 25, the day of the Apostle Matthew and the following day the whole community of the friars should sing nine *lectiones* of the vigils for the deceased and say a mass for the late King Matthias. On

<sup>80</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4362.

<sup>81</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 7.

<sup>82</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3215 cp. *Ibid.*, no. 3216, 4199, 4280.

<sup>83</sup> He also specified that the Paulines of Sâncraiu de Mureș had to provide fish from this fishpond to the Franciscan friars of Târgu Mureș and Suseni: Károly Szabó, ed., *Székely oklevéltár* (Székely chartulary) vol. 3 (Cluj: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-alapra Felügyelő Bizottság, 1890), 93.

<sup>84</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 16–17.

November 11, St. Martin's day, the same prayers should be said for Nicholas Bethlen and his heirs. He also instructed that every Sunday their names had to be mentioned from the pulpit, and the friars had to pray together with the faithful for the salvation of their souls so that in case they were in Purgatory they should be liberated by the merciful God.<sup>85</sup>

Masses were an intrinsic part of the funeral ceremony, and those said on the day of one's burial were considered particularly effective. While Magdalene, the widow of George, was being laid to rest in the Franciscan Friary of Cluj in 1531, seven masses were said for her in the Mary Magdalene chapel of the Dominican Friary.<sup>86</sup>

If the deceased could afford it, arrangements were made whereby the masses would continue for as long as possible. Sometimes testators left money to a particular religious institution for masses and prayers, but often the executors were left with the task of dividing a sum between different friaries for masses for the deceased. This sum was often very large, and it was distributed according to the testator's wishes. In 1463, Peter Greb instructed that his treasure and silver worth seventy-five marks and three houses be sold and the money be distributed by his executors between a pilgrim, the parish church, the hospital, the Dominicans, and the leprosy house of Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt), as well as the Franciscans of Şumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó). He asked the friars to

---

<sup>85</sup> "... pro salute animarum ... Nicolai de Bethlen et domini Regis Mathie oraciones effundere ac Missas sive divina servicia singulis Ebdomadis in communi occurrentibus modo subscripto celebrare teneantur. Item primo singulis feriis Terciis pro Refrigerio ut dicitur anime ipsius olim domini Mathie pro defunctis, singulis vero feriis sextis pro salute dicti Nicolai de Bethlen et suorum heredum et successorum de passione Christi, nec non singulis Sabbatis diebus de beata virgine ad placitum misse perhennialiter per ... fratres claustro ... celebrentur, Item pro prenominate domino Mathia Rege in festo beati Mathie apostoli annuatim occurenti vigiliis mortuorum, novem leccionum cum missa sequenti die Totus conventus eiusdem Claustrum decantare teneatur, demum post festum beati Martini Episcopi et confessoris annuatim pro ipso Nicolao Bethleni et suis heredibus per eundem conventum similes exequie administrentur, postremo vero nomina eorundem in Ambone singulis diebus dominicis perpetuis semper successivis temporibus in Registris mortuorum eiusdem Conventus recitare et communes oraciones pro animabus dictorum Nicolai de Bethlen ac eiusdem heredibus et successoribus, nec non dicti domini Mathie Regis per communes populos efundere petat et faciat, ut si in purgatorio fuerint a domino misericorditer eliberentur": Karl Fabritius, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Kzsder Kapitels vor der Reformation und der auf dem Gebiete Desselben ehedem Befindlichen Orden* (Sibiu: n. p., 1875), 118–20 with wrong date cp. *Km]ku*, vol. 2, no. 3094.

<sup>86</sup> "Item pro Septem Missis in Sacello dive Marie Magdalene in die depositionis funeris mei a predicatore ... Ecclesie Maioris celebrandis, eidem predicatori lego florenum unum": *KvOkL*, vol. 1, 373.



celebrate one mass per year for an unspecified period.<sup>87</sup> When priest Andrew made his testament in 1520, he requested one mass every week "forever."<sup>88</sup> Nicholas Vizaknai also requested perpetual masses.<sup>89</sup> Sometimes it was requested that masses should be said in a specific place in the church which had a certain connection with the testator. Thus, John Erdélyi requested perpetual masses for his wife, his brothers, his parents, and his descendants in the chapel of the Dominican Friary of Cluj, which was built by him and Francis Mikola.<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth, the widow of John Pongrácz of Dengeleg, asked also for perpetual masses to be said for herself, her late husband, her children Catherine and Matthias, and her parents in the same friary, but the masses were to be said every day at the altar founded by her.<sup>91</sup> At other times, the testators specified that the required masses had to be said from the pulpit. Examples include Anthony, a priest from Sânmiclăuș (Szászszenmiklós, Klossdorf), Michael, a priest in Budacu de Jos, and the wife of Stephan Pistor, who asked for masses from the pulpit of the Dominican Friary of Sighișoara.<sup>92</sup>

Testators often left money to several ecclesiastical institutions for masses and prayers, specifying exactly what kind of masses were to be said. Magdalene left one hundred and eleven florins for forty masses, seven florins for seven times masses to the Dominicans of Cluj, and thirty-two golden florins to the Franciscans of Cluj for the same kind of masses. She also left eleven florins each to other Franciscan friaries in Transylvania, namely to the Franciscans of Târgu Mureș and Caransebeș (Karánsebes), and one florin each to the Franciscan friaries of Suseni (Felfalu) and Teiuș with the request that they say masses for her. But as a true Franciscan *confratrissa* she did not forget the Franciscans living outside the borders of Transylvania, either. Thus, Magdalene gave five florins to Franciscan friaries in Esztergom, Buda, Pest, Gyöngyös, Beren, Tata, and Visegrád.<sup>93</sup> Leonard Barlabási and Catherine Tabiási left money in similar ways. The vicevoivode left fifty florins in his will to the Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș, his future burial-place, and twenty-five florins to each of the Franciscan friaries of Albești (Fehéregyháza, Weisskirch), Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch) and Teiuș, for the Dominicans of Sighișoara and for the Paulines of Sâncraiu de

<sup>87</sup> *Ub*, vol. 6, 149.

<sup>88</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 17–18.

<sup>89</sup> *Ub*, vol. 6, 219 cp. Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 4–5.

<sup>90</sup> *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 355.

<sup>91</sup> Eszterházy, "A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról," 579.

<sup>92</sup> Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 6–7, 13, 15–16.

<sup>93</sup> *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 373–75.

Mureş.<sup>94</sup> Catherine, Mark Pemfflinger's wife, left one hundred florins in her testament to be equally distributed between the friaries and convents of Sibiu, and ten florins for each of the Franciscan friaries of Mediaş, Sebeş Alba (Szászsebes, Mühlbach), Orăştie (Szászváros, Broos) and Teiuş.<sup>95</sup>

These bequests made to numerous institutions display a desire to purchase as many pious prayers as possible. In a few cases, testators set up chantries in their wills, mostly for unspecified periods. The endowment of a chantry, while often a search for private reconciliation with God, was also a means of establishing a memorial. They reflect the founders' concern for the salvation of their souls, and specify the form of the services to be said on their behalf. The duration of these services depended on the founder's finances. When Peter and Sofia Sombori made their wills in 1482 before going on a pilgrimage to Rome, they left their possession of Zimbor (Zsombor) with its fishpond to the Dominicans of Cluj as a chantry for an unspecified period.<sup>96</sup> In 1492, Thomas and Nicholas Farkas of Harinai left two fishponds and two possessions in Viile Tecii (Ida, Grosseidau) as a chantry for an unspecified period to the Holy Cross Dominican Friary of Bistriţa.<sup>97</sup> The importance of the chantries lies in their inner structure. In chantries, testators gained a say in the construction and timing of services by choosing prayers. They could specify the type of the mass they wanted, and when it should be said. Trentals – the celebration of thirty masses in quick succession – were also asked for. Andrew Szócs left two florins for a trental to the Austin Hermits of Turda (Torda, Thorenburg).<sup>98</sup> The aforementioned Magdalene left three florins for such a mass to the Dominicans of Cluj, and ten florins to the Franciscans of Oradea (Nagyvárad, Grosswardein) for a trental and five other masses.<sup>99</sup>

Another category of bequests contained gifts to a Church which had a certain connection with the chosen burial place, but they were not for the

---

<sup>94</sup> *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 450–51.

<sup>95</sup> Catherine's will was published by Károly Fabritius, *Pemfflinger Márk szász gróf élete különös tekintettel a reformáció elterjedésére a szászok között* (Mark Pemfflinger, the Saxon count's life with a special attention towards the spreading of the Reformation among the Saxons), *Értekezések a Történelmi Tudományok Köréből* 4 (Budapest: M.T. Akadémia, 1875), 122.

<sup>96</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 2342 cp. Enikő Csukovits, "‘Cum capsă ... cum bacillo.’ Középkori magyar zarándokok" ('Cum capsă ... cum bacillo.' Medieval Hungarian pilgrims), *Aetas* (1994.1): 9.

<sup>97</sup> *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2807 cp. Berger, *Urkunden-Regesten*, vol. 1, no. 365.

<sup>98</sup> Entz 1996, 491.

<sup>99</sup> *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 373, 375.

ceremonies of death or for a specified number of masses. They were meant to enrich a particular religious institution administered by the Church, to be pleasing to God, and therefore to add to the testator's spiritual credit. An analysis of bequests to institutions other than the burial institution, in this case the friaries, reveals a marked preference for enriching the houses of Franciscan nuns of the Third Order administered by the friars. Thus, Magdalene, who wished to be buried in the Franciscan church of Cluj, left sixteen florins in order to purchase liturgical vestments of white *kamuka* and all the tapestries of her house to the chapel of the Franciscan nuns built by her. She gave the same nuns goods from her house with the exception of her silver and a piece of arable land.<sup>100</sup> The aforementioned Leonard Barlabási left twenty-five florins to the Franciscan nuns of Târgu Mureș, and five florins to the Franciscan nuns of Mediaș.<sup>101</sup>

An important aspect of the testators' devotion was the practice of pilgrimages, which was intimately connected with the cult of saints, with the quest for miracles, and the veneration of relics. As the popularity of individual saints fluctuated, the pilgrimage traffic to their shrines naturally ebbed and flowed. Because of this, relative popularity can rarely be tested. However, Hungarian evidence suggests that throughout the period examined three pilgrimage centers were popular, namely Aachen, Rome, and the Holy Land.<sup>102</sup> The destination depended to a significant extent on the social status of the pilgrims: Aachen was frequented mostly by burghers, the Holy Land by aristocrats and the clergy, and Rome was visited by people from all walks of life, but the great masses were mostly attracted by jubilees.<sup>103</sup> Pilgrimage was an obvious demonstration of devotion, but it could integrate many other elements. Some pilgrimages originated in a vow or were imposed as penances. Some could be performed by substitutes on behalf of testators who left bequests for them. Some Transylvanian testators also chose this solution. Thus, in his testament made in 1463, Peter Greb left "firstly one hundred florins for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land."<sup>104</sup> George's widow left twenty golden florins in order to send a

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 373–74.

<sup>101</sup> *TelOkel*, vol. 2, 451–52.

<sup>102</sup> As Enikő Csukovits showed, besides the mentioned places, Hungarians could be encountered at Compostella, in Ireland at the purgatory of St. Patrick, and other important places of pilgrimage in Italy and Germany: Csukovits, "Cum capsă", 27 cp. Pásztor, *A magyarság*, 94–138.

<sup>103</sup> Enikő Csukovits, "A római Szentlélek-társulat magyar tagjai" (The Hungarian members of the Holy Spirit fraternity of Rome), *Századok* 134 (2000): 211–44.

<sup>104</sup> *Ub*, vol. 6, 149.

“devoted person” to Rome. This person should be chosen by the guardian of the Franciscan friary of Cluj.<sup>105</sup> When Lorenz Wermeser and his wife Agnes made their common testament in Cluj, on December 6, 1458, they stated that after their deaths their wealth should be received by the Virgin Mary altar of the Dominican Friary of Cluj on the condition that the friary would pay for one pilgrimage to Rome and one to the Virgin Mary church of Aachen.<sup>106</sup> Peter Pauer’s wife Dorothy simply stated that she disposed for a pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>107</sup>

Looking at the “functional reciprocity” of the act of making gifts, it is also necessary to consider how individuals might see their gifts as essentially contractual, the testator obliging the beneficiaries to offer in return a gift of prayers for his or her soul. From another point of view, as with every contract, the donations can be seen as including conditions. Sometimes the wills contained information concerning the conditions under which the gifts were made. A testament especially rich in conditions was that of Blase, the priest of Cojocna (Kolozs). On May 9, 1508, he donated his entire wealth to the Pauline Hermits of Szentmihályköve under the following conditions: during his life, the hermits should give him annually two three-year-old horses; in the eventuality of his wanting to move into their monastery, the hermits should let him wear lay clothes and should take care of him; if he should want to enter the Pauline order, the hermits of Szentmihályköve should accept him into their monastery; if it should happen that he was dissatisfied with the hermits’ treatment, the monks should let him leave the monastery with his wealth, although after his death the monks should receive it anyway.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> *KvOkl*, vol. 1, 374.

<sup>106</sup> “... ad limina beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum et ad ecclesiam gloriose Mariae virginis in Aquisgrano sitam...”: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1327 cp. Csukovits, “Cum capsá”, 10.

<sup>107</sup> “item peregrinationem ad limina beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum disposuisset faciendam”: Makkai, *Kiadatlan oklevelek*, 18.

<sup>108</sup> “... duos equos triennes de equatibus ... sique ipse dominus Blasius plebanus voluerit in claustrum ipsorum fratrum heremitarum in seculari habitu ingredi, tunc iidem fratres eundem dominum Blasium plebanum in eorum claustrum suscipere ipsumque eo honore et ea reverentia, quibus hominem senio confectum decet et in seculari habitu tenere et iuxta possibilitatem ipsorum fratrum heremitarum eundem nutrire ac fovere, si vero interim idem dominus Blasius plebanus habitu religionis ipsorum fratrum heremitarum induere optaverit, tunc non curata sue senectutis gravitate eundem in ipsam religionem suscipere teneantur. Ubi vero si dicti fratres heremite eundem dominum Blasium plebanum propter suam senectutem suumque decrepitem pacifice et honorifice tenere non curarent, tunc eundem simulcum pretitulatis bonis, nulla

## Conclusion


The main aim of this article was to identify tendencies in the group of the fifty chosen wills from late medieval Transylvania. Firstly, it is clear that friaries were enriched by each testator according to his or her means, but in general the same preoccupations and order of importance are evident in all the wills. Burial institutions received the bulk of the bequests, the next most important category being sums left for the purchase of masses and prayers. The types of objects bequeathed also varied over time. While bequests of land and incomes for the general use of the friaries and monasteries declined or became routinized, gifts intended to support masses, decorate altars and chapels, or provide the friars' necessities proliferated. Very few of the wills show any desire to spread bequests outside the diocese, and the area most testators were concerned for was even smaller, centred on the parish. This can be interpreted as proof of a community spirit and the desire that one's money be spent within one's locality.

The bequests analyzed were made primarily to assist passage into the world beyond. Making implicit, testators created an donations contract under which they both offered and received certain benefits. In offering different gifts to the friaries or monasteries, the testators demonstrated their belief that such charitable acts were themselves a useful way to gain entrance to Heaven. Furthermore, the prayers offered by the recipients of such bequests were deemed to have a salutary effect, particularly in lessening the time a testator's soul might spend in purgatory. The salvation of the soul remained a constant motive for donations through the whole period, but other intentions which were individually connected to the testators' interest changed over time. This is the period when the act of giving itself tended to be considered a contract, implying the donors' expectations as well. It seems that donors wanted to retain a greater control over their gifts, in this way making their salvation more secure. Transylvanian donors believed that their bequests, along with the prayers and divine and human intercessory help, eased the transition from this world into the next. This was considered important enough to warrant a carefully codified system of donation, placed on a contractual basis.

---

occasione interiecta, quiete et pacifice exmittere teneantur. Post exitumque eo decente bona prenotata in dictos fratres heremitas devolvantur": *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3463.

## BOOKS IN LATE MEDIEVAL WILLS IN BOHEMIA<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Krzenck 

### Historiographical Background

Undoubtedly, wills belong to the most important serial sources of the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern times. In this field, Paul Baur's historiographical overview and his analysis of the Constance *Gemächtebücher*<sup>2</sup> can be supplemented with results from various other studies and editions, for example from Vienna<sup>3</sup>, Lüneburg<sup>4</sup> or Brunswick<sup>5</sup>, and also from Venice<sup>6</sup> and Sion<sup>7</sup> (Sitten in Switzerland). Similarly, the study of wills and testaments should be a priority in Czech medieval studies as well.<sup>8</sup> Recently, John Klassen has analyzed the testaments from Plzeň (Pilsen), and the Czech historian Petr Rak gave an overview of the development in Kadaň (Kaaden, North Bohemia)—both bastions of Catholicism in Bohemia.<sup>9</sup> But we still do not have a picture, based on a systematic and

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a shortened and revised version of the public lecture given at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest on March 22, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Baur, *Testament und Bürgerschaft. Alltagsleben und Sachkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Konstanz* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), 30–31.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Wiener Stadtbücher 1395–1430. Part 1: 1395–1400*. Ed. Wilhelm Brauneder and Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna–Cologne: Böhlau, 1989). *Part 2: 1401–1405*. Ed. Wilhelm Brauneder, Gerhard Jaritz and Christian Neschwara (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> *Lüneburger Testamente des Mittelalters 1323–1500*. Ed. Ute Reinhardt (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Dieter Mack, *Testamente der Stadt Braunschweig*, vol 3 (Brunswick, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> Linda Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse. Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Situation von Frauen im Spiegel spätmittelalterlicher Testamente* (Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> Gregor Zenhäusern, *Zeitliches Wohl und ewiges Heil. Studie zu mittelalterlichen Testamenten aus der Diözese Sitten* (Sitten: Staatsarchiv, 1992).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Krzenck, "Böhmische Testamente aus der Hussitenzeit," *Bohemia* 34/1 (1993): 7–28, esp. 9.

<sup>9</sup> John Martin Klassen, "Gifts for the Soul and Social Charity in Late Medieval Bohemia," in *Materielle Kultur und Religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna: Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., 1990), 61–82. John Martin Klassen, *Warring Maidens, Captive Wives and Hussite Queens. Women and Men at War and at Peace in Fifteenth Century Bohemia* (New York: Boulder, 1999) esp. ch. 6. About the situation in Kadaň (Kaaden) see Petr Rak, "Kadanské knihy trůh a testamentů z let 1465–1603 a testamentární praxe v Kadani od

comparative evaluation of late medieval urban Bohemian wills. In the first place, the source material is scattered in a number of archives in the Czech Republic. At the moment there are only two reliable editions from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, namely Josef Teige's *Basis of the old Topography of Prague* (covering the period from 1437 to 1620), and Josef Strnad's collection of documents from the royal town of Pilsen (1300–1526).<sup>10</sup>

During the last ten years, the author has been analyzing Bohemian wills, addressing such topics as everyday life, and urban women as testators in Prague and Plzeň,<sup>11</sup> and also preparing a bilingual edition of urban Bohemian wills. This includes 200 selected testaments from several fifteenth-century Bohemian towns of different denominations, which should give a realistic reflection of testamentary practice.<sup>12</sup>

It is only suitable that the capital Prague should take pride of place also in its collection of testaments. From the New Town of Prague, which was established by Charles IV in 1348, dominated by craftsmen, we have two original

---

poloviny do počátku 17. století" (The town-books and the Books of wills from Kadaň from 1465 to 1603 and the testamentary praxis from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) *Sborník archivních prací* 48 (1998, 2): 3–106; Petr Hlaváček, "Kadanská městská kniha jako pramen k dějinám pozdně gotického umění?" (The town-book of Kadaň as a source of the history of late gothic art) in *Gotické sochářství a malířství v severozápadních Čechách* (Gothic sculpture and painting in Northwest Bohemia), ed. M. Neudertová and P. Hrubý (Ústí nad Labem: Albis international, 1999), 155–163, who analyzed bequests in wills of burghers from Kadaň from the point of view of donations to clerical institutions.

<sup>10</sup> Josef Teige, *Základy starého místopisu pražského* (Basis of the old Topography of Prague) (1437–1620), vol 1 (Praha, 1910), vol 2 (Praha, 1915). Josef Strnad, *Listář královského města Plzně* (Book of documents from the royal town of Plzeň), vol 1: 1300–1450 (Plzeň, 1891), vol 2: 1450–1526 (Plzeň, 1905).

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Krzenck, "Böhmische Testamente," 7–28; Thomas Krzenck, "Böhmische Bürgertestamente des 15. Jahrhunderts. Das Beispiel der Prager Neustadt" in *Husitství – Reformace-Renaissance* vol. 2. (Praha: Historický ústav, 1994), 627–648; Thomas Krzenck, "Tabor und der Alltag im hussitischen Böhmen," *Husitský Tábor* 11 (1994): 29–37; Thomas Krzenck, "Prager und Pilsener Frauentestamente der Hussitenzeit im Vergleich," *Mediævalia Historica Bohemica* 4 (1995): 265–278; Thomas Krzenck, "Prager Frauentestamente des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Documenta Pragensia* 13 (1996): 69–79; Thomas Krzenck, "Gottesfürchtig und um das Wohl der Familie besorgt. Stadtbürgerinnen in ihren Testamenten des hussitischen Zeitalters," in *Colloquia mediævalia Pragensia* 1: Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13–16. Jahrhundert. Ed. František Šmahel (Prague: CMS, 1999), 145–167.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Krzenck, "Böhmische Bürgertestamente des 15. Jahrhunderts. Regestenverzeichnis," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 44 (1998): 141–186.

testamentary books for the years from 1436 to 1494, comprising more than 1300 wills. The *Liber testamentorum* (Ms 2094, 1455–1494), includes 948 wills written either in the Czech language (*kešafy*) or in Latin.<sup>13</sup> For the Old Town of Prague, where the urban upper class dominated political and economic life, there is no original book of wills available (the important manuscript Ms 2119 was destroyed by fire during a bombing raid at the end of World War II). On the other hand, the *Liber memorialis* (Ms 992) can be characterized as a book of wills, especially for the years after 1465. The oldest will dates back to 1407, the latest to 1480.<sup>14</sup> The languages of these testaments were Latin and German. The Czech-speaking urban population gradually began to write their wills in their native language after the outbreak of the Hussite revolution in 1419. However, other testators continued using German during and after the Hussite wars (1419–1434), in those regions which were not affected by the turmoil or where the German population was still dominant, such as in Catholic towns like Cheb (Eger), Ústí nad Labem (Aussig), Krupka (Graupen) or Brno (Brünn).

The instructions and regulations for the writing and reading of wills were first laid down in a Czech translation of a German town charter from the fourteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Previously, Bohemian wills were registered in town books. From the end of the fourteenth century, testaments were drawn up as individual charters or deeds and entered into a special book of wills (*Liber testamentorum*). Such items are available in the town archives of Prague, Plzeň, Český Krumlov (Krumau), Cheb, and České Budějovice (Budweis). A decision taken by the *Senior communitas* of the united Old and New Town of Prague at the time of the Hussite revolution contains exact regulations: When a man or a woman was ill and wanted to state his or her last will and testament, they had to inform the mayor. The head of the council had to send two jurors and one town clerk to the house of the sick person. If the council was unable to designate the two

<sup>13</sup> See my unpublished studies in the Town Archives of Prague.

<sup>14</sup> About the deperdita from the Old Town see Rostislav Nový, "Soupis městských knih českých od roku 1310 do roku 1526" (Catalogue of Czech town-books from 1310 to 1526), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica* 4 (1963): 151. For Ms 992 see Bohdan Zilynskyj, "Rukopis 992 v archivu hlavního města Prahy (k problematice jeho ediční zpřístupnění)" (Manuscript No 992 in the town archive of Prague. Notes on the problems of editing), in *Seminář a jeho hosté* (The seminary and its guests), ed. Zdeněk Hojda a.o. (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1992), 89–94, esp. 91.

<sup>15</sup> E. F. Rössler (ed.), *Das Altprager Stadtrecht aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1845); Zdeněk Šimeček, "České Budějovice a Staré město pražské. K dějinám městské jurisdikce 15. a 16. století" (České Budějovice and the Old Town of Prague. About the history of urban jurisdiction in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century), *Právněhistorické studie* 15 (1971): 115–139.



persons required for this job, two other “sworn persons” had to do it. Within six weeks these persons had to inform the mayor and the councillors of the accomplishment of their order.<sup>16</sup>

The formal layout of Bohemian wills does not differ from those in other territories. The *arenga* indicates the testator’s motives for writing her or his will. It states reasons such as sickness, the uncertainty of physical life or the testator’s advanced age. In the *sana mente* formula, the testator—in most cases lying on his death-bed—declares his mental sanity in spite of being ill. In the *intitulatio* we can also read, in addition to the testator’s name, information about his occupation or trade. The book of wills of the New Town of Prague from 1445 to 1494 contains examples of 319 occupations or trades in 948 testaments. Altogether 82 occupational groups are listed, such as maltsters, butchers, furriers, bakers, shoemakers and linen weavers, as well as goldsmiths, physicians and clergymen.<sup>17</sup>

The declaration of the will is followed by the *dispositio* containing individual bequests which depended on the social position and marital status of the testator. However, a will need not itemize all the testator’s belongings—a fact to keep in mind when analyzing the possession of books. In the main part of the will testators left movable and immovable assets, together with the rights associated with this inheritance to relatives or friends, to their parish church or other churches outside the town and to municipal institutions. In Plzeň, the Catholic center of Western Bohemia, gifts for the soul and social charity are especially frequent,<sup>18</sup> but bequests to clerical institutions were common in Prague as well.

Urban Bohemian wills also give us information about material culture, for example, bequests of clothes and other textiles, furniture (especially beds and bedding), and jewellery. At the end of a testament we find the executors’ names (which sometimes also appear at the beginning) followed by the witnesses who mostly confirmed the legal validity of the wills with their own seals. The date of codification concludes the will.

### Books in Wills

The objects left in wills sometimes include books. In his pioneering study of medieval urban wills, Ahasver von Brandt pointed out that books only appeared

---

<sup>16</sup> *Liber miscellaneus civitatis Pragensis ab anno 1400–1454*, fol. 114. See also Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Dějiny města Prahy* (The History of the town of Prague), vol. 8 (Prague, 21891), 310. In the Lesser Town of Prague, the mayor or a judge and two councillors usually took part in the proceedings at the testator’s request.

<sup>17</sup> Krzenck, “Böhmische Bürgertestamente,” 633.

<sup>18</sup> Klassen, “Gifts for the Soul,” 61–82.

in the wills of clergymen, and that laymen only very rarely possessed books. He investigated testaments from Lübeck, the former "head" of the Hanseatic League, and noticed that women from a Beguine community occasionally left a German Psalter, and a mayor possessed a collection of Decretales.<sup>19</sup> Paul Baur in his monograph on the *Gemächtebücher* in Constance refers to only one case where a widow left a Missal, in 1449.<sup>20</sup> Johannes Schildhauer analysed about 1200 wills of burghers of Stralsund, another member of the Hanse, dated between the beginning of the fourteenth and the end of the sixteenth century, especially from the perspective of daily life. He concluded that "In Stralsund, the valuables appropriate to be left also included books, but their share in the wills was proportionally low—they appeared in only 22 cases, which equals only one percent of all wills handed down."<sup>21</sup>

Brigitte Klosterberg's book on clerical and laymen's wills in Cologne in the late Middle Ages indicates that clerics from time to time possessed small libraries, and that they left their books first of all to their *concanonici* or to their next of kin who were clerics, too. Book titles were mentioned very rarely.<sup>22</sup> Wills of laymen which also contain book bequests were very rare. Sometimes parents sponsored the studies of their sons, for example in 1339 the Gymmenichs left to their three sons Hermannus, Johannes and Rolandus, members of the Order of St. Francis, 300 marks *pro libros ipsorum necessariis licitis habendis*.<sup>23</sup>

The third volume of the so-called Book of Wills from Vienna, covering the period from 1419 to 1430, gives more information on book bequests. In his analysis, Gerhard Jaritz states that books are regularly mentioned in clerics' testaments and often in a very detailed way.<sup>24</sup> In many cases we can find clerical

<sup>19</sup> Ahasver von Brandt, "Mittelalterliche Bürgertestamente," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1973/3 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1973), 25.

<sup>20</sup> Baur, *Testament und Bürgerschaft*, 160.

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Schildhauer, *Hansestädtischer Alltag. Untersuchungen auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1992), 78.

<sup>22</sup> Brigitte Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes und zum Wohl der Familie. Kölner Testamente von Laien und Klerikern im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Janus, 1995), 195–197. On the situation in Frankfurt see the forthcoming study by Gerhard Powitz, "Privater Buchbesitz in Frankfurt am Main während des späten Mittelalters," *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* 66 (2000). I am grateful to Felicitas Schmieder for this reference.

<sup>23</sup> Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 223.

<sup>24</sup> Gerhard Jaritz, "Die realienkundliche Aussage der sog. Wiener Testamentsbücher," in *Das Leben in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters* (Vienna: Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., 1980<sup>2</sup>), 171–190, esp. 182.

institutions as recipients of books, sometimes accompanied by rather detailed instructions for their later use; for example 1429 a certain Jörg der Slaher, a choir master of St. Stephan's donated a missal for a mass of remembrance and wanted it to be fixed by a chain in the sacristy, so that poor priests could read in it.<sup>25</sup> Gregor Zenhäusern dealt with the question of book bequests in greater detail when analyzing a selected corpus of testaments left by clerics and members of the urban middle classes in the diocese of Sion in Switzerland from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He demonstrated that the bequeathing of books was mainly the domain of the clergy, in particular the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries such as canons. They left liturgical books—antiphonaria, psalters, breviaries and missals—primarily to their next of kin, especially to those who belonged to the clerical classes, as a kind of “professional solidarity.” The testators also left books to clerical institutions.<sup>26</sup>

Law books were also usually left to clerical persons, the canonistic literature with different collections of Decretales being of special importance. The possession of legal manuscripts was often the only indication that the testator—for instance a member of the cathedral clergy—had a university education. According to Zenhäusern, only in rare cases did the parish clergy in the diocese of Sitten possess more than a single breviary.<sup>27</sup> These books may have been the only ones they had, or the testators might have concealed other titles which they wanted to leave to their next of kin. The question arises whether we can also speak of this kind of “minimum stock” in Bohemia.

A partial insight into the situation in England has been given by Carol M. Meale, who investigated the question whether and to what extent laywomen—both nobles and burghers—possessed books in late medieval England, and whether they also donated and left books.<sup>28</sup> Her examples seem to point to a remarkable spread of books among women of the nobility, whereas for members of the middle classes the evidence is scarce.<sup>29</sup> The dominance of

---

<sup>25</sup> Jaritz, “Die realienkundliche Aussage,” 182.

<sup>26</sup> Zenhäusern, *Zeitliches Wohl*, 253.

<sup>27</sup> Zenhäusern, *Zeitliches Wohl*, 253.

<sup>28</sup> Carol M. Meale, “‘...alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, english and frensch’: laywomen and their books in late medieval England” in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150–1500*. Ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 128–158.

<sup>29</sup> Another example for a book bequest can be found in the monograph by Maurice Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348–1500* (London: Routledge, 1990). The author refers to the will of Joanna Hilton from Yorkshire, who left to her daughter in 1432 a book on the Ten Commandments, and another one on the Seven Wise Men and the romance ‘De la Rose’.

liturgical manuscripts (missals, psalters) is also shown by other wills. But, as Carol M. Meale points out, this is no evidence that female testators were able to read their books. The wills themselves cannot prove or disprove this. Information on book bequests can also be found in testaments from the late medieval kingdom of Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

Summarizing the conclusions from the German, Austrian, Swiss, English and Hungarian testaments, we can see that the occurrence of book bequests in late medieval wills is sporadic, especially in laymen's wills.

### Quantitative Overview

Comparing previous research results with the Bohemian wills, I turned to my forthcoming edition of 200 wills. In only eight cases (which equals four percent of the material) did I come across examples of book bequests. The question is whether the proportion of books in my edition is purely by chance, due to my choice of sources. But in Josef Teige's edition of Prague documents, containing 112 wills, the sources mention book bequests also in only eight cases (7 percent). The Pilsen material is even more modest: only one percent of all wills contain book bequests. So my data seem to conform to the European pattern described above.

However, the quantitative analysis of book bequests is only one of our considerations. I believe that earlier and modern Czech medieval studies, and also the research done in early modern history, present some useful factual and methodical points of view. Zikmund Winter, in 1890, published a so-called "cultural history" of the Bohemian towns of the period under investigation. He referred to book bequests from the fifteenth century to public "libraries" in Prague and Louny (Laun), a small town in northwestern Bohemia.<sup>31</sup> In other

<sup>30</sup> Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban. Urbanizáció, társadalom és mindennapi élet a késő-középkori Sopronban és Pozsonyban* (At home in the town. Urbanization, society and everyday life in late medieval Sopron and Bratislava) Ph.D. dissertation, (Budapest: ELTE, 2000), 157–163, forthcoming in 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Zikmund Winter, *Kulturní obraz českých měst 1* (A cultural picture of Bohemian towns) (Prague, 1890), 754. Especially interesting is the provision by Johannes Valtíř, a priest from Louny, who helped to establish a public library in 1491. For this purpose he ordered his brother-in-law to bring his books—we do not know how many they were—into a "special room" which was controlled by the executors of his will (*...ten pokoj k tomu ukázaný má trvati, dokud poručitci to spravovati budú a klíčiemi vlásti*). These persons were also the key-holders for this room, and so they could lend the books to anyone interested in reading the manuscripts. After a certain while the books were made available for the common good (*k obecnému pokladu*).

studies, Zikmund Winter showed that other wills from that time also contained book bequests, primarily bibles.<sup>32</sup>

Ivan Hlaváček presented the first systematic overview of medieval lists of books and libraries in the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1965.<sup>33</sup> He registered 209 references, most of them from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, listing about 7,500 book titles. Eighteen wills from clerics and laymen are of relevance to our study since they contain book bequests. Jiří Pešek has presented a survey of book bequests in testaments from the New Town of Prague, comprising some 500 unpublished wills and 600 inventories made between 1576 and 1620.<sup>34</sup>

Pešek's list contains 246 indications of book possession, corresponding to a share of nearly 25 percent. Altogether there were about 5,000 books, with titles being mentioned in about half of the cases. In 100 cases the libraries of the urban middle class contained more than ten titles, and occasionally wealthy townsmen possessed more than 400 books. A quarter of all book owners who possessed more than 25 volumes seem to have belonged to the urban intelligentsia although the information on the social and professional status of book owners is incomplete. Nevertheless, the possession of books was not so exclusive as previously assumed. If we categorize all books left in these wills and inventories according to their content, we find three groups of books: theological literature (70 percent); historical, political and juridical titles, but also lighter reading-matter (25 percent) and finally, medical and scientific literature (5 percent).<sup>35</sup> Returning to medieval urban testaments, we have found altogether 47 Bohemian wills containing book bequests, 22 from clerics and 25 from laymen. An overview is given in *Table 1*.

---

<sup>32</sup> Zikmund Winter, "Měšťanské libráře v XV a XVI věku" (Urban libraries in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century), *Časopis Musea Království Českého* (1892): 65–79, 281–292.

<sup>33</sup> Ivan Hlaváček, "Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven v českých zemích" (Medieval Catalogues of books and libraries in Bohemia and Moravia), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica – Monographia XI*, 1965. Later the author completed this overview with further sources. See Ivan Hlaváček, "Nachträge zu den böhmischen mittelalterlichen Bücher- und Bibliotheksverzeichnissen," *Mediævalia Bohemica I* (1969): 306–315.

<sup>34</sup> Jiří Pešek, "Knihy a knihovny v kšaftech a inventárních pozůstalostí Nového Města pražského v letech 1566–1620" (Books and libraries in wills and inventories of testators in the New Town of Prague from 1566 to 1620), *Folžna Historica Bohemica 2* (1980): 247–282.

<sup>35</sup> Pešek, "Knihy a knihovny," 252.

Table 1. Bohemian testaments containing book bequests up to the end of the fifteenth century.

