



ANNUAL
OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES
AT CEU

1996-1997



Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest

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Edited by
Marcell Sebők



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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Having finished the fifth year of its existence, our department is presenting the fourth volume of the *Annual*, as big as the very first one. We expanded some parts of the year-book, we decided to add course descriptions to the regular calendar of the year. The most significant augmentation to the "well-known" parts of the *Annual* is the publication of the excerpts from the "Self-study" prepared for the Hannah Arendt Prize which was a painstaking exercise for many members of the department. However, we are convinced that these passages constitute the best summary of the history and activity of our program ever written.

On the other hand, we included nine papers presented by our students at different conferences. While we still encourage them to submit their papers and studies for publication in learned periodicals and professional journals, we thought that this *Annual* ought to include a chapter presenting something on their scholarly progress.

The Alumni Directory, as the third part of the present *Annual*, naturally grows as the years go by. We tried to refresh and update its contents with the help of our alumni/ae, and moreover, we included those who just graduated as Class 1997. The communication within the alumni network seems to have been easier than some years ago (more than sixty percent of the alumni have now electronic mail accounts, and even their own homepage), and we would be grateful if all former CEU medievalists kept us informed about their professional progress.

The Editor should like to express his thanks for assistance to Renata Mikolajczyk, to our guests from Canada, Prof. Hanna Kassis and Anne Kassis who were good enough to help copy-editing, and to Ildikó Petrók from CEU/OSI Publications Office who spent much of her time and expertise on making a nice book out of our material.

PART I.
Report of the Year



A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CEU

The Central European University (CEU) is an internationally recognized institution of post-graduate education in the social sciences. It seeks to contribute to the development of open societies in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union by promoting a system of education in which ideas are creatively, critically, and comparatively examined. CEU serves as an advanced center of research and policy analysis and facilitates academic dialogue while preparing its graduates to serve as the region's next generation of leaders and scholars.

CEU was established in 1991 by George Soros as a pan-regional university committed to promoting educational development throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. CEU is a unitary institution, under a common Board of Trustees and Senate, with teaching sites in Hungary and Poland. Its primary offices are in Budapest. CEU has an absolute charter from the Board of Regents of the State of New York. The academic departments and programs include in Budapest economics, environmental sciences and policy, history, international relations and European studies, legal studies, medieval studies, and political science; in Warsaw, sociology. Other interdisciplinary programs are also available in Budapest, such as the program on gender and culture, human rights, nationalism studies, social theory, and southeast European studies.

During the 1996/97 academic year, CEU enrolled 541 students drawn from over 35 countries including those of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Western Europe, North America, and Asia. Over 60 resident professors and a number of visiting professors from around the world teach at CEU, giving students access to highly respected academics.

Central European University does not discriminate on the basis of—including, but not limited to—race, color, national and 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.

CEU recognizes the human dignity of each member of its community. The university also believes that each member has a responsibility to promote respect and dignity for others so that all members of the community are free to pursue their goals in an open environment, able to participate in the free exchange of ideas, and able to share equally in the benefits of the university's employment and educational opportunities.

To achieve this end, the university strives to foster an academic, work and living environment that is free from any form of harassment, including that based on sex.

In 1997, CEU inaugurated its new President and Rector, Professor Josef Jařab, who received a Ph.D. in 1968 from Charles University, Prague, where he was also awarded CSc. in 1978. Professor Jařab began teaching at Palacky University, Olomouc, was made Rector in 1989, and served in that post for seven years. He has been author, co-author or editor of some 20 books and has written more than 500 essays, articles, reviews and papers on modern Anglo-American and Central European literature and related subjects. As a member of the Executive Board of the Association of European Universities, chairman of the Czech Fulbright Committee and a founding member of the Czech Learned Society, among other distinctions, he has played a prominent role in the Czech and European institutional and academic sectors. In the following pages, there are excerpts from Prof. Jařab's inaugural address.

EXCERPTS FROM THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR JOSEF JAŘAB

Reflections on the Role of CEU

The more I think about it, the more convinced I am that whatever the definition of Central Europe is—be it geographical, political or cultural—I find it justified, reasonable and helpful to feel and state my Central European identity. Such a declaration is made not only to profess a sense of "belongingness" to the region but even more in recognition of an awareness of historical experience: of my own self, my family, the community I have lived in, my nation. The course of human events in this region has produced rich and dramatic narratives of expectations, achievements, stability and turmoil, together with numerous but rather short spells of happiness, and then again longer periods of suffering—much of which we have inflicted upon ourselves. This history of ours presents itself for thoughtful deliberation—though not to be repeated in its darker chapters it may also be regarded as an inspirational source of action which should be enlightened by the past and motivated by our will for a better future. Education and culture, intellectual and spiritual activities have always been of vital importance in the life of this region. Schools, cultural institutions, the printed word and picture, all were simultaneously instruments of indoctrination used by oppressors in our past, as well as being means of resistance and dissent for those who were intended to be suppressed and dominated. Such also was the case during the decades of the communist totalitarian regimes in the countries of the region. When those regimes finally collapsed in 1989, the educational systems were at once both a cause for optimism—the rebellion in my country, for instance, blossomed in the universities and dissent was especially widespread in the intellectual sector—and pessimism—schools were in a dilapidated condition, human and material resources were poor and inconsistent. Despite the important work of those teachers in the "grey zone" who were brave enough to inspire critical thinking in students and were capable of teaching "between the lines," the information barrier and protracted existence in imposed isolation, along with ideological indoctrination, had caused serious inadequacies and real harm. It was clear that transformation of these societies in both political and economic terms would have to be accompanied and hopefully helped by transformation of these educational systems.

Yet, while the liberated institutions of higher learning in the region readily grabbed the opportunity for regaining autonomy—sometimes to the extent of impracticality—and while they were struggling with an inherited, and continuing, lack of resources in the areas of personnel, equipment and information, they were also, unwittingly and slowly, joining universities in the West who were in the midst of their own crisis—one which ensued from the dramatically changing role of both higher learning institutions and research at the end of the twentieth century. It is at the confluence of these two crises, coping with an inherited past and facing a challenging future, that I see the ultimate relevance of the new institution that was created by the Founder's commitment in the 1990's—the Central European University. It is exactly this point of contact between the problems of the East and those of the West (to use the Cold War language of the past) that provides this new institution with a mission that, to me, seems to be unique, inviting and, I trust, rewarding. CEU has a vital role to play in these times when a new upsurge of nationalism and xenophobia has swept through many areas in the region. For these are also times when, in the world at large, universities seem to be outgrowing their role as institutions which were primarily, if not entirely, considered keepers and cultivators of national cultures in nation-states.

CEU has unique potential. As a liberally-oriented graduate school which offers higher education in social sciences and the humanities and one which is mandated by both its academic offerings and its international faculty and student base, it is equipped to meet such a challenge: to fulfill its role on a grand scale—from the region, for the region, beyond the region.

REPORT OF THE YEAR

Gábor Klaniczay

The academic year of 1996/97 has started as ambitiously as this still young, but already well-established and dynamically evolving institution could. Instead of making a short tour around medieval monuments within Hungary, as an introductory experience to bring the new group of students together, we decided to travel to Poland. First, we visited Cracow with the usual departmental team-introduction at the Wawel and at the Mary altar by Veit Stoss, with local professional guides at the manuscript section of the Jagiellonian Library and at the Collegium Maius and with an interesting peep into the famous Dominican convent where the Prior Jan Andrzej Kłoczowski once gave shelter to illegal meetings of *Solidarność*. All this was an appropriate start for our new coordinator, our Ph.D. student and Cracow resident Renata Mikolajczyk, who took over this important task from Marcell Sebők, the "founding head" of our chaotic but efficient and far-reaching administration.

After all this, we ventured to take the whole group of M.A. and Ph.D. students to an international conference at the Catholic University of Lublin. This congress, organized by Jerzy Kłoczowski and Urszula Borkowska on behalf of the CIHEC with the title "Christianity in East Central Europe and its Relations with the West and the East," gathered an impressive group of experts from Poland (such as Bronisław Geremek, Aleksander Gieysztor, Stanisław Bylina, Hanna Zaremska, Halina Manikowska), Eastern Europe (such as Franjo Šanjek, František Šmahel, Dušan Třeštík, Andrei Pippidi), and the West (Ihor Ševčenko, André Vauchez, Marcel Pacaut, Marco Mostert, etc.). It is perhaps not too self-congratulatory to say that the presence of the large group of CEU Medieval Studies made quite an impression (with half a dozen important lectures by our faculty present there, another half dozen lectures by our alumni and Ph.D. students, and, indeed, with one alumna and Ph.D. student of ours, Anna Brzezińska as organizer and secretary of the congress). And, as we had hoped, the congress also made an impression upon the new students: they could well see that Medieval Studies was becoming a serious business in Central and Eastern Europe. Long evening promenades in the ancient quarters of Lublin and a brief excursion to Kazimierz also provided a pleasant temporary relief from this "serious business."

Having finished this excursion, which was perhaps a bit too long, we returned to Budapest to the beginning routine. Pre-session, English and computing classes, serious M.A. topic interviews—a more and more elaborate way to get started. This year we tried a new version of tutorial supervision: three last year Ph.D. students (Anna Kouznetsova, Maya Petrova, and Stanko Andrić), acting as tutors for their M.A. colleagues.

As for our actual work, there have been two important innovations. True to the interdisciplinary commitment of our department, we decided to make the "Research Methods" courses the real backbone of our education. In the first term, there was a team-taught class, co-ordinated by János Bak, where we set ourselves the ambitious task to introduce everybody to the basic set of scholarly handbooks and reference works of the different sub-fields of medieval studies (introducing source collections such as *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Patrologia Latina et Graeca*, *Muratori*, etc.; specialized lexicons and repertories of archaeology, art history, palaeography, history of law, economics, religion, philosophy, etc.). To support this work, we also produced a list of the availability of these handbooks in Hungarian libraries. To this series of "Handbook courses" students had to add at least three more specialized "Research Methods" seminars in various fields in the second term.

The other innovation concerned an alternative to writing the 40-60 page-long M.A. thesis. Considering the heavy course-load, which made our M.A. a combination of the taught and the thesis M.A., we proposed for those students who preferred to concentrate on various courses instead of one single theme nourishing an M.A. thesis, that they could also earn an M.A. degree by writing three substantial research papers. This option was taken by some and is still in an experimental phase.

The first term was, this year, unusually rich in public events. We had two public lecture series, one of which concentrated upon the wide field of "Persons and Models" (having, among others, the innovative Russian medievalist, Jurij L. Bessmertny as speaker), the other tried to profit from the Millecentennial anniversary vogue of pre-conquest Hungarian history. This latter was not only used for various important public lectures, but also for co-arranging a spectacular international conference with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and ELTE (relying upon the co-ordination of József Laszlovszky). In addition to all this, the new research project of the Department, "Nobility in Medieval Central Europe" (directed by János Bak and co-ordinated by Damir Karbić) had arranged a session "in memoriam Erik Fügedi" where a fruitful two-day discussion elaborated the possible considerations for a never-before-done, closely monitored comparison of medieval nobilities in the region (see details of the program below). In addition to all this, a brief flight to the other end of the world allowed János Bak and myself to lecture together at the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies of UCLA. This event was chaired by Henrik Birnbaum, the president of our Academic

Board, assisted and commented by our Californian recurrent visiting professors Patrick Geary, Ruth Mellinkoff, Nancy van Deusen, Marianne Birnbaum, and also our "emeritus" co-ordinator Marcell Sebők, who was spending his scholarship year in Berkeley—what a Pacific extension of Central European Medieval Studies! So, one can say, there was quite a bit of activity to distract students and professors from their everyday classroom activities, which, however, went on, as usual, with no major disturbance.

The winter term brought an unexpected possibility to make a serious examination of ourselves: our department had been nominated for the Hannah Arendt Prize and became one of the five finalists, from among whom the winner of this very prestigious prize for new educational institutions in Central and Eastern Europe was to be chosen. Considering the relative richness of CEU in comparison with other East European institutions and also its difference in size and impact, it was quite unexpected for us to be selected as a department to be examined and evaluated in this circle. We were almost sure that we would not be the winners in this round (we were right, the prize was given to the Invisible College of Budapest). Yet, at the same time, we found it flattering and important that we could present our wide-ranging activities, first in writing to the most detailed possible questionnaire (see the excerpts of our application below), then "in situ," during the April "site-visit" of the international jury headed by Lord Dahrendorf. Putting to ourselves the questions: who are we? why are we doing all this? are we doing it in the right manner? could we do it better? what are our objectives? are we of any use in our wider intellectual environment? do we have an "outreach"?—all this was a heavy burden but also a useful exercise.

The chronicle of the Winter Term has other highlights, too: an optional excursion to Vienna, a Ševčenko lecture on the "Rebirth of Rus' Faith," and a Polish, Croat, and Hungarian co-operative workshop with the French research team of Dominique Iogna Prat, Daniel Nordmann, and András Zempléni, residing that Spring at the Collegium Budapest, working on a project called "Frontières, Espaces, Identités". Meanwhile we spent a lot of time with the preparation for two larger forthcoming events. One of these was the Second Interdisciplinary Workshop of Medieval Studies (this year centered upon "Urban Culture in Late Medieval Europe," combining a series of highly stimulating discussions with a field-trip to Sopron, the best preserved medieval town in Hungary, where Katalin Szende gave us expert guidance, as usual).

The other one was a bit further ahead, both in time and in space: in early May a Teleconference on "The Future of Medieval Studies: East and West" was to be held which would establish a direct on-line link between our Department of Medieval Studies and the International Congress of Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Western Michigan. This teleconference, a cherished idea discussed for at least a year with Paul Szarmach, rehearsed several times, including the thrilling experience of having our

overseas friends sitting in front of us and speaking to us from the monitor with the possibility of our responding to them in the same way, was maturing during several months. When it finally occurred, it was a really funny event with the participation of a large group of guests for the Spring Session and for our Academic Board meeting and also with other notabilities such as Maurice Aymard, *administrateur* of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, just dropping into the crowded little room for a few hours. It did show us that there can be a real, fully valuable long distance communication between the two groups of scholars, but meanwhile it also warned us that such discussions could only be more useful if the issues are better formulated, more clearly outlined. In any case, it was a useful experience.

Speaking of experiences, there are still other ones to speak about: It was the first time that through the good offices and financial help of the Higher Education Support Program (HESP) we were able to host Prof. Andrzej Poppe from Warsaw as Senior CEU-HESP Fellow for several months. Professor Poppe used his time in Budapest with studying manuscripts and literature in the libraries, and he was also of great help to many of our students working in Slavic history to whom the door of his office was always open. We hope that he remembers his time with us as fondly as we do. Let me mention also the crowded and fascinating lecture by Carlo Ginzburg, speaking about "Picasso and the Guernica," a participation in the award ceremony of the Hannah Arendt Prize at the Schwarzenberg Palais in Vienna (drinking a special Armagnac with Prince Schwarzenberg in his own Lounge), and, above all, a fascinating excursion to Istria, with a lot of sunshine, many marvellous monuments at Krk, Opatija, Pula, Rovinj, Motovun, Poreč, and other places, frequent swimming in the Adriatic, some masterly and some controversial guided tours, and an abundant final dinner with lots of Istrian wine.

And, after all these tiring events, other rounds of intensive work: getting done with the M.A. Theses, getting through the ordeal of defences, the hard decision about Ph.D. applications, and when the whole thing is over, it is still not over: two summer schools with dozens of new participants (cultural heritage or Caucasus experts), another tour to Leeds (a slowly disintegrating contact), a final check of the selection of next year's students, and still a few weeks of rest before the following academic year would start.

A decade ago we would not have guessed that being a medievalist in Hungary would mean such a busy life, such an overdose of fascinating experiences and tiring work. Of course, we are very pleased with it, but perhaps slowing down a little bit would not harm.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SELF-STUDY PREPARED FOR THE HANNAH ARENDT PRIZE, 1997

1. OVERVIEW

1.1 History

The Medieval Studies program at the Central European University was created in September 1992, beginning with a preparatory year (1992/93) during which the two founding members, Gábor Klaniczay and János Bak, held a seminar on medieval topics for a few students, medievalists studying at the History Department. This pilot seminar was of great value, for it indicated the likely background and interest of our future students, as neither Klaniczay, who taught mainly at ELTE University, Budapest, nor Bak, whose experience was from Germany, the USA and Canada, could foresee the linguistic, theoretical and educational situation of those who were to be the students of the department. Before and during that year preparatory discussions involved friends and colleagues from Hungary and abroad in the process of planning a modern, interdisciplinary postgraduate program in Medieval Studies that had no precursor or parallel in the region.

The Central European University, founded in 1991, focussed more upon contemporary issues, and therefore a case had to be made for including medieval studies in its curriculum. We were convinced that transition in this region should rely not only upon modernization, but also upon the rediscovered roots and resurrected framework of a once existent European identity, which in the case of Central Europe was established for the first time by medieval Christian culture. The revitalization of the common European cultural tradition could greatly benefit from the expertise of that "Lateiner" segment of the intelligentsia which remained dedicated to the traditional humanities. During the communist regime their activity suffered harsh impediments from the disintegration of academic institutions and the political control of scholarly production. This might explain why some prominent dissidents and "unofficial" scholarly authorities came from the field of medieval studies, like Bronisław Geremek and Karol Modzelewski in Warsaw and Poznań, Aaron Gurevich in Moscow, František

Šmahel in Prague (or rather: Tábor) and Jenő Szűcs in Budapest. We also felt and argued that this field of scholarship is significant for the present day: much of the nationalist political debates that now divide this region cannot be understood and overcome without studying the ethnogenesis of these peoples, and the medieval interactions between Latin and Orthodox Christianity and between them and the Muslim world. Finally, an active center of medieval studies could also play a major role in documenting, preserving and managing the endangered cultural heritage of the region. A new generation of interdisciplinary experts, able to master both traditional and modern techniques of their craft, would constitute a valuable network for the future of the culture of East-Central Europe.

The idea managed to win supporters and involve important scholars. A fruitful two-day brainstorming session took place in November, 1992, at the Castle of Erdőtarcsa where Aleksander Gieysztor and Jacek Banaszkiewicz from Poland, František Šmahel and Dušan Třeštík from the Czech Republic, Ferdinand Seibt and Hans Belting from Germany, Gerhard Jaritz from Austria, Ernő Marosi, József Laszlovszky and Pál Engel from Hungary joined Gábor Klaniczay and János Bak to design the curriculum and the first research projects, and to create an Academic Board. In March 1993 the Board's second meeting took place combined with a Workshop on *Ethnicity in Medieval East-Central Europe*. Following that, the department integrated two more members into its resident faculty: Gerhard Jaritz and József Laszlovszky. Building up other necessary resources for the future students, a CEU Medieval Library was founded in cooperation with the existing Medieval Seminar Library of Eötvös Loránd University, which enabled CEU students to use the valuable collection of medieval source editions available at ELTE and contributed to more informal, direct contacts with the Hungarian university community.

In its first academic year, in 1993/94, the Department of Medieval Studies ran a full Master of Arts program in interdisciplinary Medieval Studies for forty graduate students who came from 14 countries. Everyday teaching experience was the best trial and error method of developing a suitable curriculum. We had to explore the right proportion of traditional skills and modern methods, of various medievalist disciplines, of course work, individual research and assistance in thesis writing, and we had to draw and redraw the borderlines of our competence. An important development was the decision taken in Spring 1994 to include among our principal targets the study of the relations between Latin and Orthodox (Byzantine and Slavic) Christianity, the feasibility of which we explored in a workshop directed by Henrik Birnbaum (Los Angeles) with the participation of Vladimír Vavřínek (Prague) and Peter Schreiner (Cologne), which, as it turned out, corresponded to the interest of many students and met with a good response from them.

The plan to combine the courses offered by our resident faculty with those by visiting professors from the region and from the West also needed to be tried out and improved. We developed a network of visiting professors who gave shorter seminar series, participated in workshops, participated in the supervision of the students' theses, and where appropriate advised and helped them in research in their own countries. We managed to establish a reliable "pool" of medievalists who were prepared to sign a "recurrent visiting professor" contract with us. Public lectures (such as the ones by Peter Burke, Herwig Wolfram or Jacques Le Goff) helped to involve the Budapest intellectual community in our work. The department soon became the meeting point of an international scholarly community as varied in their fields of expertise as their home backgrounds, an appropriate basis to meet the demands of such a diverse student body as the one in the CEU.

In March 1994 the activity of the research project on *Women and Power in Medieval Central Europe* started with a workshop which brought together nine recognized experts in the field (among them Nancy Partner from Montréal and John C. Parsons from Toronto) and more than a dozen graduate students and junior faculty from central and eastern Europe applying for research scholarships. The project was then introduced to a wider audience of scholars at the First International Medieval Congress in Leeds in July 1994, where the CEU was represented by a large group of professors, research assistants, students and associated scholars giving their papers in five panels. This was also the occasion for the other departmental research program, the *Visual Resources of Medieval Central Europe*, to present its new computer-based database systems, exemplified by the Hungarian Angevin Legendary on CD-ROM, supported by the ORBIS software we had been developing ourselves and the visual archives documented in KLEIO, where we rely upon our cooperation with the Institut für Realienkunde in Krems.

That same year, following the February visit by Prof. Elizabeth A. R. Brown of CUNY, who came to review the program, the Medieval Studies Department was accredited with the right to grant a *Magister Artium* degree and diploma issued by the Board of Regents of the State of New York. While expecting the M.A. accreditation, the Department had already started planning a prospective Ph.D. program. As a first step a "second-year" scholarship was given to ten students who wished to stay at the CEU and continue their research towards a future doctoral dissertation.

In 1994/95 the 35 new students started the program with an academic excursion to Western Hungary and a month-long preparatory term, both being new or largely modified elements in the curriculum. The faculty was joined by new members: two Assistant Professors: Marianne Sághy and István Perczel, three academic tutors and an English language assistant, which marked the department's efforts to broaden the scope of the resident faculty's field of expertise as well as to offer more direct assistance

to the students in their research and thesis writing. Another innovation in the program included a mandatory Research Methods course (iconography, historical anthropology, palaeography, archeology, economic and social history, philosophy, literature, computing in medieval studies) aiming at giving a truly interdisciplinary background to students who in the course of their research and previous studies normally had no possibility of getting acquainted with areas other than their own.

Apart from regular teaching and guest lectures involving many distinguished scholars, there were a number of events organized by the department, such as the workshop on *Gender and History* in May, 1995, the debate at the City Hall of Budapest on the role of the historian at the end of the twentieth century (with Natalie Zemon Davis, Stephen Greenblatt, Carla Hesse, Gábor Klaniczay, Reinhard Koselleck, Thomas Laqueur and István Rév). The department also published its first *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1994/95* reporting the events and including papers of the first regular year of its activity. Also, continuing the tradition, a group of students, professors and research assistants, even larger than in the former year, gave papers and organized sessions at the Medieval Congress in Leeds.

In February, the department hosted Giles Constable, Dale Kinney and Paul Szarmach sent by the New York Board of Regents to investigate the program, which resulted in its ultimate acceptance and the accreditation of the Ph.D. degree in the following year. By that time two generations of students were taking part in the doctoral program and the plan of the full four-year Ph.D. course in Medieval Studies was gradually taking its final shape. A network of external supervisors, examiners and boards was set up for all doctoral candidates, decisions were taken as to the number of classroom-hour credits (40 in the first and 20 in the second and third and 10 in the fourth year) and an examination system was outlined ("field exam" in research tools, languages and three chosen fields of medieval studies) aiming at achieving a balance between individual research leading to the doctoral dissertation and a general interdisciplinary education in medieval studies.

Another matter of concern, the English level of the students' academic work led to the introduction of a new course: Academic Writing, taught by an English language senior instructor, Mary Beth Davis. The experiment soon showed results. The theses handed in for defence in June, 1996, were written in better English and even those of the weakest students reached a level acceptable for a non-native speaker. Along with improving the students' English the department started to work out a more demanding and ambitious language policy including other modern as well as medieval languages. Good cooperation with the CEU Language Center ensured the possibility of offering German, French, Russian and Hungarian courses to students at all levels throughout the year, along with English. The department's own resources (experts in

Latin, Greek and Old Slavonic philology) allowed instruction in the medieval source languages and the newly introduced translation seminars. Accordingly, students were expected to prove their proficiency in at least one modern and one medieval language, and strongly encouraged to learn others (Hungarian or Slavic languages of the region).

As a result of the defences held in June 1995, 26 students earned a master's degree and ten of them were admitted to the evolving Ph.D. program.

The 1995/96 academic year included also some extracurricular events all of which were aimed at widening the cooperation with students and scholars from the region. In March we organized a conference on *The Interactions of Monastic Cultures in Medieval Europe* which took place in the oldest Benedictine abbey in Hungary, at Pannonhalma. Continuing the monastic theme, the department set up a session dedicated to monastic culture at the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo. The second edition of the Annual came out in April, and in June a new research project was launched on *Nobility in Medieval and Early Modern East-Central Europe*. A new tradition of organizing each year an Interdisciplinary Workshop devoted to the most important themes in Medieval Studies started in June 1996, with a series of sessions on *The Year 1000* and the participation of many distinguished guests. This informal kind of gathering of recognized scholars and graduate students in a common seminar session proved to be a valuable addition to the regular curriculum. Another new project, the Summer University scheme, allowed the department to give a month-long course on *Computing in Medieval Studies* during July, 1996.

Both these projects are to be continued in the future. This academic year 1996/97, another Interdisciplinary Workshop will take place on *Urban Culture in Late Medieval Europe*, and there are already plans for the next one dedicated to the courtly culture. Currently two Summer University courses are being organized by the department: one on *Cultural Heritage in Danger* and another, on *The Caucasus: A Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures*.

Intent on widening the interdisciplinary character of the curriculum, the department hired a Slavist and manuscript scholar. Prof. Ralph Cleminson, formerly at Portsmouth University, U.K., joined the faculty in September 1996. At present, the department runs a full four-year Ph.D. course in Medieval Studies. In Spring 1997 we expect the first doctoral dissertations to be completed and defended. In addition to its regular teaching activity the department carries on two research projects: *Visual Resources in East-Central Europe* and *Nobility in Medieval and Early Modern East-Central Europe* and a yearly publication of the *Annual of the Medieval Studies at the CEU*. The department also organizes conferences and academic meetings, often in cooperation with other institutions as well as encouraging and supporting the participation of its students and faculty in similar events elsewhere. In May 1997 a teleconference is

planned which will link the CEU and the Medieval Studies Congress at Kalamazoo for a joint session on *The Future of the Middle Ages: East and West*. Apart from a number of guest professors regularly visiting the CEU, the department uses other possibilities offered by the University, namely the HESP (Higher Education Support Program) Senior and Junior Visiting Fellow (e.g. Prof. Andrzej Poppe who is with us during Winter Term 1997) and CRC (Curriculum Resource Center) grants, in order to invite a large number of scholars interested in the Medieval Studies program each year. Many of these contacts prove very fruitful, resulting in close cooperation with academic institutions abroad or in acquiring potential visiting faculty members.

1.2 Organization and Administrative Structure

The Department of Medieval Studies operates within the Central European University, an institution of higher education chartered by the State of New York (absolute charter issued September 1996) and acknowledged as a legitimate university offering courses and granting degrees in the Republic of Hungary (by decree of the Minister of Culture and Education of 1995). The academic governance of the CEU is effected by the Senate, the Rector-President, Prorectors, Heads of Departments, the Chief Administrative Officer(s), and by committees established by these authorities.

The Department of Medieval Studies is directed by its Head (Prof. Gábor Klaniczay), counselled in matters of long-term planning by the Academic Advisory Board (Henrik Birnbaum, UCLA, Chair; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, New York University; Robert J. W. Evans, Oxford; Aleksander Gieysztor, Polish Academy of Sciences; Jacques Le Goff, École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales; Ernő Marosi, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Omeljan Pritsak, Harvard University; Ferdinand Seibt, Munich - Collegium Carolinum; Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard University; František Šmahel, Czech Academy of Sciences) and in day-to-day issues by his senior colleagues. The Ph.D. program is coordinated by its Research Director (Prof. János M. Bak).

The resident staff (including tutors and language instructors), visiting and recurrent faculty (see below, under Faculty) meet ca. every 5-6 weeks to discuss academic and other issues related to the functioning of the department. A student representative is also present at these meetings. In addition, there is a student forum held every second week (or upon request) where students can directly express their problems and suggestions.

Departments enjoy some independence, being responsible for faculty appointments, student selection, curriculum, departmental budget, etc. Other areas are controlled centrally by university committees. For example, matters such as registration and transcripts, students' scholarships, health insurance, housing etc. are taken care of by the Student Welfare Office or the Human Resources Office, with the cooperation and consent of the Departmental Head and the Coordinator.

1.3 Educational Programs

The department offers a four-year doctoral program in Medieval Studies, of which the first leads to the M.A.. It is an interdisciplinary program focusing on research skills and new methods in medieval studies.

1.4 Research

As outlined above, several departmental research projects have been pursued (or completed) during the past years. The major projects are: Women and Power in Medieval Central Europe (1993-5); Visual Resources (1994-); Nobility in Medieval Central Europe (1996-). Slavonic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books (1997-). Besides these, members of the faculty pursue research projects which are partly supported by CEU partly by other agencies and involve students and doctorandi/ae as well.

1.5 Degrees offered

The Dept. offers an M.A. in Medieval Studies—after one year of study—and a Ph.D. after four years (including the first for the M.A.). Students who complete the prescribed credits but are not (yet) ready to submit a thesis for the M.A. degree receive a Certificate of Attendance. We are presently exploring the feasibility of granting M. Phil. degrees after one year of doctoral course-work (reaching the "ABD"—"All But Dissertation" stage).

1.6 Students

The department has only full-time students in both the M.A. and the Ph.D., program. As outlined above, in 1993/94 the enrolment was 40, in 1994/5 30 for the M.A. and 11 "prospective Ph.D." candidates, in 1995/96 31 M.A. and 20 Ph.D. students. In the present (1996/97) academic year there are 54 students studying in the four years of the Medieval Studies program (see the statistical data included). There are 29 in the M.A. year, selected from about 100 applicants from 25 countries (Belgium 1, Bulgaria 3, Croatia 2, Georgia 2, Hungary 5, Lithuania 2, Poland 4, Romania 2, Russia 3, Slovenia 1, Ukraine 2 and USA 1). There are 9 students studying in the first year of the doctoral program, 7 in the second and 9 in the third and final year (from Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Russia).

Their medievalist interests as well as educational backgrounds vary from religious history (8), gender studies (3), art history (9), archeology (4), language and literature (5), historical anthropology (5) to social history (7), theology (5), political and institutional history (7), philosophy (3) and economic history (2). Within these, 10 students are especially oriented towards Byzantine-Western interactions.

1.7 Teaching/research staff

The resident staff of the department consists of 3 professors, 3 associate professors, 2 assistant professors, 1 senior instructor, 2 language instructors and 3 tutors (4th year doctoral candidates), augmented by a network of returning visiting professors. The combination of resident staff and recurrent visitors is argued above.

1.8 Support staff

The Head is assisted by a Departmental Coordinator (Renata Mikolajczyk, M.A.) who is also in charge of the departmental administrative office (a secretary and an assistant secretary). The Ph.D. program's Research Director is assisted by an assistant coordinator (Zourabi Aloiane, M.A.). The research projects are executed by appointed staff (research assistants) and supervised by the Head of Department. A library curator and two librarians are in charge of the Medieval Studies Library, and the Visual Resources Laboratory is staffed by two research assistants.

2. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

2.1 Degrees, courses, requirements, accreditation

The Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU offers a four-year doctoral program, including a year leading to the master's degree. The M.A. in Medieval Studies was accredited by the New York Board of Regents on 20 May, 1994; the Ph.D. in Medieval Studies on 20 February, 1996. As outlined above, the Ph.D. program was built upon the M.A. (opened in 1993) immediately after the latter's accreditation, thus may be regarded as introduced in 1994. An experiment on a "non-thesis" version of the M.A. has been introduced in 1996/7, the result of which cannot be evaluated yet. The reasons for contemplating this change are manifold and based both on our experience and

the example of similar programs (e.,g. at the Medieval Institute of the University of Western Michigan). It seems that for students who do not intend to proceed towards a higher degree (Ph.D.) and those whose major professional goal is to obtain a wide insight into medieval civilisation, it may be more fruitful to write three papers rather than one M.A. thesis.

The M.A. program is a combination of formal coursework (classroom hours with short assignments, adding up to 32 credits, one credit corresponding to 12 weeks of 50 minute long classes) and supervised individual research leading to an M.A. thesis (ca. 50 pages long, presented at a public defence, 8 credits). The academic calendar is divided into a three-week preparatory period, two semesters and a spring session. The preparatory session is designed to introduce students to the resources available at CEU and elsewhere in Budapest and includes an intensive course in English for Academic Purposes, optional Hungarian classes, computer training and library orientations.

The M.A. course consists of a "core curriculum" to be taken by all candidates and a selection of optional courses. The mandatory classes include, above all, a sequence of courses in Research Methods. After some experimenting, presently this subject is covered by a comprehensive overview of the major fields of medieval studies, taught by a team of resident and returning visiting professors during the first semester in twice 2 hours (4 credits), beginning with the major reference works to sources and literature, history of source publication, and tools for the study of written and non-written sources ("auxiliary disciplines"), and is continued by classes on particular fields, such as religious and ecclesiastical history, economic and social history, languages and literature, archaeology, art, philosophy and theology. This course is supported by a Handbook compiled by the teaching team (presently under revision and completion), which enables the instructors to spend their time on pointing to major research issues and commenting on the literature, without having to pass around books or dictate titles. In the second semester several additional Research Method courses are offered, each worth 2 credits, of which at least 3 have to be taken by every student, preferably of different types, such as one on (a) work on manuscripts (Diplomatics, Latin/Greek and Slavic Palaeography, Codicology, etc.), another on (b) work on non-written sources (Use of Visual Resources, Iconography, Archaeological Methods, etc.) and a third on (c) new approaches to medieval studies (such as Historical Anthropology, Study of Everyday Life, Family and Gender, etc.). By this arrangement we hope to accomplish an interdisciplinary training of all M.A. candidates.

In the first and second semester an M.A. seminar is also mandatory: this seminar (usually meeting in two sections in order to enable detailed discussion) is a core enterprise of the course, in which in the beginning (3-4 weeks) lectures are given on general issues of medieval studies and their methods, followed by weekly presentations

from the students. In the first round, outlines of planned theses are presented and discussed, with special reference to the choice of sources and bibliography, consistency of the outlined argument and feasibility of the project. In the second semester students present a core chapter of their M.A. thesis for discussion: these have to be chapters (of 10-15 pp.) which address the analysis of the major sources that will constitute the basis of the thesis. During the Spring Session and from late May to mid-June the M.A. Seminar changes into "Thesis Writing Workshops" of 4-5 students each, conducted by the supervisors of theses and discussing the final formulation of the thesis.

Additional mandatory courses of the core curriculum include Academic Writing (2 credits in both semesters) and preparatory work for the spring field trip ("Excursion Consultation"). The latter is done by personal consultation on the subject chosen from a list proposed and demands that every student prepares a bibliography on a subject related to the field trip (either local history, archaeology or more general background topic, such as history of the region to be visited, settlement patterns, etc.) and (in the second semester) writes up a few pages for the "Field Trip Guide" with a short presentation, a few ground-plans or maps and selected bibliography. (This Guide is then in the hands of all participants during the excursion, and students in charge of a certain topic may choose to give an oral presentation in situ. Considering their inexperience in such matters and their linguistic problems, we do not insist on everyone acting as a cicerone, but leave this option open.)

Elective seminars and language courses (Latin, Greek, Old Slavonic and modern languages) add up to additional 14 credits. Seminars are offered by both resident and visiting faculty, usually one 2 hr session per week for 12 weeks (2 credits) on varied topics. We try to offer at least one seminar per year (if not per semester) on the major fields of the faculty's expertise such as religious history, Byzantine-Latin interaction, courtly culture, legal and institutional history, urban history, social history, medieval philosophy, history of art and architecture, Slavic civilisation. Students in these seminars as a rule present an oral report on minor research topics (on a source, article or book) and write a short (3-6 pp.) summary of the same (or another) subject as mandatory assignment. Those who choose to write a formal seminar paper (10-12 pp. or more with full-fledged apparatus, bibliography etc.,) may be granted an additional credit. (The seminar papers may also serve as credits towards the "non-thesis M.A.", a recent experiment of ours, about which more below.) Some seminars, esp. by visiting faculty, are shorter, with two sessions per week or even reduced to 1 credit (6 times 2 hrs), and serve the purpose of widening the general subjects covered by the resident and regular visiting faculty.

The Spring Session is devoted, besides the Thesis Writing Workshops to reading courses of three-weeks' duration (1 credit each with 6 meetings of about 2 hrs) mainly offered by short-term visitors to the same purpose as the short seminars: they may

include courses on less frequently offered research methods (such as Musicology) or on some recent research interests of a colleague from abroad.

Language courses are of varied character: some are aimed at "making up" for insufficient preparation in the medieval or modern languages, others are designed to advance the students working knowledge of the language of sources (Latin etc.) and modern literature. No credit is granted for "make-up" courses that aim at bringing the students to the level they have to achieve before being granted the M.A. (There is a test in Latin or Greek or Old Slavonic as well as in one of the modern languages—German or French or Italian—in the Fall, and those students who do not reach a sufficient standard have to take the exam again in the Spring in both types of languages. Only a good reading knowledge is expected in the modern languages, and past experience shows that most of our entering students are able to pass the requirement on answering 3-4 questions on the basis of reading a passage of 1-2 pages of an article in the given language.) A maximum of 3 credits can be earned by advanced medieval and modern language courses. Additionally, in the second term "Translation Seminars" are offered on Latin, Greek, Old Slavonic and Middle High German texts (2 credits each). These (optional) seminars have a triple aim: they offer exercise in the given "source-language," discussion of translation problems (technical terms, *topoi*, borrowings, etc.) and practice in good English writing.

In addition to regular classes students are also expected to attend the guest lectures and other scholarly events organised by the department (like the Interdisciplinary Workshop). We calculate that somewhat more than half of the working time of the students is spent in class in one form or another, and the other half is free for research and consultation. It is a continuous task to find the correct balance between the two, ours being a half-"taught" and half-"research" M.A..

As mentioned above, in 1996/97 we have introduced, for a trial period, an alternative arrangement, leaning more towards the "taught M.A." option, allowing students to opt for three seminar papers (and an oral examination) instead of an M.A. thesis and its defence. The total of the writing assignment is no less, but its being distributed on three topics and having a different time-schedule (submission of 15-20 pp. each in December/January, March/April and June) might be helpful for both those who have major difficulties with writing English or who wish to explore more than one topic, even if not in the depth of an M.A. thesis. We do not have yet enough experience in this matter as to be able to judge its success or otherwise. Should we opt for sustaining this variation, we shall formalise it (also with the accrediting agency in New York State). It is not an unusual format (offered e.g., at the University of Western Michigan Medieval Institute), but we have to wait and see, whether it is valuable for our purposes.

The doctoral program is built upon the M.A. course. (We do not intend to admit students to the Ph.D. program who have not passed through our first-year curriculum, as there are few comparable interdisciplinary programs. Exceptions may be possible, but essentially we regard the four years as a unit, even though partitioned by the granting of the M.A. after one year.) The Ph.D. candidates attend in their first doctoral year (second at CEU), a weekly Ph.D. seminar and an individually designed sequence of courses (up to 20 credits) chosen from the seminar offerings and special seminars designed for the Ph.D. level. The Ph.D. Seminar is a combination of the format of the M.A. Seminar (*mutatis mutandis*) and special sessions on recent research presented by resident and visiting faculty. (With the completion of our enrollment in all four years, the Ph.D. candidates in the three years of their study/research amount now to half of our students. A more specific planning for their second-year seminars is presently underway.)

At the end of the first doctoral year, the Ph.D. candidates are required to pass a "field examination" proving their familiarity with areas of Medieval Studies other than their research topic as well as advanced proficiency in one modern and one medieval language (bringing them to what we refer to as ABD=all but dissertation stage). The "field examination" consists of an essay on a general medievalist (theoretical, historiographical or similar) topic and three oral exams on three different subjects, only one of which may be close to the candidate's dissertation subject. (The candidates submit a reading list on the chosen subject, which is approved by their supervisor, and on the basis of which an oral colloquium of 30-40 minutes is held by two members of the faculty. Candidates are expected to discuss recent research directions, give a critical assessment of their readings, point to the major controversies and problems in the field.) Granting an intermediate degree (M. Phil.) to those who had passed this examination, which is now ever more widely done in North American universities, is presently under consideration. (Such a degree may be useful as an "emergency exit" for those who for whatever reason cannot quickly complete their dissertation and/or wish to enter the academic job-market while working on their doctoral thesis.)

The third and fourth years are dedicated to intensive supervised research leading to a Ph.D. dissertation. In the third year doctoral students are given the opportunity (through exchange agreements with other universities and special doctoral fellowships) to spend three to six months, abroad, at a university or research institution most suitable for their particular research interest. Residence requirement for third- and fourth-year Ph.D. candidates are handled flexibly, according to their research needs.

The completion of the Ph.D. degree will follow generally accepted (essentially American) practice. The dissertation will have to be submitted in the conventional format and will be adjudicated by a faculty committee of at least three members and

an external examiner. According to their decision, the dissertation will be admitted to a public oral defence and accepted or rejected (or returned for revisions with or without a repeated defence). The exact rules for the doctoral program and the dissertation defence are presently under consideration by CEU Senate (based on recommendations that emerged from our experiences).

2.2 Admission and Recruitment

Students are recruited through cooperation with the regional Soros Foundations, CEU advertising, world wide web, and the department's own network. Alumni and professors whom we are in regular contact with are especially helpful in discovering and recommending high standard students to us. There are universities we regularly receive applications from thanks to our personal contacts with the faculty there. Direct recruitment also takes place and each year faculty members take part in recruitment trips usually covering areas and institutions with fewer applicants and less contacts (in 1995/96: Bohemia and Poland, in 1996/97: Ukraine, Russia). The applicants are expected to have an undergraduate university degree or be in their final year of study in areas such as history, literature, linguistics, history of art, archeology with a specialized interest in Medieval Studies. Other requirements are: proficiency in English, working knowledge of one medieval (Latin, Greek or Old Slavonic) and one modern language (preferably German or French).

We are aware of the fact that these requirements constitute something of a pre-screening of applications. Therefore, we are not surprised that we receive usually only some 100 applications for the up to 30 places in the first-year program (while some other departments have a much higher "oversubscription rate") as students without the required skills don't even try. The selection process begins with the adjudication of the applications--arriving at Admissions' Office in early February--which contain information on former studies (with transcripts etc.), language skills (by the candidate's own judgement), two letters of reference, and a statement of the applicant on his/her research interests. (If necessary, esp. in regard to the research plans, we request additional information.) Those whose applications "on paper" appear promising to us (which we decide in a departmental meeting after at least 3 members' reading the submission) are invited to write English language proficiency tests (presently TOEFL, but others are under consideration) and an exam in Latin, Greek or Old Slavonic (sent by us), administered by the regional Soros Foundations. This list contains as a rule 60-70 applicants. Rejections at this stage are usually based on patently insufficient undergraduate background, lacking language skills (even on their own admission) or pro-

posals that cannot be fitted into our program. (Some of the latter may qualify for other departments, in which case we pass on the application to them.) On the basis of the result of the language tests (where we require at least a 550 score in TOEFL and a B mark on the medieval language exam) we identify those (usually some 40-50 applicants), whom we wish to meet for a personal interview, for which resident full-time members of the department travel to centres in central and eastern Europe (in May). These interviews usually begin with the writing of a short essay (partly to "correct" the inconsistencies of the TOEFL, partly as a "conversation starter") and enable our faculty members to make a personal impression of the candidates. After these interviews, a second plenary meeting of the department decides about the admission of the best 25-30 applicants (and establishes a waiting-list should any of those admitted turn down the offer)

2.3 Scholarships and grants

All students from the former "socialist" countries receive full scholarship from CEU including tuition, housing, subsistence and travel to and from Budapest. Students may elect to stay in the CEU Residence, in which case they receive meal-cards and monthly local transport passes as well as a cash scholarship of ca. USD 150.00 (presently HUF 22 000). Otherwise, they are granted a cash scholarship of 62 000 HUF - ca. USD 400.00. (Most of our second- to fourth year Ph. D. candidates live in rented quarters in town.) Students from other parts of the world are eligible for partial or full tuition waivers (the department has the right to grant two full or a corresponding amount of partial waivers) and for work-study programs at CEU, which enables them to earn (at least part of) their subsistence. In the framework of exchange agreements, some students come from our partner institutions; they, too, receive free tuition and, if possible, are assisted financially through work-study arrangements.

Both M.A. and Ph.D. students are eligible to apply for a research grant once a year (usually geared to the research break in April) on an all-university competitive basis. These grants are designed to cover short trips, library and archival expenses, photocopies, etc. and are in the average worth USD 400.00. In the past years our department was very successful in obtaining such grants; almost all those who applied for one received it, even if in some cases in a reduced amount. Presently the Ph.D. grants have been separated from the general competition, and we have no experience with this arrangement yet. However, the departmental budget contains some modest exigency funds that can be applied to research expenses (or conference travel) of Ph.D. candidates.

For the envisaged foreign study/research of the Ph.D. candidates (usually in their third year at CEU) the Open Society Institute has established a Doctoral Support Grant program. This is based on the "matching" principle: the candidate has to demonstrate that the receiving institution is offering some financial assistance (tuition waiver, free access to facilities, etc.) and can apply for travel expenses and a subsistence grant (depending on location and conditions). Since in the past 2-3 years only a small number of Ph.D. candidates was involved in this scheme, the department financed the grants from its own budget (altogether 9 students spent a total of 36 months abroad, in London, Oxford, Paris, Leuven, Rome and Los Angeles). The new scheme has just been instituted and there is no feed-back available yet, but preliminary discussions suggest that with the help of the OSI grants we shall be able to finance at least 3 months stay abroad for all our Ph.D. candidates, at places best suited for their dissertation subject. (We do place a certain priority on an English-speaking environment, in order to help our students polish their spoken and written English, but will in future also support study trips elsewhere.)

Students graduating with an M.A. in Medieval Studies are eligible for several CEU Special Scholarships for continuing their studies abroad. These grants are designed for students who do not wish to take up Ph.D. studies with us, but spend a time (usually one year) at another university. Such arrangements are now in place for Oxford, Cambridge, Newcastle, and Leuven (among many others which are usually of no interest to medievalists). CEU graduates are eligible for the so-called "Supplementary Grant" at any other university, if they are accepted there for advanced study and obtain tuition waiver (or similar financial support). These grants are usually also for one year only.

We, of course, do not exclude the possibility of our M.A. graduates obtaining any of these short-term grants and thereafter applying for the Ph.D. program with us (actually, we recently admitted an alumnus of ours who after his M.A. here earned an M.A. in philosophy at Leuven and returned for Ph. D. here), but this will probably remain exceptional, since the M.A. year and the ensuing preparation for the "field examination" to be taken after the second year of study with us (the first year of Ph.D. studies) form a rather close unity and support each other better if they are consecutive.

2.4 Other educational programs

Since last year the CEU has also been offering courses over the summer. The Medieval Studies Department ran a month-long Summer University on *Computing in Medieval Studies* during July, 1996. Its main organizer and director, Professor Gerhard Jaritz reg-

ularly teaches computing classes for medievalists within the Department's curriculum. Other instructors included Axel Bolvig (Copenhagen), Milena Dobрева (Sofia), Michael Greenhalgh (Australia), Kevin Kiernan (Kentucky), Seamus Ross (British Academy), Manfred Thaller (Göttingen). The Summer University aimed at presenting the most recent international resources and developments in computer-supported methods of research to a public wider than the Medieval Studies students: teachers, researchers, junior university professors, museologists from the region. After a process of selection 20 applicants from 7 countries of East-Central Europe could take part in the Summer School course. The participants had the chance to work with the various CD-roms available in the Department's Visual Laboratory (IMB, Cetedoc, In Principio), different image collections including the videodisc databases of the miniatures of the Vatican Library, the "Orbis" or the "REAL" databases and the "KLEIO" system of source-oriented data processing.

This coming summer the Department is going to offer two parallel albeit very different courses. *The Cultural Heritage in Danger* Summer University course organized by Professor József Laszlovszky is offering seminars in four strands: presentation of the dangers to Central European cultural heritage, documentation of the existing damage, conservation and methods aimed at stopping the destruction, and introduction to cultural heritage management policy.

Its participants are expected to be employees of museums, archives and libraries as well as other interested researchers involved in the process of preserving the cultural heritage of the region. The Department intends to continue working on this field in order to develop the Summer University course into a much larger project. With the help of hopefully available additional resources (we will come back to this issue at the end of the present self-study) it seeks to create a reliable network of institutions willing to cooperate closely and to eventually build up a *Cultural Heritage Information Center* at the CEU, including various databases and documentation systems concerning endangered heritage in the region.

The second Medieval Studies Summer University course planned for this year is dedicated to *Caucasus - A Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures*. Professor István Perczel has invited some of the best experts on Caucasian history and culture in order to provide the means for a dialogue between various national historiographies. The Caucasus area presents a unique variety of cultural units, ranging from the most ancient to other, recent ones. Perhaps nowhere else in the world have so many different peoples with different cultural heritages meet within such a limited territory. However, these peoples and cultures are, as a rule, studied mainly in their own right, and only very rarely are they examined as forming part of a greater geographic and cultural unity: the entire Caucasus region. Thus the main purpose of this Summer University course is to stimulate such comparative and international research. Also,

since the Department has always considered it to be its somewhat special mission to help the young scholars from these distant regions to come to Central Europe to study and express their ideas, this Summer Course is especially intended to fulfill this task.

Besides these summer-schools there are other educational forms at our department as well, which include external students and the general public. The already mentioned Interdisciplinary Workshops and the departmental conferences and public lecture series belong to this category. As for the first, our last year's workshop may well illustrate its "outreach". Its theme, The Year 1000 was chosen with the intention to benefit from the celebrations of the 1100th anniversary of the arrival of the Hungarians to the Carpathian Basin (*honfoglalás*), which in Hungary was to initiate the preparations for the festivities of the year 2000, which coincides with the millennium of the Hungarian Kingdom. Our workshop was designed as combination of an intensive university seminar-series with attentive common reading of written and non-written sources, and a conference involving the participation of several new foreign guests (Patrick Geary, Aaron Gurevich, Richard Landes, Lech Leciejewicz, Evelyne Patlagean, Pierre Riché, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and others), a new group of foreign doctoral students and young experts and the participation of Hungarian students and scholars from outside the CEU. The participation of a dozen East-European doctoral students or young university professors was made possible by the activity of the Curriculum Resource Center (CRC) of the CEU (more on this later at B/2). The Hungarian public was made aware of the conference by a well attended public lecture by Prof. Gurevich (who was in Hungary for the first time), and by our external session in Székesfehérvár, combining the workshop with the visit of the ruins of the ancient Coronation Cathedral and burial site of the Hungarian kings.

This year's Interdisciplinary Workshop topic, *Urban Culture in Late Medieval Europe* corresponds to the interest of many of our students and faculty (Profs. Budak, Jaritz, Laszlovszky, Zaremska), and it will bring in as external key-speakers Grenville Astill, Neithard Bulst, Jeffrey Hamburger, Sergey Karpov, Halina Manikowska and others. The one-day external site of the four day discussions will be Sopron, one of the best preserved medieval towns of Hungary, where we frequently pay a departmental visit, not only for its architectural treasures, but also for its urban archives, where the cooperation of the Director, Katalin Szende has already allowed to several students to discover an interesting documentation for their M.A. dissertation.

To all these supplementary educational arrangements we may finally add the non-credit language courses offered by the Language Dept. at CEU. All our students are eligible to attend courses in German, French or Hungarian (no others offered presently) at whatever is their suitable level at CEU for a minimal (formal) charge. Considering their course-load, the department may counsel them to take or leave such additional courses and may grant credit (max. 3 a year) for some of them, and many of

the students decide to pursue linguistic enrichment while at CEU. We have also been able to assist students to find other language courses in Budapest (one is presently taking Polish with the Polish Cultural Centre), and will explore such cooperation with suitable centres.

2.5 International and domestic institutional cooperation

A department with such an international constituency (both from the point of view of faculty and students) cannot live without a well organized system of international cooperation, many elements and results of which have been already mentioned. Let us here give a sketchy but systematic overview, with references to what has been or will be described in a greater detail.

We have always spent much energy on building up working academic contacts with domestic and foreign universities operating in a similar field of research as ours. Our Departmental Library has developed from its beginnings as a common Medieval Library with the Medieval History Dept. of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), using precious ancient collections there and sharing with Hungarian students our new resources. Our computerized Visual Laboratory was developed in close cooperation with the Photographic Archives of the Art History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Hungarian Professors of our Departments regularly offer special seminars for Hungarian students at ELTE. We have regular contacts, and we pay a yearly visit to the University of Szeged, one of the best Hungarian centers for medieval studies, where our foreign students have a chance to meet students and faculty there and get some of their papers published in Hungarian.

As for institutional contacts within the region, from where the majority of our students come, already the organization of our faculty and our Academic Board secured substantial contacts. We regularly pay visits to these countries for CEU Senate Meetings (Prague, Warsaw) and admissions interviews, where we regularly profit from further institutional agreements of cooperation. Our specific institutional cooperation arrangements (with research possibilities for our doctoral students) include the Slavonic Institute of Prague (Vladimir Vavřínek), the Art History Institute of Prague (Hana Hlaváčková), the Institute for Slavonic Studies in Zagreb (Anica Nazor) and the Institute of Cyrillo-Methodian Studies at Sofia University (Ivan Dobrev). The last was an organizer of a joint conference with CEU Medieval Studies on Saint Ivan of Rila in October 1996, where three professors and six Ph.D. students of ours participated. The most important cooperative venture of this kind has been our participation with 14 lectures and about 40 students at the International Congress of the Commission Internationale de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée (CIHEC) on 2-7

September 1996, at the Catholic University of Lublin (where our principal partners have been Jerzy Kłoczowski and Urszula Borkowska). This cooperation which goes back to many years of exchanges of students and professors will be supplemented by our participation in their largest project, the Atlas for Ecclesiastical History in East Central Europe.

A special mention has to be made of our Austrian contacts. With the presence of Prof. Jaritz at our Department, our links to the Krems Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit where he is Senior Research Fellow, and to its excellent library and computerised visual resources collection became institutionalized and regulated by an agreement, which makes it possible to use their databases here in Budapest and secures our assistance in their documenting activity throughout the region. We have equally close contacts with the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung at Vienna University (chaired by Prof. Herwig Wolfram), who has received us several times during our Vienna field-trips, and who coordinated their guest-invitations frequently with us, allowing us to benefit from the presence of American or British colleagues there, and hear them also in Budapest.

Our international contacts include a number of cooperation agreements with various European and American institutions of medieval studies. Already in 1993 we participated at the Spoleto meeting of the FIDEM (Fédération Internationale des Institutions d'Études Médiévales) with a large group of students and professors. It was here that the cooperation links with the Leeds Centre for Medieval Studies started, which publishes the International Medieval Bibliography (IMB) and has organized since 1994 the yearly International Congress of Medieval Studies, the largest gathering of this kind in Europe. As for the IMB, we became their first regular Central European contributor through Dr. Balázs Nagy, our library curator. At the same time, we have been participating at their July conferences with large groups of professors and doctoral students, organizing several sessions and contributing in general to the participation of Central and East Europeans. Since Summer 1996, Dr. Nagy, Profs. Laszlovsky and Jaritz have been serving on the Organizing Committee of the Congress, securing in exchange the scholarships of nine graduate students or alumni of the CEU every year. CEU has also received yearly 3-6 M.A. students in Medieval Studies from Leeds for a month's stay.