Name of testator	Date	Place	Occupation	Number of books bequeathed	Title/author	Reference	Main recipient
John	1293	Prague	Rector	8	Liturgical books	Hlaváček, Nachträge, 309 (see note 33)	
Wernher	1305	Olomouc	Canon	2	Decretales, Viaticus	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 113 (see note 33)	Henry, his nephew
Nikolaus Freyman	1332	Pisek	Rector	3	Sermones quadragesimales	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 62	His servant Bartholomew
John of Neumarkt	1368	Olomouc	Bishop	33	Seneca, Livius, Einhard (Vita Caroli Magni), theological and historical literature	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 102-103	Augustinian Monastery of St. Thomas in the Lesser Town of Prague
Thomas	1390	Prague	Parson	20	Theological manuscripts (for example Postilla of Konrad of Waldhausen)	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 81-82	12 books for sale, 8 volumes to his church of St. Michael
Martin	ca 1400	Milevsko (Mühlhausen)	Curate	10	Agustinus, 2 Bibles, Postilla (John of Wodnian)	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy	
John Hus	1415	Prague	Theologian, preacher	?	Among others Viaticus, Wyclif	Hlaváček, Hussens Bücher, 113-119	Peter from Mladonowitz, Martin from Wolin
Peter	1418	Jihlava	Lector	51	Theological manuscripts (Thomas Aquinas, Bernhard of Clairvaux), <i>Liber de naturis animalium</i> , <i>Summa Pisana</i>	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 38	Dominican Monastery in Jihlava
Jakob Fünfschock	1419	Znojmo		1	Missal	Town archives Znojmo, Ms. II/96, fol. 6r.	The church of St. Michael in Kunice (Kunitz)

Niclas Jür	1419	Cheb		1	Missal	District archives Cheb, documents – Nr.345.	His cousin Jobst
Georg Burghart from Janowitz	after 1420	Prague	Provost	6	Missal, Liturgical book	Hlaváček, Nachträge, 307	Curate Andreas
Wenzel	before 1420	Žitenice (near Litoměřice)	Parson	4	Malogranatum	Hlaváček, Sředověké soupisy, 117	The Raudnitz Monastery
John of Seclau	1422	Prague	Preacher	?	?	Výbor z české literatury 1, 482	
John from Svitavy (Zwitrau)	1424	Brno	Deacon	30	Theological manuscripts	Hlaváček, Sředověké soupisy, 104–105	Church of St. Jakob in Brno
Wenceslas Wostrnk	1427	Old Town of Prague	citizen	2	Bible	Town archives of Prague, Ms.993, fol.145r.	clergyman
Sophia of Wittelsbach	1428	Bratislava (Přesburg)	Queen- widow	11	For example German and Czech Bibles	Hlaváček, Der Hof Wenzels IV, 35	
Simon from the White Lion	1433	Prague	Citizen	?	Missal, Postilla	Town archives Prague, Ms.992, fol.154.	Nephews, public library, parishes outside Prague
Regina	1435	Plzeň	Wife of the Judge	1	Missal	Strnad, Listář 1, 379 (see note 10)	
Peter	1435	Jihlava	Painter	29	Viaticus, theological manuscripts (Bernhard of Clairvaux, Gregor, Thomas Aquin), Militsch of Kremsier	Hlaváček, Sředověké soupisy, 38–39	
Paul	1441	Olomouc	Provost	18	Decretum Gratiani, Liber sextus, Bible, Breviary	Hlaváček, Sředověké soupisy, 92	Library of the Olomouc Chapter

Nikolaus Bradatý	1439	Prague	Clothworker	3	Missal, Life of Saints, New Testament (in Czech)	Town archives of Prague, Ms.2096, fol.73r.	Priest Matthew, Church of St. Peter in Prague
Duchek	1446	Prague	Notary	?	Two Bibles (written by his own hand) and books of medicine	Town archives of Prague, Ms.2096, fol.140v.	
John Vrat	ca 1450	Prague		2	Psalter, Nicodemus	Winter, Měšťanské libráře, 66 (see note 32)	Clergyman, notary Prokop
Nikolaus	1452	Prague	Parson of St. Leonhard's	4	?	Teige, Zákklady 2, 79 (see note 10)	His church of St. Leonhard
Havel	1454	Prague	Parch-mentmaker	29	Theological writings (Postilla of Konrad of Waldhausen, Czech Postilla of John Hus, Thomas Aquinas, Hugo de S.Victore, Jacobus de Voragine	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 85–86	
John Literatus	1454	Prague	Citizen	2	Psalter, Nicodemus	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 48	John, priest of St.Stephan; Prokop, notary in the New Town of Prague
John Gaudentius	ca 1455	Luditz	Parson	34	Hussite books, Bible	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 28–29	Parish church in Luditz
Andreas from Chlumčany	1456	Prague	Citizen	more than 20	Theological manuscripts	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 33	Several persons; John, parson of the Tyn Church in Prague; John, furrier from Opatovice (Opatowitz)
Hieronymus Pellifex	1457	Prague	Furrier	1	A book in Czech Language about Hus' writings	Winter, Měšťanské libráře, 66	His descendants



Prokop	1457	Prague	Pharmacist	4	?	?	Teige, Základy 1, 663-665	Schoolmaster
Peter Maxant	1462	Chousnice (Chausník)	Notary	books	?	?	District archives Tabor. Town archives Sobieslau I B 3 / 4, Inv.-No.258.	
Simon Vackowitz	1464	Plzeň	Citizen	books	?	?	Strnad, Listář 2, 103.	Prague church
Gregor	1464	Kutná Hora	Dean	15	?	Viaticus, Liber de sanctis	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 45	Private persons, public library
Matthew	1465	Kutná Hora	?	75	?	Seneca, Donatus, Boetius (De disciplina), Grammatice, Vetus et Novum testamentum, Isidor (De summo bono), Rosarius, Apocalypse	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 45-46	Private persons, St. Barbara Church in Kutná Hora
Andreas from Klenitz	1469	?	Former parson	1	?	Breviary	Strnad, Listář 1, 160	Parish church of St. Bartholomew in Plzeň
Johannes from Krčin	1470	Prague	Physician	?	?	?	Teige, Základy 1, 337	Rečec-College
Veit od Rakuov	1470	Prague	?	1	?	Czech Bible	Teige, Základy 1, 206.	His son Augustin
Jakob	1473	Prague	Parson of St. Michael's	20	?	Theological manuscripts (Biblia, Lyra, Remigius, Summa Pisana, Decretales)	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 82	Master John Libek, a German from Lübeck, living in Prague
Johanka Prhošová	1473	Prague	Citizen	2	?	?	Teige, Základy 2, 236.	Church of St. Valentin, Prague
Prokop	1474	Chrudim	Priest	7	?	Liturgical books, Decretales	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 34-35	Church of St. Katharine, two priests
Dorothea Strupinová	1479	Prague	Widow	?	?	?	Teige, Základy 1, 165.	Master Martin

Jan Doubravský	1483	Prague	clothworker	2	Vetus/Novum Testamentum, Sermons of Johannes Hus	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 27	nephew
Charles	1490	Kouřim	parson	28	Theological writings	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 42	
Johannes Valtř	1491	Louny	priest	Great and small books	?	Winter, Kulturní obraz, 754 (see note 31)	Public library in Louny
John Račipáč	1493	Jihlava	Priest	10 incunabula, 5 handwritten books	Summa Innocentii, Canonica, Leonardo da Utino	Hlaváček, Středověké soupisy, 19	Dominician Monastery in Jihlava
Daniel	1494	Kouřim	Priest	?	Sermones de sanctis	State Library of Prague, Ms.XI C.11, fol.61r.	For sale (proceeds to poor people)
Siegmund	1497	České Budějovice	Tailor	?	?	District archives České Budějovice: Town archives České Budějovice – Re.II Bb/5	Paul (?)

We can also compare book bequests in medieval wills with the results of Pešek's research on books and libraries in wills and inventories in the New Town of Prague between 1577 and 1620 (*Table 2*).<sup>36</sup>

*Table 2. Quantitative overview of book bequests.*

Years	Quantity of Books in Wills and Inventories					Total
	Less than 4 books	4–10 books	11–25 books	26–50 books	More than 50 books	
Pre-1500 <sup>37</sup>	25	6	8	6	2	47
1577–1600	34	31	18	10	16	109
1601–1620	48	34	29	14	12	137

### Social and Religious Background

Beside other testators of whom only the name is known, we sometimes encounter clerical persons and laymen who played an important role in Bohemian history. The first is bishop John of Neumarkt (Johannes Novoforensis; before 1320–1380), chancellor and a central figure in the spiritual life at the Prague court. He tried to reorganise the structure and work of the court chancellery and also took part in the journey to Italy in 1354/55 when Charles IV was crowned as emperor. In Italy John of Neumarkt made contacts with some famous representatives of early Italian humanism, and tried to transfer the ideas of humanists such as Petrarch and especially Dante, to Bohemia.<sup>38</sup> He also bought a copy of Dante's works for his own library which may have been the first copy in a private library in Central Europe. In 1368, before John of Neumarkt started on another journey to Italy, he made his will. He left all the books he possessed to the monastery of Augustinian hermits of St. Thomas in the Lesser Town of Prague. In his testament we find 28 titles, comprising altogether 33 volumes. Among other books—theological manuscripts and Roman authors such as Seneca and Livius, as well as a copy of Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni*—we also find his copy of Dante's writings.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Pešek, "Knihy a knihovny," 249.

<sup>37</sup> When a testament contains only the phrase "his books" or "books in his inheritance," it was interpreted as less than four.

<sup>38</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters* V, Spalte 518.

<sup>39</sup> Hlaváček, "Středověké soupisy," 102.

Chronologically, the next important testator was John Hus.<sup>40</sup> As a result of Hus's condemnation as a heretic in 1415, his books were subject to censorship and burned like their owner. Hus did not write a will in the classic form, but in some of his letters to friends he gave instructions in case of his death. In those letters he made book bequests, too. After returning from voluntary exile in castle Koží Hradek in South Bohemia in the beginning of October, 1414, Hus wrote a letter to his friend, the scholar Martin of Wolin.<sup>41</sup> He exhorted him to lead a Christian life, and remarked: "*Cum libris erit cautus, quis eos habet vel habebit.*"<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, we do not learn what kind of books he referred to. More informative is another letter which Hus wrote from his prison cell in the Dominican monastery in Constance at the end of June, 1415, to Peter of Mladoniovitz, who was a member of the official 'Hus delegation' at the Council and also the most important chronicler of Hus' last months. In this letter we can read: "*Viaticus, quem magistro Martino legaveram, nescio cui cedit, quem ad huc habeo. Cum libris, iuxta quod scripsi Magistro Martino, ita disponetis, et aliquos Vicleph, qui tibi placebunt, accipies ...*"<sup>43</sup>

Beside a breviary, which any cleric would own, Hus also possessed manuscripts by the English reformer John Wyclif, regarded by some people as the arch-heretic of the Later Middle Ages. His writings became known in Bohemia through Czech students who made copies of Wyclif's manuscripts while they were studying in Oxford, taking them back to Bohemia after 1390.<sup>44</sup> Seventeen manuscripts of Wyclif's writings still survive in archives and libraries in Prague, providing clear proof of the importance of the *Doctor evangelicus* in Prague on the eve of the Hussite revolution.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Concerning the context, I refer to the best overview by František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce* (The Hussite Revolution) (Prague: Historický ústav, 1996), especially vol. 2. See also the recent Hus-monograph by Peter Hilsch, *Johannes Hus. Prediger Gottes und Ketzer* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1999).

<sup>41</sup> See *M. Jana Husi korespondence* (The correspondence of Jan Hus), ed. Václav Novotný (Prague, 1920), No.86.

<sup>42</sup> Novotný, *Korespondence*, No.132.

<sup>43</sup> Novotný, *Korespondence*, No.160. About Peter of Mladoniovitz and his account about Hus' last months in Constance see Rathmann, *Geschehen und Geschichten*, chapter V.

<sup>44</sup> About the reception of Wyclif's works see Vilém Herold, *Pražská univerzita a Wyclif* (The Prague University and Wyclif) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1985); and František Šmahel, "Wyclif's fortune in Hussite Bohemia," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 43 (1970): 16-34.

<sup>45</sup> See Anne Hudson, "From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and his English Followers in Bohemia," *The Slavonic and East European Review* vol.75, No.4 (1997): 642-657, here 643.

The popularity of Wyclif in Bohemia can be measured by the honorific titles ascribed to him in the glosses and *marginalia* of various Czech manuscripts. Hus, who adopted some of Wyclif's doctrines, copied his treatise *De veris universalibus* in 1398, making a gloss in Czech: "O Wikleff, Wikleff, nejednomu ty blawn zwlíkles' [Wyclif, Wyclif, you will unsettle many human minds]."<sup>46</sup>

We do not know how comprehensive Hus' library was, but Ivan Hlaváček suspected that John Hus also possessed manuscripts from his fellow-reformers and at least one bible.<sup>47</sup> We may compare his book-collection with the library of Prokop of Kladruby (Kladrau), a contemporary follower of the Catholic minority. Prokop was the author of a treatise against the eucharistic practise *sub utraque specie*. In 1444 he was elected administrator of the Prague archbishopric.<sup>48</sup> Sixty-nine of Prokop's books, mostly theological literature (patristic and homiletic writings) still survive in the Castle Archives of Prague, but there are also polemical writings by Hus, Stanislaus of Znojmo, Andreas of Brod, Stephan of Páleč, and other contemporaries. The radical Hussite preacher John of Seelau (Jan Želivský) also left book bequests, as we know from a contemporary narrative source.<sup>49</sup>

Associated with Hus' book bequests it seems pertinent to ask whether there were also writings by Hus in the testaments of clerics and laymen that we have examined. A more general question would be whether we can find direct indications of the religious situation in Bohemia during and after the Hussite revolution. Indeed, we find such book bequests in four cases altogether. In 1457, the furrier Jeronym left to his next of kin only one volume: a writing by Hus entitled *Výklad na čtení mistra Jana Husi* (Exposition of the faith by John Hus),<sup>50</sup> which may have been an excerpt from Hus' writings. About the same time the parchmentmaker Gallus, living in the New Town of Prague (in 1454), and the Utraquist parson John Gaudentius living in the small town of Žlutice (Luditz) made their last wills and testaments. The former left 27 books all of them *in foliis et in cute* as well as *in copertiis*, especially theological manuscripts,

---

<sup>46</sup> See Hilsch, *Johannes Hus*, 303, note 3. This manuscript, an important Hus autograph, is now kept in the Stockholm Royal Library (Codex Holmiensis A 164).

<sup>47</sup> Ivan Hlaváček, "Hussens Bücher," in *Jan Hus. Zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), 113–119.

<sup>48</sup> Jaroslav Kadlec, "Die Bibliothek des Magisters Prokop von Kladrau," *Mediævalia Bohemica* 1 (1969, 2): 315–320.

<sup>49</sup> See the account "O smrti kněze Jana z Želiva" (The death of the priest John of Seelau), *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské* 1 (Prague: Nakladatelství československé akademie věd 1963), 482: "A o knihách učniv rozkázání, ...."

<sup>50</sup> Winter, "Měšťanské libráře," 66.

among others the *Liber pustilla Johannis Hus in bohemico* (i.e. the Czech Postilla by Hus).<sup>51</sup> Gaudentius, who left his 34 books to the parish church in Luditz, had a notable collection of Hussite authors, comprising for example works by John Hus, Jakobell of Stříbro and John of Přeborn on the eucharistic practise *sub utraque specie*.<sup>52</sup> Finally, John Douhřavský from Čáslav in 1483 left two books to his grandchild, also named John. One contained prayers by Hus. Especially remarkable is the testator's condition that the grandchild should receive both books only if he kept his Utraquist faith.<sup>53</sup> These few examples indicate that Hus' legacy was still alive in the post-Hussite era in his country—among both theologians and townspeople.

We can reconstruct a widely meshed co-ordinate system in the case of Simon from the "White Lion", a wealthy Prague citizen. As a moderate follower of the Chalice, Simon was involved in a leading position in the political events during the Hussite revolution.<sup>54</sup> In his testament in 1433, among other things Simon gave all the books he possessed to Master John of Rokytzan for safekeeping. John was ordered to look into the library of the testator. After reviewing the books John should give the manuscripts to the 'public library' in the town hall of the Old Town of Prague. Another part of his library Simon left to his next of kin. He also donated his best Missal, bound in red leather, to his parish church of St. Leonhard.<sup>55</sup> He left another breviary to the village Tachovice (Tachowitz), and finally other Missals and Postilla to poor parishes outside Prague. It seems that he wanted to improve the stock of these parishes with liturgical and homiletic literature.

It may also be interesting to ask whether we can find indications of book endowments to the *Alma mater Pragensis*, which was established by Charles IV in 1348. Following the model of the Sorbonne in Paris, libraries were set up in Prague in magisters' and students' colleges. The chronicler Benesch Krabitz von Weitmühl reports that Charles IV donated some books to the newly founded Carolinum.<sup>56</sup> In 1369, the emperor left another 114 books to the library of this college, books which Charles IV had bought from the estate of the canon

<sup>51</sup> Hlaváček, "Středověké soupisy," No.133, and Winter, "Měšťanské knihárny," 66. About Hus' Czech Postilla see also *Magistri Johanni Hus Opera omnia 2: Česká nedělní postilla* (Prague: Academia, 1992).

<sup>52</sup> Hlaváček, "Středověké soupisy," No.18.

<sup>53</sup> Hlaváček, "Středověké soupisy," No.16

<sup>54</sup> Tomek, *Dějiny města Prahy* 3, 21893, 137.

<sup>55</sup> Teige, *Základy* 1, 756.

<sup>56</sup> See Michal Svatoš, "Univerzitní kniha před Husitstvím a po něm" (The university book before Hussitism and after it), *Documenta Pragensia* X/1 (1990): 119–130.

Wilhelm of Lestkow.<sup>57</sup> Our material contains only one example of a book bequest to an academic institution, made by John of Krčín, a physician with a doctor's degree.<sup>58</sup> In December 1470, he bequeathed a book with writings by John of Tamamira to the library of the Reček College in Prague.<sup>59</sup> The Reček College, also known as the Virgin Mary College, was founded in 1348 by the wealthy Prague citizen John Reček, as a donation by the king's appointment, for 12 students of the *Natio Bohemorum*, born and bred Czechs and followers of the Utraquist faith.<sup>60</sup> By 1460, the college library contained 785 manuscripts, being increased by book bequests from former members of the university (scholars or clerics), and from wealthy citizens.<sup>61</sup> Between 1453–1463, about 322 volumes were added to the stock of this library.<sup>62</sup> We have one contemporary catalogue at our disposal, but testamentary bequests are not indicated. What we do have is an overview of all donations to the *Alma mater Pragensis* covering the period from the founding of the university until the beginning of the seventeenth century, compiled by the Prague scholar John Campanus in 1615.<sup>63</sup> Here we can also find book bequests from wills, sometimes complete libraries. In other cases the testator bequeathed a certain number of books, and in the best cases we also find titles. For instance Magister Wenceslas of Stříbro, a countryman of the Hussite theologian Jakobell of Stříbro, left "many philosophical books as a symbol of his honest attachment" (*mnoho filozofických knih jako důraz své upřímné náklonnosti*) to the university.<sup>64</sup> In 1461, the priest John Most, parson of the St. Gastulus church in Prague, donated 40 books to the university. Their value was estimated at 30 Schock Groschen.<sup>65</sup> In 1448 Ulrich of Znojmo, a bachelor of the

---

<sup>57</sup> *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy* (A history of the Charles University) 1 (1347–1622), ed. Michal Svatoš a.o. (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), 46.

<sup>58</sup> See Teige, *Základy* vol.1, 377.

<sup>59</sup> Teige, *Základy* vol.1, 337: "Item knihy, jenž sloví Johannes de Tornamira, ty do kolleje Rečkovy odkazugi, aby tu zůstaly věčně."

<sup>60</sup> See *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy* vol.1, 210.

<sup>61</sup> František Šmahel, "Knihovny katalogy koleje národa českého a koleje Rečkovy" (Library catalogues from the Natio Bohemica-College and from the Reček-College), *Acta Universitatis Pragensis – Historia Universitatis*, tom. II, fasc.1 (1961): 59–85.

<sup>62</sup> Šmahel, "Knihovny katalogy," 73.

<sup>63</sup> See Josef Polišenský–Jana Vobrátilová, "M. Jana Kampana kalendář dobrodiní, prokazáných pražské akademii" (Master John Campanus' calendar of benefits to the Prague Academy), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, tom. IV., fasc.1 (1963): 67–95.

<sup>64</sup> Polišenský–Vobrátilová, "M. Jana Kampana kalendář," 76.

<sup>65</sup> Polišenský–Vobrátilová, "M. Jana Kampana kalendář," 77.

*Artes liberales* and a dean in the town Tschaslau in central Bohemia, left his complete library to the *Alma mater Pragensis*. His library was integrated into the library of the Louda College. Among the donated writings, we also find Ulrich's disputation delivered at the Council of Basel about the unhindered sermon of God's word (the famous first Hussite article).<sup>66</sup> Between 1400 and 1500, we find altogether 51 donations to the university, among them 22 book bequests. An overview of the 12 book bequests in wills is given in *Table 3*.

*Table 3. Book bequests in wills to the University of Prague and its Colleges between 1400 and 1500.*

Year	Donator	Title/Position of the Donator	Donated books
?	Wenceslas of Střibro		Philosophical books
1402	M. Andreas of Zelence		2 medical books
1407	M. Peter of Stupno		books
1410	M. Matthew of Knin		Comments on Philosophy
1448	Ulrich of Znojmo	Bachelor of the <i>Artes liberales</i> , Dean at Čáslav	His library
1457	Prokop of Plzeň	Provost of the College of All Saints, Parson of St. Henry's Church	His library
1461	Nicholas Řehořovec	Priest of the Bethlehem Chapel	Concordance with the <i>artyriologium</i> and 16 other books
1462	M. Wenceslas Vrbenský	Executor of the will of Master John of Jemnice	Soliloquia (Augustinus) and 18 other books
1467	Thomas of Vratínín		19 theological books; 5 juridical titles and 20 medical books
1490 (?)	M. John of Prague	Canon at S. Appolinarius, repeatedly Rector of the University	Books (and also pewter)
1490	M. John Kumpan of Čáslav		Books (especially on Physics)

<sup>66</sup> Polišenský–Vobrátilová, "M. Jana Kampana kalendář," 77.



Books are usually not the prime objects listed in testaments. An exception is the will made by Jacob of St. Michael's in the Old Town of Prague, who composed his testament in 1473.<sup>67</sup> First he gave orders to sell one part of his library and to feed poor people from the proceeds. Some titles the executors had to distribute among other clerics, including poor priests. Most interesting is the list of titles that Jacob left to different people:

*First and foremost the book Richardus Parisiensis and the Lyra in parchment containing the Four Gospels; these are to be sold profitably, and on the proceeds they must feed poor people and do other charities. Item to Magister John Libkow they should give my books, namely the newly written Lyra on paper and the complete New Testament. Item: the Remigius on paper and the three books bound in wooden panels, and a fourth one of prayers (?) to the priest Wenceslas, called Korbesas. Item: to the priest John, who is my brother, the volume Floretus and some books he could need, in the opinion of the executor magister Laurentius [of Rokytzan]. Item: to the priest Valentin, the parson of St. Agidius, the Summa Pisani and in folio the three books of Isidor and a Pastoral. Item: to the priest Havel, the parson in Tuchoraz, the books in red leather, newly bound, namely my three books of the Decretals. Item: to Lord Nicholas of Lanáštejn my New Testament. And to the above-mentioned magister Laurentius the chronicle and the Compactata. And my books, the Rationale divinorum officiorum, which are with the priest Valentin, these should remain with madam Zlenička. And all my other books are to be distributed carefully among poor priests.<sup>68</sup>*

Altogether the priest Jacob possessed a really interesting library, which was more extensive and more important than the book collections of most of his clerical contemporaries. In the first place, Jacob mentions Richardus Parisiensis,

---

<sup>67</sup> About him see František Michalek Bartoš, "Bible kněze Jakuba, faráře u sv. Mikuláše na Starém městě v Praze" (The Bible of the priest Jacob, parson of St. Nicholas' in the Old Town of Prague), *Slovanská knihovněda* 5 (1938): 83–86.

<sup>68</sup> See Teige, *Základy* vol.2, 97: "Najprvé knihy mé, to jest Rychardum Parisiensem a Liru na pargameně na čtyři evangelisty, zač moci budú najlépe prodadúce, peníze ty na pokrm chudým i na jiné skutky milosrdné – obrat'e -. Item mistru Janovi Libkovi – vydajte knihy mé Liru na papíře v nově psané na všecken nový zákon, item Remigium na papíře a troje knihy ve dckách a čtvrté věčie kázacie knězi Václavovi řečenému Korbesas. Item knězi Janovi, bratru mému, knihy Floretum a některé knihy jemu užitečné, jakož by se mistru Vavřincovi zdálo, u sv. Jiljje faráři, knihy Summam Pisanam a ve dckách Isidora knihy troje a Pastoral. Item knězi Havlovi, fariři v Tuchorazi, knihy červenú koží v nově poulečené, ma troje knihy Decretalium. Item p. Mikulášovi z Lanáštejna Zákon muoj nový; mistru Vavřincovi nadepsanému odkazugi Kroniku a Kompaktata. A knihy mé Racionale divinorum officiorum, kteréž u kněze Valantina mám, ty panie Zleničké výšpsané. I jiné pak knihy mé poručnici castopsaní mezi kněze chudé opatrnosti své rozdajte. ...."

an Augustinian canon and theologian (†1173).<sup>69</sup> He was a well-known representative of the Paris Victorian School and the author of the *Liber de trinitate*, the *De contemplacione eiusque commendacione*, and the *Expositio eiusdem Richardi super apokalypsi*, but we do not know which title the testator possessed.<sup>70</sup> The “Lyra” was named after Nicholas of Lyra (†1349), a professor of theology at the Sorbonne, who was an important medieval exegete. His writings were translated into Czech in the testator’s time.<sup>71</sup> The “Remigius” must be Remigius of Auxerre (†908), who was the author of numerous commentaries on the *Artes liberales* and the Bible.<sup>72</sup> The *Liber Floretus* was an anonymous instructive poem, presumably from the fourteenth century, which in six chapters dealt with faith, the commandments, the sacraments, sins, virtues and customs.<sup>73</sup> The author of the *Summa Pisani* was the Dominican professor of theology, Bartholomew of Pisa (†1347). This book is a “*Summa de casibus conscientiae*” in the form of an encyclopaedia.<sup>74</sup>

Jacob also bequeathed three books of the Decretales (*epistulae decretales*), i.e. the pontifical replies to religious questions of law and discipline. The testator might have studied canon law, but at the least he probably had an intellectual interest in church law matters. Priest Jacob also possessed one volume containing the Compactata, the concord between Hussite Bohemia and the Roman Catholic church at the Council of Basle in 1433, which was announced solemnly in Jihlava (Iglau) three years later. It included the declaration that Czechs who received the eucharist *sub utraque specie* were loyal sons of the church. Our testator could be proud of his valuable book collection, by which he could excel over many of his fellow clergymen, who might have had only the Bible and a breviary at their disposal.

<sup>69</sup> See *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. VII, Spalte 825–6.

<sup>70</sup> The library of the National Museum in Prague holds one copy of each. See: Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů* (Catalogue of manuscripts) vol.1, 252 (Ms XIII B 3, fol.67r–107r), and Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů* vol.2, 243 (Ms XVI B 5, fol.1r–195r).

<sup>71</sup> Boháček–Čáda, *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handchriften*, No. 233 (Ms M II 101, fol.2r–242r). The State Library in Prague holds an exemplar from the “Výklad evangelia sv. Matouše” (See Josef Truhlář, *Katalog českých rukopisů* (Prague, 1906), 37 (Ms XVII C 20).

<sup>72</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. VII, Spalte 707–8.


<sup>73</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. IV, Spalte 565.

<sup>74</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. I, Spalte 1497.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude our survey, we can state that Bohemian wills followed the general European trend as far as the number, frequency, and social background of book bequests are concerned. The main purposes and recipients of these donations were also similar to those in other countries. There are, however, two features which make the Bohemian material unique, especially in a Central European context. The first is the frequent use of the native language. Czech was already used in testaments from the middle of the fourteenth century, and some of the books possessed by the testators in the fifteenth century were also in the Czech language. The second characteristic is the way that spiritual movements of late medieval Bohemia were reflected in the testamentary practice. Followers of different branches of Hussitism as well as members of the Catholic church were found both as owners and recipients of books, and some titles among the manuscripts related to the current theological debates. Since copies of some of the works mentioned in the testaments still exist in different public collections, they can be studied in combination with the testaments, giving us even better insight into the spiritual world of Bohemian testators.

FROM MOTHER TO DAUGHTER,  
FROM FATHER TO SON? INTERGENERATIONAL  
PATTERNS OF BEQUEATHING MOVABLES IN LATE  
MEDIEVAL BRATISLAVA<sup>1</sup>

Katalin Szende 

### Introduction

The concept of generations has been a key element in the perception of time in past societies within both families and ethnic groups. Historians, however, generally prefer more accurate chronological references and have not used this concept too often in its social context. It was the demographer David Herlihy who directed the attention of medievalists to this new tool for interpreting social processes, in an article published about a generation ago.<sup>2</sup> Although he analyzed “fundamental processes of replacement” mostly from the viewpoint of marriages and mentalities, this approach can be extended to the field of material culture as well. Indeed, some scholars—especially ethnographers dealing with more recent societies—have already done so.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, in July 1999. The basic research was part of my Ph.D. project: *Ottthon a városban. Urbanizáció, társadalom és mindennapi élet a késő-középkori Sopronban és Pozsonyban* (At home in the town. Urbanization, society, and everyday life in late medieval Sopron and Bratislava), defended at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2000, forthcoming in 2001.

<sup>2</sup> David Herlihy, “The Generation in Medieval History,” *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1974): 347–366. In fact, he uses as a starting point French and Spanish works published at least one generation before him, see his note 1, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Ajun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Tamás Hofer, “Gegenstände in dörflichen und städtischen Milien. Zu einigen Grundfragen der mikroanalytischen Sachforschung,” in *Gemeinde im Wandel. Volkskundliche Gemeindestudien in Europa*, ed. Günter Wiegmann (Münster: Coppenrath, 1979), 113–135; Ruth-E. Mohrmann, *Alltagwelt im Land Braunschweig. Städtische und ländliche Wohnkultur vom 16. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* Bd. I–II, (Münster: Coppenrath, 1990), esp. I. 364–432; Zsuzsa Szarvas: *Tárgyak és életmód. Összefüggések a háztartás eszközkészletének alakulása és az életmódváltozás között* (Objects and life-style. Connections between household inventories and the changes in lifestyle) (Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatócsoportja, 1988).

The process of replacement in this study refers to establishing new households, replacing or reusing personal or household items and redistributing goods between generations. To follow some of these processes in the Late Middle Ages, we shall utilize last wills as sources. These have been studied in the last few decades with increasing interest, not only as sources of legal or church history, but also in research on the history of society, economics, family relations, demography, gender roles, and much more.<sup>4</sup> In order to see how reliable the results of an investigation based on testaments can be, and to point out uncertainties, we will first sketch the legal and social background of our sources.

### **Last Wills and Their Role in Redistributing Family Property**

The emergence of last wills, in the form we know them from the Late Middle Ages, was a gradual process involving the amalgamation of elements from several legal systems.<sup>5</sup> In Roman law the principle was to appoint one main heir who was not necessarily a blood relative, while the customary law of the Germanic tribes excluded practically everyone outside the family from inheriting (*das Gut rinnt wie das Blut*). By the High Middle Ages, this rigid Germanic system had gradually changed due to the loosening of tribal and family ties and the influence of canon law. The latter aimed at extending the authority of the church over the composing of last wills—similarly to other aspects of life from birth to death—in order to safeguard the salvation of the deceased and to ensure the appropriate donations to the relevant ecclesiastical institutions. Such a prevalence of the church was especially against the interests of urban communities, which wanted to avoid losing their control over the taxable properties of their citizens. Therefore, town governments were eager to

---

<sup>4</sup> For an overview on recent research on testaments, see e.g. notes 2–8 of M. Lupescu's article in this volume. See also Joel T. Rosenthal, *Old Age in Late Medieval England*, Chapter 5: Three-Generation Family Links and Last Wills and Testaments (Philadelphia, 1996), 69–80.

<sup>5</sup> On the legal development, see Paul Baur, *Testament und Bürgerschaft. Alltagsleben und Sachkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Konstanz*, (Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, 31) (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), 11–13, with the older German literature. On medieval Hungary, see Katalin Szende, "A magyarországi városi végrendeletek helye az európai joggyakorlatban. Sopron, Pozsony és Eperjes példája (The place of the testaments from Hungarian towns in the European legal practice. The examples of Sopron, Bratislava, and Prešov), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 343–356, also with references to some other Central European countries.

emphasize the freedom of their burghers to compose their last wills, which was also granted by the privileges of several towns. This development finally resulted in a widespread type of late medieval urban will, listing selected bequests according to the testators' preferences. For the rest of the inheritance legal succession applied, also influenced by local customs.

Following an earlier development in the Mediterranean region, urban wills appeared as serial sources in Western Europe around the turn of the thirteenth century. This process was termed the "renaissance and democratization of wills" by the French historian Jacques Chiffolleau.<sup>6</sup> It means that not only the geographical, but also the social background of the testators became considerably wider, to include members of the urban middle classes. The custom of putting wills in writing reached the towns of Central Europe more than a century later.

In Hungary, in the first three centuries after the foundation of the state, the composition of wills was confined to the nobility and the high clergy. The appearance of urban wills followed the great wave of emergence of towns in the middle of the thirteenth century with a time lag of 150–200 years, depending on the status and place of each settlement. Their legal background was provided by the royal privileges given to new settlers (*hospites*), both natives and foreign, mainly from German-speaking territories. In this way local development and international influences blended together and resulted in written documents when the need for literacy reached a considerable proportion of the urban population.<sup>7</sup>

In principle wills provided free disposal of real estate acquired by the testators, as well as over movables and cash, while inherited immovables were still subject to the control of the family to some extent. The disadvantages of wills as sources of information on wealth and material culture are due to their voluntary character. They usually do not give a full account of the whole property, bequests especially to the main heir can be left out or only termed "all my other belongings."<sup>8</sup> Neither do we get a full picture of the testators' families:

<sup>6</sup> Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1980), 35, 38.

<sup>7</sup> Szende, "A magyarországi városi végrendeletek," 347–349.

<sup>8</sup> On a critical and socially differentiated approach to wills, see András Kubinyi, "Die Rolle der Archäologie und der Urkunden bei der Erforschung des Alltagslebens im Spätmittelalter", in: *Etudes Historiques Hongroises*, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985), 615–644, esp. 616–617; Gerhard Jaritz, "Die realienkundliche Aussage der sogenannten 'Wiener Testamentsbücher'," in *Das Leben in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs Nr. 2. = Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW,

only those members are mentioned who were relevant as heirs, which in practice means a “snapshot” of two or three generations. Generally speaking, the completeness of the wills depended on the complexity of relationships within the family, rather than on the wealth of the testator.<sup>9</sup>

However, the testaments have some advantages which may compensate for these shortcomings. Firstly, they are usually serial sources surviving in great numbers (sometimes up to hundreds or thousands of documents) from the same locality. Secondly, they are realistic in the way that they write about existing pieces, not just rules and requirements. And thirdly—which is the most important for our present investigation—they reflect personal relations and preferences, concerning both the bequests and the beneficiaries.<sup>10</sup>

The geographical framework for the analysis presented below is the merchant and wine-growing town of Bratislava (Pozsony, Preßburg) at the western border of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. With its ca. 5000 inhabitants in the fifteenth century, it can be considered a medium-sized town in a European context, but it was among the five biggest settlements of in medieval Hungary.<sup>11</sup> In legal terms Bratislava was a free royal town, the highest status of autonomy that a settlement could reach in the Late Middle Ages. Therefore it had a strong local government and administration which was conducted by a well-developed urban chancery with special town books for the

---

Phil.-Hist Klasse, Bd. 325, (Vienna: ÖAW, 1977), 171–190; Idem, “Die Spätmittelalterliche Stadt in der Sachkulturforchung”, in: G. Wiegelmann, Hrsg., *Geschichte der Alltagskultur*, (Münster: Coppenrath, 1980), 53–68, esp. 58.

<sup>9</sup> On the diversity of networks of family connections, see Michael Mitterauer–Reinhard Sieder, *The European Family. Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 27–29.

<sup>10</sup> Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1988), 291: “Die Familie als wichtigste soziale Determinante war indessen so groß, wie sie von den lebenden Generationen in ihrem Familienbewußtsein erfaßt [...] oder vom Erblasser testamentarisch bedacht wurde.”

<sup>11</sup> On the medieval history of Bratislava, see generally Tivadar Ortway, *Geschichte der Stadt Preßburg*, Vols. I, II/1–4, III, IV/1. (Preßburg [Bratislava], 1892–1912); *Dejiny Bratislavy* (The history of Bratislava), ed. D. Lehotská, V. Pleva, V. Horváth (Bratislava: Tatran, 1982<sup>3</sup>); Heinz Stoob, “Preßburg und das Städtewesen im europäischen Südosten vor der Türkenzeit”, in *Westmitteleuropa – Ostmitteleuropa. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Eberhard et al., (Munich, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, Bd. 70, 1992), 319–330; and several studies in *Städte im Donauraum*, ed. R. Marsina (Bratislava–Preßburg: Slovenská historická spoločnosť, 1993).

main types of documents.<sup>12</sup> One of these was the *Protocollum Testamentorum*, the first volume of which contains 843 wills from the period between 1414 and 1529. These protocols are still kept in the municipal archives in a continuous series up to 1872.<sup>13</sup> The main language used in the town was a local dialect of German, close to the *Frühneuhochdeutsch* of contemporary Bavaria and Austria. Quotations from the sources will be in this dialect, too.

The testaments entered into the above-mentioned town book, together with some dozens of similar documents preserved as individual charters, provide a fairly representative sample of the population of Bratislava. If we consider only the inhabitants of age, who were entitled to leave a will (about 60% of the total population, i.e. 3000 people), and remember that the total number of 874 wills was produced over a time-span of three generations, we can calculate a proportion of about 10% who left a written will. This percentage represents a good sample of the population, especially if we note that the circle of testators was by no means restricted to the urban elite.

In spite of the difficulties mentioned above, an analysis of the testaments enables us to give a survey of the testators' families. Since I have dealt with questions concerning the family structure and households of the testators before, I shall here summarize only those conclusions that are necessary to follow the argument below.<sup>14</sup>

Most testators were married, but the percentages were higher among men than among women (*Table 1*). There were also more unmarried persons among the men, while the proportion of widows was considerably higher than that of widowers. These figures are similar to data on testators from other European towns. So is the relatively high number of female testators, which was increased by the fact that women were allowed to compose testaments on their own behalf, without any male guardians required.

<sup>12</sup> Darina Lehotská, "Vývoj bratislavskej mestskej kancelárie do roku 1526" (The development of the urban chancery of Bratislava up till 1526), *Historické štúdie* IV (1958): 222–274.

<sup>13</sup> Archiv mesta Bratislavy, *Protocollum Testamentorum* I. B 4n –1, also available in the photocopy collection of the National Archives of Hungary, DF 277056.

<sup>14</sup> Katalin Szende, "Családszerkezet és örökösödési szokások a késő-középkori Pozsonyban és Sopronban," (Family structure and inheritance customs in late medieval Bratislava and Sopron), *Levéltári Közlemények* 68 (1997): 77–98; an earlier English version, based on only 430 wills made in Bratislava between 1420 and 1485, was published as "Families in Testaments. Some aspects of demography and inheritance customs in a Late Medieval Hungarian Town." in *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 35 (Krems, 1996)=*Otium* 3/1–2 (Zagreb, 1995): 107–124.



Table 1. Distribution of testators by family status (Bratislava, 1414–1529).

family status	men	%	women	%
unmarried	57	6.5	8	0.9
married	428	49	195	22
widow(er)	54	6.1	132	15
altogether	539	61.6	335	38.4%

The age of the testators and family members mentioned in the wills can be defined only in relation to each other, by determining which generation they belonged to. Generally, testaments may contain information on four generations, including that of the testator. In absolute terms, however, there were many irregular families where remarriages may have resulted in a complete “mix-up” of generations, for example grandchildren being older than children of the same parent.<sup>15</sup>

Concerning members of the previous generation, parents were mentioned relatively rarely, only in about 6% of the wills (54 cases), and even then we can assume that they lived in separate households. Collateral relatives of the previous generation (uncles, aunts, fathers- or mothers-in-law) were more frequently named, but sometimes they were included in the will especially because of a possible source of conflict which the testator wanted to prevent. Members of the testator’s own generation included, beside the spouses, brothers, sisters, cousins and brothers- or sisters-in-law, where the differences in age are also uncertain. Unfortunately, if the spouse was the main (or only) heir, we often do not get any detailed information on his or her inheritance, and especially not on movables.