Additional exchange agreements elaborated by our department include one with the Catholic University of Leuven (concluded with Carlos Steel and Herman Braet; it has led so far to the mutual tuition waiver for three students on both sides, for a year respectively). We are also working on an agreement with Université de Nanterre — Paris X (Evelyne Patlagean; two of our students have studied there); with Terza Università di Roma (Sofia Boesch Gajano; exchange waivers for two students respectively) and we have informal contacts with a further number of universities or institutes

(Freie Universität, Berlin,—Kaspar Elm; École des Hautes Études, Groupe d'Anthropologie Historique, Paris—Jean-Claude Schmitt; Historical Institute, King's College, University of London—Janet Nelson; École Française de Rome—André Vauchez).

Finally a word has to be said of our contacts overseas. We have a formal agreement for exchanges with the University of Toronto (Michael Gervers). We are working on one with the Los Angeles Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Patrick Geary, Henrik Birnbaum), which has already received two of our doctoral students. We are in regular consultation with the International Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo (Paul Szarmach) which is organizing the biggest yearly gathering of medievalists in the world. We participate in these meetings regularly, and this coming May, as we have already mentioned, we are organizing a two-day teleconference with them on "The Future of the Middle Ages". Apart from these we have had good informal contacts to the medievalist centres of Princeton, UC Berkeley, Columbia, University of British Columbia, University of Minnesota and others.

[...]

PART B: EVALUATION

1. Mission

We have set four major aims for the Department of Medieval Studies: (i) to strengthen and enhance work in the traditional fields of medievalist research, endangered by the neglect of past decades and by the decline in systematic training in the humanities; (ii) to offer high-quality interdisciplinary instruction and research guidance with special emphasis on approaches and methods essentially new to the region; (iii) by bringing together students and faculty from several countries of the region and launching research projects transcending national boundaries, to foster international understanding within Eastern and Central Europe; (iv) through resident and visiting faculty (as well as students) from Western Europe and North America and the teaching of modern professional communication (beginning with English as the language of instruction) to open up avenues for young scholars from Eastern and Central Europe, until recently secluded from "the West", to establish contacts beyond the region. Finally, through the generosity of our founder, we can provide our young colleagues with a year or more of study free from financial hardship. During that time we also introduce them to possibilities of further financing their studies and research—even their future home institutions—by encouraging them to enter project-based grant

competitions for research funds while at CEU and thereafter. This is a skill that has been lacking in the region, and will become ever more significant for the scholarly community's survival.

In the first three years of our operation we made definite progress in all four aspects.

ad (i): We have encouraged rigorous philological, textual, and archaeological inquiries, and—based on the still existing good foundations in such fields as Latin, palaeography and chronological history in many universities of the region—offered additional methodological training, and guided theses on primary sources, written and material alike. At least 21 (ca. 25%) M.A. theses defended in the past years would live up to the expectations of “old-fashioned” medieval study, “à l’allemande”.

ad (ii): We have introduced methods and approaches such as historical anthropology, comparative history, medieval archaeology, computer assisted analysis, and multifunctional use of visual resources not hitherto widely practised in the region, where traditional narrative (mainly political) history and isolated medievalist disciplines (in contrast to interdisciplinary studies) prevail. Of the M.A. theses successfully defended in the three years, approx. 30% may be described as informed by more original research approaches, different from those usual in Eastern and Central Europe. (As the M.A. program at present limits the time for thesis research, we cannot help but accept many traditional topics, “brought with them” by the candidates. The full impact of innovative approaches will be observed in the years to come, above all in the Ph.D. dissertations.) As to the quality of instruction, we trust that we continue to live up to the positive assessment of our work by the “peer visitors” of 1995.

ad (iii): While we have no illusions about the impact of a year (or more) spent together at a university by students from countries with deep-seated (and centuries-old) prejudices and biases against each other, the encounter both on the student-to-student and student-to-instructor level may contribute to better understanding in the region. By encouraging comparative studies and scholarly exchange between the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, we may knock a stone or two from the walls which have for centuries separated Poles and Lithuanians, Hungarians and Romanians, Bulgarians and Macedonians, and so on. More than one fourth of the M.A. theses have so far addressed issues that carried their authors beyond the national frontiers of their home countries, among these 12 (15%) concentrated on comparative studies within the region whereas 11 (13%) attempted East-West comparisons as well.

ad (iv): On the primary level, we have raised the quality of our students’ written and spoken English and increased their familiarity with “Western” norms of scholarly presentation (from footnoting to modern argumentation). Thanks to the introduction of a special course in Academic Writing, our students’ written work has by now

reached an acceptable level for non-native speakers. We are continuing to work on this matter and intend further to raise the entrance requirements as well as the “exit” quality. Our students are also keen to make use of the possibilities in studying modern “Western” (German, French, Italian) languages, to say nothing of Hungarian. The regular presence of visitors from “Western” universities has proved invaluable; several of them have served as co-supervisors of theses, and many of them have offered consultation and even invitations to our students. We found that participation in international conferences and workshops at the CEU and abroad (since 1994 at the Leeds Medieval Congresses), financed through exchange and CEU grants, made a contribution to our students’ outlook on the world that cannot easily be measured. (Several of them were invited after graduation to other meetings, etc.) Successful applications to higher degree programs at universities in Europe and North America suggest that our efforts in “opening up the world” were not in vain. Presently 12 graduates of the program are pursuing Ph.D. studies in Oxford, Cambridge, Leuven, Baltimore, New York and New Haven. Study visits of 3-6 months’ duration by our Ph.D. candidates to London, Los Angeles, Paris and Leuven have also proved very valuable and will be continued; exchange agreements are also being arranged, *inter alia*, with Toronto, Reading, and Edinburgh. Moreover, graduates of our M.A. program received positions as organisers and coordinators of international scholarly and cultural cooperation in Riga, Lublin, Moscow, and elsewhere.

[...]

2. ORGANIZATION AND ACADEMIC PROGRAM

2.1 Originality and routine

As can be seen from all the things described above, the originality of our program resides in several factors: being a private university in an academic environment where such institutions barely exist, being an international English-speaking university, accredited in New York State but functioning in Budapest, being a graduate school organized in itself, without being linked to an undergraduate programme, and in a situation where graduate education is just being introduced to this region, being an interdisciplinary department with a combination of permanent and visiting faculty, to name but some of its individual features. It follows that further innovation is not an immediate priority; rather we are seeking ways of consolidating these achievements within the context of a regularly functioning institution, thereby establishing a series of regular and routinized contacts with the academic and educational communities of

the region. This is quite difficult to achieve: the CEU is itself a young institution which has not yet formalised all its procedures and the position and rôle of which in the wider world is still in the process of evolution. This means that we frequently find ourselves without any established *modus operandi*, though, on the other hand it does have the advantage that procedures are not yet ossified, and our needs can be taken into account in the process of their development.

Besides building up the domestic and international institutional contacts and networks described above, we try to promote new educational reforms in our country and our region in various ways. The colleagues we invite here as guests always serve us as critics of our unconventional methods, but also as eventual propagators of our new ideas and research projects. Our department is small enough to avoid bureaucracy, it can be run on a collegial and friendly basis, which is in considerable contrast to the traditional hierarchical system of our students' home universities. We hope thus to present a model of free and open interaction between younger scholars and their elders that may in due course also change the tone and style of higher education in the region.

While it is too early to assess the future impact of our graduates as teachers at institutions of higher education in the region, we already know about Ph.D. candidates and alumni/ae of ours who have obtained teaching positions and will—so we may hope—introduce CEU's professional methods and collegial attitudes to their home universities. Surely, junior faculty rarely has a chance to change the climate of an institution from one day to the next, but we still hope that this influence will meet with a positive response from the part of the students and thus initiate a change growing gradually with the young generation playing more and more important part in the scholarly life of their countries. If our records are correct (alumni do not always report their progress right away), 35 M.A. graduates of ours (most of them Ph.D. candidates) are presently holding junior faculty positions in Zagreb, Sofia, Tallin, Budapest, Bratislava, Lublin, Poznan, Moscow and other universities in the region.

2.2 Planned organizational changes

While adjudicating the applicants, we have repeatedly encountered the problem of talented and promising students who in one respect or another lack sufficient preparation for entering a graduate program. Sometimes their English, sometimes their "source language" does not reach the expected level, in other cases they have good ideas for study and research but have had no chance to go through the basic modern literature in the field and thus would have to spend the M.A. year merely "catching up" with the level of entrance requirements. Obviously, the ideal solution for them

would be a preparatory year at CEU, but for that no arrangements are foreseen by the Board of Trustees. (This would amount to a two-year M.A. program, which might be ideal, but "is not in the cards" right now.)

Therefore, we are planning to experiment with a "Year Zero" for such candidates. There would be, in our estimate, every year some 10-12 such students from different parts of the region. (Admittedly, more likely to come from the lesser developed regions and not from the metropolitan ones, which makes our plans a bit problematic.) The idea would be to assign an alumnus/a of ours to every one (or more) of these students, arrange for suitable language courses in their home towns, build up a small "undergraduate lending library" to circulate among them and with the help of regular consultations "back home" prepare them for admission in the following year. Without guarantee, of course. The supervision of this kind of preparation may be placed in the hands of colleagues of ours in the given country. In combination with recruiting trips and other travels, we may ourselves visit some of them in the course of the Zero Year.

Another plan considers expanding the program "from the top." Experience has suggested that we discontinue the hiring of outsiders as "tutors" as well as the employment of 4th year Ph.D. candidates as tutors. The latter was very successful, but may not work out in every year, lacking pedagogically talented candidates. Therefore, in the future we plan to have at least one postdoctoral fellow, who would at the same time be a counsellor of the M.A. and Ph.D. students "at large". On the long run, this position would allow us to offer our own Ph.D. graduates a year (or more) of research and some teaching experience. We envisage for the next few (3-4?) years to advertise this position in the UK and the USA (or solicit suggestions from our visiting professional "network") and have a "western" young graduate (or Ph.D. student close to completion, so-called ABD, as that group may be most interested in spending a year abroad without jeopardizing its employment chances) as a doctoral fellow. In 4-5 years' time we may invite back our own graduates, who, by that time—so we hope—would have obtained a teaching position in their home countries.

2.3 Outreach to local needs

A willingness to respond to local needs has always been among the major requirements of our founder, Mr. Soros, who has defined the mission of the CEU at one of the initial discussions as a combination of teaching and doing. In the case of constitutional law, privatization, economics or political science such a combination may be more self-evident (and perhaps also self-evidently problematic) than with Medieval Studies. However, we have always been attentive to such practical needs of our expertise, and

we strongly believe that medievalist experts are very much needed in Central and Eastern Europe.

One of the burning problems of present-day post-socialist central and eastern Europe is the physical condition of its rich cultural heritage, put in danger by wars, environmental dangers, theft, robbery, neglect and lack of expertise. The state and local governments and the various monument-protecting organisations are aware of the dangers these artistic and architectural treasures, or rich museums and archival collections face, but they lack a new generation of dedicated and professionally well educated experts, who could communicate with each other and know how to exploit international cooperation. Our Summer School of '97 and the planned *Cultural Heritage Information Center* is trying to bring a solution to this issue. We are in negotiation with Hungarian and neighbouring UNESCO officials and try to gain their financial support to this cause as well, and propose it in the future as a "regional UNESCO program".

Another possibility of a similar kind would be a planned network of medievalist libraries exchanging publications, reviews, and helping each other with duplicate copies or digital on-line connections.

A third example is provided by the mediating role of our department in organizing sessions of various non-CEU eastern European scholars at international medievalist congresses, such as the ones at Leeds or Kalamazoo.

2.4 Regional cooperation

The Department regarded it from its inception as its central task to establish contacts and spread its interdisciplinary and—at least in reference to the region—innovative teaching and research methods. This was crucial not only from the point of view of our avowed "mission", but also in our own interest: only by reaching out to the medievalists in east-central and eastern Europe and involving them into our enterprise could we hope to attract able and talented students to the program. We made an effort to meet colleagues and inform them about our work during both our "recruiting trips" and our travels to the centres of the region for interviews with the applicants. Colleagues who recommended students to the program promised to be prime candidates for guest lectures or visiting professorships. We were greatly assisted in these efforts by the Curriculum Resource Center of CEU, an office that organises week-long visits of (mainly junior) scholars from the region to CEU, offers them an orientation on the activities of the university, finances a modest package of books selected by the guests, and puts the visitors in touch with their professional fellows at CEU. The Department has both a word

in proposing invitations and judging the appropriateness of scholars applying for an invitation. We have already received three groups of about a dozen medievalists each who had the chance to participate in our seminars, discuss their teaching with us, take course-outlines and other educational materials home with them. We are keeping in touch with several of them and continue to plan such visits (the next being in the first days of April 1997, coinciding with our Interdisciplinary Workshop, allowing the guests to participate in the work of that international meeting).

It has also been a primary concern in the research projects of the Department to involve scholars of the region and acquaint them with up-to-date issues of international research. To the workshops of the Women and Power project we consciously invited a number of younger colleagues whose research proposal did not necessarily appear to be well enough formulated, but whose participation promised to help them in their own endeavours. One Russian scholar, for example, whom we included into one of our panels at the Leeds Medieval Congress (even though—admittedly—her presentation was not quite up to an ideal mark), found valuable contacts through our workshop, and has been since invited to Leeds by other panel organisers. Similar examples could be enumerated. Thus the "snowballing" effect seems to have worked well. The same holds true for the recently started Nobility project: at the first workshop a number of Polish colleagues involved in genealogical research of high quality (but of somewhat conservative methodology) met for the first time with French scholars and colleagues from the region (some of them studying at CEU) involved in similar, but more "modern" research projects. We now hope to also connect them with colleagues in Germany in the context of a joint meeting of students of nobility in Rostock, coming June and thus allow them—and our students and colleagues—to "update" their methodical approaches.

Also the project in *Computer supported processing of Slavonic manuscripts and early printed books* involving a range of fellows from Sofia, L'viv, London and St Petersburg offers the CEU the opportunity to take a leading role in the process of assimilation of modern technology and methodology by Central and Eastern European scholarship and its adaptation to the particular needs of the region. The outcomes of this research can be expected to determine the direction of Slavonic manuscript studies for years to come, and it is certain that the catalogues produced will remain of permanent value to researchers in the field. Not only will the printed catalogues and other materials be essential works of reference, but the databases produced will be able to serve as the starting-point for further research, and will be capable of more or less indefinite expansion as the amount of information available increases.

However, beside these more or less institutional activities, probably the most significant regional impact of our activities lies in those less tangible interactions that emerged from joint teaching or discussion at CEU. It was hardly a coincidence, for

example, that the recently published joint issue of the medievalist journals *OTIVM* and *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* (Zagreb and Krems) was presented to the public at CEU. And it was probably no mere rhetoric or courtesy when the editors, Profs. Budak and Jaritz, both part-time resident members of the Department, pointed out that such a cooperation of Croatian, Hungarian and Austrian historians working on the problems of medieval families would have been unthinkable without the institutionalised and casual meetings of colleagues at CEU. Similarly, the special issue of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, devoted to Estonian studies of everyday life, written partly by alumni and guest instructors of CEU, was also born out of encounters in the Department and helped to involve Baltic scholars in an international research enterprise. A joint issue of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* and the Budapest based periodical *History & Society* on "Nobilities in Medieval Central Europe" (1994) had also conversations at CEU as its origins and printed an article by a Bulgarian CEU graduate together with Czech, Polish, Canadian and Hungarian authors. The examples could be continued. But exactly because of the informal character of such contacts, we cannot even know, how many cooperative ventures—similar to the aforementioned ones—were born out of them.

3. STUDENTS AND TEACHING/RESEARCH STAFF

3.1 Our contribution to the future of the Middle Ages in the region

Ever since the foundation of the Medieval Studies Department at the CEU we have been hoping to eventually influence through our work the future fate of the medieval studies research and education in East-Central Europe. It is far too early to assess the results of our efforts, still, it can be said that our teaching experience at the CEU and the impressions we gained through our contacts with other higher education institutions of the region have only reassured us that there is a great need for a transformation of old existing patterns and the introduction of new models in the field of humanities, in this region. As medieval studies were fairly neglected or viewed negatively by Marxist scholarship, in many countries there arose a serious generation gap between the "old" generation of medievalists who received their formation before WWII and who gradually disappear now from their important leading positions, and the new generation of students starting their studies in this field right now. Not only the universities but also research institutes, museums, archives and libraries seem to lack competent "middle aged" directors who would be open to new trends (e.g. the possibilities offered by the quickly developing computer technologies) and able to secure valuable

international contacts and thus raise funds for their institutions. Particularly sad is the reluctance of cooperation within the region. National animosities or simple lack of interest cause that individual countries or institutions are more ready to establish contacts with their Western partners than with their neighbours. The lack of translations of more recent Eastern European medievalist scholarship into the languages of the region further hinders the possibility of interesting comparative studies.

We hope that the interdisciplinary education and the international environment we offer to students will help to overcome these problems. In the course of our work we encourage students to pursue comparative research often "forcing" them to eventually learn another language of the region. Their own studies are written in English and thus easily accessible for a wider public. New approaches in medieval studies incorporated into the curriculum and new technological possibilities available at the Department give some students the very first insight into less traditional scholarship. The unconventional organisation of the department, its numerous activities and international contacts, ongoing experiments and innovations give them an alternative model of how a higher educational institution can work, what mission and opportunities it can aim at.

Of course, not all the students are open to this kind of impact. Some experience a genuine "cultural shock" in all respects: living abroad, having to speak a foreign language, being exposed to so many intellectual and emotional challenges proves to be a much too heavy burden for a number of students. Others just prefer to continue their research and further academic career in the way they are accustomed to, and they are often reluctant to accept all of what we propose them. But that is exactly what creates the unique atmosphere of the Department, the ongoing dialogue and confrontation. We are certainly not convinced that our methods are the best, rather, we try to propose them as an alternative, leaving it up to the students to decide how much they want to absorb and to what extent they are willing to cooperate with us and influence our work. Indeed, the most effective element of our activity seems to be the constant interaction within this international community of students and professors working and studying together and thus directly confronted with each other's views and prejudices through seminar discussions, consultations and more informal contacts. This is the way to work out the needs and possibilities that medieval studies should consider in its prospective development.

We are now looking forward to the teleconference on The Future of the Middle Ages: East and West in May. Our key speakers: Aleksander Gieysztor, Andrei Pippidi, František Šmahel, Neven Budak, János Bak and Gábor Klaniczay, together with their Western colleagues assembled both in Kalamazoo and in Budapest will assess the state of the medieval studies in their particular regions and try to foretell its future. Waiting for the conclusions we are aware that it is up to this new generation (among others:

our students) to decide what will happen to the Middle Ages in the years to come. And the best way for us to influence this process is to educate them in the spirit of scholarly tolerance, interdisciplinarity and international cooperation. Things cannot change from one day to another but we are convinced that this group of young scholars will not lose touch with each other (they are "school-mates" after all) and will eventually form a network of younger generation medievalists filling in the scholarly generation gap in the region.

3.2 Students' Careers

There exist special bodies operating within the CEU whose direct task is to assist students with their further academic or professional career. They are first of all the Scholarship Office, the Careers Office and the Educational Advising Center. These provide information on a variety of scholarship programs established between the CEU and other universities and a wide selection of university prospectuses and directories of Higher Educational Institutions especially for the US and Europe. In addition they help the students in a number of practical matters such as writing application forms, cover letters and CVs, preparing for the TOEFL, GRE and GMAT tests, mastering interview techniques and so on. As the profile of the Medieval Studies program differs from that of the other CEU departments, experience shows that we cannot fully rely on the above services but have to take our own responsibility for the future study prospects of our students and alumni. For example the Scholarship Office monitors the M.A. students applying for CEU Special Scholarships, of which only a few (Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh) are relevant to medievalists. Still, we try to cooperate closely with the Scholarship Office, at the same time using our own existing international contacts with medievalist centers. As a result of this we have managed to work out a scheme of Doctoral Support Programs aimed at helping students currently enrolled in the Ph.D. program to pursue part of their studies at an accredited and recognised institution in the West without limiting the period of their scholarship here at the CEU.

As for the future professional careers of our alumni, we have, unfortunately, only limited possibilities of offering them actual employment. Luckily, most of our students do not lose touch with the home institutions they graduated from – quite the opposite, in some cases we help them gain further valuable contacts in their region which enhance their chances of finding appropriate academic positions there. Some, however, having spent several years at the CEU encounter serious difficulties in finding a suitable place in the academic community of their countries. We are currently exploring the opportunities offered by the newly developing Soros-funded Civic Education Project (CEP) that sends junior academics to teach at institutions of higher education

in East- and East-Central Europe and thus helps them to "readapt" and to integrate the skills and knowledge that they have acquired here into the existing practice of their home countries. In the future we shall try and use this scheme especially in case of our doctoral students, who are absent from the home institutions for a relatively long period, and who return with a new, "foreign" degree. Externally funded programs such as the CEP may also provide an opportunity for those who have good reasons to ask for an extension of their Ph.D. research period, which we would not otherwise be able to fund.

Another possibility, mentioned above, will be the position of postdoctoral research fellow, to which we hope in the future to be able to appoint our own graduates, especially those who, by the time, will already have had some teaching experience.

3.3 Students and faculty relations

As mentioned above, we believe that a department as small as ours can be run on a friendly and collegial basis, including the students into the process of decision making, curriculum planning, evaluation and organisation of events. Beside the classes and other formal gatherings we provide many occasions encouraging and giving opportunity for direct, friendly contacts between the students and the faculty. Such are the frequent "wine and cheese" receptions following the public lectures, conferences and the students' forum. The field trips when the whole department travels together and there is plenty of time in the bus or during the evenings to chat and to get to know each other better, are also an important element of establishing collegial contacts.

We intend to break away from the tradition, still dominant not only in the region, of a hierarchical academic structure. Our experience of teaching at the department has shown that the students never abuse or misinterpret their rights or privileges. Quite the opposite, we observe that many of them only slowly learn how to be part of an academic community of this kind which functions in a democratic, often spontaneous and informal way. True, some never manage or do not even try to overcome the gap between students and faculty they are accustomed to respect. We do not try to impose anything on them, being aware that the diversity of habits and attitudes is a natural component of this community. Thus there are students who gladly call the professors by their first names, others insist on titles and formalities; some express freely their criticisms at the student forum in front of the whole student and faculty body, others feel more comfortable telling it only to the coordinator or one of the tutors.

The same can be said about their involvement in extracurricular activities. Several students are active participants of the research projects, others help to organise conferences or recruit potential student candidates, others purchase or recommend books

from their home countries. There are, however, students who prefer to concentrate on their research and who do not express much interest in other possibilities. For some of them, again, it is the "cultural shock" and the difficulties in adjusting to the new environment that limit their possibilities.

It seems that especially with the doctoral students who stay with us for a longer period we managed to build up a system of relations based on mutual respect and equality between fellow scholars. Also the scheme of extra jobs, in the library, the visual lab or for the research projects, that we offer to the doctoral candidates has proven successful in involving them in a number of activities and in giving them the opportunity to develop other skills and to feel they are important constitutive members of the academic community.

3.4 International and interdisciplinary character of teaching/research staff

It was clear to us from the beginning that in a field as wide and variegated as Medieval Studies, a relatively small resident faculty could not do justice to the students' interests and the professional demands. Therefore we began inviting colleagues from Hungary and abroad for short visits, during which we (and they!) could assess the feasibility of a regular cooperation. (After a while, we may add to our credit, the news about the possibility of a visit to CEU Budapest spread among medievalists on both sides of the Atlantic and in Eastern Europe, so that we had more often to face the embarrassment of turning down interested colleagues than to search for suitable guests.) With few exceptions, our choices proved to be the right ones, so that now, after a few years, we have developed a network of visiting professors who give shorter seminars, participate in workshops, participate in the supervision of the students' theses, and where appropriate advise and help them in research in their own countries. We have managed to establish a reliable "pool" of medievalists who have been prepared to sign "recurrent visiting professor" contracts with us.

Planning the curriculum and the personal constituency of the resident and visiting faculty we seek to maintain an appropriate balance between traditional and innovative subjects and between Eastern and Western European scholarship. Not neglecting the "classical" disciplines we try to offer our students an insight into the new fields and approaches which were not taught in Eastern Europe prior to 1989. Thus the Research Methods course series includes palaeography and codicology along with new methods such as historical anthropology and computing in medieval studies. Religious history, also absent from the history curricula of many former socialist countries, is an impor-

tant part of the CEU Medieval Studies program, including several students working on related topics. The rich collection of most recent Western secondary literature in medieval studies available in the Department's library as well as direct contact with visiting professors from US, Canada and Western Europe helps the students to confront their former background with accepted international standards. At the same time, however, we put an emphasis on involving recognized medievalists from East-Central Europe into the work of the Department. Some are recurrent visiting professors (e.g. Vladimír Vavřínek, Hana Hlaváčková, Hanna Zaremska, Sergey Ivanov), others are members of the Academic Board (Aleksander Gieysztor or František Šmahel) still others we seek to invite for the conferences or workshops (e.g. Andrei Pippidi or Sergey Karpov) or as Junior and Senior Visiting Fellows (Andrzej Poppe).

4. CHALLENGES

Possibilities and priorities

Of the many challenges we face we recognize the institutional, educational, regional and political as the most significant.

Institutionally, we have to proceed from the stage of foundation to the stage of stability and regularity. We have managed in four short years to create a program—curriculum, faculty, international contacts, and some reputation—out of a mere idea. Much of this has been done by responding to emerging unforeseen challenges and thus, inevitably, by quick decisions. We believe that we have been successful in responding to needs in a flexible manner and thus arriving at the best forms and methods possible within the circumstances. It is clearly time to stabilise the situation achieved so far, amend it in minor points, and adjust it to the overall development of our academic and “secular” surroundings.

Our mother institution, CEU, passed through a building-up stage that was broadly parallel to our own development, and has now achieved a fairly institutionalised structure. Some parts of that structure (we may boast) were modelled after our experiences, as we were the first to introduce a Ph.D. program (and achieve its accreditation), and were pioneers in language instruction and in the teaching of academic writing, etc. However, with the general regulation of many aspects of academic life, our “pioneering” (and thus, “guerilla”) situation has ended, and we have to adjust to the overall system.

Having found, more or less, our place and mission in the scholarly community of the region and begun to establish links with other segments of the profession (cultural heritage preservation, teaching methods assistance), we have to institutionalise these and make them part of the cultural life of the region.

Finally, and in general, an institution only four years old will have for some time yet to fight for its own survival, to prove its necessity, and to demonstrate that it is fulfilling its mission (as detailed above).

Educationally, we are faced, besides our specific difficulties, with the problems emerging from the world-wide decline of interest in and support for the humanities. (That this is also an institutional-financial question should be mentioned in parentheses.) We are increasingly aware of the fact that the negative effects of "modernisation" are reaching this field in our region as well. In brief: our prospective students tend to be less well trained in the "old-fashioned" disciplines (such as Classical languages and positivist skills) than they were in the past. They are "catching up" with their western European or even American fellows in this respect. Also, the traditional prestige of the humanities, which remained high during the past half century in this part of the world, while declining in "the West", is giving way to an orientation towards practical, presentist and market-valuable skills and educations.

These facts will inevitably reduce both the number and the quality of applicants to the program. We shall have to find ways of maintaining an interest in our field and of making up for our incoming students' lack of skills without seriously reducing the standards set by us for the program. The dichotomy between "make-up" instruction and advanced learning will be a great challenge for curriculum development in the years to come. We cannot deceive ourselves by believing that it will not mean a certain lowering of standards at the beginning, but we shall have to try to reach high standards during the course of our program by combining foundations and specialised projects. It is not unlikely that our M.A. will have to adjust to its world-wide level – clearly lower than what we aimed at at the beginning, as certified several times by visitors from abroad. However, at the doctoral level we should be able to aim at excellence *tout court*.

Regionally, if this is the right word, we are faced on the one hand with the claim of public opinion in the countries of our constituency that they "belong to Europe", which is often merely declarative and—as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy—aimed at convincing the world of this affiliation, and on the other with a real, scholarly, critical inquiry into the European character of the region's historical (especially medieval) heritage. We are convinced that in essence the countries we study were part of the Christian commonwealth of medieval Europa, irrespective of whether they looked to the Old Rome or the New as the fount of their cultural and religious heritage, or wavered between the two. What is required is a critical approach in assessing the elements of this "belonging" from case to case, from period to period, from sub-region to sub-region. As sketched out by our late colleague, Jenő Szűcs, the incorporation of central Europe into the West was partial and truncated, burdened with many local handicaps in the course of the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. This is even truer in respect of the wider region, including parts of the Byzantine Commonwealth and the Baltic area.

While trying to avoid fruitless discussions (still very fashionable among intellectuals in the region) about definitions of "central", "east-central" or "eastern" Europe, we cannot avoid taking a position in these matters. Practically speaking: we must reject any theoretical or doctrinal definition of subjects eligible and students admissible on the basis of a postulated "central Europe". We are challenged by interest far outside the region (we have regularly applicants from the Transcaucasian states and recently a few from central Asia!) on the one hand and by students' proposals to pursue studies definitely not "central-European" (purely Slavic-Byzantine or purely western European). Considering our mission in a wider sense we shall have to find a reliable middle-road. As there is no similar institution anywhere in the former Soviet orbit, it may well be our task to accommodate talented students from far-away locations and also to accept their wish to study issues not strictly belonging to "our region" (as far as our competence allows).

Politically (or even emotionally) an institution such as ours has to face the realities of national (if not always nationalist) biases and prejudices, while attempting to build cooperation and understanding. As outlined above, we do not expect to overcome centuries-old divisions through common study for a year or more. Still, we have to attempt to defuse by scholarly "objectivity" a number of issues (at least minor ones) that emerge in such an international setting.

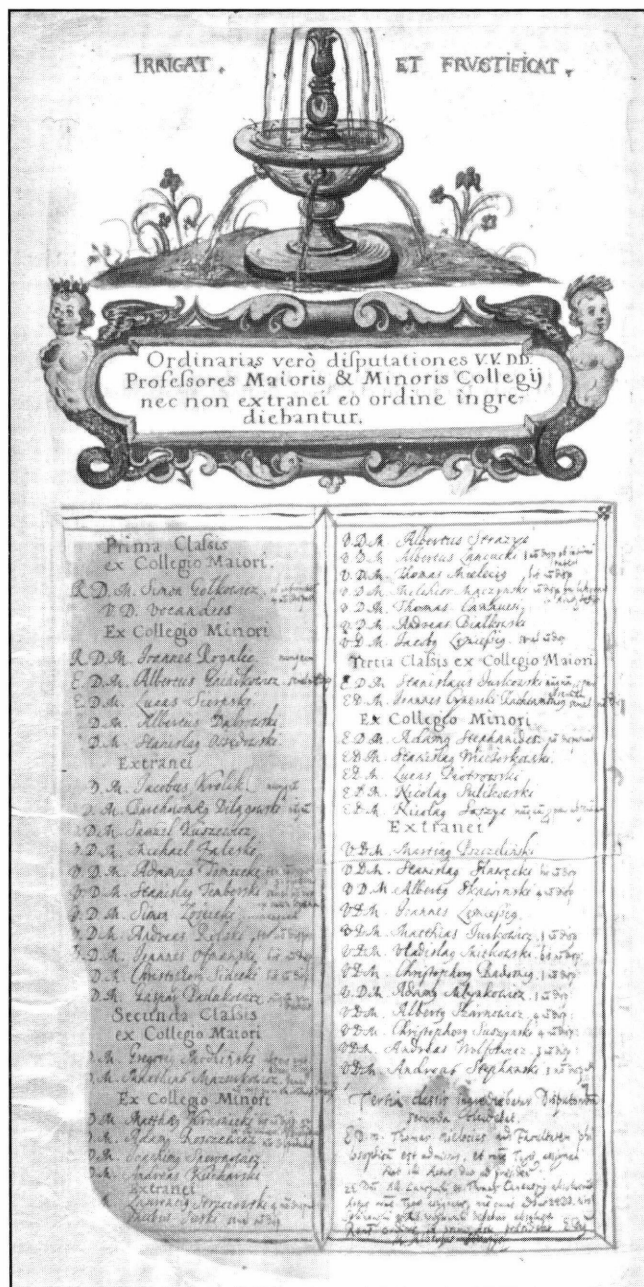
To begin from the least, the use of place and personal names causes recurrent tensions between Lithuanians, Poles and Belorussians; between Hungarians, Slovaks, and Romanians; between Serbs, Bulgarians and Macedonians, and so on. On a more sophisticated level: since we have to suggest that students come with their own research proposals for the M.A. course (as time is too short to "start from scratch"), they very often propose typically traditional "national" subjects with the hope of vindicating some sensitive historical truth (or legend) of their homeland, beginning with the postulation of the existence of a "Macedonia" (promptly challenged by Bulgarians), through the argument of the existence of Bogomils in Bosnia (denied by Croats and others) to the many issues of "historical rights" in Slovakia, Transylvania, Moldavia, and so on.

Clearly, our task is and will remain to insist on placing these issues into a more general, more historical context and move our students out of their nationally defined frames of reference, which they have imbibed during many years of schooling "back home". However, several such issues may be so emotional that the "nationality" of the faculty comes into the picture or that it leads to discussions in class that go far beyond scholarly controversy and cause serious personal tensions. It is a challenge and we shall try to respond to it as well and as impartially as only possible.

Laudatio

Excerpt from Lord Dahrendorf's talk in the occasion of awarding the Hannah Arendt Prize 1997 to the Invisible College, Budapest:

"The Department of Medieval Studies created in 1992 by Professor Gábor Klaniczay and Professor János Bak has become one of a handful of top-class centres in the field anywhere in Europe. It may surprise some—as it surprised us—to find that medieval studies help staff and students to define a common European identity. The Latin Middle Ages may well have been the last real Europe, more real by cultural ties than any common market can make the continent. A bright group of Ph.D. students mostly from Eastern Europe complements a distinguished staff of teachers and researchers. The Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU is a truly standard-setting achievement."



List of disputations held at the University of Cracow

ACTIVITIES & EVENTS IN 1996/1997

1996

SEPTEMBER

- Aug 31 - 6** Departmental Excursion to Poland: Cracow and Lublin
(see "Academic excursions" for details)
- 3 - 6** Lublin: Catholic University - Congress of *Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée* on "Christianity in East Central Europe and Its Relations with the West and the East."
- 9 - 27** Presession courses: English, computing, library and museum visits, M.A. topic interviews.
- 30** Fall Semester starts.

OCTOBER

- 8** Public lecture organized by the Medieval Studies Department, CEU together with the Medieval History Department, ELTE: Robert Markus (University of Nottingham) on *Christian Times Revisited: The Christianisation of the Roman Empire*.
- 9** *Persons and Models: A Lecture Series on Medieval Culture* begins with the public lecture of Brian Patrick McGuire (University of Copenhagen) on *The Meaning of Friendship and Community in Medieval West*.
- 16** Public lecture in the series on *Persons and Models*, by Robert Markus (University of Nottingham), on *Changing Models of Holiness in the Early Middle Ages*.
- 18 - 19** Workshop in memoriam Erik Fügedi organized by the *Nobility in Medieval Central Europe* research project.
- 19 - 20** Joint confrence with the Sofia State University on *St. Ivan of Rila and the Monastic Traditions in Medieval Europe*
- 22** Public lecture by Jurij L. Bessmertny (Russian Academy of Sciences) on *The Individual in the Middle Ages*, last in the series on *Persons and Models*.

NOVEMBER

- 6** Public lecture series on *Nomadic Peoples in Medieval East-Central Europe* begins with András Róna-Tas (József Attila University, Szeged) speaking on *Debated Questions of Early Hungarian History*
- 12** The series proceeds with Walter Pohl (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Vienna) presenting a lecture entitled *Before the Hungarians: Perceptions of Continuity and Change*.
- 27** Public lecture by István Vásári (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) on *Tatars and Cumans in the Balkans*, continues the series of *Nomadic Peoples in Medieval East-Central Europe*.

DECEMBER

- 2 - 3** International Conference on *The Hungarian Conquest in Europe* organized by the Medieval Studies Department, CEU in collaboration with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.
- 4** The lecture series on *Nomadic Peoples in Medieval East-Central Europe* closes with the lecture by Paul Stephenson (University of Oxford) on *Nomads and the Paristrion Region of the Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century*.
- 18** *Open Day of the Visual Laboratory*: display of the equipment and collections of the Medieval Studies Visual Lab. Presentation of the results of the *Visual Resources in Central Europe* research project, demonstration of the CD-rom and microfiche collections, free access and assistance offered to interested guests from Budapest and elsewhere.
- 20** End of the Fall Semester.

1997

JANUARY

- 13** Winter Semester begins.

FEBRUARY

- 20** Public lecture by Ihor Ševčenko (Harvard University) on *The Rebirth of the Rus' Faith in the Sixteenth Century*.

MARCH

- 14 - 16** Excursion to Vienna: optional program organized by the students.

APRIL

- 3 End of the Winter Semester.
International Workshop of the Department of Medieval Studies of CEU and the Collegium Budapest on *La construction de l'espace et des identités nationales au Moyen Age: la part du sacré et des structures ecclésiales*
- 4 - 7 Interdisciplinary Workshop on *Urban Culture in Late Medieval Europe* (see the detailed program).
- 8 - 27 Research Break.
- 28 Spring Session begins.

MAY

- 2 Public Lecture by Carlo Ginzburg (University of California, L.A.) on *The Sword and the Lightbulb - A New Reading of Picasso's Guernica*, A joint event of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, Open Society Archives and Collegium Budapest.
- 8 - 9 Teleconference organized by the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU and the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, on *The Future of Medieval Studies: East and West* (see the program for details).
- 15 Spring Session ends.
- 16 - 22 Academic Excursion to Croatia (see the program for details).
- 23 M.A. Writing Workshops begin.

JUNE

- 11 - 15 The *Nobility in Medieval Central Europe* research project participants take part in an international conference in Rostock on *Lesser Nobility in Mecklenburg and in Central Europe*.
- 16 M.A. thesis submission deadline.
- 23 - 25 M.A. thesis defences.
- 25 Medieval Studies graduation party.
- 26 Commencement Ceremony at the CEU Residence and Conference Center.

JULY

- 1 - 11 Summer University Course directed by István Perczel on *The Caucasus: A Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures (from the Early Middle Ages to the Caucasian Wars)* (see the program below for details).
- 1 - 30 *Cultural Heritage in Danger*, Summer University Course directed by József Laszlovszky (see the program below for details)

ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS



Spring Excursion: Motovun



Rovinj

ACADEMIC EXCURSIONS

FALL EXCURSION, POLAND

August 31 - September 6, 1996

August 31, Saturday

Morning, Departure from Budapest

Journey to Cracow through Slovakia

Late Afternoon, Short walk in the Old Town (urban topography)

Accommodation in the Piast Student Hostel

September 1, Sunday

Morning

Cracow: Visit to the Wawel Hill, Castle, Royal Chambers, Treasury, Cathedral, and Royal Tombs

Afternoon

Visit to the Dominican convent: Church, cloister, archives, library; Virgin Mary Church, Veit Stoss altarpiece.

September 2, Monday

Morning

Visit to the Jagiellonian University Library's Manuscript Collection; Collegium Maius, The Jagiellonian University Museum

Afternoon

Departure for Lublin

Arrival: late evening to the "Poczekajka" Student Hotel

September 3 - 6, Tuesday - Friday

Participation at the CIHEC conference, "Christianity in East Central Europe and its Relations with the West and the East" at the Catholic University of Lublin

September 4, Wednesday afternoon

Trip to Kazimierz Dolny

September 6, Friday

Morning

Departure from Lublin

Arrival to Budapest late in the evening

SPRING EXCURSION, CROATIA - SLOVENIA

May 16-22, 1997

May 16, Friday

Morning: Departure from Budapest

Afternoon

- Zagreb: Urban topography, monastic institutions, Bishop's Palace.

Accommodation in Jastrebarsko

May 17, Saturday

Morning: Departure from Jastrebarsko

Visit to Krk island: Stara Baška, Glagolitic Plate of Baška, St Donat church near Punta

- Krk: Cathedral of St Kvirin, church of St Mihovil, urban topography

- Omišalj: Late antique and early medieval basilica

Accommodation in Opatija

May 18, Sunday

Morning: Departure from Opatija

- Roč: Town walls, center of Glagolitic writing; Romanesque churches (St. Peter and St. Rochus), apsidal frescoes (14th.c.).

- Motovun: Citadel dominating over the Mirna valley. Town walls (13-14th c.), Renaissance church by Palladio

- Beram: Church of St. Mary Upon the Stone-Plates with frescoes by Vincent of Kastav (15th c.)

- Svetvinčenat: Renaissance town and castle

Accommodation in Pula

May 19, Monday

Morning:

- Bale: Medieval town, romanesque parish church, archeological excavations, late antique and early medieval basilica

- Rovinj: Medieval town center, five town gates. Mainly Baroque buildings, town museum;

Afternoon:

- Dvigrad: ruins of a medieval castle, abandoned in 1631.

- Lakuć: Chapel of Virgin Mary with frescoes by the so-called "mottled-master" (15th c.)

- Limski Fjord and Lovreć

- dinner in Žbandaj

Accommodation in Pula

May 20, Tuesday

Morning

- Brijuni Island: Byzantine basilica, ruins of a roman settlement, church of St Germain

May 20, Tuesday, continued

Afternoon:

- Pula: Basilica of Virgin Mary Formosa (6th c.), city palace (13th c.), roman monuments: amphitheatre, arch of Sergius, gate of Hercules, roman mosaics, temple of Augustus, porta Gemina

- Vodnjan

Accommodation in Pula

May 21, Wednesday

Morning: Departure from Pula

- Poreč: Euphrasius basilica (6th c.) with Byzantine mosaics, sculptures. Bishop's Palace, town walls, Romanesque and Gothic urban architecture, town museum.

Afternoon:

- Novigrad:

Accommodation in Umag

May 22, Thursday

Morning: Departure from Umag

Visit to Piran, Slovenia and departure for Hungary

Arrival to Budapest late in the evening



Istria, Spring 1997

COURSES OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1996/1997

FALL SEMESTER COURSES

September 30 - December 19, 1996

Mandatory Courses

- ✿ *M.A. Seminar* (2 credits) - Resident faculty
- ✿ *Bibliography and Handbooks - Introduction to Research Tools* (4 credits) - Resident and visiting faculty
- ✿ *Academic Writing* (2 credits) - Mary Beth L. Davis
- ✿ *Excursion consultation* (1 credit) - József Laszlovsky

Optional Courses

- ✿ *Religious Movements in Late Medieval Europe* (2 credits) - Gábor Klaniczay
- ✿ *Augustinian Tradition in Medieval Central Europe* (2 credits) - Marianne Sághy with Robert Markus (Nottingham)
- ✿ *Early Byzantine Monastic Traditions* (2 credits) - István Perczel
- ✿ *Monastic Archaeology and Architecture* (2 credits) - József Laszlovsky
- ✿ *Urban Elites in East Central Europe* (2 credits) - Neven Budak (University of Zagreb /CEU)
- ✿ *Computing for Medievalists I* (1 credit) - Gerhard Jaritz
- ✿ *Church and Society in Byzantium from the Arab Conquest to the Triumph of Orthodoxy (630 - 843)* (1 credit) - Andrew Louth (Durham University) between November 24 and December 14

Language Courses

- ✿ *Old Church Slavonic* (1 credit) - Ralph Cleminson
- ✿ *Byzantine Text Reading* (1 credit) - István Perczel
- ✿ *Medieval Latin - Intermediate* (1 credit) - György Karsai (JPTE, Hungary)
- ✿ *Medieval Latin - Beginner* (1 credit) - György Karsai
- ✿ *Greek* (1 credit) - György Karsai
- ✿ *Advanced Latin Text Reading* (for M.A. students, 1 credit) - Tamás Szűcs

- ⊗ *Advanced Latin Text Reading* (for Ph.D. students, 1 credit) - Tamás Szűcs
- ⊗ *Advanced Latin - Toronto test* (for Ph.D. students, 1 credit) - György Karsai
- ⊗ *Modern Languages* (French, German, Russian and Hungarian, 1 credit per year)

WINTER SEMESTER COURSES

January 13 - April 4, 1997

Mandatory Courses

- ⊗ *M. A. Thesis Seminar* (2 credits) - Resident faculty [presentation in writing of a chapter of the thesis (A); or written and orally presented critique of a submitted paper (B)]
- ⊗ *Excursion consultation seminar* (2 credits with written assignment)
József Laszlovszky
- ⊗ *Academic Writing Consultation* (1 credit) - Mary Beth Davis

Optional Courses

Seminars (2 credits, possibly 3 with a paper, as in the Fall Semester)

- ⊗ *Nobility in Medieval Central Europe* - János M. Bak
- ⊗ *Medieval Platonism* - István Perczel and György Geréby
- ⊗ *Women in Late Antique and Early Medieval Christianity* - Marianne Sághy
- ⊗ *History of Everyday Life* - Gerhard Jaritz
- ⊗ *Byzantine East and Latin West* - Vladimír Vavřínek (Slavonic Institute, Prague)
- ⊗ *Courtly Culture and Literature* - Ferenc Zemplényi (ELTE, Budapest)
- ⊗ *The Literary Text in the Middle Ages* - Ralph Cleminson
- ⊗ *Translation Seminar* - János M. Bak, Ralph Cleminson, István Perczel, Marianne Sághy, Frank Schaer, Vladimír Vavřínek, Ferenc Zemplényi (Latin, Greek, Old Slavonic or Middle High German)

Short Seminars (for 1 credit, 3x2 times)

- ⊗ *Painting and Illumination in Medieval Central Europe* - Hana Hlaváčková (Institute of Art History, Prague) January 13-31
- ⊗ *Text and Image in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Literature* - Ihor Ševčenko (Harvard University) February
- ⊗ *Statehood in East-Central Europe: Problems of Emergence, 6-10th Centuries* - Sergey Ivanov (Institute of Slavonic and Byzantine Studies, Moscow) March 13-April 1
- ⊗ *Computing for Medievalists II* - Gerhard Jaritz
- ⊗ *Individual and Group in Medieval Society* - Hanna Zaremska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw)

Research Methods

(2 credits each, at least one has to be chosen from each group, for 6 credits altogether)

- ✱ *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture* - József Laszlovszky
- ✱ *Gothic Art and Architecture* - Livia Varga (University of Toronto)
- ✱ *Iconography* - Zsuzsa Urbach (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)
- ✱ *Database Anatomy for Historians* - Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács
- ✱ *Codicology and Diplomatics* - László Veszprémy (Military History Inst., Budapest)
- ✱ *Palaeography* - László Veszprémy
- ✱ *Genealogy and Heraldry* - Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey, Switzerland)
- ✱ *Historical Anthropology* - Gábor Klaniczay
- ✱ *Gender and Family* - Gerhard Jaritz
- ✱ *Medieval Philosophy* - György Geréby
- ✱ *Economic and Social History* - Hanna Zaremska and Balázs Nagy (ELTE, Budapest)

Languages Courses

- ✱ *Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced Latin, Greek* - György Karsai
- ✱ *Latin Text Reading* - Tamás Szűcs

SPRING SESSION COURSES

April 28 - May 15, 1997

Reading Courses (1 credit each)

- ✱ *Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and the Dalmatian Cities in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Period* Bariša Krekič (UCLA)
- ✱ *Dispute Settlements in the Earlier Middle Ages* - Janet L. Nelson (King's College, London) and Susan Reynolds (London)
- ✱ *Humanism in Central Europe* - Marianna Birnbaum (UCLA)
- ✱ *Western Contacts of Medieval Russia* - Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA)
- ✱ *The Social and Religious Life of a Late Medieval Diocese: Cortona in the Fourteenth Century* - Daniel Bornstein (Texas A&M University)
- ✱ *Narrative Theory: Classical Origins and the Modern Linguistic Turn* Nancy Partner (McGill University, Montréal)
- ✱ *Musicology: Music as a Quadrivial Art* - Nancy van Deusen (The Claremont Graduate School)
- ✱ *Literary Genres* - Marianna Birnbaum

COURSE DESCRIPTIONS

I. GENERAL COURSES

Academic Writing for Medievalists I

Documentation, Argumentation, and Academic Prose Style

Mary Beth L. Davis

This course, required for all M.A. students during the fall term, provides a "working" review of the standards and expectations of the Medieval Studies Department in regard to the documentation of sources, academic writing, and oral presentations. During the semester, students compile bibliographies pertinent to their research interests and write summaries, outlines for oral presentations, introductions to their thesis topics, rhetorical analyses, and seminar papers. In addition, the basic techniques of public speaking are discussed, and students gain experience developing their own presentation styles.

Academic Writing for Medievalists II

Writing the M.A. Thesis and the Research Proposal

Mary Beth L. Davis

This winter term course in academic writing meets only four times as a full group, and during these sessions, the overall structure of the M.A. Thesis and the components of a successful research proposal are reviewed and analyzed. In addition, all students attend weekly writing tutorials during which they review and revise the required assignments, namely, the thesis chapter that presents the "critical evaluation of the sources," a research proposal, and their essay for the field trip guide.

Advanced Academic Writing: Writing for the Profession

Mary Beth L. Davis

This course is required for all "probationary Ph.D students" as it is designed for advanced graduate students who intend to continue in the academic profession after obtaining the Ph.D degree, whether teaching at universities or as researchers at institutions. In addition, the overall purpose is to prepare students to write for an international medievalist audience. Thus, individual classes focus on such topics as the book review, the conference paper and abstract, the journal article and query letter, the research proposal, the curriculum vitae, and project descriptions. The course is also a

"workshop" in which students prepare materials from their previous research with the purpose of publication and/or conference presentation.

Bibliography and Handbooks: Introduction to Research Tools

Resident and visiting faculty

This course, the core of the Research Methods program, aims at familiarizing the students with the major reference works in medieval studies, especially the general and special source collections and the different repertories, bibliographies, and other aids (dictionaries, glossaries, etc.). The first few weeks are devoted to an overview of written and non-written sources ("typology") and the structure of the great collections (MGH, *Patrologia*, etc.). Thereafter, the tools for the study of written sources (palaeography, epigraphics, diplomatics) and the major reference works for different fields of medieval studies (art, archaeology, everyday life, economic history, Latin and vernacular literatures, philosophy, theology, and so on) are introduced. Considering the limited time (usually one session per "field"), instructors concentrate on pointing out the advantages and shortcomings of the reference works and handbooks and supply a selected bibliography (collected in a Handbook for the course, which also lists the shelfmarks in Budapest libraries). It is hoped that these short introductions will enable students to start finding information on a specific issue of medieval civilization even outside their main field of study. Assignments demand work in the libraries, the use of reference works in different ways, and familiarity with various types of sources and literature.

M.A. Seminar

Resident faculty

This is the core course of the entire year, beginning with a few lectures on research—usually presented by the resident faculty on their own on-going projects as "models"—and continuing with the discussion of outlines and chapters of M.A. theses in progress. Usually split into two groups to create a better environment for discussion, the seminar focuses during the first semester on preliminary outlines and bibliographies presented by the M.A. candidates. In the second semester, students present sample chapters (circulated in advance), preferably ones that deal with the critical evaluation of their major sources, whether texts, images or monuments. These chapter-presentations are augmented by critique of other students, involving thus the students in the analysis of topics beyond their own research. During the Spring Session and the subsequent weeks, the M.A. Seminar is transformed into small-group thesis-writing workshops, usually under the guidance of the thesis supervisors.

Ph.D. Seminar

Resident and Visiting Faculty

The seminar has three kinds of sessions. Most of them are devoted to the discussion of outlines, first and later drafts or special research problems of doctoral dissertations in progress (or chapters thereof), presented by the candidates. Some sessions are aimed at preparing the "probationary Ph. D. candidates" for their field examination, by faculty presenting the recent literature and the scholarly controversies regarding a topic that can be selected for the oral examination at the end of the first year. Finally, occasional lectures about on-going research projects by visitors and resident faculty serve as "examples" for scholarly procedure and problems.

Excursion Seminar

József Laszlovszky and Mary Beth L. Davis

The annual academic field trip in the region of Central Europe is always prepared by an "Excursion Seminar" which is divided into four main parts. During the Fall Semester, students are provided with a list of "excursion topics" (compiled by faculty members, ca. 40-45 topics relevant to the actual field trip) out of which they have to choose one. By the end of the Fall Semester each student is to provide a "working bibliography" of 10-15 items which contains the basic, introductory, crucial, or sole information on the topic. This bibliography must be completely accurate as to bibliographic form. Since this is a "working" bibliography, the student may not have actually read the material or looked at the books, encyclopaedias, articles, etc., therefore, every student should indicate the bibliographic information which is lacking by placing a "question mark" in the place where the information will go once he/she reads the material.

In the second phase of the preparation, each student reviews all the material collected and write an "annotated bibliography" or a "structured bibliography." An *annotated bibliography* provides the complete bibliographic information and several sentences written by the student that indicate the content and the value of the source. A *structured bibliography* organizes the sources into categories indicating the content or value of the source.

In the third part of the preparatory work, an "excursion paper" is expected which must be a 2-3 page discussion, analysis, summary, review, introduction, etc. about the chosen research topic and designed for a general interdisciplinary audience. This paper must be accompanied by some visual support, i.e. maps, drawings, ground plans, charts, etc.. Each student must have a consultation with Prof. Laszlovszky regarding the content of his/her paper and the necessary appendices. Grammatical problems and questions regarding the academic writing of this paper are discussed with Mary Beth Davis during the first *Academic Writing* classes in the Second Semester.

Finally, the "excursion papers" are due by the end of the Second Semester and are gathered into the "Excursion Booklet" which all students receive for the trip. During the excursion, students have opportunities for a 10-15 minute oral presentation on their research, designed to supplement the written excursion paper.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

Computing for Medievalists I, II

Gerhard Jaritz

The theoretical and methodological discussion and the practical work in class concentrates on the application of databasing to medieval history, particularly the database management system KLEIO which has been developed by historians at the "Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte" in Göttingen (Germany) and is used internationally. The system is utilized for the description, documentation, and analysis of pictorial data as well as the examination of written sources such as account books, testaments, inventories and chronicles. The course provides an introduction to the practice of using digitalised pictures and original texts. Students are encouraged to work with sources they study in the course of their own research.

The following possibilities for application are discussed: Easy and more complex data retrieval; the analysis of groups of information by using catalogues and codebooks; full-text analysis; the transformation of database contents to datasets that can be analyzed statistically; computer-supported statistical methods; graphical representations; and record linkage. Concerning digital image analysis, the course concentrates on methods of image enhancement and image transformation, on the creation of various types of image archives, and on other feasibilities of supported image comparisons. The connection of verbal text data with digitalized images (images of texts and/or pictorial sources) offers the creation of digital image archives that can be used for any kind of comparative source-oriented historical research.

Economic and Social History

Balázs Nagy and Hanna Zaremska

Part 1 - Economic History

The aim of the course is to present some examples of the study of medieval economic history. The topics are selected mainly from the region of East Central Europe. Each question is examined through different type of sources, e.g., tax lists, chronicles, trav-

ellers' notes, etc. The introductory class presents the major source editions and handbooks of medieval economic history. Then the early trade in Central Europe is studied on the basis of the *Inquisitio de theloneis Raffelstettensis*. The foreign trade of the thirteenth century is illustrated with the account-book of Syr Willam and the tax list of Esztergom. The royal summit in Visegrád is discussed together with the commercial policy of Charles IV. The economic development of Central Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries closes the medieval period. The final class is devoted to the image of Central Europe in the notes of medieval travellers (Hamid al-Andalusi al-Garnati, Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis, Bertrandon de la Brocquière).