The next generation included children and sons- or daughters-in-law. It was partly the result of the high mortality of children that 45% of the testators did not mention any living offspring. It is impossible to give exact fertility figures based on the wills, since the testators often used only a general term in plural about their descendants, and usually did not refer to any children who died before their parents. On the other hand, some children were mentioned as heirs by their father or mother even before they were born. Judging by the direct or indirect references of the testators, about 70% of the children were under age when their father or mother composed his or her will. This also included a great

<sup>15</sup> On age differences see Erhard Chvojka, “Nu ist sie junk, so ist er alt’. Zur sozialen Bedeutung des Motives des ‘Ungleichen Paares’ vom 15.–17. Jh.” in *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 35 (Krems, 1996)=*Otium* 3/1–2 (Zagreb, 1995): 35–52.

number of children from remarriages and reflects a high proportion of orphans or stepchildren within the population. On average, more prosperous families were inclined to rear more offspring, but even so most couples did not have more than one or two children by the time one of the parents made his or her will. The small number of children was characteristic for urban families in Hungary, whereas in villages and market towns the fertility of married couples seems to have been higher.<sup>16</sup>

The following generation, that of the testator's grandchildren, was as sparsely represented as the one before the testator. Grandchildren are mentioned in only 6% of the testaments (51 documents with 69 grandchildren). This finding supports the wide-spread assumption about the "danger of the third generation", that most urban families died out (at least in the male line) after the third generation.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the majority of testators died at an age when they did not yet have grandchildren, since—as we saw above—their children were still under age. Women named their grandchildren among the beneficiaries of bequests more often than men in Bratislava, and the only great-granddaughter mentioned can also be found in a woman's will.

Collateral relatives of all generations appear relatively more frequently than lineal descendants or ancestors, on average in every second will. This is mainly due to hereditary customs. As the town law of Bratislava also emphasized,<sup>18</sup> a wider circle of relatives than the immediate family had rights to ancestral property and therefore had to be taken into account when the testator divided the heritage. They were considered as the main heirs only in the absence of spouses or direct descendants, but were usually given some smaller real estate, cash or

---

<sup>16</sup> For a general overview, with references to other studies on families in medieval Hungary, see Enikő Csukovits, "Családi viszonyok a középkorvégi Magyarországon" (Family relations in late medieval Hungary), in "Magyaroknak eleiről" *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendősk Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* ("On the forerunners of Hungarians" Studies in honour of Ferenc Makk on his sixtieth birthday), ed. Ferenc Piti (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 107–125.

<sup>17</sup> The expression was coined by Fritz Rörig, *Die europäische Stadt*. Propyläen Weltgeschichte IV (Berlin: Ullstein, 1958), 346. On the relation to grandchildren see Rosenthal, *Old Age in Late Medieval England*, 70–80, on page 75 he quotes the wills of the Hustings Court of London and Archbishop Chichele's Register, with 3 and 13 percent of the documents referring to a three-generation link, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> The formula "*die nach ordnung diser stat gerechtigkeit in geschefften [testaments] zübedengken weren*" often comes up in wills connected with collateral relatives. On the regulation of inheritance customs in Bratislava, see János Király, *Pozsony város joga a középkorban* (The laws of the town of Bratislava in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1894), 155–166 and Appendix, p. 401, § 90.

movable goods in order to prevent them from protesting against the testament and to keep the testator in their good memory. By the beginning of the sixteenth century it became a widespread custom to put aside a certain sum of cash to be distributed among those relatives who might turn up with demands during the execution of the will.<sup>19</sup> In light of this practical but completely unemotional measure, those cases when special pieces of movables were bequeathed to collateral relatives become more significant. On the other hand, we often encounter cases when the testators excluded everyone except their spouses and children from the heritage, on the premise that others had not contributed in any way to accumulating it.

Finally, we must not forget about those members of the household who were not kinsmen of the testator, but played an important role in their everyday life: the domestic servants. Their presence explains the fact that despite the low number of children, urban households were relatively populous. One of the advantages in employing them was that they performed the duties of elder children, but had no right to demand any heritage. Therefore—unless the servant's contract specified any such rights—it depended on the testator's good will, and on the role and loyalty of the servant in question, how much he or she inherited.<sup>20</sup>

In summary, it can be stated that most testators lived in a nuclear family, and like other late medieval towns, the proportion of complex or extended households in Bratislava was minimal. In the following we shall consider how the status and position of the members of different generations in the family and in or outside the household influenced the way they were given a share in the testator's movables.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> The example of Wiener Neustadt may have played a role in the appearance of this custom in Bratislava. See Franz Staub, "Die Bürgertestamente der Wiener-Neustädter Rathsprotocolle," *Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N. F. 29 (1895): 463–531, here esp. 506.

<sup>20</sup> See in general David Herlihy, *Medieval Households*. (Cambridge/Mass.–London: Harvard University Press, 1985), 153–155. On Sopron and Bratislava: Szende, "Család-szerkezet," 92–93.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past and Present* 150 (1996): 3–45.

## The Bequeathed Movable

When dealing with the relationship between the bequeathed objects and people of different generations in the testaments, it seems useful to address especially the following questions:

1. To what extent were bequests of different groups of movables influenced by intergenerational considerations?
2. How did the testators express their connections to various groups of society through the bequeathed objects?
3. Which characteristics of the objects were decisive in influencing their recipients?

To facilitate the investigation, the bequeathed movables were grouped according to their use in everyday life.<sup>22</sup> I shall deal only with the six most frequent groups (clothes, bedclothes, furniture, vessels, jewels, and wine), where the statistical evaluation of the data will be the least misleading. The six groups represent 2712 objects or 72% of the total number of 3778 movable bequests. The figures presented below are intended to show tendencies rather than exact numbers, therefore I use graphs rather than tables. *Fig. 1* provides a general overview of the bequests of movable possessions according to their recipients. It shows clearly that the main heirs of each group of goods (except for wine) were members of the testator's own family. The left column can serve as a basis of comparison for the distribution among the individual groups. The subsequent graphs present a further division of the relatives as recipients of the groups of movables, based on the closeness of the relation, the gender of the testator, and the generation of the recipient in relation to the testator.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> The same grouping was used and the main types of objects are described in my study on movable bequests in wills from late medieval Sopron, see Katalin Szende, "A soproni polgárság anyagi kultúrája a késő-középkorban" (Material culture of the citizens of Sopron in the Late Middle Ages), *Aetas* (1990/3): 69–123. See also the chapter "Realien" in Baur, *Testament*, 220–250.

<sup>23</sup> "Close" relatives include spouses and lineal descendants or ancestors, while all other relatives are termed as "distant". The "unknown" cases result mostly from items which were bequeathed to the family in general or to unspecified members. The numbers denoting the generation are to be understood as: -1: the generation before the testator, 0: the testator's generation, +1: the next one after the testator, +2: two generations after the testator.

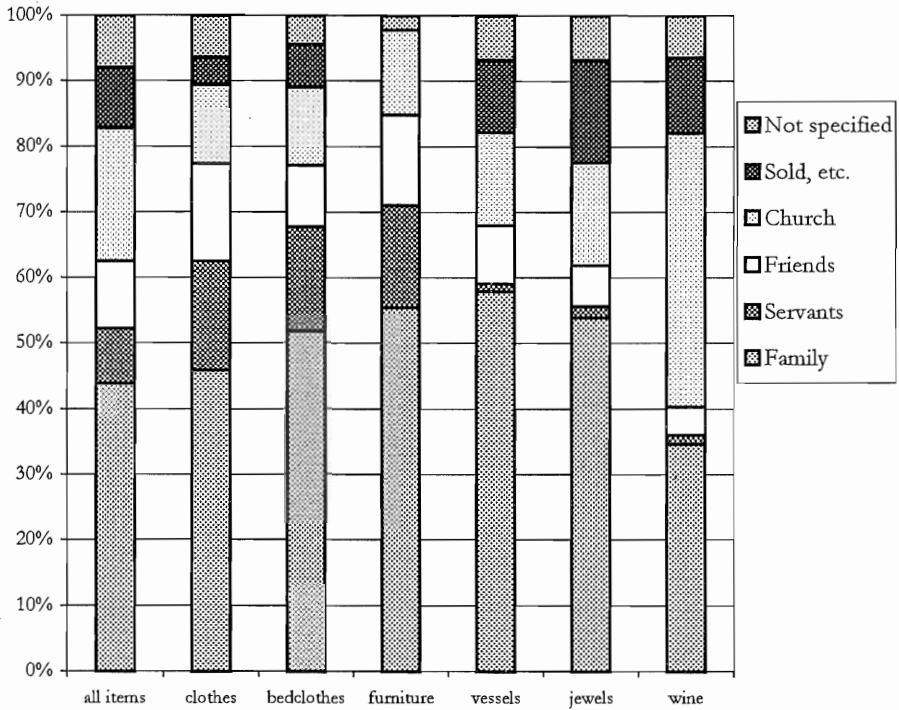


Fig. 1. General Distribution of Movables.

### Clothes

Pieces of clothing were the most numerous, the most representative, and the most personal items among the bequeathed movables. They were apt to characterize the wealth and social standing of their owners at first sight, and with their wide variety of cuts, colours and materials they gave an opportunity to the testator to differentiate between the beneficiaries and to enhance social and family contacts even through their last wills.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, friends and

<sup>24</sup> On the items of late medieval clothing in the German-speaking area see *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung*, ed. Harry Kühnel (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992). On clothes as bequests see e.g. Gerhard Jaritz, "Österreichische Bürgertestamente als Quellen zur Erforschung städtischer Lebensformen des Spätmittelalters", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 8 (1984): 249–264, esp. 259; idem, "Seiden Päntel an den Knien' oder: Die Hoffart liegt im Detail", in *Ut populus ad historiam trahatur. Festgabe für Herwig Ebner zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gerhard Dienes, Gerhard Jaritz, Ingo Kropac (Graz, 1988), 63–74.

servants were better represented among the recipients of clothes than among heirs of movables in general, while the church and its different charities got fewer such items, mainly for remodelling as chasubles and other vestments, and also fewer pieces were to be sold.

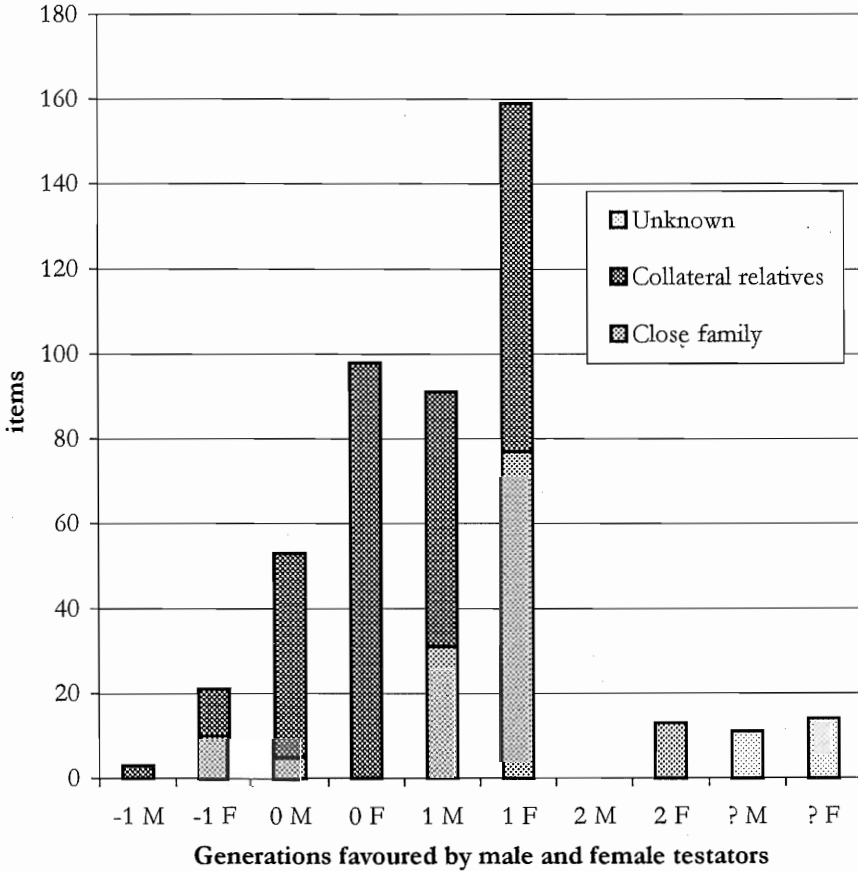


Fig. 2. Clothes bequeathed to relatives.

Within the family, all generations were involved; in fact, this is where we can observe the widest spectrum of generations among the recipients (Fig. 2). Some gender-specific differences can also be pointed out. Female testators, who bequeathed more items of clothing altogether, were generally more concerned than the men about distributing them among a wider range of relatives in all generations. Sisters were the most frequent beneficiaries (85 items) while nieces got almost exactly as many pieces as daughters did (66 and 69 respectively). In

their cases it is especially difficult to define which generation they belonged to by their age. With the exception of three uncles, members of the parents' and the grandchildren's generation were named exclusively by women. Otherwise, the gender of the recipient need not be the same as that of the testator: fathers left items of clothing both to daughters and sons (12 and 19 pieces respectively), and mothers left eight pieces to sons as well. This indicates that the bequeathed items were not always meant to be worn personally by the recipients.

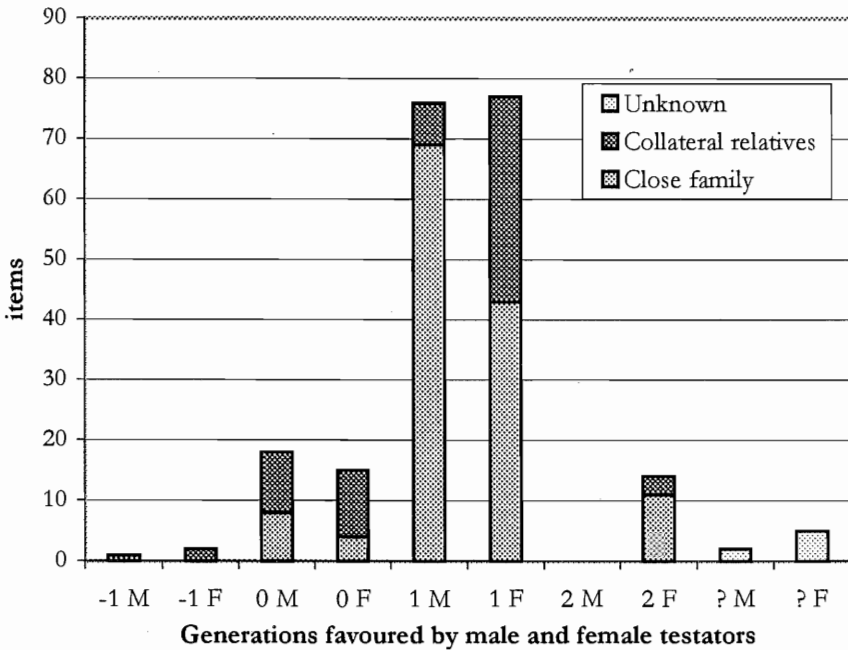
The testator's own generation did not get much worse off than the next one, since women bequeathed clothes most frequently to their sisters and men to their brothers. This shows that the testators paid attention to changes in fashion, leaving the less durable pieces (e.g. detachable sleeves of women's dresses or a type of overcoat termed *Glockenmantel*) to those who could use them at once. It was also typical that a high number of clothes used for representation, such as the most usual item of "official" dress called *Schaube*, ended up outside the family. These dark (mainly black) overcoats or those termed *Mantel* were often donated to priests who were worthy of the testators' attention because of their function in the church or because of personal friendship.

Many of the friends and some of the servants named among the beneficiaries may also have belonged to the same generation as the testator. The male or female servants, however, often had to content themselves with garments that had already been in use for one generation or more. This was the case with fur-coats which were often termed as "old", or other "everyday" clothes, but beloved servants could also get the "best" pieces. People of lower rank were also likely to get some very intimate pieces of underwear: linen shirts were given to maidservants, tights (*Hosen*) used by men were bequeathed to apprentices or menservants. For these people, even unfashionable garments inherited from members of the urban elite would be desirable objects, and such pieces could permeate and influence the material culture of the lower social strata.

Among the few special items meant for a well-defined circle of recipients we can mention the veils which were given to young women irrespective of their social standing as part of their dowry, while special, sometimes self-made pieces could be considered as personal souvenirs to close friends. It is difficult to find any regularity in the colours of the bequeathed garments. Blue pieces often changed owners among women, but that was a common colour in any case. Black, as the colour of representative outer garments, was bequeathed several times to one of the testator's brothers.

*Bedclothes*

Although bedclothes represent only the third most frequent group, it is useful to deal with them in connection with clothes, to show the similarities and contrasts of the bequests (*Fig. 3*). The demand for these objects increased in the Late Middle Ages, since the appearance of separate bedclothes for each member of the household was among the achievements of this period. While clothes could be used for outward representation, bedclothes served the same purpose within the home.<sup>25</sup> This explains why the proportion of family members among the recipients was about 10% above the average, while bequests to friends and their children were of average frequency. The church and its charities got bedclothes mainly for poor priests and poor people, or those living in hospitals. Relatively few pieces were to be sold or pawned (*Fig. 1*).



*Fig. 3. Bedclothes bequeathed to relatives.*

<sup>25</sup> Gerhard Jaritz, "Zur Lebenshaltung in Niederösterreichischen Kleinstädten während des Spätmittelalters," in *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann*, ed. Herwig Ebner (Graz, 1977), 249–264, here 261.



Bedclothes were also important parts of the dowry, the lack of which would make it impossible for a woman to get married. This explains that among the beneficiaries outside the family servants represented the biggest group, their share of the bedclothes (16.9%) was twice as great as of movables in general (8.4%). The contracts upon which domestic servants entered service often contained a paragraph on the items to be given them after a specified number of years, or generally that the employer should provide the necessary dowry. The medieval German expression for this used in our sources here, "*zu Bett und Tisch ausrichten*", implicitly includes this group of objects as well. Charities and poor people also occur as beneficiaries in this context, mostly as "honest young maidens", who were really dependent on such donations.<sup>26</sup>

Among the relatives named as recipients of bedclothes, the preponderance of the generation after the testator is mostly represented by its female members. Among the few examples of bedclothes given to members of the testator's own generation, we find mostly brothers and sisters, who were presumably younger than the testator. The items given to spouses were often not simple pieces, but special decorations for the home, for example bedcovers and silk or leather cushions.

Although there was no significant difference between the number of items bequeathed by men and women (44% and 56% respectively), some gender-specific differences can be observed. Male testators left bedclothes mainly to their daughters (46 items out of the 97 given to relatives by men), but sons were also mentioned in this context (23 items). The absolute majority of children as recipients in their father's wills shows that the official duty of providing for children, also in the form of a dowry, was usually performed by the father, either in his lifetime or through his testament. The preferences of female testators show a different picture, especially in the two following generations. The second most frequent group inheriting bedclothes in their wills after the daughters (30 items) was the nieces (24), followed by the granddaughters and nephews (11–11), and only after them the sons (10). Collateral relatives were present in the second generation as well, seen in the granddaughters of the testator's sister. These numbers may indicate that women were not only concerned for their daughters (especially when the father was also alive), but for a wider circle of relatives as well, cementing family solidarity by seemingly simple everyday means.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 142, even writes about donations for dowries as "the principal expression of Christian charity in the later Middle Ages."

<sup>27</sup> Cf. with the same practice in Douai concerning all sorts of movables: Howell, "Fixing movables," 37.

*Furniture*

Compared with homes from later periods, urban interiors from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were sparsely furnished. This is not the main reason, however, why pieces of furniture were mentioned less frequently in the wills than other household goods. Furniture was considered part of the house, to be inherited together with it.<sup>28</sup> The only exceptions were different variations of beds—*Bett*, *Gerichtspett*, *Spanpett*, *Raispett*, and *Himmelbett*, the first of which was a feather bed. These items—unlike other pieces of furniture—represented considerable value and also belonged to the dowry.<sup>29</sup> They were therefore bequeathed to the same groups of beneficiaries as the bedclothes, together with other pieces such as chests and cases (*Fig. 1: column 4*). Servants and housekeepers were also frequently named as inheriting beds, and the beds which the testators were lying on while composing their will were often left to those who nursed them at the end of their lives. This may show a close personal connection, just like the special pieces (e.g. a marble table) left to special friends. No pieces of furniture were designated to be pawned or sold.

As to the generations inheriting furniture, the picture is similar to that concerning bedclothes (*Fig. 4*). The leading role of the next generation is evident, especially among male testators, who favoured their daughters more than their sons (38 and 20 items respectively), while women bequeathed furniture in equal numbers to boys and girls (17:16). Both men and women left several pieces to nieces and nephews, and also some to their stepchildren, but only women provided for their grandchildren of both genders.

<sup>28</sup> Jaritz, "Wiener Testamentsbücher," 179–180; see also Eva Toranová, "K problematike bytovej kultúry koncom stredoveku na Slovensku" (On housing culture in Slovakia in the Late Middle Ages), *Arx* 3 (1991): 167–185.

<sup>29</sup> Ruth E. Mohrmann, "in der freywilligen Nachlassung der willkürlichen Bewegungen". Anmerkungen zur Geschichte des Schlafens," in *Innovation und Wandel. Festschrift für Oskar Moser zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Burkhard Pöttler et al. (Graz), 261–278, here esp. 267–268; see also Baur, *Testament*, 230–233.

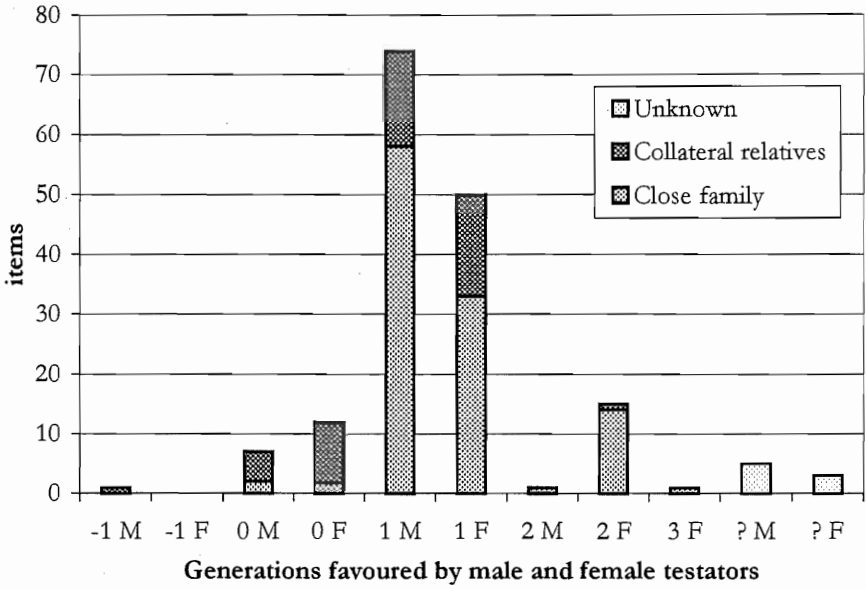


Fig. 4. Furniture bequeathed to relatives.

Vessels

In the sparsely furnished rooms of medieval burghers, the exhibited vessels, mainly made of different metals, were literally the highlights of the household. It was possible to copy the luxury of the nobility by using substitute materials: gold could be replaced by silver, silver by pewter. The great variety of shapes and wide range of materials made this group of objects attractive and useful bequests, both for representation and for accumulating wealth.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, mainly tableware and only very few cooking vessels were mentioned in the wills.<sup>31</sup> The number of objects involved was even higher than the figure given in

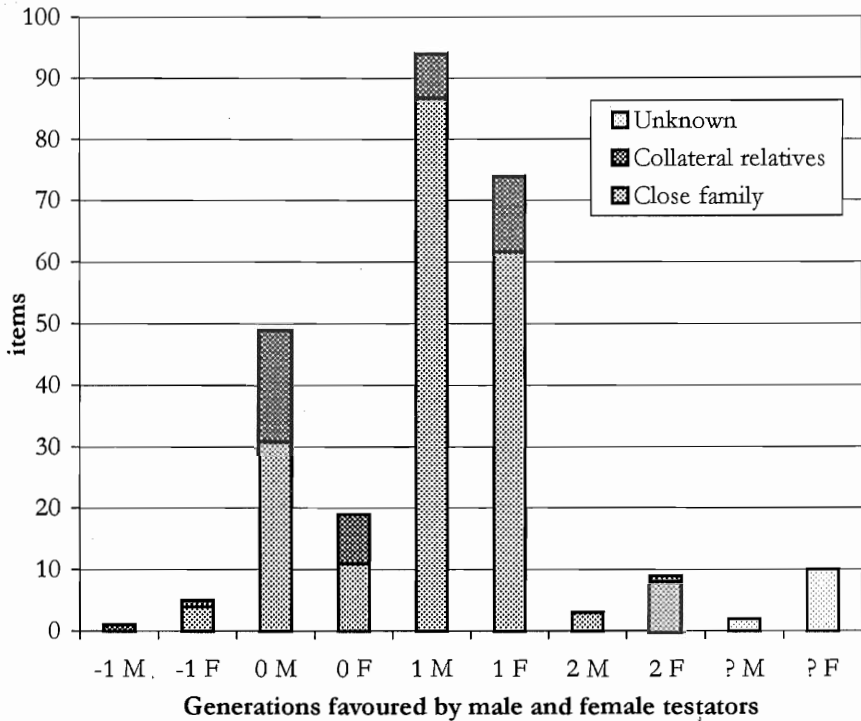
<sup>30</sup> See Baur, *Testament*, 227–230; Max Hasse, “Neues Hausgerät, neue Häuser, neue Kleider. Eine Betrachtung der Städtischen Kultur des 13. und 14. Jhs. sowie ein Katalog der metallenen Hausgeräte” *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 7 (1979): 7–83, here esp. 20–23. We must emphasize, however, that the number of metal vessels (especially silver ones) per household was much lower in Bratislava than in towns of Northwestern Europe. In this respect our examples are closer to the situation observed in Vienna: Jaritz, “Wiener Testamentsbücher,” 171–190.

<sup>31</sup> Katalin Szende, “some to honour and some to dishonour...’ Vessels in Late Medieval Urban Households,” in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe – Papers of the ‘Medieval Europe Brugge*

*Fig. 1 (column 5)*: the 428 bequests contained instructions about more than 800 such artefacts.

The distribution of vessels among the recipients was notably different from the three previously examined groups. The proportion of relatives is higher than anywhere else, proving that the concept of "the family silver" was already present in the mentality of medieval burghers. On the other hand, the share of servants was very low (1,1%) and friends were not represented above the average, either. More pieces were mentioned in connection with a financial operation (to be sold, pawned, or released from pawn), which is due to their valuable materials, and the same feature was decisive when vessels were bequeathed to churches as well. Without exception those pieces were to be turned into chalices, crosses, and other religious artefacts. That this actually happened is also proved by the fact that in spite of numerous donations of silver vessels to different benefices, the inventories of these religious institutions list only vessels made of pewter.

The share of vessels allotted to different members and generations within the family was also different from the inheritance of artefacts discussed above (*Fig. 5*). More pieces were retained within the testator's generation, and especially the proportion of spouses inheriting vessels is significant compared to the recipients of clothes, bedclothes and furniture (31 items from husbands to wives, 11 from wives to husbands) while brothers and sisters were less favoured in this context. Even more striking is the high proportion of direct descendants in the following generation, with sons and daughters inheriting vessels in roughly equal numbers. This is also the group of objects most frequently bequeathed to children before their birth, usually in the form of a silver beaker (*Silberpecher*), which was by far the most common vessel made of precious metal in medieval urban households. This was the item usually bequeathed to grandchildren as well.



*Fig. 5. Vessels bequeathed to relatives.*

Altogether we can see the preponderance of the closest family in every generation. It seems that the testators were concerned about keeping these pieces among their next of kin even more than the material value of the objects would warrant. In some cases we find references to the symbolic value of the mentioned vessels—a coat of arms was engraved or the former owner or the place of purchase was noted—so these items could be souvenirs or special keepsakes, probably along with other pieces whose personal connotations are not evident from the sources.

### *Jewels*

Although these personal and valuable artefacts were part of, the attire, the patterns followed in their bequeathing were much closer to that of the vessels than of the clothes. This was mainly due to the precious material of the jewels: silver, precious stones, or pearls; gold was not a typical element in urban

material culture.<sup>32</sup> The number of bequeathed items was lower than with the vessels. Combining last wills with other sources, we can assume that jewels were used mostly by the upper strata of urban society for storing wealth and for representation.<sup>33</sup> The basic piece of jewelry in towns of Western Hungary was the silver belt, the number of which was in accordance with the social standing of the testator—assuming that we get the full number from the will.<sup>34</sup>

It seems that the limited social range of the testators did not influence the pattern of recipients of jewels. The strong position of relatives and the rare mention of servants is similar to the distribution of the vessels, only friends got some percentage below the average, while the proportion to be sold or pawned (mostly to Jews) was much higher than with other heirlooms, due to the marketability of jewels (*Fig. 1: column 6*). The share of the church was also somewhat less than the average, and most of their bequests had to be transformed as well, irrespective of their previous artistic value. Jewels were hardly ever left to charities, proving that even if their shape was changed, they retained their representative character.

The distribution of jewelry between different generations was also similar to the sharing of the vessels, but the number of items was smaller (*Fig. 6*). Much of the stock was kept within the nuclear family, concentrating especially on the next generation, although some women did mention granddaughters as well. A somewhat higher proportion of girls was observed among recipients in the generation after the testator's, favoured both by fathers (29 items to daughters compared to 23 to sons) and by mothers (30:18). The different forms of the jewels (e.g. of the belts) for men and women were often disregarded when bequeathing them. Only seal rings were consequently left to sons (even unborn ones), showing that this principal means of authentication in a period when bare signatures had hardly any legal significance was mainly the domain of the oldest male member of the family.

<sup>32</sup> Jaritz, "Österreichische Bürgertestamente," 258; Baur, *Testament*, 240–246.

<sup>33</sup> Szende, "A soproni polgárság," 110, Table 6/a.

<sup>34</sup> With a somewhat simplified formulation we can say that one silver belt was characteristic of vine-growing burghers, two of artisans and three or more of the leading merchants of the town. Only this latter group possessed more jewels than the members of the family could wear at festive occasions. From the Hungarian towns we have no sources comparable to the Western European dresscodes (*Kleiderordnungen*), which limited the number or weight of jewels a burgher was allowed to possess.

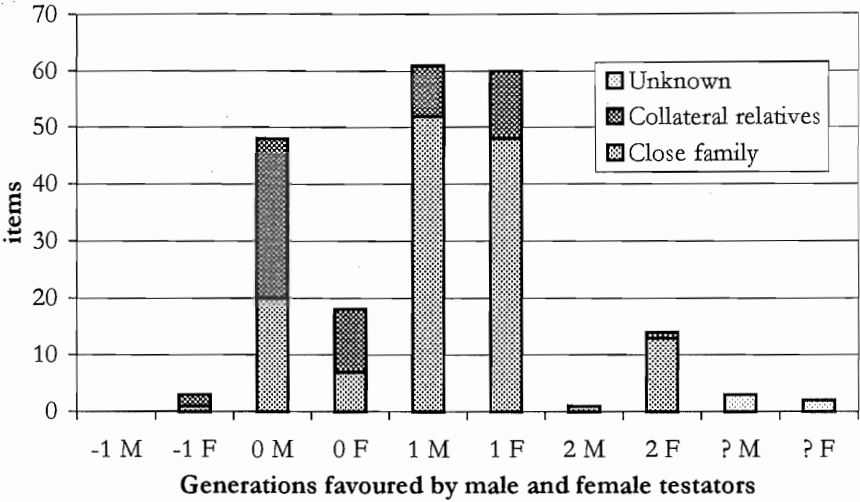


Fig. 6. Jewels bequeathed to relatives.

*Wine*

At first sight it may seem strange to deal with wine bequests among the other movables discussed above, but the contrast will clarify the patterns of inheritance (Fig. 1: column 7). As the primary product of the town, grown as an export commodity that was sold above all in Moravia and Silesia,<sup>35</sup> wine played an important role in the economy of most citizens and found its way into every fifth will. As will be clear from the distribution of the recipients, wine was bequeathed primarily not as a drink but as a sort of “liquid capital”, that is, a substitute for money. It could easily be mobilized for all sorts of payments from fraternity membership fees to funeral costs, education fees for children or other relatives, cash for a dowry or to reward the scribe who put the will in writing.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> See František Kalesný, “Über den Weinbau und den Weinverkauf in Pressburg bis Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Städte im Donauraum*, 184–196; more generally: András Kubinyi, “Weinbau und Weinhandel in den ungarischen Städten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Stadt und Wein*, ed. Ferdinand Oppl (Linz: Österreichische Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1996), 67–84.

<sup>36</sup> See in detail: Katalin Szende, “Nahrungsmittel oder Geldersatz? Die Rolle des Weines in den mittelalterlichen Bürgertestamenten aus Ödenburg und Preßburg,” Paper presented at the symposium *Schlaininger Gespräche* in September 1998, forthcoming in the volume edited by R. Kropf, G. Schlag.

This explains why the share of relatives inheriting wine was far below the average. Such bequests were mostly intended to cover the cultivation costs of the vineyards left to the same relatives. Very little was bequeathed to either servants or friends, since they were satisfied with other commodities, and most of the latter produced their own wine anyway. The majority of the items (which would appear even more striking if we calculated with the amount of wine instead of the number of bequests) was donated to the church and its different institutions, including fraternities, hospitals, charities, and even for hiring pilgrims to visit places of pilgrimage for the testator's salvation. In these cases the bequeathed wine was usually not meant for direct consumption, but for sale. Even when the poor or hospitals were named as beneficiaries, the testator often made reservations that the given wine should be sold and the income be used for buying clothes, blankets and other commodities. It is also worth mentioning one beneficiary classified among the "others": the town of Bratislava itself. The bequests given "for the common good of the town" (*zum gemainer stat nutz*) included, beside bequests of weapons and cash, nine cases of wine donations. These early expressions of civic consciousness by members of the urban elite of both genders were apparently more important for the donator's self-esteem than for meeting the costs of urban government.

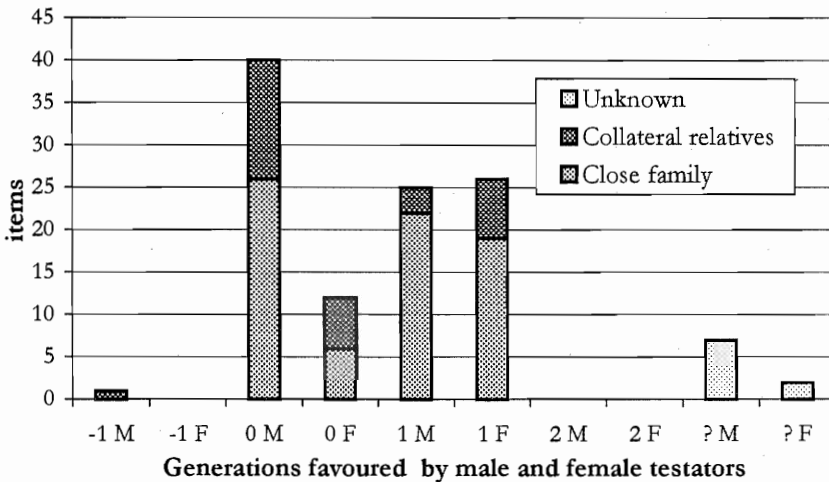


Fig. 7. Wine bequeathed to relatives.

The distribution of the recipients of wine bequests within the family is also completely different from that of any other movables (Fig. 7). Since wine could not be preserved or stored for several years—two-year-old wines (*zweiwirdiger wein*) were mentioned as exceptional—much of it was transferred within the



testator's own generation. Most typically, husbands left wine to their wives to facilitate the maintenance of the family economy. Wives gave less to their spouses, partly because there were more widows among the female testators. Also, men often named their brothers as heirs. Recipients in the next generation after the testator were mostly adult, often married children who were able to handle the wine themselves. Among them, as well as among collateral relatives, men (sons and nephews) were in a majority in wills of both male and female testators. The absence of the generation of the parents (with a single exception) and grandchildren of the testators emphasizes the picture sketched above.

### **Patterns of Inheritance**

After surveying the bequests of these most numerous groups of movables, we can make some general remarks on the role of the different generations in the "processes of replacement." Of course, we must emphasize again that the group of people who left a written will did not represent the whole urban society, and neither did the groups of objects mentioned in the wills constitute all the goods and chattels of the testators. Nevertheless, the data at our disposal seem to support the following conclusions.

Within the family, intergenerational considerations were the prime movers in bequeathing movables. The parents' generation inherited very few movables, mostly clothes and some vessels. The main reason for their scarcity is—besides the fact that many parents were not alive by the time their children reached full age and were entitled to leave a will—that they lived in well-established households which needed very few extra items. The movables bequeathed to the preceding generation were rather intended to express the children's devotion towards their parents. Therefore these pieces had a more emotional or symbolic value and played a less important role in meeting daily needs. When elderly people needed proper care, it was arranged by the testators in other ways, by securing lodging or leaving vineyards or cash as a life-rent.

Members of the testator's own generation appear more frequently, although brothers and sisters, and even spouses, could be much older or younger than the testator. This fact may explain several seemingly anomalous individual cases. Despite the uncertainties, we can see a clear tendency to keep precious items within the family; therefore, the share of this generation in jewels and vessels made of precious metals is higher than their proportion among the recipients of bedclothes and furniture. These latter groups were superfluous for people with established households. On the other hand, clothes were often given to members of the testator's generation, but to collateral relatives, often

fairly distant ones. The bequeathed garments could be of symbolic value in strengthening ties of remembrance, of practical use, and also preventative of future demands from these relatives. Changes in fashion, which were more frequent in the Late Middle Ages than before, also contributed to choosing members of the testator's own generation as heirs of these pieces.