Part 2 - Social History

The course consists of six classes which give an overview of selected major subject matters of social history. Starting with the medieval concepts of society it examines the metaphors used by medieval authors to express the position of man in the universe and in society as well as the body social itself. The main social oppositions (clerics/laymen, powerful/poor) are studied as well as the medieval divisions of social groups (e.g. the trifunctional scheme). Berthold of Regensburg's writings are used as an example of the medieval conception of man. Another session concentrates on the problem of the medieval family and marriage. It delineates the historical development of the concept of family and household and its legal foundations from Antiquity, through the barbarian invasions and the Early Middle Ages, up to the late medieval period. The history of emotions constitutes the next set of questions which include domestic and family sentiments as well as spiritual and religious ideals. A related topic examines the classical and the medieval attitudes towards children and childhood. The history of private life covers mainly medieval ideas of solitude and intimacy. The closing theme presents medieval concepts of marginality and gives a survey of some groups particularly afflicted by infamy and exclusion (heretics, lepers, and ethnic minorities).

Gender and Family

Gerhard Jaritz

The course concentrates on the phenomenon of gender as a social category. It deals with the female and the male and their roles in medieval society. The female domestic and the male non-domestic space play a decisive part as criteria of differentiation. Various extensions of domestic space, however, may lead to women's spheres of influence in non-domestic, "public" life. Gender roles are discussed in various social environments (nobility, town, countryside). Levels of power are to be connected with components of gender. Gender roles are also very close to and often identical with the

division of duties and roles played within family circles. For all these aspects the differences and ambiguities of ideal, image, norm and practice have to be examined. The course aims at showing that any field of medieval history can be seen as related to various gender-specific phenomena.

This is certainly particularly true for any research problems based on the role and influence of the family in the Middle Ages. Here, the course concentrates on the relevance of family structures and family life and on the importance of kindred and lineage. Special emphasis is placed on the position of the children and the aged members of families. These problems are discussed comparatively from the different points of view that theological, normative, narrative, literary, and economic sources offer.

Historical Anthropology

Gábor Klaniczay

The course presents historical anthropology as a fairly new approach to historical sources and problems. The discussions are based on writings by anthropologists on historical problems and by historians using anthropological methods. The first classes concentrate on defining the aims and methods of historical anthropology and illustrate the relations and mutual influences of history and anthropology. Subsequent sessions focus on major themes of historical anthropology such as ritual, symbol, body, pain and suffering, marginality and withcraft. Discussions on each topic will emphasize the methodological relevance of anthropology, which allows to formulate new problems and new ways of exploring old questions. The course aims at encouraging the participants to experiment with similar questions and approaches on their own research material. Students are asked to analyse a written or visual document related to their research with the methods of historical anthropology.

Medieval Archaeology and Architecture

József Laszlovsky

Basic methods of medieval archaeology are illustrated on the basis of selected case studies. The first part of the course concentrates on presenting the methods (dating, stratigraphy, cemetery analysis, etc.) applied in medieval archaeology with case studies representing its different fields (church archaeology, settlements, castles, etc.). The second part discusses archaeological documentation.

An important aspect of the course is the connection between architectural history and medieval archaeology. While studying medieval monuments, special attention is paid to the methods of architectural archaeology (archaeological interpretation

of standing buildings). The purpose is to understand the relationship between the methods and techniques of monument analysis and the tools of field archaeology.

Another main topic of this course is the relationship between the written sources and their archaeological interpretation. In the case studies discussed during the seminar, medieval documents (e.g., charters, inventory lists, or contemporary descriptions) are confronted with objects or buildings excavated by archaeologists. Examples of cemetery analysis, spatial distribution patterns, and landscape archaeological methods will also be discussed with the students.

Medieval Philosophy

György Geréby

The seminar aims to familiarize students with scholastic philosophical and theological discourse through selected issues in later medieval philosophy (ca. 1250-1350). After a brief sketch of historiographical problems involved in the interpretation of medieval philosophy (interpretative schools, the various "-isms", like nominalism, Platonism, Augustinism, Thomism, etc.), the course introduces the basic elements of medieval learning both in terms of the organisation of learning and in terms of the sociology of knowledge (traditions of important texts, authorities, the study of the Bible, libraries, literary genres). The ideal of science and scientific methodology of the universities is also discussed. The problem of theology as science, and the relation of theology to other sciences is followed by an overview of the general framework of scientific discourse at the universities: the basics of medieval semantics and logic (*verbum prolatum*, *oratio mentalis*, *res*).

Special attention is paid to a central topic of scholastic analytic theology: divine omnipotence and divine foreknowledge, and to the great themes of medieval natural philosophy: the void, the infinity, time, the plurality of worlds and the eternity of the world, where the interdependence of natural philosophy and theology will be pointed out. The presentation is analytic, and students are strongly encouraged to participate in discovering presuppositions and consequences of arguments and likely philosophical positions in the issues involved.

III. SEMINARS

Dispute Settlements in the Earlier Middle Ages

Janet Nelson and Susan Reynolds

The course consists of six sessions in each of which the class studies and discusses two or three texts drawn from charters, letters, memoranda in cartularies reflecting the solution of individual disputes, beginning with an inquiry held by Carolingian *missi* at Risano in Istria in 804 through court cases in the ninth century and grievances of an eleventh-century lord against the count of Aquitaine to Emperor Frederick I's charter about the trial of Henry the Lion. Most of the examples are concerned with property issues. However, on the basis of particular texts, students are encouraged to deal with a variety of more general questions related to the history of medieval Europe: social position of community members, rituals of ordeal, uses of arguments in disputes. A major aim of the course is to guide students in methodology of historical research, in particular the use of terminology. The course intends to utilize the new insights gained by Prof. Reynolds' research on medieval evidence on fiefs and vassals. Photocopied translations of the sources to be studied are distributed before the course starts and copies of printed texts in the original (generally Latin) are available in the classes. No secondary reading is required, though students may find it useful to have read either the last chapter of W. Davies and P. Fouracre ed., *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986) or the first chapter of S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in western Europe* (Oxford, 1984).

Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and the Dalmatian Cities in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Period

Bariša Krekič

The course concentrates on a few aspects of urban life in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia. It starts with a survey of internal and external factors which influenced the development of Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian cities in this period, particularly the interplay between internal social and economic factors and international relations (geographical position, the influence of Venice, Hungary/Croatia, Southern Italy and countries of the Balkan hinterland). One of the leading forces in the political and daily life of Dalmatia were the patricians. The course deals with the cultural interactions and the Latino-Slavic cultural symbiosis in Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian cities.

The ability of the Ragusans to collect information from both East and West and to use it shrewdly as a tool of their diplomacy in very difficult circumstances is clearly

illustrated by data on how their intelligence networks functioned. The competence to serve as a source of reliable information for both West (Venice, Hungary/Croatia, the Pope, etc.) and East (Bosnia, Serbia and later, the Ottoman Empire) was a very important factor in Dubrovnik's survival among the various power-players of the time.

Based on archival, legal and narrative sources, the legal situation of women in Dubrovnik and the other cities (e.g. marriages, dowries, rights towards children, property etc.) is studied together with the daily life of women.

Data on Jews are very scarce in Ragusan and other Dalmatian archives until the early sixteenth century. Still, some information is available and has already been exploited. The seminar discusses the presence of the Jews in those cities and their life from the fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, with an emphasis on the period after 1492.

Eastern Monasticism in the Pre-Byzantine and Byzantine Periods

István Perczel

The course aims at presenting the beginnings of Christian monasticism together with its early Byzantine developments. It may be related to the lectures held by Professor József Laszlovszky on Monastic Archaeology, which, although concentrating on the archaeology of later Western monastic communities, treats briefly the excavations in the Near East as well. Geographically, the seminar covers Egypt, Syria (this term meaning all the Syriac-speaking area from Coele Syria to Persia), Palestine, Asia Minor, and Byzantium, with some hints at the origin of Western monasticism. Chronologically, the period between the fourth and eleventh century is examined. Besides the historiographical aspect, the seminar gives an overview of the different types of spirituality which developed in the particular branches of the monastic movement. The question of orthodoxy and heresy is raised in connection with some "monastic heresies" such as Origenism and Messalianism.

The Emergence of Statehood in Central, East-Central and South-Eastern Europe

Sergey Ivanov

Six sessions survey the development of political structures among the Slavic and other populations in the region from the fifth to the ninth century, concentrating on the debated and problematic issues of research such as the influence of Roman statehood on "barbarian" political formations: "synthesis zone"—"no-synthesis zone"—"contact zone" in Europe; the particularities of language and state formation in the "contact zone": the Danube basin; the emergence of Samo's "state" on the Upper Danube; the extent to which the Czech state may be regarded as the successor of Great Moravia; why the Magyar state proved to be more viable than others, and so on.

The development is summarized by discussing the factors of state formation in Central and South-Eastern Europe: mass migration, armed forces, "service organization;" the balance of power between the local nobility and prince's retinue, the shift from elective to hereditary power; the mythical eponym, the ruling dynasty and the tribal cult; traditions and innovations in the system of power: from primordial to colonized territories; old administrative units and new cities; two types of early states in the region: the first one (developed by the Poles, the Czechs, and with some reservations, the Hungarians and Bulgarians) with a centralized and unified system of tax-extraction, based on princely retinue and "service organization," with the establishment of new centers of power and the ousting of the old nobility, and the second type (Moravians, Pomorians, Croats, Serbs) as the result of a compromise between the new and the traditional institutions without a dramatic shift of power. The long-lasting historical consequences of this dichotomy are also discussed.

History of Everyday Life

Gerhard Jaritz

Since the seventies, the history of daily life has become a field of historical research that has generated new and other approaches to the analysis of medieval sources. The main impetus arose from German-speaking historians who had taken over many ideas from French research. The most important questions of the history of everyday life concentrate on the role of repetitive, habitualized, and routinized behaviour of people in the past. New problems also concern various aspects of the role of human material culture in this framework. The course gives an introduction into the history of daily life in the Middle Ages. Major attention is paid to theoretical and methodological aspects of research, to the use of different types of sources (archeological evidence, written sources, images), and to their analysis. Particular emphasis is laid on questions of norm and practice, of contrasts, connotations, ambiguities and ambivalences. The role of symbols and signs and the problem of "we and the others" are stressed, too. All these research problems have to be seen in the context of the role and influence of different aspects of space in medieval life. Here, the phenomenon of "public" and "private" space has to be considered particularly. The same is true for phenomena based on social space. Also, no proper history of everyday life can be studied without asking gender-related questions. Topics dealt with in more detail include questions concerning dress, food, and housing.

The Literary Text in the Middle Ages

Ralph Cleminson

The course is an exploration of the written culture of the Orthodox Slavs. It treats the uses to which writing was put and attempts to define the boundaries of culture and to approach an understanding of the meaning of text and literature in terms of the practice of the Middle Ages. Within this framework, specific types of written production (e.g. homiletics, hagiography, historical narrative, etc.) are studied, always with reference to actual texts, and without presuppositions as to the limits of the genre.

Humanism in Central Europe

Marianne Birnbaum

The lectures and discussions focus on the Renaissance man's view of the world surrounding him and on beliefs and feelings as expressed in Central European humanist literature.

The etiological genres, dealing with the *origenes gentium* are investigated as they reflect a nation's (*natio*) traditions regarding its own history. In this connection, a view of the world and the particular people's envisioned role in that world is also examined.

The description of nature, civilized by human labor, is a significant part of Renaissance literature. Therefore, the influence of classical authors, primarily Vergil, and Ovid on Central European Latin literature is studied.

The role of man as a social being is another area of scrutiny. Socialization can be tested in view of the humanist perspective. In this segment such concepts as *patria* and issues of class and gender are discussed. The individual author's stance: supportive, critical, ironical, etc., is being also explored in these contexts.

The role of the private persona is revealed through works dealing with the family (i.e. childhood, blood relationships) and the Renaissance conception of friendship (i.e. distinction between *amititia* and *amor*). Hetero- and same-sex love relationships and their classical literary models are considered. In this connection, the rediscovery of the human body is traced in Renaissance writings. The focus is on the humanist view of the body ("own" versus "other", beauty, illness, and death).

Narrative Theory: Classical Origins and the Modern Linguistic Turn

Nancy Partner

Students of early history and culture are, in fact, ideally placed to appreciate the depth and pervasiveness of the philosophic issues collected under the rubric: the linguistic turn. Many of the modern scholars who discuss theoretical issues are hardly aware of the *longue durée* origins of historical theory and discuss both historical writing and theory as if they were invented in the 19th and 20th centuries. But medievalists are necessarily aware that the narrative structures and writing conventions of medieval docu-

ments are almost completely different from those of more modern periods, and that awareness of a major cultural difference is a great advantage in recognizing the non-universality and artificiality of the writing conventions we have come to regard as "normal" for history. The ideas and attitudes informing biblical exegesis, which are familiar to all medievalists, also help us to recognize how the very location and recognition of meaning in relation to language and reality is systematically created by cultural conventions. In fact, many of the most startling and radical ideas informing contemporary discourse about language and historical knowledge are more familiar and understandable to medievalists than to modern historians.

Theoretical questions concerning the status of historical knowledge, the relation of language to the world, the ability of language to "refer" to something other than itself, and the nature of linguistic "representation" of historical events have proliferated and the relevant bibliography for the "linguistic turn" in the study of history is large and ever expanding. However, all of these avenues of inquiry proceed logically from a few core issues: representation in language; the structure of narrative; and the relation of knowledge to recorded reality. In the brief period of this seminar, students are introduced to these central issues through reading and discussion of a selection of texts ranging from Aristotle to Hayden White. The intent of this seminar is to help students to achieve a clear and firm understanding of the core issues of historical theory and their integration with medieval scholarship.

Nobility in East-Central Europe

János Bak

The social and cultural history of the wide social layer of politically enfranchised population, commonly referred to as "lesser nobility" (*szlachta*, etc.) is a central issue of the medieval (and early modern) history of the region. While the political role of this stratum has been studied extensively, its internal structure—kinship system, family strategies, demography, property relations—has not. The seminar concentrates on the latter, utilizing methods elaborated by researchers of Western Europe (and some historians of the region itself) and tries to apply these methods to the data on Croatian, Czech, Hungarian, and Polish nobility. It consists of two kinds of sessions. In the first round, students read articles and monographs on medieval nobility in Central Europe and elsewhere, such as those of George Duby, Lawrence Stone, Susan Reynolds, Martin Aurell, John Klassen, A. Gąsiorowsky, Pál Engel, and Erik Fügedi. In the second round, participants present minor "case studies" on noble families and their social conditions, based on printed and archival sources in which they can "try out" the methods applied by the authors studied.

Painting and Illumination in Medieval Central Europe

Hana Hlaváčková

The seminar concentrates on selected works of art, giving an historical overview and iconographical analysis of some of the most important examples of medieval Bohemian art. It mainly deals with the architectural foundations of King Charles IV, starting with the activity of Peter Parler and his masterpieces in St. Vitus Cathedral. Other important monuments discussed in the course of the seminar include the University of Prague, the New Bridge, the Emmaus monastery, and the foundation of the New Town. Another session is devoted to the iconographical programme and monumental paintings in the Karlštejn Castle. The remaining classes focus on medieval painting and illumination. The Master of Vysší Brod is presented as an example of early panel painting, and a few illuminated manuscripts including those of Jan of Dražice, Arnošt of Pardubice, Jan of Středa, and Jan of Opava are examined as masterpieces of medieval book illumination. The closing session deals with the Bible of Wenceslas IV, posing its analysis as an interdisciplinary problem.

Religious Movements in Late Medieval Europe

Gábor Klaniczay

The course offers a general overview of religious conflicts between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. Religious movements were among the driving forces of innovation within medieval Christianity. At first rejected as heresies (Cathars, Waldensians, Beguines, Humiliati), then partly reconciled with the Church as mendicant orders, third orders, confraternities, partly ambiguously received or rejected (Pastoureaux, Flagellants, Spirituals), these movements kept on recurring till the end of the Middle Ages. Late medieval Christianity presents a pattern of recurrent challenges to Church hierarchy by the principally lay religious movements. The main object of the seminar's inquiry is to try to integrate the related phenomena of Central Europe (Hussites, popular crusades) to the all-European panorama. Starting with an overview of the medieval heretic movements, the seminar discussions continue to concentrate on the rise and development of mendicant orders and their influence on the religious life of the lay communities. The third orders, beguines, spirituals and the spread of mysticism are examined in connection with the new forms of spirituality born with the mendicant movement. A few sessions are devoted to the general patterns and parallels in the relations between the official power and the illicit, clandestine or marginal groups and phenomena. Thus the function of the inquisition is studied along with the persecution of Jews, lepers and other minorities, arriving finally at the origin of witch-hunting.

Saint Augustine and the Augustinian Tradition in Medieval Central Europe

Robert Markus and Marianne Sághy

The course aims at presenting some aspects of the teaching of Saint Augustine (354-430) concerning Christian life. Two main problems dealt with in the course of the seminar concern biblical exegesis and monasticism. How should Christians read and understand the Bible? In what sense and to what extent is the Bible a "sign" to be deciphered? What is the Christian "good life" and how should it be enjoyed? In order to discuss these questions, students read *De doctrina christiana* (written between 396-427) and the *Regula Sancti Augustini* (a compilation probably drawn up by one of Augustine's followers, during the lifetime and with the cooperation of Augustine).

The first part of the seminar focuses on the *doctrina* and on Augustine's theory of signs. According to his writings, a thing is a sign in so far as it stands for something to somebody. This three-term relationship is essential to any situation in order that one element in it should function as a sign.

The second part examines the "monastic challenge" from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, and in this framework the seminar considers the originality of Augustine's monastic proposal as well as various modalities of monasticism. The *Rule* long remained in oblivion until it was resuscitated in the late eleventh century by the regular canons, and quickly became the recognized standard of their order. Due to its flexibility, the *Rule* was used by many religious orders including the Dominicans, the Augustinian hermits, the Servites, the Ursuline and Visitation nuns; and in Central Europe, the Pauline order (founded in 1263). One of the seminar topics includes the spread of the Pauline order in Hungary and Poland up to the fifteenth century.

Urban Elites in East-Central Europe

Neven Budak

The course is designed to offer and discuss a systematization of elites in East-Central European towns from the early medieval period (in Dalmatia) to the late middle ages. Groups of elites are analysed separately (ecclesiastical elites, patriciate, merchants and craftsmen, intellectuals) with the use of sources regarding their most typical features. Special attention is paid to the patriciate group. Besides a discussion on justifying the usage of the term, as well as the terminology in general, the development of this elite is presented through examples of the Dalmatian protopatriciate and patriciate, the cases of the German patriciate in Nürnberg, and parallel strata in Hungarian and Polish towns. Ecclesiastical elites are analyzed mainly through the role of the bishops and some monastic orders.

The second half of the seminar is dedicated to the formation of elites in regard to ethnic structures, economic activities of elites, and urban conflicts, as well as family

structures of the leading groups and their inter-urban marriage relations. All of these are analyzed through a number of examples most typical for certain periods and areas within the broader East-Central European region. An attempt is made to achieve a truly comparative approach to the study of the elites in the region, and students are encouraged to make presentations of minor aspects of the development of the elites in their own countries, thus broadening the perspective of the seminar to neighbouring regions in the Baltic and South-Eastern Europe.

Western Contacts of Medieval Russia

Henrik Birnbaum

Medieval Russia—Kievan, Appanage, and Muscovite Rus', from the early legendary Varangian rulers and Vladimir I to Ivan IV the Terrible (860s-1584)—was essentially an East European country, isolated from Central Europe and the West. Yet, over its 700-year history, it had significant contacts with the West, and it is on these contacts that the course focuses while considering the backdrop of Medieval Russia's general political, socio-economic, and cultural history. Beginning with the controversial founding of the East Slavic state by Varangian Northmen, the role of Novgorod (increasingly independent until its fall in 1478) as a "window on the West," owing to its commercial ties, first with Gotland and later with the Hanseatic towns of North Germany, notably Lübeck, and the Baltics (Riga, Tartu/Dorpat, Tallinn/Reval), is being explored, as is the Western/Central European orientation of "Lithuanian" or Southwestern Russia—the emerging territories of Belarus and Western Ukraine (formerly Galicia-Volynia). Attention is also paid to episodic direct contacts between Medieval Russia and the West, such as Princess Olga's early attempt to Christianize Rus' from the West (Otto I's Germany), the activity of German and Italian artists and architects in Novgorod, Vladimir, and Moscow, and the first visits of Western travelers to Russia (e.g., Sigmund von Herberstein, Richard Chancellor, et al.).

Women and Christianity

Marianne Sághy

The course aims at presenting women's history and male attitudes towards women in Late Antiquity and in the early Middle Ages. It deals both with the social background and the spiritual aspirations of women who played a prominent role as martyrs, virgins, widows, and patrons in the formative period of Christianity (third and fourth centuries A. D.) To what extent did women's position in society change with the establishment of Christianity? How did Christian theologians perceive women and what roles were women allowed to play in the Church? What was the significance of the "ascetic revolution" in the fourth century? How did it change perceptions of the body and of sex-

uality? The course deals with "prescriptive" male writings concerning women which strongly influenced later western Christian views.

The sources which the course examines were produced by different authors and disclose a variety of opinions about female participation in late Antique Christian communities. One of the touching monuments of early Christian writing is the account of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas (Carthage, 203 A. D.), which was composed by the martyr Perpetua herself as a sort of "prison-diary," and was later edited probably by Tertullian. In the Montanist sect to which Tertullian adhered, women played an important role as prophetesses and perhaps even as priests. If women were not allowed to become priests, they could become the patrons of the Church. Some of the most interesting documents of this shift come from the quarters of Christian bishops and of zealous partisans of the new, monastic and ascetic spirituality, such as Jerome, Basil, and John Chrysostom. The circle of senatorial ladies who gathered around Pope Damasus and Jerome in Rome is particularly noteworthy in this respect, for these well-educated, well-to-do and highly independent women—virgins and widows—quickly adopted ascetical practices in their lives, spread the fashion of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, were interested in the cult of the saints and in biblical exegesis. Modern scholarship emphasizes the significance of this early women's movement in the rise and establishment of monasticism.

Musicology: Music as a Quadrivial Art

Nancy van Deusen

Music as the analogy science, served as a bridge between what could be quantified and measured in terms of ordinal number, geometricized substance, and movement, and that which was almost totally abstract, namely the principles and discussions of these principles to be found in the study of theology and philosophy. Rather than containing what could be learned by means of rote memorization, music got to the heart of matter, the essence of basic principles. Its components, such as individual tones, could be learned by a child, much as a child learned alphabetical letters and learned, as well, to place them within syntax. But the essential nature of particularity and particular increment within continuity, that is, the abstraction upon which letters within syntax was based, was accessible by thinking about how tones occurred within the continuity of a melodic line. Thus, music formed a necessary approach to theology, which discussed single event within temporality and eternity.

The goal of this seminar is to observe how this could be the case. The course, therefore, is fundamentally interdisciplinary due to the fact that it logically and substantially relates the quadrivial arts, the analogical bridge of music, to theology-philosophy, which, of course, was the goal of all study throughout the medieval period.

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Curriculum at the Arts Faculty, University of Cracow

M.A. CLASS OF 1996/1997

This list provides information on our graduate students in the following order: name, country, undergraduate university, title of M.A. thesis, TS: thesis supervisor, EE: external examiner, result.

ANICHTCHENKO, EVGUENIA (Russia)

St. Petersburg State University, 1990-1995

Matthaei Cracoviensis episcopi epistola ad ab. Clarevalensem quem ad conversione Ruthenorum invitat as a Historical Source

TS: Ralph Cleminson

EE: Borys Gudziak

accepted

BARABAN, ELENA (Ukraine)

Simferopol State University, 1986-1994

The Vitae of St. Aethelwold by Aelfric and Wulfstan: A Stylistic Aspect

TS: Gábor Klaniczay

EE: Marco Mostert

accepted

BARANOV, VLADIMIR A. (Russia)

Penza College of Arts, 1988-1991 and Novosibirsk College of Arts, 1991-1993

Two Polemics: St. John of Damascus' Apologetic Treatises Against Those Who Calumniate Divine Images and Stefan Yavorsky's The Stone of Faith

TS: Ralph Cleminson

EE: Mark Everitt

accepted

BIRŠKYTĖ, LIJANA (Lithuania)

Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, 1992-1996

Sixteenth-Century Frescoes in the St. Francis and St. Bernardine Church in Vilnius in the Light of the Franciscan Artistic Tradition

TS: Gerhard Jaritz, Zsuzsa Urbach

EE: Hanna Egger

accepted

BOGDANOV, KUNCHO (Bulgaria)

University of Veliko Tărnovo, 1991-1996

three papers:

1) **Metaphysical Language of St. Thomas Aquinas as Represented in *De Ente et essentia* and *De Doctrina Christiana***

2) **The Meaning of Love in the Epistemology of St. Augustine**

3) **A Critical Survey on the Secondary Sources about the Filioque**

TS: István Perczel, Marianne Sághy, Henrik Birnbaum

accepted

DE LAZERO, OCTAV-EUGEN (Romania)

University of Bucharest, 1991-1995

The Dynastic Myth of the Přemyslids in the Cosmas of Prague's *Chronica Bohemorum*

TS: János Bak

EE: Jacek Banaszkiewicz

accepted

ERDÉLYI, GABRIELLA (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1990-1996

Elek Thurzó of Bethlenfalva - A Model of a Kingmaker: on the Beginnings of Ferdinand of Habsburg's Rule as King of Hungary, 1526-1532

TS: János Bak, Katalin Péter

EE: Martin Rady

accepted

HEIDL, GYÖRGY (Hungary)

Janus Pannonius University, Pécs, 1987-1993

Origen and St. Augustine's Conversion

TS: Marianne Sághy

EE: Alain Bouluec

accepted with distinction

JAMROZIAK, EMILIA (Poland)

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, 1992-1997

The Foundation of Monasteries in Twelfth-century Poland by Members of the Nobility: Case Studies

TS: József Laszlovsky

EE: Janusz Bieniak

accepted

JUGELI, VICTORIA (Georgia)

Tbilisi State University, 1989-1994

The Works of Theodoret of Cyrus According to Georgian Manuscripts

TS: István Perczel

EE: Bernard Outtier

accepted with distinction

KIZILOV, MIHAIL (Ukraine)

Simferopol State University, 1991-1996

The Crimea According to Descriptions of European Travellers from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century

TS: Gerhard Jaritz

EE: Sergey Karpov

accepted

KOLBUTOVA, IRINA (Russia)

Institute of Foreign Languages, 1986-1988 and Moscow State University 1988-1993

Iconography of the Uta-Evangelistary

TS: János Bak, Tünde Wehli

EE: Florentine Mütterich

accepted

KOMAC, ANDREJ (Slovenia)

University of Ljubljana, 1992-1996

The Ministerials of the Spanheims and their Social Development in the Thirteenth and in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

TS: János Bak

EE: John Freed

accepted with distinction

KOTALA, TOMASZ (Poland)

University of Łódź, 1990-1995

three papers

TS: József Laszlovszky

postponed

KOVÁCS, ANNAMÁRIA (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1991-1996

Courtly Costumes During the Reign of King Louis the Great (1342-1382). A Comparative Study of the Costumes in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle

TS: Gábor Klaniczay

EE: Neithard Bulst

accepted

KOVÁCS, MÁRTA (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1988-1996

Possession and Exorcism in Medieval Europe

TS: Gábor Klaniczay

postponed

KOZUBSKA-ANDRUSIV, OLHA (Ukraine)

Lviv College of Applied Arts, 1984-1988 and Ukrainian Academy of Art History and Theory, 1989-1995

The Gothic Cathedral of L'viv

TS: József Laszlovszky

EE: Beatrix Romhányi

accepted

KRAS, ROBERT (Poland)

Catholic University of Lublin, 1992-1997

The Image of Hungary in Medieval Polish Annals

TS: Gerhard Jaritz, Gábor Klaniczay

postponed

MICKUNAITĖ, GIEDRĖ (Lithuania)

University of Vilnius, 1990-1997

Features of Royalty in the Court of Mindaugas and His Successors

TS: János Bak, Ralph Cleminson

EE: Steven Rowell

accepted with distinction

MITCHELL, A. RUSSEL (USA)

University of Dallas, Texas, 1990-1996

three papers

- 1) **Jan Hus and the Authority of Conscience**
- 2) **Settlement of a Blood Feud in Thirteenth-century in Hungary**
- 3) **The Reformers, the Radicals, and the Hussite Nobility**

TS: János Bak

accepted

MOKOSA, MAŁGORZATA (Poland)

University of Szczecin, 1992-1997

Women in Fourteenth-century *Stadtbücher* of Stralsund and Stettin

TS: Gerhard Jaritz

EE: Katharina Simon Muscheid

accepted

NIKOLIĆ, ZRINKA (Croatia)

University of Zagreb, 1991-1996

The Family Structure of the Dalmatian Protopatricians in the Tenth and Eleventh Century

TS: Neven Budak

EE: Ludwig Steindorff

accepted with distinction

PAKUČS, MÁRIA (Romania)

University of Bucharest, 1991-1997

The Trade of Sibiu as Reflected in the Customs Registers of 1540 and 1550

TS: Balázs Nagy

EE: Erich Landsteiner

accepted

RAVANČIĆ, GORDAN (Croatia)

University of Zagreb, 1991-1996

Tavern Life in Late Medieval Dubrovnik Evidence from the Records of Criminal Justice

TS: Gerhard Jaritz

EE: Eva Osterberg

accepted

SCHOKAERT, CATHERINE (Belgium)

University of Leuven, 1984-1995 and University of Antwerp, 1989-1994

The Relationship between Image and Text in an Early Illuminated Manuscript of Dante's *Divina Commedia*. The Budapest University Library Codex *Italicus* I

TS: Ferenc Zemplényi, Tünde Wehli

EE: Herman Braet

accepted with distinction

TATISHVILI, LEVAN (Georgia)

Tbilisi State University, 1984-1989 and Tbilisi Independent University, 1992-1996

three papers

1) Essay on St. Augustine's on Christian Doctrine

2) The Chivalric Idea in the Light of the Aristocratic Ethos: Methodological Remarks. Reflection of Ethos in the Poetic Texts.

3) Problem of Individuation in the *Ordinatio* of Duns Scotus: Reinterpretation

TS: Marianne Sághy, Marianna Birnbaum

accepted

VIRÁGOS, GÁBOR (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1991-1996

Noble Residences in the Middle Ages: Pomáz and its Owners. A Case Study

TS: József Laszlovszky

EE: András Kubinyi, Pál Engel

accepted with distinction



Class of 1996/97

ABSTRACTS OF THE M.A. THESES

Matthaei Cracoviensis Epistola ad ab. Clarevalensem quem ad Conversione Ruthenorum Invitat as a Historical Source

Evguenia Anichtchenko

The "Letter of Matthew, bishop of Cracow, to Bernard of Clairvaux about the conversion of the Ruthenians" is a document widely used by scholars for more than two centuries. Though often quoted as a historical source in support of theories and conclusions, the document itself has still not received any definitive investigation. The enigmatic character of this document is obvious at first sight: according to the traditional dating of this document, almost two hundred years after the Christianisation of Rus', the author of the letter calls for the conversion of these lands. Thus, the main problem raised by the "Letter of Matthew" is the question of the Catholic attitude toward the Ruthenian Church and the historical background of this attitude.

In order to place this document into its proper context, a review of the scholarship and research on the textual history of the document was made; then a textual analysis was undertaken. On the basis of this research, some questions concerning the authenticity of the document have emerged suggesting a Humanist origin of the text. A comparative historical analysis did not support the twelfth-century origin of the letter either. However, an analysis of the historical circumstances of the thirteenth century provides some points for the incorporation of this document into that time, but leaves a number of questions open. It seems that the most appropriate period for the letter "of Matthew" is the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, in the current stage of the investigation, it is impossible to answer all questions which appeared in connection with this new dating. Thus, the main result of this study was to focus attention on the necessity of re-examining this document.

The Vitae of St. Aethelwold by Aelfric and Wulfstan: A Stylistic Aspect

Elena V. Baraban

This thesis offers a stylistic analysis of the two eleventh-century vitae of St. Aethelwold by Aelfric and Wulfstan. The aim of the study is to aid the understanding of how language and style are involved in the process of constructing the image of a

holy person and specifically that of St. Aethelwold. The attempt was made to reveal the ways in which the *vitae* of St. Aethelwold are the products of the interaction between the rhetorical strategies of the authors and the genre of hagiography. The methods applied in my thesis belong to the larger trend of literary criticism known as analytical criticism and are based on the principle of text objectivity. In particular, I use the categories developed and applied in rhetorical criticism, structuralism, and stylistics. The presented analysis allowed me to make a number of conclusions regarding common features and differences in the narrative structure of St. Aethelwold's *vitae*.

The narrative structure of the Lives displays abruptness and selectivity. No ambiguity is allowed in the saint's portrait. St. Aethelwold is a one-dimensional character exhibiting only positive qualities of the highest degree of perfection. He is also a static figure presented as an already accomplished saint from the very beginning, even before his birth. In order to underline the saint's superiority, the authors use a selected set of symbols. The royal characters of the *vitae* fulfil several important functions: on the one hand, the constant mention of the Anglo-Saxon kings creates an impression of historicity and, thus, contributes to the credibility of the texts. On the other hand, the frequent references to kings create a distinctly superior environment for the main hero. The *vitae* are characterized by a specific combination of abstraction and precision in the narration. The details of the saint's life are viewed in an exegetic perspective.

The authors, while creating a picture of a saintly personality, use all the devices according to different structural principles. Aelfric's *vita* has a clear linear structure. It is a string of separate stories in which specific incidents in the saint's life are treated as a major means of creating an image of St. Aethelwold. Aelfric must have considered that the saint's deeds narrated in an unsophisticated language would be quite picturesque in themselves and would suffice to convey his saintly nature. Unlike Aelfric, Wulfstan, whose account also consists of separate episodes, embellishes the story of the saint's life, expressing the idea of St. Aethelwold's sanctity indirectly as well by employing numerous evaluative and emotionally coloured epithets, appositional series, attributes, paraphrases, and metaphors, all of which have semantics of uniqueness, domination, and holiness.

Two Polemics: St. John of Damascus's *Apologetic Treatises Against Those who Calumniate Divine Images* and Stefan Yavorsky's *The Stone of Faith*

Vladimir Baranov

In this study, two polemics in defence of icons were compared: John of Damascus' (675? - ca 754) *Apologetic Treatises Against Those Who Calumniate Divine Images* [Apologies] and the relevant text in *The Stone of Faith* by Metropolitan Stefan Yavorsky (1658-1722).

The *Apologies* were composed in the early eighth century. This was the first theological writing dedicated exclusively to the topic of icons and icon veneration, a work in which John of Damascus synthesised the theology of images and their proper veneration. Stefan Yavorsky extensively used the *Apologies* as the main source of his treatise which he wrote to refute the Protestant views concerning icons and icon-veneration that had become influential in the epoch of Peter the Great. The detailed analysis of both sources, first separately and then in comparison, led me to the conclusion that Byzantine Iconoclasm of the eighth century and the Iconoclasm of the Reformation were similar in their opposition between matter and spirit as expressed in the doctrines of both movements. However, while this opposition was, indeed, theologically resolved in the *Apologies* of John of Damascus, Stefan Yavorsky did not involve himself in the pertinent discussion of theological issues, despite his numerous borrowings from John's text. In addition to the detailed analysis of the texts, this study touches upon the problems of Manichaean influences on the origins of Byzantine Iconoclasm and the apology of images both of East and West; thus, a basis for future research of these still poorly-researched topics has been prepared.

Sixteenth-Century Frescoes in the St. Francis and St. Bernardine Church in Vilnius in Light of the Franciscan Artistic Tradition

Lijana Birškytė

In this thesis, Franciscan attitudes towards art are surveyed, and the development of Franciscan art from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century is reviewed. Born in Italy, Franciscan medieval art was the visualization of Franciscan spirituality, which eventually spread throughout Europe. This is well reflected in painting, generally of Franciscan saints and legends, as can be seen from the overview of the iconography of Central European Franciscan frescoes. In the course of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, Franciscan artistic attitudes did not change radically, and the main principles remained roughly the same as in the thirteenth century.

In order to discover any changes in Franciscan ideas or the artistic tradition, I have chosen as a case study the iconographic program of the sixteenth-century frescoes in the church of St. Francis and St. Bernardine in Vilnius. The program reveals the Bernardine ideas of Salvation, the exceptional role of the Franciscans within the Catholic church, the fidelity of the Order to the Papal See, and the concept of the ideal friar as depicted in the scenes of legendary events from the lives of St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Christopher, and St. George.

Particularly valuable is the fresco of Christ in Distress and Franciscans Adoring the Cross, which reveals, in quite a different manner from other surviving Franciscan works of art, St. Bonaventure's idea of St. Francis as a second Christ. The scene of Christ in Distress displays a very rare intermediate episode in the Passion narrative, showing the transformation from the Christ in Distress to the Nailing to the Cross. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the two scenes, the Christ in Distress and the Franciscans Adoring the Cross is unique in iconography. The sixteenth-century frescoes in the church of St. Francis and St. Bernardine are an exceptionally valuable work of art in Central Europe because they indicate that the creator of the program, as well as the persons who ordered it, had the artistic and intellectual capacity to demonstrate a set of theological ideas propagated by the Franciscans.

**The Dynastic Myth of the Přemyslids in Cosmas of Prague's
*Chronica Bohemorum***

Octav-Eugen De Lazero

The present thesis treats Cosmas of Prague's account of Czech history prior to Prince Bořivoj's baptism in 894, given in the chapters 2-13 of the first book of his chronicle. After a chapter containing a brief description of the series of episodes in Cosmas' account, showing the main articulations of the narrative, there follows an analysis of each episode in the chapter entitled "The Origins of the Přemyslid Dynasty." Each section in this chapter analyses a corresponding section in the previous one, focusing either on the borrowings from classical literature used to fill up the gaps in the narrative, or on the symbolism of various elements in a comparative approach. Extensive treatment is devoted to the comparison between the episode of Přemysl's access to rulership and John of Viktring's description of the inauguration ritual of Duke Meinhard of Carinthia. The last chapter, "The Episode of Lucanian War," briefly presents the literary motifs this episode has in common with classical and medieval epic literature.

**Elek Thurzó of Bethlenfalva - A Model of a Kingmaker:
on the Beginning of Ferdinand of Habsburg's Rule as King of Hungary, 1526-1532**

Gabriella Erdélyi

The primary aim of this study is to analyze the career of Elek Thurzó of Bethlenfalva, justice royal (1527-1543) and governor (1532-1543) of Hungary as the kingmaker of Ferdinand I, King of Hungary, thereby suggesting a new interpretation of this term.

In other words, I consider how and why Thurzó wielded his influence in support of the Habsburg candidate for the Hungarian Crown in Ferdinand's rivalry with John of Szapolyai. Besides this evaluation of Thurzó's services, this thesis includes an attempt at revealing the political, economic, social, and personal-emotional backgrounds of his efforts. The investigation is based on the unpublished correspondence of Thurzó, primarily that with the monarch and with a few other addressees.

After setting the historical scene and rendering a short review of the relevant literature, I discuss in detail one of the most astonishing careers of sixteenth-century Hungary. When he started his career in the royal court at the age of 25, Thurzó was a rich entrepreneur of noble origin. In no more than fifteen years, he rose to the apex of the social and political elite of a feudal society: when he was 42 years of age, he became governor, the first political officer of Ferdinand I, who by that time had managed to strengthen his position in north west Hungary. Both as a precondition and a result of Thurzó's role in the direction of public affairs, he became the greatest landowner of the country, a remarkable achievement due to his services in favor of Ferdinand. By exposing himself politically, but more importantly, by supporting Ferdinand's aspirations financially in the form of cash loans, Thurzó made it possible for the Habsburg candidate to realize his rule in Hungary. Interestingly, Thurzó's own words reveal that he consciously and openly used the support of the Crown as a means of his own social rise.

After describing the "sunny" phase of the relationship between the monarch and his supporter (until 1528), the following, more "shadowy" one is reflected upon. Thurzó openly expressed his disappointment over the shortcomings and problems of Ferdinand's Hungarian policy, which could not save the country's territorial integrity in the face of Ottoman expansion. I suggest that Thurzó's attitude—considered as a proof of the constancy of his political convictions—was typical of sixteenth-seventeenth-century politicians of the Habsburg camp both in Hungary and in the Bohemian Lands as well. This thesis concludes with a proposal for future research into establishing an international typology of kingmakers.

Origen and St. Augustine's Conversion

György Heidl

The problem of the relationship between Origen's theology and Augustine's conversion to Catholic Christianity has never been examined. This thesis focused on Augustine's first narrative of his conversion. My proposition was that the books which Augustine mentions in his *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5., and which obviously strongly influenced him immediately before his conversion, contained some works of Origen's.

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 image-metaphor 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 argued that Augustine chose to characterize the books with the particular image because he found it in the books themselves and the books were Christian. Accordingly, the narrative in the *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5. and the apparently 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, Augustine was prepared for understanding the spiritual exegesis of Origen. 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, the bishop who completely rejected the pagan philosophical tradition.

The famous narrative of the "garden scene" in the *Confessions* 8.12 also supports the main proposition of the thesis. When recalling the moment of his conversion, in the *Confessions*, Augustine created an allegory which, as the juxtaposition of the texts reveals, was influenced by a passage of Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.

The Foundation of the Monasteries in Twelfth-Century Poland by Members of the Nobility: Case Studies

Emilia Jamrozik

This thesis consists of three case studies of twelfth-century noble monastic foundations in Poland: those of the Cistercian monastery in Łekno (1145-53); the Premonstratensian nunnery in Strzelno (circa 1190); the Benedictine monastery in Wrocław-Ołbin (1120-30) and the convent of canons regular in Wrocław-Piasek (1138-49). Each case study consists of an analysis of the sources, information about the founder, and a review of the foundation process. However, the focus of this investigation is the role of founders in the foundation process, their motivations, and their self-representation.

I used three types of sources: charters, tympana, and architectural and archaeological evidence. The information is meagre and scattered; thus, in order to overcome

this difficulty, I utilized an interdisciplinary approach: the methods of traditional historical research combined with that of art history, historical anthropology, and archaeology. Previous studies have focused on the same ecclesiastical institutions in themselves. Other studies have focused on art historical, archaeological, or literary aspects of the history of these monasteries. Those which concern the genealogy of different noble families involved in the monastic foundation look at them predominantly in terms of political history.

I analyzed the founders' motivation in two respects: the "eschatological advantages" deriving from the "pious gesture" and the "down-to-earth" attitudes to monastic property along with the social benefits connected to the role of founder and patron. In addition, the founder's self-representation was examined on the basis of foundation tympana, architecture, and charters.

The three case studies allowed me to conclude that "being a founder" was a part of the noble life-style, and large Silesian monastic foundations influenced less important noblemen to undertake their own foundations. However, the main conclusion from this comparative study is the observation that monastic foundations should be perceived on many levels: as an expression of the noble status, as the outcome of very practical calculations, but also as the result of genuine religious feeling and beliefs.

The Works of Theodoret of Cyrus According to Georgian Manuscripts

Victoria Jugeli

In this thesis the Georgian versions of the writings of the Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus (the prominent Syrian Church Father) have been investigated. The works of Theodoret which were translated into Georgian generally concern exegesis, dogma, and history.

In the first chapter of the thesis, the exegetical writings of Theodoret, that is, his commentaries on the Octateuch, Prophets, and Psalms, were examined. The second chapter dealt with Theodoret's *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, which contains a dogmatic-polemical work by him, the *Refutatio*, four epistles written between 430 and 433, and the sermon *Speech Made in Chalcedon*, that is to say, the works related to the theological controversy between the Alexandrian and Antiochian Schools in the fifth century. The third chapter is devoted to an analysis of the Georgian versions of Theodoret's two historical works, the *Historia Philothea* and the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. In the fourth chapter, the problem of a work on the Creed of the *True and Sinless Christian Religion*, which has been attributed to Theodoret, is considered.

The close examination of the Georgian versions of Theodoret's works in juxtaposition with all corresponding Greek versions revealed that the Georgian translations are important in regard to the passages which differ from their Greek originals or are entirely missing in them. As the thesis demonstrates, in the majority of cases, most of these differences are related to dogmatical problems, and because of this, they were revised by the followers of Theodoret, by the editors of the *textus receptus*, or omitted by the copyists. Thus, the Georgian translations reflect the early versions of Theodoret's writings, and therefore, they are of great significance in reconstructing the original versions.

The Crimea According to the Descriptions of European Travellers from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century

Mihail Kizilov

The question of why medieval man created a certain kind of image of "other" people or countries is very interesting and is connected to medieval man's perception of the surrounding world in general.

"Travel accounts," in spite of the problem of the perception of "others," reveal much about the differences between countries. A stranger may see everything more sharply or more clearly. In style and content, travel descriptions are usually full of legends, marvels, dramatic experiences, and personal impressions, yet, travellers frequently describe historical and architectural monuments which have not survived to the present.

The main aim of this thesis was to use travel accounts as valuable sources for reconstructing the history of the Crimea. In addition, the study also suggests the importance of travel accounts as a historical source for a better understanding of the perception of "other" countries and people in the Middle Ages. Most of the known accounts of European travellers visiting the Crimea from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, written both before the Ottoman conquest (1475) and after, were collected and analyzed.

In general, Europe perceived the Crimea as a remote marginal region lying on a junction of trade routes to the East, on whose territory existed several settlements inhabited by the representatives of civilized countries of Europe (the Greeks, the Italians, and the Goths). The positive attitude of the authors changed considerably for the worse after the Ottoman conquest (1475), when the main ethnic element became the Crimean Tatars.

Travellers came to the Crimea from various European countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Russia); during the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries their main interest was commercial or practical, using the Crimea as a transit point for continuing their voyages farther. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the growth of the influence of the Crimean Tatars on the adjacent countries, the travellers' interest became military and diplomatic.

European travellers put the main emphasis on the description of the Crimean Tatars (as the most influential, peculiar, and dangerous people of the region), the Genoese (as the most numerous inhabitants of the largest Crimean settlements until the Ottoman conquest), and the Crimean Goths (fascinating the Europeans by the very fact of their presence in such a remote and barbarous region).

The main Crimean towns described by the European travellers were Caffa, Mangoup, and Chufut-Kale, mainly due to their administrative and military importance; other important Crimean settlements, such as Sudak, Kyrk-Or, Balaklava, or Kherson, were simply mentioned.

Iconography of the Uta-Evangelistary

Irina Kolbutova

The Evangelistary of Uta of Niedermünster (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm. 13601) belongs to the group of Regensburg manuscripts from the beginning of the eleventh century, which have been connected to the court of Emperor Henry II. This richly decorated codex contains four miniatures placed before the text of the pericopes (foll. 1v-2r; 3v-4r) and the pages with the portraits of the Evangelists, juxtaposed to the initial pages (foll. 5v-6r [St. Matthew]; 41v-42r [St. Mark]; 59v-60r [St. Luke]; 89v-90r [St. John]). The images on the miniatures are placed within geometrical ornamental constructions, the elements of which serve as definitions of the images as literally expressed because they bear numerous inscriptions.

The meaning of the miniatures is revealed not only through the text of the inscriptions, continued by the pictures and the ornament-syntax, but also through the very fact that the letters, ornaments, and images are interlaced, thus including the text of the pericopes. The construction of ideas—connecting all these elements into a unit—represents a continuation of the literary tradition that began in Carolingian times, primarily in the writings of Eriugena, and lead up to the twelfth century. Eriugena's comprehension of Scripture, patristic writings, and the works of classical antiquity helps in the explanation of the mysteries of both the visual and literal texts of the miniatures. Vice versa, the meaning of the miniatures can offer a better understanding of the thoughts of Eriugena himself.

Regensburg, the place of origin of the Uta-Evangelistary, was situated on the crossroad between several cultural areas, which can explain the interconnection of different influences in this manuscript. The main literary sources come from France and, perhaps, Italy. Through the gift of the *ornatus palatii* of King Arnulf, the monastery of St. Emmeram inherited directly the tradition of the Carolingian courtly culture of Charles the Bald. The Insular ornamental system provided a syntax for the complicated iconography of the miniatures. However, the iconographic lexics used in the geometrical ornamental construction are of Eastern origin.

In general the Uta-codex represents a complete system of the visual expression of the world, which had never been created by Carolingian iconography but which became a turning point for the further development of Western iconography.

The Ministerials of the Spanheims and Their Social Development in the Thirteenth and in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

Andrej Komac

This thesis investigates the social standing of the Carinthian and Carniolan nobles who originally belonged to the ministerialage of the Spanheims but at the end of the thirteenth and in the first half of the fourteenth century constituted the upper strata of the provincial nobility. I analyze the social standing of the chosen families through specific criteria, that is, the origins of the family, their estates, their lordship rights, and their performance of honorable courtly service. The central part of the study consists, besides a discussion of these criteria, of a catalogue of the families. In this catalogue, I examine each of the ten families according to the above criteria. On the basis of this analysis, I try to define the characteristics of the social standing common to the entire group of the chosen families.

On the basis of the detailed investigation employed in the thesis, some conclusions can be drawn. Among the Carinthian and Carniolan families, only those who had free origins (the Kraigs and Osterwizes) or who inherited considerable estates from the old free nobility (the Auerspergs) managed to survive the crisis of the fourteenth century and did not lose their influential position within the provincial nobility. In contrast to my expectation, in the first decades of the fourteenth century, the high social standing of those families which presumably emerged from unfree familia did not depend on their status at the beginning of their ministerialage of the Spanheims. As far as estates are concerned, while in the case of the Carinthian families, usually only one castle was the center of the domain, the centers of the Carniolans' domains consisted of two or even three fortresses. Besides the estates located within the home

province, only the most powerful Carinthian families such as the Osterwizes, Kraigs, Karlsbergs, and Silberbergs succeeded in acquiring considerable estates outside their home province. In regard to the lordship rights, they were exclusively held by the influential provincial nobles and were often attached to the central castle of the domain as its appurtenances. As guarantors of the power, each of these rights contributed its share to the social position of the nobility.

In the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Carinthia, the court services were performed by the members of those families who were the most distinguished ministerials of the Spanheims and later represented the top of the provincial nobility. Besides the Karlsberg-marshals, Kraig-stewards, and Osterwizes-butlers, there also were the Friebergs, Zeiselbergs, and Rabenstains who appeared as the stewards and butlers. An interesting fact is that the services seem to have already been reserved for the Karlsbergs, Kraigs, and Osterwizes from the time when these services first appeared in the sources, the first half of the thirteenth century. Finally, the originally free families managed to transform their services into hereditary ones. In contrast to the Osterwizes and Kraigs, the Karlsbergs had already lost their service as marshals by the end of the thirteenth century; thus they also lost their distinguished position.

Courtly Costumes During the Reign of King Louis the Great (1342-1382): A Comparative Study of the Costumes in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*

Annamária Kovács

Clothing and dress always bore a special meaning for medieval man, especially so in the Late Middle Ages. Costumes composed a part of courtly life, their special meaning having been defined and refined by members of the aristocracy for their own usage. The great changes of the fourteenth century concerning costumes, the spread of short upper garments among the men and the general trend towards tight-fitting clothing both in male and female clothing, were depicted in written, pictorial, and archaeological sources.

The *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, the main subject of analysis in this present study, is in the Hungarian National Library. Its iconographical style shows the French tradition as filtered through Bologna, Avignon, Naples, Siena, and Tuscany. The story of the Hungarians is told in this manuscript, from the mythical-biblical beginnings, linking the Magyars and the Huns, proceeding through the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, following the story of the Árpáadian dynasty up to the succession of the Angevins, then, suddenly, breaking off in the middle of a sentence.

This costume study of the *Chronicle*, illuminated in a fourteenth-century courtly milieu, strongly supports the view that the manuscript mirrors important thoughts and ideas such as the maiestas of the king, the unity of the king and his barones, the chivalric virtues, and the equality of Eastern and Western influences in Hungary. Since this was a time period in which a painter still used clothing rather than facial features to characterise figures, the costumes which appear provide additional information.

The identification of certain Western costume types in the pictures and, where possible, the comparison of them with written and archaeological sources, allowed the discovery of these elements in courtly surroundings. Also, the results of the investigation of costumes were confirmed by the specific fourteenth-century state structure of Hungary where the power of the king, however great, still relied on the support of the nobility as well as that of the Eastern ethnic groups trying to preserve their old cultural heritage while still living in Hungary. The clothing itself in the picture of the frontispiece with King Louis, his knights, and the nobles or light cavalry soldiers in orientalisised dress, and the appearance of noble families in knightly armor in the later pages of the *Chronicle* is the exact expression of this idea of Hungary, a country between East and West.

Through costume analysis, scholars can gain additional information concerning the royal court, the concept of kingship, knighthood and its representation, and the special problem called "orientalism."

The Gothic Cathedral of Lviv

Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

The aim of this work is to extract all existing information (both written and visual) relevant to the Gothic ecclesiastical architecture in Lviv as well as to the Franciscan and Dominican foundations in the city as these were the two Orders which instigated and brought Gothic architectural models to Red Rus'.

The general lack of sources demands a broad approach to the problem of the emergence, development, and role of the Catholic institutions in the medieval city. First, a history of the Latin Christian missions and political events reveals the process that resulted in the rise of the institutions. Second, a study of the architectural history, an analysis of architectural remains and building techniques of the monuments, presents the basic character of the Catholic architecture in Lviv. This is investigated in the architectural context of East-Central Europe. The role of the mendicant foundations—the first Catholic monasteries in Lviv—in the introduction of architectural models in Red Rus' is also examined. Since topography can provide additional data

for architectural history, attention is paid to the place of ecclesiastic institutions in urban development.

The study suggested three distinct phases in the development of Gothic architecture in L'viv: the first is a certain "pre-history" of the architectural monuments based on some written sources, on the motivations behind the historical events which influenced the emergence of the monuments. The second stage, an early phase of Gothic architecture, corresponds to the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century. The third stage is revealed by the full range of sources: architectural, direct written sources, and urban topography. The scarce architectural sources were used in combination with modern or early modern iconographical material: pictures, drawings, and photos.

These results would not be possible through the investigation of only one type of source. Due to the scarcity of all types of evidence, only this combined study could shed some light on the interactions between Orthodox and Latin Christianity and the circumstances of ecclesiastical architecture in L'viv.

Features of Royalty in the Court of Mindaugas and His Successors

Giedrė Mickunaitė

This thesis, based on both fragmentary primary sources and quite extensive secondary literature, concerns the early history of Lithuania, namely the establishment and functioning of the Lithuanian Kingdom, a state which survived for only ten years, 1253-1263, but which was the one to introduce the concept of statehood that survived for many centuries. Therefore, the personality of the first consolidator of the Lithuanian lands, King Mindaugas, attracts scholarly attention. An inquiry of the thesis concentrates on a particular aspect of Mindaugas' rule defined as "features of royalty." The aim of the investigation was to reveal the most general manifestations of medieval kingship, as reflected in mid-thirteenth-century Lithuania.

The study does demonstrate that throughout the baptism of the ruler and the reception of the royal title, a framework of Western-type rulership had been introduced in Lithuania. Despite the primitive and episodic manner in which these foreign patterns were reflected, the thesis demonstrates that the Lithuanian rulers of the period did indeed exhibit features that fit the general, albeit narrow, concept of the royal court and can be defined as features of royalty.