The most important beneficiary of the movable bequests—as of most wills in general—was the generation following the testator. They were the most frequent recipients of all groups of objects discussed above, except for the wine. It was logical that the testators used much of their goods and chattels to help their children establish new households and provide for their future, especially in form of a dowry. Lacking children of their own, which was fairly frequently the case among the testators, nieces, nephews, and other younger relatives were provided for instead, in the same way as they were often involved in the family business. Contrary to the pattern suggested in the title of this article, we can assert that as far as movables were concerned, there was no special preference between mothers and daughters or fathers and sons. Although it was basically the father's duty to provide the dowry of his daughters, which is reflected in bequeathing bedclothes and furniture, widowed mothers had to perform the same role. The relatively more frequent occurrence of girls as recipients of most movables is counterbalanced by the greater number (and value) of tools and real estate bequeathed to boys.<sup>37</sup>

The generation of the grandchildren is represented almost exclusively by granddaughters, who were named as beneficiaries in their grandmothers' wills. Usually they were given the same types of movables as daughters, only less frequently. Only in the absence of other main heirs were they allotted a substantial heritage.

The other potential recipients of movable goods included domestic servants, friends of the testator, the poor or hospitals housing them, and other religious institutions.<sup>38</sup> Since the main aim of this article is to point out the roles of different generations in the processes of replacement in material culture, I have not made a detailed analysis of these other recipients. From the general distribution, however, we can see that their share in the discussed objects followed three main patterns (*Fig. 1*). Clothes, bedclothes and furniture were bequeathed to servants and friends in fairly great numbers, both for their personal needs and to enable them to establish their own households. Vessels and jewels were considered to be valuable and prestigious commodities which

<sup>37</sup> Howell, "Fixing movables," 36, also emphasizes that "men's circle of beneficiaries was dominated by lineal relations."

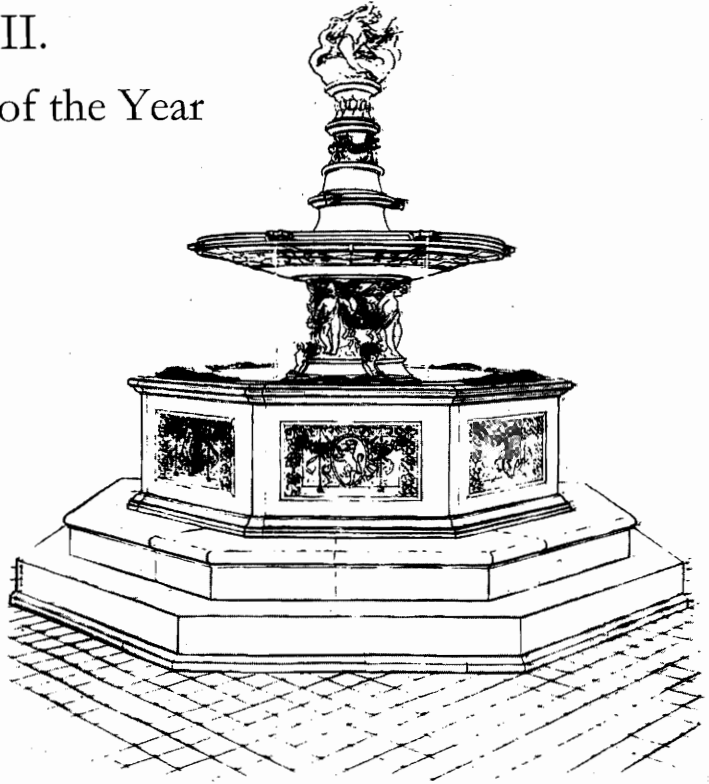
<sup>38</sup> Baur, *Testament*, 196–205; Howell, "Fixing movables," 35–43.

were outside the servants' domain, and even among friends it implied a closer or socially more respectable relationship to inherit those pieces. Finally, wine falls into a category of its own, with the lowest share of both friends, servants, and even relatives among the heirs. Most of the wine bequests were meant to finance charities and religious obligations or services for the deceased. By bequeathing different types of movables, the testators could differentiate between representatives of different social groups, and express their affection, solidarity, indebtedness, or even pity in a variety of ways—*sum cuique*.

This concluding survey also answers our third question concerning the characteristics of the movables that were decisive in their distribution to their recipients. The movable objects mentioned in the wills were generally apt for fulfilling material needs, expressing personal relationships, and showing the prestige of their owners. The different groups of objects fulfilled these functions with varying intensity. Material value and prestige were more important in the cases of jewels and vessels, personal and prestige elements dominated the bequeathing of clothes, and the importance of establishing a household was decisive in the cases of bedclothes and furniture, while wine was mostly a substitute for cash that was lacking in most families. All other considerations, including the choice between genders and generations were subordinate to the ones just mentioned. Thus, their wills gave the testators a last chance to modify the traditional processes of redistribution according to their personal judgement, and to transfer movables in other directions than from mother to daughter or from father to son.

PART II.

Report of the Year



## REPORT OF THE YEAR

*József Laszłouszky*

Last year, I started my report of the year with a statement that the academic year of 1998–99 was a year of transition in the life of the department. When I wrote those lines I did not think I would repeat the same statement in the next Annual. As I prepared the material for this report I realized that transition, or perhaps change, is the best word to describe the character of the academic year 1999–2000 as well. Change can this time be described in different ways, the most important element of which was very much related to personnel changes. It looked at the very beginning of the year as if no major reorganizations were needed at the departmental level. Teaching and administrative job distribution had been worked out during the previous year, and no major changes took place in the work of the departmental office. Writing about this could create the impression that a report on the year simply summarizes routine activities. Our built-in control system, however, did not allow us to relax. János Bak, no longer having the administrative duties of the head of the department, initiated a number of new international cooperation projects in the form of small research teams, doctoral exchange schemes, and a summer university course. Gábor Klaniczay, as the rector of the Collegium Budapest, was not able to dedicate the same amount of time to the department as in previous years, but in his new position he managed to help the department make contact with the ever-growing network of scholars of the Collegium. As a result, we organized a number of joint programs, among which the most important was the winter semester interdisciplinary workshop on heritage issues. Thus, the department started many new projects, which kept us from being bored with routine jobs.

Another incentive for changes and reorganization came from the university leadership. Yehuda Elkana, the new rector of the Central European University, started reorganizing and restructuring the university from the beginning of the academic year. He visited every department in early October and expressed his views on the main issues in university development. He evaluated the Department of Medieval Studies as one of the best units of the university, where there was no need to make urgent changes. However, he also made it clear that in his long-term vision and short-term plans CEU should be

an educational center with very high academic standards, and at the same time a more research-oriented institution. This also means that the university should reflect the major issues and problems of contemporary society; therefore, routine activity cannot be accepted in any units of the university. This new policy started to influence a number of important changes, some of them discussed intensively in international scholarly circles. The Department of Medieval Studies, therefore, also started re-thinking and re-discussing its goals and policies, and at the end of the academic year we proposed a new program for the future. Details of this new educational program will be discussed in the second part of this report.

Parallel with these new issues, we started the usual program of the academic year early in September. The new M.A. students formed a very mixed and interesting group, but some of the characteristics of this group differed significantly from previous years. For example, we had three native speakers in our English-speaking international student body, a small but a significant group in our program. On the other hand, we had a fairly high number of students from Russia and Romania, which seems to be a standard feature of our M.A. program. Hungarian-speaking students formed the third largest group, but they represented different countries in the region: Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. We had one student each from Slovenia, Germany, Moldova, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland, and Georgia.

The usual colorful picture of M.A. thesis topics emerged during the planning sessions of the first weeks. This picture reflects closely the interdisciplinary character of our program. Some traditional topics and research methods, like a biography of a fifteenth century bishop or the architectural history of a Franciscan friary in Transylvania, were selected by M.A. students. Other themes or approaches were of a rather unusual character; typical examples of such theses were: *Standards of Living, Order and Prestige: Public Facilities in Early Fifteenth-Century Lviv*, or *The Lion, the Dragon, and the Knight: an Interdisciplinary Investigation of a Complex Motif*. We and the students also selected topics that had not been studied previously in our department; this resulted in our inviting external consultants to help the work of our students. The M.A. thesis entitled *Old English Philosophical Translation: King Alfred's Version of Boethius' 'O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas'* was a typical example of such topics.

The academic year started with our traditional fall field trip. New M.A. students met faculty members and some of the Ph.D. students, and they also learned about the character of our academic program during this excursion. The scholarly guidebook prepared by faculty members and Ph.D. students offered a short introduction to the region and its medieval monuments and it is also used as an introduction for our spring field trip, when M.A. students prepare short

papers for a similar guidebook. Last year we selected South-eastern Hungary as the region for the fall field trip. It is usually not regarded as an area with many medieval monuments, but it is perfectly suited for demonstrating the interdisciplinary nature of our program. Another reason for selecting this area should also be mentioned: resident faculty are glad to visit different regions every year in order not to repeat the same tour. It also helps us make and keep personal contacts with scholars of medieval studies working in different institutions, universities, libraries, archives, and museums. South-eastern Hungary proved to be a good choice from this viewpoint. Unfortunately, most of the major medieval monuments of this area were destroyed during the Ottoman wars and occupation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Visiting the ruins of some of them, however, such as the medieval monasteries at Pusztaszer and Vésztő, offered us the possibility of focusing on medieval archaeology and its role in medieval studies. Medievalism was also discussed during our field trip when János Bak gave an excellent introduction to the problem of nationalism and its influence on our picture of the Middle Ages in front of the largest painting in Hungary, the nineteenth-century panorama picture of Árpád and the Magyars conquering the Carpathian Basin. Students more oriented towards the written word found excellent material for their studies during the visit to the Somogyi Library in Szeged. The last part of the excursion had a pseudo-scholarly character, in the form of a wine tasting, with an introductory course on the historical wine regions of Hungary offered by the author of this report.

The fall field trip was followed by the period of the pre-session, including intensive language courses, introductions and visits to libraries and archives, and planning sessions with the M.A. students. Fall semester courses were offered mainly by resident faculty, with a wide range of topics including introductions to medieval iconography, medieval philosophy, the history of everyday life, and the early history of Eastern Christian monasticism. Other courses opened up new fields for students and demonstrated the importance of non-Western or non-Central European themes. Continuing our Vienna Byzantinist connection, Prof. Klaus Belke lectured on the subject of Byzantium and the Arabs. His focus in the course on this particular aspect of historical events also allowed him to discuss the character of the Byzantine Empire's diplomatic contacts. Historical and cultural interactions were also the main focal point of another course offered by one of the recurrent visiting professors of the department. The interaction of Muslims, Christians, and Jews was the theme of Hanna Kassis' seminar, and he has also lectured on Islamic art and architecture. In the fall term we experimented with a course taught by a team of scholars. Marianna Birnbaum, Mary Beth Davis, and Martin Hinterberger introduced the methods of literary analysis using three different examples. Western European late

medieval spiritual literature and female mystic writers, Central European humanist literature, and Byzantine literary genres were the case studies for the methodological discussions.

Other new elements were also introduced in the structure of our educational program, the most important of which affected our doctoral students. We developed a new course called the Academic Practicum. This type of course is a combination of small group teaching and practical work in the department. We realized that our Ph.D. students are and should be involved in the various activities of our program. They have often helped us organize workshops, prepare publications or develop our library collection. since it is good practice for them and we rely on it, a more organized and systematic structure was created. Ph.D. students can select one or two such courses and with the guidance of one or two resident professors learn the methodological issues of Publication and Editorial Practices or Course Materials Development. At the same time, they can play an active role in the practical work of related topics or in University and Department Network Coordination. It has been suggested that this kind of experience will be useful in the work of young academics, and even in job hunting it may be well to have a record of such activity in the transcript of doctoral studies. This experiment showed that the practica can become a good scheme that can help doctoral students play a more active role in the academic life of CEU at the same time that they become familiar with the practical skills of scholarly life typical in a graduate school.

One of the most important events of the fall term was the visit of Eastern and Central European scholars organized by the Curriculum Resource Center. The department selected one particular topic for the week-long visit of this group of medievalists, who were preparing a course in this field at their home universities. The subject was the role of pictorial sources in medieval studies. It was in many ways a summary of the research work done in the Visual Laboratory of our department. During this meeting Béla Zsolt Szakács and Tamás Sajó, as well as some Ph.D. students, presented multimedia materials for research and teaching activities. It also provided an excellent opportunity to evaluate our Visual Resources Research Program.

Another important program of the last academic year was the two public lecture series. One of them was a series of talks centered on the problem of interpreting medieval manuscripts. Walter Goffart (University of Toronto) selected a special type of manuscript, talking about the origin of historical atlases and their interpretation based on visual or textual elements. Martin Hinterberger lectured on the archives of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, discussing codices with a strong emphasis on possible ways of reconstructing a medieval source collection. Another group of our public lectures can be described as talks



by very distinguished scholars on hot issues. One of them was Carlo Ginzburg's paper on a new reading of Thomas More's *Utopia*, a public lecture organized together with the Open Society Archives and the Collegium Budapest. The other public lecture of this type reflected even more relevant issues of scholarship and everyday life. After safely surviving the year 2000 challenge, with all its implications for our computer system, we started the new year with the public lecture of Janet L. Nelson on *End Times: Apocalyptic Expectations in the Middle Ages*.

She also participated in another important event in the department as a member of the Ph.D. defense committee of Damir Karbić. His dissertation can be regarded as a good example of the scholarly work we would like to promote. A huge and well-documented study based on a large sample of primary sources allowed him to formulate a new and interesting interpretation of the development of Croatian medieval kindreds. He also compared his results with international studies on medieval family organization among the nobility, so in this way his dissertation can be regarded as a reference work for this kind of social organization.

After these two events at the beginning of the winter term, we prepared for an even more intensive period of scholarly programs at the end of January, in the form of the twin interdisciplinary workshops on cultural heritage issues organized by the Collegium Budapest and our department. The first part of this program took place in the Collegium and was entitled *Humanities and the Concept of National Heritage*. It was prepared by a working group of fellows and guests of the Collegium, and discussed the issues from many different viewpoints and with reference to different historical periods. The second workshop took place at CEU and was based on the results of the first one; it offered more detailed insight into the relevant issues of medieval studies. We centered the discussion on three major points: *National Heritage, World Heritage, and Medievalism*. Two summer courses on heritage problems, organized earlier by the department, prepared the workshop. The contributions of our doctoral students on various World Heritage sites of the region provided a good collection of material for further discussions. Sarah N. Titchen (World Heritage Centre) offered an excellent overview of the UNESCO World Heritage program, and prominent scholars in the field of Hungarian cultural heritage enriched our knowledge on the relevant national issues. The two workshops complemented each other very well; the first focused mainly on theoretical problems and the second offered a wide range of examples and case studies for questions such as the selection criteria for heritage sites, emotions and modern political tendencies attached to heritage administration, and changes in heritage concepts in national and international contexts. A small but informative poster exhibition accompanied

the discussions of the workshop, displaying textual and visual material prepared mainly by our M.A. and Ph.D. students. Such an intensive and multifocal program can attract many people with different interests, therefore, we also organized the second Curriculum Resource Program visit of the academic year parallel to these above-mentioned events.

Some members of the department (faculty as well as students) decided to relax a bit in a special way after this busy and hectic period of workshops. A visit was organized to the exhibition *From Gothic to Renaissance: The Arts and Culture in Moravia and Silesia 1400–1550*. This project was prepared in three different places, Brno, Olomouc, and Opava. The extremely rich material was didactically presented and the huge catalogue of the exhibition can also be regarded as an extraordinary achievement. The scholarly merits of the program cannot be overemphasized, but the author of this report must also refer to the very kind hospitality of the organizers, which included an invitation to a medieval banquet in the courtyard of the Brno museum, with merrymaking, tournaments, dancing, and roasted oxen.

While the courses of the fall semester were taught mainly by resident faculty, many of the reading courses and seminars of the winter semester were offered by guest professors. Wolfram Hörandner, another important scholar in our Vienna Byzantine scheme, lectured on rhetoric and literary criticism, and Byzantine topics were also discussed by Boriana Velcheva in her course on text and image in manuscripts. Another element of this course was the analysis of Slavic manuscripts, just as it was an important aspect of the course on codex illumination, offered by a small team of specialists (Boriana Velcheva, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Béla Zsolt Szakács). Felicitas Schmieder, recurrent visiting professor of the department, investigated the sources related to the image of the Other in the Middle Ages, and she offered a great deal of help in the preparation of several of the M.A. theses.

The public lecture series continued in the winter semester and in the spring session; manuscript problems were the topic of most of the papers. Paul Richard Blum (Pázmány Péter Catholic University), Nicole Bériou (Lyon) and Gadi Algazi (Berlin) discussed various aspects of medieval written sources, while Kaspar Elm (Berlin) and Svetlana Bliznyuk (Moscow) focused on various modern interpretations of events in the Middle Ages. A special public lecture took place in May. The problem of the Millennium was discussed again, this time in the framework of a bilingual discussion between Karol Modzelewski and Gábor Klaniczay, which shed light on Central Europe around 1000. Some of the guest professors also offered public lectures for our department, we thus had a rich program of public events in the second half of the academic year.

April, as usual in our academic calendar, was the period of the research break. Fortunately, many of our M.A. students received financial support for their studies. Some of them were able to visit archives and libraries in different countries with the help of the Research Support Scheme, and for some others it was the crucial final push to finish writing the thesis in time.

Another standard element of the research break period is the academic field trip. This year we decided to visit Romania, a country with a rich medieval heritage, which had not been the target of our excursions before. Our selection was also influenced by the fact that we have many students from Romania every year, thus a large group of M.A. and Ph.D. students as well as alumni offered their help in the organization of the program. Even with this intensive support of our young colleagues, visiting regions not so much exposed to the influence of modern tourism created a number of problems. Therefore, a small team spent some days in the area beforehand to check all the practical and scholarly aspects of our field trip. The „pre-excursion” was combined with interviewing next year’s applicants, as well as intensive discussions for further cooperation with medievalists at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj. These preparations proved very useful and this year’s academic field trip can be regarded as one of our richest and most successful. The wonderful weather helped us visit all the places we had planned, even if the road conditions often gave our excellent, skilled, and smart driver a hard time. The first part of the excursion focused mainly on medieval Hungarian and Saxon monuments in Transylvania. Castles, fortified churches of both communities, and medieval urban centers were the most important elements of this part of the field trip. Local scholars also gave us expert guidance during our visits to some of the monuments. The Brukenthal collection in Sibiu and the panel painting on the high altar of Mediaş parish church are excellent examples of art and of the modern reception of the Middle Ages. Crossing the Carpathians and walking to the Moldavian side of Bicaz creek was one of the most spectacular parts of our excursion. The Moldavian princely centers and the orthodox monasteries with their beautiful interior and exterior fresco decorations are unique monuments of medieval culture of Eastern Europe, a region rarely visited even by scholars of this period. Visiting these monuments helped us address the question of cultural heritage again, as these monasteries are now part of the World Heritage. We also had the special opportunity to visit this area during the Orthodox Easter. A short part of the Eastern liturgy, sung for our group of students in one of the medieval Orthodox churches, was one of the most moving moments of our excursion. Another one was meeting a large group of Székely people gathering for a traditional choir meeting wearing their most beautiful traditional dress. From a scholarly point of view and for building more contacts with local scholars, the meeting with

professors, students, and alumni in Cluj was a fruitful event. A tired but happy group came back to Budapest after this excursion, a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural group who had learned a lot about another multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country of our region.

The short spring session, like the winter semester, started with public defenses. This time, philosophical topics were on the agenda, when György Heidl and Levan Giginishvili defended their Ph.D. dissertations on *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine* and on *The Platonic Theology of Ioanne Petritsi*, respectively. Defenses continued in May when first-year Ph.D. students had their field exams and defended their dissertation prospectuses. Some of the guest professors took a very active role as chairs in these defenses and exams; Kaspar Elm, Nancy van Deusen, and Nicole Bériou split their time in Budapest between teaching, M.A. thesis discussions, and exams. As usual, the last week of May and the first week of June was the crisis period for the submission of M.A. theses. Finally, most of the students managed to submit their theses on time, and the last week of June was another busy period of defenses. The quality control of the M.A. theses was provided by external readers, and the chairs of the public defenses also came from many important centers of medieval studies. Patrick Geary (Notre Dame), Marianna Birnbaum (UCLA), Maria Dobozy (University of Utah), and Diana Owen Hughes (University of Michigan) were responsible for chairing most of these events, and some of them were also members of the committee for Annamária Kovács' Ph.D. defense on *Court, Fashion, and Representation: The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle Revisited*.

Successful defenses offered a good opportunity for celebrations, but the last day of the academic year was also a time for a special event. On the first anniversary of the death of our badly missed young colleague and Ph.D. student, Zvetlana-Mihaela Tănăsa, the department established a Memorial Fund commemorating her. Julia Caproş and Orsolya Réthelyi received the first grants for the high quality of their M.A. theses. Some of our guest professors helped the Memorial Fund with donations, making it possible to announce these awards. We hope that similar donations can keep the Fund alive and that we can announce two awards for M.A. students every year.

The last weeks of the academic year were also a period of intensive discussions in the department. In the year of the millennium, CEU has decided to face new issues in the world and to work out new programs. One of the issues is globalization, which is an inevitable aspect of modern academic life; universities should respond to this challenge. As a result of these changes, our department reviewed its role and function, and after intensive discussions decided to widen its program. Two position papers were prepared by István Perczel and János Bak, and guest professors also played an important role in the

preparation of the new educational and research programs. So far the department has been dealing with the legacy of European (Western and Eastern) Christianity. As a result of the discussion on globalization, we have decided that we ought to go one step further and include other religious and cultural legacies, in the first place those of Judaism and Islam. We will certainly not teach universal or global medieval studies, or "world history": this would be ahistorical and unscholarly. However, the program will now also deal with different ways of communication, migration of people, mobility of objects, texts, and ideas in the larger medieval oikumene, including Asia and Northern Africa. Special attention will be given to the interactions between Medieval Christian (Latin, Byzantine, Slavic and Oriental), Jewish and Islamic cultures. Other aspects will also be explored: intertextual relations of different medieval source languages (Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, etc.), as well as questions of cultural heritage. As a result of the above-mentioned decision, the academic year 2000–2001 can be regarded as a test period for this globalization issue.

International academic contacts and globalization was also a topic for the last important program of the academic year. A summer university course was organized by the department in cooperation with the Medieval Academy of America (CARA) and directed by János Bak and Nancy van Deusen. *Issues and Resources for the Study of Medieval Central Europe* was the central theme of the course, and its basic aim was to make scholarly resources available for medieval studies in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. Thirty-seven medievalists from thirteen countries, both from the East and the West, participated. The course was a combination of introductory lectures, seminars, visits to archives and libraries, and field trips. Participants had the opportunity to visit many monuments in Budapest and Western Hungary, in Cracow and Southern Poland, and in Prague. A short trip to the research institute of the Austrian Academy in Krems was also included in the program, as well as a visit of some medieval monuments in Slovakia. The intensive program of the summer course was a fitting conclusion to a similarly intensive academic year.

## ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS IN 1999/2000

### 1999

- August 30 – September 1 Field trip to South-eastern Hungary  
(see Academic Field Trips for details)
- September 1 – 24 Pre-session courses: General English, Latin, Greek,  
computing, visits to libraries and museums,  
planning discussions on M.A. research topics

### FALL SEMESTER

- September 27 Fall Semester starts
- November 29 –  
December 5 Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from  
universities of the region attend the workshop of the  
Visual Resources Research Program (November 30)
- December 15 Departmental Christmas Party
- December 17 End of Fall Semester

### 2000

### WINTER SEMESTER

- January 10 Winter Semester begins
- January 11 Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Damir  
Karbić: *The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian  
Medieval Kindred*
- January 20–27 Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from  
the universities of the region participate in the  
workshop on *National Heritage, World Heritage,  
Medievalism* (January 23–25)
- February 11–13 Visit to the exhibition “From Gothic to Re-  
naissance: The Arts and Culture in Moravia and  
Silesia 1400–1550,” Brno, Czech Republic
- March 31 Winter Semester ends

Activities and Events in 1999/2000

- April 1–23 M.A. Research Break  
April 26 – May 1 Spring Field Trip to Transylvania and Moldavia  
(see Academic Field Trips for details).

**SPRING SESSION**

- May 2 Spring Session begins  
May 4–7 35th International Congress on Medieval Studies at  
the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA;  
one session organized by the Department  
May 10 Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of György  
Heidl: *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine*  
May 15 Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Levan  
Gigineishvili: *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*  
May 19 Spring Session ends  
May 22 – June 9 M.A. Thesis Writing workshops  
June 9 M.A. theses submission deadline  
June 21 – 23 M.A. theses defences  
June 21 Medieval Studies graduation ceremony  
June 22 Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of  
Annamária Kovács: *Court, Fashion and Representation:  
The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle Revisited*

\*

- July 10–13 International Medieval Congress organized by the  
International Medieval Institute, University of  
Leeds; three sessions organized by the Department.  
July 17 – August 10 Summer University Course: *Issues and Resources for the  
Study of Medieval Central Europe* jointly organized by  
the Center for Medieval Studies (Prague) and the  
Committee for Centers and Regional Associations  
(CARA) of the Medieval Academy of America.  
Course directors were János Bak and Nancy van  
Deusen (CARA).

## ACADEMIC FIELD TRIPS

**Southeastern Hungary**  
August 30 – September 1, 1999

### **August 30, Monday**

Ócsa: Premonstratensian church  
Kecskemét: Gothic parish church  
Ópusztaszer: Monastery, Monument of the Hungarian Conquest

### **August 31, Tuesday**

Szeged: Special Book Collection, Móra Ferenc Museum, Somogyi Library  
parish church of the "Lower town" (Alsóváros) /Franciscan friary  
Kiszombor: Rotunda  
Óföldséák: parish church

### **September 1, Wednesday**

Gyula: Castle, Roman orthodox church, Franciscan ruins  
Véscző: Csolt monastery and wine tasting



*Gyula, in front of the Castle.*



## SPRING FIELD TRIP

### Transylvania & Moldavia

April 26 – May 2, 2000

#### April 26, Wednesday

Deva (Déva, Diemrich): Magna Curia, Gothic castle

Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad, Hundertbücheln): castle of the Hunyadi family

#### April 27, Thursday

Sebeş (Szászsebes, Mühlbach): parish church of Sebeş

Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weisenburg): episcopal cathedral and palace

Cisnădioara (Kisdisznód, Michelsberg): fortified Romanesque church

#### April 28, Friday

Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt): parish church, Bruckenthal Museum, medieval town hall

Slimnic (Szelindek, Stolzenburg): castle

Mediasş (Medgyes, Mediasch): parish church, winged altar of the master of Mediasch

Biertan (Berethalom, BIRTHÄLM): fortified church (UNESCO world heritage)

Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schässburg): clock tower and town walls, Schülletreppe

#### April 29, Saturday

Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt): Franciscan friary, Teleki Library, Palace of Culture

Mugeni (Bögöz): church, fresco of Saint Ladislav and other Gothic mural paintings

Racu (Csíkrákos): fortified church and external Gothic mural paintings

Lacu Roşu—Cheile Bicaz (Gyilkos tó—Békás szoros): walking through the canyon

**April 30, Sunday**

Piatra Neamț (Karácsonkő): Gothic Ascension church (f. 1497)  
Sucevița: medieval monastery (f. 1583), mural paintings after 1596  
Moldovița: medieval monastery and Annunciation church

**May 1, Monday**

Suceava: St. John and St. George churches; Gothic castle  
Voroneț: St. George church, medieval monastery: external mural paintings  
(1547), internal mural paintings (from the beginning of the 16th c.)  
Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz): Franciscan friary, medieval town centre

**May 2, Tuesday**

Cluj–Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg): parish church, Calvinist church  
and meeting with scholars



*Piatra Neamț, Moldova.*

## COURSES IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1999/2000

### Fall Semester

September 27 – December 17, 1999

*Advanced Academic Writing*

Mary Beth L. Davis

*Augustine: Close Reading Seminar*

György Geréby

*Byzantium and The Arabs*

Klaus Belke (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Wien)

*Hagiography*

Gábor Klaniczay

*History of Daily Life*

Gerhard Jaritz

*Introduction to Medieval Iconography*

Tamás Sajó

*Introduction to Medieval Philosophy*

György Geréby

*Introduction to Methods of Literary Analysis*

Marianne Birnbaum (UCLA),

Martin Hinterberger (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften  
Kommission für Byzantinistik, Wien),

Mary Beth Davis

*Introduction to Research Tools: Handbooks and Bibliography*

Resident Faculty

*Islamic Art and Architecture*

Hanna Kassis (UBC, Vancouver)

*Latin Paleography and Diplomatics*

János M. Bak, László Veszprémy

*The Interaction of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle Ages*

Hanna Kassis (UBC, Vancouver)

*The Early History of Eastern Christian Monasticism between the Fourth and Eleventh Centuries*

István Perczel

*The Use of Visual Resources*

Tamás Sajó

*Urban Elites*

Neven Budak

**Winter Semester**

January 10 – March 31, 1999

*Byzantine Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*

Wolfram Hörandner (Institut für Byzantinistik, Universität Wien)

*Codex and Illumination*

Elissaveta Moussakova (Cyrill and Method National Library, Sofia),

Boriana Velcheva (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Center, Sofia),

Béla Zs. Szakács

*Economic and Social History in the Urban Context*

Balázs Nagy,

Katalin Szende,

Erich Landsteiner (Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte,  
Universität Wien)

*English Style Consultations*

Alice Choyke

*Historical Anthropology*

Gábor Klaniczay

*Image of the Other in the Middle Ages*

Felicitas Schmieder (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität,  
Frankfurt am Main)

*Images and Gender*

Gerhard Jaritz

*Introduction to the History of Dogma*

István Perczel

*Legal Systems and Sources*

DeLloyd Guth (University of Manitoba, Winnipeg)

*Medieval Architecture*

József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács

*Medieval Manuscripts*

Guest Lecturers

*Medieval Monasteries (Community, Building and Landscape)*

József Laszlovszky

*Medieval Theology: East and West*

György Geréby

*National Heritage, World Heritage, Medievalism*

József Laszlovszky

*Nobility in Central Europe*

János M. Bak

*Old Church Slavonic*

Boriana Velcheva (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Center, Sofia)

*Oral Traditions*

Michael Richter

*Philosophical Latin*

György Geréby

*Signs and Symbols*

János M. Bak

*Text and Image in Medieval Slavic Manuscripts*

Boriana Velcheva (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Center, Sofia)

**Courses throughout the Fall and Winter semesters**

*Academic Writing for Medievalists*

Mary Beth L. Davis, Mark Peterson

*Academic Field Trip Consultation and Bibliography*

József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács

*Computing for Medievalists*

Gerhard Jaritz

*Greek for Beginners*

György Karsai

*Latin Advanced*

György Karsai

*Latin Intermediate*

György Karsai

*M.A. Thesis Seminar*

Resident Faculty

*Ph.D. Research Seminar*

Resident Faculty

*Ph.D. Seminar*

Resident Faculty

*Reading Byzantine Texts*

István Perczel

*Translation Seminar: Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus*

János M. Bak, Frank Schaer

**Spring Session**

May 2 – May 19, 2000

*The Role and Activity of Mendicant Orders in the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries*

Kaspar Elm (Freie Universität Berlin)

*Arthurian Worlds: Reality and Myth*

Ian Blanchard (University of Edinburgh)

*Missionary History in Western and Central Europe 400-1050*

Ian Wood (University of Leeds)

*Masters of the World. Preachers in France and Italy during the Thirteenth Century*

Nicole Bériou (Université Lumière Lyon)

*Music as a Quadrival Art*

Nancy Van Deusen (The Graduate School, Claremont)

*Thesis Writing Workshop*

All Faculty

*Defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation Prospectuses (Field Exam)*

All Faculty

## PUBLIC LECTURES

### October 6

Carlo Ginzburg, University of California, Los Angeles

*The Old World and the New Seen from Nowhere. A New Reading of Thomas More's Utopia*

(organized together with Open Society Archives and Collegium Budapest)

### November 3

Walter Goffart, University of Toronto

*Historical Atlases: How did They Originate?*

### December 15

Martin Hinterberger, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

*The Archives of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate:*

*The Only Two Extant Codices, Containing Fourteenth-century Documents*

### January 10

Janet L. Nelson, King's College, London

*End Times. Apocalyptic Expectations in the Middle Ages.*

### January 26

Svetlana Bliznyuk, Moscow State University

*Cyprus in the System of International Trade Relations in the Mediterranean World in the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries*

(organized together with ECHO)

### February 23

Boriana Velcheva, Cyrillo-Methodian Research Center, Sofia

*New Discoveries – New Problems (Newly Discovered Old Church Slavonic Manuscripts from Bulgaria)*

**February 25**

Wojciech Polak, Catholic University of Lublin

*Temps chez Gallus Anonymus*

(organized together with ECHO)

**March 1**

Paul Richard Blum, Pázmány Péter Catholic University

*Why did God Rest on the Seventh Day? The Making of a Sacred Text*

**March 22**

Thomas Krzenck, Leipzig

*Books in Late Medieval Bohemian Wills*

**March 29**

Elissaveta Moussakova, SS Cyril and Method National Library, Sofia

*The Illumination of Medieval Manuscripts Read as a Hypertext*

**May 3**

Karol Modzelewski, University of Warsaw and Gábor Klaniczay

*Central Europe around 1000 (a conversation)*

**May 17**

Nicole Bériou, Université Lumière, Lyon

*De la chaire à la nef. La parole retrouvée des frères dominicains à Paris au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle*

(organized together with the Department of Medieval History of ELTE and Atelier)

**May 26**

Kaspar Elm, Freie Universität, Berlin

*The Crusades and the Historians*

**May 29**

Anne Dropick, Princeton University

*Strange Bedfellows: A Tale of Three Manuscripts*

**June 1**

Gadi Algazi, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin

*Forging Links and Relating Practices: Scribes as Cultural Agents in the Late Medieval German Countryside*



## M.A. THESIS ABSTRACTS

### **The Estates of the Bishops of Freising and Gurk in Fifteenth-Century Lower Styria and Upper Carniola. Their Administration and Functioning**

*Matjaž Bizjak (Slovenia)*

Thesis supervisors: Neven Budak, Gerhard Jaritz

External reader: Günter Cerwinka

(Institut für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz)

With distinction

This investigation aims at an inspection of two examples of extra-territorial land-possession, belonging to different clerical institutions: the Freising episcopal estate of Škofja Loka in Upper Carniola and the group of Gurk episcopal estates in Marchia (parts of Lower Styria and Lower Carniola). The two properties differed in their distance from the seat of their lord, as well as in the form of land-possession. In the present study an attempt is made to compare these two property units according to their (financial) administration and economy, trying to measure the influence of the aforementioned spatial relations on their effectiveness.

The research is predominantly based on a qualitative-quantitative analysis of the account books of the given estates, which are preserved in partially disconnected series covering most of the fifteenth century; in addition to this, it also takes into consideration the land registers, on which previous scholarship has relied to a greater extent.

The study focuses on several aspects concerning the estate management. First of all, it inspects the development of the administrative structure, as well as its state in the fifteenth century, which firmly depended on the form of land-possession. In the case of the cohesive Škofja Loka estate, institutions remained highly centralised; however, the management functioned in several units in the case of the scattered Marchian property. Secondly, it discusses the modes of transfer of revenue. In general this mainly took the form of cash transactions, although the supplying of victuals was still practised over smaller distances; however, regarding the transfer, the distance and the scattered nature of the property represented obstacles, which had to be dealt with in different ways: the

former by reducing the installments of delivery and the latter by establishing a dispatching centre. Finally, the study analyses the trends in development of the annual income and expenditure, which shows a stable economy on the Škofja Loka property, while a certain instability can be observed in the Marchian group of estates. Moreover it reveals that the centralised management of Škofja Loka succeeded in running the estate at costs approximately one third lower than those which the Gurk Marchian administration needed to manage their scattered property.

**Missionaries and the Written Word:  
The Missions of Boniface and of William of Rubruck  
among the Mongols in Comparison**

*Michael Brauer (Germany)*

Thesis supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay

External reader: Felicitas Schmieder (Johann-Wolfgang Goethe-Universität,  
Frankfurt am Main)

Missionaries and the written word: in the present thesis I analyse two examples from the history of missions with the method of orality and literacy. From the early Middle Ages, the mission of Boniface was selected, and compared to the mission of William of Rubruck among the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century. The general question of how cultural contact between missionaries and the people they encountered functioned is pursued by an analysis of the usage of books by the missionaries. The hypothesis is that books as written models determined the missionaries' perception of the foreign culture in question.

The first chapter is concerned with universal concepts as opposed to local church customs. For the part on Boniface, I select events connected to one specific written model, canon law, and argue that he used it to condemn local (church) traditions as heretical. William's view of the Nestorians, which is analysed in the second part, is likewise based on their knowledge (or rather, ignorance) of ecclesiastical writings, but also on the ability to dispute—a point which has to be further clarified.

The second chapter seeks to pursue the cultural context or "literal discourse" which influenced the missionaries to use books in the way they did. For Boniface, I pursue the attitudes towards books as they are promoted in the hagiography, and argue that they are rooted in monastic divine learning, based on *auctoritas*. For William, I also analyse the "official" Franciscan attitude

towards books in hagiography, then analyse William's argumentative technique in a theological dispute and show his educational background in scholasticism.

On the whole, the analysis demonstrates that both missionaries were guided by written models in their perception of local church customs. Books helped the missionaries as material carriers of their universal concept of Christianity, but at the same time made real contact in the mission area impossible. Instead of acknowledging the appropriateness of the local customs to their area, these customs were denounced and, in the case of Boniface, persecuted. An evolution from the earlier to the later medieval example becomes apparent in the attitudes towards books: while Boniface pursued a monastic concept of scriptural authority, William tends to relativise the authority of the Bible in relation to sacred texts of other religions. Therefore he makes use of scholastic techniques of argumentation to convince his opponents.

Since both approaches were likewise unsuccessful, further research would have to concentrate on other uses of the written word. A starting point would be the sensual dimension of Scripture: sacred books can be used in preaching, because they are designed as objects of veneration which can be seen and touched, and thus make communication with foreign people possible.

### **The Image of Rome in the Middle Ages: Hildebert de Lavardin**

*Iulia Capros (Moldova)*

Thesis supervisors: György Karsai

External reader: Walter Goffart (University of Toronto)

Winner of the Tănăsă award

Regardless of the immense variety of political, cultural and religious events in the Middle Ages, the importance of Rome remained constant. The events of the fifth century, that is, the sack of Rome in 410 and the abdication of the Emperor Romulus Augustulus in 476, which generated the polemic between Christians and pagans, motivated Augustine to outline the main directions of the Christian way of interpreting the city of Rome. From the fifth century onwards, the concept of Rome developed under several aspects: the apocalyptic rendering based on the book of Revelation, and the idea of the four empires from the book of Daniel, combined with political concepts of *translatio* and *renovatio imperii* in their Byzantine and Latin interpretation. The city of Rome was strongly linked with historical events, changes in society, and in political life, and there are several inherent contradictions in the image of the city which may be traced in the depiction and interpretations made by medieval writers.

The purpose of this thesis is to elucidate the aspects of the image of Rome in the tenth to twelfth century with particular emphasis on the writings of Hildebert de Lavardin (born around 1056), archbishop of Tours. Hildebert is known as one of the most important writers to comment upon Rome in the Middle Ages, yet commentaries on his works have mainly been based on just two of his poems about Rome, which have been interpreted in an univocal way. My intention has been to combine literary and historical skills, in order to reevaluate the previous statements and to depict new aspects revealed in Hildebert's poetry.

The first chapter is mainly an overview of the evolution of the concept of Rome throughout the Middle Ages up to the twelfth century, intended to help in placing Hildebert in the tradition of Rome's interpretation. The second (and principal) chapter is dedicated to the poetry of Hildebert in general; here I analyse several aspects of Rome as designated by the author, and try to reveal their significance.

Being a churchman, Hildebert remains faithful to the longstanding tradition of presenting Rome as the centre of Christianity, although not exactly in the same way as other ecclesiastical figures had previously done. Hildebert redirected his attention to the ancient past of the city, this aspect of Rome being of considerable importance and weight. Rome was represented as conveying ancient glory; the author repeatedly described the past achievements of the Roman Empire, emphasising its unlimited power and great wealth. Hildebert acknowledged the fall of Rome in his poems, yet he did not link it to any particular historical event, but, rather, imbued it with a more general abstract meaning, both alluding to the fall of the ancient world and depicting the final end of an unlimited grasp for wealth.

Rome is not unique in Hildebert's poetry, but a combination of ideas and interpretations generated by Hildebert's education, philosophical concepts and facts of his biography. All this variety of images and power of interpretation display the opinion of a bishop well educated in the classical tradition but faithful to his Christian belief. Hildebert reconciled in his works the classical aspect of the city of Rome and the Christian interpretation of it, by bringing in several new aspects, such as the acknowledgment of human power and the depiction of social decadence. I have attempted a further approach to several other works of Hildebert, looking for similar motifs and description. This endeavour is not complete, yet it proves that the depiction of the fate of a city, as for instance that of Troy, or of some sort of social decay, can be encountered in other poems as well, and that the largest part of his works is a partial revival of the classical literature, its descriptions and motifs.

In the third chapter I try to suggest a literary context, by referring to another literary figure, Eugenius Vulgarius, a grammarian from Naples. Vulgarius dedicated a number of flattering poems to Pope Sergius III, where he mentions Rome as a great beneficiary of Sergius' existence alone. His works did not prove to display that variety of ideas Hildebert's work contains. Although several similarities between the two authors' works exist, the purpose of their writings, and the represented aspects of the city are somewhat different. Vulgarius and Hildebert had a similar educational and literary background, these being subsequently reflected in their poetry. The way these authors relate to the city has many common traits; both authors allude to the realia of life in Antiquity, both invoke the city in order to lend more power to their statements. Both relate to similar aspects of the city's image: they allude to or describe the glorious political and cultural past of the city, mention the present decay, emphasise a difference between past and present (usually not to the credit of the latter), and finally suggest a solution for Rome's revival. The differences that exist between the works of Vulgarius and Hildebert are mainly caused by the purposes these two authors had, and their different level of convictions and concerns, and hence their literary importance.

The present thesis concentrates mainly on the poems about Rome; therefore their interpretation may lack some of the contextual and comparative elements. A further more detailed analysis of other Hildebert's works and the depiction of possible influences of classical authors and other writings of the same period on his work would be indispensable for the discovery of the way in which Antiquity had an impact on the development of medieval literature, and particularly on the image of Rome. The depiction and investigation of the attitude towards Rome of other different authors from the tenth to the twelfth century will certainly enlarge the possibility of appreciating the variety of aspects attributed to the city in this period of time and the way Hildebert's opinions about Rome evolved.

**Late Medieval Voyages to Paradise:  
The Story of the Bridegroom Absent Three Hundred Years**

*Emese Czintos (Romania)*

Thesis supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay

External readers: Jean-Claude Schmitt (EHESS, Paris), Nicole Bériou  
(Université Lumière, Lyon)

This paper deals with two distinct areas of late medieval literature, those of visionary accounts of Otherworld journeys on the one hand, and the literature of *exempla* on the other. The texts chosen for analysis are all in the genre of *exempla*, and they all recount voyages to Paradise. The original starting point was a text contained in the largest Hungarian sermonary of the Middle Ages, the Érdy codex, called *Exemplum mirabile*. The story is the account of the journey to Paradise of a pious bridegroom, corresponding to *exemplum* #780 in the *Index Exemplorum* of F. C. Tubach.

With regard to the first concern, I examine the historical and literary background of medieval visions in general, focusing on the representational traditions of Paradise and Heavenly journeys in particular. After presenting a number of visions of Heaven and Hell, as well as of non-Christian Otherworlds, I turn my attention to six narratives, all recounting the story of the journey of the pious bridegroom to Paradise. The main motifs of the six stories are analysed in terms of earlier traditions of visionary literature, both in their similarities and diversification. The analysis of the six texts offers the opportunity to examine the variable elements of the stories, as they function in different textual accounts of one plot.

Continuing the line of analysis, I present the second concern, that of the literature of *exempla*, in the analysis of the *Exemplum mirabile* and its purported original, a Latin text from an early thirteenth-century manuscript of the Racinski Library in Poznan. After a short philological discussion of the two texts, I focus on the textual and structural comparison of the versions, finally arriving at an analysis of the *Exemplum mirabile* as sermon *exemplum*.

My interest in this thesis lies mainly in confronting some of the inconsistencies presented by the general research done on *exempla*, namely those connected to the discrepancies between a functional and a textual-narrative approach to the stories. For this, I use Bernard Cerquiglini's idea of the "philology of the variant," elaborating it as a post-structuralist—because counter-structuralist—method of interpretation, focusing on the surface structure of a narrative as the one that allows for its different realisations in different contexts.

It is this point where the present paper shows further possibilities for research; the possibilities of the type of analysis presented both theoretically and as a demonstration in practice on one sermon *exemplum* are worth exploiting on a larger number of sermon *exempla*, tentatively offering thus a different methodology for the narrative analysis of these stories.

**Preaching the Eucharist:  
Sermons for Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi in the  
Fifteenth-Century Hungarian Sermon Collection *Sermones Dominicales*  
Ottó Gecser (Hungary)**

Thesis supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

External readers: Christian Krötzl (University of Tampere),

Nicole Bériou (Université Lumière, Lyon)

With distinction

Most sermons which have survived from the later Middle Ages are *model sermons*, compact outlines helping the preacher in the same way that lecture outlines help modern lecturers. Studying such sermons means not a micro-analysis of the relation between a given preacher and a given audience in a well defined situation, but a reconstruction of the broader religious and social context. This is not necessarily far from the context the compiler could have had in mind while composing his outlines, since model sermons were made for common preachers working in very varied geographical areas and social situations. My thesis is an attempt to reconstruct this broader context of two eucharistic sermons in the *Sermones Dominicales*, an anonymous collection from fifteenth-century Hungary.

First I present the *sermonarium* itself. We know that the SD is a mid-fifteenth-century collection from the diocese of Pécs. We also know that out of its 127 sermons, 45 are taken from Jacobus de Voragine, with substantial modifications. The extent of the modifications hints at intermediary stages in the transmission of these 45 texts. A part of the rewriting was certainly made in Hungary, as newly inserted passages contain Hungary-specific materials. The collection was probably made for a clerical audience, and it seems rather likely that the supposed addressees were secular, rather than regular, clergymen. The compiler may have belonged to the chapter of Pécs, and it is also possible, though not proven, that he occupied the official post for preaching established by Pope Martin V in 1428.

In the second chapter I examine three main elements of the broader context in which our eucharistic sermons may be located. Since out of the two

feats—Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi—for which these sermons were composed, Corpus Christi had been introduced rather recently, in the fifteenth century, preachers had to take part in its promotion. The Corpus Christi sermon in the *Sermones Dominicales*, like many other contemporary sermons written especially for Corpus Christi, fulfils this requirement. The main topics of the two sermons are related very closely, as Corpus Christi sermons were frequently modelled upon their forerunners on Maundy Thursday. The second element of the context is medieval eucharistic theology and its relation to popular preaching. Seen from this aspect, it appears that the compiler of the two sermons was not sensitive to the different, though still orthodox, interpretations of central issues such as transubstantiation or the salvific function of the sacrament. In contrast, some other fifteenth-century preachers did show such sensitivity. It turns out that the compiler did not even refer to the theological problems posed by the Hussite movement—though he claims to have met one of the most famous opponents of the Hussites, John Capistran—either in terms of theological arguments or in terms of miracle stories which would otherwise be capable of conveying the relevant theological message. As a consequence, it seems probable that the original texts of the two sermons stem from a period preceding the birth of the Hussite movement, and that the compiler of the *Sermones Dominicales* did not feel it necessary to adapt them to the problems of his age. This chapter ends with an assessment of the role of short edifying stories (*exempla*) in the two eucharistic sermons.

In the last chapter I turn to more general, and at the same time more essential, constituents of the context. Regarding the perception of the Eucharist's role in human life, I argue that it was embedded in a semantic field defined by the concepts of food and medicine. We find medical imagery in sermons from, at least, Augustine onwards, but in the course of the centuries new allusions and new metaphors appeared, following the profound changes in the medical profession. I also argue that the main principles behind both medical and nutritional imagery are natural balance and the yearly rhythm of life as determined by the Church calendar. Finally, I discuss the relationship between access to the Eucharist and the categorisation of Christians in eucharistic sermons. The Eucharist in this sense is a tangible symbol of social differentiation and the boundaries of the community; those who were deterred from communion could not be fully-fledged members of the community.



**The Idea of the Beauty of God as Revealed in the  
*Enarrationes in Psalmos* of Saint Augustine**

*Aušra Grigaravičiute (Lithuania)*

Thesis supervisors: György Geréby

External reader: Paul Richard Blum (Péter Pázmány Catholic University,  
Budapest/Piliscsaba)

The aim of this work was to contextualise the idea of beauty of God in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. I present there the basic typology and arguments that Augustine uses while referring to the beauty of God, and try to incorporate them into the context of some basic doctrines of Augustine. These include his metaphysical assumptions, Trinitarian considerations, and reflections concerning the beauty of the *Logos*-Christ, the Incarnation and salvation of man.

The ideas concerning beauty play a prominent role in the work of Augustine; however, they do not constitute an isolated corpus in Augustine's teaching. Moreover, it is impossible to analyse the concept of beauty in general, and the beauty of God in particular, without considering the whole of Augustinian teaching. Nonetheless, previous scholarship has often neglected this metaphysical and theological context and concentrated on a mere analysis of the concept of beauty from the limited point of view of modern aesthetics. This is the reason why previous scholars based their analysis on the early works of the saint, and why the problem of the beauty of God was approached only as a secondary one and was never scrutinised extensively enough before.

The two basic argumentation patterns to be found in the *Enarrationes* are as follows. The first argument stems from the Platonist tradition according to which beauty itself is the first attribute of the divine. Plato in his *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* argues that beauty is not merely a perceptual metaphor of intelligible reality, but is proper to the order of the divine. Plotinus, whose works made a significant impact upon Augustine, equates being and beauty. The second argument proceeds from Biblical sources and Scriptural exegesis. This argument affirms that the beauty and goodness of the created universe is a witness and testimony to the divine beauty by analogy. The key texts here are Wisdom 13 and Romans 1:20. In the works of the early Church Fathers this argument played a certain role in anti-Gnostic polemics. In Augustine's works these two patterns intermingle and bear more elaborate assumptions. Augustine asserts that God is the source of all beauty and that beauty is not merely a divine property, but rather His essence. In the metaphysics of Augustine, beauty in its essence coincides with God Himself, since *Deus est quod habet* (*Civ Dei* 11.10.1). Moreover, on the one hand, the beauty of the created universe is due to God's

omnipresence, to the divine *vestigia* in the created things, and their participation in the order of the divine, while on the other, the beauty of created things can paradoxically serve both as a witness to the divine beauty and as an obstacle to any approach to the divinity, depending on the intention of the human being who contemplates the natural world.

Augustine does not limit himself to asserting only that God is Beauty and the author of all created beauty: he leads the audience of the *Enarrationes* into a discussion of the issues of Trinitarian theology. However, due to the particularity of the *Enarrationes* Augustine does not speculate on the Trinitarian issues to the same extent as he does, for example, in his *De Trinitate*. Nonetheless, since most of the sermons that *Enarrationes* contain were composed at the same time as *De Trinitate*, I have used the model of this work in order to establish the relationship between the idea of beauty of God and the Trinitarian doctrines in the work of the saint. Augustine clearly asserts that God is *multiplicitas simplex et simplicitas multiplex*, and states the equality of all the three Persons of the Trinity. Using the Hilarian characterisation of the three Persons as Father, Image and Gift, he ascribes beauty to the Son, who is the perfect Image of the Father, *imago, forma, Verbum Dei*. The nature of the beauty of the Son is the prime and perfect fitness, equality, and the likeness to the Begetter whose Image It is. Moreover, the beauty of the Image likewise presupposes the beauty of the Begetter. To formulate this assertion in the terms of the Greek Fathers contemporaneous with Augustine, the Begotten beauty is by the beauty of the Unbegotten. In the Son the reality of the begotten form and the production of the created form coincide, as, for example, a passage from the *Confessiones* demonstrates: *formosissime, qui formas omnia* (1.7.12).

However, what happens when the Word of God, the *Logos*, assumes flesh? Does He remain beautiful or does He become ugly? What happens to the divine beauty on the Cross? Two seemingly discordant passages, Isaiah 53:2 and Psalm 44:3, alongside the exegetical interpretation of the Song of Songs, form the basis for another aspect of the "aesthetic" Christology of Augustine. He asserts the beauty of the God Incarnate (*intelligentibus enim ... verbum caro factum magna pulchritudo est. En in Ps 44.3*) and solves the problem of the beauty of Christ, considering His nature as comprising both the human and divine. The essence of the beauty of Christ Incarnate is His unordinary humanity, and His justice and righteousness, which can be seen by the pure, just, and right; however, the beauty of His divinity remains hidden in flesh even to His followers. In the *Enarrationes* Augustine links the dialectics of beauty and ugliness of Christ using the Pauline passage Philippians 2:6-8, in which the Apostle contrasts the form of Christ's divinity (*forma Dei*) with that of *forma servi*, which He assumed at the Incarnation. In this passage Paul emphasises this *kenosis* as culminating at the

Crucifixion. The ugliness of Christ can be regarded as His form of the humiliated servant in comparison to His divinity, or as the corporeal ugliness on the Cross. This ugliness of Christ is deliberate, assumed in order to restore humanity to its original beauty. The ugliness of the Crucifixion has a redemptive power and is a crucial point for the salvation of humanity and the restoration of man to the image of God. Nonetheless, Christ preserves His interior beauty even on the Cross.

Human beauty in *Enarrationes* is many times expressed in terms of the presence of the divine form in man, that is, of the presence of the image of God which he received at the moment of his creation. Sin distorted this image and man's original beauty, which can be reformed only by Christ Crucified. Man is beautiful insofar as he participates in the beauty of God. The loss of the image of God or its distortion is necessarily a cause of non-being, deformity, and ugliness, which Christ restores by becoming ugly in order to render deformed humanity beautiful again. By confessing the ugliness of Christ, His death and his own deformity, man gradually regains his beauty. The ugliness of the Cross likewise heals the inner eyes of man, which through sin have lost their ability to see the divine beauty. However, only in the life to come will man enjoy full contemplation of the divine beauty, and only then will he possess perfect beauty in both his body and soul.

To conclude, the Augustinian concept of the divine beauty is inseparable from the general context of his doctrines. When dealing with the concept of divine beauty which we find explicitly elaborated in the writings of Augustine, we observe a close relation between metaphysical considerations, theological speculations, and practical thought. In the writings of Augustine generally, and particularly in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, with which we deal in this thesis, the question of the divine beauty is not a theoretical issue, but is likewise closely linked to practical questions, such as, for example, the salvation of man.

### **John Filipec: His Life and Personality**

*Antonín Kalous (Czech Republic)*

Thesis supervisor: János M. Bak

External readers: Leslie S. Domonkos (Youngstown State University), Libuše Hrabová (University of Olomouc)

The thesis concentrates on John Filipec, a man who was active in the last decades of the fifteenth century within a large area of Central Europe. Born a Moravian of lower origin, he, through his secular as well as ecclesiastical tenures,

became an influential person at the court of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus at a time when Moravia was strongly linked to Hungary. The task of the study is to describe the life of John Filipec more thoroughly, on the basis of the accessible sources as well as on the basis of the secondary literature of Hungarian and Czech production. In this latter regard an attempt has been made to connect the two historiographical traditions, since they have remained unconnected in the past, because of the problems which stem from the different and often mutually incomprehensible languages and the inaccessibility of certain sources in the two countries. Another purpose of writing this study, being in the form of a biography, was to come nearer to the personality of John Filipec himself, as far as the sources allow.

The first chapter of the work is an introductory one, which describes and evaluates the political and cultural development of Central Europe in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in order to introduce a broader setting of Filipec's life. Then Filipec's life itself is documented, relying on the sources as well as the secondary literature. This account of his life is divided according to the stages of his activity both at the court of King Matthias and later on in the Franciscan order, in other words basically in a chronological manner. The last part of the main body of the thesis reveals the several "lives" of John Filipec. They have been distinguished essentially on the basis of his wide activities and his various social roles: diplomat, politician, bishop, friar, patron of the arts and maybe even humanist—these comprise the wide-ranging activities of his multifaceted life. The analysis of the sources reveals all these different aspects as proper parts of Filipec's personality, with his actual extremes and exceptional behaviour.

In this study a person of late medieval Central Europe is shown in all his complexity. Some conclusions, about his character and personality can be drawn on the basis of his activities and behaviour in certain situations. This analysis, also shows John Filipec as both a person formed by his milieu and one who in turn formed his political and cultural surrounding. He lived at a time of strong relations between Hungary and the Czech lands, and was one of the people who really acted as connectors between the two. Not only was he a politician who acted in both countries (and many more), but he also connected them culturally, through the possible impacts of Humanism and the Renaissance. Even if he spent most of his life in the service of Matthias Corvinus, that is, in the service of the Hungarian state, he, during his life in the Hungarian royal court and also after his departure for the friary, had an impact on the life of the Czech lands, and especially Moravia. Thus, John Filipec may be presented as quite a complex person, one who was influenced by his time but who also influenced that time himself.

## **The Collection of Paul Evergetinos: Description and Analysis**

Natalia Kotsionba (Russia)

Thesis supervisor: István Perczel

External reader: Martin Hinterberger (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna)

The present thesis is an attempt to prove that this collection, compiled of the excerpts from different earlier works, can be regarded as a unified and independent text, and to reconstruct the world and the world views of Paul Evergetinos, as they are expressed in his collection.

For this purpose, I analysed the use of several sources by Paul Evergetinos. I limited my search to three of the most frequently cited ones which seem representative to me: the collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, and the works of Ephrem the Syrian.

While carrying out this analysis, I arrived at the following results. In every case Evergetinos changes his sources on the lexical and grammatical level; he can also easily change the structure of his sources in order to make them better fit the requirements of his work. These changes depend on the nature of the source used: dealing with the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Evergetinos does not introduce any change in the sayings; he is content only to distribute them according to the theme of his chapters, sometimes considering it necessary to state the idea expressed by a saying more explicitly and thus adding his own commentary to it. In the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, Evergetinos found a good source of stories about distinguished persons, but these stories, being compiled of many different anecdotes and sayings of the persons in question, did not illustrate any precise idea, and thus he takes only the elements which support the theme of the chapter. Dealing with Ephrem the Syrian, Evergetinos often abbreviates his sermons or creates one piece of text out of several in Ephrem's works. As a result of this compilation, the initial story can be slightly changed or even completely reinterpreted.

Although Evergetinos feels free to change the structure, form and even content of his source, he does not use this freedom to create a textually unified work out of many excerpts different in genre and in style. It seems that Evergetinos changes the material only in order to make it fit the purpose of his work better; in every single case his main concern is to provide a better illustration to the theme declared in the title of the chapter. These changes are usually supposed to make the didactic side of the material clearer and more explicit.

Accordingly, it seems that from this point of view, the collection of Paul Evergetinos represents quite a unified and coherent text, but its coherence is engendered not by the links internal to the text itself, but by the unity of purpose and consequent use of every element of the collection in order to fulfil its goal as well as it can.

So the analysis supports my preliminary assumption that the collection of Paul Evergetinos represents a possible source for the reconstruction of his views and ideas. The draft of this reconstruction is provided in the thesis.

**Gods and Mortals of Martianus Capella:  
Lifting the Veil in a Carolingian Commentary**

*Katerina Kovalchuk (Ukraine)*

Thesis supervisor: György Geréby

External reader: Patrick Geary (University of Notre Dame/UCLA)

Martianus Capella's book *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, originating in fifth-century Carthage, became one of the most famous school manuals throughout the Middle Ages, due, as is usually explained by modern scholars, to its complex treatment of the seven liberal arts. The period of the Carolingian renaissance, however, is marked by an awakening of immense interest not only in these accounts of the liberal arts, but also in the first two books, containing a fabulous tale with a *topos* of *hieros gamos*, or mystical marriage. This popularity can be inferred from a great many extant ninth-century manuscripts of the entire work and commentaries on Martianus' opus.

The main purpose of my research was to investigate which facet of the book, apart from its serviceability as a textbook for the classical curriculum in schools, drew the attention of the Carolingian intellectuals, what kind of interpretation—a process inescapable almost for any work of a Classical or late Antique writer before it came into wide usage—was given to this work, full of theurgy, magic, and paganism, so that it gained popularity roughly on a par with a number of treatises by the early Christian authors. I also aimed to find out how, if it happened at all, the core narrative of the first two books, presenting the *hieros gamos* of the pagan god Mercury and terrestrial maiden Philology, a story which might have been a stumbling block for Christians, was adjusted to the needs and requirements of ninth-century education, oriented towards the bringing up of children as good Christians.

To answer my questions I studied two ninth-century commentaries on the *De nuptiis*: one produced by a philosopher, John Scotus Eriugena, and the

second by a Carolingian teacher, Remigius of Auxerre. In the process of investigation the key terms *mythos* and *fabula*, as perceived by Martianus Capella and then by Eriugena and Remigius, have been given particular attention, since the study of these notions elucidated their meaning for the Carolingians and facilitated a better comprehension of the Eriugenian and Remigian treatment of the textual allegories of the *De nuptiis*.

Comparing the meaning of the words *fabula* and *mythos* in the text of Martianus' work and the ninth-century commentaries by Eriugena and Remigius, some changes which manifested themselves in the particular usage of the terms have been observed. For Martianus the signification of *mythos* embraced just the content of the first two books and pointed to the fictitious story that was meant to amuse a reader and to clothe the truth, while *fabula* referred to the motley material of all nine books that included the account of the liberal arts along with the fabulous tale of the celestial nuptials. For Eriugena and Remigius the notion of *fabula* was not only equated with that of *mythos*, but also achieved some more specific shades of meaning: the *fabula* was perceived by the Carolingians as an unreal, invented story, which, however, had a latent, non-literal sense. Such an attitude of the Carolingians towards the *fabula* as a double-sided story, one that had to be interpreted in order to unveil a hidden meaning, enabled me to speak about ninth-century allegorisations of Martianus' *De nuptiis*.

The research shows that the mythical story of the nuptials underwent a kind of metamorphosis of meaning in the process of being commented upon. The interpretation of the story of the cosmic marriage by John Scotus Eriugena and Remigius of Auxerre as a union between eloquence and knowledge—which, as has been demonstrated in modern scholarship, could hardly have been implied initially by Martianus himself—to my mind was largely provoked by social circumstances, conditions and events. The immensely fashionable nature and wide recognition of the book, besides its usage in schools as a manual on the seven liberal arts, were due to the "secularisation" of the figmented narrative, that is to say, the way in which a specific meaning was attached to it, one that had developed under the influence of cultural, religious, or social changes in society. In the Carolingian commentary Martianus' allegories become refracted by temporal and sociological factors prevailing in that time, known nowadays as the Carolingian revival of learning and literacy. Originating from the circles directly participating in intellectual movements of the period, the allegorisations found in the two commentaries can serve as an eloquent witness to the educational and cultural policy of the Frankish kings.

It has been demonstrated that the Carolingian commentators created the entire systematic allegory of the *fabula* of the marriage, key notions of which became the concepts of knowledge, learning, wisdom, and eloquence—all of

them being of topicality in the milieu in which those commentators had their roots and were working. If in Martianus' own work the principal levels of the meaning of the allegory are the philosophical and physical ones, then in the ninth-century commentaries a new reflection of the story is encountered. The commentators concentrated for the most part on the moral meaning of the story, interpreting the portrayals of the gods of Antiquity in such a way as to allow students to see in them constructive precepts applicable to their own lives, and to acquire a proper knowledge of human virtues and vices.

The Eriugenian and Remigian interpretations of the story lead to moralisation and, even more significantly, to a kind of Christianisation of the pagan content of the *fabula* of the *De nuptiis*. The outstanding wisdom and knowledge of a terrestrial girl, the reason for her being granted immortality, is perceived and presented by the commentators as the only way to heaven, since *nemo intrat in celum nisi per philosophiam*. The earthly wisdom gained in the process of study—the process recalling the knowledge of the arts innate to every human being but forgotten as the result of the fall—is taken as an indispensable step towards achieving divine wisdom.

One interesting conclusion, albeit a subjective one, may be reached on the basis of the treatment of the two major characters of Martianus' story, Philology and Mercury, by Eriugena and Remigius: the figure of Philology seems to engage the sympathies of the Irish scholar, while Mercury attracts the greater bulk of Remigius' attention. Actually, this tendency just supports our knowledge of the fields of interest of the Carolingian commentators. Eriugena's involvement in philosophy and his enthusiastic interest in dialectic, which is expressed in his annotations of the fourth book of the *De nuptiis*, and the fame of Remigius as a teacher, which required skill in presenting materials for his students, are factors that could not but affect the perception of the story and expression of personal preferences in the process of glossing the text.

### **Profane Vault Decoration in the Church of Daia Secuiască (Székelydála)**

*Emese Nagy (Romania)*

Thesis supervisors: Tamás Sajó

External reader: Imre Takács (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

With distinction

The vault decoration of the Calvinist church of Székelydála (Daia Secuiască, Romania) is one of the most well-preserved and best quality medieval inside



decorations of Transylvania. Its unusual profane character has often confused art historians, and thus there has been no study written on these paintings yet.

Although the lack of historical data makes it difficult to give an art historical analysis of the decoration, it is possible to include it in a widespread European stylistic trend: that of the green-chamber decorations.

In the present thesis I give a detailed description of the vault-paintings, according to their present state. I also present the European artistic milieu which the decoration belongs to, describing the characteristic features of the so-called green-chamber iconography. The three green chamber ornamentation can be divided into three iconographic layers: the heraldic layer, the figurative layer (with Biblical and/or profane scenes) and the "inhabited vegetation," the Late Gothic leaves which surround several figures and unify the whole decoration. The green-chambers become a fashion at the end of the fifteenth century and spread all over Central Europe, first in castles, then in burgher-houses, town-halls and finally also in sacred spaces.

The decoration from Székelydála can clearly be included in this three-level iconography, although the figurative layer was never completed. The meaning of the heraldic layer cannot be precisely stated, because of the lack of historical data, but it seems to mirror the social and historical situation of the region in the period (1501–1526). Both the figures "living" in the same sphere with the vegetation and the forms of the leaves show that the decoration must have been influenced by German art, having primarily the etchings of the fifteenth century and the *verdures* of the Burgundy castles as its origin. The decoration is undoubtedly a part of the Late Gothic cult of gardens, the green-chamber decoration turning up in castles, representing practically a form of an arbour as a withdrawing room, a parlour for its owner. In the case of churches, the decoration has a close relation with the Late Gothic illusionistic vaults, representing at the same time an example of the way that the space of the church changed in this period from the symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem to that of the Heavenly Garden.

Thus, the decoration from Székelydála, completed clearly by a foreign, and not a provincial, local master, has no parallel in Transylvania, and seems to represent the easternmost example of the green-chamber-decorations known so far.

**Standards of Living, Order, and Prestige:  
Public Facilities in Early Fifteenth-Century Lviv**

*Rostyslav Paranko (Ukraine)*

Thesis supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky

External reader: Ulf Dirlmeier (Universität Siegen)

The particular aspect of late medieval urban material culture investigated in this essay—urban public facilities—is worthy of attention for several reasons. The most important of them is the fact that public facilities constitute one of the most prominent indicators of the level of development, everyday needs, and living conditions of a late medieval urban community. Another reason for studying urban public facilities, and especially the ones controlled by the town government, is the opportunity such a study affords to touch upon the issue of administration of the town's finances.

The main sources used in the present investigation are two account books of the town government of Lviv, covering the years between 1404 and 1426. In addition to the account books, a number of auxiliary sources have been used. These are charters, the book of the town council and scabinal court from the years 1381–1389, and works of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lviv historians, containing data from archive material subsequently lost.

In my study of the urban public facilities in Lviv, I have proceeded along the following lines. First, the available data on the historical development of different public facilities, and the measures taken by the town government to provide for their construction, maintenance, and functioning, are presented and interpreted; at this point, some conclusions are reached concerning the purposes of Lviv's public facilities and the role they played in the life of the town. The discussion of the purposes and the role of different groups of facilities is continued and further amplified by considering their relative importance in the opinion of the town government. This is done mostly through a comparison of the expenditures incurred and (where applicable) of the incomes and other benefits derived by the town government in connection with this or that facility. This leads to conclusions concerning the level of development in administration and financing of the public facilities achieved by Lviv at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The study has shown that early fifteenth-century Lviv had all the basic groups of public facilities which served to provide a certain standard of living for the urban community, to keep order in the town, and to promote its prestige. In this respect Lviv is quite similar both to the towns of the kingdom

of Poland and to German towns. However, the quantitative analysis applied in the investigation has pointed to certain significant peculiarities of Lviv.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Lviv's town council paid most attention to constructing and maintaining fortifications, the water supply system, and a public bath. Traditional "matters of prestige," such as paved streets or the town hall's clock tower, were clearly subordinated to the aforementioned predominant groups; on the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that the fortifications, water pipelines and fountains, and the bath, had, in addition to their direct functions, a significant prestige value also. Surprisingly low for a major commercial centre of the kingdom was the volume of activity connected to commerce-related, and especially monopoly-related, facilities. This can be explained by the fact that in the period studied Lviv's finances relied on direct extraordinary taxes rather than on income from the town-owned monopolies; nevertheless, it was still essential for the town council to control the monopoly-related facilities in order to assure quality and reliable measurement of the most important goods.

Some peculiarities can also be observed in the organisation and financing of construction, maintenance, and running of various public facilities. These peculiarities are of a twofold nature. On the one hand, the character of the town council's activity in this field is evidence of a rather low level of development of the relevant institutional structure; thus, although during the period studied the town undertook a number of rather substantial projects, it rarely happened that more than one such project was conducted at one time. On the other, such a situation with the public facility projects was linked to the system of financing practised in Lviv at that time: as the analysis of public facilities' general development has shown, direct taxation was not always a reliable source of their financing. It is therefore necessary to admit that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the ability of Lviv's municipal government to support communal needs was much lower than later in that century, when the institutional structure of the government developed significantly and direct taxation was replaced with more reliable sources of income.

Taking into account the results obtained in the present investigation, it is possible to state that even a limited application of the quantitative methods to the sources relevant for this kind of analysis provides a range of new possibilities for the study of medieval material culture, especially in the urban context.

## The Anselmian Argument as “Colorated” by John Duns Scotus

*Iryna Romanivna Pigovska (Ukraine)*

Thesis supervisor: György Geréby

External reader: Gábor Borbély (Professzorok Háza, Budapest)

The subject of this investigation is the Anselmian argument for God’s existence as treated by John Duns Scotus. The inquiry aims at an elucidation of the fact and manner of this eleventh-century proof being reformulated to suit the fourteenth-century system of “high scholastics.” To perform the task chosen, the three references Scotus makes to the argument are inspected. Of these, one is methodological, and the other two are the “colorations” proper. The interrelationship between both the content and the structure of these three references, as well as the relevance of the positive theoretical aspects they imply for the whole of Scotus’ epistemology, constitute our primary concern here.

The major sources of this inquiry are the passages of the *Ordinatio* and *De primo principio* wherein the Anselmian argument for God’s existence is discussed. The investigation starts by explicating the methodological treatment Scotus gives to the Anselmian argument as he sets it in the more general context of discussing the manner of knowing the proposition “God exists.” Next, we proceed to clarify the way in which the colorations of the *ratio Anselmi* correspond to the structure and contents of the main flow of Scotus’ proof for God’s existence. Finally, we perform a closer inspection of the precise wording of the colorations, so as to trace the exact lines of the positive explication they provide. The three chapters of the thesis correspond to the subsequent stages of this inquiry.

In presuming that John Duns Scotus was consistent in his treatment of the argument, we find it reasonable to hope that an investigation of the internal logic and external structure of his proofs can reveal some essential traits of the theory of knowledge and demonstration he developed. We believe this hypothesis to have been proven insofar as our investigation reveals the essential internal consistency of the three elements described in the corresponding chapters. Thus, the methodologically established scheme of deciding on the conformity of the proposition’s terms is further utilised and elaborated in the Anselmian proof as discussed in the main flow of Scotus’ own argumentation. Moreover, there is a relationship between the formulae constituting the colorations and the principal parts of the whole argumentation. More than that, the specific wording of the colorations comprises much of what has been established by Scotus’ text with regard to the structure, inferential sequence, and terms of the propositions set out to demonstrate God’s existence.

In terms of content, our investigation has made it possible to see how Scotus' theories of intuition, *per se* knowability, and quidditative possibility appear in his treatment of the Anselmian argument. Moreover, we believe the inquiry helps to capture the concept providing the consistency of what is set on the matters of intuition, *per se* knowability, and quidditative possibility within the entity of discussion constituted by the methodological prescriptions, main course of the demonstration, and the colorations' precise formulae. The exact wording of the colorations refers to the *summum/summe cogitabile*. This is the concept of the greatest conceivability embracing the utmost perfection of both the act and the object of comprehension.

**The Lion, the Dragon, and the Knight:  
An Interdisciplinary Investigation of a Medieval Motif**

*Orsohya Réthebyi (Hungary)*

Thesis supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky, Mary Beth L. Davis

External reader: David Austin (University of Wales)

Winner of the Tánása award

The goal of this study was to map the context of a group of medieval objects with the use of an interdisciplinary model. The objects, the source material of the investigation, are three medieval tile fragments, of which very little is known from previous scholarship. Two of these are floor tiles, excavated at the Pilis Cistercian Abbey site (Hungary), dated to the thirteenth century. The third is a stove tile, excavated at the Buda Szentpétermártír site (Hungary), and dated to the late fourteenth century. The three tiles have the same motif depicted on them, the fight of a lion, a dragon, and a knight, though the arrangement of the figures and the iconography is different in each case.

Since very little is known about the context of the tiles, and all three of them are unique in the Hungarian material, it is difficult to draw general conclusions or analyse them by investigating parallels. Therefore, they are approached in this study with the use of an interdisciplinary methodology. Three different levels on which the tiles can provide information about their context are separated: the archaeological, the iconographic, and the literary level. First, the tiles are reconsidered as archaeological finds. An effort is made to find out more than what is presently available from the published material. The inquiry on this first level concerns the characteristics of the tiles as material objects. On the second level, slightly more abstract and removed from the tiles as objects, the scenes depicted on the tiles are studied. The tiles are investigated as carriers

of visual information. The third level, farthest away from the material existence of the tiles, is the literary level. Using the visual information gained from the investigation on the iconographic level a step further is taken and the possibility of a narrative reference is considered.

The archaeological reconsideration has uncovered the existence of several additional fragments of the known types of Pilis floor tiles, as well as a new type, hitherto unknown. Finding some of the actual tiles (previously at an unknown location) made measurements and comparison of the tiles possible. Furthermore, missing information about the place of excavation of the tiles was uncovered. Results of the archaeological reconsideration mainly concern the Pilis tiles, since, in contrast to the Buda excavation, here only a fragment of the excavation results was published and the documentation was not very careful, which left several questions open.

On the level of the iconographic analysis, the visual information on the tiles was analysed, the stylistic features of the different tiles compared and contrasted and the possibility of dating the tiles on the basis of the armour of the knight discussed. In addition, a number of parallels to the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in medieval visual art were collected. As a result it became evident that the motif was popular in visual art, as representations of it can be found from all over Europe in different artistic media (woodcarving, tapestry, metal, illumination, and so on). Perhaps even more important is the conclusion that all visual representations of the motif are related to some kind of narrative source.

The first part of the analysis on the narrative level concerns the development and incidence of the lion-dragon-knight combat motif in literature. The narrative motif is shown to be very popular and extensively used in the whole of Europe. It can be found in the genres of chronicle, epic, romance and *exemplum*. In the second part of this chapter the literary occurrences of the motif are investigated for textual parallels with the specific visual details on one of the floor tiles. Since the Middle High German *Wolfdietrich* epic is shown to have exactly these details, it is proposed that the Pilis floor tiles can be best interpreted in a German cultural context. This information is then compared to the history of the monastery and three possible periods for the placing of the Pilis floor tiles are suggested and discussed.

The two general conclusions of the study concern the motif and its interpretation on the one hand, and the interdisciplinary methodology on the other. The lion-dragon-knight combat is shown to be an extremely popular and fertile motif in both visual and narrative art, one which inspired authors and audiences throughout the Middle Ages. It was adapted to suit many different contexts and genres and could be interpreted on several different levels simul-

taneously. The interdisciplinary methodology applied to the tiles is demonstrated to be very rewarding in this specific case, since the context of the tiles was successfully mapped and the combination of the findings on different levels has made new conclusions possible. However, this methodology is by no means generally applicable to the study of medieval objects and has very distinct limitations.