Women in the Fourteenth-Century *Stadtbücher* of Stralsund and Stettin

Małgorzata Mokosa

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the position of women living in the economically strategic medium-sized Hansa towns of Stralsund and Stettin (13,000 inhabitants in Stralsund, 8-9,000 in Stettin). The four town books, three *Stadtbücher* of Stralsund and one from Stettin, preserved from the fourteenth century are the basis for this study. The *Stadtbücher* primarily contain contracts and transactions made by the citizens, recording mainly the transfer of rents and real estate such as houses, stalls, town plots, and agricultural land. The main question which I have examined is to what extent the *Stadtbücher* can serve as sources for women's history. In other words, what kind of information can one learn from these sources about women living in Stralsund and Stettin, and, generally, how much do the *Stadtbücher* reveal gender differences? Thus, this thesis focuses on the recorded activities which were possibly determined by gender.

The main foci for the investigation were the following: family size, marital contracts, the right of succession pertaining to inheritance and dowry, the professional activities of women, the participation of women in transactions concerning real estate and rents, and the religious and other donations made by female citizens in comparison to those made by men.

The Family Structure of the Dalmatian Protopatricians in the Tenth and the Eleventh Century

Zrinka Nikolić

This paper investigates how families of the Dalmatian urban elite were organized in the tenth and the eleventh century and what their main characteristics were. I have chosen the term "protopatricians" since this group is not yet legally and socially closed like the urban ruling group of the later Middle Ages, the patricians. The available sources for this research consist mainly of charters and cartulary records preserved in the ecclesiastical institutions, as well as some stone inscriptions. The most abundant preserved material is from the towns of Split and Zadar; therefore, the research concentrates predominantly, but not exclusively, on the situation in these two towns, one being the secular, capital of Dalmatia at the time, and the other the spiritual.

The family structures were observed through five different aspects. The first of them was the study of the identification of individuals through kinship ties in the doc-

uments. References to relatives were not strictly limited to immediate male ancestors but could include other relatives (including female) if those seemed more relevant to the kin's standing.

The study of name-inheriting patterns showed the absence of a definite pattern or rather the presence of several patterns at the same time: suggesting a process of change. Relations between male and female members, discussed in the third chapter, stress the importance of women exercising their rights to family inheritance and their role in disposing of family property. The fourth chapter, dedicated to the duration of the family, shows that although family estates and patronage rights over ecclesiastical institutions played an important role in the preservation of family memory, these were not strong enough in the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. Only a few families from eleventh-century Split can be traced through to the twelfth century.

The final conclusion of this thesis is that family structures of the Dalmatian protopatriate in the tenth and eleventh centuries appear to be in a transitional phase developing from the cognatic model of a family into an agnatic one concentrating on the paternal line.

The Trade of Sibiu as Reflected in the Customs Registers of 1540 and 1550

Mária Pakucs

The sixteenth century is a period of particular interest for the evolution of the European economy into a "modern world-economy," and the part played by the Central European countries in the formation of this new European economy is still a controversial issue. The decline of the commercial routes in Central Europe due to the Ottoman conquest is a commonplace in the literature. However, the old trade routes passing through the Transylvanian customs of Braşov and Sibiu did survive the troubled political situation of the area, and the place of this trade in the new European economic context needs to be assessed.

This thesis aims at reconstructing the volume of Sibiu's trade on the basis of the unpublished customs registers of 1540 and 1550. The major question for my analysis of the registers is to what extent this type of source reflects commercial traffic and, consequently, whether any valid conclusions can be drawn on their basis.

The investigation of the Sibiu customs' origins and historical development reveals the shortcomings of the previous studies on the Hungarian customs which did not include the Transylvanian customs. It can be assumed that the Sibiu customs came into existence in the last quarter of the fourteenth century when the town was granted the right of staple for products coming from the south.

The customs registers record only the trade of oriental goods, that is, spices, cotton, and woolen textiles, leather products, southern fruits, and other miscellaneous goods, which came to Transylvania via the Balkan land routes. However, the exports of western or Transylvanian manufactured products to Wallachia and the imports of natural goods from Wallachia, which were present in Sibiu's trade in 1500, are no longer recorded in 1540 and 1550. This absence of exports and imports is one of the major limitations of these registers, and only further research can prove whether the export and import activities at Sibiu ceased or were just not recorded for reasons unknown. Due to these limitations, the comparisons with Braşov's trade and with the Hungarian foreign trade can be made only in regard to the oriental trade and, respectively, to the spice imports. Although any conclusion is, thus, partial, my analysis does reveal that by the middle of the sixteenth century, the oriental trade passing through the Sibiu customs was still important for supplying the Transylvanian market with spices. The Hungarian spice imports from the west in 1542 were less significant than the spice quantities which reached Transylvania from the south. Another interesting hypothesis might be that Sibiu and Braşov divided the trade with Wallachia among themselves, in the sense that Sibiu preferred to specialise in the oriental trade, while Braşov still maintained active export and import with Wallachia.

Tavern Life in Late Medieval Dubrovnik: Evidence from the Records of Criminal Justice

Gordan Ravančić

This thesis examines the taverns and tavern life of Dubrovnik in the second half of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth. Although the literature on medieval Dubrovnik is quite extensive, historians, both Croatian as well as others, have had little to say about the taverns in operation there. In the present work, I have used the records of criminal justice from the period as the primary source, and by combining quantitative and qualitative methods, I have tried to reveal some of the features of the daily life of the taverns of medieval Dubrovnik.

Tavern life in the Mediterranean world was undoubtedly and necessarily connected with another feature—wine consumption. Thus, the thesis begins with an investigation of the economic aspect of wine consumption, that is, trade in wine. This is followed by a review of Dubrovnik's wine policy and prices in wholesale trade in order to determine the price of the wine sold in taverns. Although the analysis of the extant evidence did not reveal much, some of the trends in retail prices of wine showed that this price, in general, was acceptable for most tavern customers. On the basis of this

and the didactic works of Nicolo de Gozze, the image of wine in late medieval Dubrovnik was also examined. The result of this investigation was not surprising, for it seems that in medieval Dubrovnik, wine itself was considered a daily food, but at the same time the inhabitants were aware of the negative effects of its exaggerated use.

The investigation of tavern life itself showed that victualling houses—such as the tavern—played a significant role in the everyday life of a great number of common people. This has been proven by the analysis of the locations of some of the taverns within the city—all of them were placed according to the same pattern at common gathering places such as broad streets or squares near churches or monasteries. An additional proof of the importance of taverns is the frequency of visits. The thesis has demonstrated that this frequency corresponded with the rhythm of labor in the field, the church calendar, and many other factors such as the climate and sequence of the seasons throughout the year. The analysis of tavern clientele has shown that males were the predominant customers of Dubrovnik taverns (approximately 95 percent). Tavern visitors were mostly from the strata of small artisans although one can find representatives of other social groups as well.

My analysis of the services and possibilities of entertainment in the tavern has demonstrated that taverns in late medieval Dubrovnik were, more or less, simple drinking houses of the city. This means that the guest in such an establishment could obtain refreshments (drink and probably also food), but accommodation was not one of the tavern services.

The last significant issue discussed is criminality and the types of crime in taverns. As could be expected, the predominant crimes were fights and brawls, followed by theft. Such a distribution of criminal behavior perfectly fits into the pattern, for it corresponds to what we know from the rest of Europe. The final result of the thesis is that in late medieval Dubrovnik the tavern was an integral part of city life.

The Relationship between Image and Text in an Early Illuminated Manuscript of Dante's *Divina Commedia* The Budapest University Library Codex Italicus I

Catherine Schokaert

This thesis deals with the miniatures of the Budapest University Library Codex Italicus I which is one of the three earliest illustrated manuscripts of Dante's *Divina Commedia* with miniatures for each *canto*. Mario Salmi indicates the Codex 1080 of the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, as the oldest *Divina Commedia* manuscript written by Ser Francesco di Ser Nardo de Barberino and illustrated at Florence in 1337. It has, however, only three initials. The two oldest fully illustrated manuscripts, next to the

Budapest Codex, are the Poggiali manuscript (Codex Palatinus 313) illustrated at Florence and the Pisan Chantilly manuscript (Musée Condé 597). All three codices were illustrated before 1350. The great importance of the Budapest manuscript is apparent when one considers that only thirty manuscripts still in existence have a pictorial cycle. It belongs to the first style category which Brieger calls "giottesque," containing manuscripts illustrated between 1330 and 1375.

This thesis examines one of the first iconographic programs of Dante's masterpiece and tries to uncover how the illustrator translated Dante's imagery into the language of image. First, I describe the Budapest Codex, concentrating on its codicological aspects and on the miniatures. Second, I examine the relationship between image and text in the codex approaching the *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* separately. The last part of the thesis offers a classification of the patterns in the Codex as they emerged from the study of image and text.

The clear structure of the *Divina Commedia* simplified the early illustrators' task to select scenes from a text for which no established program existed. The artist of Budapest offered an average of two miniatures per *canto*, illustrating its most important events and figures in order to suggest the progression of the pilgrims as completely and expressively as possible. This amount of images allows the viewer to follow Dante and Virgil on their pilgrimage from one punishment to another. Whether the viewer understands what he sees depends on the fidelity and competence of the illustrator when translating the imagery of the poem into miniatures.

What I have been concerned with in this thesis is the "lisibilité des châtiments" and the "logique pénale" in the miniatures of the Budapest Codex. The analysis of the images in the context of the poem suggests that the illuminator has represented the descriptions in the poem quite faithfully. In most cases the *contrapasso* has been visualized. The number of figures in the images is reduced to a minimum: the illustrator preferred to keep the scenes as clear as possible and concentrated on one or two figures with whom the pilgrims talk. It has to be emphasized that Dante and Virgil are not passive spectators, but take an active part in the scenes through conversation with the sinners.

I wanted to stress the oppositions between the iconography of Hell and Purgatory through different paradigms proper to the descriptions of each *cantica*. It has become clear that the illustrator himself has added suggestive details to the scenes enhancing the positive or negative connotations of it. By representing different episodes in similar patterns, the artist has with great subtlety established a relationship between Hell and Purgatory.

Noble Residences in the Middle Ages: Pomáz and Its Owners (A Case Study)

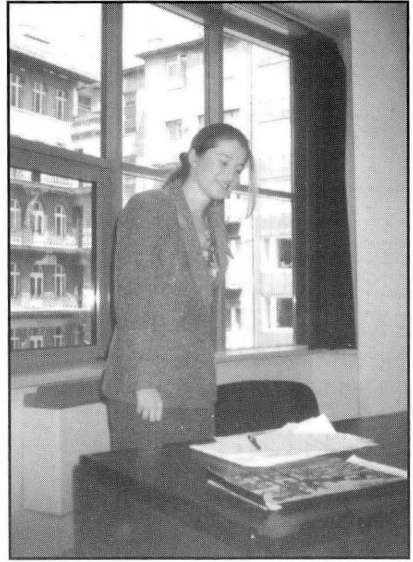
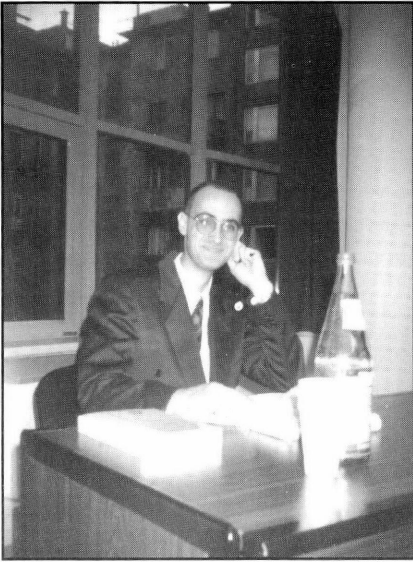
Gábor Virágos

One particularly current issue in archaeological and historical scholarship is the problem of noble residences. Because of the lack of sources and the limited interest of scholars in the history of the lower nobility, the dwelling places of the non-aristocratic families currently represent only a lateral branch of the research. Although the written sources reveal three groups of noble dwellings (*castrum*, *castellum*, and *curia*), scholars have difficulties connecting this classification to excavated sites. In addition, the definition of "residence" is the basic, as well as the most crucial, problem of the research. Although there were many attempts to define what might be called a residence and what the criteria would be, the term has no clear boundaries. A comparison of written evidence, data from charters, and results of archaeological investigation might help us to formulate more thorough answers to these questions.

The site of Pomáz is one of a possible case study although its interpretation is very much debated. The former excavations in Pomáz, during 1938-44, have uncovered a residential building complex. This is also supported by the later control excavations of 1995-97. After a thorough investigation of all the archaeological material, the ruins on the Klissza hill might indicate two basic building phases (with the second phase revealing at least three subphases) occurring between the twelfth (eleventh?) and sixteenth centuries.

While the archaeological investigations helped to identify the functions of the parts of the building complex and to create a relative chronology, it is the written evidence which allows more definite dating and an absolute chronology. For example, the possible reconstruction of the genealogy of the Cyko family proved to be an aid for dating certain changes in the site. The central location of the site in the country and the charters themselves suggest that the builder of the residence was a person who had permanent duties in the royal court and who was absolutely loyal to the dynasty. This strong connection to the king and the proximity to the center of the country would explain the high social status of the family, the rich decorations of the residence, and the luxurious goods found in the site. It is notable that written and archaeological sources support and complement each other concerning the simultaneous decline of both the family and the site. Although there is no direct evidence naming the site a residence, all the sources suggest that we should interpret it as such. Pomáz, therefore, can be described as a *curia* looking like a *castellum* belonging to a family that was situated between the aristocracy and the middle layer of the nobility.

To know more about the *curiae* of the late Middle Ages, similar comparative and comprehensive studies should be carried out and a complete list of the residences must be created, both from archaeological and written sources. Future research ought to include the whole of Central Europe during the Middle Ages in order to obtain a more thorough picture of medieval noble residences.



M.A. Thesis defences, June 1997



Diploma ceremony, June 1997

THE PH.D. PROGRAM

In 1997, the Senate of CEU adopted a university-wide policy governing the development of the doctoral programs and the requirements and procedures of Ph.D. courses. These were to a great extent based on the experience of our department, having been the pioneer in this respect. However, by the end of 1996/97, CEU obtained accreditation for a Ph.D. program in East European History (modern and early modern) and for a LSJ program in both of its legal departments (business and constitutional law); thus Medieval Studies is not alone "on the top" anymore. The approval of a Ph.D. program in Political Science is imminent. According to CEU policy, students admitted to the doctoral program will, in the first year after the M.A., be regarded as "probationary Ph.D. candidates," will have to complete a set number of credits, sit for a comprehensive examination, and submit a detailed dissertation prospectus before being admitted to "full" Ph.D. candidate status. (Probationary status is planned for one year but can be extended to a second one if necessary.) Outlines for dissertation standards and the defense procedures were also adopted by the Senate and will become relevant during next year when our first Ph.D. candidates will submit and defend their dissertations. These developments will be reflected in our program as well, for example, by the introduction of special seminars for Ph.D. candidates or the more rigorous definition of examination topics for the comprehensive exam.

The Board of Trustees of CEU also approved that scholarship students should have the right to take leaves of absence during the 36 months of their doctoral support for personal or professional reasons. Moreover, grants for three to ten months study at another university will also count as leaves of absence, during which the "CEU clock does not tick"; that is, Ph.D. students may be able to extend their time on fellowship by these on-leave periods. Presently, the Open Society Institute—a part of the Soros-network—has funds set aside for Doctoral Support Grants for students who obtain some form of financial assistance (e.g., tuition waiver) elsewhere and are recommended by their departments for study abroad. Beginning with 1997/98 our Ph.D. candidates will also be able to make use of these grants.

1996/97 was the first year of a "complete" Ph.D. program, with three classes, and the first in which the pioneering Ph.D. class of '97 completed its residence at CEU. The program had 27 registered students: 10 in the first (second at CEU), 6 in the sec-

ond, and 9 in the third, final year. Most of them were in residence this year as candidates from the finishing class took their research leaves last year and those in their third year postponed theirs for 1997/98. Leaves of absence were granted to a few Ph.D. candidates for some months during the year in order to attend their teaching appointments (Adelina Angusheva in Sofia, Margaret Dimitrova in Blagoevgrad, Ivan Jurković in Pula) or for personal reasons (Anca Gogâltan on maternity leave).

All Ph.D. candidates made good progress on their dissertations during the academic year. Of the Class of '97, Stanko Andrić, Maja Petrova, Margaret Dimitrova, and Zoran Ladić will in all likelihood be able to submit their dissertations during the 1997/98 academic year. Damir Karbić spent much time on the "Nobility" research project (see below); hence, he may have to postpone submission, and Anna Kouznetsova moved the focus of her work in the direction of a comparative study of missionary hagiography and might, therefore, need more time to complete. Similarly, Svetlana Nikitina, who had collected much new material on urban history in Bratislava wishes to include this in her dissertation which may not be completed until some time later. Moreover, Andrić (assisted by Karbić), Kouznetsova, and Petrova also served as tutors for the M.A. class, which took away much of their research time, but was highly appreciated by both our first-year graduate students and members of the department. (Actually, we decided not to continue this experiment precisely because it inevitably causes much delay in completing doctoral research and dissertation writing.)

The relatively small Class of '98 (from which several candidates chose to continue their studies elsewhere and are doing well there) will probably also produce dissertations by the Summer of 1998. Dimitrij Mishin and Rossina Kostova are close to completion of their research and even the writing. The others (Gábor Cseh, Anca Gogâltan, Ivan Jurković, and Renata Mikołajczyk) took leaves or had other tasks during the past year and will complete their work probably only in 1999.

The new doctoral candidates of the "Class of '99" took several courses during the academic year and reported on their progress in the doctoral seminar. Their research plans are printed below.

In April 1997, two Ph.D. candidates wrote the examination of Medieval Latin Proficiency, administered by the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. Dimitrij Mishin and Zvetlana-Mihaela Tânâsa were granted the certificate "on the Ph.D. level." We are proud of their achievement, especially considering that *fama fert* that at some examination dates not a single candidate reaches the high standards of the Toronto centre.

Several doctoral students attended national and international scholarly conferences (see the Alumni Directory for details) and constituted an impressive "delegation" of CEU at the International Medieval Congress '97 at Leeds. Selected papers, prepared by them for these conferences are printed in this volume (below, pp. 208-226).

At the end of the year, eighteen students from the M.A. class and several alumni applied for admission into the Ph.D. program. Six graduates of the M.A. class were admitted by the selection committee, and five others who had graduated in previous years will return to continue doctoral studies at CEU so that the year 1997/98 will begin with eleven new doctoral students.

The Ph.D. research proposals accepted in July 1996 were the following:

Brâncovenești, Gilău, and Făgăraș: The Architectural Evolution of Three Square-Shaped Transylvanian Castles in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Adrian-Octavian Bara

The majority of Transylvanian castles in Romania is presently in ruins, and another group of them is currently being used for unsuitable purposes such as jails (Gherla), hospitals (Brâncovenești), or warehouses. Even if they were restored, many architectural and pictorial details have been destroyed because of their current functions. Unfortunately, the castles are generally located in villages quite far from the main cities, and this has accelerated their degradation and devalued their use as museums due to the lack of security.

My previous documentary trips to Transylvania, namely participation in the activity of inventorying its Saxon villages and my M.A. thesis on the Brâncovenești castle, alerted me to the present situation of the architectural heritage in this part of the country and to focus particularly on the castle heritage of Transylvania. This situation strengthened my interest in researching this type of architectural heritage from the perspective of art history and architecture, which I want to extend in the future by becoming acquainted with the problem of castle preservation and management.

Present-day Romanian research in architectural history and the history of art focuses on ecclesiastical monuments rather than castles. The lack of information such as archaeological data, inventories, and monographs hinders any comparative study of Transylvanian castles at large. Thus, I was forced to select and limit my investigation to three castles.

Therefore, my Ph.D. dissertation focuses on the architectural development of three still-standing Transylvanian castles during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Gilău, Brâncovenești, and Făgăraș). My choice was determined by certain similar characteristics such as the square-shaped plan with interior courtyard, the first reference as *castrum* in the fifteenth century, the activity of common builders in certain situations or the relationship between the owners, the resemblance of Brâncovenești and Făgăraș regarding their layout and the shape of the towers which both preserve the medieval aspect, etc.. There are, of course, differences among them such as their state of conser-

vation and research, function, location, and the preservation of a different proportion of the late medieval and early Renaissance features.

These three castles are located in different parts of the borders of Transylvania. The most widely studied is the Făgăraș castle. Due to its location in the neighborhood of Wallachia, and the status of the Făgăraș district which belonged several times to the Wallachian voivodes, this building had already been investigated. It was excavated and restored during the 1960s and the '70s without the results of the excavation ever having been published except for general considerations. These results suggest that the present building is a successor of an older wooden structure built probably as early as the early thirteenth century and destroyed by the Mongol invasion in 1242.

Gilău and Brâncovești have never been excavated although they were also restored during the 1970s. Gilău was mentioned in 1439 as *castrum*, and from then on, until the middle of the sixteenth century, it was the property of the bishop of Transylvania, such as the Gereb bishop's in the fifteenth century. The present building is the result of seventeenth-century transformations, but a few carved stones of the previous medieval one are preserved. Brâncovești was first mentioned as *castrum* in 1228, and the conclusion of my previous research suggests that the present building was erected in the fifteenth century.

These castles will be interpreted as a result of the interactions between traditional methods of construction and an ever-changing society that determines the transformation of the space due to a new mentality, everyday life, social, historical, and technical progress (building techniques, armament, etc.). The castle as a specific type of building will be analysed in the larger framework of seigneurial residences inherited, developed, or invented in the given epoch.

In the brief case studies of the three castles, I will focus on establishing the stages of construction, the role of the owners and external influences, and the connection between castles and the fortification of the towns as determined by the temporary migration of the craftsmen which implies a typological transfer of forms. Other issues will concern the distribution of space and its importance according to the terminology and decoration as presented in descriptions; the evolution of the military strategy; the armament, and the regulations concerning military architecture in Transylvania in the given period. The planned appendix will contain collections of charters; unpublished inventories where available; visual sources, and catalogues of carved stones.

As far as methodology is concerned, the thesis implies field work and the relevant information will be put into a database. The comparative approach will be structured around the detailed presentation of the selected castles. Other monuments from the area and the given time span will be linked to these data. Although the representations and the descriptions of these monuments originated at the beginning of the seventeenth century, I will try to trace the earlier aspects of the constructions.

Duties of Queens in the Polish Literature of the Sixteenth Century

Anna Brzezińska

Even though there are numerous studies written on the Jagiellonian court, they usually concentrate on its political, and, even more, cultural significance while the problem of queenship has not been elaborated extensively. To a certain degree this omission can be explained by the fact that an average king's spouse is essentially invisible in the sources and most often, she appears only as a mother of an heir to the kingdom.

Yet, the sources testify that under some particular circumstances, usually when a queen transgressed the common expectations regarding the role of the royal consort, the principles of queenship were profoundly discussed. During the reigns of the last Jagiello, there were at least three such cases. The first was that of Bona Sforza (r. 1517-1557), the second wife of Sigismund I, who at the end of her husband's life obtained unusual political power. Soon thereafter serious controversy was provoked by Barbara Radziwiłł (r. 1547-1551), a Lithuanian noble woman, married to Sigismund Augustus, who due to her common origin was considered unworthy of a royal match. Finally, the third big debate followed the death of Sigismund Augustus, the last king of the Jagiellonian dynasty, who was widely criticised because of his sexual misconduct, the mistreatment of his last wife, Catherine of Habsburg (r. 1553-1572), and the public power he granted to his mistresses.

In my project, I intend to investigate several types of sixteenth-century sources: chronicles, most of them deeply rooted in the previous historical tradition and influenced by the chronicle of John Długosz; diaries and biographies; normative treatises on both courtly life and political theory of the state; and finally, occasional literary pieces such as epithalamic and funeral poems or speeches, pamphlets, satires, and various poems or epigrams.

In the first part of my research, I plan to study the process of "the making of a queen," that is, the reasons for the choice of a royal bride, the wedding and crowning ceremonies, and the recognition of the new queen by her subjects. It is my intention to examine the personal qualities of a queen, her appearance, education, temper, religiosity, and behavior. I will also investigate the different spheres of the queen's agenda, the power she could have obtained within the royal family through her dynastic links, the education of her children, and the various ties, both institutional and emotional, with other members of the royal family and household. Finally, I intend to examine the political and social importance of queenship, the role of the queen in governing the country, problems of patronage and the economical foundation of the queen's power.

Even at this early stage of research, it is clear that the examined ideas were virtually dynamic rather than static. The models of queenship had a great impact on the society, particularly on the nobility, and, vice versa, the social roles and images which were commonly accepted, determined the image of a good queen. Furthermore, the evident opposition, which appears in the contemporary sources between Barbara Zapolya (r. 1512-1515), the first wife of Sigismund I, and Bona Sforza, or later between Elisabeth of Habsburg (r. 1543-1545), the first wife of Sigismund Augustus, and Barbara Radziwiłł, should be perceived as a conflict between an old standard which was rooted in the medieval ideal of a pious, merciful, modest, and passive woman, and a new, Renaissance standard which gave a woman the way to exercise significant power as can be observed in the case of Bona Sforza.

Icons Before Iconoclasm

István Bugár

In my M.A. thesis I concentrated on the history of the cult of icons from the period of Constantine to that of Justinian, with special reference to the iconoclastic writings attributed to Epiphanius and a treatise from 409-10 of a certain monk Zacchaeus. For my doctoral dissertation I intend to expand this research into different directions.

First, though I was prepared to give as thorough an investigation of the literary evidence from this period as I was able and as time allowed, the task could not be fully completed in the framework of an M.A. thesis. In my thesis I deal especially with the authenticity of the alleged writings of Epiphanius, attempting to clarify the question with the help of evidence other than these fragmentary treatises. The passage I have found in the treatise of Zacchaeus is the most informative text in this context.

Second, I should like to consider the evidence from Oriental Christianity, which was discussed briefly by Christine Challet (*Rôle des images et vénération des icônes dans les églises orthodoxes Orientales*, Genf, 1993). There is a considerable amount of evidence from this cultural background which was not fully taken into account by those who undertook to reconstruct the development of iconophile worship before iconoclasm. This evidence from the Orient concerns both the period I had investigated in my M.A. thesis and the period from Justinian onwards, an era which otherwise has received a much fuller treatment by scholars such as Ernst Kitzinger or Georg Thümmel.

Third, I plan to devote special attention to the iconophile literature from the pre-iconoclastic period. The most important text in this context is a sermon of Leontius Neapolitanus, which has not been thoroughly dealt with. First of all, there is

a complex philological problem that has to be solved since the transmission of the text is very complicated, and even such scholars as the prominent Byzantinologist Norman Baynes were content to say only that they do not understand the relationship between the different sources. Nicholas Gendle and Georg Thümmel, who have recently dealt with Leontius, have not attempted to clarify the status of the text we possess either, though, I am convinced, it has important consequences as far as the argument is concerned. In my opinion, such famous assertions as "icons are open windows" prove to be later additions. Certainly this task cannot be completed without a study of the manuscripts since the edition of the *Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council*, the most important source for Leontius, is now very much outdated and incomplete.

Ioane Petritsi in the Context of Medieval Philosophy

Levan Giginishvili

My work intends to be an evaluation of Ioane Petritsi as a philosopher, assessing his place among other medieval thinkers. I have been working on this subject since 1994, writing an M.A. thesis entitled *Harmonisation of Neoplatonism and Christianity in Gelati Monastic School* (Budapest, 1995); and a paper for the CEU Summer University program on the *Caucasus Soul in Petritsi's Philosophy* (Budapest, 1997). Besides these, I have written a research project under the supervision of Professor Carlos Steel, (*The First Limit and the First Infinity in Philosophy of Ioane Petritsi*, Leuven, 1996). Therefore, my Ph.D. dissertation will be a continuation of my previous investigations.

Ioane Petritsi was a Georgian monk who lived presumably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Only two of his works are now extant: a translation of Nemesius of Emesa's "About the human nature," and a commented translation of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. Ioane Petritsi's commentaries on Proclus, although they should not be considered apart from the translated text, represent an independent philosophical work, a unique specimen of its kind in the whole of medieval Georgian literature. Therefore, a correct understanding of Petritsi's philosophy and an examination of the tradition to which he belongs—because his original philosophical discourse took place within a definite framework which is hardly an original one—is of great importance for Georgian culture. Petritsi's works, which seem to be an interesting representative of Byzantine-Christian Neoplatonism, will certainly add more to the picture of this tradition, and modern scholarship would benefit from such an analysis.

I intend to fulfill the following tasks during my Ph.D. research:

1. A comparison of Proclus and Petritsi.

To what extent can we speak of Petritsi's originality? In other words, is his philosophy any different from the philosophy of Proclus or is his purpose simply to render a faithful account of Proclus' Platonic system? If the latter is true, how well did he succeed in this task? Or, rather, should we speak of a new system, an unusual product of the philosopher's daring attempt to harmonise Christianity and Platonic metaphysics? These questions require thorough comparative studies of Petritsi's and Proclus' texts. In addition to the analysis of the *Elements of Theology*, my studies will take into consideration Proclus' other works as well, namely, his commentaries on Plato's dialogues which Petritsi knew well, citing them sometimes by heart.

Petrtsi's ideas should also be considered together with his peculiar translation of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. The translator's deviation from Proclus' text, as was already shown in my M.A. thesis, is often conditioned by his different metaphysical framework. Georgian scholarship has hitherto considered Petritsi's commentaries without looking at the translation. My work concerns a history of ideas rather than linguistics; therefore, it will be too much to make a thorough philological analysis of the whole translation. However, an analysis with similar intention has already been made by Natela Kechagmadze in her unpublished dissertation in 1948. The peculiarities of the translation will be treated accidentally when they will be of importance in the course of considering Petritsi's ideas.

2. A comparative philosophical analysis of Byzantine sources.

Another important task will be to trace back and discover Petritsi's Byzantine sources. This will require familiarity with the texts of Michael Psellus and of philosophers centered around him—especially that of John Itallus—because, according to tradition, Petritsi studied in Constantinople, presumably in the same period. A comparison of the ideas of those philosophers seems crucial for the assessment of Petritsi's world view and promises to identify the intellectual milieu that nourished this philosopher. At the initial stage of my research, I shall compare their theories on the soul.

Hitherto, I have already examined several aspects of Petritsi's philosophy: the problem of henads; the One, the First Limit, and the First Infinity; and Soul. I also intend to discuss other aspects, namely, the True Being; matter; time and eternity, etc.. Eventually, this research is intended to provide a certain synopsis, a comprehensive picture of Petritsi's philosophy. I would like to submit my work with English translations of some passages of the Old Georgian text, which would be part of a future complete translation.

A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Hungary (from 1150 to 1350)

Zsolt Hunyadi

The primary reason that induces this study is the lack of recent literature; the last monograph about the Knights of St. John was published seventy years ago. The work of Ede Reiszig is now out of date. Nevertheless, the data collected and analysed by him could be valuable for further studies. Unfortunately, Reiszig confused the information concerning the Knights of St. John and the—recently discovered—Knights of St. Stephen (Stephanites).

In a preliminary study, with the help of László Koszta, I worked in this field during 1992-1995 at József Attila University (JATE), Szeged. Although I had collected all the materials (primary and secondary) related to the Order in Hungary, I focused on the activity of the central convent of the Order at Székesfehérvár as a place of authentication in the Árpád Age (up to 1301). During 1995/96, I extended the topic up to the middle of the fourteenth century for my M.A. thesis.

The large amount of charters, partly issued by the convents or the dignitaries of the Order and partly received by the Order (such as foundation and donation charters), will form the core of my future project, as well as the records describing the debates of the Order, especially, of course, those which contain some hints about the Knights of St. John.

My intention is to create a more complete picture of the Order. First of all, its appearance (c.1147-1150) should be investigated, namely as to whether monks or knights founded the first house of the Order. In connection with the foundation, the process of affiliation must be traced as far as the records allow. Starting with the first and central convent, the establishment of new houses and commanderies would be treated. A possible next step could be the reconstruction of the estates of the commanderies and their governing system (responsion-system). While the international literature contains some information, the Hungarian situation is almost unknown.

In the context of studying the Hungarian Province, a special activity needs attention: eight convents of the Order were places of authentication, special institutions performing notarial and legal tasks. These convents could be, on the one hand, compared with similar Hungarian institutions, and on the other, this activity of theirs may offer an opportunity to trace the influence—or otherwise—of the foreign connections of the Order.

Based on the results of these investigations, the internal and external relations and the political and military role of the Order in Hungary could be reconstructed. The last influential event which can set the time limit for the period to be investigat-

ed would be the trial and fall of the Templars and, consequently, the transfer of their houses and estates to the Knights of St. John. This type of enrichment basically altered the balance within the Hungarian province, transferring the primary authority of the Order south of the River Drava and giving the outstanding role to the Prior of Vrana, and to the coastal areas.

Pilgrims from Medieval Hungary

Judit Majorossy

The theme of my doctoral dissertation will be the history of Hungarian pilgrims abroad during the medieval period. The investigation from economic, political, social, and cultural points of view would be conducted in a comparative manner, taking into account the examples and methods used in the European scholarship for the field. The scope of the final thesis would be expanded or contracted according to the available sources. The limit can be temporal, spatial, or thematic.

The purpose of the thesis is to fill a gap in the historical literature which mentions at every turn that a complete analysis of Hungarian medieval pilgrimage abroad needs to be conducted. Hitherto, there is not a work at our disposal based on a complete, detailed study of all available sources. In certain cases the newly published literature reproduces old mistakes using the old secondary literature.

On the one hand, the reason for this lack can be the shortage of sources, but on the other hand, the problem has thus far been investigated mainly from other points of view such as on an ethnographic basis or its literary appearance, etc.. This being so, the method of research and the approach towards the sources were different.

Recently an article has been published which offers a brief overall survey of medieval pilgrims abroad and highlights the groups of the examined sources which will allow me to establish a framework for a more thorough and profound investigation. This article presented the idea that this problem should be given an enlarged frame for interpretation. Despite the insufficient amount of sources compared to the Western literature on the topic, the examination can be and, on certain levels, should be fulfilled.

The method I propose to follow would be, first, the full-scale processing of the already revealed data and, parallel with this, the creation of a database. The next step is the revision of these data on the basis of re-checking the sources and the correction of the multiplied false data produced by copying the secondary literature. In the meantime, I would consult the D1 and Df collections of the Hungarian National Archives and all the published family charters. According to the plans, the continuation is the first full-scale examination of certain groups of sources (e.g. town archives

or family charter collections which were only partially utilized; the complete analysis of *Liber confraternitatis sancti spiritus de Urb* (1446–1523), town account books, etc.). I would also like to introduce new source types—possibly such as the lists of patients of different hospices and other archival materials in the monasteries along the pilgrimage routes, archaeological findings, votive paintings, etc.—the use of which would gain support from the foreign secondary literature since they were previously not used in the Hungarian scholarship.

Although a windfall of completely new data should not be expected after having investigated most of the available sources, a comprehensive study extending equally to all the possible areas of consideration is still necessary. The main purpose, however, is to process systematically all the data concerned, and to create a database for analysis. Beyond the primary purpose of the thesis, some micro-investigation can also supply us with numerous social and cultural historical contributions.

Feasts and Festivals in Medieval Livonian Towns: Aspects of Norm and Practice

Anu Mänd

In my Ph.D. research, I intend to investigate the phenomenon of feasts and festivals in medieval Livonia in order to contribute to the cultural history of this area. The study will be based on primary sources from the major towns of the region (mainly Riga and Reval/Tallinn) and will cover the period from the late fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century.

A feast—either of a religious or secular character—can be defined as a situation or activity that in its essence differs from everyday life. Similarly, feasts also have their repetitive, regular (and regulated) aspect, and from that point of view, they comprise an inseparable part of the daily life of medieval people. Feasts and festivities may be seen as cases of extremes and contrasts, and their study can offer interesting results in the fields of cultural history and the history of mentality. As feasts are a reflection of ways of life and standards of living, this study will also connect them to social and economic history.

Since the term feast covers a wide variety of occasions, starting from the most important religious feasts (we could define them as feasts for everyone), proceeding to predominantly corporate feasts, and ending with life-cycle festivities (baptisms, weddings, burials), it is clearly necessary to make some distinctions among them. After the preliminary examination of the existing source material, I decided to concentrate on the feasts organised by (and for) various guilds and corporations (including town councils), thus focusing on the social strata of merchants and craftsmen. Their feasts cer-

tainly represent all these "types": main religious feasts (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi), yearly drinking feasts of the guilds (most often at Carnival and at Christmas), spring festivals (bird shooting, election of the Lord of the May), as well as family feasts.

I intend to research predominantly the questions of norm and practice: what was the character of legislative acts regulating feasts (were they responses to actual needs or rather of preventive or traditional character?), and what was the reaction towards these acts (to what extent were the norms followed?). I will use both normative sources (regulations and decrees delivered by the town councils, sumptuary laws, statutes of the guilds and confraternities, etc.) and those reflecting the actual practice of the feasts (account books, criminal records, chronicles, etc.). My research will include an analysis of organizing and carrying out the feasts, the questions of public and private spheres, the study of food, dress, entertainment, patterns of behavior, and many other aspects. I also intend to analyze the influence of the Reformation and the Russian-Livonian war (1558-83)—which led to the collapse of medieval Livonia—on the transformation or passing away of certain traditions.

My second goal is to explore the interrelations and confrontations between different cultures. On the one hand, Livonia was situated on the periphery of the Catholic world; therefore, this area can be seen as a meeting point for the East and West. On the other hand, since the upper and lower classes consisted of different nations, it would be interesting to follow the differences and similarities between "German" and "non-German" culture and to investigate to what extent one influenced the other. This is closely connected to the questions of popular vs. elite culture. In the same way, other confrontations (if we can speak of confrontations) such as Christian-pagan, religious-secular, Protestant-Catholic, etc. must be taken into account.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that this research on feasts in Livonia will not be limited to local history but will be studied within a wider comparative context of late medieval Europe.

The Eremitic Ideal in Eleventh-Century Central Europe and its Predecessors in East and West

Marina Miladinov-Rossig

The central problem of my research is the revival of the eremitic type of asceticism in the Latin West after a period of decline and, in particular, the appearance of a group of hermits in the region of Central Europe (for my purpose limited to the area of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland). The aspect of this phenomenon which I find to be

of special interest is the ideology in the background of the new movement, that is, the "theory" of eremitism as formulated in the written sources.

The general background of the appearance of the new, ascetically oriented orders, as well as the increasing fame of individual hermits, can be traced in various aspects of late tenth- and eleventh-century Christianity: there is a new wave of spirituality, a revival of asceticism, and a general renovatio and reformatio of the Church, including both the ecclesiastical and the monastic spheres. In the framework of the ideal of *via apostolica*, there is a new wave of missionary activity and the quest for martyrdom.

The attitude towards hermits on the side of the Church authorities has always been controversial since their outspoken individualism escaped direct control. The eleventh century, however, witnesses the development of a peculiar combination of eremitism and cenobitism, delicately balanced and often filled with tension, which has been named "the crisis of cenobitism" (e.g. J. Leclercq) and which made possible the later development of eremitic orders, apparently a contradiction in terms. Most of the new movements actually combined eremitism and cenobitism in various ways as, for example, the Camaldolese, who formed a symbiosis of a cenobitic house and a hermitage; the Cluniacs, who reformed existing monasteries preserving the principles of cenobitism but also introducing elements of eremitism; or the Vallombrosians, adopting principles closer to eremitism but labeling it cenobitism.

The reformers were predominantly Benedictine monks who were no longer satisfied with traditional Benedictine monasticism, that is, with the material wealth and the involvement of great abbeys in worldly affairs, on the one hand, and with the burden of excessive liturgy as it was practised in the houses founded by Cluny and Gorze, on the other. Thus, these monks started to explore other models: the more individualistically inclined looked back towards the desert fathers and experimented with various forms of eremitic experience. However, these and other orders which sprang up in the late tenth and eleventh century did not look for an original mode of monastic existence which some of them, in fact, achieved: they all claimed a return to the original Benedictine Rule, which allowed for a range of interpretations.

For the purpose of my research, I have been examining the socio-political conditions and the ecclesiastical policy of the time and analyzing texts propagating eremitic life. Therefore, my sources include primarily saints' lives and theoretical writings but also letters, annals of monasteries, and documents pertaining to the political sphere.

The legends of Central European ascetics which I have been examining (including *Vitae sanctorum Zoerardi-Andreae confessoris et Benedicti martyris, eremitarum, Brunonis Vita quinque fratrum, Vitae sancti Adalberti, and Legenda maior sancti Gerhardi episcopi*) belong roughly to the same period; that is, they were to some extent inspired by the ideal of the Italian Camaldolese eremitism such as we can make conclusions about from the writings of Bruno of Querfurt or those (later) of Petrus Damiani and,

according to my previous research, inspired directly as well by Greek spirituality although this fact is not explicitly mentioned in the referred writings. The evidence for the Camaldolese and Greek influence is both internal (some particular characteristics of the eremitic ideal and monastic practices) as well as external (evidence from other sources about the relations of the hermits to Italo-Greek and mixed communities as well as to Romuald's order).

In examining the sources on eremitism, I pay particular attention to the following aspects:

- purpose ascribed to the hermit: his background, his cenobitic experiences, his view of eremitism as the next step in spiritual perfection;
- attitude to cenobitism: critical or neutral attitude, mobility in and out of the eremitic status; performed functions (abbot, bishop);
- tendency to engage in ecclesiastical affairs;
- relationship with the secular sphere, in particular with the rulers;
- missionary activity and mobility in general;
- ascetic and penitential practices;
- the hagiographer's references to the hermit's predecessors, interpolations of sections from earlier vitae.

At this stage, the point of primary interest to me is the fact that the eremitic ideology was imported to the newly converted countries of Central Europe as a ready product of the monastic reform in the Latin West; it thus could not have been primarily a reaction to the secularization of the Church or any other symptom of the alienation of the monastic ideal from the *ecclesia primitiva*. Furthermore, the close contacts between the Camaldolese hermits with their Central-European followers, which lasted for a short period due to the early death of the principal protagonists, seem to have been the matter of personal enthusiasm of a group centered in the imperial court of Otto III, which obtained its inspiration from the Camaldolese and the Italo-Greek circles. Therefore, eremitism must have—in these regions—been based exclusively upon the examples taken over as a ready set of ideas and led by an elite of foreigners. The source country for this period was predominantly Italy; however, some scholars (e.g. Cibulka) are of the opinion that this occurrence must have been to some extent facilitated by the previous missionary activity of Irish monks. I will investigate this context as well, as far as the sources will allow.

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Publications

- [Review] "Where to Look Up 'horka'?" Kristó Gy., főszerk., *Korai magyar történeti lexikon.*" in *Budapest Review of Books* 6 (1996) 96-97.
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Public Lectures

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- with Gábor Klaniczay, *The Old and New Middle Ages*, UCLA, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, November 13, 1996.
- *Signs and Symbols of Conversion: Laws*, International Medieval Congress - Leeds, 15 July, 1997.

Academic and Professional Services

- Member, Editorial Board, *Journal of Medieval History*, 1996-
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Public lectures

- *Public and Private Space in Dalmatian Medieval Towns*, Urban History Congress. Budapest, August, 1996.
- *Croatia in the Tenth Century, Europe in the Time of the Hungarian Conquest*. Budapest, December, 1996.
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Publications

- *Cyrillic Manuscripts in Slovakia: a Union Catalogue.* (Martin, Vydavateľstvo Matice slovenskej), 1996, pp.138, ISBN 80-7090-369-4
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- *Isocolism or Isosyllabism: away from a Poetic of Old Slavonic Literature*, Sofia, 24-26 May, 1996.
- Как славяне учились грамоте? [How Slavs Learnt to Read?], University of Sofia, October 18, 1996.

- ✻ *The Life of St Ivan of Rila in the Context of the Lives of Monastic Founders*, conference on St. Ivan of Rila and the Monastic Traditions in Medieval Europe, Sofia, October 19-21, 1996. organized by Sofia University and the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU
- ✻ *Literacy as a Sign of Conversion*, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 14-17, 1997.

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Public lectures

- ✻ *The Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy and Hadwich d'Anvers*, Conference on New Trends in Feminine Spirituality, Université de Liège, December 11-14, 1996.
- ✻ *Margery Kempe and the Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy*, conference on Gender and Space in the Middle Ages, University of East Anglia, Norwich, January 7-8, 1997.

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Publications

- ✻ ed., *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 36-38 and Sonderband VI, (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1996/97)
- ✻ "Gut versus Böse im späten Mittelalter. Zeichensetzung und Symbole in der Visualisierung." in *Symbole. Zur Bedeutung der Zeichen in der Kultur*. 30. Deutscher Volkskundekongress in Karlsruhe vom 25. bis 29. September 1995. eds. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich and Heinz Schmitt, (Münster, New York, Munich, and Berlin: Waxmann, 1997) 135-144.
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Public Lectures

- *Images as a Historical Source: Documentation and Analysis*, lectures given at the Department of History, Dnepropetrovsk State University, Ukraine, September 1996.
- *Analysis of Digitalized Medieval Images*, lectures given at the Department of History, University of Copenhagen, November 1996.
- *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, paper given at the Department of History, University of Aarhus, Denmark, November 1996.
- *Die verkehrte Welt der femoralia*, paper given at the Institut für Geschichte, University of Basel, February 1997.
- *Salvation and Material Culture*, La construction de l'espace et des identités nationales au Moyen Age: la part du sacré et des structures ecclésiastiques, Workshop of the Department of Medieval Studies of CEU and the Collegium Budapest, Budapest April 1997.
- *The Visual Image of Towns and Town Life*, Urban Culture in the Late Middle Ages, Workshop of the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest, April 1997.
- *Städtischer Alltag des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Conference of the Institut für Österreichkunde, St. Pölten, May 1997.
- *Urban Ways of Life: the Old and the New, the Traditional and the Progressive*, Towards a New Time, conference at the Department of History, University of Stockholm, June 1997.
- *Closeness and Distance of Late Medieval Religious Images*, International Medieval Conference, Leeds, July 1997.

- ✻ *History of Daily Life: the Variety of Approaches*, workshop organized and paper given at the International Medieval Conference, Leeds, July 1997.

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- ✻ "Hair les enfants dans la tragédie grecque." in *Enfants et enfances dans les mythologies*. (Paris, Actes du VII. Colloque du Centre de Recherches Mythologiques de l'Université Paris X., 1995) 123-136.
- ✻ "Les loisirs de Phedre (Euripide, Hippolyte 380-386)." in *Les loisirs et l'héritage de la culture classique*. Actes du XIIIe Congrès de l'Association Guillaume Budé. La tomus 230 (1996) 85-95.
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Public lectures

- ✻ *Menelaus in Eurypides' Helen*, Conference of Ancient Studies, Budapest, August, 1996.
- ✻ *Thésée et le pouvoir*, Université de Caen, 1997.
- ✻ *Achilles and the Community*, Conference on the Epic, Szeged-Hungary, 1997.
- ✻ *Bibliographie commentée des Bacchantes d'Euripide*, Colloque sur les Bacchantes, Université de Caen, 1997.

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Publications

- "La Hongrie" (en collaboration avec Edit Madas), in *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*. Corpus Christianorum, sous la direction de Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996) vol II. 102-160.
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- *Central European Hagiographic Models in the Middle Ages*, Christianity in East Central Europe and its Relations with the West and the East, Congress of CIHEC, Lublin, Catholic University, September 5, 1996.
- *Il culto dei santi ungheresi in Europa nel Medioevo*. (La civiltà ungherese e il Cristianesimo), IV. International Congress for Hungarian Philology (Hungarian Saints), Rome, September 10, 1996.
- *Movimenti, ordini e culti religiosi nella costruzione delle identità territoriali nell'Europa Centrale*, Vita religiosa e identità politiche: universalità e particolarismi nell'Europa del tardo medioevo, Centro Studi sulla Civiltà del tardo medioevo, San Miniato, October 3, 1996.
- *Szent Margit csodái - statisztikai és morfológiai elemzés* [The Miracles of Saint Margaret. A Statistical and Morphological Analysis] A szenttisztelet történeti rétegei és formái Magyarországon és Európában. A magyar szentek tisztelete. Historische Formen der Heiligenverehrung in Ungarn und in Europa. Die Verehrung der ungarischen Heiligen. JATE, Szeged University, October 8, 1996.

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- ✠ *From Gerson to Nider: Changing Perceptions of Divine and Diabolic Trance in the Later Middle Ages*, Trance, Times and Cultures. A Comparison of Analysis and the Revelatory Experience. The Claremont Graduate School, California, November 16, 1996.
- ✠ *Le Formicarius de Nider - une approche anthropologique*, Université de Lausanne, January 27, 1997
- ✠ *Reliques et pèlerinages dans la Hongrie médiévale*, La construction de l'espace et des identités nationales au Moyen Age: la part du sacré et des structures ecclésiastiques, Workshop of the Department of Medieval Studies of CEU and the Collegium Budapest, Budapest, April 3, 1997.
- ✠ *The Future of the Middle Ages –Teleconference panel*, International Medieval Congress, Western Michigan University, (Hungary and Central Europe), Budapest—Kalamazoo, May 8, 1997.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✠ Academic Board Member - CEU Press
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Publications

- ✠ with Patrice Beck "L'après Bibracte: le Couvent des Cordeliers" in *Centre Archéologique Européen du Mont Beuvray. Document final de synthèse. Rapport triennal, 1993-95. Vol.1.* Glux-en-Glenne, 1996.
- ✠ with Patrice Beck "L'occupation médiévale et moderne: Le couvent des cordeliers et ses annexes (XVe-XVIIIe siècles)." in *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est* 46/2. 1996, pp. 288-293.

- "Castles in Medieval Hungary" - Multimedia program with computer aided three-dimensional reconstructions for the permanent exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, 1996.

Public Lectures

- *Monastic Research Project at the Medieval Studies Department*, CEU, conference on St. Ivan of Rila and the Monastic Traditions in Medieval Europe, Sofia, October 1996, organized by the Sofia University and the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU
- *Crown, Town and Gown: Frontiers of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Urban Space*, La construction de l'espace et des identités nationales au Moyen Age: la part du sacré et des structures ecclésiastique, Workshop of the Department of Medieval Studies of CEU and the Collegium Budapest, April 3, 1997.
- Organizer and moderator of the following sections: *Transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*; *Signs and Symbols of Conversion*; *Archaeological Signs and Symbols of Conversion I*, *Cataloguing and Mapping of Ecclesiastic Sites*, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 14-17 July 1997.

Academic and Professional Services

- Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Visegrád (co-directing with Gergely Buzás)
- Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, France (European Center of Archaeology, Bibracte: Co-directing with Patrice Beck, Tours).
- Member, Programming Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds
- Member, Programming Committee, Medieval Europe, International Congress, Brugge, 1997
- Organizer and director, CEU-HESP Summer University Course, *Cultural Heritage in Danger*, July, 1997.

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Publications

- ✠ "Denys l'Aréopagite et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien." in ed. Ysabel de Andia, *La postérité de Denys l'Aréopagite en Orient et en Occident. Actes du colloque international de Paris, 29 Septembre-3 Octobre, 1994*, (Études Augustiniennes: Paris, 1997) 341-357.
- ✠ "Areopagita Dénes és Simeon az Új Teológus." [Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Symeon the New Theologian] in *Filozófiai Szemle*, 1-2 (1997) 153-172.
- ✠ "Bevezetés Simeon, az Új Teológus Himnuszai." [Introduction to the Hymns of Symeon the New Theologian] in *Pannonhalmi Szemle*, V/2 (1997 Summer) 118-120.

Translations

- ✠ Saint Symeon the New Theologian, "From the Hymns of Divine Love (Selected poems)" (translation into Hungarian from Byzantine Greek, in metric verse), in *Pannonhalmi Szemle* V/2 (1997 Summer), 121-130.
- ✠ "Acatist for the Repose of the Dead" (translation into Hungarian from Church Slavonic), in *Pannonhalmi Szemle*, V/3 (1997 Autumn), p. 110-119.

Public Lectures

- ✠ *Symeon the New Theologian* (949-1022) and the Philosophy of the Divine Substance;
- ✠ *The Theological Position of Pachomius' Monastic Community (Fourth Century)*, Two papers presented at the conference on St. Ivan of Rila and the Monastic Traditions in Medieval Europe, Sofia, 26-29 October 1996, organized by Sofia University and the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU.
- ✠ *The Place of the Prologue of Saint John's Gospel in Early Christian Preaching*, lecture given in Cluj-Kolozsvár, organized by CE Koinonia Publishers, May 6, 1997.
- ✠ *What Spiritual Traditions St. Symeon the New Theologian Belonged to?*, lecture given at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in the seminar series *Religion in the Balkans*, January 30, 1997.
- ✠ *Freedom and Grace in the Theology of John Chrysostom*;

- ✠ *Saint Symeon the New Theologian and the Divine Light*,
Two lectures given in Cluj-Kolozsvár in the lecture series *Király utcai esték*,
organized by CE Koinonia Publishers, February 15-17, 1997.
- ✠ *Théologiens et magiciens dans le Corpus dionysien*, paper read at *Colloquium Origenianum Septimum*, 7th International Colloquium on Origenian Studies,
Marburg-Hofgeismar, Organized by Phillips-Universität Marburg, August 25-29,
1997.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✠ Organizer and director, CEU-HESP Summer University course, *The Caucasus: A Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures*
- ✠ Member, CEU Administrative Board.

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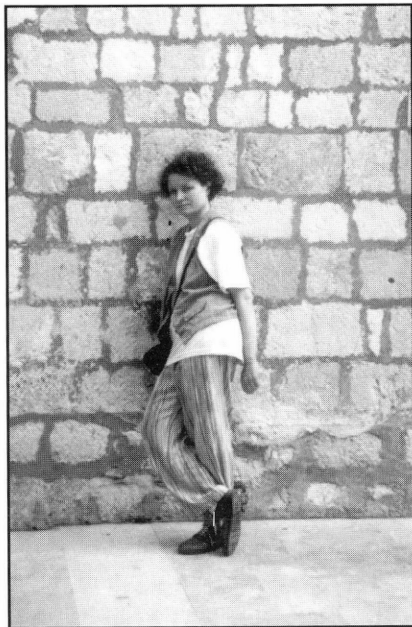
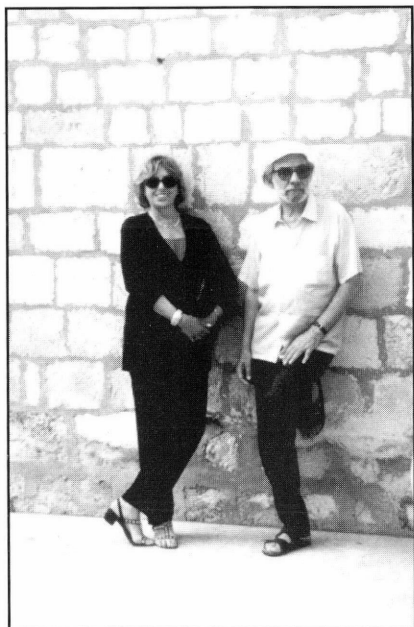
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Publications

- ✠ "A nemzeti állam kialakulása a középkorban." [The Formation of Nation-States in the Middle Ages] in *Rubicon*, 4 (1997) 8-14.

Public Lectures

- ✠ *Aspects of the Christianization of Hungary in the Ninth and Tenth Century*,
Christianity in East Central Europe and its Relations with the West and the East,
Congress of CIHEC, Lublin, Catholic University, September 3, 1996.
- ✠ *Le baptême de Saint Étienne de Hongrie*, International conference on the "Baptême de Clovis" Reims, France, September 10-19, 1996.
- ✠ *Conquest and Christianity: Hungarians in the Ninth and Tenth Century*, lecture at
Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA, February 17, 1997.
- ✠ *La christianisation de la Hongrie: Saint Étienne et Saint Adalbert*, Franco-Hungarian
colloque on Conquête et intégration: les Hongrois et l'Europe, IXe - Xlle siècles,
Paris, France, June 16-17, 1997.



Istria, Spring 1997

REPORTS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECTS

I. VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Gábor Klaniczay - Tamás Sajó

Based on the experience of first three years of operation of the Visual Laboratory at the Department of Medieval Studies and considering the successful cooperation between the Laboratory as a research center and various internal and external pilot projects (such as students' research projects, museums' computer cataloging projects, external scholars' database building), the Department and the researchers of the Visual Laboratory submitted a new proposal for the continuation of the *Visual Resources of Medieval Central Europe* research project. In this new application, a co-operation was proposed between the "core project" and five "part-projects." This plan includes the daily operation, maintenance, and development of the Visual Laboratory as a center of technical and scholarly assistance and the co-ordination of the part-projects.

The **core project** provides the following services for the part-projects:

- Running the Visual Laboratory for the project participants and developing its equipment according to the demands of the participants;
- assistance for the project participants in using the hardware and software available in the Laboratory (for scanning, optical character recognizing, writing applications, software counselling etc.);
- providing the part-projects with the Orbis database-managing software with which they build their databases;
- supervision of the progress of the part-project; creation of contacts between them and external experts, if needed;
- maintenance and presentation of the CD and database collection for the participants, as well as for students and external researchers (for the latter in the fixed opening hours of the Laboratory);
- publicizing the results of the part-projects in conferences, publications, and via the Internet;
- organizing an international workshop for the presentation of the part-projects' progress and for exposing them to scholarly criticism (in the second year of the project).

Part-project No. 1.

**Photodocumentation of Medieval Central European
Fresco and Panel Painting**

Gerhard Jaritz

For eight years, the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences has been photographing and cataloging the medieval frescoes and panel paintings of the Eastern Central European region. Professional photographic expertise, special equipment, and a large scholarly involvement thus led to the establishment of an invaluable photo archive of the field, the items of which are not only fully documented, but a large part of which have also been scanned in large resolution and systematized in the internationally well-known database system *kleiω*. The documentation itself includes not only historical data and a description of the monuments, but also an exceptionally detailed iconographic analysis of their content and social context.

Since 1994 the *Institut* has collaborated closely with the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU in collecting this material and making the constitution of the database a joint enterprise. The principal coordinator of the project on both sides, Professor Gerhard Jaritz, has regularly held courses on computing for historians and the use of *kleiω* as a full-time professor of our Department. On the other hand, students of the Department have actively taken part in the preparation of the Krems Institute's photographing fieldworks in their own countries (Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia).

The present project aims at completing the electronic processing of this material and making this large Austrian investment accessible in Budapest at the CEU. This work includes the scanning of ca. 4,000 high quality photos (ektachromes), the computer processing of their existing descriptions, and the English translation of the whole documentation, presently prepared only in German. The previous "photo-campaign" in Hungary and Romania will also be continued by the Krems photographer with the assistance of the Department's graduate students. This collection, once processed and installed at CEU, will constitute a unique and inexhaustible resource for all scholars, historians, and art historians.

The *Institut für Realienkunde* contributes to the realization of the project not only by providing their images for free, but also with hardware necessary for digitizing and analyzing of the data, plus covering the personnel costs of the photographer and computer staff.

Part-project No. 2.

**Visual Resources of Medieval Hungary:
Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century**

Béla Zsolt Szakács

The research and cataloging of the visual resources of fourteenth-fifteenth-century Hungary began a year ago within the frame of the Visual Resources Project, inspired and accommodated by the CEU Department of Medieval Studies. The idea of the project was born from the perception of the fact that in consequence of some scholarly teamwork and exhibitions of the past decade ("Romanesque Stone Carvings of Hungary," 1978; "Art under King Louis I of Hungary," 1982; "Art under King Sigismund of Hungary," 1987), a remarkable amount of research was done and historical evidence was collected on the "great period of Central Europe" between ca. 1300-1470. On the other hand, in many cases these efforts and materials remained isolated and their results were not always brought into connection with each other.

The project thus aims at processing the images and documentation kept in different historical and art historical institutions (first of all, the photo archive of the Art History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as well as the photo collection of the National Board for the Protection of Historical Monuments) and systematizing them within the frame of a computer database. This material includes photos and data of frescoes, panel paintings, and illuminated manuscripts as well as sculptures and products of minor arts, together with the architectural framework in which these works of art belong. The first "fruit" of the research carried out in the last year, a CD on the "Art of Hungary under King Louis the Great" has already been prepared and serves as a sample for a more extensive and systematic exploration of this material.

The relevant photos are put at the project's disposal by the institutions and will be scanned both in the local photo archives and the CEU Medieval Department's Visual Laboratory. Written documentation will be included by former M.A. or Ph.D. students of the Department, and international experts in the field will be invited regularly to comment upon the database.

Part-project No. 3.

**Computer-aided Photo Documentation and 3D Reconstruction of
Medieval Monasteries in Hungary and Central Europe**

Beatrix Romhányi

Three years ago the Department for Medieval and Postmedieval Archaeology of the Eötvös Loránd University started a project aiming at the 3D reconstruction of destroyed medieval monuments, especially of castles and monasteries. The first results of this work (e.g. the reconstruction of the Abbey of Kána and the Franciscan friary of Visegrád) appeared last year, partly included in a new permanent exhibition at the Hungarian National Museum. Parallel to this, a computer database of the once-extant monastic sites has been set up (text and partly digitalized photo or drawing) by using the database systems of both ORBIS and MS Excel which are available at ELTE and CEU. So far, one tenth of the total number of photos and drawings has been digitalized.

Due to the collaboration of the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU and the Department for Medieval and Postmedieval Archaeology, ELTE since 1995, an exceptionally good technical background supports the data-processing. From the beginning, Beatrix Romhányi has been one of the researchers who is responsible for collecting and processing the material. She taught courses on the ORBIS database at CEU Summer University in 1996 and had regular consultations with several CEU Medieval Studies students working on related topics.

The present projects aims at completing the collection and electronic processing of the visual material and its installation on Internet. On the other hand, its purpose is to prepare 3D reconstructions of the major and most destroyed monuments. This work includes the photographing and/or scanning of ca. 2,000 photos, drawings, and plans in collaboration with experts of the Hungarian National Museum, the National Board of Historical Monuments, and the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Once completed and put on Internet, this database will provide a basic source for scholars in medieval studies. At the same time, it presents an almost complete catalogue of ecclesiastic institutions in this part of Europe, similar to those already existing in Western Europe (such as in England, Germany, and France).

Part-project No. 4.

Iconography of Russian Saints in the Medieval Principality of Rostov

Sergey Sazonov

Russian icons, although world famous objects of art and much-sought items of great collections, are hardly known by international scholarship. Art historical handbooks and comprehensive albums of Russian art always reproduce the same handful of images from a half dozen museums in Moscow and St. Petersburg or at best in Novgorod. Theories on the spirit of the icon and the uniqueness of Russian art are forged on the basis of these while the overwhelming majority of icons are hidden in provincial churches and museums. There are towns where no item of the rich local icon production has lived to see any qualified scholarly publication.

The icons of Rostov are also widely unknown in international art history. However, the city and its principality, having been one of the forming centers of the later Moscow Grand Duchy, developed a varied local culture and also a rich local school of icon painting. Hundreds of the productions of this school have survived and are kept mainly in Russian state museums in Rostov and other cities.

The aim of this project is to prepare, at first, a survey catalogue of these icons. This will be followed by setting up a database which includes the already digitized images and a detailed iconographic analysis of the saints represented. Instead of using the traditional methods of Russian art history, the iconographic analysis will be completed with the help of a version of the international iconographic system ICON-CLASS (Utrecht) adapted to Russian art. The first step will be the assembly of a sample database of ca. 40 surviving icons of two eleventh-century local saints, St. Leontij and St. Avramij of Rostov. This database will be exposed to international scholarly criticism and will be followed by a comprehensive database of all the local representation of Russian saints, including their legends, iconography, and images.

This pioneering undertaking would have important effects on Russian art historical scholarship. It would constitute a model for the analysis of icons and of provincial icon-painting, and also demonstrate the richness and diversity of Russian icon-production to international scholarship. Finally, it would be the first experiment of the applicability of a versatile Western iconographic descriptive system to Russian material. The constitution of the database is supported by the Rostov Museum Preserve.

Part-project No. 5.

Photo Archive of the Ják Abbey Church

Edit Szentesi

The Ják Abbey Church is the par excellence Romanesque monument of Hungary. Founded in the thirteenth century by one of most influential aristocratic families of the period, it was built by the best European masters who came from Bamberg and Chartres and who later completed the St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. Furthermore, its isolated position in the western part of the country protected it both from the devastation of the Turks and from the equally devastating rebuilding of the following periods which put Baroque costumes on all the monumental medieval cathedrals. Thus, it has remained the only great Romanesque church truly conserving the style of its original building period, in spite of the partial restorations of 1905 carried out in the unhistoric Neo-Romanesque taste of the period.

The historical, art historical, and archeological research of the church and its surroundings since 1988 produced many and sometimes surprising results and accumulated a large amount of new documentation that was presented at the successful international exhibition entitled *The Romanesque Sculptures of the Ják Abbey Church and Their International Context*, organized in 1996 in Budapest. An important part of this documentation is constituted by the remarkable photo archive of ca. 4,000 items, both collected from old photo archives and made in the course of the research and restoration. The establishment of this archive has been heavily supported by the National Board for the Protection of Historical Monuments as well as the Foundation for Researches of National Interest (OTKA) since 1992.

As this amount of images cannot be made available to scholars of the field in any other reasonable way, the purpose of the project is to digitize and organize them in a computer database. This database will systematize them by chronological and topographical coordinates and will include all relevant information, both bibliographical remarks and full texts of original documents. The result will be a computer-based *corpus* of this unique monument of Hungarian art, similar to those made on the cathedrals of Reims and Cologne.

II. NOBILITY IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CENTRAL EUROPE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

János Bak

It is commonplace that the wide stratum of nobles (gentry, knights, *szlachta*) that characterized central Europe (esp. Poland, Hungary, and Croatia) for centuries was not only the decisive element in pre-modern centuries, but also that its culture, mentality, and social ideas remained central to the modernizing process of the region. However, nationalist and political considerations hindered an unbiased study of this social stratum for a long time. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, national conservatism (esp. in Poland and Hungary) counseled against an objective inquiry into the past of the “historical classes.” Marxist-Leninist orientation, in turn, tended to simplify their study into “class” categories. It is no wonder, then, that now a kind of renaissance of “nobility studies”—not unlike recent interest in genealogy elsewhere—is under way, but rarely supported by scholarly precision. Illusions about “noble democracy” in medieval and early modern centuries are often referred to in pseudo-scholarly political discourse. On the other hand, young historians are ready to embark on modern studies of historical nobilities, ones that would be informed by methods pioneered by social historians and historical anthropologists in the West. It seems, therefore, topical to address this issue by an unbiased, supranational, and modern approach. Moreover, interest and expertise of the department’s resident and visiting staff suggest that such a project be located here.

The proposed comparative study intends to inquire into the actual conditions, values, social patterns, and political roles of the nobilities in east-central Europe. By concentrating on the “lesser” (or “common”) nobility, we intend to study a social group that can be styled the “middle classes” of pre-modern central Europe. Even though no formal criteria separated the upper strata of nobles (“aristocracy”) from the middling, lesser, and poor nobles, we intend this time to focus on the latter, and leave the study of the leading aristocratic (baronial, etc.) families—who have been studied more thoroughly—for later. Also, among the many questions related to the noble society, we intend to address that of family (kinship, clan) structure, for that seems to be the clue to the strength and survival of the social and political weight of “gentry” attitudes and political influence. Moreover, the family-history approach will allow us to cooperate with sociologists and anthropologists studying related aspects of the societies under review.

There have been several attempts at looking at these elites in a somewhat comparative manner, though they mostly satisfied themselves with placing the knowledge about the different countries (or sub-regions) next to each other; thus, for example, A. Gąsiorowski, ed., *The Polish Nobility in the Middle Ages* (Wrocław, 1984) for the different regions of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, or Orest Subtelny for five countries in his *Dominion in Eastern Europe: Native Nobilities and Absolutism 1540-1714* (Kingston, 1983), and even the masterly sketch of the problem by Ferenc Maksay, "Les pays de la noblesse nombreuse," *Études historiques hongroises* 1980 (Budapest, 1980). The most recent collection of articles, edited by the director of the present project and Prof. Gerhard Jaritz (*History & Society in Central Europe 2-Mediaevum Aevum Quotidianum* 23, 1994.) did not go beyond a parallel presentation either.

A systematic approach has first to establish certain well-defined data for every single noble society, and then compare the development and function of social, political, legal, and cultural traits. Such a project on the family structure of western European nobilities has been launched by Karl-Heinz Spieß (then of Johannes-Gutenberg-University, Mainz) and his colleagues who presented their first results at the Leeds International Medieval Congress 1994. Our project intends to ask questions parallel to theirs and thus assure that its results become susceptible for inter-regional, eastern-western comparison as well.

The two-year project intends to explore a few central issues concentrating on family structure, inheritance, and related questions. Considering, however, the dearth of source material and the lack of reliable and up-to-date basic research, the project will not be able totally to avoid looking at a few traditional questions (such as definition, demography, stratification, etc.) as well.

A number of these questions—regarding norm and reality in the medieval kingdom of Hungary—were addressed by the late Erik Fügedi in his posthumous work on the Elefánthy kindred (*Az Elefánthyak*, Budapest, 1992) but not all of them were solved. Still, that monograph supplied the project with a catalogue of questions, augmenting the ones raised by the Mainz-based research group. Therefore, an English language "working translation" was made available to all interested colleagues and prospective participants in August 1996.

During the **first year** of the project, preparatory work, a first workshop, announcement of projects, and partial presentation of intermediate results were accomplished. In July-September 1996 we recruited an advisory board and prepared a tentative "questionnaire" listing the specific problems to be studied. As senior consultants—who were to serve as "jury" for individual projects—we enlisted the cooperation of Profs. Aurell (Poitiers), Bieniak (Torun), Engel (Budapest), Freed (Normal, IL), Gervers (Toronto/Paris), Geary (Los Angeles), Gieysztor (Warsaw), Klassen (Langley, B.C.),

and de Vajay (Vevey). The main task was to get away from the traditional generalities about "the nobility" in the one or the other country and address questions that can be handled in a comparative way, as far as possible, even in quantified terms. In September we announced a first workshop and invited colleagues—based on the proposals of the advisory board, our alumni network, and persons known from the literature—to attend this planning meeting.

For establishing a common methodical "language" and frame of reference, we prepared and distributed to all interested colleagues a working translation of Erik Fügedi's posthumous monograph on a Hungarian noble clan (kindred), the Elefánthy. This book we regard as a model of a case study that yields results susceptible for comparative treatment. It presents a confrontation between normative sources (the customary law-book of 1514) and actual records (the history of the clan over two centuries). The translation of the monograph (ca. 73,000 words) was accomplished by alumni and friends of the project and edited by the project director and the coordinator (Bak, Karbić). In 1996, it was printed in small numbers for information only; presently a final form, to be published by CEU Press in 1998 is under preparation. In course of this work, a "Diplomatarium Elephantiarum," containing the unpublished charters relevant for this monograph has also been prepared and will be made available to interested researchers on Internet. (It may also serve well as a teaching aid for our students demonstrating the possibilities of the reconstruction of family and property conditions from a series of records.)

On October 18-19, 1996 a workshop was organized—dedicated to the memory of Erik Fügedi—with the participation of students and researchers from Canada, Croatia, France, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia, some of them studying or teaching at CEU Budapest. The workshop was opened by a commemoration of Fügedi by Prof. Szabolcs de Vajay (CEU/Vevey), who briefly recalled his career and contributions to the study of nobility. Although isolated from academic life for political reasons, Erik Fügedi was able to keep up with the overall European post-war trends, applying them, adjusted by his own insights, to medieval Hungary. He elaborated an autonomous reflection of the *Annales* school's views on social development, radically challenging both the interwar national-conservative and the Marxist doctrinaire approaches. His *sui generis* Hungarian model, based on stratification and mobility patterns, became the accepted pattern for studies in Hungary. Fügedi's polyglott knowledge and his finally authorized travels to the West—to France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, and Austria—strengthened his convictions about the most suitable methods for the study of social structures in Central and Eastern Europe. Fügedi became thus more than the champion of the Hungarian trend. This all-European approach reached its apogee in his posthumous work, *The Elefánthy Saga*, which is nothing less than a solid foundation for an up-to-date study of medieval society.

During the two days of the workshop, papers were presented by Pál Engel, Janusz Bieniak, John Klassen, John Freed, Martin Aurell, and Joseph Morsel. Subsequently, participants discussed the sets of questions on which the single research projects should be focused and worked out a "maximalist questionnaire," one that contains most of the questions we would be interested in but certainly not expecting answers to all of them from all research projects. Even so, a number of issues mentioned in the round-table discussion had to be left for some later time.

Pál Engel (Historical Institute of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary) in his paper "What we would like to know about medieval nobility in Hungary" gave a rather critical view of the possibilities of comparative research and pointed out some methodological problems connected with the making of comparisons. He stressed that nobility of different areas had different rhythms of development, making the comparison more complicated. He also argued that focusing on only one kindred could leave uncovered many important features, because some features could be observed only with a much larger example, and pled for the county, to be the basic unit of research. In that respect he proposed that the "virtual" or reconstituted county would be the basic target because of the scarcity of sources which does not allow enough data in most of the cases.

Janusz Bieniak (University of Toruń, Poland) in his paper "Possibilities and tasks facing Polish genealogists-medievalists" focused on the genealogical studies conducted in Poland in recent times. He explained the main theoretical basis of the genealogical circle of Toruń, which is concentrated around the conference in Golub, and gave a critical assessment of genealogical approaches of other Polish genealogists, in the first place of those who are mainly early modernists. In spite of the scarcity of sources for earlier periods which he acknowledged, he emphasized that it is possible to proceed using minucious genealogical analysis.

John Klassen (Trinity Western University, Langley, BC., Canada) in his paper "The public and domestic faces of Ulrich of Rožmberk" has shown the interaction between the public and the private life of one of the most important Czech magnates from the first half of the fifteenth century. He criticized former qualifications of historiography describing Ulrich of Rožmberk as a selfish and calculating person in the public sphere and pointed out that especially because of his concern for the public good, Ulrich of Rožmberk had first to strengthen his own position so that he could play an effective role in the government of a land torn by the civil war. He also discussed the marriage strategies employed by Ulrich of Rožmberk in order to increase his influence, but noted as well his personal care for a daughter who was unhappily married.

John Freed (Illinois State University, Normal Il., USA) in his paper "Artistic and literary representations of noble self-consciousness" analysed the *Codex Falkensteinensis* commissioned by Count Sigiboto IV of Falkenstein in 1166. Special attention was paid to the family portrait from the same codex, showing Sigiboto IV, his wife and two sons, which contains an enigmatic inscription. Analyzing this inscription, the author highlighted the political circumstances which might influence Sigiboto's reasoning and placed an emphasis on the patrilinear lineage highly preferring the oldest son.

Martin Aurell (University of Poitiers, France) in his paper "Later medieval nobility in Western Europe." A "bibliographical approach" traces the transformation of nobility in an institution defined by privileges which were established in the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. He emphasized the role of central government in that respect as well as that of chivalric ideals which became the ideology of that class. The author also pointed out the influence of such a development on loosening the ties inside the noble lineage and on the changing of marriage strategies and customs.

Joseph Morsel (University of Paris I - Panthéon-Sorbonne, France) in his paper "Zur sozialen Konstruktion des Adels: Franken in spätem Mittelalter" focused on the Franconian example of changes in perceiving nobility as an estate. He analyzed the formation of sets of characteristics later employed to define noblemen, and tried to find their roots in the preceding period. It seems to be quite obvious that the notion of noblemen as privileged individuals (or families) and that of "nobility" as a more or less formal corporation have to be clearly differentiated and that the latter followed the former by a significant time lag.



After the workshop, a number of research proposals were submitted and adjudicated by the experts of the project. The following projects have been approved so far:

1. **Attila Bárány** (Debrecen), Late medieval baronial families of lower or middling noble descent in Hungary (ca. 1350-1450);
2. **Witold Brzezinski** (Bydgoszcz), Marriage among the families of higher local government officials in Greater Poland in the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century;
3. **Waldemar Bukowski** (Cracow), *Burggrabii Cracovienses*. Burgraves of the castle of Cracow until the fifteenth century: A history of their administration and administrative personnel;
4. **Zsolt Hunyadi** (Budapest), Inheritance and family. An investigation of six Hungarian "families";

5. **Marija Karbić** (Zagreb), Inheritance and family in the *Nobilis comunitas Campi Zagrabienensis*: Examples of three noble kindreds (Lukavec, Kurilovec, Lomnica);
6. **Joanna Karczewska** (Toruń), Families of the Pomian kindred living in eastern Greater Poland (Wielkopolska);
7. **Janusz Kurtyka** (Cracow), The "Lords of Cracow" and their social base: the relationship between the gentry clientele and the magnates in medieval Poland in the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century;
8. **Jan Wroniszewski** (Toruń), Recht, Alltagsleben und Gruppenselbstbewußtsein des polnischen Rittertums.

Parallel to these arrangements, we began—in cooperation with the *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae* project—to prepare an annotated edition and translation of the basic legal reference to Hungarian noble society, the *Tripartitum* of Stephen Werbőczy, first printed in Vienna in 1517. This book is not available in a good Latin edition or in any modern translation, while it may serve (as demonstrated by Fügedi) as a standard for comparing norm and reality, not only for the medieval kingdom of Hungary (including, of course, Transylvania and Croatia), but *mutatis mutandis* for the neighboring countries as well. The edition/translation will also include comparisons to Polish and Bohemian legislation of the same character (e.g. the *Decreta Laskiego*).

For consultations with our research fellows, we arranged several visits, among them one by Prof. Jardecky from Stanford, a well-known researcher of Polish genealogy and by Dr. Vadim Kadik from the Russian Historical Archives, Moscow. Both of them gave talks to the participants and will remain consultants and contributors to the project.

We established contact to a related research project in Germany and presented some of our preliminary results at a conference in Rostock on 12-14 June, 1997, co-sponsored by the university there and CEU, on "Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa." Papers were presented by alumni as well as M.A. and Ph.D. students of the department: Zsolt Hunyadi, Borislav Grgin (M.A. 1994), Russell Mitchell, Attila Bárány (M.A. 1996), Emilia Jamrozak, Ivan Jurković, Damir Karbić, Marija Karbić, Zrinka Nikolić, Gábor Virágos, and Andrej Komac.

In order to advertise the project in the international scholarly community, receive feedback, and generate interest abroad, we have organized a panel at the III International Medieval Congress in Leeds, UK, July 14-16, 1997. We have had good experience with such panels in Leeds, for they yielded valuable results in our earlier research project, "Women & Power." (For details, see the program booklet of the congress under Session 706. Medieval Nobility in Central Europe: Kinship, Property, Marriage.)

In the **second year** of the project, beginning in Autumn 1997, we intend to complete the first round of research projects, discuss their results, and present them both orally and—at least partly—in printed form. At the same time, we hope to be able to recruit a new round of researchers to the project, partly from among graduates of our program, who have already displayed interest in relevant subjects. In order to achieve this, we plan to have meetings outside of Budapest, probably in the Czech Republic and Romania. In the latter, we have established links to the association for genealogy and heraldry, at the recent conference of which, in Iasi, the project director addressed the members and called for collaboration.

Our Polish colleagues are presently exploring the possibility of a joint publication (in English) that would contain articles on the on-going research in this field from all the countries of the region. There we might be able to present our methodological insights together with a bibliography and report on archival resources for at least six medieval polities (Livonia, Poland including Silesia, Bohemia-Moravia, the kingdom of Hungary including Croatia, Carniola and Friuli for present-day Slovenia), and, perhaps, also for adjacent regions such as Moldavia, Bosnia, Serbia, etc.. Our conversations with German, French, and British colleagues convinced us that many important results of the scholarship in the region are not known to students of nobility elsewhere and that we may count on considerable interest abroad, once presented in a language accessible to a wider scholarly public.

III. COMPUTER SUPPORTED PROCESSING OF SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

Ralph Cleminson

The project represents a full integration of medieval Slavic studies and modern information and computing technology. It facilitates future collaboration of specialists both from Central and Eastern Europe and from the West working in the field of Slavic studies in three principal ways: first, by researching and developing computer tools suitable for solving specific problems of entering, storing and retrieving Slavonic texts in manuscripts and in early printed books; second, by collecting data on applicable computer tools and providing guidelines and resources for computer-assisted research and education; third, the results of the project will improve the dissemination of information by hard publications, ftp and internet resources.

The project is based on the following principles: standardization of the file format; multiple use (ensured by the separation of data from processing); portability of electronic texts (independence of local platforms); necessity of long term preservation of manuscripts and early printed books in electronic form; orientation towards well-structured divisions of data according to established traditions of codicology, orthography, palaeography, textology, etc. It was early decided that Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) and its application according to the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) correspond most adequately to these principles.

The activities of the project concentrate on three main fields:

1. The first of these is the further development of the TEI for the processing of specifically Slavonic MSS and early printed books and the provision in an adequate structure of data fields for cataloguing, to contain the essential elements. A large part of the research work had been done in the frames of the project *Computer Supported Processing of Medieval Slavic Manuscripts* (Bulgaria—USA), but it needs further refinement. In particular, while work on MS description is in an advanced state, there is as yet no standard for the description of early cyrillic printed books in SGML format. This was developed in 1997 as part of the final stage of the Anglo-Irish Union Catalogue, drawing on the experience of the use of SGML for MS description. The software developed in Bulgaria for MS description has also been supplied to colleagues in Lviv, who have been trained in its use by the Bulgarian participants.

2. The second is the use of these principles and software to produce a universal database of descriptions of manuscripts and early printed books in Bulgarian archival collections, with the subsequent addition of material elsewhere, initially probably in Hungary, Slovakia, later the British Isles and the Ukraine, and produce an electronic catalogue.

3. The third main field is the development of auxiliary materials and papers using the database for study of Slavonic manuscripts and early printed books in hard publication and electronic reference book form, including one book currently in the press, and further publications towards the end of its term.

From the point of view of software development and the input and exchange of information, the project is free of geographical limitation and operates in "cyberspace:" it is possible, for example, to input material into databases in London and Sofia without leaving Budapest. Certain geographical constraints are however imposed by the location of hardware and of the material to be described. The primary centre for the development of software and the description of Bulgarian MSS is the Institute of Literature of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, where work is directed by Assoc. Prof. Anisava Miltenova, Ph.D., in collaboration with Andrej Bojadžiev, Ph.D., and others. There is a working team of specialists, well trained in encoding data from MSS with SGML tools. Overall co-ordination of the project from the Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest, is conducted by Professor Cleminson. Adelina Angusheva and Margaret Dimitrova, Ph. D. candidates of the Department are also involved in the project. A union catalogue of early printed cyrillic material in British and Irish collections is being prepared with the collaboration of Dr. Christine Thomas of the British Library (London) and A.V. Voznesenskij, C.Sc., of the University Library of St Petersburg. A further development has been the preparation of two Writing System Declarations for machine-readable cyrillic, which have been made available for discussion and will form the basis of an international standard. Description and cataloguing of the material in Lviv is being conducted by a team headed by Academician Jaroslav Isajevyč, assisted by Marta Bojaniv'ska, CSc. and Jurij Jasniv'skyj, CSc..

The project's activity has also been reflected within the Department of Medieval Studies of the CEU, not only in the Ph.D. seminar on *Text Encoding* which Prof. Cleminson introduced in 1997, but also building on the Department's existing strength in the use of computers in Medieval Studies, represented by the Visual Laboratory and the work and seminars of Gerhard Jaritz and Tamás Sajó.

Over the first year of its existence, the project has achieved the following.

1. The composition of a TEI-conformant Document Type Definition (DTD) has been completed for the description of cyrillic early printed books. This is the first time that such a file has been compiled; associated writing system declarations are also in an advanced state of preparation. A number of descriptions have been encoded using this DTD, and final revision of these, on the basis of which the need for any final modifications to the DTD will be determined, is imminent. The DTD and associated WSDs will then be proposed as a world standard.
2. The contents of eighty more MS miscellanies have been added to the database in Sofia, all representing complex MS and a considerable amount of information.
3. Development of the original DTD for manuscripts has been proceeding, with various specialists dealing with specific aspects (e.g. bindings, ornament, colophons, etc.). These are now ready to be incorporated in the form of a modal DTD.
4. Work has been done in programming, creating a searching system to work with the encoded documents and software for transliteration.
5. A workshop was held at the CEU in November 1997, at which the achievements of the project were presented to scholars from the region, further contacts made and acceptance gained for the principles behind the project.
6. A book on *Initial Encoding of Slavic manuscripts with SGML: Results and Prospects* has been prepared, and publication costs covered by the project; it is now at the printers, and will appear in April 1998.
7. Bulgarian members of the project have travelled to Lviv to train the Ukrainian members in the techniques of manuscript encoding.

SUMMER UNIVERSITY COURSES ORGANIZED BY THE DEPARTMENT

I. CULTURAL HERITAGE IN DANGER

József Laszlovszky

Twenty-eight students were selected from close to three times as many applicants, ten of them from the Middle East and Eastern Europe, two from the USA. They include those involved in ancient monument protection, archaeologists, historians, art historians, architects, restorators, librarians, and archivists. Others are postgraduate students hoping for employment in some aspect of heritage protection. The course was organized bearing in mind possible new problems produced by the end of communism. Indeed, participants were able to relate the experience of their own countries of how slowly legislation progressed, and what odd and often dangerous situations privatization had produced.

Not only general questions were discussed but also concrete examples, without paying undue attention to restoration procedures, concentrating instead on heritage protection as such and the management of ancient monuments. Some of the lectures gave an account of what was established practice in their countries, including what they experienced in the course of the political changes. Those invited included scholars from countries that lead the field, such as Great Britain, Germany and the U.S. as well as specialists working for international organizations (Unesco, Ecovast). The course gave special emphasis to the protection of the archaeological heritage which is a "source of the European collective memory and an instrument for historical and scientific study." (1992 European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage).

Objects that have not found their way into various collections and into the art trade are a lesser known part of the archaeological heritage. This group includes buildings that no longer stand or cannot be seen and ruins and that part of them which has not been excavated or which, even if excavated, cannot be viewed except while work is going on, for a variety of reasons, often financial.

Few are aware that Hungary has 70,000 known archaeological sites (close to 100,000 according to other estimates) some of which are in jeopardy. Fortunately, in

Hungary there is no threat of war or of natural catastrophe, but mushrooming construction that the switch to a market economy involves, such as shopping malls and motorways, affect huge areas. There is need for foolproof contracts ensuring time and money and the infrastructure needed for various phases of the work, including staffing. What has been excavated must be stored, restored where needed, and published. The quantity of sources is huge, but, if nothing is done to prevent it, much may be irretrievably lost. The needs of housing and urbanization and indeed of new methods of cultivation create similar problems.

Another type of problem derives from the changed role of the state. Earlier legislation protecting the cultural environment has remained in force; nevertheless, as a result of the process of deregulation, including legislation and compensation, cooperatives, and Church property, many of the proprietors that have to be dealt with are new. They often are ignorant of what great treasures are in their charge. It would help if more and more easily accessible, information were available on a country's archaeological heritage. Few are aware that of the 506 sites in 150 countries which Unesco has listed as forming part of the world's cultural or natural heritage, four are in Hungary: the Castle of Buda, the village of Hollókő, the Aggtelek caves, and the most recent addition, the Abbey of Pannonhalma. There are forty sites on that list from countries of participants on the course, and one each is expected to be included this year from Estonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which have missed out so far.

Of all problems war is naturally the most serious. The civil war in Yugoslavia unfortunately provided many examples of the deliberate destruction of the cultural heritage of a territory or a people. The summer course also included an account of the documentation of such destroyed or damaged monuments. These not only cover buildings but also attempt to reconstruct earlier collections. Documentation and databases were thus given special emphasis, the more so since the majority of the participants are engaged on some such project. Much time was therefore devoted to computers, not just general computer and internet lore, also lectures on picture and textual digital databases, on standards, on standards of documentation and on virtual reality (see the detailed program of the course).

Posters displays linked to the course presented Romanian programs for monument quantification, revitalization plans in Macedonia, and new techniques in the protection of manuscript pages or their digital storage.

A three-day field trip to Visegrád studied Roman and medieval remnants, examining the factors which, starting with the nineteenth century, influenced the restoration of what was excavated; what were the principles which governed restoration at any one time; and what materials were used; what has stood the test of time.

The last subject to be dealt with covered icons from Eastern Europe and the threat which the illegal art trade posed to them. Many of these are not in the great museums but in ecclesiastic collections or in churches, and these are difficult to protect both against thieves and against normal deterioration. Similar questions were discussed in connection with manuscripts with special emphasis on the grave state of valuable Church collections.

The summer course also aimed to create an information center which could continuously cover the problems and projects of the region and which would make this information widely available, making use of the network which is at the disposal of the university.

Program of the Summer University Course, June 30—July 25, 1997

Monday, June 30

Course Introduction

József Laszlovszky (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies)

- József Laszlovszky, *The Cultural Heritage Information Centre*
- Lyndel Prott (Chief of the International Standards Section, Division of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO)
- UNESCO Policies and Activities in the Field of Cultural Heritage*

Tuesday, July 1

Morning: *International Documentation Standards*

- Lyndel Prott (Chief of the International Standards Section, Division of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO)
- Afternoon: Project Planning with UNESCO*
- Lyndel Prott (Chief of the International Standards Section, Division of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO)

Wednesday, July 2

Morning: *Dangers to Cultural Heritage in a Changing World*

- Katalin Wollák (Hungarian National Museum)
- Afternoon: Urban Heritage Walk*
- Pál Ritoók (Research Fellow, Museum of Hungarian Architecture)
- Visit to the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library*
- Balázs Nagy (CEU, Library Curator)

Thursday, July 3

Morning: *Heritage Protection Policy*

- Katalin Wollák (Hungarian National Museum)

Afternoon: *Visit to the CEU-ELTE Visual Lab*

- Tamás Sajó (Research Assistant, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies)
Workshop and Discussion: Legislation in Heritage Protection
- Katalin Wollák (Hungarian National Museum)

Friday, July 4

Morning:

- Johnny de Meulemeester (Service des Sites et Monuments, Luxembourg)
The Wenceslas Route in Luxembourg

Afternoon:

- Johnny de Meulemeester (Service des Sites et Monuments, Luxembourg)
Organization and Management of Cultural Heritage Projects
- Tamás Sajó (Research Assistant, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies)
Course-specific Internet Session

Monday, July 7

Morning:

- Martin Gojda (Archaeological Institute of the Czech Republic)
- Aerial Surveys in the Study of Ancient and Historical Landscapes in Bohemia
- The Archaeological Sites and Monuments Record in Bohemia

Afternoon:

- Martin Gojda (Archaeological Institute of the Czech Republic)
Traditional and Non-Destructive Approaches to Recording Endangered Heritage

Tuesday, July 8

Morning:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Improving Access to and Knowledge of the Cultural Heritage using Virtual Reality

Afternoon:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Practical Problems in Creating Virtual Cultural Heritage

Wednesday, July 9

Morning:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Creating a Digital Record of the Cultural Heritage

Afternoon:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow), *Creating Virtual Cultural Materials*

Thursday, July 10

Morning:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Databases, Documentation and Standards in Preserving the Cultural Heritage

Afternoon:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Creating Virtual Cultural Materials

Friday, July 11

Morning:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Virtual Reality Development Tools

Afternoon:

- Seamus Ross (Director, Humanities Computing and Information Management, University of Glasgow)
Workshop and Discussion

Monday, July 14

10.00-12.00

- András Riedlmayer (Fine Arts Library, Harvard University)
Documentation of the Fate of Cultural Heritage in the Former Yugoslavia

Afternoon:

- András Riedlmayer (Fine Arts Library, Harvard University)
Ingathering of Bosnian Manuscripts Project

Tuesday, July 15

Morning:

- András Riedlmayer (Fine Arts Library, Harvard University)
Workshop and Discussion

Afternoon:

- Angus Fowler (Vice-President, ECOVAST-European Council for the Village and Small Town)
Types of Dangers Confronting the Built/Architectural and Landscape Heritage I.

Evening:

Teleconference with the International Medieval Congress, Leeds

Wednesday, July 16

Morning:

- Angus Fowler (Vice-President, ECOVAST-European Council for the Village and Small Town)
Types of Dangers Confronting the Built/Architectural and Landscape Heritage II.
Examples from Central and Eastern Europe

Afternoon:

- Angus Fowler (Vice-President, ECOVAST-European Council for the Village and Small Town)
Combatting the Dangers to Cultural Heritage

Evening:

Teleconference with the International Medieval Congress, Leeds

Thursday, July 17

Discussions/ free program

Friday, July 18 Field Trip

Morning: Visit to the Roman remains

(Roman Watchtower at Visegrád-Kőbánya, Roman Watchtower at Lepence, Roman Fort at Gizellatelep)
Rescue Operations and Cultural Heritage

- Péter Gróf, Dániel Gróh (Archaeologists, Mátyás Király Museum, Visegrád) and József Laszlovszky

Afternoon:

Visit to Sibrik Hill (Roman Castrum, 11th century County Centre and Church)
Conservation and Preservation of Archaeological Ruins

- Gergely Buzás (Mátyás Király Museum, Visegrád) and József Laszlovszky

Saturday, July 19 Field Trip

Morning: Visit to the Lower Castle of Visegrád (13th-14th century)

(Medieval Keep, Gothic and Renaissance Art in the Royal Palace)
Theory and Practice in Monument Preservation from the 19th Century

- Gergely Buzás (Mátyás Király Museum) with Lajos Bozóki (National Board of Historical Monuments) and József Laszlovszky

Afternoon:

Visit to the Royal Palace and the Franciscan Friary of Visegrád (14th-16th century)
Architectural and CAD Reconstruction of Medieval Monuments

- Gergely Buzás (Mátyás Király Museum, Visegrád) with Zoltán Deák (National Board of Historical Monuments) and József Laszlovszky

Sunday, July 20 Field Trip

Morning: *Visit to the Upper Castle of Visegrád (13th-15th century)*

Medieval Monuments as a Tourist Attraction

- László Iván (Archaeologist, Mátyás Király Museum) and József Laszlovszky

Noon: *Medieval Banquet*

Afternoon: *Boat trip to Budapest*

Monday, July 21

Morning:

Archaeological Site and Monument Presentation on TV

Afternoon:

- Mick Aston (Professor of Landscape Archaeology, University of Bristol)

Popularizing Heritage Themes

Evening: *Database Workshop*

- Tamás Sajó (Research Assistant, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies)

Tuesday, July 22

Morning:

- Milena Dobрева (Research Fellow, Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, Sofia)

- Presentation of Various 'Computer views' on a Manuscript

- Applications of Computer Representations of Manuscripts

Afternoon:

- Milena Dobрева (Research Fellow, Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, Sofia)

Place of Projects in Digitizing Slavic Manuscripts

Ongoing Manuscript Projects in Bulgaria

Evening: *Database Workshop*

- Tamás Sajó (Research Assistant, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies)

Wednesday, July 23

Morning:

- Milena Dobрева (Research Fellow, Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, Sofia)

Organization of Manuscript Digitizing Projects

Afternoon:

- Milena Dobрева (Research Fellow, Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, Sofia)

Workshop and Discussion

Thursday, July 24

Morning:

- Viktor Sorokaty (Senior Research Fellow, Andrei Rublev Museum of Ancient Russian Art)
Preservation and Conservation of Medieval Works of Art in Museums, Churches and Private Collections

Afternoon:

- Viktor Sorokaty (Senior Research Fellow, Andrei Rublev Museum of Ancient Russian Art)
Art Market in Contemporary Russia: Legal and Illegal Trade in Icons

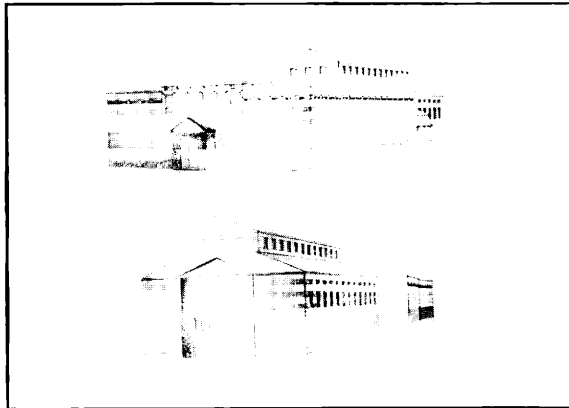
Friday, July 25

Morning:

Group I: *Workshop and Discussion*

- Viktor Sorokaty (Senior Research Fellow, Andrei Rublev Museum of Ancient Russian Art)

Group II: *Visit to the Buda Castle*



Three-dimension reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Erazmo, Ohrid, Macedonia (Prepared for the *Cultural Heritage* course)

II. THE CAUCASUS: A UNIQUE MEETING POINT OF ANCIENT CULTURES

István Perczel

The major conference on the medieval Caucasus was a long-nurtured dream conceived in Tbilisi in November 1994, one year after the civil war, when Tbilisi was in ruins. There was no light, the room where we met was only heated by kerosene lamps, and a fine company of Georgian medievalists gathered together for a discussion. We sat around a table and I asked them: what do they think, how could we help them in their difficult situation? The answer was unanimous: Organize a conference on the Caucasus in Budapest, where scholars of the entire region—Sub-Caucasia and North-Caucasus—could meet and discuss their common interests again—something that since the perestroika was no longer possible here. Thus, we agreed that we would try to obtain the support of CEU for this cause.

The task was not easy, given the very complexity of the project. On the one hand, the project's core was to bring to Budapest as many Caucasian resident scholars as possible, and cover their traveling and living expenses, a sum that they, who at that time earned an average of 3 or 4 USD per month, could not afford. On the other hand, the project made sense for us and promised to be really fruitful, only if we could arrange that the Caucasian scholars could meet their Western colleagues as well, and if we could find a theme for the conference which would make it unique in its genre. To that end, the original plan of the conference was broadened into a Summer University program in the framework of which thirty-five Caucasian resident scholars could come to Budapest, some as professors and some as participants of the CEU Summer University. Ultimately, our conference—which constituted the second week of the Summer University program—became a section of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, which was held here in Budapest from July 7 to 12. In the first week, we had lecturers both from the former Soviet Union (from the Caucasus as well as from St. Petersburg) and from the West, and since the participants of the second week's conference (seventy persons altogether) were of a truly international blend, our organization became a real meeting point for people of diverse backgrounds.

We also determined the theme: cultural interactions in the Caucasus from the fourth century AD (the conversion of Armenia and Georgia) until the beginning of the nineteenth century (the Caucasian Wars, when Russia extended her rule to the entire Caucasus region). We also wanted to include the small nations of the region, those who have no historical state of their own but whose cultural identity is all the more valuable and precarious. This is practically never done in these fields. Moreover, in general, Armenian studies constitute a separate discipline, Georgian studies anoth-

er, and the small nations of the North Caucasus are only the objects of ethnographic studies, or receive some attention only as belonging to the general field of Islamic studies.

Our project met with considerable interest in the region. For the thirty CEU grants (participation in the CEU Summer University) we received some eighty applications, from which an international committee chose the thirty who were judged the best. Among them were Armenians, Balkars, Cirkasses, Georgians, Daghestanians, Kurds, Ossetians, and Russians, but, unfortunately, only one Azeri, and a Chechen could come.

For the first week, we invited speakers in three domains: Armenian, Georgian and North Caucasian studies. Prof. Dickran Kouymjian from Fresno University gave lectures, with his own slides, on problems concerning Armenian Art; Prof. Boghos Levon Zekiyian from Venice spoke on the history of Sub-Caucasian Christianity; Prof. Ödön Schütz from ELTE, Budapest lectured on the great Nomadic migrations and their consequences for the Caucasians; Prof. Jos Weitenberg from Leiden presented aspects of a lesser known Caucasian language, that of the Armenian Gypsies: the "Loms" or "Bushas." Prof. Giusto Traina from Perugia analyzed some textual problems of the most enigmatic Armenian historiographer, Moyses Xorenac'i; Prof. Tamila Mgaloblishvili from Tbilisi spoke about Syro-Palestinian roots of early Georgian Christianity; Prof. Erzsébet Tompos presented the characteristic features of early Christian architecture in the South-Caucasus. Prof. Nikolay Dyakov from St. Petersburg discussed the history of Caucasian research in Russia and presented the current problematic issues concerning Islam in the North Caucasus; Prof. Giulietta Meskhidze from St. Petersburg recounted the history of North Caucasian Sufism (a school of Moslem mysticism); and Zourabi Aloiane from ELTE, Budapest gave a comprehensive picture of Kurdish studies in the Caucasus (the Kurdish participants told me in the pause: "he [that is, Aloiane] is our pride").

The lectures were followed with lively discussions and the notion of treating diverse Caucasian disciplines together proved to be perfectly rewarding. Prof. Kouymjian's lecture was brilliantly commented on by his Georgian colleagues, leading him to conclude that Armenian and Georgian art history should not be taught separately at Western universities. Prof. Weitenberg, as mentioned above, treated the Armenian Gypsy or "Lomavren" language in the conventional way, on the basis of a few written documents, adding that during his last trip to Yerevan he was told that the "Loms" are still present in the Georgian town of Akhalkhalakh. During the discussion, a Georgian Kurdish ethnographer stood up and told him that the "Loms" or "Bushas" also live in some villages in Georgia and are well-known to ethnographers. So Prof. Weitenberg has to take a tape-recorder, go to the places indicated, and check in living contact with the Loms whether the linguistic theories of the last century, which all looked on Lomavren as a dead language, were right or not.

The most pleasant story of the first week, however is connected with a lecture on North-Caucasian Sufism by Prof. Meskhidze. She spoke on Sheikh Mansour, a celebrated religious and political leader of the eighteenth century, who was the soul of the resistance against the Russians in Chechniya and Ingushetia, and who converted the superficially Islamized populations of the region to a deeper religious commitment (he was a member of the Nakshbandi Sufi order). One of the comments that followed the lecture concerned a book recently published by an Englishman, according to which Sheikh Mansour was a disguised Jesuit. A Chechen participant responded that the Englishman's thesis was impossible, given that his, that is, our Chechen friend's, "twenty-seventh great-grandfather" was the brother of Sheikh Mansour's "thirteenth great-grandfather." This argument was received with some scepticism on the part of the audience, but everybody agreed that in a society which, like the eighteenth-century North Caucasus, is based on very close kindred relations, it is out of place to suppose that a European Jesuit could play such an important role and deceive all the people around him.

It is more difficult to give an account of the second week, the conference proper, which at the same time constituted the Caucasus section of the 35th ICANAS. The opening lecture of the section was given by Dr. Éva Apor, Budapest, and was entitled "Homage to Bernát Munkácsi." It gave a comprehensive and clear picture of the life and activity of Munkácsi, who was the initiator of Caucasian studies in Hungary. The work of the conference then continued in three sub-sections: History, Cultural History, and Religious History, and, briefly, on Linguistics, on the last day. There were some keynote lectures, that of Prof. Robert W. Thomson from Oxford, on the Armenian "Law-Code of Mkh'tar Gosh," of Prof. Gadzhi Gamzatovich Gamzatov from Makhachkala, Daghestan, on "National Traditions in Daghestanian Religious Literature," and of Prof. Jos Weitenberg, again on some aspects of the Lomavren problematic.

One may add that with this conference we attained our initial goal. The papers of the participants were discussed from many novel angles, even the nationally connotated themes received new light from other, objective or even subjectively motivated participants. Every paper was followed by lively discussions (mostly in English and in Russian), many new problems and new solutions arose.

At least one important conclusion could be drawn and I can say without exaggeration that it is shared by all the participants: the medieval history of the Caucasus is an integral part of the history of the entire *oecumene*, and its study has a bearing on other disciplines as well, which only too often ignore this fact. Once the linguistic and cultural barriers are crossed, the student of Antiquity, the European medievalist, the historian of philosophy, or of religion, finds invaluable and irreplaceable material for a better understanding of his own field, related either to the Latin West, or the Byzantino-Slavic East. But this recognition also has another aspect: Caucasian studies

are fruitful and interesting if they are not kept within a purely national context, but when the problems of local Caucasian history, culture, art, literacy, philosophy, religion, etc., are viewed in a more general, universal framework. Only in this case can the scholars concerned demonstrate that they do not merely deal with an exotic, "Oriental" subject.

It is hoped that this conference was a beginning rather than a one-time occasion. Our guests from St. Petersburg plan to organize its continuation in their city, in which "Kavkazovedeniye" has long been established and we hope that their plan will come true. The idea of a mobile Summer University on the Caucasus was also mentioned. This could be held in a different center of the Caucasus every year: Yerevan, Tbilisi, Makhachkala, Maikop, Vladikavkaz, etc., where the hosts could introduce the participants to the cultural heritage of their own region, and the guests could read papers on other parts of the Caucasus.

Finally, there arose the idea of organizing another conference on one of the most exciting subjects discussed here in Budapest, the cultural interactions between the two extremities of the early medieval *oecumene*, Syriac, Arab, Armenian, and Georgian Christianity on the one hand, and the Atlantic coast on the other. In fact, there are some striking similarities connecting these two regions in art, texts, and traditions, but nobody could ever answer the question as to what kinds of contact are responsible for the obvious parallels. Such a conference (workshop? summer university?) would be important not only because it would treat, and perhaps partly solve, a major academic riddle, but also because it would direct the attention to our truncated and distorting view of European history, which is interested only in what happens in the "center" or "centers" and does not understand that the "center" cannot exist without its interaction with the "peripheries," which can themselves act upon each other without involving the center. The conventional view, moreover, also neglects the fact that sometimes the most interesting things are going on precisely on the "peripheries."

We also intend to publish the majority of the papers presented here, and negotiations are going on with the CEU Press.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

I. CHRISTIANITY IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND THE EAST

Congress of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée
(CIHEC at the Catholic University of Lublin, September 2-6, 1996)

Papers presented by our faculty members, Ph.D. students and alumni:

- ✦ János Bak, *National Synods in Medieval Hungary, esp. the Synodus Budensis a. 1279.*
(session on "Pastoral Programs and Religious Life," September 3)
- ✦ Gábor Klaniczay, *Central European Hagiographic Models in the Middle Ages.*
(session on "Liturgy and Hagiography," September 5)
- ✦ József Laszlovszky, *Monastic Culture in East Central Europe.*
(Introductory session, September 3)
- ✦ Balázs Nagy, *Monastic Life in England at the End of the Tenth Century. The Colloquium of Abbot Aelfric.*
(session on "European Perspectives," September 4)
- ✦ Marianne Sághy, *The Christianization of Hungary: Tenth-Eleventh Centuries.*
(session on "Christianity Around 1000: Hungary and Kiev Rus," September 5)
- ✦ Stanko Andrić, *Canons Regular of Hebron in Medieval Srijem.*
(Session on "Canonical and Monastic Structures," September 5)
- ✦ Zoran Ladić, *Some Remarks on Medieval Croatian Pilgrimages.*
(session on "Pastoral Programs and Religious Life," September 4)
- ✦ Anna Kouznetsova, *Holy Fools in Medieval Russia: More Questions than Answers.*
(session on "Liturgy and Hagiography," September 5)
- ✦ Martin Elbel, *From Hopes to Triumph. Marian Cult of the Czech Society in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century.*
(session on "Under the Habsburg and Turkish Rule," September 3)
- ✦ Martin Homza, *Role of Ludmila, Olga, Dúbravka and Adelaida in the Christianization of the Countries of Central Europe and Rus.*
(session on "Christianity Around 1000: Bohemia and Poland," September 4)

- ✙ Pawel Kras, *Polish Hussitism: An Attempt at Evaluating the Character of the Phenomenon*. (session on "Social-Religious Situation in Bohemia in the Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries and Its Consequences in Europe," September 4)
- ✙ Beatrix Romhányi, *Benedictines in Medieval Hungary*.
(session on "Canonical and Monastic Structures," September 5)

II. ST. IVAN OF RILA AND THE MONASTIC TRADITIONS IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Conference at the Sofia University, October 19-20, 1996

Papers presented by our faculty members:

- ✙ Ralph Cleminson, *The Life of St. Ivan of Rila within the Tradition of the Beginnings of Monasticism*
- ✙ József Laszlovszky, *Interactions between Monastic Orders in Medieval Central Europe*
- ✙ István Perczel, *Saint Symeon the New Theologian and the Philosophy of the Divine Substance*; and *St. Pachomius and the Controversy between Anthropomorphites and Origenists*

Papers by our Ph.D. students:

- ✙ Adelina Angusheva, *The Journey of the Relics and the Hagiographic Tradition of St. Ivan of Rila*
- ✙ Margaret Dimitrova, *St. Ivan of Rila in the Notions of Two Women from Samokov*
- ✙ Rossina Kostova, *A Grotto Image of St. Basil the Cappadocian from the Tenth-Century Monastery in Ravna in the Light of His Cult in Eastern Monasticism*

III. THE HUNGARIAN CONQUEST AND EUROPE

International Conference in Budapest, December 2-3, 1996.

On the occasion of the 1996 celebrations for the Eleventh Centenary of the Hungarians' arrival to the Carpathian Basin and of the Hungarian conquest, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Hungarian National Museum, the Eötvös Loránd University of Sciences, and the Central European University organized an international conference. Its main purpose was to highlight the non-Hungarian scholars' view of the problems related to the conquest and to the process which gradually led to the birth of the Hungarian state.

The conference focused on the following topics:

- a., The situation of the Carpathian Basin and the neighbouring countries, and the general situation in Europe at the time of the Conquest.
- b., The changes caused by the Hungarian conquest in the Carpathian Basin and in Europe.
- c., The process of the Hungarians' settlement and gradual integration into the other European peoples up to the creation of the Hungarian state and the birth of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary in the year 1000.

Program:

December 2, Monday

First session: *The Impact of the Hungarian Conquest to the West and North*

- ✎ Walter Pohl (Institute für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien), *Von Attila bis Árpád - Steppenvölker des Frühmittelalters an der Donau*
- ✎ Wilhelm Störmer (Institute of Bavarian History, University of Munich), *Folgen der Ungarneinfälle in Bayern*
- ✎ Aleksander Gieysztor (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), *Poland and Hungary: A New Neighborhood in the Tenth Century*

Second session: *The Impact of the Hungarian Conquest to the South*

- ✎ Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Department of Medieval History, University of Augsburg), *Die Reaktion in Rom und Mittelitalien auf ungarische Invasionen*
- ✎ Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey, Switzerland), *Aventures ou alliances? Les dessous structuraux des incursions hongroises en France et au-delà des Pyrénées au X^e siècle*

December 3, Tuesday

Third session: *The Impact of the Hungarian Conquest on Byzantium and the Southern Slavs*

- ✎ Jonathan Shepard (Faculty of History, University of Cambridge), *The Treatment of Hungarians in the Byzantine Literature*
- ✎ Paul Stephenson (Keble College, Oxford), *Byzantine Frontier Diplomacy and Trade across the Danube after the Hungarian Conquest*
- ✎ Neven Budak (Institute of History, Zagreb/ CEU, Budapest), *Croatia and Dalmatia in the Conquest Period*

- Sima Ćirković (University of Belgrade), *The Landmarks along the Istros River*

Fourth session: *The Impact of the Hungarian Conquest to the East*

- Evgeny Kazakov (Archaeological Institute, Kazan), *Ancient Hungarians and the Volga-Bolgars*
- Mechtild Schulze Dörrlamm (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz), *Ungarische Siedler im Karpatenbecken vor der Landnahme des Jahres 896 - archäologische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte der Ungarn.*

IV. URBAN CULTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Second Interdisciplinary Workshop of Medieval Studies, Budapest, April 4-7, 1997.