**Old English Philosophical Translation:  
King Alfred's Version of Boethius'  
*O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas*  
Rūta Šileikytė (Lithuania)**

Thesis supervisors: György Geréby

External reader: Paul E. Szarmach (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo)

The main purpose of the present study is to investigate the Old English rendering of Boethius' metre *O qui perpetua* (*Consolation 3,9*) paying special attention to the sources and influences that left their traces on King Alfred's translation. In contrast to the Boethian universe as depicted in the original metre, Alfred seems to offer a rather different account of the creation, the structure of the world, and the human soul, exchanging the Neoplatonic implications present in the Latin text for orthodox Christian ideas as well as concepts peculiar to the local Anglo-Saxon, or, more broadly, to the ancient Germanic, world view.

My interest in studying Alfred's philosophical translations arose from a primary intuition about the complexity and uniqueness of this kind of source material in the context of Old English literature. Viewed from a wider cultural perspective, a work of translation witnesses a dialogue between two cultures, and forces of dominance, influence, interest, and acceptance coming into play. The translated text progresses towards the "target" culture; and this route is especially important in the case of the Boethian text: created in the sunset of the Antique world, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* is then chosen from many other works to be read, translated, and spread throughout medieval Europe, accumulating layers of glosses, notes, and commentaries en route. Yet when it reaches Alfredian England, the text assumes features of the local culture, and becomes an invaluable source of information, enabling one to know more about the peculiar mentality of that part of medieval Europe.

My goal in this study was not to simply set the original Latin and vernacular text alongside one another and to discuss their differences from a

formalist and evaluative perspective. Rather, insofar as the access to the material permits, I wanted to see the interplay of ideas and their interpretations within the organic whole which they create, since the premise for such a subjective reading of the texts was my belief in the dynamic and communicative relation between the text and the culture that receives its translation, as well as the discernibility of several—ancient Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, and Christian—cultural layers in the Old English text.

The Boethian *O qui perpetua* is an exceptionally rich representation of the Platonic universe, to which Alfred responds by transforming and changing the original substantially. In my study I argue that whereas the original poem of Boethius presents a Platonic vision of the universe as a projection from the mind of God, the Alfredian verse offers a different concept of the world, a concept originating from both the Christian mentality and the ancient Germanic *Weltanschauung*, which forms an important layer in Alfred's account of the Creation, world structure, and complexity of the human soul. One source for his additions must have been the ninth-century commentary tradition; two commentaries, namely those of Remigius of Auxerre and another of an anonymous author of the ninth century, were investigated as possible representatives of the cultural context for Alfred's work. Besides the commentaries on the *Consolation*, Alfred seems to have been influenced by Augustine, Alcuin and possibly other Christian writers. Consequently, in translating the Boethian text, Alfred transforms the Latin hymn into a lengthy prayer, gives prominence to the Christian idea of God as the Creator of the world, and substitutes the Platonic idea of the *anima mundi* with an elaborate representation of the human soul. God in Alfred's text is the governor of the "middle-earth," an idea which finds its roots in the ancient Germanic notion of the world. Similarly, the abstract flow of time in Boethius is a recurrent change of times and seasons in Alfred, a typical perception of time in the Teutonic mentality. Having demonstrated in my study these particular instances of various influences coming into play in the Old English version of the metre, I conclude with a remark about the emerging figure of the medieval translator-interpreter who balances between Latin and vernacular cultures and meets the challenge of translating a philosophical text.

A number of problems, such as the linguistic investigation of the philosophical terms employed by Alfred, the poetic additions to the Old English text, the problematic interplay of Neoplatonic and Christian ideas in Alfredian England in general, is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study; some of them are undoubtedly promising directions for further interdisciplinary research.



**The *Puerilium Colloquiorum Formulae* of Sebald Heyden in the Context of the Humanist Influences in Sixteenth-Century Poland**

*Olga Skiridova (Russia)*

Thesis supervisor: Katalin Szende

External reader: Carla de Santis (University of Toronto)

One of the most conspicuous features of fifteenth-century humanism was a profound interest in education. Since humanism emphasised the importance of human beings, education for humanists meant the training of the "ideal human being." The concept of the training of the *orator* as the goal of education, and the equal value placed on the concepts of *sapientia* and *eloquentia* encouraged language instruction, that is, the study of grammar and rhetoric, with special emphasis on the latter. One aspect of rhetoric, the *ars predicandi*, had been the subject of the medieval university curriculum, but as a result of humanist reforms it also entered the curriculum of pre-university education. As a consequence, there was a need for manuals for younger students to train them in Latin conversation, and humanist scholars introduced the colloquies, or collections of dialogues, as an innovation in didactic literature. Colloquies should be considered in the broad context of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century literature for children, which can be divided into four major subgroups: religious literature, collections of etiquette rules (*civilitas* literature), literature for entertainment, and *artes* literature. Colloquies are ascribed to this last group.

The objective of this thesis is to see one particular colloquy, the *Puerilium colloquiorum formulae pro primis tyronibus per Sebaldum Heyden ex Comitorum campo hinc inde collecte iam denuo Germanico Polonico ac Ungarico ideomate illustrate*, a manual of school rhetoric, in the context of Latin instruction in sixteenth-century Poland, and to examine its probable compatibility with school practices of the time and innovations in Polish education. It was composed by Sebald Heyden (1498–1561), the rector of St. Sebald's School in Nuremberg (1525–1561). The precise date of the colloquy's compilation has not been established; the earliest known extant copy is the Cracow printing of the book by Hieronym Wietor, dated to August, 1527. Its publication was the result of humanist influences, especially the Erasmian ideas, which promoted classical language education, and it is important not only from the point of view of its relation to Erasmian educational theory, as perceived by the German humanists, but also as a sign of humanist activity at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Cracow, particularly at Cracow University.

This analysis concerns the compatibility of this colloquy with both the new approach to Latin instruction caused by humanist influences and the growing

tendency towards the use of a vernacular language in the instruction process. Like other books of the genre, the *Formulae* was meant to instruct students in Latin conversation, but unlike most colloquies of that time, the *Formulae* contains vernacular translations parallel to the Latin text. We know of at least four editions of the book with a triple translation of each phrase (German, Polish, and Hungarian). All four editions were published in Cracow between 1527 and 1552. The cooperation of the Cracow printer Hieronym Wietor with members of the Cracow humanist circle, when the printer tried to supply the demand for new language manuals, was the reason for the printing of the book in the quadrilingual format. The incorporation of the three vernacular translations may be accounted for by the growing tendency to apply the vernacular language in the instruction process. The choice of the those languages available in the book was due to the printer's concern to target as many customers as possible: besides the Polish-speaking audience, he was aware of the considerable German-speaking community of Cracow and of the potential market in neighbouring Hungary. In particular, it is an evidence of the significant impact made by the University and the Cracow intellectual community on Hungarian culture: the Hungarian translation of the dialogues, made by János Sylvester, the *senior* of the *Bursa Ungarorum* of Cracow University, is considered the oldest print in Hungarian. The numerous later reprints demonstrate the significant acclaim the *Formulae* received: at least five editions of the book with Latin phrases and their German translations. The book was also published with translations into different vernaculars (Danish, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, and Czech).

The compiler's intention to address the manual to absolute beginners is considered critically. Despite the quite trivial situations of the book's dialogues, and therefore very elementary nature of the vocabulary used, the linguistic content of the book utilises a number of elements of advanced Latin grammar, possibly unfamiliar to beginners: the author could not avoid them, due to their functional necessity in Latin. Moreover, as is demonstrated by linguistic analysis, the correlation of the Latin text and the Polish translation does not ensure the comprehension of the advanced grammatical functions used in Latin. The translator either could not provide a calque translation, due to structural differences between the two languages, or intentionally avoided that and provided idiomatic but structurally different translations.

The authorship of the Polish and Hungarian vernacular translations is not debatable: they are ascribed to Anzelm Ephoryn, the editor and author of the introduction to the book, and to János Sylvester, respectively both members of the Cracow humanist circle. The German translation, traditionally ascribed to the compiler of the collection, could have been made at the insistence of the

Cracow printer Wietor either by Sebald Heyden or by Ephoryn. First of all, the practice of including the vernacular translations in the colloquy was not widespread among the German humanists of the time: it ran counter to the theory of Erasmus about the minimal use of the vernacular in language instruction. The fact that Wietor had previously provided a German translation for a book of a similar type published in his workshop also supports the hypothesis about his authorship. Moreover, neither the title of the Cracow edition nor that of the later 1528 Strasbourg edition state that Heyden translated the Latin text. The dialect of the German text in the book identified as Bavarian-Austrian also suggests Wietor's authorship, as he had spent a long time in Vienna, where he had a workshop. Sebald Heyden would have used Eastern Franconian, considering the audience of his hometown of Nuremberg. However, this hypothesis can be proved only if we assume that the Strasbourg edition used the Cracow edition as a source, since the comparison of the German translations in those two editions reveals their textual identity (with very insignificant changes). However, this thesis also allows the possibility that the book, most likely in manuscript form, already had the German translations when Wietor acquired it, but he changed the dialect. To decide which hypothesis is valid we need more linguistic evidence.

The implementation of the book in school practices of sixteenth-century Poland is not extensively documented. However, despite claims that Polish education practices were still strongly dominated by the medieval scholastic tradition in the first half of the sixteenth century, the evidence about the implementation of similar manuals and the four later editions of the *Formulae* in Cracow allows us to suppose the existence of rhetoric instruction at the post-elementary level, and consequently, the use of colloquies in Polish education practices of that time.

**The History of the Țirgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely) Franciscan Friary:  
A Comparative Study of Transylvanian Franciscan Architecture**

*Zoltán Soós (Romania)*

Thesis supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External reader: András Kubinyi (ELTE, Budapest)

A historical study of a building in general contains a lot of information, not just about the architecture itself. It can provide information about the cultural relations of a community, or of an area; furthermore, from it one can find out the activity of the community which created that site, with a certain reason. The

buildings, of course, were adapted to the field of activity of their respective communities.

The Franciscan friary of Țirgu Mureș reveals some new aspects of Franciscan activity in Transylvania, such as the relations of the order with society, identified through the donors or through architecture.

The main part of the thesis is formed by the analysis of the friary. The description presents first the documentary sources on the building history, completed by a description of the existing buildings. Then it presents the archaeological material. Putting all this together, I have tried to establish a relative and an absolute chronology of the buildings, taking into account the analysis of the Țirgu Mureș friary buildings, as well as the local architectural trends. Based on these, I have established four major construction phases as follows:

- 1) The first phase is from the first half of the fourteenth century.
- 2) The second phase is from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.
- 3) The third phase is from the middle of the fifteenth century.
- 4) The fourth phase is from the late fifteenth century.

The next step is the presentation of the functions of the friary in the Middle Ages. The existence of a scriptorium was identified; there was probably also some teaching activity, and it was quite an important pilgrimage centre from the 1400s on. It could be possible that the friary was a centre of missionary activity towards Moldova, which is very probable if we take account of the fact that the friary was the second founded after Bistrița, and in documents it is mentioned as being *in metis Tatariae*. As we know, the Franciscans had missions among the Tatars, who at that time were in Moldova.

Another important element is the architectural influence of the friary over the architecture of the area. The most visible evidence is provided by the tower type of the friary with four small towers on the corners of the tower, which one can see on several church towers in the Marosszék (Szék County) area.

It was an important task to place this friary in a certain historical and regional context, in order to make it more comprehensible why this friary appeared here, what its role was, and what its importance was. This historical and regional context is created through the presentation of the Franciscan friaries in Transylvania. From this one can ascertain that Țirgu Mureș was one of the most important friaries of the Franciscans in Transylvania, and it was founded among the first ones. One can discover that while in the fourteenth century there was a relative stagnation in the foundation of new friaries, the fifteenth century, with the appearance of the Observant branch, was the most flourishing period of the Franciscans, having several new foundations.

I would like to mention another aspect of the research on this topic, namely the new questions arising related to the role Mendicant orders played in urbanisation. Besides the two main factors of Transylvanian urbanisation, bringing colonists (Saxons) and the role of the salt trade, the mendicants could be a third factor in this respect. However, more research should be done on this aspect of the role of the Mendicants in Transylvanian urbanisation.

From detailed research into one Franciscan friary, one can understand better the circumstances which influenced the construction style, evolution, and activity of the Franciscans in this area.

### **The Legend of the Emperor Maurice in the Greek and Syriac Sources**

*Mikhail Tkatchenko (Russia)*

Thesis supervisors: István Perczel, János Bak

External reader: Wolfram Hörandner (Universität Wien)

The topic of the present work is the legendary stories which appeared after the execution of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice. Although there exist different stories connected with the name of Maurice, such as the accounts of the survival of different members of his family (in fact executed with him or some time later), this study concentrates on the most important legend concerning Maurice that appeared in later accounts—the legend about the sin, repentance, and punishment of the Emperor.

At a certain point a tradition appeared in Byzantine historical literature describing the terrible death of Maurice as a punishment deliberately chosen by the Emperor in order to atone for his mortal sin—his refusal to ransom from the khagan of the Avars his captured troops, which in turn, provoked the massacre of these troops by the Avars. Strangely enough, this explanation is first encountered in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, written at the beginning of the ninth century, and remained almost unchangeable in later accounts of the period. The task of the present work is to try to analyse the dynamics of the development of this legend and to find a possible explanation for its coming into existence.

The first chapter of the work provides a brief introduction to the historical situation of the beginning of the seventh century and a brief overview of the scholarly works dealing with the subject of the present work.

In the second chapter, the major Greek historical works dealing with the period are analysed, in order to discern the crucial points and periods in the development of the legend. It will be argued that the Greek historical tradition

about the Emperor Maurice passed through two successive periods: during the seventh and eighth centuries there existed a number of different accounts about the death of the Emperor which do not yet seem to have included the legendary cycle of sin-repentance-punishment, while at the beginning of the ninth century there appeared a legend based on the cycle which underwent only minor changes in the later sources.

In the second chapter the Syriac accounts concerning the reign of Maurice are examined. As is clear from the analysis, there existed two independent traditions in the Syriac literature dealing with the period of the Emperor Maurice: while the historiographical tradition represented by chronicles (whether Nestorian or Jacobite) tended to criticise Maurice and to emphasise his deficiencies as an Emperor, there existed a Nestorian *History of Holy Maurice* which clearly considered him to be a saint. The explanation for this tendency proposed in the chapter is that of a probable planned reconciliation of the Nestorian and Byzantine Churches during the reign of the Emperor, which made him extremely popular in Nestorian circles (Greek as well as Syrian).

In the third chapter, Greek and Syriac historical traditions are compared and analysed in order to find possible interdependencies and influences. As a result of this comparison it will be argued that the legend developed syncretically, as a result of a combination of the two different traditions: the Greek tradition, which advanced the idea that the death of the Emperor was a punishment for the massacre of his troops, and the tradition of the Syriac *History of Holy Maurice*, considering Maurice to be a saint. Accordingly, while in the Greek sources Maurice is a rather ambiguous figure, having to endure punishment in order to save his soul, in the Syriac *History of Holy Maurice* he deliberately chooses to endure the torture in order to achieve the highest rank among the saints.

This explanation, if true, permits us to conclude that the Syriac *History of Holy Maurice* is only a late outcome of the Syriac hagiographical tradition dealing with the Emperor Maurice, one which was strongly influenced by Greek historiography.

## The Relation Between Augustine's Conception of Signs and His Epistemology

Gusztáv Varga (Yugoslavia)

Thesis supervisors: György Geréby

External reader: Péter Lautner (Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Budapest/Piliscsaba)

My intention in this thesis is to carry out an investigation into the relation between Saint Augustine's conception of signs and his epistemology and to prove, by comparing these two fields, that cognition is the concept of primary importance.

In the field of Augustine's conception of signs many considerable essays have been written. Most of these writings deal with the examination of Augustine's thoughts about signs. However, none of them describe the relationship between his conception of signs and his thoughts about the acquisition of knowledge.

Augustine deals with signs most particularly in four of his works: *Principia dialecticae*, *De magistro*, *De doctrina christiana* and *De trinitate*. In my thesis I shall analyse these writings. Here Augustine sheds light on the crucial concepts of his sign theory and defines their relations. These concepts are the following: *verbum* (word=sign), *res* (thing; whatever is felt or understood or hidden) and *signum* (sign; something, which presents itself to the senses, and something other than itself to the mind) as well as their manifestations. A word is always the sign of something (or, better, some *thing*), which the hearer understands when the speaker pronounces the word. The thing signified is the *significatum*; it is the thing the sign stands for. The relation between the sign and the *significatum* is established by the *significatio*. Augustine uses this term in a multifold sense: in the sense of meaning and in the sense of a kind of power, by which the word evokes a thought in the mind of the hearer. From Augustine's definition of the sign it follows that the sign stands, on the one hand, in a relation to its *significatum*, and on the other, in a relation to the subject, to whom the sign is meaningful. The subject is the third concept in the relation; this is the element of mediation between the *signum* and the *significatum*. For the interpretation of the role of this element, we must distinguish the two parties in the speech act: these are the speaker and the hearer. The speaker has in his mind something to say. This is the *dicibile* (sayable or utterable) which I shall call the formulated thought. The speaker orders voices to this thought and directs them toward the hearer. In cases when the power of the *significatio* in the hearer's mind evokes a thought similar to that of the speaker, it means that the hearer has understood the words. In this case, the hearer is able to reconstruct the speaker's thought.

This observation is implicit in Augustine's definition of the *dicibile*: on the part of the hearer, *dicibile* is something which is understood in the word, and that of the speaker, this definition means something which is in the mind of the speaker. As far as the speaker is concerned, the *dictio* conveys messages between *res* and *dicibile*, as a necessary communication about *something*.

A complete examination reveals that even though these definitions are mainly concepts of Augustine's thoughts about signs, the epistemological relation should not be ignored. When the questions "What can we speak about and how? What do we understand of others' teaching and message?" are raised, Augustine places an emphasis on cognition. In fact, the listener will not be able to recognise that *something*, the object of conversation, through communication (second-hand knowledge). The sensual cognition of the *corporalia* and the understanding/illumination of the *spiritualia-intelligibilia* is always personally acquired (first-hand knowledge), compared to which the importance of others' communication is degraded. Thus, the *res* increases in importance. Even the *significatio* can function only if the participants in the communication know the thing itself, which is signified by the sign. Only signs can be conveyed and taught. However, we ourselves have to discover their relations, contents, and references.

If signs are insufficient means of conveying thoughts, why does Augustine deal with signs at all? One answer may be that Augustine investigates both the role of signs during the process of thinking, and the role of signs in the interpretation of the Bible. Although signs in Holy Scripture are similar to those in other written materials, the signs of the Bible express God's thoughts. Until we are able to understand them, we have only to believe. We have to believe in God's words, in the truths of the Bible, and with this precondition we have to search for the secret meaning of these signs.

Examining the process of thinking, I investigate the relationship between *verbum quod intus lucet* and *dicibile*, and come to the conclusion that Augustine, to some extent, liberates thinking from its descriptive feature. According to Augustine, seeing and speaking inside are the same; therefore the word which shines (*lucet*) inside relates to the capacity of inner seeing, not only to the capacity of inner speaking.

As I hope will be evident, the reason for the problematic status of signs in Augustine is linked to epistemological considerations rather than purely linguistic ones.



## Credit Activity of the Catholic Church in the Medieval Diocese of Cracow

*Grzegorz Zabiński (Poland)*

Thesis supervisors: János M. Bak, Balázs Nagy, Gerhard Jaritz

External readers: Richard Hoffman (York University), Winfried Schich  
(Humboldt Universität, Berlin)

The purpose of the research is an overview of the engagement of ecclesiastical participants in credit operations (money-lending and money-borrowing). It examines this engagement from several points of view: the activity of particular ecclesiastical factors and its evolution in the course of time, forms of credit applied, aims of activity, social groups involved in contracts with the clergy, and the relationship between the volume of ecclesiastical credit and the Church's indebtedness. It focuses also on the correlation between the Church's anti-usury laws and its credit practice. The sources include editions of charters and court books, as well as ecclesiastical legislation and examples of theological treatises. The main method applied is a quantitative-qualitative analysis of data.

Chapter 1 focuses on the diocesan legislation concerning credit and usury (synodal statutes), as well as on other examples of the Church's rules and attitudes concerning the matter. It is stated that on account of the presence of relevant regulations (also referring explicitly to the clergy) in the legislation, it may be said that the Church considered usury as an actual and ardent danger.

Chapter 2 presents the relationship between clerical and secular activity: although the clerical share was relatively minute, it was of considerable importance for particular participants, with special reference to the Cracow town council. Furthermore, two periods may be distinguished in clerical activity: 1251-1399, and 1400-1497: the one is marked by the preponderance of liens as a basic form of credit, and the leading role of rural monasteries; the other is dominated by rent purchases and the presence of the urban clergy. Moreover, in the second period, two important participants—the Crown, and the Cracow town council—predominate among the debtors of ecclesiastical creditors.

Chapter 3 analyses the first period, stressing the differences in the structure of monastic participants in credit operations, and the division into money-lending and money-borrowing orders. It underlines the role of other factors (bishops, cathedral chapter, collegiate churches, and parish clergy), attempting a presentation of certain patterns concerning types of credit, and the clergy's counter-partners in contracts. Finally, it stresses the diversification of the participants' motivation and aims (political, charitable, extension of land property, and so on).

Chapter 4 presents the changes in the ecclesiastical activity in the fifteenth century—a preponderance of urban clergy (altarists, hospitals, parish clergy, the university), a shift towards rent purchases, a relative withdrawal of rural monasteries, and an increase in the importance of urban orders. The fifteenth century is dominated by debts contracted by royal and municipal authorities (chiefly the town of Cracow), and almost all clerical creditors (save rural monasteries and rural parish clergy) indulge in this profitable business; moreover, there is a correlation between the volume of loans to these debtors, and the political situation of the kingdom.

Chapter 5 analyses the issues of interest rates and usury, stating the fact of visible differences between interest rates in contracts between clerical participants and various secular parties. It is stated that the level of usuriousness of clerical activity did not transgress the frontiers of common practice. Finally, there is evidence to testify to the practical impact of the Church's legislation and the enforcement of its rules.

In the conclusion, the most important tendencies in ecclesiastical activity are underlined; it is stated that, save *vif-gages*, forms of credit applied by clergy were not different from those occurring in contracts between secular parties, although one notices a special preference of the clergy for rent purchases, which were not widely applied in deals between nobility. Stress is laid on a general trend towards the "urbanisation" of clerical credit in the fifteenth century. A variety of participants' motivations and aims is underlined, with particular reference to the political importance of ecclesiastical loans in the fifteenth century. The tendencies in the diocesan clergy's activity are roughly the same as in other parts of Latin Europe, although certain peculiarities (like the Cistercians' abstaining from rent contracts, as opposed to the situation in Silesia) obtain. Finally, it is underlined that this work by no means comprises all the aspects of ecclesiastical credit activity, presenting only its main tendencies, and further research, focusing both on the activity of particular institutions and on clerical presence in particular markets, is necessary. Of essential importance is the necessity of applying more modern methodology, concentrating on quantitative analysis, not only on description of the phenomena.

## On Origen's Conception of Time

*Giga Zedania (Georgia)*

Thesis supervisor: István Perczel

External readers: Carlos Steel (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven),

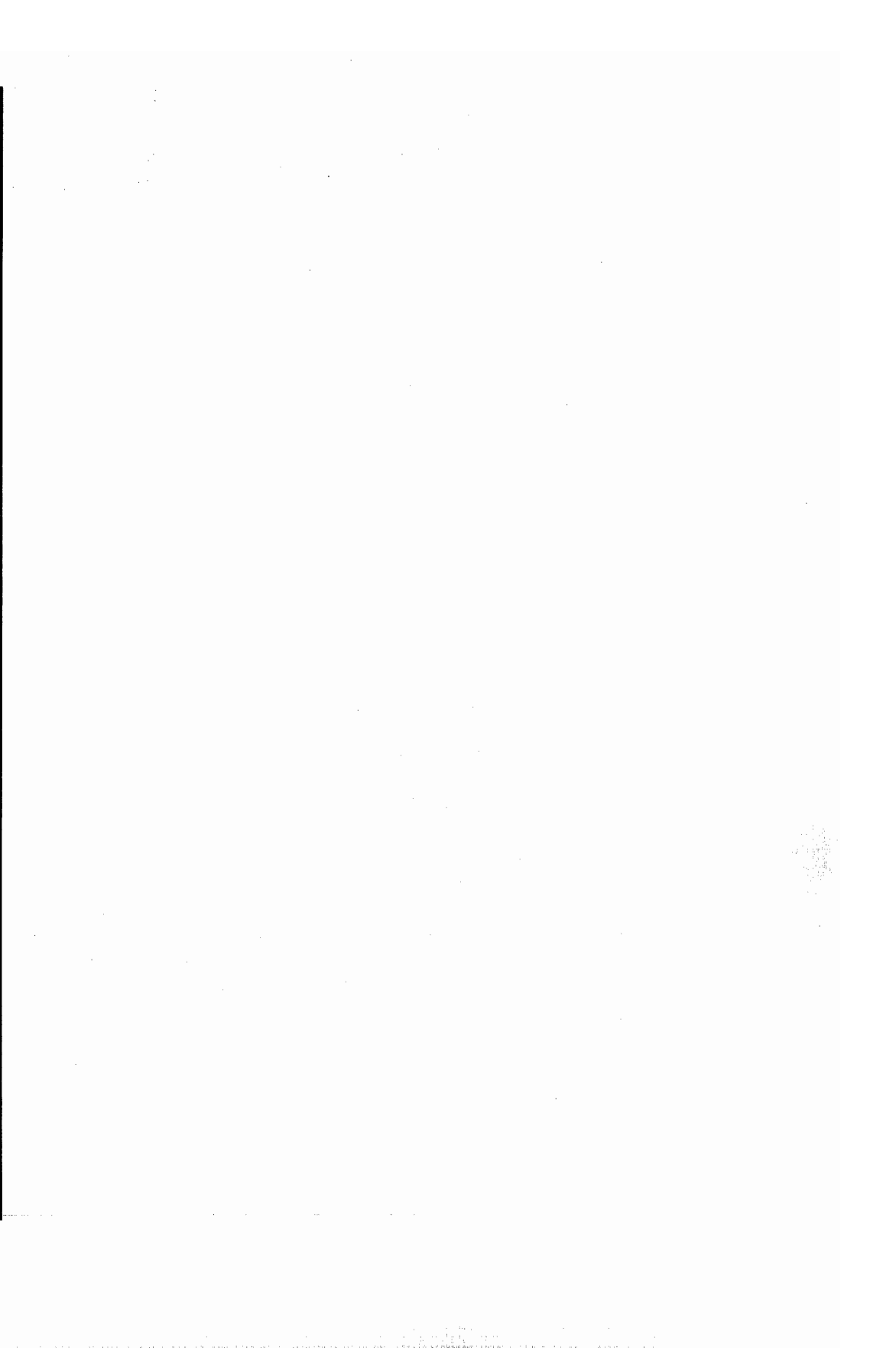
Alain Le-Boulluec (EPHF/SR, Paris)

With distinction

This study aims at an analysis of certain aspects of Origen's conception of time, a problem usually dealt with in the scholarship from the point of view of history, in accordance with which either the ahistorical character of Origen's system is deplored, or his genuinely Christian understanding of historicity is defended.

I have attempted to shift the focus from the time of history to the time of the individual, as presupposed by certain of Origen's conceptions. This finds a foundation in his anthropology. But it is to be asked whether this "human time" has further foundations in Origen's metaphysics. The study attempts to sketch the time of the ascent of the soul and to ascertain to what the time of the descent should correspond, the latter being the foundation for all the other aspects of temporality analysed in the study. Drawing upon certain parallels between Origen's conceptions and those of Plotinus, and treating Didymus the Blind as a possible source for the information on Origen's *Commentarii in Genesim*, no longer extant, the thesis endeavours to demonstrate that for Origen, just as for Plotinus, the physical time is preceded by the time of the souls, which follows their initial movement.

Chapter One discusses the question of time in the context of the Creation, which makes Origen's explicit conception of time accessible to us. It discusses the reversal concerning the question of time brought about by Plotinus (subordinating sensible movement to time, as against the whole philosophical tradition anterior to him), and suggests that a similar conception can be found in Origen. The second and third chapters present the time unfolding in the soul of the Christian believer, a time which cannot be reduced to the historical time of salvation. The fourth chapter takes up the theme hinted at in the first, and develops the issue of similarity between Origen's and Plotinus' conceptions of the primary movement of the souls. The fifth chapter discusses the question of time in relation to the different types of exegesis elaborated in Origen's hermeneutics.



## REPORT ON THE PH.D. PROGRAM

*István Perczel*

The director of the Ph.D. program at the Department of Medieval Studies finds himself in an embarrassing situation when he has to report on the activities of the 1999/2000 academic year. What to report on, when seemingly nothing important, new, or spectacular happened? The program simply smoothly went on its way, following the tracks already designed by the development and fervent organizational work of the past years. One finds himself in the position of the journalist who, to his great embarrassment, has been sent to a peaceful country. What to write about, if one has not been the eyewitness to any scandal, atrocity, or even popular demonstration? However, I think that for our academic work the best recommendation is if it functions calmly in equilibrium and silently yields its fruits. In fact, the most spectacular events of the past academic year were the four successful doctoral defences. This was the best crop we have ever had since the program began. But more about that later. Another matter of pride for us is that when new university-wide regulations for the Ph.D. programs were introduced, it turned out that our departmental program had largely anticipated those changes.

### *The dissertation committees and the field exams*

During this academic year the *a posteriori* creation of the dissertation committees was completed, so that no student who began his/her doctoral studies under different conditions remained without such an international body supervising their work. Meanwhile, naturally, the new committees for those students who passed from the status of probationary doctoral candidates to that of full doctoral candidates continued to be created. The committees function well, a fact that we could measure at the defences in a way that the committee members willingly attended and played a very active role. In this way, when it became a university-wide requirement to find an international co-advisor beside the thesis supervisor for each doctoral student, our program had no new task to accomplish.

Although the field exams and the prospectus defences generally went quite well, still they gave rise to some discontent. The experience gained during the exams in the past academic year prompted us to care during the present year for more thorough preparatory work. It turned out that one should try to avoid too narrow field exam topics, concerning which the committee finds itself in the difficult position of not being able to ask relevant questions. Past experience also convinced us that the importance of his examination, combined with the defence of the dissertation prospectus, should be enhanced even more than before. This is the most important moment of the probationary year, when the aptitude of the Ph.D. candidate to accomplish independent research and to complete the tasks set forward is tested, the next such opportunity occurring only at the thesis defence. I am particularly pleased to stress two facts here: the substantial input of the scholars who had been asked to assess the prospecti and whose thorough work bore well-perceptible fruits, as well as the enthusiastic and very efficient participation of our recurrent visiting professors in the defences. Let me especially thank here Profs. Nancy van Deusen, Kaspar Elm, and Patrick Geary for their invaluable help and good advice given to the students at the exams.

#### *The doctoral seminars*

As mentioned in the previous *Annual*, these seminars constitute the focal point and the backbone of our whole doctoral program. They consist of two parts: "research seminars," where the students and the professors meet in smaller numbers—three groups in fact—and of "plenary seminars"—the meeting point of all the students and the faculty who currently reside in Budapest. The essential feature of the "research seminars" is a good, relaxed atmosphere, where intense workshop work is going on, while the "plenary seminars" in principle allow the entire academic community to learn about and to assess each other's work. Our aim is to transform these occasions from a formal event, where it is obligatory to participate and where students feel as if they were at an exam, into real faculty-doctoral seminars, where everyone is eager to present the results of his or her own research in order to get feedback from his or her closest colleagues. This is why we have abandoned all formal features reminiscent of any kind of reckoning; the plenary seminars should be the place for free intellectual exchange between scholars—be they "senior" or "junior." Why do I say, then, that these occasions should be "transformed" and that this is "our aim," giving the impression that it is a hard task to render something light and pleasant? Because this paradox is only too real. The seminars I (we?) dream about suppose a change of mentality. Students should not feel like

students, that is, dependent beings exposed to the good or bad will of their superiors—a hard task indeed—and professors should not feel like professors either—an even harder task for us—but like scholars whose performance will not be judged according to their academic rank, but according to their scholarly merit. And if judgement will be rendered, it will not be done by anybody in the position of the judge, but by an entire community. Thus the fundamental equality and freedom of scholarly life should be experienced at these occasions, an equality, which, although constantly compromised in the institutional framework, nonetheless remains one of the main and unconditional principles of scholarship.

Having stated the ideals, what can we say about their implementation? Perhaps that the situation is improving and that even if we never reach the ideal state we aspire to, every step in this direction is worth the effort. And already more than one step has been made ...

#### *Defences and Pre-Defences*

In the last study year four doctoral candidates defended their Ph.D. theses and a fifth student had her pre-defence before a successful official defence at the beginning of this year. These were

- 1) Damir Karbić; thesis title: *The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*; thesis supervisor: János Bak; defence on January 11, 2000; grade: *magna cum laude* after some required changes were introduced;
- 2) György Heidl; thesis title: *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine*;<sup>1</sup> thesis supervisor: István Perczel; defence on May 10, 2000; grade: *summa cum laude*;
- 3) Levan Giginishvili; thesis title: *The Platonic Theology of Ioanne Petritsi*; thesis supervisor: István Perczel; defence on May 15, 2000; grade: *magna cum laude*, after some required changes;
- 4) Annamária Kovács; thesis title: *Court, Fashion and Representation: The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle Revisited*; thesis supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay; defence on June 22, 2000; grade: *magna cum laude*.
- 5) Finally the pre-defence of Anu Mänd; thesis title: *The Urban Festival in Late Medieval Livonia: Norm, Practice, Perception*; thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz, took place during the Kalamazoo medieval conference in May, 2000. She

---

<sup>1</sup> Professor Robert Markus from the University of Nottingham, one of the members of the examination committee, told me after the defence: "I don't know about any school in the world where this thesis would not be accepted."

## Report on the Ph.D. Program

defended successfully her thesis on October 13, 2000, but this is already another story.

All this is really good and a matter for satisfaction, but there are also lessons to learn. It is not “elegant” to grant a degree pending ulterior corrections. Pre-defences were established precisely to screen the deficiencies and possible errors that still remain in the thesis. The defence should rather be a triumphant entry into the world of full-fledged scholars. Hopefully, the lessons learned at these occasions will help us—once again, students, faculty, and staff together—to eliminate such flaws.



## PH.D. DEFENCES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1999/2000

### Dissertation summaries

#### **The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred**

*Damir Karbić (Croatia)*

The main objective of the dissertation was to study how different elements of the structure and its history influenced the kindred's cohesion or the solidarity among its members. This was researched on the example of the Šubić kindred of Bribir, a castle in medieval Croatia. The kindred was one of the most prominent noble kindred's in Croatia. At the climax of their power they managed to impose their control on a relatively wide region, comprising the medieval Kingdom of Croatia and the surrounding regions of Bosnia and Hum. They succeeded in obtaining legitimization of their high status, relying either on the king, Venice, or the papacy, but in spite of that they were gradually reduced to their matrix territory and thereafter ceased to play any important political role, remaining a kind of middling nobility of the region. The thesis follows the history of the kindred over some 350 years, beginning with the late eleventh century and finishing with the late fifteenth and early sixteenth, when it finally disintegrated.

After completing the examination of five major aspects of kindred's structure (kinship ties, common cults, common estates, residences, and symbols), it appears that they all contributed to maintaining kindred's cohesion, although, to a different extent. It also seems that relationship between kinship structure and power, as well as the relationships of kinsmen based on loyalties other than kinship (*familia*) was rather important and had tangible effects on kindred's development.

The review of issues related to kinship relations shows that the kindred was, at least from the mid-fourteenth century, more than a loose assembly of separate families. The contemporaries apparently were of that opinion, because they used separate terms (*genus* or *generatio*, *pleme*, and so on) for describing this

structure. On the other hand, it should be stressed that this terminology belongs only to a later period, while in the earlier the group was defined by using a "kindred's name" or a kind of predicate (e.g. *Breberiensis*), sometimes accompanied by words referring to their social position (*comites*) or belonging to the kinship group (*fratres*). The major threat for kindred's cohesion was rather the too strong increase in power of one branch which led to the reduction of other branches to the status of retainers. The basic patrilinear counting of proximity was replaced by one based on other criteria, in the first place on the connection to the leading person. However, even in these moments, it seems that collective rights to name, title, common residence and burial place were never challenged, not even during cases of open internal conflicts.

In most respects it does not seem that the Šubići were very different than other families or kindreds of their social layer. That little what is known about relations between family members does not contradict basically the rules expressed in customary law (at least not more than in cases of other noble kindreds). The structure was rather patriarchal, although it does not necessarily mean that the position of women was absolutely inferior. Some wives of Šubići were quite influential in the kindred's affairs, although their position was primarily derived from their husbands, fathers and brothers (if they were members of the kindred) or sons. It seems that the prevalent marriage pattern was social endogamy and thus rather dependent on kindred's current social position and the goals they wanted to achieve. Thus, at the height of its power the main branch concluded marriages on a rather wide area, while in most of time the marriages were concluded in a fairly limited circle of local Croatian nobility and urban elite of neighbouring Dalmatian cities (in the first place of Zadar).

Religion and common cult had an important role in kindred's life, but it was also influenced by relations of power within the kindred. Thus, only some cultic elements contributed to maintaining kindred's solidarity, while others were only result of individual policy or devotion of single members. The main element of cohesion was patronage over the Franciscan convent of the Blessed Virgin in Bribir, used as the most important burial place of the Šubići, and to a lesser extent that over the parish church of St. John the Evangelist, the seat of Bribir's archpriest. Other foundations were limited to a relatively narrow circle of immediate descendants of a founder and never got common acceptance. It may be argued that they were even meant to make a difference of rank for the founder (as is apparent in the case of Ban Paul).

Regarding the estates, the actual holding of them was divided between members and branches, and what kept them together were inheritance rights. There are no cases referring expressly to property held in common. Formal division was not done either, but in practice the estates were apparently divided

several times (perhaps even in each generation). In that way they probably avoided the possibility that the crown would reclaim property right on the extinction of a line.

Another feature showing the importance of property matters for maintaining the kindred's cohesion was that acquired property was treated as belonging to the whole kindred or better to say to all kinsmen, even if he or his ancestor were not included in original grant. To begin with, everyone among the Šubići had the right to the title of a count of Bribir as well as the right to the county and the estates there, although the donation was given only to a group of the kinsmen. This rule was applied exclusively to properties in or near Bribir, while estates gained outside (e.g. in Slavonia) were considered as individual or family property. It is possible that it was due to the idea that all area of Bribir was a kind of "sphere of interest" or former property of the Šubići, and thus, considered common.