Each paper was presented as a combination of lecture (ca. 40 min.) and seminar discussion (remaining 40 min.) held on texts and/or images submitted in advance.

Program:

Friday, April 4

Urban Culture from its Various Perspectives

- Neithard Bulst (University of Bielefeld), *Urban Culture and Sumptuary Legislation*
- Grenville Astill (Reading University), *Is There An Archaeology of Urban Culture and Lifestyle?*

Commerce and Culture

- Sergey Karpov (Moscow State University), *History of Tana between East and West in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries*

Saturday, April 5

Jews and Christians: Conflict and Coexistence

- Hanna Zaremska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), *A Fifteenth-Century Pogrom of Jews in Cracow*
- Michael Toch (Hebrew University, Jerusalem), *A Nation unto Itself? Cultural Self-sufficiency and Cultural Borrowings of Medieval Jews in Central Europe*

Administering Morality

- Halina Manikowska (Warsaw University), *Relics, Indulgences, and Religious Life in Medieval Wrocław*

- Valentin Groebner (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin), *Gifts, Administration and the Notions of Corruption in Late Medieval Cities*

Sunday, April 6: Visit to Sopron

- One-day trip to Sopron and Kőszeg with Katalin Szende (Xantus János Museum of Sopron)

Monday, April 7

Crafts and Artistic Expression

- Jeffrey Hamburger (Oberlin College, Ohio), *The Reformation of Vision: Art and the Dominican Observance in Fifteenth-Century Germany*
- Walter Endrei (emerit. Hungarian Academy of Sciences), *Weavers and their Trade*
- Gerhard Jaritz (CEU/Krems), *The Visual Image of Towns and Town Life*
- Closing debate and reception

V. FRONTIÈRES, ESPACES ET IDENTITÉS EN EUROPE

Workshop co-organized by the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU and the Collegium Budapest, April 3, 1997, Budapest

Part I. *La spatialisation du sacré au Moyen Age en Europe Centrale (IVe-XVe siècles)*

- Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Espace et sacré au Moyen Age, un chantier à ouvrir au-delà de la médiévisique* (synthèse des séminaires d'Auxerre, février et mars 1997)
- Gábor Klaniczay, *Reliques et pèlerinages dans la Hongrie médiévale*
- Hanna Zaremska (Institute of History, Warsaw), *Les pèlerinages des assassins en Europe Centrale: XIIIe-XIVe siècles*
- Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux, *Les pèlerinages en Bohême: une question historiographique à redécouvrir*

Part II. *La sacré dans l'espace urbain*

- Gerhard Jaritz, *Salvation and Material Culture*
- Neven Budak, *Division of Space in Dalmatian Cities*
- Halina Manikowska (Warsaw University), *L'espace sacré dans la ville médiévale: Wrocław à la fin du Moyen Age*
- József Laszlovszky, *Crown, Town and Gown: Frontiers of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Urban Space*

VI. THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: EAST AND WEST

Teleconference between Budapest and Kalamazoo, May 8-9, 1997

A teleconference joined the 32nd International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo (Michigan, USA) and the Department of Medieval Studies of the Central European University (Budapest, Hungary) for a common panel dedicated to the present state and future direction of the study of the Middle Ages in various parts of the world. Medievalists from East-Central Europe and the West exchanged ideas concerning the study of the Middle Ages in their respective regions. The teleconference link enabled the participants to follow sessions and to communicate in an interactive way through a video screen, thus actively joining the speakers and audiences in places as distant as Budapest and Kalamazoo.

Program:

May 8, Thursday, Session 1: *The Future of the Middle Ages in the West*

Kalamazoo: 10.00-11.30 / Budapest: 16.00-17.30. Session in Kalamazoo with the participation of John Frank Leyerle (University of Toronto), Luke Wenger (Medieval Academy of America), Christopher Kleinhenz (University of Wisconsin-Madison), Helen Damico (University of New Mexico), Ruth Hamilton (The Newberry Library).

May 9, Friday, Session 2: *The Future of the Middle Ages in the East*

Kalamazoo: 10.00-11.30 / Budapest: 16.00-17.30. Session in Budapest with the papers of Aleksander Gieysztor (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), Andrei Pippidi (University of Bucharest, Romania), Neven Budak (University of Zagreb, Croatia; CEU, Budapest), János Bak (CEU, Budapest), Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Budapest).

Session 3: *Closing debate*

Kalamazoo: 13.30-15.00 / Budapest: 19.30-21.00. A joint debate concluding the two sessions and involving the key speakers in Kalamazoo and Budapest, along with a number of guests present in the CEU: Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA), Elizabeth R. Brown (New York University), Nancy Van Deusen (The Claremont Graduate School), Janet Nelson (University of London), Evelyne Patlagean (Université Paris X - Nanterre), Susan Reynolds (Institute of Historical Research, London).

THOUGHTS AND REMARKS FROM SESSION 2

The Future of the Middle Ages in Central Europe: Five Theses*János Bak*

1. *There is no future without a past and present.* In the last 30-40 years medieval studies were (a) neglected because of being regarded "clerical" and "reactionary" (with the exception of "progressive traditions" such as peasant wars, Hussitism, or "class struggle") and because its practitioners were seen as belonging to the past, but (b) served as a refuge for traditional humanist scholarship in archives, libraries, museums and, in some places, at universities and thus attracted some fine young people to the feet of old masters. It was also a field of discourse where censorship could be eluded more easily than elsewhere. Consciously or not, a book about the national catastrophe at Mohács in 1526, in which the author (Géza Perjés) discussed the (highly unlikely) possibility—missed by the Hungarians of the early sixteenth century—of a *modus vivendi* with Istanbul instead of "standing up and being counted" (in terms of corpses on the battlefield), engendered a popular and scholarly echo so loud that only the deaf could not hear that the possible choice was not seen as relating to MDXXVI, but rather to 1956 and the Kádárist *modus vivendi* with Moscow.

2. *The fate of medieval studies is not independent from general attitudes to the Middle Ages.* The "Western" trends of nostalgia for the Middle Ages as "the last wholistic society," as the age of valiant heroes and maidens in distress did not really touch the region, neither did the "medievalist" turn-away from modernity (see Umberto Eco's "New Middle Ages"). Rather, the Middle Ages are very much present in everyday political (and journalistic) discourse. Here is an example: the notion of "the Visegrád countries" (*troika* or *quadrige*), meaning Poland, the Czech and the Slovak Republic, and Hungary, is a reference to a meeting of three kings and others in 1335 in the castle of Visegrád in Hungary, and used as if this happened yesterday. Less idyllic are references to Kosovo as the cradle of Serbian statehood or to the "historic rights" to territories that changed hands in the twentieth century (e.g. Transylvania, Moldavia, Vilnius, etc.). The oddity of this situation is that, for instance, the coat of arms of the Republic of Hungary (1991) is a crest surmounted with the "Holy Crown of St. Stephen"—a nightmare for any expert of heraldry.

3. *Prohibition engenders interest.* New departures to medieval studies—such as the semi-otic school of Tartu, the "anthropological" approach of Gurevich and of many young and not-so-young Hungarian, Polish, and Czech scholars (Fügedi, Klaniczay, Geremek, the exile Graus, Třeštík)—had a great appeal to a wider than professional

audience, exactly because it was barely tolerated or was even attacked by the powers there were. Characteristically, many of their practitioners were to a greater or lesser extent active in the resistance of the 1970s and 1980s, from samizdat-publication to open political activity in opposition (e.g. Geremek in *Solidarność*).

4. *Past greatness overshadows present problems.* In Hungary (but also elsewhere), the Middle Ages will remain a reference point for essential political issues, now not merely for reasons of censorship, but also because of real or imagined national greatness in the pre-modern period. It is characteristic that the most important intellectual statement on the (explicitly anti-Soviet/Russian /Byzantine) existence of "Central Europe" was formulated by Jenő Szűcs in terms of Hungary's medieval incorporation into "Europe" and its problems. This debate is still going on and will continue to do so even beyond the Visegrád-countries' acceptance into the EU and NATO (if and when) and will remain a terrain for medievalists to exercise their wits, possibly being hindered by being too much in the public eye from true critical statements. When Pál Engel, in the first non-censored sketch of medieval Hungarian history in 1990, ventured to point out that his readers are much further removed from fourteenth-century Magyars than from their contemporaries, say, in Brasília—Hell broke loose in letters to the editors and such-like. When the president of the Republic of Hungary, a participant of the 1956 revolution himself for which he suffered years in jail, addressed a meeting of old veterans at the fortieth anniversary, he found it appropriate to speak above all of the "mille-centennarium" of Hungarian *Landnahme* (purportedly in 896 A.D.), this being closer to his mind than the common fight and suffering of his fellow *ancients combattants* . . . Tableaux.

5. *Modernization and its discontents.* Nevertheless, many a previously neglected aspect of medieval studies is on the agenda of medievalists in the region, and the traditional limitations to essentially national and legal-institutional history are being broken through. There are several "workshops" dedicated to innovation such as the Moscow journal *Odysee* and its circle; the social historians—students and friends of Geremek—in Warsaw; and, of course, the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU. They are all young, ambitious, and may claim to have achieved a minor impact on their surroundings. Too early to judge, whether this means a breakthrough. However, the recruitment of young scholars to these little centers already suggests that with its gradually successful "modernisation," the region is happily approaching the rest of the "West." The study of Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic and interest in such non-lucrative but formerly prestigious matters as medieval art or letters is—not surprisingly—declining and may soon reach the low level it had hit in those parts of the world where "practical" subjects likely to yield well-paid jobs ("the victorious march of the M.B.A.") reflect the ethos of market-orientation. So it may not be. Amen.

The Future of the Middle Ages in Hungary

Gábor Klaniczay

1. In 1981, when a samizdat volume was published in the memory of the recently deceased oppositional political thinker, István Bibó (a member of the second government of Imre Nagy in 1956), both the organizers and the public were struck by the surprise that the most influential piece of the collection of several dozen authors became the long essay by the medievalist Jenő Szűcs, *The Three Historical Regions of Europe*: an essay which tried to detect the future chances of civil society in Central Europe by a scrutiny of long-term regional evolutionary patterns rooted in the Middle Ages. Based upon decades of debates in Central European medievalist scholarship, it departed from Marc Bloch's vast vision of feudal society, it integrated more modern theories of world system, center, periphery, and it was firmly anchored in a subtle and original analysis of medieval political theories. Beyond schematic Marxism, but also beyond anecdotal history of events and curiosities, this kind of methodologically informed, source-bound and problem-inspired approach to medieval studies seemed to pave the way towards the future in Hungary, both in political and in scholarly terms. A few important masterpieces did indeed get written: the vast social and political panorama of the *Last Arpadians* by Jenő Szűcs himself; the social and cultural history of Hungarian knighthood by Ágnes Kurcz; numerous books and studies on Hungarian nobility by Erik Fügedi; and the studies on medieval Hungarian towns by András Kubinyi.

2. Ten years later in 1991, shortly after the collapse of Communism, medievalists showed as much vitality as any other group of the intelligentsia. An impressive number of new institutions were founded for medieval studies in Hungary: a Hungarian "Medievistenverein" (*Középkortudományi Társaság*), an association for social history (*Hajnal István Kör*), new reviews with a strong medievalist specialization (*Budapest Review of Books* or *Aetas* edited in Szeged), new university departments or programs dedicated to medieval archaeology, philosophy, palaeography, medieval Latin, historical anthropology—in the row of these latter, let me also mention our Department of Medieval Studies within the CEU. Efficient new arguments were formulated to convince the sponsors, which, however, gave quite a different view of the future of the Middle Ages from that of the preceding ideals. Instead of the politically committed examination of regional evolutionary perspectives or deadlocks, they were promoting rather two somewhat hidden and diametrically opposed undercurrents of Hungarian medievalist scholarship. One of these could be called "traditionalist" (working with dry and rigorous source-critical methods inherited from Ranke or the Bollandists); the other as "modernist" (adapting to Hungarian documentation the *Annales*-type of

questionnaire or other attractive “new history” tools). The expectation was that the recovery and the future of the discipline would rely upon the successful institutionalization of these trends: computer-aided textual research of the codices, hypercritical new editions of narrative sources, new efforts in hagiography, careful reconstructions of musicology and iconography, image databases, and, on the other hand, interdisciplinarity, modern prosopographical research, and familiarity with microhistory, symbolism, and historical anthropology.

3. Five years later in 1996-1997, towards the end of the second millennium and in the middle of the longest lasting series of festive historical anniversaries, the so-called “Millecentennial” celebrations (making a joint commemoration of the Hungarian *Landnahme* dated to 896 and the coronation of Saint Stephen, founder of the Hungarian Christian state in the year 1000), the panorama looks, once again, very different. The Middle Ages is all around, coming to meet us in pompous and representative exhibitions: *Pannonia Regia* (1995), *Pannonhalma* (1996), special exhibits on the *Landnahme* in the National Museum and elsewhere (1996), and a whole newly arranged representation of medieval Hungarian history. The décor looks quite modern, however the contents show no trace of the methodological or interpretatory acquisitions of the previous decades. Except for the integration of some newly established facts and discovered objects, they essentially reformulate an age-old, simplified and frequently anachronistic view of medieval history. If one observes the book market, one finds there a lot of dusty reprints and newly manufactured but nearly as dusty historical picture books. One can encounter a few good translations, but one would look in vain for homemade new monographs that could stir up public opinion with original findings and controversial innovations. The only satisfactory novelty is the abundance in scholarly handbooks and work-tools, such as the *Lexicon of Early Hungarian History* (ed. by Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó, and Ferenc Makk, 1994), the *Archontology* by Pál Engel (1996), the new medieval *Atlas* for Hungary (1996), the continuing *Dictionary* of medieval Latinity, and a number of specialized work tools and source editions for codicology, archaeology, musicology, and art history.

4. Can we perceive any new trends leading towards the future of medieval studies over here? My optimistic answer is: yes, we can. My principal hope resides in the evolution of a new *comparative history*, this time unrelated to archaic nationalistic animosities, Marxist schemes or broad socio-regional patterns (e.g. Lublin, Catholic University: comparative ecclesiastical history of East Central Europe – 1996; CEU – Nobility in medieval and early modern East-Central Europe; Women and Power in East-Central Europe; Krems-Budapest, ELTE – material culture, etc.). Much is to be expected from the systematic exploration of Hungarian and Central European archives, excavations,

and remote museum collections. These resources should be adequately documented (now increasingly: digitalized, x-rayed). They have to be reinserted into the larger European database systems, and syntheses. Linguistically isolated local scholarly traditions should be opened up for a common discussion; the new and adequate representation of Hungarian and Central European Middle Ages will have “get on a redrawn map of medieval Europe.” All this seems to be a realistic promise for the future, enough work for our students to come in the next ten years.

The Future of the Middle Ages

Andrei Pippidi

This is a very good title because while we are discussing the future of our own studies, what we are expecting of our students, and the shine time of *curricula*, we should not forget that, up to a point, talking about the Middle Ages means asking ourselves about the future of mankind. In the mood which prevailed at the end of the last world war and which, perhaps, is breaking through again, some false prophets have been menacing us with the end of history. Fashions change in the writing of history and every age builds its own utopia. The future course of events in Europe can hardly be forecast, but some of us bask in a pseudo-medieval fantasy, imagining wars and migrations on an unprecedented scale. Others are fascinated by the old dream of a united world as it used to be in the Middle Ages when the Pope of Europe was towering over it.

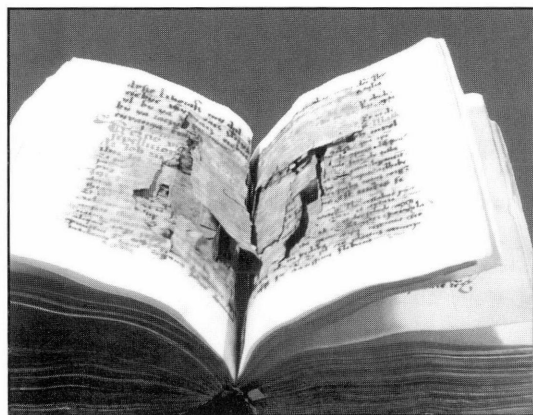
Rather than trying to select guesses for the next millennium, it is safer to return to the subject proposed to us. In the team organized by our kind hosts in Budapest, I do not feel at ease. Romanian historiography has certainly suffered more than the Polish one, perhaps even more than the Hungarian one from what the Communist regime was responsible for, what is a puzzling ambiviation of half-truths and straightforward lies, and heavy library cuts. The last seven years have been a period of rethinking the main problems of the Romanian Middle Ages. But almost nothing has been done to renew the stock of information (masses of award documents are lying in the archives abroad; the Romanian state, before the war, had several institutes in Paris, Rome, Venice, which more closed or misused until today). Another major difficulty, increasingly in evidence, is the need for specialists of general history. No book on a non-Romanian medieval subject was published since 1974, when my own work on *War in the Hundred Years War* was issued, with scarce effect. I am afraid that scholarly production tends thus to concentrate on Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. Matter observe principalities which get only a few lines in any single volume history of medieval Europe. The economic pressure allows less and less scholarly work to come to

print. Yet it can safely be assumed what the four or five main journals, in spite of a pathetically reduced funding, may go on. One of them *Revue des études sudest européennes*, is north mentioning for its vaster scope, so is also the newly issued *IP Marchero*.

We complain of our books being hardly known abroad, and to be committed against this is the high figure of translations into Romanian of foreign works (mostly French and Italian authors, and it is true that we must begin to learn more of the results of the Anglo-Saxon and German historians). And let me add, not for courtesy, that what has been done in Poland and Hungary should be proposed to Romanian editors.

Now, if we have to look inside the system of education and research, what future can we assume for the Romanian historiography? It is going to become more aware of economic and social problems (it was not even remotely so in times when a very superficial Marxism was the official ideology). A real and vivid interest in religious life is already distinct in many new works. This question leads naturally to the problem of the general education of students. My own experience shows a dramatic fall in literary culture and a waiting knowledge of foreign languages. Books are too expensive for the students to acquire for themselves (and I strongly believe that a personal library is a necessary condition for becoming a professional historian).

However, as far as I can rely on my experience with students, a new generation of students gives us some grounds for better expectations. Some of these young people, studying subjects such as marginality, poverty, ceremonial, power symbols, festivals, monastic administration and fiscality, are now gathering from their studies both at home and abroad the indispensable skills we can provide them.



Ink-corrosion in a late medieval manuscript. Photo exhibited at the *Cultural Heritage* course

VII. INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS

University of Leeds, 14-17, 1997

The Department of Medieval Studies organized the following sessions:

Signs and Symbols of Conversion I: The Written Sources (Session 504)

Organizer: Balázs Nagy (CEU, Budapest)

Moderator: Ian N. Wood (School of History, University of Leeds)

Papers:

- János Bak (CEU, Budapest) *Laws*
- Anna Kouznetsova (CEU, Budapest) *Vitae*
- László Veszprémy (CEU/ Museum of Military History, Budapest) *Chronicles*
- Zsolt Hunyadi (CEU, Budapest) *Charters*

Signs and Symbols of Conversion II: Great Migrations (Session 1202)

Organizer: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)

Moderator: József Laszlovszky

Papers:

- Walter Pohl (Austrian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Universität Wien)
Deliberate Ambiguity: The Lombards and Christianity
- Ralph Cleminson (CEU, Budapest)
Literacy as a Sign of Conversion

Archaeological Signs and Symbols of Conversion, I (Session 1302)

Organizer: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)

Moderator: József Laszlovszky

Papers:

- József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)
Swords and Crosses: Sign of Conversion in Tenth and Eleventh-Century Hungary
- Derek Fewster (Department of History, Helsingin Yliopisto)
The Conversion of the Finns: A Reappraisal of the Archaeological Record

Cataloguing and Mapping of Ecclesiastic Sites (Session 1402)

Organizer: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)

Moderator: József Laszlovszky

Papers:

- John Blair (University of Oxford, The Quenn's College)
Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Minsters
- Beatrix Romhányi (ELTE, Budapest)
Monasteries in Medieval Hungary
- Judit Majorossy (CEU, Budapest)
Mapping of Irish Monastic Influence in Twelfth-Century Central Europe

Medieval Nobility in Central Europe: Kinship, Property, Marriage (Session 706)

Organizer: Damir Karbić (CEU, Budapest)

Moderator: János Bak (CEU, Budapest)

Papers:

- Maria Karbić (Zagreb) *On Turopolje*
- Andrej Komac (CEU, Budapest) *On Carinthia*
- Jan Wroniszewsky (Cracow) *The Ravicz Clan*

Transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Session 1002)

Organizer: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)

Moderator: John Blair (The Queen's College, University of Oxford)

Paper:

- Gábor Cseh (CEU, Budapest)
Surviving Christianity in Two Distant Provinces: Britannia and Pannonia

"Spaces" in Medieval Life (Session 317)

Organizer: Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Budapest/ Institut für Realienkunde, Krems)

Moderator: Gerhard Jaritz

Papers:

- Svetlana Lekova (CEU, Budapest/ University of Sofia)
We and the Others in Medieval Bulgaria
- Anne-Françoise Le Guillez (Centre Gotique en Picardie, Amiens)
L'Expression de l'espace dans l'art gothique: L'exemple de la Picardie
- Barbara Heller-Schuh (Institut für Realienkunde, Krems)
Miracle Networks

History of Medieval Daily Life: The Variety of Approaches.

A Round Table Discussion (Session 917)

Organizer: Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Budapest/ Institut für Realienkunde, Krems)

**Teleconference panels between CEU Summer University Course on
“Cultural Heritage in Danger” and the International Medieval Congress,
Leeds, July 15-16, 1997**

This two-way teleconference took place in two evening sessions, devoted to issues concerning the European cultural heritage and running parallel to a summer university course under the same name in Budapest. The first two speakers were based in Leeds, the third in Budapest. These presentations lasted 45 minutes, allowing 45 minutes for the transmission of questions and answers live between the two centers. Speakers and participants of the CEU Summer University course, as well as invited specialists from relevant fields also joined the discussion from Budapest.

Tuesday, July 15: 20.00-21.30

Dangers and Threats to the Medieval Cultural Heritage (Session 822)

Organizers: CEU, International Medieval Institute and Brepols Publishers

Moderators:

Leeds: Simon Forde (Brepols Publishers); Budapest: Gábor Klaniczay (CEU)

Speakers:

- József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest), *Endangered Archaeological Sites and Historical Monuments*
- Axel Bolvig (Department of History, Københavns Univesitet), *The Legacy of Medieval Danish Wall-Paintings*
- István Fodor (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest), *The Fate of Hungarian Art Treasures in Russia Taken from Hungary during World War II*

Wednesday, July 16: 20.00-21.30

Dangers and Threats to the Medieval Cultural Heritage (Session 1226)

Organizers: CEU, International Medieval Institute and Brepols Publishers

Moderators:

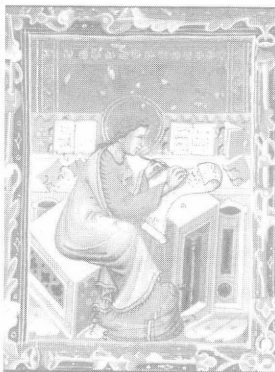
Leeds: Simon Forde (Brepols); Budapest: Katalin Wollák (Hungarian National Museum)

Speakers:

- Gerhard Jaritz (CEU/Krems), *The Austrian Millennium*
- Keith Emerick (English Heritage, Northern region), *Management of English Heritage in Lancashire and Yorkshire*
- András Riedlmayer (Fine Arts Library, Harvard University), *Ingathering of Bosnian Manuscripts project*

PART II.

Papers Presented by Students at Conferences



CANONS REGULAR OF HEBRON IN MEDIEVAL SRIJEM¹

Stanko Andrić 

The region of Srijem (Srem), situated at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers, owes its name to the Late Antique city of Sirmium. Presently, it is divided between Croatia and Yugoslavia. During the centuries around the turn of the millennium, it was annexed to and detached from various political entities at least nine times: after the destruction of Avars by the end of the eighth century, it probably passed under Frankish domination for a few decades; then it was occupied by the Bulgarians for a century; the newly arrived Hungarians ruled it during the central decades of the tenth century; tsar Samuel returned it to the Bulgarians, who in 1018 surrendered it to the Byzantines; half a century later, the Hungarians recaptured it, but in the second half of the twelfth century, emperor Manuel Comnenos (1143-1180) attached it for the last time to Byzantium. After his death, the Hungarians took hold of it for the rest of the medieval period.

The sources for the history of the canons regular in Srijem are very slim: two letters of pope Innocent III from the first year of his pontificate, 1198.² However, the picture emerging from these letters is quite complex. Both writings were addressed to Saul of Hédervára, archbishop of Kalocsa (1191-1202), whose jurisdiction by that time included Srijem.³ When we arrange all the information chronologically, the story goes as follows.

Around the mid-twelfth century, Beloš, ban (viceroy) of Croatia—a high officer of the king of Hungary—founded in Srijem, on the Danube's right bank, a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Stephen the Protomartyr.⁴ The monastery and the settlement which developed around it became known as *Monasterium Bani* (Hungarian: Bánmonostora, today Banoštor). This was the first religious house to be founded in Srijem, as the pope put it, *post multa tempora*. However, some thirty years later, under

¹ This paper was presented at the Congress of CIHEC on *Christianity in East Central Europe and its Relations with the West and the East*, Catholic University of Lublin, September 5, 1996.

² Gy. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 2. (Budae, 1829) 336-338 = P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus - series latina*, vol. 214. (Paris, 1855) col. 234-235 (doc. 281), and 460-461 (doc. 499) = T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904) 303. (doc. 285). Cf. A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1. (Berlini, 1874) 30. (no. 311), and 47 (no. 496).

³ A. Aldásy, "Kalocsa-Bács, Archdiocese of," In *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 8. (New York, 1910) 594-595.

⁴ M. Pavić, "Redovništvo i samostani srednjega veka u području (današnje) biskupije bosanskohercegovačke," [The Medieval Monasticism and Monasteries in the Area of Present-day Bishopric of Bosnian-Srijem] In *Glasnik biskupije bosanske i sriemske* 31/5 (1903) 35.

archbishop Andrew (1176-1179), the monastery sunk into what the letters call *disolutio*, which prompted the archbishop to replace the Benedictines with another community. He assigned the *Monasterium Bani* to the canons called *canonici sancti Abrahæ de valle Ebron*. These canons survived in the monastery until the year in which the two letters of Innocent III were dispatched (1198). They turned out to be unable to manage the estates of the monastery, and eventually only three of them remained there. In the time between the two papal letters, archbishop Saul banished them as well. The pope then decided to open the monastery to the "canons regular who serve God according to the rule of St. Augustine." There is no later confirmation that the Augustinian canons actually occupied the monastery. An indirect confirmation that they did may be the fact that in 1229, when pope Gregory IX restored the bishopric of Sirmium, its see was placed at the *Monasterium Bani*.⁵

The main puzzle in this story are, of course, "the canons of St. Abraham from the valley of Hebron," who lived in the *Monasterium Bani* for approximately two decades. They must be linked with the canonical community which established itself in Hebron, in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem. The history of the Crusade-period Hebron includes some picturesque details. In 1119, the alleged relics of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were discovered there. This rewarding *inventio* significantly boosted the attractiveness of Hebron as a pilgrimage site. In 1168, Hebron became a bishopric and its priory of regular canons was promoted into a cathedral chapter. Unfortunately, in 1187, Saladin conquered Hebron, and it was never restored to Christian control.⁶

The comparison of the two chronologies suggests that the canons of Hebron founded their daughter-house in Srijem some ten years after the foundation of the Hebron bishopric and ten years before the fall of Hebron to the Muslims. What is curious here is not the foundation itself, but the fact that it appears to be unique. Unlike the canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, who generated numerous monasteries and congregations all over Europe, the canons of Hebron seem to have

⁵ S. Bäuerlin, "Djakovo," In *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques* [henceforth *DHGE*], vol. 5. (Paris, 1960) col. 528.

⁶ P. Riant (ed.), "Canonici Hebronensis tractatus de inventione sanctorum Patriarcharum Abraham, Ysaac et Jacob (27. Jul. 1119)," In *Recueil des historiens de croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-1895) 5: 303-314.; Ch. Kohler (ed.), "Un nouveau récit de l'invention des patriarches Abraham, Isaac et Jacob à Hébron," In *Revue de l'Orient latin* 4 (1896) 496-502.; P. Riant, "Invention de la sépulture des Patriarches Abraham, Isaac et Jacob à Hébron," In *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2 (1884); S. Salaville, "Hebron," In *The Catholic Encyclopedia* vol. 7. (New York, 1910) 184-185.; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum, 1980) 77, 84-85, 243, 247, 266.; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*. vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 224-239.

stopped after their first attempt in Europe. Why did this first and last attempt (if it is such) take place precisely in Srijem? I cannot answer this question fully. I can only point to facts which might have favored this choice, although they can by no means explain why it was unique.

The region of Srijem was repeatedly crossed by the armies of the first three Crusades (according to the traditional division), and the *Monasterium Bani* was situated next to the continental route leading from Western Europe to the Holy Land. It is significant, according to the pope's letter, that it was more by the decision of the Hungarian king than that of the archbishop of Kalocsa that the Benedictines in the monastery were replaced by the canons of Hebron (*de voluntate regia, bonae memoriae A[n]dreae praedecessore tuo suum in parte praebente consensum*). The king was Béla III (1173-1196), the first Hungarian ruler who participated actively in the Crusaders' undertakings. His wife was a daughter of the princess of Antiochia and the notorious Crusader Renaud of Châtillon.⁷ However, if these circumstances help us to explain the presence of the canons of Hebron in Srijem, there are other elements which make this presence less understandable. Thus, to our best knowledge, Srijem was in Byzantine hands from the defeat of the Hungarians in 1167 up to Manuel Comnenos' death (1180) or shortly after that.⁸ How then were the Hungarians able to interfere in ecclesiastical matters in Srijem in the second half of the 1170s? This contradiction probably reveals the ambiguous nature of the Byzantine domination of the region. An explanation might again be found in the person of King Béla III. As is well-known, he was educated at the imperial court in Constantinople and it was intended that he should succeed to the Byzantine throne and establish a Hungaro-Byzantine union. When emperor Manuel Comnenos changed his mind after a son was born to him from his second marriage in 1169, Béla had to return to Hungary, where he was crowned in 1173.⁹ Although Srijem remained formally under Byzantine control, it is probable that Béla could exercise some power there before Manuel's death.

⁷ J. R. Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169-1218," In *International History Review* 3 (1981) 469-477.


⁸ T. Wasilewski, "Le thème byzantin de Sirmium-Serbie au XIe et XIIe siècle," In *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* 8/2 [=Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky 2] (1966) 481-482.; J. Kalić, "Zemun u XII. veku." [Zemun in the Twelfth Century] In *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* 13 (1971) 31-50.; F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the Twelfth Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989) 99-101.

⁹ Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970) 90.; Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*. 108-109.

A final comment is needed on the pope's decision to replace the canons of Hebron with the "canons who serve God according to the rule of St. Augustine." This obviously implies that the canons regular of Hebron had not yet adopted Augustine's Rule in shaping their communal life. Although the Rule was, as Clifford Lawrence put it, "one of the great discoveries of the late eleventh century," it was not widely accepted among the canons regular before the end of the twelfth century.¹⁰ The canons of Hebron must have been a "pre-Augustinian" canonical community, which lived according to a version of the old Rule of Aachen (816), probably somewhat tightened in the spirit of the Gregorian reform.

¹⁰ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. Second ed. (London-New York: Longman, 1993) 165.; Ch. Dereine, "Chanoines." In *DHGE* vol. 12., col. 375.; M.-Th. Disdier, "Chanoines réguliers dits de l'ordre de Saint Augustin." In *DHGE* vol. 5., col. 601-602., and 608.

FOUNDATIONS OF MONASTERIES BY MEMBERS OF THE TWELFTH-CENTURY POLISH NOBILITY: A SELECTION OF CASES¹

Emilia Jamrozik 

The issue of the noble monastic foundation has been researched in Polish historiography mainly from the point of view of ecclesiastical history. The monasteries I will present here have been the subject of several studies in the fields of art history, archaeology, and literary history. There is also a certain number of studies concerning the genealogy of different noble families or their individual members, but these studies were predominantly investigating political history. Most of this extensive literature tends to neglect the relation between founder and founded institution, particularly the role of the founder in the foundation process and his or her self-representation in the role of founder and patron.

The three cases which will be presented in my paper are chosen from the large number of noble foundations in twelfth-century Poland. The reason I selected these cases is that very little is known about the majority of monastic foundations at this time. Nevertheless, even in these cases information is meagre. Because of this scarcity, one must focus on constructing hypotheses. For this reason, there is also the methodological danger of creating circular argumentation.

Geographically, the cases which I will present are from Greater Poland and Silesia. The monasteries were established for Benedictine, Premonstratensian, canons regular, and Cistercian orders.

The sources which are suitable to research founders' motivation and self-representation are charters and tympana. Foundation charters have been commonly regarded as so conventional as to be almost unworthy of attention. *Formulae* used in these documents are clichés, but this does not mean that they were meaningless. Eschatological motivation encouraging people to give property to the monastery is stated directly there, but there are also hints about hidden motives and aims of founders. One of them is the need for prestige and self-definition as a member of the nobility.

Foundation tympana are very significant, but quite neglected by historians as a type of source. Tympana depict a person who might be dead or alive in the time of sculpting, addressing a centrally placed figure, either Christ, the Virgin, or some saint. The donor's gesture represents an actual sign of his or her action and feelings. I now want to discuss the foundation processes of the four monasteries in order to see the founders' motivation and their self-representation in charters and foundation tympana.

¹ This paper was delivered in Rostock at the conference on *Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa*, 12-14, June, 1997.

Case A

The Cistercian monastery in Łekno is probably the first foundation of this order in Poland. The foundation process lasted from about 1143-45 to 1153. The mother monastery of Łekno was Altenberg abbey (Nordrhein-Westfalen). It was the second of Altenberg's daughter-houses, and at the time of its foundation, Łekno was the abbey farthest to the East of all those which belonged to the order.

The founder of this monastery was a nobleman called Zbylut from the Pałuki kindred. His name appears in several charters between 1140 and 1153, but no details about his life are known. Zbylut witnessed donations for the Trzemeszno and Mogilno Benedictine monasteries (both in Greater Poland), for the Cistercian monastery in Jędrzejów (in Lesser Poland), and he also donated St. James church to the Mogilno monastery.²

The foundation charter of the Łekno monastery is preserved in the original.³ The charter was issued by the founder and authenticated by the archiepiscopal seal. The intention of the founder is described in the *arenga* and the *narratio*. These passages express an eschatological motivation, which encouraged him to give some part of his property to the monastery. This is the motivation he wanted to show to his contemporaries and to posterity. Although the form was conventional, there is no reason to regard this motivation as an empty conventional gesture.

Within this text two layers can be distinguished. First, the founder, as a member of the Christian community, wanted to support the Church by giving a part of his property to the highly respected ecclesiastical institution (in this case, a monastery); second, by this commitment, the founder hoped to secure eternal salvation for himself and his family.

Brygida Kürbis, who examined the charter, pointed out two unusual characteristics: the absence of an expression typical for the foundation charter, *pro remissione peccatorum*, and the formula used by the founder to describe himself: *ego Zbilut Polonię ciuis*, which has no parallels in other twelfth-century charters. She interprets this peculiar expression in the sense that Zbylut was an equal to the congregation, having very high

² Andrzej M. Wyrwa, *Procesy fundacyjne wielkopolskich klasztorów linii altenberskiej: Łekno-Łąd-Obra* [The Foundation Processes of the Cistercian Monasteries of the Altenberg Line in Greater Poland: Łekno-Łąd-Obra] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1995), 64-73.

³ Józef Dobosz, "Dokument fundacyjny klasztoru cystersów w Łeknie," [The Foundation Charter of the Cistercian Monastery in Łekno] *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Pałuk* 1 (1989): 63-64.

status in the society.⁴ This interesting interpretation, however, has not been sufficiently proved. The use of a term taken from Roman law certainly indicates the idea that the founder belonged to the nobility and possessed rights as a member of it. But I believe that the term does not refer to a relationship between the founder and the convent as Kürbis suggests.

Another reason which is not present but is implied in the foundation charter, is the need for prestige. The need for prestige and the various ways to show one's high social position was an important part of life for the medieval nobility. Being a founder meant that a given person could obtain a certain level of material and political power and wealth. The high costs of such an enterprise were an investment in the founder's social position and family status.

The importance of the foundation is also emphasized by Zbylut's spectacular gesture of giving a part of his *patrimonium*, which was regarded as the most precious part of one's property. This is an argument that foundations were taken seriously and were not empty gestures.

Zbylut is known (as a witness) from several foundation charters which were issued before or in the time of the foundation process in Łekno. This means that he was present at many churches' consecrations and witnessed the legal side of the foundation acts. This fact, in my understanding, could have played an important role in Zbylut's decision to undertake the foundation of the Cistercian monastery in Łekno. Therefore, the foundation of the Łekno monastery was not only a religious gesture, but also a way to express the founder's belonging to the highest strata of medieval society.

Case B

There is abundant literature devoted to the various problems of the Premonstratensian nunnery in Strzelno.⁵ Controversy centers on three points: the identity of the founder,

⁴ Brygida Kürbis, "Cystersi w kulturze polskiego średniowiecza. Trzy przykłady z XII wieku," [Cistercians in the Culture of the Polish Middle Ages: Three Examples from the Twelfth Century], in *Na progach historii* [On the Doorsteps of History] (Poznań: Abos, 1994), 341-2.

⁵ See for example *Strzelno romańskie. Zbiór studiów*, [Romanesque Strzelno: a Collection of Studies] ed. Zygmunt Świechowski (Strzelno: PTTK, 1972); Brygida Kürbis, "Najstarsza tradycja klasztoru panien norbertanek w Strzelnie," [The Oldest Tradition of the Premonstratensian Nunnery in Strzelno], in *Na progach historii*; Krystyna Józefowiczówna, "Trzy romańskie klasztory," [Three Romanesque Churches], in *Studia z dziejów ziemi mogileńskiej*, [A Study of History of the Mogilno Region], ed. Czesław Łuczak, (Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1978), 165-265; Jadwiga Chudziakowa, "Zespół architektury romańskiej w Strzelnie w świetle najnowszych badań," [The Romanesque Complex of Architecture in Strzelno in the Light of the Recent Research] *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici* 13 (1990): 6-19; Bożena Zimnowoda-Krajewska and Jam Salm, "Problematyka badań architektonicznych ponorbertańskiego kościoła p.w. Trójcy w Strzelnie" [The Results of the Recent Research on Architecture of the Ex-Premonstratensian Monastic Church of Holy Trinity in Strzelno] *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici* 20 (1992): 21-47.

the time of the foundation process, and the time of the building of the two monastic churches. These controversies derive from the fact that the sources are very inconsistent in regard to the identity of the founder of the Strzelno nunnery and the date of the foundation. The dating varies in the sources from 1133 to the beginning of the thirteenth century. I do not want to go into the details of the discussion, but I will present two main hypotheses proposed in the literature. Brygida Kürbis suggested the hypothesis that 1133, the earliest year known from the sources, refers to the Holy Cross and the Virgin Mary church (present-day St. Prokop church) in Strzelno founded by Peter Wszebor, and then, his son Peter "the Old" Wszeborowic founded the Premonstratensian nunnery and the Trinity church around 1190.⁶ This hypothesis, well-established in the literature, has been recently challenged by Janusz Bieniak. He constructed a new hypothesis which tried to connect the foundation of the Strzelno nunnery with the powerful Silesian noble Peter Włostowic. Bieniak assumed the existence of an older son of Peter Włostowic, named Wszebor, different from the two who are known from the sources. This Wszebor could have been a founder of the Strzelno nunnery.⁷

Given the problem of the inconsistency of the sources and the multiplicity of hypotheses, the safest way to overcome the thus far unresolved problem of the dating is to state that some members of Wszeborowice kindred founded the Premonstratensian nunnery in Strzelno and somewhere around this time also founded the St. Prokop rotunda.

In the case of the Strzelno monastery, the only existing sources relevant to the founders' motivation and self-representation are the foundation tympana and the architecture of both churches. Unfortunately, the foundation charter has not survived,

but there are two tympana related to the Strzelno monastery, one from the St. Prokop rotunda and another one from the Holy Trinity church. The scene on the first tympanum consists of three persons. The central position, the highest point of the semicircular frame, is occupied by the significantly taller figure of Christ



1. Tympanum from St. Prokop Church in Strzelno

⁶ Brygida Kürbis, "Dzieje fundacji strzeleńskiej w świetle dokumentów" [History of Strzelno's Foundation in the Light of Sources] (Strzelno, PTTK, 1992), 44-45; Idem, "Najstarsza tradycja," 135-6.

⁷ Janusz Bieniak, "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Część III, Arbitrzy książąt - krąg rodzinny Piotra Włostowica," [Polish Twelfth-century Political Elite: Part three: The Arbiters of Dukes, the Family Circle of Piotr Włostowic] in *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 4, ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński (Warsaw: PWN, 1990), 53-65.

sitting on the throne, who represents the iconographical type *Rex Gloriae*. He is addressed by two figures of the donors, one on each side. The man seen on the left is bent almost in half and holds a realistic model of the St. Prokop rotunda. A female figure, seen on the right, shows deep respect through her body posture; in addition, she is holding an open book in her hands. Her head is covered closely by a veil suggesting either her affiliation with a convent or her marital status. There is no inscription which may reveal the identity of the couple. This object is dated to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century.⁸ In the other tympanum the central position is occupied by St. Anne holding the Virgin Mary as a baby. Her gesture of carrying the Virgin as a baby is very maternal and appears quite casual, just as if she were any woman carrying a baby. The donors are kneeling, one on each side. The man on the left is holding a model of the church, and the woman on the right, in a similar position, holds a book. Her dress implies the marital status. There is an inscription on the semicircular frame mentioning the name *Petrus* and the *patrocinium* of the church.⁹ This object is dated to the same time as the one above.¹⁰

To conclude this case, I would like to stress, especially, the importance of the foundation tympana. They served as "visual charters" commemorating the act of foundation. Their non-written character provided the possibility that the message would be visible and understood by a much wider public. Literally, everybody entering the church or passing by could see the tympanum. In the case of charters their message was addressed to a very select group of people and not displayed publicly, but tympana served very well for the purpose of self-representation. They were visible not only to fellow noblemen, but all people below and above in the social hierarchy.



2. Tympanum from Holy Trinity Church in Strzelno

⁸ *Sztuka polska przedromanńska i romanńska do schyłku XIII wieku* [Polish Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Art to the End of the Thirteenth Century], ed. Michał Walicki, vol. 2 (Warsaw: PWN, 1971), 760; Zygmunt Świechowski, *Sztuka romanńska w Polsce* [Polish Romanesque Art] (Warsaw: Arkady, 1990), 70.

⁹ TE VELVT OPTERET
HOC DONO PETRUS HONORAT
VIRGINIS ANNA PIE
MATER VENERANDA MARIE

Kazimierz Ciechanowski, *Epigrafika romanńska i wczesnogotycka w Polsce* [The Romanesque and Early-Gothic Epigraph in Poland] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1965), 38-40.

¹⁰ *Sztuka polska przedromanńska i romanńska*, 2:760.

Case C

The Silesian Palatine Peter Włostowic is one of the most interesting and well-known persons of the Polish twelfth century. There is a vast Polish and German literature devoted to his political career, family connections, and foundation activity.¹¹ Peter Włostowic was the founder of two large monastic institutions of medieval Wrocław (Breslau): the Benedictine monastery in Olbin and that of the canon regulars in Piasek. The foundation process of the Benedictine abbey started sometime in the 1120s and lasted until 1145.¹² Benedictine monks came to Wrocław from Tyniec near Krakow. A very important ceremony, indicating the international connections of the founder and his ambition, happened in the spring of 1145. Peter Włostowic spent Christmas of 1144 at the court of the German king Conrad III in Magdeburg. Due to the king's support, Peter received a piece of the relic of St. Vincentius from archbishop Friedrich. The gift arrived in Wrocław on June 6, 1145 and was placed in the monastic church.¹³ Another important event—the consecration of the monastic church, which usually ends the foundation process—took place in 1149. This ceremony was attended by the most prominent nobles and prince Boleslas IV the Curly who confirmed the right of the monastery to its estates.¹⁴

The foundation of the Benedictine abbey in Olbin is one of the largest enterprises undertaken exclusively by a Polish nobleman in the twelfth century. The unusual scale of the foundation as well as its artistic quality indicates the exceptionally high position of the founder and his international connections.

Another large foundation undertaken by the Silesian *palatinus* was the monastery of canons regular in Wrocław Piasek. The precise time of the foundation process is unknown.¹⁵ A group of canons originating from Flanders moved there from another monastery also founded by Peter on Mount Ślęza (Zobtenberge) sometime after 1121. The first document which refers undoubtedly to the functioning monastery is a papal bull issued by Celestine III in 1193, confirming its endowment.¹⁶ The building of the Holy Virgin monastic church was initiated at the end of Peter's life and finished by his

¹¹ Stanisław Trawkowski, "Piotr Włostowic," [Peter Włostowic] in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. 26 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1981), 355-62. Contains large bibliography.

¹² The first known document related to the foundation of the Benedictine monastery in Wrocław is a charter issued by bishop Robert in 1139. This charter recorded that the monastery was built by Piotr. *Codex Diplomaticus nec non epistolarius Silesiae*, ed. Karol Małeczynski, vol. 1 (Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 1956) no 16.

¹³ *Annales Magdeburgenses*, ed. Georg H. Petz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 16 (Hannover, 1959), 187.

¹⁴ *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, no 69.

¹⁵ The first document related to this institution is the charter issued by Bishop Walter in 1149/50 at the request of the founders. *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, no 26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no 71

wife and son in the sixties and early seventies of the twelfth century. This is also proved by the foundation tympanum of this church, depicting only Mary the widow of Peter Włostowic and their son Świętosław. This object presents the highest quality among all Polish foundation tympana from the twelfth century.

It conveys the same ideological message as the others, but in a very different way. The central place is occupied by a figure of the crowned



3. Tympanum from Virgin Mary Church in Wrocław-Piasek

Virgin with the Child. She is addressed by the donors: Mary the widow of Peter Włostowic, on the left, and Świętosław, her son, on the right. The Virgin is sitting on a throne with the crown of a ruler, but the donors are almost as tall as she is. They show great respect to the sacred; however, the distance—both spatial and indicated by the posture—present in the tympana in which Christ is depicted is not present here. Mary the widow of Peter Włostowic is standing upright and approaches the Virgin, holding in her hands a model of the church. Mary is depicted as a great lady, a noble woman conscious of her high position. Her attire is depicted with fine details indicating the abundance of cloth. The inscription draws attention to the fact that Mary shares the name with the Virgin and that the foundation is a joint enterprise of her and her son.¹⁷ Świętosław is placed symmetrically on the other side of the Virgin. He is portrayed as a young boy, wearing a knee-length tunic with embroidered edges. His posture is neither standing nor kneeling; his knees are bent, but they do not touch the ground. This posture is called *genuflection*. It was widely used in medieval monastic life to replace kneeling on the holy days.¹⁸

Another important evidence of the foundation activity in Wrocław is related to Peter's son-in-law Jaksa.¹⁹ I will leave aside all the discussion about the "Jaksa problem"

¹⁷ HAS MATRI VENIAE
TIBI DO MARIA MARIAE
HAS OFFERT AEDES
SWENTOSLAVS MEA PROLES

Ciechanowski, *Epigrafika romańska*, 22.

¹⁸ Przemysław Mrozowski, "Genuflection in Medieval Western Culture: The Gesture of Expiation - the Praying Posture" *Acta Poloniae Historica* 68 (1993): 13-15.

¹⁹ See Gerard Labuda, "Jaksa z Kopanicy", "Jaksa z Miechowa," [Jaksa from Kopanica, Jaksa from Miechów] in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. 10. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1962-64), 340-1.



4. Tympanum from St. Michael Church in Wrocław-Ołbin

The donation tympanum commemorating this event, depicting him and his wife Agafia, was discovered in Wrocław in 1962.²⁰ This tympanum was known from eighteenth-century drawings but had disappeared in the beginning of the last century. The object was discovered in rather good condition, though three out of the four figures of the donors are damaged.

The central position in the tympanum, as usual, is occupied by the figure of Christ, which presents, according to scholarship, the mixture of two types of iconographical representation: Christ in Majesty and Christ the Teacher. The figure is surrounded by a *mandorla* with the inscription: IANVA SVM UITE PER ME QUICUMQ /ve/ VENITE. He sits on a rainbow which, as literature suggests, might symbolise Heaven and Earth. Christ's robe is typical for this sort of representation; its form originates from Byzantine art, and its very formal character emphasizes the role of Christ the Ruler. The open book with the inscription Ego SVM QVI SVM comes from the Hebrew Bible, and the gesture of benediction originates from Roman representations of philosophers and teachers. The tympanum was placed above the main door of the church; it illustrates the meaning of the inscription, Christ as a gate to eternal life.²¹ The figures of the donors are half the height of Christ, placed symmetrically on each side. Jaksa, seen on the right, carries a model of the St. Michael church; prince Boleslas the Curly, seen on the left, carries a model of the church with the inscription IN BITOM. Their identity is revealed by the inscription on the inner semicir-

²¹ Krystyna Mączewska-Pilch, *Tympanon fundacyjny z Ołbinia na tle przedstawień o charakterze donacyjnym*, [The Foundation Tympanum from Ołbin in the Relationship to the Other Representations of Donations] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1973), 18-25.

²⁰ Krystyna Mączewska-Pilch, "Tympanon romański z Ołbinia" [The Romanesque Tympanum from Ołbin] *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 25 (1963): 53-6.

cular frame.²² Both men are standing, their dress is depicted with the details of embroidery decoration. The female figure kneeling behind Jaksa is his wife. Her dress has long, fashionable sleeves, and her head is covered to indicate married status. Her name is inscribed, in Cyrillic, above her: AGA[P]EA. In contrast to the gesture of the men, who are handing gifts to Christ, her gesture of praying and her bent head indicate deep reverence. The use of Cyrillic letters is often interpreted as a personal choice of Agafia, who wanted to indicate her attachment to her mother's heritage, that of a Ruthenian princess. The last person depicted there is a son of prince Boleslas. His figure, almost completely destroyed, is standing behind his father, with the name LESTEK inscribed above.²³

The tympanum from Olbin in comparison with the other tympana examined in this paper presents its message particularly clearly. There are three levels, connected with each other—political, social, and religious. The first one alludes to the mutual political support between prince Boleslas the Curly and Jaksa, the second indicates the very high social position of Jaksa and his wife, and the third one implies that donors made pious gestures which increased their chances for eternal life.

Conclusion

The first focus of my investigation was founder motivation and attitude to the founded institution. This issue should be regarded in two aspects: "eschatological advantages" deriving from the pious gesture and down-to-earth attitudes to monastic property. The foundations of the monasteries were, in all cases presented by me, supported by other members of the kindred. Wives, children and other relatives gave some of their own properties to support the foundation and to enjoy certain privileges and to increase their own chances for eternal salvation. The foundation charters described this as *sacrum commercium*—the exchange of earthly property for eternal goods, but actually founders did not really give away these properties since they usually kept some sort of control over the finances of the monastery. The founder's family continued to control the monastery and could send unmarried children, especially female, to pursue ecclesiastical careers there. Beatrice, a daughter of the founder of the Strzelno monastery, was its first prioress, although the possibility of a real religious calling should not be completely

²² [ad hanc novella]

[du]X FERT SUA DONA CAPELLAM

QUE FERT IACO CH[rist]OS

SUSCIPE TEMPLA PIU[s]

Ciechanowski, *Epigrafia romańska i wczesnogotycka w Polsce*, 23-28.

²³ Mączewska-Pilch, *Tympanon fundacyjny*, 9-13.

disregarded. Monastic life was attractive to medieval people in many aspects. Pre-monstratensian nunneries in particular were very often places which admitted exclusively upper-class woman. This is true in the case of the Strzelno nunnery which in the thirteenth century became a fashionable religious house for noble women from Greater Poland and Kujavia.

The second focus of my investigation—the founders' self-representation—is of course related to the previous issue and is examined on the bases of two types of sources: foundation tympana and charters. Although they use different media, the messages all similar and should not be analyzed in isolation. The scenes of the foundation tympana carry the message that the church was built due to the generosity of the people depicted thereon. It also makes manifest the special relationship with the sacred which was a result of the pious gift. They commemorated not only the foundation as such, but the particular moment of the consecration of a church, which was understood as a saint, the Virgin, or Christ receiving a church. The consecration ceremonies were important festivities, a gathering of the whole kindred, of important people from the neighborhood, and sometimes even of rulers, as was the case of the consecration of the Benedictine abbey's church in Ołbin in 1149. These people were listed among the witnesses of the foundation charters usually issued on these occasions. These gatherings of the noblemen at the consecrations were, in my understanding, an important factor in spreading the idea of "being a founder," visible in the case of Zbylut, founder of the Łekno monastery, who after witnessing many consecrations undertook his own foundation.

THE LETTERS OF ST. ANTONY THE GREAT AND THE YOUNG AUGUSTINE¹

György Heidi 

One of the most important factors in Augustine's famous conversion was a story told by Ponticianus about St. Antony's life and deeds. Ponticianus initiated Augustine not only into the miracles of Antony's life, but he also told him about the conversion of two men in Trier who read the *Vita Antonii* written by St. Athanasius² reporting as well on the life of the monasteries in the Milan area. Beyond the *Confessions*, some chapters of Augustine's *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* (written in approximately 388) also attest that the young Augustine was, to some extent, aware of both Eastern and Western monastic movements.³ He visited the monks in the Milan area and in Rome around 387, and he established a monastic community with his friends after their return to Africa.⁴

The problem I examine in this paper is that of the characteristics of the knowledge Augustine and Alypius had about the Eastern holy men, with special regard to the theology of anachorites. It may be surprising to readers of the *Confessions* that beyond the moral exemplification, the anachorites had any theoretical and doctrinal impact on Augustine at all. Antony and his followers appear in this work as the heroes of continence and chastity, whose way of life substantiated the authenticity of the *ecclesia catholica* for Augustine, confronted him with his wickedness, and, finally, forced him to change his lifestyle. However, the author of the *Confessions* does not refer to the theological background of the asceticism, and he does not mention any work about or by the holy men which he had read.⁵ It seems, therefore, that all Augustine knew about them was derived from oral reports which highlighted the moral excellence of these people.

Augustine's early works may modify this impression. In the short narrative of the conversion in *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5, the exemplary life of Catholics is mentioned in connection with their doctrines:

¹ This is a revised version of the paper first presented at the conference on *Heremitae, monachi, fratres. Interaction of Medieval Monastic Cultures*, Pannonhalma, Hungary, March 22, 1996.

² *Confessiones* (henceforth *conf.*) 8. 6. 14-

³ *ibid.* 8. 6. 15.

⁴ See *De moribus catholicorum* (henceforth *mor. cath.*) 31-33.

⁵ *mor. cath.* 33, 70.; Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 3.

⁶ Augustine only "heard about" the *Vita Antonii*, (*conf.* 8. 6. 14; 12. 29.) See, James J. O'Donnell, *Confessions: Commentary*, vol. 3. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 40-41 and 65. The description of the Pachomian monks in *mor. cath.* 31. 67 is very close to the one in Jerome's *Ep.* 22. 35. According to Luc Verheijen, Augustine "heard about it in Roman circles under Jerome's influence." In Luc Verheijen, *Saint Augustine's Monasticism in the Light of Acts* 4. 32-35. (Wetteten, Belgium: Cultura Press, 1979), 43. In my view, the similarities suggest that Augustine had read the letter.

Those people would not have been able to do such magnificent things or lived as they obviously did if their writings and teachings (*litterae atque rationes*) had opposed this great good.⁷

I have argued elsewhere that in this concise sentence, Augustine alludes to Antony and other holy men of the Catholic Church as well as to Catholic writings, especially some works of Origen.⁸ The admirable life and deeds of the ascetics authenticated the Catholic doctrines and proved their agreement with the *great good* of Saint Paul's teachings. Inversely, Augustine believed that the doctrinal principles of their ascetic life must have been true and right, otherwise they could not have attained the highest level of perfection. The idea that lifestyle and teachings should be in harmony represented more than a commonplace for Augustine. In the two books of his *De moribus*, he develops his arguments against the Manichees on this very idea: Manichean asceticism is based on fables and superstitions; consequently, it is much more ridiculous than praiseworthy and is not even the realization, but the simulation of virtue. Contrary to them, the perfect Christians, especially the Egyptian anachorites, have attained the *greatest chastity* and *greatest continence*,⁹ and while still living in the body, they enjoy the immediate vision of God:

What do those see who are not able not to love people, and yet, are able not to see them? Whatever it may be, it must be superior to human things (*praestantius est rebus humanis*), since, through contemplating it, man is able to live without his fellowman. [...] I shall say nothing of those I have just mentioned, who having been perfectly secluded from the sight of men and content themselves only with bread brought to them at stated intervals of time and with water, inhabit the most desolate places. They enjoy their conversation with God, to whom they have adhered with pure minds (*puris mentibus*), and are completely happy (*beatissimi*) in contemplation of His Beauty (*eius pulchritudinis*) which can be perceived only by the understanding (*intellectu*) of saints.¹⁰

The anachorites are portrayed in this passage as the "ideal philosophers."¹¹ Their seeming paradox is that the physical isolation and withdrawal from the human communi-

⁷ *neque enim vere, inquam, isti tanta potuissent vixissentque ita, ut eos vixisse manifestum est, si eorum litterae atque rationes huic tanto bono adversarentur.* acad. 2.2.5. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (henceforth CSEL) 63, ed. P. Knöll, 1922, 27.

⁸ György Heidl, "A legértékesebb kenet." [The Most Precious Unguent.] In *Holmi* 3 (1997) 383-400. The English version is still unpublished.

⁹ *mor. cath.* 31. 65.

¹⁰ I am quoting the translation of D. Gallagher and I. J. Gallagher with modifications, *Saint Augustine: The Catholic and Manichaean Ways of Life. The Fathers of the Church*, new tr., (Washington: The Catholic University Press of America Press, 1966), 50. *Quid est, quaeso, quod vident qui non possunt hominem non diligere, et tamen possunt hominem non videre? Profecto illud, quidquid est, praestantius est rebus humanis, cuius contemplatione potest homo sine homine vivere. ... nihil de iis dicam quos paulo ante commemoravi, qui secretissimi penitus ab omni hominum conspectu, pane solo, qui eis per certa intervalla temporum affertur, et aqua contenti, desertissimas terras incolunt, perfruentes colloquio dei, cui puris mentibus inhaeserunt, et eius pulchritudinis contemplatione beatissimi, quae nisi sanctorum intellectu percipi non potest.* *mor. cath.* 31. 65-66.

¹¹ John Kevin Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae": A Study of the Work, Its Composition and Its Sources*. (Fribourg: University Press, 1978) 401. The descriptions of sapiens in Augustine's early works, especially in the dialogues, correspond to this picture of anachorites. See, for instance, *De ordine* (henceforth *ord.*) 2.2.6.

ties enable them to experience the highest unity and community with their fellowmen. This is possible only because the perfect ascetics behold something that is *superior to human things*. It is remarkable that whereas in the *Confessions* Augustine refers only to the miracles of Antony, in *De moribus* the emphasis is placed on the anachorites' experience of God. In this text, moral perfection is considered as the result and, at the same time, the prerequisite of the contemplation of God.

Around 388, Saint Antony seems to have represented a "philosopher" for Augustine. It is of crucial importance that in 386, Augustine interpreted his conversion to Christ as the conversion to Philosophy. After being fascinated by the life of Christians and reading the Apostle Paul, *the face of Philosophy revealed itself to him*.¹² The narrative of his own conversion and the description he gives of the experience of the hermits, therefore, contain common elements. Augustine participated in a vision similar to, but less intensive (cf. *quantulocumque iam lumine adperso*) than, that of the anachorites. As the object of their contemplation was *God's Beauty*, so through Philosophy Augustine had a glimpse of the true Beauty, the divine Wisdom.¹³ This Beauty can be seen only *through healthy and naked eyes* (*sanatis renudatisque ... oculis*), as Augustine stresses in *Contra Academicos*; that is to say, it is only the *pure mind* and *the understanding of saints* by which the Wisdom, the Son of God¹⁴ can be perceived. In Augustine's interpretation, Philosophy has the power to unify the fallen souls. Once people are able to behold the *true Beauty*, they *would recognize and embrace each other as true brethren*.¹⁵ This remark can be correlated with the rhetorical question in *De moribus*. The Egyptian anachorites are able to live without their fellowmen because they live in a spiritual union with the person whom Augustine refers to as Philosophy.

This personified Philosophy occurs in Augustine's early dialogues again and again.¹⁶ Although it is often endowed with female features, it can be understood in every case as a special reference to Christ. Philosophy has breasts from which no people of any ages are excluded.¹⁷ She has a lap in which souls desire to be engaged,¹⁸ and she nour-

¹² *Tunc vero quantulocumque iam lumine adperso tanta se mihi philosophiae facies aperuit, ut ... eam demonstrare potuissem. Contra academicos* (henceforth *acad.*) 2. 2. 6, 27.

¹³ For this parallel between *mor. cath.* 31. 66 and *acad.* 2. 3. 7. see Coyle, Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae:" 401-3.

¹⁴ *acad.* 2. 1. 1.

¹⁵ *Ergo ille [sc. adversarius tuus], si veram pulchritudinem, cuius falsae amator est, sanatis renudatisque paululum oculis possit intueri, quanta voluptate philosophiae gremio se involueret? quomodo ibi te cognitum sicut verum fratrem amplecteretur?* *ibid.* 2. 3. 7.

¹⁶ For this theme, see Robert J. O'Connell, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386-391*. (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), especially 70-73; 199-200. The following explanation differs from that of O'Connell.

¹⁷ *acad.* 1. 1. 4.; *Epistula* (henceforth *Ep.*) 1. 3.

¹⁸ *acad.* 1. 1. 3.; *De beata vita* (henceforth *b. vita*) 1. 4.

ishes and cherishes¹⁹ her devotees. Her beauty, however, has nothing to do with the body; she is more beautiful than even Venus or Amor;²⁰ that is to say, Philosophy is genderless, sometimes appearing as Temperance, the Bride of the minds (*animus*),²¹ sometimes as the most beautiful Bridegroom of the souls (*anima*).²² Furthermore, Philosophy promises to His or Her lovers to reveal secret teachings,²³ to reveal the most true and hidden God whom He or She is going to show *through bright clouds*.²⁴ Philosophy, therefore, promises that people will gain freedom,²⁵ teaches them to disdain everything that is sensible,²⁶ and does, indeed, free the souls.²⁷ This is thus the *true*,²⁸ or the *true and divine*,²⁹ or the *completely true Philosophy* which is not that of *this world*.³⁰ When converted, Augustine arrived at the *port* of this Philosophy.³¹

Some Scriptural references and allusions that Augustine entangles in the passages in which Philosophy plays the leading role confirm that he speaks of Christ. In *Contra Academicos* 1.1.3, by using the expression *per lucida nubes*, he alludes to the scene of Christ's Transfiguration as described in Matthew 17:5.³² In the same paragraph, the two terms, *nutrit ac fovet* - *Philosophy nourishes and cherishes me*³³ - are borrowed from the Letter of Paul to the Ephesians: *For no man ever hates his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it (nutrit et fovet), as Christ does the church, because we are members of his body* (5, 29). Consequently, the subject of both sentences is Christ as Philosophy. Moreover, in *De ordine* Augustine clearly explains that this Philosophy is not the *Philosophy of this world* (cf. Col. 2:8) because Christ's *kingship is not of this world* (cf. Jn. 18:36).³⁴

The obvious allusion in Ord. 1.8.24 to the Song of Songs deserves particular attention since this remark can also be paralleled with the description of anachorites:

¹⁹ *acad.* 1. 1. 3.

²⁰ *ord.* 1. 8. 21.

²¹ *acad.* 2. 9. 22.

²² *ord.* 1. 8. 24.

²³ *acad.* 1. 1. 1.

²⁴ *ibid.* 1. 1. 3.

²⁵ *ibid.* 1. 3. 9.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ *ibid.* 2. 2. 5; *ord.* 2. 5. 16.

²⁸ *ord.* 2. 1. 1.

²⁹ *Ep.* 2. 3.

³⁰ *acad.* 3. 19. 42; *ord.* 1. 11. 32.

³¹ *b. vita* 1. 5. *ibid.* 1. 1. and *acad.* 2. 1. 2.

³² *acad.* 1. 1. 3: *Ipsa [sc. philosophia] verissimum et secretissimum deum perspicue se demonstraturum promittit et iam iamque quasi per lucidas nubes ostentare dignatur. Matth. 17: 5: Adhuc eo loquente, ecce, nubes lucida obumbravit eos. Et ecce vox de nube, dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui: ipsum audite.*

³³ *Ipsa [sc. philosophia] me nunc in otio, quod vehementer optavimus, nutrit ac fovet.*

³⁴ *ord.* 1. 11. 32.

The best and most beautiful (*pulcherrimus*) bridegroom looks for other men or, to be more precise, other souls who while living in this body are already worthy of His chamber and who confine themselves not to live but to happily live (*beate vivere*).³⁵

One can point out at least one group of Christians who, according to Augustine, experience this happiness while *living in this body*. The anachorites, being *completely happy in contemplation of God's Beauty*, shape a spiritual community representing the Bride of Christ. In other words, when Augustine characterized the anachorites in *De moribus*, he thought of them not only as the "ideal philosophers" but also as the ideal lovers of the true Beauty because they represented the community of the chaste souls or minds which, through Christ, adhere to the Father. Their minds have already returned to heaven after being engaged to Temperance, Christ.³⁶

Christ-Philosophy is always considered to be the mediator between the human and divine reality. In fact, the Love of Wisdom is not identical to Wisdom. It is only through Philosophy that the ardent and morally pure souls can be linked with the Divine Intellect.³⁷ It is more correct, therefore, to refer to Philosophy not simply as Christ but as the human nature or the mind of Christ. If this correction is accepted, then we are closer to understanding the remark that Philocalia, the human mind, and Philosophy, Christ's mind, are *blood-sisters, the offsprings of the same Parent*. This metaphor simply means that all minds are created by God, but while Christ's mind is sinless, that is, Philosophy remained in heaven, the others fell down from there, that is from Paradise, and have been locked in the cage of the flesh.³⁸

At this point, one should ask whether or not Augustine interpreted the anachorite movement on the basis of a theology independent from and alien to it. In the last chapters of the *Vita Antonii*, the celebrated hermit does appear as the ideal philosopher, that is to say, Augustine seems to follow a Christian tradition in *De moribus* 31.66; however, scholars regard the description of anachorites as a passage influenced by philosophical, especially Plotinian ideas.³⁹ It has escaped the attention of interpreters

³⁵ *Alios autem viros vel, ut verius loquamur, alias animas, dum hoc corpus agunt, iam thalamo suo dignas coniux ille optimus ac pulcherrimus quaerit, quibus non vivere sed beate vivere satis est.* ord. 1. 8. 24.

³⁶ *acad.* 2. 9. 22: *De vita nostra de moribus de animo res agitur, qui se superaturum inimicitias omnium fallaciarum et veritate comprehensa quasi in regionem suae originis rediens triumphaturum de libidinibus atque ita temperantia velut coniuge accepta regnaturum esse praesumit securior rediturus in caelum.*

³⁷ *deinde totus ad tollere in laudem puri et sinceri amoris, quo animae dotatae disciplinis et uirtute formosae copulantur intellectui per philosophiam et non solum mortem fugiunt uerum etiam uita beatissima perfruntur.* ord. 1. 8. 24. Intellectus refers to the Logos in *acad.* 3. 19. 42 and in ord. 2. 5. 16.

³⁸ *germanae igitur istae prorsus et eodem parente procreatae; sed illa [sc. philocalia] visco libidinis detracta caelo suo et inclusa cavea populari viciniam tamen nominis tenuit ad commonendum aucupem, ne illam contemnat.* *acad.* 2. 3. 7; *De genesi contra manichaeos* (henceforth *gen. man.*) 2. 14. 21: *Si autem ratio consentiat, et quod libido commoverit, faciendum esse decernat, ab omni uita beata tanquam de paradiso expellitur homo.* As the result of the fall, the man receives the flesh, *ibid.* 2. 21. 32.

³⁹ See Coyle, Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae:" 401.

that the doctrines establishing the description are in full harmony with the theological principles which can be found in Antony's letters.⁴⁰

The first and most significant common idea is that the minds form a spiritual unity. The young Augustine shares the Origenian view that rational creatures are ontologically identical to each other. He does not distinguish between the souls of men and angels but often emphasizes that there is nothing among creatures which could be better by nature than the human soul.⁴¹ Men and angels are thus *rational souls, and are identical in their nature, although the inferior ones differ from the superior in their tasks*.⁴² The common substance of rational creatures is *invisible and incorporeal*.⁴³ It is also called *first intellectual creature* (*prima intellectualis creatura*) or *rational substance* (*substantia rationalis*).⁴⁴ Augustine, moreover, identifies this creature, with the *purest and happiest mind* (*mens purissima et beatissima*) made in the image and likeness of God to the Son.⁴⁵ It is notable that he uses this same expression (*puris mentibus ... beatissimi*) with reference to the anachorites who contemplate God's Beauty.

According to Antony, Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son is *the very mind and the image of the Father, who made every rational creature in the image of his image*.⁴⁶ This was the *first creation*⁴⁷ when God created an *intellectual substance* (or *spiritual essence*) the common nature of all rational beings.⁴⁸ In the letter addressed to the monks in the region of Arsinoë, he claims: *Truly, my beloved, it is great for you to attempt to understand the spiritual essence, in which there is neither man nor woman; rather it is an immortal essence, which has a beginning but no end*.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ The modern scholarly debate about the authenticity of the Letters is irrelevant to this scrutiny, since Augustine's contemporaries, such as Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 88.), attributed the Letters to Antony.

⁴¹ For instance, in *De quantitate animae* (henceforth *quant. an.*) 34. 78; *De musica* 6. 1. 1; *De vera religione* (henceforth *vera rel.*) CSEL 77 (W. Green, 1961) 310, 80; *De genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus* (henceforth *gen. litt. imp.*) CSEL 28 (J. Zycha, 1894) 16, 500.

⁴² *De libero arbitrio* (henceforth *lib. arb.*) 3. 114.

⁴³ *gen. man.* 1. 11. 17.

⁴⁴ *vera rel.* 191. CSEL 77, 49; *gen. litt. imp.* 3, CSEL 28, 462.

⁴⁵ *ad ipsam tamen similitudinem omnia non facta sint, sed sola substantia rationalis: quare omnia per ipsam, sed ad ipsam non omnia. Rationalis itaque substantia et per ipsam facta est et ad ipsam; non enim est ulla natura interposita, quandoquidem mens humana - quod non sentit, nisi cum purissima et beatissima est - nulli cohaeret nisi ipsi veritati, quae similitudo et imago patris et sapientia dicitur. Recte igitur secundum hoc, quod interius et principale hominis est, id est secundum mentem accipitur: faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.* *gen. litt. imp.* 16, 500.

⁴⁶ Translated by Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 204. = *Epistola* 2. 14. in the Georgian version (*Lettre de S. Antoine Version Géorgienne et Fragments Coptes* traduits par Gérard Garritte, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 149, Louvain, 1955).

⁴⁷ See Georgian (henceforth G): 1. 30 = Ep. 1. 3. in the Latin (henceforth L) version (*Patrologia graeca* 40. col. 977-1000.), and G: 2. 4.

⁴⁸ G: 3. 1; 4. 5; 4. 56; 4. 70; 5. 5; 5. 8; 5. 11; 5. 59; 6. 1. In the extant Coptic version: *ousia noera* which exactly corresponds to the Greek *ousia noera*, Rubenson, 210. n. 13; 205. n. 2.

⁴⁹ Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*. 1995, 216 (= G: 4. 5; L: 2. 1.)

Second, Augustine and Antony both agree that the first intellectual substance is changeable, for, as Antony says, only God is unalterable⁵⁰ and that by an act of free will, this first creature was dissolved. Augustine maintains that after the sin, the three classes of the rational souls were formed: the angels who never sin, the demons who persist in sinning, and men who either commit sins or do not commit any.⁵¹ In Antony's view, angels, men, *demons are all from one (source) in their spiritual essence; but through their flight from God great diversity has arisen between them since their deeds are varying.*⁵²

Third, they conceive the redemption as the recalling of the fallen souls to the original unity. In Augustine's view, Christ demonstrated the dignity of human nature and appeared in the true man (*homo verus*).⁵³ Each Christian has to represent or personify the true man, that is, human nature before sin.⁵⁴ Since in Augustine's vocabulary *natura* and *substantia* are synonyms⁵⁵ and because the rational creatures do not differ in their substance, his statement means that in the true man, Christ demonstrated the image created in Himself. In one word, He showed our intellectual substance to us. This is exactly what Antony says: after the arrival of the Saviour, men have *grown bold in their minds, knowing themselves and their spiritual essence.*⁵⁶

Fourth, it follows from the above that the concept of self-knowledge and mutual love takes a central place in both authors' thought. Before his baptism, Augustine formulated his philosophical concept in the following short sentence: *It is God and the soul that I desire to know.*⁵⁷ Since it is the soul, or rather the mind (*mens*), which contains the image of God, he who knows himself recognizes that he is created in the image and the likeness of God.⁵⁸ In this way, men can ascend to the knowledge of their Creator. The two-fold commandment of love, that is the love of God and of our neighbour (cf. Mt 22: 37), is expounded in the *Soliloquia* that we have to love God to a higher degree than ourselves and we have to love our fellow men to just the same degree as ourselves, no more and no less. The love of the neighbour means more precisely that we have to love our fellow-man's rational soul because this is what is common in all of us.⁵⁹ A long chapter devoted to this topic in *De vera religione* makes it obvious that

⁵⁰ For example G: 5. 10-11. (= L: 3. 1.)

⁵¹ *lib. arb.* 3. 162 ff.

⁵² Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*. 1995, 220. = G: 4. 56. (L: 2. 7.)

⁵³ *Ita enim demonstravit carnalibus et non valentibus intueri mente veritatem corporeisque sensibus deditis, quam excelsum locum inter creaturas habeat humana natura, quod non solum visibiliter ... sed hominibus in vero homine apparuit. vera rel.* 82, 22. *Itaque ad pristinam perfectamque naturam nos ipsa veritas vocans praecipit ut carnali consuetudini resistamus, docens neminem aptum esse regno dei qui non istas carnales necessitudines oderit.* *ibid.* 247, 63.

⁵⁴ *gen. man.* 2. 25. 38; *b. vita* 2. 16.

⁵⁵ See *vera rel.* 121, 31; *lib. arb.* 3. 128: *Naturam voco quae et substantia dici solet.*

⁵⁶ Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*. 1995, 205. = G: 2. 28 (L: 4. 4.)

⁵⁷ *Soliloquia* (henceforth *sol.*) 1. 2. 7.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* 1. 1. 4.

⁵⁹ *ibid.* 1. 2-3.

the mutual love for each other must really aim at the common human nature created by God and taken on by Christ.⁶⁰ The individual characteristics, therefore, have no importance because they are the consequences of the present, fallen condition from which the souls want to escape. In fact, nobody loves himself, Augustine argues, because he is a son or a father but because he is a man. If we would like to be able to inhabit the Kingdom of God, we must hate the necessities of our bodily life merited by original sin. Hence, when we return to our original state, our individuality will pass away, and the original unity will come into being again when we share in the *one heritage* of the *one Father*.⁶¹

The main reason for Antony's letters is to remind the monks of the spiritual charity which unifies the souls. He often quotes the Pauline metaphor: *we are members one of another*.⁶² This community enables people to love each other and know themselves on a higher, spiritual level. Individuals must know themselves in the common intellectual substance shown by Christ, *and he who knows himself knows everyone*,⁶³ or *he who knows himself knows God's dispensations*.⁶⁴ The bodily names, that is individuality and diversity, are the results of the fall, so *they will pass away*⁶⁵ because we are in fact *Israelite children in the intellectual substance*.⁶⁶ Through our self-knowledge we can become Israel again, that is the *Mind that sees God*.⁶⁷ The spiritual Israel thus represents the community of the pure minds contemplating God. In fact, the mind is considered as the *eyes of the heart*⁶⁸ or the *eyes of the soul* which the *Spirit of Repentance* opens that it may be pure.⁶⁹

It is always hazardous to compare doctrines. The common points in the theology of the young Augustine and St. Antony the Great may merely indicate that they were indebted to similar theological traditions imbued with Platonic and Origenian ideas. The tenets, such as the common intellectual substance of rational creatures, the diversity of creatures as the result of their fall, self-knowledge and ordered love as the path leading back to the original unity, can be traced back to both Origen and Plotinus.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ *vera rel.* 243-45, 63-64.

⁶¹ *ibid.* 251.

⁶² G: 4. 79.; 5. 16.; 6. 4.; 6. 41; 3. 2.

⁶³ G: 4. 69 (L: 2. 7.)

⁶⁴ G: 6. 2. (L: 6.1.)

⁶⁵ G: 4. 78. (L: 2. 8.)

⁶⁶ G: 4. 2 (L: 2. 1.); G: 5. 5 (L: 3. 1.)

⁶⁷ Gen. 32:24-30; G: 6. 6. (L: 6. 1.) This etymology goes back to Philo (*De ebrietate* 20.82) and, first of all, to Origen (*Commentary on St. John's Gospel* 2.31.; *Homilies on Genesis* 15.3. *Commentary on the Song of Songs, Prologue*) Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint*, (Lund: University Press, 1990) 69.

⁶⁸ G: 4. 28; L: 2. 5.

⁶⁹ Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*. 1995, 198. G: 1. 26 (L: 1. 3.)

⁷⁰ On the theological sources of Antony's teachings, see Rubenson (1990), 59-71.

Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to say that whereas Antony established the theology of the desert on the ideas of the Alexandrians, who had been, at the same time, influenced by the Platonic philosophy, Augustine baptized some Neoplatonic doctrines, and hence, the fruits of these two processes were naturally similar to each other. There is no need to suppose, for instance, that Augustine "picks up" the idea of *nous katharos*, the *pure mind*, from Plotinus and "adapts it to his Christianity."⁷¹ When he says that the anachorites contemplate God and *adhere to Him with pure minds*, he uses a metaphor familiar to them which, moreover, had been established by an exegetical tradition of Matth. 5:8.⁷² It is similarly unnecessary to deduce from Plotinus the idea that the anachorites are *completely happy* because they contemplate divine *Beauty*.⁷³ The parallel texts (*Contra Academicos* 2.2.6-3.7; *De ordine* 1.8.24), even if they contain remarkable Platonic elements, shed light on the Christian background of this image, namely, the allegorical and highly Origenian understanding of the *Song of Songs*.

Finally, there is a further idea, commonly shared by Antony and Augustine, which cannot be explained as mere coincidence or as a common product of harmonizing traditions. In his first letter, Antony describes *three kinds of calling* which three groups of souls receive in order to turn to God.⁷⁴ In the preface to *De beata vita*, Augustine creates an allegory of three kinds of sailors who are sailing towards the port of true Philosophy.⁷⁵ Both speak of different kinds of souls who approach Christ.

According to Antony, there are souls, like Abraham, who are called by the law implanted in them and who obey the word of God without any delay. This natural law is given to all men since they all are created in the intellectual substance.⁷⁶ The first group of Augustinian sailors is formed by those who can withdraw easily and quickly to the tranquillity of the port as soon as they reach the age when they can use their reason. *Rationis compos aetas* means in this text not simply a biological age but rather, an inner age of the soul.⁷⁷ Ratio is given to all men by nature, it differentiates the human being from the animal⁷⁸ and is made in the image of God.⁷⁹ The one who obeys

⁷¹ Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae"* 401.

⁷² See e.g. Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* 1. 2. 6-7; *On the Principles* 1. 1. 9. Cf. Ambrosius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* 118, 8. 21, Chromatius of Aquileia, *In Mattheum* 17.

⁷³ Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae"* 403.

⁷⁴ L. 1. 1.

⁷⁵ *b. vita* 1. 2.

⁷⁶ 2. 4; 3. 10; 5. 16, see, Rubenson (1990), 73.

⁷⁷ *unum est eorum, quos ubi aetas compos rationis adsumpserit, parvo impetu puluque remorum de proximo fugiunt seseque condunt in illa tranquillitate...* *b. vita* 1. 2; *quant. an.* 16. 28: *quidquid anima cum aetate proficit, composque rationis fit, non mihi videtur fieri maior, sed melior*; *ibid.* 34. 78: *anima rationis compos atque beatissima; vera rel.* 134-135, 35; *gen. man.* 1. 23.

⁷⁸ *ord.* 2. 11. 30.

⁷⁹ *gen. man.* 1. 17. 28 and *passim*.

the commandments of his reason can easily reach the port. The second calling is given to the people who are called by the intermediary of the written Law. The written Law warns them of the torments that are prepared for the wicked and encourages them with the promises that are prepared for the saints. Similarly, the second group of sailors is formed of those who, catching a glimpse of certain signs, find the way leading to the port. The third Antonian group consists of *souls which at first were hard of heart and persisted in the works of sin* and God punished them—this is in fact the third calling—so that *they come to their senses, and are converted*. The third group of sailors consists of people who were swept far away from the port, and arrived at the depths of misery. They need a great storm and a sort of headwind—a pedagogical punishment—to turn back and to finally reach the port.

The doctrine of the three kinds of calling was taught by hermits living in the spiritual environment of Antony.⁸⁰ Augustine may have learnt this from an oral tradition through either Ponticianus or the monks whom he visited in Milan.

In any case, he very likely did not read the letters of St. Antony. He was not able to read them even in the Greek version, and we are not aware of any kind of contemporary Latin translation. However, Augustine certainly knew about the existence of the seven letters, at least through Jerome's *De viris illustribus*,⁸¹ which he read around 396.⁸² It is probable, however, that in 386, Augustine had already heard not only about Antony's life from Ponticianus but also about the great hermit's teachings contained in the letters. Before 381, when the court moved from Trier to Milan, Ponticianus was living in the former city, and he was in close touch with the monks or the anachorites there. The fact that the most important work these people read was the *Vita Antonii* permits the conclusion that this movement in Trier was established on Antonian ideas, both in practice and in theory.⁸³ There is no convincing reason to think that this movement was started by Athanasius during his exile in Trier (AD 335-337). Because of the early date, however, one cannot exclude the possibility that the Alexandrian bishop could have been an important go-between since he probably maintained relations with his friends in Trier even after his return to the East. The manuscript found by the two men in the hovel (*Conf.* 8.6.15) could have been a fruit of this relationship. On the other hand, Athanasius was living in Rome for many years

⁸⁰ This fact is testified by John Cassian, who mentions in his *Collationes* 3.4 the *tres vocationum modi* when quoting Abba Paphnutius, one of Antony's disciples.

⁸¹ Chapter 88. *Patrologia latina* 23, 693.

⁸² *Ep.* 40. Augustine began to compose *De doctrina christiana* at the same time. In the preface to this work, he mentions Antony's alleged illiteracy because this pious tradition, going back to the *Vita*, is in accordance with his actual purposes.

⁸³ Another option could have been to follow St. Martin of Tours. His name, however, was not even mentioned by Ponticianus or by Augustine in the *Confessions*.

during his second exile, and Augustine was acquainted with many monks in Rome who lived and worked in a way corresponding to Eastern customs.⁸⁴

Augustine and Alypius were influenced not only by the moral excellence and the miracles of Antony. They were conscious of the theological background of the anachoresis. The withdrawal from secular life, the giving up of marriage plans,⁸⁵ the rules of eating, the manual labor practised at Cassiciacum,⁸⁶ and finally, some extreme forms of asceticism⁸⁷ aimed to assist them in attaining the vision of God which, in their belief, the anachorites enjoyed. It was not enough for Augustine to encounter Christian books in Milan in order that he be converted, he needed examples which demonstrated that the experience those books spoke about could be obtained.


⁸⁴ *mor. cath.* 33. 70.

⁸⁵ *conf.* 8. 12. 30; 9. 2. 2; *b. vita* 1.4.

⁸⁶ For this, see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae:"* 407-408.

⁸⁷ Alypius walked "barefoot the iced soil of Italy" (*conf.* 9. 6. 14). For Alypius' asceticism see, Augustine, *Ep.* 28. 1. 1; A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire, I. Afrique (303-533)*. (Paris: Edition du CNRS, 1982), 55-56.

MAIORES, OPTIMATES, NOBILES: SEMANTIC QUESTIONS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE HUNGARIAN NOBILITY¹

Zsolt Hunyadi 

To approach the questions of the history of the medieval nobility in Hungary, first of all, I would like to quote Erik Fügedi's opinion explained in the introduction of his *Social Mobility of the Hungarian Aristocracy during the Fifteenth Century* (1970): "Hungary, one of the Christian Kingdoms in Eastern Europe, had her particular pattern of historical development, which was very different from that of Western Europe."² Presumably, this difference can already be observed during the earlier centuries.

As a member of the "Research Project on Nobility in Medieval and Early Modern Central Europe" at CEU, I have started to investigate the system of inheritance of several medieval Hungarian noble kindreds. After some preliminary study, it seemed necessary to clarify a few semantic questions in connection with the formation and early history of medieval Hungarian nobility.

To do this, I checked both the former and the recent literature on this topic. One can begin with the famous debate between László Erdélyi and Károly Tagányi, in the second decade of our century, on the question of Árpadian society (tenth-thirteenth centuries)³ or Péter Váczy's basic work about the *servientes regis* and patrimonial rulership.⁴ In such a survey, one cannot avoid discussing, above all, the ideas of Gyula Szekfő, Lóránd Szilágyi, Elemér Mályusz, György Bonis,⁵ and partly that of Erik Fügedi, who were all deeply involved in the questions concerning medieval Hungarian nobility. Present-day scholars of the field (Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó, László Solymosi, and Attila Zsoldos) summarized their (and their predecessors') ideas in the entries of the recently published *Lexicon of Early Hungarian History: Ninth-Fourteenth Centuries*.⁶ Due to the nature of such work, some questions remained unsettled or, from our point of view,

¹ This paper was delivered in Rostock at the conference on *Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa*; 12-14 June, 1997.

² Erik Fügedi, *A 15. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása*. [Social Mobility of the Hungarian Aristocracy during the Fifteenth Century] Budapest: KSH Könyvtára, 1970., 195.

³ László Erdélyi, "Árpádkori társadalomtörténetünk legkritikusabb kérdései." [The Most Crucial Questions of the Árpadian Society] in *Történeti Szemle* 3 (1914): 514-561., 4 (1915): 481-514., 5 (1916): 39-63.; Károly Tagányi, "Felelet dr. Erdélyi Lászlónak 'Árpádkori társadalomtörténetünk legkritikusabb kérdései'-re." [A Response to dr. László Erdélyi's "The Most Crucial Questions of the Árpadian Society"] in *Történeti Szemle* 5 (1916): 296-320., 417-448., 543-608.

⁴ Péter Váczy, "A királyi szerviensek és a patrimonális királyság." [Royal Servientes and Patrimonial Kingship] in *Századok* 61-62 (1927/28): 243-290., 351-414.

⁵ Gyula Szekfő, *Serviensek és familiárisok*. [Servientes et familiares] *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből* I vol. 23/3. Budapest, 1912., passim; Lóránd Szilágyi, "Az Anonymus-kérdés revíziója" [The Revision of the Anonymous-question] in *Századok* 71 (1937) 1-54.; Elemér Mályusz, "A magyar köznemesség kialakulása." [The Development of the Hungarian Lesser Nobility] in *Századok* (1942): 272-305., 407-434.; György Bonis, *H bériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*. [Feudalism and Corporatism in the Medieval Legal System of Hungary] Kolozsvár: n.p., n.d. [1947], 122-195.

⁶ Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, Ferenc Makk, eds. *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon, 9-14. század*. [Lexicon of Early Hungarian History: Ninth-Fourteenth Centuries], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994., passim.

were not taken into consideration. In order to create a solid basis for further steps, let us survey the terms and titles concerning the Hungarian nobility.

Trying to grasp the terminology of sources, I would like (or rather, would have liked) to start with an investigation of the eleventh-century Hungarian society. The conditional form refers to the fact that the early period lacks those written sources without which it is very difficult to reconstruct the structure of a given society. Nevertheless, on the basis of St. Stephen's decrees, we can speak of a binary society, that is, the *valens et dives* (the powerful and rich) and the *pauper et tenuis* (the poor and slight). In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the society was advancing from this economic "terminology" towards a legal one. The penal articles of St. Stephen's lawbook report equality in terms of law,⁷ but difference in economic situation, and dissimilarity in social position: for example, those *comites* (members of the royal retinue) who killed their wives paid 50 oxen as compensation, *milites* 10 oxen, while *vulgares* paid only 5 oxen.⁸

Even if eleventh-century society was rather undifferentiated, it included a narrow stratum of the closest retinue of the king and his dignitaries. They are to be found in the sources as the *maiores natu et dignitate*, persons of higher rank due to their birth or dignity, who actually formed the early eleventh-century aristocracy. This highest segment consisted of the descendants of the former nomadic (and pagan) tribal leaders and those Western European knights who helped the consolidation of Stephen's power. Certainly, one of the most important preconditions for the former group was to be, at least formally, baptized; otherwise there was no way to join the newly forming royal retinue which overlapped with the *senatus*. Practically, these first dignitaries were more or less dependent on royal benevolence although their status originated from their former role. It seems it was very useful to stay close to the court because from the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries only those who were invited by the king to the royal council (*aula*, *curia*, *senatus*) were regarded as aristocrats. The others of higher rank outside this circle became impoverished during the second half of the eleventh century, as indicated in the laws of St. Ladislav.⁹

However, those who were able to maintain their power could play an important role concerning the equilibrium of rulership, that is, the influence of the king and that of the aristocracy in various decision-making processes. Up to the end of the twelfth century, they were called in the sources *maiores*, *magnates*, *optimates*, *proceres*,

⁷ 110 gold *pensae* compensation for everybody in case of homicide; Stephen's Lawbook 1: 14. See János M. Bak, György Bónis, James Ross Sweeney, eds. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. 1000–1301. Decreta Regni Medievalis Hungariae 1000 to 1526.* [DRMH] vol. 1. Bakersfield: Charles Schlacks Jr., 1989, p.4.

⁸ Stephen's Lawbook 1:15., DRMH 1:4-5.

⁹ The Laws of St. Ladislav 2: 8/2., c.1077. DRMH 1:14.

principes, *iobagiones*, *potentes*. The members of the upper layer of society, from c.1138 onwards, started to indicate their descent, using the expression *de genere* in their names. It is difficult to produce a more precise division according to the shade of the meaning of the above terms. Nonetheless, it is likely, according to Bónis, that the *iobagiones* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mostly held high secular positions and offices in the royal household.¹⁰ Thus, they were similar to the *principes*, who were the most frequent figures of this layer in the sources. In this respect, the term *magnates* replaced *optimates* (1070–1160) and *proceres* (1090–1140), and the word *maiores* from the time of Stephen III also might be regarded as a synonym for *iobagiones*. On the other hand, as Szilágyi pointed out, these *iobagiones* held no permanent military office. Tagányi tried to prove that the name of the category *iobagiones* originated from the castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*), who were dependent freemen and thus the loan-word probably referred to this sort of dependence on the *curia*.¹¹

Parallel to the rise of the *maiores ministri*, a new notion of *nobilis* is to be found among Ladislas' laws.¹² It can be easily proved that this expression was a synonym for the terms just mentioned until the beginning of the thirteenth century. As such, the *nobiles* were equal with the *principes* up to middle of the twelfth century. Afterwards, in the second half of the twelfth century, the term was applied to a broader and, at the same time, lower stratum of the society. Szilágyi called attention to the division of the anonymous scribe of Béla III who, in his chronicle, placed the *nobiles* between the *primates* and the *milites*.¹³ Mályusz, based on legal sources, reinforced this idea for the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴ Although at the beginning of the thirteenth century the terms *nobiles*, *iobagiones*, *principes*, *nobiliiores*, and *potentes* meant persons of higher rank, a new expression appeared (c.1208), denoting exclusively the dignitaries of the royal council: the term *barones*. Unlike the term *potentes*, the Golden Bull of 1222 did not mention *barones*.¹⁵ However, in the time of Andrew II (1204–1235), the expression of *baronatus maiores* was known, and during the reign of Béla IV (1235–1270), the term *barones* became quite frequent.

The occurrences of the different designations and the semantic changes witness a radical change in the social structure. While in the first third of the thirteenth century the term *nobiles* definitely referred to "persons of the highest rank," the *barones* demanded the exclusive usage of this title since they were the major royal office-holders. In contrast, in the lower social group the addition of *de genere* to the name became

¹⁰ Bónis, *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*, 123–124.

¹¹ See the exchange between Szilágyi and Tagányi under the footnote no.3.

¹² The Laws of St. Ladislas 3:2., c.1070. *DRMH* 1:18.

¹³ Szilágyi, "Az Anonymus-kérdés revíziója" [The Revision of the Anonymous-question], 8–9., 21–23.

¹⁴ Mályusz, "A magyar köznemesség kialakulása." [The Development of the Hungarian Lesser Nobility], 286–289.

¹⁵ *DRMH* 1:34–37.

widespread by this period. Of course, the barons of this period are not to be confused with those from the late thirteenth century onwards who were great landowners but not necessarily holders of "baronial offices." In the given period, both the terms *barones* and *iobagiones* indicate a title connected with office-holding. Bónis concluded that the title *nobiles*, because of its indefinite nature, became more suitable for indicating a broader social group from the first half of the century; from that time onwards, the local elite, the lower part of the upper layer, was also called *nobiles*.¹⁶ Nevertheless, József Holub pointed out that as late as 1223 the *barones* and *nobiles* were in the same social layer, as, for example, they had to pay, according to customary law, the same amount of dowry.¹⁷

This may be the point to emphasize that—as opposed to Western Europe—"the nobility was a large social layer in medieval Hungary, it formed more than one percent of the total population [...]. What is more astonishing is that theoretically, every nobleman was equal (*una eademque nobilitas*), regardless of his wealth, social position and political influence."¹⁸ Although, these words of Fügedi referred to the fifteenth-century situation, the origin of this figure, that is, the appearance of a relatively high proportion of noblemen is to be sought prior to the mid-fourteenth century, by which time almost all landowners were regarded nobles.

Now that I have traced the formation of the Hungarian aristocracy, let us turn our attention to the other component of nobility, namely, the one later mentioned as the lesser nobility, which appears in the sources as *veri nobiles regni*, the "true" noblemen of the realm. The meaning and reference of both *veri* and *nobiles* should be explained.

Probably, in connection with the aristocracy, I have not emphasized sufficiently that one of their most important "privileges" (*libertas*) was their jurisdictional independence from the local royal officers. They were entitled to present their affairs directly to the king or his deputy, that is the palatine. It seems that the ascending social group regarded this jurisdictional independence, along with landed properties, tax exemption, and military service as the *conditio sine qua non* of their noble status. When considering the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one could count the following among the medieval "human rights," as the criteria of liberty (*libertas*): (a) personal liberty, (b) participation in public affairs, and (c) possession of arms. These criteria became more and more precise in terms of legal thinking and so provided a solid basis for the self-perception of the nobility.

According to most scholars mentioned before, the antecedents of the lesser nobility (*nobiles regni*) are to be sought in the group of royal servitors (*servientes regis*)

¹⁶ Bónis, *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*, 129–132.

¹⁷ Holub, József. "Az Atyusz-nemzetség." [The Atyusz Kindred] In *Tundl* (1937): 59–66.

¹⁸ Fügedi, *A 15. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása*. 197.

and among the *iobagiones castri* (castle warriors). Besides the aristocracy, these two strata were able to keep their right to possess arms, which was (and remained) one of the basic criteria for the liberty of freemen. As is well-known, similarly to Western Europe, it was quite expensive to obtain suitable arms or take care of them permanently, thus, only certain elements of the society could afford to act as warriors in the king's army. In contrast to the increasing number of the impoverished free elements, the group of the *servientes regis*, who held their own lands, were at the king's disposal at any time. The *servientes regis* were free landowners under the jurisdiction and military authority of the *ispán* (*comes comitatus*), and they fell under the royal power. In spite of their status, the *iobagiones castri* were not personally free, but they were similar to the royal servitors in respect to possessing arms, and their upper layer was comparable to them in wealth and social rank as well.

Have these social groups, however, anything to do with the nobility in Hungary? To answer this provocative question, one should turn towards the sources to trace the steps of this "metamorphosis." In the course of investigation, almost every scholar has chosen the Golden Bull of 1222 as a starting-point. Both the terms *servientes* and *nobiles* are to be found in its text, although apparently referring to slightly different groups. Erdélyi, Váczy, and Bónis, among others, demonstrated that between 1221 and 1231 the terms *nobilis* and *serviens regis* could not have been equal notions, thus the Golden Bull contains the privileges of two dissimilar social groups.¹⁹ The next step is perhaps the Golden Bull of 1231 inasmuch as the use of the term *nobiles* in its 8th article might have applied to the lower part of the highest social rank while the 15th article replaced the term *servientes* of the 7th article of the 1222 text with *nobiles*. Investigating the charters issued in the given period, one can trace the new phenomenon in smaller steps: "*nobiles de Jaku* (1233); *universis nobilibus de Scepus ... nisi ipsa collecta ad servientes regis et alios quoslibet nobiles fuerit generalis* (1243); *nobilis serviens noster* (1244); *nobiles seu servientes regni*" (1257). Parallel to this change, the term *iobagiones* was in the process of losing entirely its original meaning and was being replaced by the term *barones* which had been firmly established by this period. From at least the mid-fourteenth century the term *iobagio* meant a tenant peasant.

There is no doubt that one of the most significant moments was the issuance of the decree of Béla IV in 1267. In the narration part of the charter, the king speaks of *nobiles regni Ungariae universi, qui servientes regales dicuntur*, that is, he identified the group of the noblemen with that of the royal servitors. Moreover, the decree secured

¹⁹ László Erdélyi, "Árpád-kori társadalomtörténetünk legkritikusabb kérdései." [The Most Crucial Questions of the Árpadian Society] 39–63; Péter Váczy, "A királyi szerviensek és a patrimoniális királyság." [Royal Servientes and Patrimonial Kingship], 249–251.; Bónis, *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*, 128–129.

the fundamental privileges of the *servientes regis*, that is to say, from this time onwards the privileges of the lesser nobility of the realm. To be precise, it should be emphasized that even if this decree was of primary importance, it was not a watershed in the long-term trend of legal unification up to the mid-fourteenth century. Besides Andrew II's and Béla IV's role, the decrees of Andrew III in 1290 and 1298, and that of Louis I in 1351, paved the way for the nobility to move toward a sort of equality of rights with the aristocracy.²⁰ The success of these efforts caused a strange situation, one which Fügedi called "astonishing" since it completely disregarded their "wealth, social position and political influence." Thus, similarly to the aristocrats, the lesser noblemen (1) were exempt from taxation and *descensus* (hospitality); (2) the king or the count palatine exercised jurisdiction over them; (3) they could only be arrested by court order; (4) they were supposed to go to war exclusively under the king's banner. Of course, behind these orders a noticeable new lifestyle and attitude is to be observed. In the words of Mályusz: "those who fought in the battlefields as equals, lived in the same way in peacetime, and were devoted to the same chivalrous ideals, left the framework of their respective social groups in order to be united with"²¹ that of the barons.

One might wonder where the initiative for this social change is to be found. Many scholars accept the idea that the king, especially Béla IV after the Mongol Invasion, needed an army with fewer warriors but equipped with more efficient weaponry. According to this theory, at the king's request the wealthy royal servitors fulfilled their military duty in return for their privileged position. However, as soon as they reached the desired status, the lesser nobles turned to the king and asked for a reduction of their duties. This fact raised the question whether one can approach the problem from the opposite direction. In other words, the given social group initiated the change in the hope of receiving exemptions, and this intention suited the king's purposes. Certainly, this is an idea to be dealt with; however, it is a reasonably weaker argument than the former one. The solution might be sought in the different situations when the members of the lesser nobility acted as a body or as individuals. I think this demands further research and analysis.

Unlike the more or less straightforward process of the *servientes regis*, it was not easy or automatic for the other groups applying for similar social or at least legal status to obtain the same rights or privileges. For instance, only the upper stratum of the *iobagiones castri* could merge into the group of *servientes regis*, and thus "climb the social lad-

²⁰ For the laws after 1301 see János M. Bak, Pál Engel, James Ross Sweeney, eds. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. 1301–1457. DRMH*, vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Charles Schlacks Jr., 1992. The laws of Louis I, 8–13.

²¹ Mályusz, Elemér, "Hungarian Nobles of Medieval Transylvania." in *History & Society in Central Europe* 2 (1994) 26.

der." Since they were unfree, the most practicable way to join the lesser nobility was to be granted liberty (*perpetua libertas*) or to be entitled as nobles – directly (*nobilitatio*). The process of this "social rising" started at the very end of the twelfth century and continued through the thirteenth century and beyond. This change concerned the group of *liberi*, that is, the impoverished descendants of the former elite, and the *hospites* (settlers) as well. However, by the first half of the fourteenth century, one segment of the "free elements" remained out of the circle of the lesser nobility. This was the group of free landowners (*homines possessionati*) who were able to retain their lands in the course of the fundamental social changes in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, none of the classifications elaborated by Hungarian scholars could find the proper place for them although this group definitely belonged to the upper layer of the social stratification.

Although Tagányi put forward the idea that the lesser nobility in the various regions of the Hungarian Kingdom developed differently, Mályusz proved that in spite of the fact there were indeed temporal divergences and local peculiarities there were no radical differences between the "core" of the country and its other parts. Thus, "the lesser nobility of County Turóc and Liptó in Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) evolved mainly from the castle warriors" ²²: in the first case from the *fili iobagionium* of Turóc, and in the second, the "lancers" of Liptó. Similarly to the Transylvanian royal servitors, they became nobles on the basis of their military service, though the former group – and their "companions" in Slavonia (present-day Croatia) – acquired the right of the *veri nobiles regni* by the royal decrees of 1290, 1298, and 1324. Nevertheless, a final equality came into existence by the decree of Louis I in 1351 which provided the same right to the *coetus et universitas nobilium regni nostri*, saying that *universi veri nobiles intra terminos regni nostri constituti, etiam in tenuis ducalibus sub inclusione terminorum ipsius regni nostri existentes sub una et eadem libertate gratulentur* all true nobles established within the borders of our kingdom, including also those living on ducal territory within the borders of our kingdom, should enjoy one and the same liberty.²³

Of course, as mentioned before, some participants of this social change, at a certain point of this development, had the chance to become part of the lesser nobility; nevertheless, in the end, they remained out of this circle. Apart from the above-mentioned free landowners (*homines possessionati*), those who stayed on the landed property of the Church never obtained the same *libertas* although their original status and subsequent evolution was similar in terms of duties. The upper layer of the "descendants" (in

²² Mályusz, "Hungarian Nobles." 28.

²³ The Laws of Louis I, 1351:11., *DRMH* 2: 11.

the social sense) of the eleventh-century *equites* and *ministri* are referred to in the thirteenth-century sources as *iobagiones equites*, *exercituantes*, *bellatores*, and finally, from 1232, as *nobiles iobagiones* of the Church. They fell under the seigneurial jurisdiction of some particular church organizations though they succeeded in establishing their own local authority. Moreover, they were supposed to go to war under the banner of their lords, that is, their prelates, and in return for their service, they received lands from them. They, perhaps, had a similar lifestyle to the former royal servitors but, from a legal point of view, they lacked certain rights, for instance, in regard to taxation or *descensus*. Recently László Solymosi has confirmed the observation that from the end of the thirteenth century, based on their lands of service (*praedium*), they appear in the sources as *nobiles praediales* (predial nobles), and this term becomes more and more frequent in the charters.²⁴ Other scholars, for instance Pál Engel, emphasize that as a social group the *nobiles iobagiones* should be distinguished from that of the *nobiles praediales*, despite their similar legal and economic situation. According to Engel, they stayed on lands belonging to a particular royal castle, and they rendered services to the castellan, who held the castle and its lands as a tenure (*honor*). What is more, Engel includes the previously mentioned *filii iobagionium* of County Turóc and the "lancers" of County Liptó among the predial nobles, stressing certain similarities between them but not claiming that they were identical social groups.²⁵

Summing up what we have highlighted in the course of this short survey, we can see that the main lines of semantic change are visible and may apply to the changes that took place in the social structure of the early Hungarian aristocracy and lesser nobility. Notwithstanding, there are many minor questions still to be answered concerning the chronology, the stages of the development, the influence of these changes, or the discrepancies that have been detected. When we approach the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the increasing number of sources may yield more precise results but, as the quantitative investigations of Erik Fügedi have shown, a clear-cut picture on the medieval Hungarian nobility is still far away.

²⁴ László Solymosi, "Hospeskiáltás 1275-ből" [Liberty of Hospites from 1275] In *Tanulmányok Veszprém megye múltjából*. Ed. L. Madarász, Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 1984., 17–96.

²⁵ Pál Engel, In *Korai Magyar Történelmi Lexikon*, 556–557.

HOLY FOOLS IN MEDIEVAL RUSSIA: MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS¹

Anna Kouznetsova 

There is a growing interest in the problems related to differences and parallels between Christianity in East and West; it also defines the subject of the present Congress. So it was tempting for me to choose a topic, where little has been done so far: the comparison of Russian Holy Fools with religious eccentrics and people associating strange and abnormal behavior with sanctity in the West. Upon closer study, however, this temptation of mine had to be limited. What influenced this decline of my optimism was related to the nature of sources about medieval Holy Folly in Russia and the approaches taken thus far to the study of those sources. If I had even less time at my disposal than my ten minutes, I would summarize my present communication in a question and answer: why is my paper at this Congress with a comparative subject not called Holy Fools in Russia and religious eccentrics in the West? Because, in the history of Holy Fools in Medieval Russia, there are more questions than answers. So let me pose some questions and propose some answers.

Holy Fools of Russia are known to us as people of strange and abnormal behavior. They walked naked even in winter, prophesied events that were to come, created scandals, and inspired both fear and veneration. Many of them were canonised as saints: thus in the English terminology they are called Holy Fools. The question of the proper translation of the Russian term *jurodivj* and of various Russian words used for describing this eccentric behavior, I will discuss later. Holy Fools existed more or less throughout the entire history of Christian Russia. However, I am going to dwell only on some of those questions that are relevant to their history before the mid-seventeenth century schism, the *raskol*, that split the Russian church and, indeed, Russian society.

One of the questions that has exercised students of the phenomenon of Holy Fools in Medieval Russia is whether those saints were in fact mentally deranged people or, at least, which of them may have been deranged.² This may be an interesting question, but I suspect that it is more fruitful to inquire into the spiritual (and, perhaps, material) conditions that led other men and women, surely not deranged, to regard these persons as holy.

¹ This paper was presented at the Congress of CIHEC on *Christianity in East Central Europe and its Relations with the West and the East*, Catholic University of Lublin, September 5, 1996.

² Ewa M. Thompson, *Understanding Russia: the Holy Fool in Russian Culture*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America 1987), Preface.

As for the problem of the social perception of madness, let me just bracket here that while students of western civilisation developed a tradition in this field, Russian material still awaits its researcher.³

Another aspect of studying religious deviates in the West and in Russia that makes their comparison difficult is the question of sources. While there is varied source material on the Western religious deviates such as extensive reports on their behavior, occasional writings of theirs, minutes of episcopal and papal inquiries and inquisitions, and so on, for Holy Folly in Medieval Russia our almost sole source is hagiography. There are a few lines in the chronicles and some notes by foreign travellers, but they are problematic in themselves, quite fragmentary, and predominantly of the sixteenth century. While it is a commonplace to say that Saints' Lives, especially when they are not near contemporary, tell us more about the perception of sainthood in the age of their being written than about the life of the saint itself, this dichotomy causes almost insurmountable difficulties in studying the Holy Fools of Medieval Russia. The sources of medieval *jurodstvo* are so varied in quality and reliability, and are usually significantly later than the lives they recount, that a number of questions are inevitable.

One of the features of the *Vitae* of Russian Holy Fools is that the majority is quite extensively influenced by the *Vitae* of Byzantine Holy Fools. It has even been suggested that Russian eccentrics were copying the behavior of Byzantine Holy Fools described in hagiographical texts known in Medieval Russia.⁴ One of those *Vitae*, that of St. Andrew the Fool, may have been translated into Slavonic as early as in the eleventh century. However, it is still unclear whether any of the medieval Russian Holy Fools were directly inspired by this Byzantine piece of hagiography. Is there any cause to assume the fashioning of their lives after the accepted model of Holy Folly? To what extent were the "fools" themselves and to what extent were their biographers "influenced" by the existing literary models? In any case, the date of translation of St. Andrew's *Vita* into Slavonic seems to be of extreme importance. While becoming known to Christian communities in Russia, the Byzantine model of Holy Folly may have suggested to believers the perception that abnormal behavior was somehow connected to sanctity.

There is another aspect of the study of religious nonconformism in Russia and in the West that is influenced by the character of the sources and their analysis.

³ For the discussion of the social history of madness see for example, Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilisation; A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage Books, 1973); Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness; Stories of the Insane* (London: Phoenix, 1987); Joseph Robins, *Fools and Mad: A History of the Insane in Ireland* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1986).

⁴ George Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 328.

In the Western church different variations of religious behavior have been properly categorised. There are such groups as wandering preachers, recluses (male and female), mystics, and mendicants (who managed to stay within the *ecclesia*), the many different groups and individuals who have been denounced as heretics, and some who were identified as mentally ill. In all of these variations, there were some who were admired, some venerated, some challenged by the church. However, Russian eccentrics are all subsumed under the category of Holy Fool, regardless of differences in their way of life and behavior. This category was created by means of hagiography, thus precluding a precise analysis of the individual cases as well as an answer to the question of whether this category is not too general and too heterogeneous. I believe that one of the possibilities for establishing more precise classification lies in the inquiry into the terminology used for the Holy Fools.

To begin with, the English translation of this term seems to have been influenced by the Greek word *salos*. Etymology of the word *jurodivyj*: literally the one who was born wrong, suggests that they were perceived rather as "misfits." On the other hand, if we accept another etymology of the word *jurodivyj* (suggested to me by Professor Ralph Cleminson): literally the one who is unable to understand the world, we are closer to "an idiot" as a correct meaning of *jurodivyj*.