Contrary to the property rights, real possession of estates was in all likelihood strictly individual. There are only few cases where the approval of kinsmen to a particular transaction was needed, and that usually only of the very close ones. During his lifetime the owner had almost unlimited right of disposal of his property, including the right to alienate it, and that it was generally accepted by other kinsmen. Serious conflicts about property within the kindred are not recorded. Of course, it does not necessarily mean that there were none, since they might have been settled within the kindred without the intervention of outsiders and left no record. Thus, they could not have been major disagreements.

The members of the kindred had several residences, but they did not have equal importance for kindred's cohesion. In fact, only the castle of Bribir had cohesive quality, while all other residences were treated as individual property. This rule was apparently applied regardless of type of a residence—from a castle to a fortified house or a city palace.

Symbolic importance of Bribir may be seen from the fact that even though the members did not live together, each branch or individual had a palace there. That was influenced by the nature of Bribir, which was not a castle *stricto sensu* but a small fortified town. In spite of that, it was always referred as a unity (*castrum Breberiz*) including in itself also other buildings of ecclesiastical or economic nature, and it was apparently managed by a group of leading members of the kindred. It seems that it was inhabited exclusively by the Šubići, their households, and ecclesiastical persons under their patronage (apparently also considered as part of the retinue). The other inhabitants lived in the adjacent *suburbium* (*sub Breberio*). Another element pointing to the primarily symbolic value of Bribir was that the Šubići used it as their predicate even after they moved onto their neighbouring estates (sometimes parallel to the name of new

residence). The title continued to be used also in cases when the Šubići definitively abandoned it, at least for some time.

The only other symbol which had significance for kindred's cohesion was apparently the coat of arms. It seems that another heraldic element (crest) did not play significant role. The coat of arms was apparently used in unchanged form by all members. There are two extant variants (one- and two-winged), but it seems that they do not have distinctive quality. Later, after the abandoning of Bribir and the diaspora of the Šubići in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, families originating from the kindred still used both variants with or without small additions, and even if they merged it with another coat of arms they still continued to use the original heraldic symbols even later.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss briefly to what extent, regarding these characteristics, the Šubići may be treated as a paradigm for the study of noble kindreds. It is hard to give an affirmative answer, taking into account their specific development, but it seems so. Beside that, it is hard to say what was the "typical" development. The Šubići apparently did follow the same patterns as others, except in political matters. They might have been little better-off, possess a more prestigious residence than most of the others, but according to what we know generally about the nobility of Croatia and Hungary, it seems that my study confirms the model. Of course, since there is no other modern and detailed monograph, with the exception of *The Elefánthy* by Erik Fügedi, it is impossible to be more definite about this.

The Examination Committee at the public defense on January 11, 2000 comprised Professor Drago Roksandić (CEU), chair; Professor János M. Bak (CEU), supervisor; Professor Janet L. Nelson (King's College, London), external examiner; Dr. Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Zagreb), external examiner; Dr. Pál Engel (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), external examiner.

## **Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine**

*György Heidl (Hungary)*

### **The general purpose**

The main purpose of the dissertation is to demonstrate the thesis that as early as the first phase of his activity (386–393 AD), Augustine did make use of some Origenian works and the main elements of his early theology were derived from the Alexandrian master. I argue that he probably read the two Homilies on the Song of Songs translated by Jerome and that he may have read a Latin

compilation of Origen's Commentary on Genesis. This theses and their sub-theses, explained in the dissertation, run counter to the scholarly communis opinio. The generally accepted view is that before the 400s Augustine did not read Origen, and the presence of some Origenian ideas in his early works are due to such intermediary sources as the speeches of Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, or some oral tradition (e.g. Altaner 1967 (=1951); Pépin 1954; 1987; Vannier 1987; Teske 1991/1; idem 1992.).

### **The interpretation of *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5 and *De beata vita* 1.4.**

I examined Augustine's first account of his conversion as it is described in *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5 and I compared this text with the narrative in *De beata vita* 1.4 as well as with the chapters of the *Confessions* in which Augustine explains in more detail the process of his conversion to Catholic Christianity. What forced me to re-interpret these accounts of conversion was the astonishing feature of the *Confessions* that it does not at all mention any of the Christian writings that Augustine had read. He "heard" Ambrose's sermons (see *Conf.* 5.13–14; 6.4), and "heard" about the *Vita Antonii* (see *Conf.* 8.6.14; 8.12.29). It seemed to me impossible that the young Augustine, who always looked for wisdom in books, converted to Christianity without being familiar with some Christian theological or exegetical works. In addition, an important remark in *De ordine* 1.11.31, where Augustine calls Monica's attention to *maiores nostri, quorum libros tibi nobis legentibus notos esse video*, and which remark obviously refers to non-contemporary Christian authorities, reveals that not only the speeches of Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, and Manlius Theodorus, the well educated Milanese Christian, transmitted the ideas of Christianity to Augustine, but also some books of his contemporaries and, especially, preceding Christian authors.

Having analyzed *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5, in contrast to O'Meara (1970) and Madec (1971), I came to the conclusion that the books which in the passage Augustine refers to as *libri pleni*, and which obviously strongly influenced him immediately before his conversion, may have contained some works of Origen. The metaphor that Augustine used to describe these books and the impact that they had on him served as a starting point for such an argumentation. Two basic elements of this mysterious metaphor (the books "exhaled Arabian fragrances" and "instilled very few drops of most precious unguent") became clear when they were compared to Origen's allegorical explanation of certain verses of the *Song of Songs* as it was described in his two *Homilies* which were accessible to Augustine in 386 in Milan. I maintained that Augustine chose to characterise the books with the particular image because he found it in the books themselves.

Accordingly, the narrative in the *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5 and the seemingly parallel text in *De beata vita* 1.4 required a new approach. In fact, contrary to the generally accepted view, the greatest intellectual experience of Augustine seems to have been his encounter not with Platonic or Neoplatonic books, but with those of Origen. After reading Plotinus and studying the Scriptures, he was prepared for understanding the spiritual exegesis of Origen. I hypothesise that it was Simplicianus, the respected leader of the “Milanese circle,” who gave Origen’s writings to Augustine. At the same time, Simplicianus was the person who introduced a sort of philosophical and intellectual Christianity to Augustine which, at substantial points, differed from the faith of Ambrose, who completely rejected the pagan philosophical tradition. Concerning Ambrose’s attitude towards Origen, I am in full agreement with Savon, 1998.

### **The Interpretation of *Confessions* 8.12**

The famous narrative of the “garden scene” in *Confessions* 8.12 may also support this proposition. When recalling the moment of his conversion, in the *Confessions*, Augustine created an allegory which, as the juxtaposition of the text may reveal, was influenced by a passage of Origen’s *Commentary on the Song of Songs*. As far as I know the “garden scene” has never been interpreted from this viewpoint.

### **An Answer to the Most Crucial Question Concerning the Main Thesis of the Dissertation**

In relation to the main thesis of the dissertation, the most crucial question arises as to why Augustine does not mention in the *Confessions* his encounter with Origen’s books. In order to answer this question I suggested taking into account the fact that the *Confessions* is not a reliable document for investigating the intellectual focus of Augustine’s conversion. The bishop placed emphases on the moral part of his conversion and on the effect that the exemplary lives of some Christians had on him. It is not only the encounter with the Origenian books that Augustine leaves unmentioned in the *Confessions*. He did not mention his experience with the Manichaean understanding of Paul, a fact that Ferrari (1991) rightly emphasised. In my view, the omission of the Manichaean Paul and that of the Origenian books from the *Confessions* must be connected. A survey in the *Confessions* of the Manichaean Augustine’s understanding of Paul would have required an account of how this understanding changed to the

moment when the reading of a particular Pauline verse resulted in his conversion to Catholic Christianity.

Another reason of Augustine's silence about Origen seems to be the Origenist controversy which had risen in the second half of 393 in Palestine and reached the Latin West in the very years when Augustine was working on his Confessions. We know that in the early 400s, Augustine was informed about the controversy. However, I emphasised that in the 390s, Augustine was aware of the change in Jerome's view with regard to Origen. Although his first letters addressed to Jerome have been considered in general by specialists as the documents which reveal Augustine's ignorance of the eruption of the Origenist controversy in Palestine, I demonstrated the very opposite view. In fact, what some regard as "ignorance" (see Bonnardière 1974) I consider irony. Epistles 28 and 40 and the recently discovered Ep. 27\* illustrate the direct communication between the North-African Christians and the monks in the Holy Land. Since Augustine was well-informed about the campaign against Origen, he did not mention his determining experience with Origen's theology. In brief, he wanted to avoid accusations of being an Origenist.

### **The Analysis of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos***

The second part of the dissertation is devoted to the scrutiny of Augustine's first exegetical work, *De genesi contra manichaeos* (Gen. man. dated 388/389). I argued that Augustine's allegorical interpretation of Genesis had been directly influenced by Origen. This thesis, again, runs counter to the general scholarly view, since specialists uniformly exclude the possibility of a direct influence of either Origen's Homilies or Commentary upon Augustine's Gen. man. (Maher 1947; Zacher 1962; Abulesz 1972; Teske 1991 and 1992). For in the first period of his activity, Augustine's Greek seems to have been insufficient for reading such works in the original language. At the same time, Rufinus did not translate any writing before 397, his return to Italy, that is to say, the homilies on Genesis were not available for Augustine in 388 or 389. We do not know about other translations of Origen's explanations of Genesis. The textual parallels between Augustine and Origen's interpretations, therefore, should be accounted for by such intermediary texts as Ambrose's Hexaemeron; his homily on paradise; Hilary's treatises on Psalms, Commentary on Psalm 118 and Gregory of Elvira's treatise on the creation of man: all influenced by Origen's exegesis. Moreover, in Milan, Augustine listened to Ambrose's sermons and was in close touch with Manlius Theodorus and Simplicianus, all well educated in Greek ecclesiastical literature. Consequently, the occurrences of Origenian explanations in Augustine's works may be due to a Milanese oral tradition.

As opposed to these arguments, I referred to the possibility that a Latin compilation of Origen's understanding of Genesis existed and was used by Latin authors of the fourth century. I compared the interpretations of Augustine, Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory of Elvira and Origen in order to ponder the extent to which Latin theologians and/or the Alexandrian exegete exerted influence on Augustine's commentary against the Manichees. I attempted to re-examine and complete the textual parallels between Origen and Augustine that Altaner, Teske and Weber have pointed out. Some of my conclusions are as follows:

1. Concerning the term "arché" in Gen. 1:1, Augustine seems to have been susceptible to Origen's interpretation more than to the Cappadocian's one.
2. The traces of the Origenian interpretation of Gen. 1:1 which appears in Ambrose's *Hexaemeron* cannot be considered as an intermediary source for the explanation in *Gen. man.* In this commentary, the Origenian distinction between the spiritual heaven and the corporeal firmament is of crucial importance, whereas in Ambrose's work this distinction disappears. Augustine's interpretation probably independently derives from an exegetical work which contained the allegorical exegesis of Gen. 1:1 and in which Gen. 1:2 was explained in relation with Wisdom 11:18. This may well have been Origen's *Commentary on Genesis*.
3. Augustine adopted some determining presumption of Origen's exegesis of Genesis. First, Gen. 1:1 reports on the creation of both the corporeal and incorporeal world. Second, the waters of Gen. 1:6-7 represent not physical, but metaphysical entities. Third, as the corporeal beings subsist in corporeal matter, so do the invisible-incorporeal ones in spiritual, incorporeal matter.
4. Augustine's arguments against the Anthropomorphites may depend on a Latin translation of the Anti-Anthropomorphite section of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis*. Probably, this same Latin version was also used by Gregory of Elvira.
5. Augustine's interpretation of Gen. 1:26 and 2:7, the double creation of man, goes back to Origen rather than to Hilary, Ambrose or Gregory of Elvira.
6. Augustine's interpretation of Gen. 1:28, the "spiritual dominion" are directly influenced by Origen, most probably, by a Latin version of the work which the so-called Papyrus of Giessen also comes from.
7. The Papyrus of Giessen seems to represent a fragment from Origen's homily on Eden. Baehrens' hypothesis concerning the number of the Homilies on Genesis should be revised.
8. Augustine's allegorical interpretation of paradise is practically independent from Ambrose's *De paradiso*, and is influenced by Origen.
9. Augustine's conception of the Fall as it appears in *Gen. man.* directly goes back to Origen.



## **The Examination of Augustine's Early Protology, Eschatology and His Interpretation of Resurrection**

The third part of the dissertation contains the inquiry into Augustine's early protology, eschatology and his interpretation of the resurrection of body. Given the fact that Augustine adopted Origen's interpretations of the most important verses in the book of Genesis, I also assumed his doctrinal dependence on the Alexandrian theologian. Therefore, I had to ask: to what extent the young Augustine's theory can be termed "Origenist"?

The key-passage of the work (Gen. man. 2.8.10), which seems to me to be the source of permanent misunderstandings, includes one thesis, two hypotheses, and three sub-hypotheses concerning the initial state of man or the soul. All possibilities derive from an exegetical puzzle raised by Gen. 2:7. I analysed these possibilities mentioned by Augustine in order to decide if the author had given preference to one of them. Teske and O'Connell understand Augustine's remarks on the "first animal man" in a way that the so-called "animal" condition was the initial state of man (O'Connell 1993; Teske 1991/1). However, Augustine's interpretation involves the thesis, as I think, that the "animal man" is fallen man (not fallen soul), as well as the option that in the beginning man was created either soul living without body, or spiritual man, that is, a composite of spirit, soul and spiritual, ethereal body.

Arguments have been shown for the assumption that according to the author of Gen. man, in its initial state, the soul did not use any kind of body. This idea cannot be regarded as the theory of pre-existence of the individual souls, a theory that O'Connell and his disciples attribute to the early Augustine (see e.g. O'Connell 1968, 1980, 1993; Penaskovic 1993, Beane 1993).

Also, I attempted to confirm the thesis that the young Augustine's teachings about the final state of the creatures are remarkably similar to the famous apocatastasis theory of Origen. In fact, three crucial elements of Origen's theory of apocatastasis occur in Augustine's theology. First, he claims that all things that fall away will be re-established in a state such as the prelapsarian condition was. Second, there is a possibility of passing through between the three stages of the hierarchy of rational creatures, that is to say, angels, people and demons can be transformed each into all. Third, some passages suggest that the young Augustine believed there were innumerable subsequent worlds (*saeculum*). An implication of the theology determined by these elements seems to me to be the salvation of the fallen angels.

Finally, I compared the most important components of Augustine's and Origen's theory of the resurrection. In my view, both teach that the essence of the earthly body, which is composed of the four elements, will be annulled, and

what remains is the form of the body. Both use the same arguments, work with the same philosophical presumptions and refer to the scene of Transfiguration to confirm their theory. For them, the resurrected bodies are spiritual, angelic, luminous and ethereal.

### **Some Traces of an Ancient Latin Compilation of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis***

As appendices, four points of my argumentation have been elaborated in more detail. First, in spite of the fact that in the *Confessions*, Augustine does not mention his encounter with Origen's interpretation of the Song of songs, he uses Canticle images when speaking about the period of his conversion.

Secondly, in Ep. 27\*, Jerome mentions certain *commentarioli in Matthaeum* that Aurelius of Carthage possessed in his library. I made it probable that when composing his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Augustine used this particular commentary on Matthew which may well have been a Latin version of Origen's *commaticum* on Matthew. This hypothesis could explain the similar explanations in Augustine's commentary on the Lord's Prayer and Origen's *De oratione*.

Thirdly, I collected the arguments for the hypothesis that an early Latin compilation of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis* must have existed. Even if one would question, as I did, the authority of the so-called *Tractatus Origenis* which are attributed to Gregory of Elvira, I agree with the opinion that their author relied on Latin sources (Vona 1970, Dulaey 1997). My thesis is that as textual parallels demonstrate, the first *Tractatus* directly depends on a Latin compilation of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis*. Moreover, it can be hypothesised that Novatian, the first Roman theologian writing in Latin, was also the first Latin "translator" of Origen. Presumably, he had made a compilation of Origenian texts he found to be important and useful for the exegeses of difficult passages, and when composing his *De Trinitate*, he used, with the typical freedom of the author, his own translation. Later on the compilation was used by the author of the *Tractatus Origenis*, who, according to his custom, closely followed his source. This may explain why the first *Tractatus* indicates, in certain cases, closer relationship with Origen's texts than with Novatian's *De Trinitate*, in spite of the fact that, even in these cases, there is connection between Novatian's work and the *Tractatus*.

Fourthly, I surmised that if a compilation of Origen's commentary existed, then it must have exercised influence not only on the author of the *Tractatus Origenis* but also on other Latin authors. The influence of Origen's exegesis on Victorinus of Poetovio, Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose is attested by Jerome.

Even Jerome frequently admits his own indebtedness to Origen, the exegete. However, whereas Victorinus, Ambrose and Jerome were able to read any work in Greek, Hilary could not read Origen's Greek writings for a long while. Hence, I scrutinised a portion of Hilary's *Tractatus* on Psalm 129 which includes the exegesis of Gen. 1:26 and 2:7. Paragraphs 3–6 of Hilary's work reveal close textual parallels with the first *Tractatus Origenis* which, in fact, is devoted to the topic of the double creation of man. My conclusion was similar to a forgotten hypothesis of Butler (1900): Hilary and the author of the *Tractatus* both used the Latin compilation of Origen's text not only in the case of the anti-anthropomorphic arguments but also in interpreting the double creation of man.

### Continuation of the Research

My research aimed to assist in re-thinking the traditional image of the young Augustine, according to which the Neoplatonism represented the most influential intellectual experience for Augustine in the period of his conversion. Much of my arguments are hypotheses that are offered for further research. What I am planning to investigate in more detail is the problem of the early Latin translations of Origen's works before Jerome and Rufinus, as well as, the change in Augustine's attitude towards Origen. I would date the first traces of this long process to 393, when Augustine began to work on the *De genesi ad litteram*, the commentary which remained unfinished.

The Examination Committee at the public defence on May 10, 2000 consisted Peter Lom (CEU, Nationalism Studies Program) chair; István Perczel (CEU), internal supervisor; Robert Markus (University of Nottingham); Gábor Kendeffy (ELTE, Latin Dept.); György Geréby (CEU). The external reader of the dissertation was Martine Dulaey, Directeur d'études à l'EPHE, Paris.

### Secondary sources referred to in the Summary

Abulesz, Peter 1972

*S. Aurelii Augustini De genesi contra Manichaeos libri duo, De octo quaestionibus ex veteri testamento*. Dissertation manuscript, Vienna, 1972.

Altaner, Berthold 1967=1951

"Augustinus und Origenes." In *Kleine patristische Schriften*. 224–252. First publication: *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 70 (1951): 15–41.

Beane, Jon T. 1993

"Augustine's Silence on the Fallenness of the Soul." *Augustiniana* 1993 (43/1–2): 77–84.

la Bonnardière, Anne-Marie. 1974

"Jérôme 'informateur' d'Augustine au sujet d'Origène," *REA* 20 (1974): 42–54.

Butler, E.C. 1900

"The New Tractatus Origenis" *JThSt* 1900 (October): 113–121.

Dulaey, Martine 1997

"Grégoire d'Elvire pasteur: La pédagogie du prédicateur dans le sermond sur l'hospitalité de Mambré (Gen. 18)" *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 58. *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana*. 1997 vol. 2: 743–762.

Ferrari, Leo C. 1991

"Augustine's 'Discovery' of Paul (Confessions 7.21.27)." *AS* 22 (1991): 37–61.

Madec, Goulven 1971

"Pour l'interprétation de *Contra Academicos* II, II, 5." *REA* 17 (1971): 322–28.

Maher, J.P. 1947

*Saint Augustine's Defense of the Hexameron against the Manichaeans*. Dissertation Pontif. Gregor. Univ. Roma, 1947

O'Connell, Robert J. 1968

*St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386–391*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

O'Connell, Robert J. 1980

"Pre-Existence in the Early Augustine," *REA* 26 (1980): 176–188.

O'Connell, Robert J. 1993

"The *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and the Origin of the Soul." *REA* 39 (1993): 129–141.

O'Meara, John 1970

"Plotinus and Augustine: Exegesis of *Contra Academicos* II.5." *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 24 (1970): 321–37.

Penaskovic, Richard 1986

"The Fall of the Soul in Saint Augustine: A *Quaestio Disputata*." *AS* 17 (1986): 135–145.

Pépin, Jean 1954

"Saint Augustine et le symbolisme néoplatonicien de la v\*ture." *AM* 1 (1954): 293–306.

Pépin, Jean 1987

*La tradition de l'allégorie de Philon d'Alexandrie \* Dante*. Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1987.

Savon, Hervé 1998

"Ambroise Lecteur d'Orig\*ne." in *Nec timeo mori* (1998): 221–234.

Teske, Roland J. 1991

"St Augustine's View of the Original Human Condition in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*." *AS* 22 (1991): 141–155.

Teske, Roland J. 1991/1

(tr., intro. notes) *Saint Augustine on Genesis*. FOC 84. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991.

Teske, Roland J. 1992

“Origen and St. Augustine's first Commentaries on Genesis.” in *Origeniana quinta* (1992): 179–185.

Vannier, Marie-Anne 1987

“Le rôle de l'hexaéméron dans l'interprétation augustinienne de la création.” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 71 (1987): 537–547.

Vona, Constantino 1970

*Gregorio di Elvira: I Tractatus De libris sacrarum scripturarum. Fonti e sopravvivenza medievale. Scrinium patristicum lateranense* 4. Rome: Libreria editrice della Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1970.

Zacher, A. 1962

*De Genesi contra Manichaeos. Ein Versuch Augustinus die ersten drei Kapitel von Genesis zu erklären und zu verteidigen.* Dissertation manuscrite Pontif. Univ. Gregoriana, Roma, 1962.

## The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi

*Levan Gigineishvili (Georgia)*

The aim of the dissertation is to present a comprehensive picture of the entire philosophical system of a twelfth-century Georgian Neoplatonist philosopher, Ioane Petritsi. Petritsi translated and commented the *Elements of Theology*, one of the main works of the fifth-century Greek Neoplatonist philosopher, Proclus Diadochus. In my thesis I describe Petritsi's philosophical ideas on the background of Proclus' thought. In case of apparent divergences, I searched for sources for Petritsi's modifications both among Neoplatonist and Christian authors. While describing metaphysical ideas and schemes, I was naturally led to implications and conclusions that were only latently present in my primary sources. Furthermore, I also permitted myself some preliminary reflections upon the plausible compatibility of the Christianized version of Neoplatonism provided by Petritsi both from the Neoplatonist point of view and from the point of view of the Christian tradition adhered to in Petritsi's contemporary Byzantium and Georgia.

My primary sources were Ioane Petritsi's commented translation of the *Elements of Theology*, edited in two volumes (the commentaries in 1937 and the translation in 1940) by Sh. Nutsubidze and S. Kaukhchishvili who had used up to ten extant manuscripts; Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, in E. R. Dodds' celebrated edition in 1933. Among Petritsi's other works I used his preface to his own, now lost, translation to the Psalms, which preface is attached to all manuscripts of Petritsi's philosophical commentaries, and his translation of Nemesius of Emesa's *On Human Nature*—edited in 1914 by S. Gorgodze—to

which translation Petritsi occasionally adds his brief notes. Since Petritsi was closely familiar with Proclus' other works, most importantly with Proclus' *Platonic Theology* and his commentaries on *Timaeus* and *Parmenides*, I also use those works in the course of my discussions. For Petritsi's patristic sources I use (in chronological order) Origen, the Cappadocian fathers—Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa—Cyril of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, John Damascene and Maximus the Confessor.

Everywhere where I discuss Petritsi's commentaries I provide the number of the proposition of the *Elements of Theology* he comments upon. Where he treats concrete Proclian sentences and ideas I usually also provide Proclus' original text in Greek and/or in the English translation by E. R. Dodds. I always provide the relevant Greek text when I pinpoint intended or unintended divergences of Petritsi's Old Georgian translation from the Greek original. However, I consider only Petritsi's ideas without comparing them to Proclus in cases when Petritsi goes into his own discourses, or when he builds upon Proclus' text philosophical ideas and teachings not directly connected to the relevant Proclian propositions. While considering Proclus' sources, primarily I relied upon the text of the *Elements of Theology*. When necessary, I filled the succinct exposition of this treatise by data taken from Proclus' other major works, basically from the *Platonic Theology* and his commentaries on *Parmenides* and *Timaeus*. As to Petritsi's Christian-patristic sources, in most of the cases the references indicate the similarity of theological ideas and their expressions in the works of the Greek Fathers rather than direct quotations from them on Petritsi's part. Those references help to posit Petritsi in the relevant intellectual environment and deliver him to a certain extent from the "charge" of originality, which was not the first merit, and the first thing to aspire for, in the medieval mind.

The dissertation represents the largest work written about Petritsi's philosophy both in a foreign language and in Georgian. It consists of one introductory chapter and six chapters dealing with philosophical problems in Petritsi and Proclus' systems. In the introductory chapter I describe Petritsi's contemporary intellectual environment in Georgia, Petritsi's biography and his authentic works, as well as those attributed to him. This chapter might be especially interesting for an international reader who know very little or nothing about Petritsi and the eleventh-twelfth century Georgian intellectual life. In this chapter I basically relied upon the well-known Old Georgian sources and traditional scholarly literature. As regards the philosophical chapters of the dissertation, the researches have led me to a number of findings and conclusions which were not considered in the Georgian scholarship. Petritsi introduced significant modifications in the Proclian frame of thought. Those modifications

concern all aspects of Proclian metaphysics and are caused or conditioned by two major reasons: i) Petritsi's eclectic and selective attitude toward his Neoplatonic sources, ii) Petritsi's Christian background and convictions:

Petritsi provides a doctrine concerning the transcendent One, in Neoplatonist philosophy the ultimate source of all reality, which significantly differs from Proclus' doctrine. For Petritsi, the One contains the seminal plurality of all reality in Him in a unitary and transcendent mode, therefore the plural and multicolored world appears to be a self-unfolding, self-pluralization of the supreme unity. On the contrary, Proclus' idea of the One is detached from any notion of plurality. In holding this doctrine of the One as containing multiplicity Petritsi must be influenced, on the one hand, by other Neoplatonists, like Plotinus and Iamblichus, and, on the other hand, by Christian authors such as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

Petritsi's peculiar doctrine concerning the One, the Limit and Infinity is motivated by his Christian convictions. Precisely, he provides a Trinitarian explanation of these metaphysical entities, identifying them with the three Hypostases of the Godhead: the One with the Father, the Limit with the Son and Infinity with the Holy Spirit. From this identification follows his theory of the "three Ones": the first One as prior to multitude—the Father; the second One as "multiplied and dispersed in multitude"—Infinity; and the third One as "immanent in each proper number and being"—the Limit. Due to evident reasons, Petritsi does not follow the hierarchy of Proclus who claims a certain ontological superiority of the Limit over Infinity, but presents them as parallel principles. However, there is a certain subordination of the Limit and Infinity to the transcendent One in Petritsi's thought, since he presents the One as the object of understanding of the Limit and Infinity, and in the same passage he says that according to a general metaphysical law an object of understanding is higher than an understanding subject. It is, nevertheless, possible that this subordinationism is only apparent and conditioned by Petritsi's formal adherence to Proclian language and terminological system.

The henadic doctrine of Ioane Petritsi diverges from that of Proclus in few crucial aspects. First of all, Petritsi does not regard Proclus' henads—to whom the Greek philosopher offered his daily worship as to gods—as gods properly speaking, since for him there is only one Trinitarian God. Therefore, Petritsi's henads are not "gods," but entities "divinized through participation," and since the One is imparticipable, the henads participate in the second, or immanent One, which is the Limit. Petritsi diverges from Proclus also in positing plurality within each of the henads: Petritsi's henads, in fact, consist of atomic units, which are circumscribed by the Limit within proper henadic numbers. Thus, each of Petritsi's henads is "a number," and as numbers are either even or odd,

so also the henads are even or odd. This “number-theory” concerning the henads approximates Petritsi to Iamblichus, who, according to excerpts of his work preserved to us by Michael Psellus, seems to have held analogous doctrine. In my summary of Proclus’ henadic doctrine I observed passages in his works which at least apparently indicate the existence of inner complexity within each of the henads. My primary aim was to demonstrate that Petritsi’s peculiar theory could be not only his “caprice” or misunderstanding, but could be based, whether correctly or incorrectly, on a definite textual material.

Petritsi’s theory on Intellect shows a greater affinity to Plotinus’ teaching than to that of Proclus. Petritsi identifies the First Intellect with the True Being, like Plotinus identifies the Intellectual Substance with Intellect. On the contrary, for Proclus, Being is higher than Intellect, the former representing the object of understanding for the latter. Petritsi seems to adhere to the Evagrian-Origenist doctrine in distinguishing the Son-Logos—the Limit—from the Christ-Intellect—the True Being.

The basic divergence of Petritsi’s theory on soul from that of Proclus is that Petritsi grants soul cognition not only of its inner ideas, but also of the intellectual ideas. This again approximates him to Plotinus. However, Petritsi does not teach about an undescended part of the soul which always remains in the intellectual realm, but maintains, along with Proclus, the fall of the entire soul. Petritsi provides a spiritualistic account of Adam’s fall: for him Adam signifies any soul that falls into the world of becoming through physical birth and, thus, is wrapped in the coarseness of the material body. Petritsi held the doctrine of human souls’ preexistence and, at most probability, also of reincarnation into other human lives and bodies.

Petritsi’s doctrine on time and eternity represents an interesting blend of Neoplatonist and Christian ideas. On the one hand, Petritsi apparently holds the Christian doctrine of Creation out of nothing, thus, stressing the absolute discontinuity between the Divine Source and the rest of the beings. However, although the world is created, it reveals all the features of the Neoplatonic eternal world—one changeless divine symphony. Nevertheless, paradoxically, Petritsi has an idea of eschatology, since as a Christian he believes in the historical Incarnation of God and in the unique character of this event. However, since after the creation the world is eternal, in my opinion, the change introduced by the Incarnation in Petritsian perspective will not concern the order of the world as a whole, but only human souls, in that the latter will acquire loftier knowledge and elevation. From the structural point of view, Petritsi is closer to Plotinus than to Proclus, since for Petritsi, as for Plotinus, time is originated by a motion of the soul, thus belonging to the very fabric of



the soul, whereas for Proclus time as a regulator of soul's motion must be a higher principle—an intellect.

All the above-mentioned theses concerning Petritsi are novel for both international and the Georgian scholarships. The dissertation must primarily be of interest for the historians of the medieval Georgian and Byzantine thought. The freedom of philosophic work in Georgia must have provided Petritsi a room for developing and teaching ideas that could not be a part of any official education in Byzantium—especially after 1082, when the Constantinople philosophic school was banished—but nevertheless represented a great interest among the Byzantine intellectual circles. Thus, Petritsi may serve as an important witness for those interests and aspirations for which the contemporary Greek sources are tacit or terse.

The exposition of Petritsi's ideas provided in the dissertation may be of interest also for those who are interested in philosophical-theological problems in general, since Petritsi struggled with, and offered, his solutions to such eternal questions as the relation of unity and multiplicity, limit and infinity, time and eternity, immanence and transcendence, identity and difference, desire and consciousness etc. It was the aim of this man “so wonderfully gifted by nature”—as Petritsi, discarding all modesty, calls himself—to infect his students with those problems and to introduce them to philosophical theories.

The Examination Committee at the public defence on May 15, 2000 consisted László Kontler (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Carlos Steel (Catholic University, Leuven); Ben Schomakers (Amsterdam); Péter Lautner (Pázmány Péter Catholic University); István Perczel (CEU), supervisor. The external reader of the dissertation was Vasile Markesinis (Leuven).

### **Court, Fashion and Representation: The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle Revisited**

*Annamária Kovács (Hungary)*

The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle is located in the Hungarian National Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), with the shelfmark *Cod. lat. 404*. Its codicological data are as follows: 1 paper f.+1+74 ff. of parchment+31 paper ff; 300x 210 mm. It contains 39 miniatures, 4 side medallions, 99 initials with pictures, 6 initials with ornamental decorations, and 82 “page side” ornamental decorations. Its style, as one of the researchers rather broadly defined it, shows the “French tradition filtered through Bologna, Avignon, Naples, Siena, and

Tuscany.”<sup>1</sup> Its text tells the story of the Hungarians from its mythical-biblical beginnings, linking the Magyars to the Huns, proceeding through the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, and following the story of the Arpadian dynasty through the succession of the Angevin house, to the year 1334, where it suddenly breaks off in the middle of a sentence.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript was made on the orders of King Louis I (1342–1382) of the Hungarian branch of the Angevin (Anjou) house. Its text is a compilation of several earlier works, including the assumed but lost “Ur-gesta” (written around the middle of the eleventh century); a *Gesta Hungarorum* by Simon of Kéza, notary of King Ladislas IV written around 1282–85<sup>3</sup>; and some chapters from the hand of an unknown Franciscan friar.<sup>4</sup> Although the text was left unfinished, all the pictures for the manuscript up to the point of the narrative were completed. Out of these 230 illustrations, there are 142 with figures: they show battles, events from the life of royal houses, burials, weddings, and so on.

## Goals and aims

This dissertation investigates the costumes in the illuminations of the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. It aims to show how one can prove a connection

---

<sup>1</sup> Tünde Wehli, “Könyvfestészet a magyarországi Anjou-udvarban,” (Book illuminations in the Hungarian Angevin court) in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában. Katalógus* (Art in the age of King Louis I: Catalogue), ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), 124.

<sup>2</sup> Its text was preserved in five codices. These were—apart from the manuscript which is now called the *Chronicum Pictum*—the Csepreghy Codex, written around 1431 but preserved only in an eighteenth-century copy; the Teleki-codex from 1462; the Bély-codex, from around 1500; and the so-called Thuróczy-Codex from the second part of the fifteenth century. Edited as *Chronica Hungarorum composito saec. XIV*. In Emericus Szentpétery, ed. *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum ducum regumque Stirpis Arpadiane gestarum* 1–2. (Budapest: Academia Litter. Typ. Universitatis, 1937–38), 217–507. See also: Dezső Dercsényi, “A Képes Krónika és kora,” (The illuminated chronicle and its age) in *Képes Krónika. Hasonmás kiadás* (Illuminated chronicle. Facsimile edition) ed. László Kispéter (Budapest: Corvina, 1987), 92. On the problems of the text itself (what is not the object of this present study), see the studies collected in János Horváth–György Székely, ed., *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései* (Critical questions of our medieval sources) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1974).

<sup>3</sup> *Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians*. ed. and transl. by László Vespérmy and Frank Schaer. Central European Medieval Texts. (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Elemér Mályusz, “Kronika-problémák (Problems in chronicles),” *Századok* 100 (1966): 747–48.

between dress and late medieval courtly culture, and how one can understand the use of costumes as symbols during the second half of the fourteenth century. At the same time, this study also seeks to establish the importance of an interdisciplinary methodology, that is, using written, pictorial, and archeological sources in order to understand an object in its context of late medieval life. It may seem obvious to use a methodology like this. However, it has to be stressed that it has not been used in the investigation of the Illuminated Chronicle before.

As information encoded in dress can be related to social, economic and political contexts, costumes can be particularly useful for finding the original context of a manuscript of the Late Middle Ages. At the same time one can more easily reveal deeper layers of meanings of a given garment by tracing the particular production circumstances of a manuscript.

Costumes were used as symbols or expressions of certain ideas in courtly life. For instance, researchers in the West have already detected the connection between young court members and the quick spread of short, tight-fitting garments in the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> However, in Hungary, scholars have usually ignored the symbolic aspects of costumes and the investigation of surviving material from the Middle Ages from this point of view. While the Illuminated Chronicle is one of the most discussed and debated manuscript in scholarly circles of Hungary, no detailed investigation has been made of the costumes on its illuminations. Therefore, as the basis of my dissertation, a detailed figure-by-figure description was made.

This project is, however, more than a mere *Kostümgeschichte* of late fourteenth-century Hungary, for which it would be, anyhow, insufficient in itself.<sup>6</sup> The dissertation also attempts to answer one of the most crucial questions concerning the Illuminated Chronicle: why was it produced? I propose that the manuscript was intended to serve as part of a royal gift. In this case, the main purpose of this courtly art product was to reflect the image of the court and the realm of the Hungarian king. The concept of this “country-

---

<sup>5</sup> For example Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1981). This study is dedicated to research those twenty-five years (between 1340 and 1365), when the garments and their style changed perhaps the most drastically in the Middle Ages.

<sup>6</sup> During the writing of this study, it was tempting to include a general overview of costume history of the period, and the detailed description of the new high fashion, which appeared from the 1340s. However, I believe that the information provided in the later chapters in connection with the miniatures of the Illuminated Chronicle will suffice those who are not costume historians. For more information on this change see Newton, *Fashion*, 1–5, and 6–13.

image," therefore, has to be present throughout the manuscript, and manifested in the costumes as well. The final goal of the dissertation is to place the manuscript into the context of its own era and to interpret the costumes within this context.

### The sources

In order to get detailed, accurate, and reliable information for any kind of research on a topic belonging to the field of material culture, a scholar has to investigate the three major fields of material culture studies: the written, pictorial, and archeological sources.<sup>7</sup>

A number of written sources contain information on clothing customs in late-thirteenth and fourteenth century Hungary. The study of daily life is impossible without written sources, and the same applies to the field of costume studies. Charters were written with a specific purpose in mind; however, they do contain information about garments and other dress elements. Also, as particular terms of clothing appeared in Latin texts written in the vernacular during the late thirteenth—and especially—during the late fourteenth century, it is necessary to investigate which garments or dress accessories/materials are found in those sources, and whether or not they can be identified.

There is a particular type of sources which is widely used for the study of costumes in Western Europe, but almost entirely missing from the Hungarian context. Sumptuary laws formed an essential part of legal culture from Austria to England, but are completely absent from medieval Hungary. Although attempts were made to force some kind of dress regulation on a certain social strata, these could not permeate the entire society.<sup>8</sup> At present it is still not clear whether sumptuary laws were indeed non-existent in medieval Hungary, or

---

<sup>7</sup> A useful summary and sketch of aspects can be found in András Kubinyi, "A középkori anyagi kultúra kutatása és néhány módszertani problémája," (Research methods and problems in medieval material culture) *Aetas* (1990): 51–67; András Kubinyi–József Laszlovszky, eds., *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Medium Aevum Quotidianum 22/1991) (Krems: Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, 1991) Also Gerhard Jaritz, ed., "Pictura quasi fictura" *Die Rolle des Bildes in der Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996); idem, ed. *Adelige Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 5). (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> Examples for this are cited in the chapter titled *More Barbarorum: "orientalism" in the Illuminated Chronicle*. (pp. 102–123).

whether we face the usual problem of written sources having been decimated by the many wars and devastation. This question, however, falls outside the scope of the present study. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle is a product of courtly art, and royal courts were always exempt from sumptuary legislations.<sup>9</sup> This detailed study of the miniatures in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, at the same time, especially in comparison with other material, could not reveal any other trace of legislation concerning garments and costumes in Hungary.

The other main type of sources, suitable for material culture research, is the objects actually surviving through the ages, whether revealed from excavations or preserved in various collections. Existing garments in museums or in ecclesiastical collections were usually preserved for their emotional or historical value for the given institution (coronation garments, liturgical vestments, and so on). The problem of museum displays is that garments (and garment parts) are often not treated as they were in their own age, but instead they fall into the "beautiful object" category so often seen at exhibitions, providing minor, if any, information on their own time, era, or context. Archeological sources, however, also seldom provide the full image of a garment, since the material from which clothing is made is easily perishable. Excavations can only reveal certain parts of garments, such as buttons, mounts or the like. To find any connection between these objects and other kind of sources regarding costumes, for instance, the social context of a given excavated object has to be found, and this context is an interpretation in itself. Although objectivity concerning historical research to a certain extent is desired, it can be misleading, as this dissertation tries to argue. Therefore, when using archeological sources for comparative purposes, this dissertation always considers the original circumstances and surroundings of the particular find. A part of the archeological material for instances discussed below, belongs to the collection of the Mátyás Király Museum, Visegrád. The material there comes from the remains of a royal palace of the fourteenth-fifteenth century and is excellent for studying material culture at a royal court. My investigation there was concerned with the finds associated with garments,<sup>10</sup> mainly the stove tiles of the Angevin

<sup>9</sup> A primary example for this the 1350 legislation of Paris goldsmiths, see Newton, *Fashion*, 36.

<sup>10</sup> Gergely Buzás, ed., *A visegrádi királyi palota kápolnája és északkeleti épülete* (The chapel and the north-eastern palace wing of the Visegrád royal palace) (Visegrád: Mátyás Király Múzeum, 1994), 233–34. Part III. of my first M.A. thesis submitted to Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Archeology, Budapest, Hungary in March 1996, *Udvari viselet az Anjou- és Zsigmond kori Magyarországon (1300–1437)* (Courtly costumes during the Angevin and Sigismundian period in Hungary [1300–1437]) dealt with one part of the

period, representing knightly figures in courtly dress.<sup>11</sup> As these stood in the royal palace, they offer an opportunity to draw parallels with clothing traditions known from other pictorial sources. Material mainly from cemetery and settlement excavations from the Alföld (Great Hungarian Plain) region provide another angle to the part of the dissertation which concerns the question of “orientalism,” firmly supporting the late thirteenth-fourteenth century presence of Cuman inhabitants in the region with their characteristic burial finds.<sup>12</sup>

Another goal of the dissertation is the survey and study of different pictorial sources, which have been connected to the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. Visual parallels from surrounding countries and from Western Europe were needed to understand the place and meaning of costumes in the Illuminated Chronicle within the greater framework of European costume history and for further investigations extending this topic towards the goal outlined above.

During this visual investigation, I looked for parallels to the garment types, weaponry and armor styles, and scenes found in the Illuminated Chronicle, thereby placing them within the framework of European courtly culture in the second half of the fourteenth century. As the dissertation aimed to prove that the court of the Hungarian Angevin kings, particularly that of Louis the Great, was connected with many ties to contemporary Western royal courts, and that the Illuminated Chronicle was a means of the connection-building activity of King Louis, the comparison of visual sources within the framework of late fourteenth-century international Gothic was not an arbitrary choice.

I also paid special attention to certain particular problems connected to research about the illuminations of the Chronicle, and the most important was the question of “orientalism.” We know that, from the fourteenth century

---

finds associated with costumes from earlier excavations, available for research at that time.

<sup>11</sup> See Edit Kocsis–Tibor Sabján, *A visegrádi királyi palota kályhái és kályhacsompe leletei* (Stoves and stove tiles of the medieval royal palace of Visegrád) (Visegrád: Mátyás Király Múzeum, 1999). The author kindly allowed me to use the material.

<sup>12</sup> András Pálóczy-Horváth, “Le costume coman au Moyen Age,” *Acta Archeologica Hungarica* 32 (1980): 403–29. Kálmán Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei* (Remains from the cultural history of the people at the Great Hungarian Plain) (Budapest: Országos Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1938), chap. on costume history. István Éri, “Adatok a kígyópusztai csat értékeléséhez,” (Data to the evaluation of the Kígyópuszta belt buckle) *Folia Archeologia* 8 (1956): 137–51, and András Pálóczi-Horváth, “A csólyosi kun sírlet,” (Cumanian grave goods from Csólyos) *Folia Archeologia* 20 (1969): 108–33., esp. 118.; idem, *Petschenegs, Cumans, Iasians*. Budapest: Corvina, 1989.

onwards, there was an increasing interest in the West towards anything “oriental.” Some scholars in Hungary claim that Eastern-type garments, shown in several illustrations of the Illuminated Chronicle, are actually derived from Western images, highly stylized and without knowledge of the possible originals. I have tried to collect evidence proving the contrary. Between 1340 and 1370, there was an increasing Hungarian presence (chiefly military) in Italy. I discovered a number of manuscript illustrations from Venice which show garments such as the caftan in remarkable detail, and hats and weapons corresponding to written descriptions and archeological finds from the light cavalry units of King Louis, who were primarily Cumans living on the Great Hungarian Plain. The garments and accessories in these book illuminations also display remarkable similarities to those in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle.

Surviving murals from medieval Hungary were also studied,<sup>13</sup> alongside wallpaintings from mid-fourteenth-century Northern Italy, especially in connection with the question of “orientalism” mentioned above. I was able to identify elements of Cuman or Hungarian clothing in a large number of mural scenes.

The other source of visual parallels was the image collection of the Institute of Material Culture and Everyday Life of the Middle Ages in Krems. The Central European region in the fourteenth century went through a kind of a “golden age” when the artistic patronage of royal families and royal court members produced a large amount of artwork. Since the database of the Institute, covering most of the territory of Central Europe, is mainly available on computer and CD-ROMs, I had the unique opportunity to learn the structure and construction of such a database, with all the advantages and flaws a computerized database can offer. As a result of this research, I was able to complete a full database of the costumes depicted in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: selected examples from this completed database are to be found in

---

<sup>13</sup> For example: Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*. (The Wallpaintings of Medieval Hungary). (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1954); idem, *Gótikus festmények Magyarországon*. (Gothic paintings in Hungary) (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap, 1963); Mária Prokopp, “Az esztergomi várkapolna XIV. századi freskói,” (The Fourteenth-century frescoes of the Esztergom Royal Palace Chapel) *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 15 (1966): 73–88.; idem, “A nagyváradi freskótöredék,” (The fresco fragment from Nagyvárad) *Arts Hungarica* 2 (1974): 77–90; idem, “A keszthelyi plébániatemplom gótikus falképei,” (The Gothic murals of the Keszthely Parish Church) *Építés- és Építészettudomány* 12 (1980): 367–86.; Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, Anežka Merhautová and Karel Štejskal, *Gothic Mural Painting in Bohemia and Moravia 1300–1378*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Eduard Wagner, Zorošlava Drobná, and Jan Durdík, *Tracht, Wehr und Waffen des späten Mittelalters (1350–1450)* (Prague: Artia, 1957).

the Appendix of the dissertation, following the format of the KLEIO database of the Krems Institute.

The Examination Committee at the public defence on June 22, 2000 consisted István György Tóth (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA); Diana Owen Hughes (University of Michigan); Gábor Klaniczay (CEU/Collegium Budapest), supervisor. The external reader of the dissertation was Béla Zsolt Szakács (Pázmány Péter Catholic University).



## RESIDENT FACULTY AND INSTRUCTORS

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AND ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES IN 1999/2000

#### JÁNOS M. BAK

Professor, Dr. Phil., Göttingen

History of ideas and institutions, medieval rulership, social history of nobility

E-mail: bakjan@ceu.hu

#### Papers and lectures

- ☞ "Über die Möglichkeiten eines Vergleichs von Eliten in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften (besonders Mitteleuropas)," Conference on *Europa im Mittelalter*, Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter, Humboldt Universität, Berlin; September 23, 1999.
- ☞ "Medieval Latin and the Legal Culture in the Kingdom of Hungary," *Teaching, Learning, and Using Latin in the Middle Ages*. Conference in Honour of A. G. Rigg, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, Ont.; March 17, 2000.
- ☞ "Problems of Encyclopaedic Projects for East Central Europe," Discussion, opening address and chair at the symposium *Europa – Die andere Hälfte*, organized by the Universität Klagenfurt et al., Stadtschlaining, Austria; June 2, 2000.
- ☞ "New Findings and Controversies about Old Crowns: The Imperial Crown in Vienna and 'St. Stephen's Crown' in the Parliament in Budapest," MAJESTAS session at the 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, Norway; August 11, 2000.

#### Academic and Professional Service

- ☞ Control Commission, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution Public Foundation, Chairman
- ☞ Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Budapest Review of Books*
- ☞ Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Journal of Medieval History*
- ☞ Member Editorial Advisory Board, East Central Europe – l'Europe de Centre-Est. Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift

## NEVEN BUDAK

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Zagreb

Early medieval history, Christianization, ethnogenesis, urban history

E-mail: budak@ceu.hu

### Publications

- ✂ "Die Gegenreformation in Kroatien," in *Reformation und Gegenreformation im pannonischen Raum*. Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 102 (1999): 353–363.
- ✂ "Hrvatski identitet i ranosrednjovjekovno kraljevstvo" (Croatian Identity and the Early Medieval Kingdom), *Historijski zbornik* 52 (1999): 121–126.
- ✂ "Hrvatska historiografija o srednjem vijeku" (Croatian Historiography of the Middle Ages), *Historijski zbornik* 52 (1999): 165–169.
- ✂ "Der Einfluss der Migrationen auf die Veränderung der ethnischen Selbstidentifikation im Raum des Mittelalterlichen Slawoniens," in *Verfestigungen und Änderungen der ethnischen Strukturen im pannonischen Raum von 1526–1790*. Eds. N. Budak–B. Vranješ-Šoljan (Internationales kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 1997, vol 28.) (Zagreb, 2000), 5–21.
- ✂ "Liturgical Memory in Croatia and Dalmatia around the Year 1000," *Hortus artium medievalium* 6 (2000): 135–142.
- ✂ "The Culture of Dialogue" in Christina Koulouri ed., *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe* (Thessaloniki, 2001), 33–35.

### Papers and Lectures

- ✂ "The Zagreb Bishop Stephen II, a Contemporary of Thomas the Archdeacon," Conference on Thomas the Archdeacon and His Age, Split, 2000.
- ✂ "Interrelationship between Historical Sciences and Textbook-writing in Southeastern Europe," Conference on Europe between Globalization and National Consciousness, Turin, 2000.
- ✂ "Kroatien und Ungarn," Conference on Die ungarische Staatsgründung und die Nachbarstaaten, Budapest, 2000.

### Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Dean, Faculty of Philosophy, University Zagreb
- ✂ Chair, Croatian National Committee for Historical Sciences
- ✂ Member, Textbook Committee of the Joint History Project, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe, Thessaloniki
- ✂ Editor, journal, *OTIVM*
- ✂ Member, Scientific Board, Österreichische Osthefte

**ALICE CHOYKE**

Senior Instructor, Ph.D., SUNY, Binghamton  
Academic writing consultation, archaeozoology  
E-mail: choyke@ceu.hu

**Publications**

- ☞ "Bone skates: raw material, manufacturing and use," in *Pannonia and beyond. Studies in honour of László Barkóczy*. Ed. A. Vaday *Antaeus* 24 (1997–1998): 148–156. (appeared in 2000)
- ☞ "Bronze Age antler and bone manufacturing at Arslantepe (Anatolia)," in M. Mashkour, A. M. Choyke and H. Buitenhuis eds. *Archaeozoology of the Near East IVA*. ARC Publication 32, (Groningen, 2000) 170–183.
- ☞ "Refuse and modified bone from Százhalombatta-Földvár. Some preliminary observations," in I. Poroszlai and M. Vicze eds. *SAX: Százhalombatta Archaeological Expedition. Annual Report 1 – Field Season 1998*. (Százhalombatta: Matrica Museum, 2000).
- ☞ "A small Neolithic bone chisel from Kompolt-Kisté, Central Hungary," *Ősrégészeti Levelek* Vol.2/2 (2000): 19–23.
- ☞ [together with L. Bartosiewicz] "Bronze Age animal exploitation in the Central Great Hungarian Plain," *Studies in honour of István Bóna. Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 51 (1999–2000): 43–70.

**MARY BETH L. DAVIS**

Assistant Professor, Ph.D., Texas A&M University  
Academic writing, methods of literary analysis, fourteenth-century female mystics  
E-mail: davism@ceu.hu

**GERHARD JARITZ**

Professor, Dr. Phil., Graz  
History of everyday life and material culture of the Middle Ages, computing in medieval studies  
E-mail: jaritzg@ceu.hu

**Publications**

- ☞ [ed.] *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, vol. 42 and Sonderband VIII–X
- ☞ [ed.] *History of Medieval Life and the Sciences* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000)
- ☞ [ed.] *Kontraste im Alltag des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000)
- ☞ "Religiöse Bildbotschaften und ihre Entwicklungsmuster im Mittelalter: Bernhard von Clairvaux im Kontext," in *Festschrift Gerhard Pferschy zum 70. Geburtstag* (Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 2000), 105–116.

## Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ☞ “Die Kartäuser von Mauerbach und ihre Geschichte: Spirituelles Leben auf materieller Basis,” in *Kartause Mauerbach 1314 bis heute* (Vienna: Österreichisches Bundesdenkmalamt, 2000), 375–385.
- ☞ “The Multiplicity of Frontiers,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 6 (2000), 167–170.
- ☞ “Constructing Medieval Daily Life,” in *History of Medieval Life and the Sciences*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 7–10.
- ☞ “The Old Image: Organizing Medieval Images Archives,” in *Data Modelling, Modelling History. Proceedings of the XI International Conference of the Association for History and Computing*, eds. Leonid Borodkin and Peter Doorn (Moscow, 2000), 364–370.
- ☞ “Спасение души, материальная культура и повседневная жизнь в позднесредневековой Австрии” (Salvation, Material Culture and Daily Life in Late Medieval Austria), in *Другие средние века. К 75-летию А. Я. Гуревича* (Moscow and St. Petersburg, 2000), 411–420.
- ☞ [ed.] *Medieval Manuscript Manual*, website:  
<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/medstdir.html> (Budapest: CEU, 2000) [also in a Hungarian, Russian, and Italian version]
- ☞ [ed.] *Dress, Jewels, Arms and Coat of Arms: Material Culture and Self-Representation in the Late Middle Ages. A Manual*, website:  
<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/medstdir.html> (Budapest: CEU, 2000)
- ☞ “Der Alltag der Kontraste. Muster von Argumentation und Perzeption im Spätmittelalter,” in *Kontraste im Alltag des Mittelalters*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 9–23.
- ☞ “‘Imagines fictae’ – Digital Image Archives in Historical Research,” *History and Computing* 10 (1998), 2000: 109–111.

## Papers and Lectures

- ☞ “Montage von Wirklichkeiten. Alltag in der Stadt des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,” Akademie Friesach, Conference on Die Stadt im Mittelalter, September, 1999.
- ☞ “The Good and Bad Example, or: Making Use of ‘Little people’ in Late Medieval Central Europe,” Centre d’Etude Médiéval, Université de Montréal, Conference on Le petit peuple dans la société de l’Occident médiéval, October, 1999.
- ☞ “Aspects of Daily Life and Material Culture in Monastic Space”, University of Udine, Conference on ‘Il Monachesimo Benedettino in Friuli in Età Patriarcale,’ November, 1999.
- ☞ “European Cultural Heritage Technicians,” National Heritage, World Heritage, Medievalism, Interdisciplinary Workshop, CEU, Budapest, January, 2000.
- ☞ “Constructing Oneself and the Others. Late Medieval Visual Images and the Creation of Identities,” Conference of the ANZAMEMS, Sydney, February, 2000.

- ✂ "Mittelalterliche Realien im Kontext," Reimers-Tagung: Quellen und Quellenedition im neuen Medienzeitalter, Frankfurt, April, 2000.
- ✂ "How 'Environmental' was Environmental Legislation? The Example of Late Medieval Austria," International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, May, 2000.
- ✂ "Stadt-Ikonographie im Mittelalter," Conference of the NÖ. Institut für Landeskunde: 'Niederösterreichs Städte und Märkte im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit,' July, 2000.
- ✂ "Coping with the Variety of Texts," International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July, 2000.

#### **Academic and Professional Service**

- ✂ Member, Program Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds
- ✂ Member, editorial board of *The Medieval Review*, Kalamazoo

#### **GYÖRGY KARSAI**

Senior Instructor, Dr. Phil., Budapest  
Greek and Latin philology, history of ancient theatre  
E-mail: karsaigy@ceu.hu

#### **Publications**

- ✂ Review articles in the journal *Színház* (Theatre) analyzing theatrical representation

#### **Papers and Lectures**

- ✂ "Fille d'Oedipe: le mythe d'Antigone chez Sophocle," Colloque sur le corps dans la tragédie grecque, Caen, November 1999.
- ✂ "Circé," Colloque international sur la magie, Montpellier, March 2000.

#### **GÁBOR KLANICZAY**

Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest  
Comparative study of sainthood, popular religion, heresy, witchcraft, historical anthropology of medieval and early modern Europe  
E-mail: klaniczay@colbud.hu

#### **Publications**

- ✂ *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek.* (The Sainthood of the Rulers. Hungarian Dynastic Cults and European Models) (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), pp. 372.
- ✂ [ed. with B. Nagy] *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére.* (The Love of the Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Ilona Sz. Jónás) (Budapest: ELTE BTK Középkori és Koraiújkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1999), pp. 545. (Greetings, 9–11).

- ☞ “Miracoli di punizione e malefizia,” in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, a cura di Sofia Boesch Gajano e Marilena Modica (Roma: Viella, 1999), 109–137.
- ☞ “Структура повествований о наказании и исцелении. Сопоставление чудес и maleficia” (The Structure of Narratives on Misfortune and Healing. A Confrontation of Miracles and Maleficia) *Одиссей, Человек и общество: проблемы самоидентификации – Odysseus. Man in History. Person and Society: Problems of Self-Identification* 1998 (Москва, Наука, 1999), 118–133.
- ☞ “Szent László kultusza a 12–14. században” (The Cult of St. Ladislav in the 12–14<sup>th</sup> Centuries) in *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére*. eds. G. Klaniczay – B. Nagy, (Budapest: ELTE BTK Középkori és Korajútkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1999), 357–374.
- ☞ “Le ‘Annales’ e gli studi medievalistici in Ungheria,” in *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*. Rivista del Dipartimento di Storia moderna e contemporanea dell’Università degli studi di Roma “La Sapienza”, I/1998 (publ.: 1999), 105–124.
- ☞ “Rex iustus. The Sainly Institutor of Christian Kingship,” *The Hungarian Quarterly* 41 (2000): 14–31.
- ☞ “Szentté avatások, 1083,” (Canonizations in 1083) *História* 22 (2000, 5–6): 31–34.
- ☞ “The Annales and Medieval Studies in Hungary,” *Trondheim Studies on East European Cultures & Societies* 2 (2000): 1–22.
- ☞ “Medieval Origins of Central Europe. An Invention or a Discovery?” in Lord Dahrendorf, Yehuda Elkana, Aryeh Neier, William Newton-Smith and István Rév eds., *The Paradoxes of Unintended Consequences*. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000), 251–264.
- ☞ “Elgyötört test és megtépett ruha. Két kultúrtörténeti adalék a performance gyökereihez” (The Tortured Body and the Torn Dress. Two Themes in Cultural History Relating to the Roots of Performance Art), in *A performance művészet* (Performance Art), ed. Annamária Szőke (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), 145–183.
- ☞ “Képek és legendák Árpád-házi Szent Margit stigmatizációjáról” (Images and Legends on the Stigmatization of St Margaret of Hungary), in *Magyar szentek tisztelete és ereklyéi* (Cult and Relics of Hungarian Saints), Catalogue. eds. Pál Cséfalvay and Ildikó Kontsek (Esztergom: Keresztény Múzeum, 2000), 36–54.
- ☞ [Postface and translation of] Jacques Le Goff, *Az értelmiség a középkorban* (The Intellectuals in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Osiris, 2000) pp. 245.
- ☞ “I miracoli e i loro testimoni. La prova del soprannaturale,” in Paolo Golinelli, ed., *Il pubblico dei santi. Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici*. Atti del III Convegno di studio dell’AISSCA, Verona 22–24 ottobre 1998, (Roma: Viella, 2000), 367–386.
- ☞ “La noblesse et le culte des saints dynastiques sous les rois Angevins,” in *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Age*, Actes du colloque ... Angers-Saumur, 3–6 juin 1998 (Roma: École française de Rome, 2000), 511–526.

## Papers and Lectures

- ✧ “Les témoignages du surnaturel dans les procès de canonisation du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” lecture series, *46<sup>e</sup> session d’Été*, Centre d’Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers, September 16–18, 1999.
- ✧ “Learned systems and popular narratives of vision and bewitchment,” Conference on Demons, Spirits, Witches. Christian Demonology and Popular Mythology, Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Collegium Budapest, October 6–9, 1999.
- ✧ “Round Table Discussion with Carlo Ginzburg on the Origins of the Witches’ Sabbath,” Collegium Budapest, October 7, 1999.
- ✧ “Modern Theories on Medieval Intellectuals,” The Humanities and the Social Role of the Intellectual, Collegium Budapest, February 11–12, 2000.
- ✧ “Szentté avatási per és boszorkányper” (Canonization Trial and Witch-trial), Folklore Dept. University of Pécs, February 16, 2000.
- ✧ “Book presentation,” (Klaniczay Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban*), Balassi Publ. House, Bookshop, March 29, 2000.
- ✧ “Presentazione” Miklós Tui Szócs – Opere all’Accademia d’Ungheria in Roma, April 4, 2000.
- ✧ “L’Europe Centrale de Aleksander Gieysztor,” Aleksander Gieysztor (1916–1999). Uomo e studioso, Istituto Polacco di Roma, May 15, 2000.
- ✧ “Le stigmate di Santa Margherita d’Ungheria: immagini e testi”, Convegno internazionale sulla letteratura ecclesiastica ungherese, L’Istituto Storico «Fraknói», Roma, May 15, 2000.
- ✧ “Névpünnevények, jeles napok” (Popular Festivities, Special Feast Days), Európa napok, Bartók Béla Művelődési Központ, Mohács, May 20, 2000.
- ✧ “Les cultes dynastiques dans les états angevins: saints, cérémonies, nécropoles,” Développement des états au Moyen Âge – La France et la Hongrie aux X–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, Institut Hongrois de Paris, May 30–31, 2000.
- ✧ “New Cultural History – Old and New Philology,” Humanities and Cultural Studies. Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (IFK), Wien – Collegium Budapest, June 29–30, 2000.
- ✧ “Judicial history, *histoire des mentalités*, historical anthropology,” The theory and practice of justice: laws, norms, deviance, 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 6–13, 2000.
- ✧ “Holy writings and pacts with the Devil. The use of writing in medieval popular religion,” (written together with Ildikó Kristóf) Social Practices of Writing and Reading from Antiquity to the Present, 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 6–13, 2000.

## Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ☞ "The coronation of St. Stephen in the light of his hagiography," Rulership at the end of the first and the beginning of the second Millennium, MAJESTAS session, 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 6–13, 2000.
- ☞ "Beginnings of witch-hunting in the Alpine regions," Centre for Medieval Studies, Trondheim University, August 13, 2000.
- ☞ "The past in the present—a case study: the many Middle Ages," Opening address, The past in the present, Intercongressional symposium of the International Musicological Society, Budapest, August 23–28, 2000.

### Academic and Professional Service

- ☞ Member, CEU Senate Committee for Appointments
- ☞ Rector, Collegium Budapest
- ☞ Chairman, editorial board of *Budapest Review of Books*
- ☞ Co-editor, continued series *Mikrotörténelem* (Microhistory) at the Osiris Publishing House (with Gyula Benda and István Szijártó)
- ☞ Co-editor, series *Central European Medieval Texts* at CEU Press (with János M. Bak, Urszula Borkowska, and Giles Constable)

## JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest

Medieval archaeology, monastic and mendicant architecture, medieval settlement systems, history of material culture

E-mail: laszlovj@ceu.hu

### Publications

- ☞ [together with Gergely Buzás and Róbert Hack] *The Hercules-Fountain of Visegrád*. (Visegrád: Mátyás Király Múzeum, 2000).
- ☞ [together with Gergely Buzás and Róbert Hack] *A visegrádi Herkules-kút*. (Visegrád: Mátyás Király Múzeum, 2000).
- ☞ [together with Beatrix Romhányi] "Les recherches de l'université ELTE de Budapest sur le couvent des cordeliers au Mont Beuvray, France," *Dix ans de coopération franco-hongroise en archéologie 1988–1998*. (Collegium Budapest, 2000).
- ☞ [Editor in chief] *Medieval Royal Seat and Parkland at Visegrád*. (Budapest, 2000).

### Papers and Lectures

- ☞ "Documentation and Reconstruction of Medieval Cultural Heritage," University of Skopje. Faculty of Architecture. Skopje, December 1999.
- ☞ "New Methods in Archaeological Interpretation. Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Medieval Archaeology," National Museum, Macedonia, Skopje, December 1999.



- ✂ "Hungarian Legacy in Medieval Southeastern Europe. Textbooks and Related Issues," Workshop: Teaching sensitive and controversial issues in the history of South-East Europe. Southeast European Joint History Program. CEU, Budapest, December 18, 1999.
- ✂ "Medieval Royal Seat and Parkland at Visegrád," National Heritage, World Heritage, Medievalism. Interdisciplinary Workshop. Collegium Budapest and Medieval Studies Department, CEU, Budapest, January 25, 2000.
- ✂ "Charter chronology," Conference on the dating of undated medieval documents. Collegium Budapest. March 18–20, 2000. Chair of the session on interdisciplinary methods.
- ✂ "Medieval Studies and Related Research Projects at the Central European University," Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, May 2, 2000.
- ✂ "Ottoman-Turkish Archaeology, Postmedieval Archaeology, Archaeology of the Early Modern Period. Theoretical and Methodological Issues," Conference on Ottoman-Turkish Archaeology, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, May 26, 2000.
- ✂ "Monastic Sites and their Archaeology," Summer University Course: Issues and Resources for the Study of Medieval Central Europe. July 20, 2000.

#### **Academic and Professional Service**

- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Visegrád, Hungary (co-directing with Gergely Buzás)
- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, France (Center of European Archaeology, Bibracte. Co-directing with Patrice Beck, Paris)
- ✂ Director, field survey project in the Upper Tisza region (co-directing with John Chapman, Newcastle)
- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval royal chapel of St. Frambourg at Senlis, France
- ✂ Medieval Royal Seat and Parkland at Visegrád. Application by the Republic of Hungary for the inclusion of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Responsible for the preparation and submission of the application
- ✂ Member, Program Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds.

#### **BALÁZS NAGY**

Library curator, Dr. Phil., Budapest  
Economic history and medieval social history  
E-mail: nagybal@ceu.hu

#### **Publications**

- ✂ [Ed. together with Gábor Klaniczay] *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére.* (The Love of the Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Ilona Sz. Jónás) (Budapest: ELTE BTK Középkori és Koraiújkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1999), pp. 545.

- ☞ “A terenzói látomás” (The vision of Terenzo), in *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére.* (The Love of the Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Ilona Sz. Jónás) Eds. G. Klaniczay and B. Nagy (Budapest: ELTE BTK Középkori és Korajútkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1999), 131–139.

### Papers and Lectures

- ☞ “National Identity or Identities of Charles IV,” National Heritage, World Heritage, Medievalism, Interdisciplinary Workshop, CEU-Budapest, January, 2000.
- ☞ “Hungarian commercial connections with the Baltic (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries),” International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 2000.

### Academic and Professional Service

- ☞ Member, CEU Library Committee

### ISTVÁN PERCZEL

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil, Budapest

Church Fathers and Byzantine ecclesiastical writers, Neoplatonic philosophy, history of Byzantine monasticism, comparative history of spirituality

E-mail: perczeli@ceu.hu

### Publications

- ☞ “Új Theológus Szent Simeon: *Huszonöt fejezet az istenismeretről és a teológiáról.* (Saint Symeon the New Theologian, Twenty-five Chapters on the Knowledge of God and Theology) [Translation, commentaries, and a study by István Perczel, illustrated by Mátyás Oláh] (Budapest: Kairosz-Paulus Hungarus, 2000), pp. 99.
- ☞ “Pseudo-Dionysius and the Platonic Theology,” in *Proclus et la Théologie Platonicienne. Actes du colloque international de Louvain (13–16 mai 1998) en l’honneur de H. D. Saffrey et L. G. Westerink*; ed. A. Ph. Segonds and C. Steel with the assistance of C. Luna and A. F. Mettraux, Ancient and Medieval Philosophy: De Wulf-Mansion Centre Series I/xxvi. (Leuven: Leuven University Press–Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000), 491–532.
- ☞ “Once Again on Dionysius the Areopagite and Leontius of Byzantium,” in *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter: Internationales Kolloquium in Sofia vom 8. bis 11. April 1999 unter der Schirmherrschaft der Société Internationale pour l’Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale*, ed. T. Boiadjev, G. Kapriev, and A. Speer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 41–85.
- ☞ “Merrefelé tekintett a bizánci teológia a XI. században?” (What was the Orientation of Byzantine Theology in the Eleventh Century?), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* VIII/3 (2000): 45–59.
- ☞ “Areopagita Dénes és legkorábbi szír szöveghagyományá” (Dionysius the Areopagite and His Earliest Syriac Text Tradition), *Passim: Filozófiai folyóirat* II/1 (2000).
- ☞ “*Intellectus Quaerens.* Előadások a későantik és középkori filozófia és teológia köréből Vidrányi Katalin emlékére” in *Intellectus Quaerens.* (Lectures on Late Antique and

Medieval Philosophy and Theology, Dedicated to the Memory of Katalin Vidrányi), 66–89.

- ☞ [translation of] “The Christmas Canon of the Orthodox Church” [a translation from medieval Attic Greek to Hungarian] *Pannonhalmi Szemle* VIII/4 (2000).

### Papers and Lectures

- ☞ “Areopagita Dénes és legkorábbi szír szöveghagyománya” (Dionysius the Areopagite and His Earliest Syriac Text Tradition), Second National Conference in Memory of Katalin Vidrányi, Janus Pannonius University, Pécs, November 18–19, 1999.
- ☞ “Saint Symeon the New Theologian and the Theology of the Divine Substance,” International Conference in Memory of István Kapitánffy, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest–Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba, December 1999.
- ☞ “Theodoret of Cyrillus, a Modern Christian Intellectual in the Fifth Century,” Workshop on the Social Role of the Intellectuals, Collegium Budapest, February 2000.
- ☞ “The Kerala Manuscripts on CD-ROM: a Joint Indian-French-Hungarian Mission,” VIIIth Symposium Syriacum, The University of Sydney, June 26–30, 2000 [paper jointly written by the members of the mission: Alain Desreumaux, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, István Perczel, Tamás Sajó, and Revd. Jacob Thekeparampil].

### Field Trip

- ☞ March 23–April 21, 2000: a joint mission to Kerala, India, for cataloguing and digitizing Syriac manuscripts of the Malabar Coast. The mission was organized and financed by CEU (Research Group into Medieval Platonism), the Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, Kottayam, India, and the Institut d’Études Sémitiques (C.N.R.S.), Paris, France.

### Academic Services

- ☞ Director, Doctoral Studies at the Department of Medieval Studies
- ☞ Associate Member, Centre d’Étude des Religions du Livre (associated with the C.N.R.S. and the École Pratique des Hautes Études)
- ☞ Foreign correspondent, *Adamantius*. Newsletter of the Italian Research Group on “Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition”

### MARIANNE SÁGHY

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest and Ph.D., Princeton  
Late antique and medieval intellectual and social history, political history  
E-mail: msaghy@wanadoo.fr

### Academic and Professional Service

- ☞ Academic director, Institut Hongrois de Paris

**MARCELL SEBŐK**

Instructor, Ph.D., Budapest

Late medieval and Renaissance cultural history, Humanism and Reformation, historical anthropology

E-mail: sebokm@ceu.hu

**Publications**

- ☞ [ed.] *Történeti antropológia. Módszertani írások és esettanulmányok* (Historical Anthropology. Methodological and Case Studies) (Budapest: Replika Könyvek, 2000), pp. 328.
- ☞ [ed. with Katalin Szende] *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 6. (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies, 2000), pp. 326.

**Papers and lectures**

- ☞ "Communication and Ritual within the Central European Republic of Letters," Conference of the Collegium Budapest on Humanities in Historical and Comparative Perspective. Budapest, November 28, 1999.
- ☞ "*Voluptas et utilitas*: Strategy and Negotiation in the Correspondence of Sebastian Ambrosius," Conference on Self-Presentation and Social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter-Writing in Early Modern Times. Leuven-Brussels, May 25, 2000.
- ☞ "A történeti életrajzírás lehetőségei" (Possibilities of Writing a Historical Biography), Budapest – MTA Institute for Literary Studies, June 28, 2000.

**Fellowship**

- ☞ Junior Fellow – Collegium Budapest, Institute for Advanced Study, October 1999–March 2000.

**Recent Degree**

- ☞ Ph.D., ELTE–Atelier, Franco-Hongrois Social Sciences Doctoral School, Budapest, 2000.

**Academic and Professional Services**

- ☞ Academic coordinator, *Early Modern Republic of Letters*. Dutch-Hungarian Study Center
- ☞ Member, editorial board of the social science quarterly *Replika*

## BÉLA ZSOLT SZAKÁCS

Assistant Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest

Medieval art and architecture, visual resources and cultural heritage

### Publications

- ☞ “Az államalapítás korának építésze Magyarországon” (The Architecture of the Age of State foundation in Hungary), *Műemlékvédelem* XLIV (2000): 67–74.
- ☞ “Parallel Lives: St. Martin and St. Gerard in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary,” *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 45 (2000): 121–136.
- ☞ “Az oszlop az Árpád-kori építészetben (The Column in Hungarian Architecture, 11th–13th Centuries), in *Tanulmányok Tóth Sándor 60. születésnapjára*. Eds. Tibor Rostás and Anna Simon. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Hallgatói Önkormányzat, 2000), 7–27.
- ☞ “Szent Márton a Magyar Anjou Legendáriumban” (St. Martin in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary), in *Szent Márton (316–397) emléke*. Ed. János Pusztay, Documenta Savariensia 1. (Szombathely: Savaria University Press, 1999), 55–67.
- ☞ [review of] “A jáki apostolszobrok. Die Apostelfiguren von Ják,” *Ars Hungarica* XVIII (2000): 457–472.
- ☞ [review of] Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*. *Ars Hungarica* XVII (1999): 485–487.

### Papers and Lectures

- ☞ “Egy Batthyány-eredetű Szentháromság-ábrázolás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában” (A Holy Trinity panel of Batthyány provenience in the Hungarian National Gallery), Conference on the 200th anniversary of the death of archbishop József Batthyány of Esztergom, Budapest, 1999.
- ☞ “From Photo-collections to CD-ROMs: Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe,” Visual Resources Workshop, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies, November 1999.
- ☞ “The Benedictine Monastery of Pannonhalma as a World Heritage Site,” National Heritage, World Heritage, Medievalism. Interdisciplinary Workshop. Collegium Budapest and Department of Medieval Studies CEU, Budapest, January 25, 2000.

### Fellowship

- ☞ Mellon Research Fellowship at Villa i Tatti, Florence (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies), March–June, 2000.

## KATALIN SZENDE

Instructor, Ph.D., Budapest

Urban history and archaeology, history of everyday life

E-mail: szendek@ceu.hu

### Publications

- ✧ “A magyarországi városi végrendeletek helye az európai joggyakorlatban: Sopron, Pozsony és Eperjes példája” (The Place of Hungarian Urban Wills in the European Legal Practice: the Examples of Sopron, Bratislava, and Prešov), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 343–356.
- ✧ “Craftsmen’s Widows in Late Medieval Sopron,” in *Women in Towns. The Social Position of Urban Women in a Historical Context*. Eds. Marjatta Hietala – Lars Nilsson, *Studier i Stads- och Kommunhistoria* 18. (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 1999), 13–23.
- ✧ [review of] *Tanulmányok Borsza Iván tiszteletére* (Studies in Honor of Iván Borsza). Ed. E. Csukovits, Budapest, 1998. *Levéltári Közlemények* 70 (1999): 217–221.
- ✧ “A város másik fele: A nők szerepe a magánéletben, a munkában és a közösségi szférában,” (The Other Half of the Town. The Role of Women in Professional, Private and Public Life) in *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére* (The love of the Middle Ages. Studies in honor of Ilona Sz. Jónás). Eds. Gábor Klaniczay – Balázs Nagy, (Budapest: ELTE BTK Középkori és Koraújkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1999), 301–312.
- ✧ [transl., with József Kölblös and Szilárd Süttő] *Magyar Békeszerződések 1000–1526*. (Hungarian peace treaties 1000–1526) Ed. József Kölblös, (Pápa: Jókai Mór Városi Könyvtár, 2000).
- ✧ [ed. with Marcell Sebők] *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 6. (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies, 2000), pp. 326.

### Papers and Lectures

- ✧ “A magyarországi középkori német nyelvű források kiadásának elvei és gyakorlata” (Principles and practice of editing medieval German sources from Hungary), A történeti források kiadásának módszertani kérdései (Methodological questions of editing historical sources), Symposium at the Municipal Archives of Budapest, 8 December, 1999.

### Academic and Professional Service

- ✧ Editor-in-chief, local history quarterly, *Soproni Szemle*
- ✧ General editor, series *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ödenburg*

### Recent Degree

- ✧ Ph.D., ELTE History–Medieval Studies Program, Budapest, 2000.