Russian terms used to indicate scandalous and disconcerting behavior have rarely been analyzed. In a recent study focusing mainly on Byzantine Holy Fools, Sergey Ivanov presented for the first time a spectrum of terms referring to the behavior of the Holy Fools in Russia.⁵ These terms include the words *buj* (furious, riotous), *poxab* (shameless), *jurod* (freak, misfit), *bogoliš* (abandoned by God), *nesmyslen* (mindless), and in a somewhat wider sense—the word *blažennyj* (blessed), meaning simply a saint. Ivanov noted that in translations of Byzantine *Vitae* of Holy Fools into Russian, the Greek word *salos* was sometimes preserved. However, it was beyond his purpose to analyse the function of those terms in each particular case although this might help to refine the overall category of Holy Folly.

I would like to draw your attention to a very important expression: *jurodivyj xrista radi* in contrast to the usage of the word *jurodivyj* alone. This expression is, of course, a reference to Apostle Paul's words "we are fools for Christ's sake." The verb *jurodstvovat'* was used in the *Vitae* of those saints who were otherwise canonised not as *jurodivye xrista radi*, that is Holy Fools in particular—but as monks, hermits, or founders of monasteries. The word *jurodstvovat'* here serves to indicate strange and disconcerting behavior that was often chosen by these saints to hide their sanctity but was not in itself saintly behavior. Moreover, this type of behavior was manifested by those saints

⁵ Sergey Ivanov, *Vizantijskoe jurodstvo* [Byzantine Holy Fools] (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye Otnoshenija, 1994), 137-139.

only for a short time in their lives, functioning as an episode in their otherwise traditional saintly lives. So, I think it is not correct to start the list of Russian Holy Fools with such saints as Isaac of Caves monastery of the eleventh century, Avraamij of Smolensk of the thirteenth, and Kyril of Beloozero of the fourteenth because in their *Vitae* this word *jurodstvovat'* does not have its technical meaning.

What I found extremely suggestive is that the word *jurodivj* seems to have acquired the technical meaning of "folly for Christ's sake" by the middle of the sixteenth century. We can observe this development by comparing two versions of the *Vita* of Avraamij of Smolensk. There is no special study of literary tradition of this *Vita* known to me. This fact influences, indeed, the very hypothetical character of my suggestion as I only can rely on the dating of these manuscripts as contained in secondary literature.⁶

In the first known version, that from the thirteenth century, Avraamij is characterised on account of his temporary strange behavior as *jurodivj*. However, in the copy of the sixteenth century, the word *jurodstvovat'* has been changed into the word *bujstvovat'*, meaning to riot or run wildly. There might be several explanations for this change. I would like to suggest that the copyist of the sixteenth-century manuscript was more used to the stereotype of religious eccentric behavior described as *jurodstvo xrista radi*, and by leaving in the *Vita* the word *jurodstvovat'*, he might have thought he would mislead his readers since Avraamij of Smolensk was never canonised as a Holy Fool. Thus the copyist of this *Vita* chose a word not associated with what by then was the general term for Folly for Christ's sake.

As far as I can see, the first time the expression of "Fool for Christ's sake" appears in Russian hagiography is in the sixteenth-century *Vita* of Prokopij of Ustjug. This period could have been the time when the term *jurodivj xrista radi* became firmly established.

As there are several Holy Fools' *Vitae* of the sixteenth century and most of them are included in *Čet'i-Minei* (collections of Saints' Lives), most scholars believe this was the period in which Holy Folly flourished. This phenomenon has been explained as a reaction to the increasingly conservative church of Russia.⁷ I would suggest rather that it was the time when most of the *Vitae* were actually written and rewritten. The reason for this intense literary activity should be sought in the policy of Moscovite Russia of that time. After the fall of Constantinople, the doctrine of Moscow as the third Rome was elaborated. For the purpose of creating an army of Russian saints, Metropolitan Makarij initiated a church council to bring order into ecclesiastical affairs and espe-

⁶ Ivanov, *Vizantijskoe jurodstvo*, 141; Thompson, *Understanding Russia*, 76.

⁷ Ioann Kolodkov, *Essai sur la sainteté en Russie* (Bruges: C. Beyert, 1953), 264; Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 342-343.

cially to the veneration of saints. It may have seemed reasonable to create a type of sainthood similar to the Byzantine *salia* or, otherwise, to co-opt those already popularly venerated religious eccentrics in order to have not only princes and founders of the monasteries among Russian saints. A kind of democratization from above provided an impulse for writing and rewriting the *Vitae* of the Holy Fools.

Besides possible interest of the Moscovite church in the cult of the Holy Fools in Russia and thus in the composition of their *Vitae*, these impulses may have come from the third side of the triangle consisting of church—Holy Fools—community. To illustrate the community's initiative, there is a peculiar event that took place in the village of Boroviči soon after the councils of Makarij. Once a dead body floated along the river bank at Boroviči. The inhabitants of the village tried to push it back into the river, but in vain. During the night several peasants reportedly saw this dead person in their dreams; he told them that his name was Jacob, and that he had been a river boatman, and then he became a Holy Fool and was killed by lightning. In 1544 the peasants of Boroviči called upon archbishop Feodosij of Novgorod to establish the veneration of Jacob, whereupon the archbishop sent his assistant to the village to investigate the miracles of this Holy Fool. Soon Jacob was canonised as a local saint and his *Vita* was written.⁸ Many such stories could be told and would demonstrate an interaction between church—Holy Fools—community.

In summary then, I believe that the future study of Russian Holy Fools would profit from the rejection of generalisations and from concentration on case studies. People with abnormal and strange behavior who were referred to as *jurodivye* were themselves a variegated group. Among them were monks and priests, peasants and craftsmen, the sane and the insane, those who might have known about the Byzantine saints and those who never heard about them. Among them there were those who chose the way of *jurodstvo* consciously, those who were canonised as saints by the church immediately after their death, and those who were venerated by common folk prior to canonisation. Unless we look at all these cases not as examples of the "Russian religious phenomenon of Holy Folly" but as examples of diverse experiences that were used for the invention of the tradition of *jurodstvo*, we will not be able to determine the character of this form of Russian religious eccentricism, and we will be unable to compare it with the many variants that existed in the West.

⁸ Ivan Kovalevskij, *Jurodstvo vo xriste i xrista radi jurodivye vostočnoj i ruskoj cerkvi* [Holy Folly and Holy Fools in the Eastern and the Russian Church], ed. 3 (Moscow: A.D. Stupin, 1902; repr. Ibid.: Sojuzblankizdat, 1992), 206-209.

SPRINGTIME FESTIVITIES IN MEDIEVAL LIVONIAN TOWNS¹

Arm Münd 

Feasts and festivals form an inseparable part of human life and can be considered among the most important cultural phenomena of any period in history. This paper aims to discuss two festivals celebrated in medieval Livonia in springtime, namely the bird-shooting (*Papagoienschützen*) and the election of the Lord of May (*Maigraf*). These two festivals were among the most favoured outdoor entertainments of urban communities in the region, especially since, due to the cold northern climate, the greatest popular feast—carnival—remained relatively modest, and the main emphasis was put on the indoor celebrations of the individual guilds and confraternities.

Our knowledge about the May-festival and bird-shooting in Livonia is based on a more than a century old survey by Eduard Pabst.² The merits of his work lie above all in his detailed use of documents from the two major towns in the region, Reval³ and Riga, but also in the comparative material he collected on these festivals in Germany and Scandinavia. Other Baltic German authors as well have provided brief overviews of these two feasts; however, in their writings the festivities have been approached in a rather general and descriptive way, being introduced incidentally to illustrate medieval urban culture.⁴ Post-war scholarship dealing with the (urban) history of the region⁵ has added little to Pabst's facts or interpretations. What I wish to do is to turn back to the sources, particularly to archival materials not known or disregarded by previous scholars.⁶ I intend primarily to focus on the questions of how the bird-shooting

¹ This paper was delivered at the *International Medieval Congress* in Leeds, July 14-17, 1997. An extended version with graphs, tables, and illustrations will be published elsewhere.

² Medieval Livonia or Old Livonia covered approximately the territories of present-day Estonia and Latvia.

³ Eduard Pabst, *Der Maigraf und seine Feste* (Reval, 1864).

⁴ In this paper, I use the German, i.e. medieval names of Livonian towns, thus, Reval for Tallinn, Dorpat for Tartu.

⁵ Friedrich Amelung and Georges Wrangel, *Geschichte der Revoter Schwarzenhäupter* (Reval: Wassermann, 1930); Constantin Mettig, *Geschichte der Stadt Riga* (Riga: Jonck & Poliewsky, 1897); Herbert Spliet, *Geschichte des rigischen Neuen Hauses, des später sogenannten König Artus Hofes, des heutigen Schwarzhäupterhauses* (Riga: Ernst Plate, 1934).

⁶ E. Dunsdorfs and A. Spekke, *Latvijas vesture 1500-1600* [A History of Latvia 1500-1600] (Stockholm: Daugava, 1964); *Taliinna ajalugu 1860-ndate aastateni* [A History of Tallinn to 1860s], ed. Raimo Pullat (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1976); *Tartu ajalugu* [A History of Tartu], ed. Raimo Pullat (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1980).

⁷ These are above all certain account books which throw light on the practical organisation of these feasts: Tallinn City Archives (henceforth TLA), F.191, n.2, s.19 *Maigrafenbuch* 1527-1543; F.191, n.1, s.179 *Rechnungen der Grossen Gilde, Maigrafenrechnungen 1526-1532*; Latvian State Historical Archives in Riga (henceforth LVVA), F.224, apr.1, 1412 *Schützen Aldermans Buch* (Rechnungsbuch der Schützengilde) 1454-1569; and bird-shooting regulations delivered by the Town Council of Reval: TLA, F.230, n.1, s. B.s. 1 *Ratswillküren 1405-1620*, fol. 39-40 "Regeln über das Vogel und Scheibenschiessen."

and May-festival were carried out and whom they were meant for; that is, who were the organizers and who could take part in them. I have also attempted to "personify the history" by studying the background of some key figures of these festivals.

Before moving on to these spring festivities, I will briefly review the major guilds and confraternities in Livonian towns. This is relevant for the question of by whom and for whom were the festivals organized. The guild system, transferred to Livonia from German areas, was established mainly in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Without going into too many details, one can say that in Riga and Dorpat the burghers were organized into a Great Guild, which united the great merchants, and a Small Guild consisting of different craftguilds. The town of Reval provides an exception since it had two small guilds: St. Canute's Guild consisted of more respectable and more highly skilled branches of craftsmanship, such as goldsmiths, smiths, tailors, and so on, whereas St. Olaf's Guild was formed of less prestigious crafts dealing with transportation, fishing, etc.. The great merchants of the Great Guild were the urban elite, and the most influential positions were held by them, including places on the town council. One particular confraternity in Livonian towns was the "Brotherhood of Blackheads," also a corporation of merchants, but consisting of young, unmarried merchants and merchants-journeymen as opposed to the great merchants of the Great Guild who were married burghers. The Brotherhood of Blackheads was the second most influential corporation after the Great Guild, and a kind of cooperation can often be observed between these two organizations, as can also be seen in the case of preparation for the feasts.

The only surviving narrative about the bird-shooting contest in Livonian towns is a passage in the sixteenth-century chronicle by Balthasar Russow, a pastor in Reval.⁸ This chronicle is especially valuable for its vivid descriptions of the customs and traditions of the "good old days in Livonia," that is, before the beginning of the Russian-Livonian war in 1558 and the subsequent collapse of Old Livonia in 1561. It should be noted that the author, Balthasar Russow, was a Lutheran pastor of the period which immediately followed the Reformation; therefore, his negative evaluations concerning the lifestyle of the Livonians, whom he describes as "constantly carousing and pursuing pleasure," are most likely exaggerated. At the same time, his detailed accounts of local customs offer valuable information on the practice of feasts and festivities in Livonia.

⁸ Balthasar Russow, *Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt* (Rostock, 1578). In the following, I have quoted the revised version published in 1584 in Bart; reprint in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. 2 (Riga, Leipzig: E.Fratzen, 1853). On Russow, see Paul Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow als Humanist und Geschichtsschreiber*, ed. Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Baltischen Geschichte*, vol. 14 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996).

Russow describes the bird-shooting as follows:

The burghers also had pleasure and pastime in summer days [...] between Easter and Pentecost, as they went, one guild and company after another, to shoot the bird. It took place in this way, that the one who had shot the bird down a year ago and was called the old king, was on one Sunday afternoon escorted by two aldermen and a long procession of all the guild brothers, and accompanied by town trumpeters, out of the city to the field where the pole with the bird had been set up. There the whole town community gathered, young and old, to watch this pastime, which because of iron arrows was not without danger... And when they had been shooting the bird for half a day, and had shot it down, then the new king was greeted by everybody with great joy. No less was the happiness of the friends of the king and of those who had bet on him and won. Not long after that this new king, accompanied by trumpeters, paraded in procession [...] through the city to the guild house. Many people were standing in front of every door, men, women, maidens, children, and servants, all looking at the new king with great admiration and joy. Then the king had to carry in his hand a stick with a silver bird, and his bow together with the arrow which had shot down the bird was carried high in front of him. And when they reached the guild house, where everything was splendidly and well decorated, then their wives and daughters also came to the banquet. Then a queen was chosen from among the adorned maidens for the new king, and she had to sit next to him and to dance only with him, even though he himself had a wife.

And Russow finishes on a note of indignation:

Such feast of bird-pole was held on the three Sundays after Easter. Therefore the priests usually did not hold afternoon services on these three Sundays, since everybody preferred to go to the bird-pole rather than to the church.⁹

Shooting contests similar to the one described by Russow in Livonia are known to have already been taking place in the towns of Flanders and southern Netherlands as early as the end of the thirteenth century, whence this custom spread to Germany, as well as to other parts of Europe. The formation of special shooting guilds (*Schützengilde*) began in the fourteenth century and intensified during the course of the fifteenth century. The annual shooting contest of such guilds, together with the election of the shooting king (*Schützenkönig*), usually took place in spring or summer, most frequently around Pentecost.¹⁰ These shooting guilds were often called parrot-companies (*Papagoiengesellschaften*), since the symbol of such guilds as well as the trophy for the best bowman was, especially in Hanseatic towns, a colourful "parrot."

⁹ Balthasar Russow, *Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt*, 45.

¹⁰ On shooting confraternities and their contests, see August Edelmann, *Schützenwesen und Schützenfeste der deutschen Städte vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: E.Pohl, 1890); Hermann Goja, *Die österreichischen Schützengilden und ihre Feste 1500-1750: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Notring der wissenschaftlichen Verbände Österreichs, 1963); Jürgen Küster, *Wörterbuch der Feste und Bräuche im Jahreslauf* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1985), 170-71; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, 1595, "Schützengilden" by O.G. Oexle; Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1996), esp. chapter 3 "Shooting Confraternities and the Circulation of Prestige," 65-94.

The earliest known record of a bird-shooting contest in Livonia is found in a decision (*bursprake*) of the town council in Reval at the end of the fourteenth century. The decision states that "there must be only one bird-shooting (*papeghoye*), and the drinking feast should not last longer than from the Sunday when they shoot the bird up to the following Sunday."¹¹ From this short passage, nothing can be deduced about who arranged or who took part in the contest. However, it seems likely that more than one confraternity had tried to hold their own contest and to elect their own shooting king since the town authorities attempted to limit the number of such contests to a single one.

No more informative is the statute of the Great Guild in Dorpat from approximately the same time period, that is, the end of the fourteenth century.¹² The statute mentions only that "in the time of bird-shooting, the members should pay two marks to the guild house for (its) trouble," presumably referring to the required contribution for the organization of the feast. But from this early statute of Dorpat, it is clear that the Great Guild itself organized and participated in the shooting contest.

The Reval decision and the Dorpat statute are the only two pieces of information from the fourteenth century. However, the number of sources from the fifteenth century is relatively higher. From the year 1408 originates the statute of the shooting confraternity (*schutten kumpanie*) in Riga,¹³ which is the oldest among such organizations in Livonia. The membership of this confraternity is not specified, but according to the list of the names mentioned at the end of the document, it consisted most probably of the members of the Great Guild. At Easter 1416 followed the foundation of a shooting confraternity of the Great Guild and the Blackheads in Riga.¹⁴ The Town Council also took an active part in this formation since at the head of the shooting guild stood the burgomaster (*Bürgermeister*), two town councillors (*Ratsherr*), and the town treasurer (*Stadtkämmerer*). The membership of this guild consisted of representatives of three corporations: the Great Guild, the Blackheads, and the Town Council.

¹¹ "Revalsche Bursprake aus dem Ende des 14. Jh-s," in *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* (henceforth LUB), vol. 4, no. 1516, *84.

¹² "Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Dorpat vom Jahre 1387," in *Die Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Dorpat*, ed. Constantin Mettig (Riga: Häcker, 1907), 45.

¹³ *Schragen der Gilden und Aemter Riga bis 1621*, ed. Wilhelm Stieda and Constantin Mettig (Riga: Häcker, 1896), 548-49, no. 109.

¹⁴ Constantin Mettig, "Das Schützengildenbuch der Schwarzen Häupter," *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft der Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* (henceforth SB Riga) 1885 (1886): 105. The year 1416 actually marks the establishment of an account book of this shooting confraternity; therefore it cannot be excluded that this confraternity was identical with the previously mentioned one, i.e. the statute of which was delivered in 1408. However, since this account book, covering the years 1416-1555, was taken from Riga to Germany in 1939, and I have not yet had a chance to consult it, the question of the relations of the two confraternities will at this point remain open.

The shooting contest itself took place around Pentecost and was performed outside the city. For the fifteenth century, we have no information concerning the exact place. However, from the beginning of the sixteenth century we do know that this shooting confraternity used a common contest place with another shooting confraternity of Riga, that of the Small Guild.¹⁵ This place was situated near the Devil's Bridge behind the Lime Gate (*Kalkpforte*) close to the windmills. We know also that the Small Guild had to pay a contribution to the Great Guild and the Blackheads in order to use this spot as well as to use the wooden bird which served as the target. It can be concluded from the sources that these two shooting guilds did not shoot the bird together nor elect a common shooting king, but that both guilds competed separately and there would be thus two such kings in the town.

The situation is somewhat similar in Reval, where all the major confraternities—the Great Guild, the Blackheads, and St. Canute's Guild—arranged shooting contests between Easter and Pentecost. Here, too, the shooting place and the target—the pole with the wooden bird on top—was one and the same for all three guilds. The contest took place outside the town wall in a garden in front of the Strand Gate (*Strandpforte*), which therefore received the name Parrot Garden (*Papagoiengarten*).¹⁶ It was the duty of the town carpenters to set up the pole, and in return, they received one tun of beer. The costs of setting up the pole, looking after it, and taking it down were covered by the Great Guild, which, however, demanded that two thirds of the costs be reimbursed by the Blackheads and St. Canute's Guild.¹⁷

The shooting contest seems to have been not only an entertaining pastime but a serious ritual for the confraternities. The statutes of the Great Guild (1436) and the Blackheads (1520) in Reval obliged every member to participate in the bird-shooting with his crossbow. The fine for non-participation was, in the case of the Great Guild, one mark, and in the case of the Blackheads, one pound of wax.¹⁸

Unfortunately, the data on persons who became winners of the shooting contest is rather scarce. However, the few examples known to me show that the shooting kings

¹⁵ The shooting confraternity of the Small Guild is first mentioned in 1436, see Constantin Mettig, "Ueber das Schützen-Gildenbuch der kleinen Gilde zu Riga," *SB Riga* 1893 (1894): 24. The account book of this shooting guild covers the years 1454-1569, LVVA, F.224, apr.1, L412.

¹⁶ There were two Strand gates, a "Big" and a "Small," in medieval Reval, and the exact location of the "Parrot Garden" is unknown. According to some scholars, it was situated near the Grosse Strandpforte: Eugen von Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Reval* (Reval: Kluge, 1885), 30; Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973), Fig.3 "Die alten Immobilien Revals." However, the bird-shooting regulations delivered by the Town Council state that the bowmen must gather "up den schutzen wall twischken der Kleinen Strandporten," TLA, F.230, n.1, s. B.s.1, fol.39r.

¹⁷ Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen*, 30.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 48-49, §72; Amelung, *Schwarzenhäupter*, 77.

seem to have come from the upper social strata: town councillors and members of the merchants' guilds. This suggests that, although craft guilds also arranged their shooting contests and elected their own winner, the shooting king of the town not only had to be good in archery, but also—or even primarily—of decent origin, a member of the urban elite, in other words, a proper person to represent the town community.

The shooting contest was, however, only one part of the festival. It was followed by the yearly drinking feast called *Schützendrunke*, which was celebrated by each guild separately. The Blackheads decided in 1514 that by the time of the Carnival celebrations in February, they should name two stewards, the *Papagoien-Schaffer*, who would be responsible for organizing the parrot-shooting festival together with the drinking feast in the company house.¹⁹ Another duty of the stewards was to provide the pole with the painted wooden bird, which was to be made "not of very hard wood" in order to avoid accidents. They were also to commission a silver bowl, the weight of which was fixed to half a pound. This bowl was to be the prize for the future winner since the silver bird, that is the parrot, which was carried by the king in the procession and used each year as the trophy, was the property of the confraternity.²⁰ The inventories of St. Canute's Guild record a silver parrot as well as a crossbow of silver.²¹ The latter was most likely also carried as a trophy by the winner of the contest. In addition to these treasures, the Town Council also had a special award (*Rades Clenodia*) for the shooting king, which could be kept by the latter during his year of "reign." No foreigner or non-burgher could win this award.²²

But let us turn back to the drinking feast. The ordinances from 1522 of the Blackheads regulate the amount and kinds of foodstuffs that the stewards had to purchase for the feast, namely 7 good sheep, 3 good hams, 6 smoked sausages, and 7 tongues, then spices, almonds, raisins, butter, flour, eggs and honey for the cakes.²³ However, twenty years later, in 1542, it was decided that the spiced soup and sausages should be left out because the costs of the feast were already too high.²⁴

Regulations regarding the brewing for the bird-shooting celebrations have been preserved in the agreement from 1497 between the Town Council and the represen-

¹⁹ Amelung, *Schwarzenhäupter*, 76. Similar statement founds in the statute (1477) of the Blackheads in Riga, see Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen der Gilden*, 557, §8.

²⁰ One such silver parrot from the sixteenth century, belonging to the Blackheads of Reval, has been preserved, and is kept in the Estonian Museum of Art in Tallinn. It has been published several times, see, e.g., Anton Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten in Livland, Esthland und Kurland* (Lübeck: Nöhring, 1892), 18-19, table XVII; Annelore Leistikow, *Baltisches Silber* (Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1996), 81, 91, ill. 119.

²¹ LUB, vol.9, no.922.

²² "Eyn vthman edder de nicht borger is mach des Rades Clenodie nach dem Vogell nicht gewinnen," TLA, F. 230, n.1, s.B.s.1, fol.39v.

²³ Amelung, *Schwarzenhäupter*, 78.

²⁴ Ibid.

tatives of St. Canute's and St. Olaf's guilds.²⁵ This agreement states first that the beer should be brewed out of no more than three Last of barley; and second, that this beer should not be sold outside the company houses; and third, that the tasting of the beer should begin no earlier than eight days after Easter. The regulations concerning the annual shooting feast became more and more detailed in the course of the centuries, thus reflecting the general trend in late medieval Europe, the attempts of town authorities to increasingly regulate the public aspects of urban life.

Every feast had to have not only food and drink but also music. In the case of the bird-shooting festival, the town musicians were present both at the shooting place and at the following celebrations in the guild houses.²⁶ Their payment consisted partly of money, partly of beer. Occasionally, as reflected in the sources of Riga, the shooting guilds also hired the musicians who were in the service of the master of the Livonian Order or even some Russian musicians.²⁷ Sometimes guests of quite high rank were known to have been present at the shooting feasts in Riga, for example, the master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order in the year 1473,²⁸ the archbishop in 1492, and the bailiff of the castle in 1510.²⁹

Hence, to sum up, we can say that the bird-shooting festival was a festival for the entire town community. Both the merchants' and the craftsmen's guilds took part in the contest, and since it was a public, open-air occasion, everybody could come and participate as spectators. At one level, this contest offered an opportunity for the burghers to show their individual skills in shooting; at the same time, this feast also functioned as a demonstration of the armed forces of the city, the readiness of the burghers to defend their town. The presence of highly esteemed guests certainly added prestige to the feast, and, at the same time, for the town community it offered the possibility of manifesting to the guests its unity, power, and military strength as well.

* * *

The celebrations of bird-shooting were followed by another immensely popular festival, the election of the Lord of May (*Maigraf*). The earliest information about this feast in Livonia comes from the same late fourteenth-century *bursprake* of Reval cited

²⁵ *Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch 1382-1518*, ed. A. Plaesterer, *Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv*, vol. 5, (Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastuse Ühisus, 1930), 314, no. 1177.

²⁶ The sources frequently mention spellude, sometimes specified as vigeler, bassuner, piper, trumper, and trommitter.

²⁷ LVVA, F.224, apr.1, l.412, 20-21.

²⁸ Spliet, *Geschichte des Neuen Hauses*, 88 note 90, 253.

²⁹ LVVA, F. 224, apr.1, l.412, 7, 17.

for the bird-shooting festival. This *bursprake* contains the sentence that "there should be (i.e. be elected) only one *Maigraf*."³⁰

Almost two centuries later, the chronicler Balthasar Russow describes the feast as follows:

At Pentecost, the burghers and journeymen rode into May and elected the *Maigraf* from among themselves, who would best arrange a magnificent banquet, and then sent him back into the town with great pomp. Such *Maigraf* celebrations were held by everybody and also by common folk throughout the summer on every Sunday with all kind of light-mindedness.³¹

Although Russow's description of this feast is much shorter than that of the bird-shooting, in practice the celebrations connected with the election of the Lord of May seem to have been considered more important. For example, we read in the statute of the Great Guild of Riga that "the drinking feast of parrot-shooting must last four days, but if it were the case that May day (i.e. the first of May) happens to fall into the (period of the) shooting-drinking-feast, then this day must be dedicated to the Lord of May, because it is his highest day."³²

The source material on the *Maigraf*-celebrations is much more abundant than in the case of bird-shooting. In the following, I will concentrate on what can be said about the election procedure, how the celebrations were organized, and what is known about the persons who were elected to be Lords of May.

First, it must be said that although Russow speaks of "everybody," there is no trace of the participation of the craft guilds in this event (I mean an active participation, the right to elect the *Maigraf* or to be elected as one). This may be partly due to the fact that the status of the Lord of May involved relatively large expenditures. The sources from all three towns prove that the merchants' guilds and the members of the Town Council alone organized this feast. The statute of the Great Guild in Reval specifies that the Lord of May is elected by one burgomaster and a number of town councillors, the alderman of the Great Guild and his two assessors (*Beisitzer*), and by the Lord of May of the previous year.³³ The statute of the Blackheads in Riga from 1477 asserts that the *Maigraf* has to be a citizen of the town.³⁴ The election would take place in a field outside of the town, where the burghers rode on horseback. Unfortunately, the sources do not indicate exactly how the *Maigraf* was chosen, that is, according to which qualities. Surely, the ability to organize a festive meal, as Russow claims, was not the only criteria.

³⁰ LUB, vol.4, no.1516, § 84.

³¹ Balthasar Russow, *Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt*, 45.

³² Stieda and Mettig, *Die Schragen*, 322, §72(77): addition for the year 1559.

³³ Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen*, 49, § 76: addition for the year 1473.

³⁴ Stieda and Mettig, *Die Schragen*, 557, § 9.

The election was followed by a triumphal ride into the town and by festive meals and celebrations. As was the case with bird-shooting festivities, the two stewards organizing the *Maigraf* feast and responsible for its finances had already been named in February during the Carnival celebrations.³⁵ The duty of the steward was by no means popular, not only because of the organizational efforts required but also because of the material responsibility. According to the statute of the Great Guild in Dorpat, if something was broken in the Guild hall during the feast, for example, windows or other things, the stewards had to pay for this.³⁶ Also, if the expenses for the feast were higher than the income, the stewards had to make up the difference.

The most valuable source concerning the practical side of the feast is undoubtedly an unpublished account book, the *Maigrafen-Buch* of Reval, covering the years 1527-1543,³⁷ together with some separately surviving bills of the same feast from the years 1526, 1529, and 1532.³⁸ This account book was kept by the stewards of the *Maigraf*-celebrations. Each year the name of the *Maigraf* was written down first, followed by the names of the two stewards. Then, the stewards listed all the expenses for food, drink, decoration of the guild hall, horses, payments for helpers, bakers, musicians, and so on. After that, the stewards recorded the income of the feast, which consisted of the contributions collected from the guild members as well as from the guests attending the feast. The *Maigraf* himself had to pay a fixed 30 marks, a considerable sum of money (in the beginning of the period, in 1527-30, it formed almost half of the total sum spent for the feast). The rest of the income was collected from the representatives of the Blackheads. Occasionally, small sums were earned by selling the leftover beer or beef. In most years, the stewards managed to balance their books (or at least managed to suggest that they had); that is, the total income corresponded exactly to the sum which was spent. In several years³⁹ the income was even a little higher than the expense. In such cases the company usually decided to give this small amount of money (1-2 marks) to the stewards as a bonus for their good job.

When the expenses listed in the account book are examined more closely, it becomes evident that the foodstuffs and drinks bought for the feast remain practically the same during the whole period, only the prices get higher. The expense-list always starts with beer, which was purchased in considerable amount (more than forty percent of expenditure). In addition to the ordinary beer, table-beer and Hamburg beer were bought, and also wine, sometimes specified as Rhenish wine. Among the meat products were always beef, ham, smoked sausages, and tongues. Then we find bread

³⁵ Ibid., § 8.

³⁶ "Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Dorpat vom Jahre 1387", 45.

³⁷ *Maigrafenbuch 1527-1543*, TLA, F.191, n.2, s.19.

³⁸ *Maigrafenrechnungen 1526-1532*, TLA, F.191, n.1, s.179.

³⁹ 1527, 1528, 1538, 1539.

and almsbread, cakes, nuts, apples, etc. Thus, the tables in the Guild hall must have been richly covered. The problem is that we do not know for how many people this amount of food was intended.⁴⁰ The feast itself must have lasted at least two days, since in some years it is specified that the helpers were hired for two days, the horses were rented for two days, and the flowers and greenery for decorating the hall were purchased for two days. These days were most likely the Pentecost Sunday and the following Monday since on these two evenings the participation fee was collected.

What do we know about the persons elected to be the Lord of May? The accounts record the names of eighteen Lords of May from the years 1526-43. A study of their backgrounds⁴¹ (see the appendix) revealed that more than a half of them were members of the Great Guild and the others were Blackheads. All of these eighteen originated from well-known families in Reval, which were represented on the Town Council.⁴² Some of them later became town councillors themselves or held other respectable positions such as aldermen in the Great Guild or *Vorsteher* of the Table Guild (*Tafelgilde*).⁴³ Again, as in the case of the shooting contest, we see the same pattern—the "winner" has to come from among the urban elite.

The office of the *Maigraf* lasted for one year. Among his obligations, after the festival itself was finished, were the preparations for the feast of *Corpus Christi*. He had to invite women to make candles in the house of the Great Guild as well as to choose male persons to carry these candles in the *Corpus Christi* procession.⁴⁴ The fact that the position of the Lord of May was highly respected is underlined by the fact that in the regulations of Reval from 1451 and 1460,⁴⁵ which established the order in which the guilds and confraternities had to walk in the *Corpus Christi* procession, the Lord of May with his candles is specifically mentioned. The order was to be the following: first, the members of St. Gertrude's guild, then St. Olaf's guild and St. Canute's guild, then the

⁴⁰ Unlike in the accounts of the Carnival or Christmas feasts (drunke), the names of the participants in *Maigraf*-banquet have not been listed.

⁴¹ TLA, F. 191, n. 2, s. 1: *Mitgliederbuch der Grossen Gilde zu Reval nebst Satzungen und chronikalischen Nachrichten 1364-1549*; F. 191, n. 2, s. 15: *Rechnungen und Brüderverzeichnisse der Grossen Gilde zu Reval 1509-1603*; F. 87, n. 1, s. 21: *Bruderbuch der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter zu Reval 1500-1570*, and s. 21: *Bruderbuch 1500-1581*. It has to be noted that the years concerning the activity of the Lords of the May, provided in the appendix, should be taken with some reservation. First, the documents sometimes record persons with identical names (it could be, e.g., the case with father and son, or with other relatives), which certainly causes confusion. Second, since the Great Guild accepted new members twice a year, at the time of the drinking feasts at Christmas and Carnival, some persons, waiting for this official acceptance, can within one year still occur in the lists of the Blackheads and at the same time already perform some duties in the Great Guild. Third, the phrase "mentioned in BB," which I have used in the appendix, does not refer to the years when a person entered or left the Brotherhood of the Blackheads, simply because it is not indicated in the *Bruderbuch*.

⁴² See Friedrich Georg von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie* (Reval: Kluge, 1874).

⁴³ Table Guild was a charitable organization consisting of the members of the Great Guild.

⁴⁴ Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen*, 28, 47.

⁴⁵ LUB, vol.11, no.158.

Great Guild itself. After these came the skippers, then the Lord of May with candles and the Blackheads, then the Table Guild, and the Sacrament itself. The feast of *Corpus Christi* closed the feast-cycle which had begun with Easter, the cycle of springtime festivities. Hence, the *Corpus Christi* feast provides an appropriate end for this paper.

As can be seen, the two festivals—bird-shooting and the election of the Lord of May—not only followed each other in time, but shared many common features. The ceremonial, open-air parts of these festivities were meant for everybody in the town community, but for "everybody" in the sense of spectators. At the same time, these festivals were organized by the town elite, and only the town elite could actively participate, by being elected as the shooting king or the Lord of May. The drinking feasts connected to these two festivals, were celebrated by each guild in their company houses, and thus, had a less public character. Whereas the outdoor part of these festivals aimed to demonstrate and strengthen the unity of the entire town community, the following banquets served to strengthen the social identity and common values inside the corporations and, by doing so, to set themselves apart or even in opposition to other guilds and other urban residents.

Appendix: The Maigrafen in Reval 1526-1543

GG= Great Guild ; BB= Brotherhood of Blackheads; TC= Town Council

Year	Name of the Maigraf	Remarks
1526	Cordt Cardenall	member of GG since 1503; assessor of GG 1518-20; alderman of GG 1529-32; died 1549
1527	Tonnies Bokelman	mentioned in BB 1526-35; member of GG since 1535
1528	Wolmer Brockhusen	member of GG since 1501; alderman of GG 1517-27; member of TC 1507-22; testament 1548
1529	Euert Hessels	mentioned in BB 1523-29; steward of BB 1528; member of GG since 1529
1530	Hinrick Boismann	member of GG since 1518; <i>Vorsteher</i> of Table Guild 1532; assessor of GG 1534-35; alderman of GG 1541-44; member of TC 1554-63
1531	Hinrick Hulsberch	mentioned in BB 1527-35; member of GG since 1536; member of TC 1536-39
1532	Hans Vygent	mentioned in BB 1525-33; member of GG since 1534
1533	Andres Luhr	member of GG since 1533
1534	Hinrick Busch	member of GG since 1512; <i>Vorsteher</i> of Table Guild 1524; testament 1547
1535	Merten Bretholt	mentioned in BB 1527-35; steward of BB 1531; member of GG since 1538
1536	Hans Hower	member of GG since 1523; 1531 <i>Maigraf</i> -steward; assessor of GG 1537; <i>Vorsteher</i> of Table Guild 1542; member of TC 1539-50 (1550 <i>Bürgermeister</i>); testament 1565 and 1566
1537	Andres Witte	mentioned in BB 1524-38; 1533 <i>Maigraf</i> -steward; steward of BB 1534
1538	Hans Kampferbeck	member of GG since 1526; <i>Vorsteher</i> of Table Guild 1542; assessor of GG 1544-45; member of TC 1550-59
1539	Thomas Hessels	mentioned in BB 1530-54; steward of BB 1533
1540	Mauritius Rotert	steward of BB 1517; member of GG since 1521; assessor of GG 1538-39; died 1547
1541	Berent Bussman	member of GG since 1518; assessor of GG 1532-33; <i>Vorsteher</i> of Table Guild 1530; alderman of GG 1538-41; testament 1547
1542	Cordt Beckhusen	mentioned in BB 1523-28; member of GG since 1528; 1535 <i>Maigraf</i> -steward; assessor of GG 1541-43
1543	Euert Eckholt	mentioned in BB 1534-37; member of GG since 1543; <i>Vorsteher</i> of Table Guild 1561

EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL PLAGUE TREATISES FROM CENTRAL EUROPE¹

Renata Mikołajczyk 

Studying the phenomenon of the plague in the Middle Ages one discovers that by far the most numerous source material directly connected to the epidemics is represented by the plague treatises.² Naturally, the earliest and the most elaborate medical texts of known Western authors have received the attention of scholars.³ Medical writings on the plague from Central Europe are less known and remain in most part inedited.⁴ This paper is a result of a still incomplete investigation of medical texts preserved in the University Libraries of Cracow and Prague. It aims at presenting two chosen plague treatises and outlining a few problems and possibilities for a future study of this kind of source material.

An interesting text entitled *De causis, signis, curis et preservationibus pestilencie* has been preserved in three codices of the Jagellonian University Library in Cracow.⁵ The first was copied around 1360 by an otherwise unknown Sulislav, who closed the text with the sentence: *Explicit tractatus reportatus per manus Swli(sla)vy a magistro Johanne licenciato in physica. Summo opere est adhibendum.*⁶ The treatise was later added to other medical texts, among others a few smaller plague treatises. Today, the codex BJ 1962 contains also a *Practica* of Guillelmus de Varignana and *libellus De regimine sanitatis corporis humani* by Johannes of Dobra, who also copied parts of the collection, added an index and many marginalia, and ordered the codex to be bound.

¹ This paper was delivered at the *International Medieval Congress* in Leeds, July 14-17, 1997.

² See the most important collection of plague treatises (close to three hundred texts but still only a small part of the vast material remaining in manuscript): Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus dem ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des schwarzen Tod 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 4-17 (1911-1925).

³ Literature on plague is far too vast to be quoted here, good bibliography on the topic can be found in: Jean Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (Paris: Mouton, 1975-76) and Ann Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). A few other works directly involved with the analysis of medical texts are: Jon Arrizabalaga, "Facing the Black Death: perceptions and reactions of university medical practitioners," in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Louis Garcia Ballester et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Anne M. Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning* (New York, 1931); Melissa P. Chase, "Fevers, Poisons and Apostemes: Authority and Experience in Montpellier Plague Treatises," in *Science and Technology in Medieval Society*, ed. Pamela O. Long, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 441 (1985): 153-169.

⁴ Some plague treatises from Bohemia and Silesia have been included in: Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'schwarzen Todes' 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* especially 7 (1913) and 9 (1916).

⁵ Jagiellonian Library of Cracow (henceforth BJ): BJ 821, BJ 1962, BJ 2197.

⁶ BJ 1962, f. 201r.

Another copy of the treatise, written probably in 1426, has been preserved in the codex BJ 821 among other medical works, like *Prognostica* and *De Urinis* of Bernard of Gordon or *Liber medicinalis* of Maino de Maineri and another text of Johannes: *Nova vinea seu custodia sanitatis*. The codex closes with three shorter treatises *De pestilencia*. Again we encounter a few marginalia of Johannes of Dobra which show that he was a reader if not the owner of the book. Otherwise the codex at some point belonged to the University as the inscription *Liber collegii* states on the inner side of the binding. The third copy of the treatise *De causis, signis, curis et preservationibus pestilencie* is found in the codex BJ 2197 together with Guido Bonatti's *De revolutionibus annorum* and Pietro d'Abano's *De venenis*. In 1489 the codex was donated to the University of Cracow by Blasius of Kazimierz.

The identity of the author is still debated. From the treatise we know his name, Johannes, and his degree in medicine. In the introduction he writes: *ego Johannes de orientali Francia phisice alumpnus* where *orientalis Francia* may mean Champagne, Burgundy or even simply Germany. It is clear, however that he wrote the treatise in Silesia. Maria Kowalczyk, from the Jagellonian Library, identifies him with Johannes, archdeacon of Glogow,⁷ author of three known medical texts: the treatise described in this paper, another text on plague: *Cause et signa pestilencie et summa remedia contra ipsam*⁸ and *Nova vinea seu sanitatis custodia*.⁹ In the *Nova vinea*, written in 1355, the author describes himself as an old man, which shows that he must have been born before or around 1300. Probably he studied in Italy, maybe in Bologna as he mentions an experiment with iron that he saw performed there. It is there that he could have met Gentile da Foligno, a famous doctor and professor in Bologna, whom the author praises in the *Nova vinea*. Already in 1343, our Johannes is mentioned as a cleric in the diocese of Breslau. In that same year he travelled to Avignon. In 1353 he assumed the archdeaconry of Glogov and died before April 1358.

The plague treatise *De causis signis curis et preservationibus pestilencie* refers to the first wave of plague epidemics that swept across Europe in the years 1348-1450. It mentions later dates, too: 1358 and 1360, but they must be additions of other authors as Johannes died in early 1358.

The treatise is dedicated to the attention of the *policia Vratislaviensis* and especially its *caput spiritualis*, meaning the bishop. Johannes admits that the treatise does not con-

⁷ Maria Kowalczyk, "Drugi traktat o zarazie Jana, licencjata medycyny, archidiacona glogowskiego," [The Second Treatise of Johannes, "licenciatus" in Medicine, Archdeacon of Glogow] *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 24 (1974): 71-80. The biographical data I include in the paper are based on Maria Kowalczyk's findings.

⁸ University Library of Wrocław (henceforth BUW): BUW III Fol. 3; edited in: Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'schwarzen Todes' 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 9 (1916)

⁹ BJ 821 and BUW III Fol. 3, BUW III Fol. 4.

tain novelties but is based on known medical authorities. Indeed the structure as well as the content follow the pattern established by the earliest and best known plague treatises. The medical theory reflected in Johannes' treatise and its scholastic exposition conform to other contemporary works from Western Europe which proves that they were known and read in this region. A simple query based on the manuscript catalogues of the University Libraries in Cracow and Prague¹⁰ reveals the presence of numerous standard medical works, among them the plague treatises, which shows an interest in and a demand for this kind of literature (both imported and local) in this region, too. Besides plague treatises of famous Western authors such as Gentile da Foligno, Guy de Chauliac and many anonymous compilations there is also a number of texts which were clearly written in Silesia, Bohemia or Poland. The dependence of this regional medical output on the standard scholastic works should constitute an important step in the future study of the development of learned medicine in Central Europe. The reception of authoritative medical theory and the actual medical practice and observation intermingle in these texts and are often difficult to separate.

Sometimes, however, it is possible to discern elements independent of the classical canon. The treatise of Johannes, for example, includes an observation related to the course of the epidemics of the Black Death in his region. The first part of his work, as is common in the plague treatises, describes the causes of the epidemics, mentioning the pollution of water and air as well as the astrological factors, for example, the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 1345 which is assumed to have brought about the outbreak of Black Death. In the same chapter he discusses the causes of air pollution and the factors that make some people more susceptible to the disease. It is here that he remarks that the plague had a lesser impact in our northern region compared to other countries in Europe:

*Propter quod pestilencia in istis partibus tardior fuit. De causa autem retardacionis et paucitatis pestilencie in istis nostris aquilonaribus partibus videtur dicendum quod hoc est in primis propter regionis frigiditatem et ventorum aquilonarium siccitatem et propter complexionum et virtutum fortitudinem eciam in poris densitatem et, ut volunt quidam astronomi, quia effectus impressionis coniuncctionis magne non fuit per radios aut aspectum imprimens in signum, quod istis preest regionem, puta Cancrum. Alie quoque secundum consideracionem astronomicam cause possunt adduci, que nunc locum non habent. Item quia raro flant venti meridionales, qui sunt putrefectivi. Isto anno scilicet MCCCCLVIII multi flaverunt.*¹¹

The author is conscious of the differences between the course of the plague in his region and the rest of Europe. The epidemics broke out later and had a somewhat

¹⁰ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediæ ævi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica asservantur*, vols. 1-6, ed. M. Kowalczyk, M. Zwiercan et al. (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Wyd. Ossolińskich and Wyd. PAN, 1980-1997); Josef Bečka, Emma Urbánková, *Katalogy knihoven koleji Karlovy University* [Catalogues of the Libraries of the Charles University] (Prague, 1948).

¹¹ BJ 1962, f. 189v.

milder effect. Compared to the West, we dispose of very scarce source material concerning the Black Death in East-Central Europe. Most contemporary chronicles are silent about the plague or as vague and laconic as saying *mortalitas magna fuit in omnibus partibus*.¹² There are few or no direct sources preserved which would help to establish the demographic and social effect of the mortality.¹³ The author's opinion may not be the result of his direct experience (although he must have encountered at least one wave of the epidemics), it may go back to other sources (some chronicles mention it, too) or just express the general feeling that the mortality was less intensive in this part of Europe; it is nevertheless an original element present only in texts connected to this region.

The second part of Johannes' treatise is devoted to the symptoms of the disease, the third to the therapy and the fourth to the prophylaxy. Fever, apostemes and intolerable stench are mentioned as the most important bodily signs of the plague. All major curative and preventive measures known from the standard plague literature are listed in the treatise. Diet, purgations, *rectificatio aeris*, special medicaments are prescribed. There is a clear recognition of the contagiousity of the disease (*se diffundit ab uno in alium*), thus avoiding baths and other gatherings is advised.

The work closes with an interesting passage describing the accusations against Jews for causing pestilence¹⁴: *De iudeis. De veritate et possibilitate vulgate suspicionis de causa pestilencie per intoxicationem Judeorum sepius requisitus aliquid modicum anotare decrevi, videlicet prout etiam in publicis disputationis actibus tenui et defendi... sed propter emulos et perversorum malignitatem obmitto*.¹⁵

Again, it must be repeated that the problem of accusation and persecution of Jews in relation to the plague has been studied quite extensively on the basis of

¹² A useful collection of relevant passages from medieval Polish sources can be found in: Antoni Walawender, *Kronika klęsk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450-1586* [A Chronicle of Natural Disasters in Poland and the Neighbouring Countries between 1450 and 1586], vol. 1, *Zjawiska meteorologiczne i pomory* [Meteorological Phenomena and Epidemics] (Lvov, 1932).

¹³ There were very few attempts to describe the course of the plague in Central Europe, most being short introductions investigating the possibilities of future research in this field rather than comprehensive syntheses. For example: Piotr Rutkowski, "Czarna Śmierć w Polsce w połowie XIV wieku" [Black Death in Poland in the Middle of the Fourteenth Century], *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej*, seria B, 26 (1975): 3-29; Jerzy Jankowski, *Epidemiologia historyczna polskiego średniowiecza* [Historical Epidemiology of Medieval Poland] (Wrocław: Wrocław. Zakł. Graf., 1990), 72-73; Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Ludzie i przyroda w Polsce średniowiecznej* [Man and Nature in Medieval Poland] (Warszawa: PWN, 1983), 153-154; František Graus, "Autour de la Peste Noire au XIVe siècle en Bohême" *Annales* 18 (1963): 720-724.

¹⁴ Extant only in two out of the three manuscripts: BJ 821 and BJ 1962.

¹⁵ BJ 1962, f. 200v-201r

Western sources,¹⁶ but due to the lack of sources the extent of plague-related accusations in Eastern Europe has not yet been assessed accurately enough.

The passage quoted here is an interesting record of the reaction of a member of the learned elite to these widespread accusations. It shows how reluctant this intellectual was to accept these ideas he even tried to dispute them in public, but confronted with general *malignitas* decided to keep his opinion to himself. More sources of this kind may allow us to discover the discussion of contemporary scholars concerning the possibilities of an artificial spread of the plague.

So far we have found the complete treatise of Johannes in three extant copies. There are, however, texts which are clearly based on Johannes' writings so they must have circulated and been known to a larger audience. Such is the *Regimen bonum in epidemia* edited by Karl Sudhoff from the manuscript preserved in the Wrocław University Library,¹⁷ and even more so the *Collectorium maius* preserved in manuscripts in Leipzig, Prague and Wrocław.¹⁸ The *Collectorium* leads us further to Bohemia, to the University of Prague, as this text has been long attributed to Sigismund Albík from Uničov, physician of Venceslas IV and professor of the University of Prague who died in 1427. Whether Albík is the author, or rather we should say the compiler of the *Collectorium* is very questionable but we know for certain that he was interested in the plague and wrote at least five major works dedicated to the problem of pestilence.¹⁹ It is interesting to examine them more closely; as in the case of Johannes de Glogovia, they are representative of the genre of plague treatises and at the same time give us an idea of the state of medical knowledge and awareness of the epidemics in the region of East-Central Europe.

Three Latin treatises of Albík go back to the period of his stay in the Czech land, i.e. before his moving to Moravia in 1419. A concise but rather basic *Regimen tempore pestilencie Albici medici* is preserved in an early fifteenth-century manuscript in the National Library in Prague,²⁰ and three other codices are in foreign libraries (Leipzig,

¹⁶ Let me mention the major work of František Graus, *Pest, Geissler, Judenmorde. Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1988) and especially relevant in case of medical treatises the article of Seraphine Guerchberg, "The Controversy over the Alleged Sowers of the Black Death in the Contemporary Treatises of Plague," in *Change in Medieval Society. Europe North of the Alps 1050-1500*, ed. S. Thrupp (London, 1965).

¹⁷ BUW III Q 4 ff.117-118; Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'schwarzen Todes' 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 7 (1913).

¹⁸ Leipzig: Ms 1200, Prague Chapter Library MS 7 and Wrocław University Library: BUW III Q 4; Edited in: Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'schwarzen Todes' 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 9 (1916): 138-156.

¹⁹ Pavel Spunar, *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum Profectum Idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, vol. 1, *Studia Copernicana XXV* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1985).

²⁰ MS XIV H 16 ff.61v-63v

Kodan and Glasgow).²¹ This text has been revised and expanded by Albík in another *Albici tractatus de regimine pestilencie* extant in two late fifteenth-century manuscripts.²² In one of them the treatise is followed by a short text written in the first person singular and containing Albík's report of his personal experience with treating patients stricken by the plague. Apart from these Latin works there exists also a shortened, Czech version of the *Regimen*.²³ The most recent appears to be the German *Regimen in der Seuche* written by Albík during his stay in Olomouc.²⁴

The works of Albík stress the practice of medicine as opposed to theoretical speculations. He does not discuss the causes of the plague and omits altogether the astrological explanations. He concentrates rather on the prevention, diagnosis and therapy, dedicating a lot of space to the presentation of various plants and herbs used to cure the victims of plague. His most important preventive regulations include avoiding contact with the sick and larger gatherings such as in the church or baths. Other measures concentrate on eating habits and the rest of the "six naturals" including the psychological condition of man. At last he advises to fumigate the house with various aromatic herbs and to chew nuts or figs and bread with vinegar, all these being commonly reported in the plague treatises. Also, the parts devoted to the symptoms of pestilence are based on standard medical works and authorities such as Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle and Avicenna. The most interesting passages that reveal something of the real medical practice of the time and go back to Albík's own experience as a physician are the ones which describe various medications for both internal and external use as ointments for treating the apostemes. In his writings Albík lists altogether twenty different curative herbs. The recipes contain many practical observations, showing that they were used in practice and not merely copied from famous medical manuals. Albík sometimes remarks that the herb is not to be found in Bohemia (like aloes *non habentur in Slesia nec in Boemia*). Rarely, but it is still important to note, he supplies the local name of the plant.

An interesting written evidence of the empirical treatment of the plague is a short text attached to the treatise *De regimine pestilencie*.²⁵ Albík writes in the first person which is not very common in scholastic literature. He says in the incipit: *Modus*

²¹ See Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'schwarzen Todes' 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 7 (1913): 92-94.

²² One of them in the National Library in Prague: MS XVII D 10 ff.11v-14

²³ National Museum Library in Prague MS II H 38

²⁴ Prague Chapter Library MS M XI ff.57-58; Karl Sudhoff, "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'schwarzen Todes' 1348," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 7 (1913): 94-96.

²⁵ SK ČSR MS XVII D 10 f. 13v-14, edited in: Ivana Firlová, Pavla Lutovská, Alena Skipalová, "Příspěvek k problematice léčení moru v pozdně středověkých Čechách (na základě spisu Albíka z Uničova)" [A Contribution to the Problem of Treating Plague in Late Medieval Bohemia] *Dokumenta Pragensia* 7 (1986): 185-186.

*meus practicandi in pestilencia fuit, ut quando visitavi pestilenticum et vidi in eo forcia accidentalialia, ita ut propter nimium dolorem clamavit et non potuit habere aliquam requietem, festinavi cum minucione modo, quo supra dixi.*²⁶ Master Albík describes two treatments: one for older and stronger, the other for younger patients. Both contain giving "theriac" mixed with nuts and wine or beer, as a hot drink. Then the patient has to wash his mouth with cold water and vinegar and lie in bed well covered for two hours and sweat. The author does not write about the results of his therapy, however, he mentions some of the side-effects of the treatment and how to avoid them. For example: *si pestilenticus post receptionem tiriace habuerit nauseam* (which could have been a common reaction), he should wash his mouth with fresh cold water. And if the patient does not sweat as he should after taking theriac and hot wine, one ought to take a bottle and fill it with hot water, then wrap it in cloth and put into the bed next to the feet and the chest.

The few examples presented in this paper point to several interesting questions which have to be studied on the basis of a much richer source material. Strong dependence of this kind of text on scholastic convention is to be assessed in each case. The extent to which the standard medical canon permeated these works, first of all, reveals the reception of scholastic thought in this region. Secondly it allows us to investigate the level and the purpose of each particular text and the ability of the author to put his theoretical knowledge into practice and to transmit the learning of authorities into his own writing. The wide range of "genres" in plague literature, from simple short recipes to elaborate scholastic treatises, reveals a variety of objectives and different strategies in interpreting and applying the current medical theory.

THE *ṢAQĀLIBA* SLAVES IN THE AGHLABID STATE¹

Dmitrij Mishin 

This paper deals with the slaves denoted in the Islamic literature by *Ṣaqāliba*, a name the meaning of which is still the subject of scholarly discussion. Some specialists believe that this name denotes only Slavs, but others put forward a broader interpretation of the term, suggesting that the word *Ṣaqāliba*, when applied to slaves in the medieval Islamic world, means eunuchs, European captives, etc..² Some introductory notes are useful here to clarify our point of view on this matter.

1. If the idea that *Ṣaqāliba* first meant Slavic servants (I am speaking now about the *Ṣaqāliba* in the Islamic world only) and then eunuchs, slaves in general etc., then the sphere of use of this term expanded, and the number of references to *Ṣaqāliba* can be expected to grow as well. However, quite the opposite happens: after the first third of the eleventh century, references to *ṣaqḷabī* slaves almost disappear from Islamic sources. By *Ṣaqāliba*, therefore, were meant not slaves or eunuchs in general, but slaves belonging to a special category.

2. In the works of Islamic geographers, especially of those who had contacts with the Slavs themselves (the unknown author of the description of Northern peoples found in the treatises of Ibn Rustah,³ Gardīzī,⁴ Marwazī⁵ and the anonymous geography *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*,⁶ then Hārūn Ibn Yaḥyā⁷ and Ibrāhīm Ibn-Yaʿqūb),⁸ the name *Ṣaqāliba* is applied to Slavs.

3. Islamic authors, when speaking about the origins of the *ṣaqḷabī* slaves, state that the *Ṣaqāliba* came to the Islamic world as prisoners taken in wars which the Ifranj (Franks; the Muslims applied this name not only to Frenchmen, but to other western Christians including Germans as well) waged against the pagan *Ṣaqāliba*.⁹

¹ This paper was delivered at the 35th Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS), Budapest, July 9, 1997.

² Dozy, R., *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides (711-1110)*, Leiden, 1861. vol. 3. 59-61.; Lèvi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 3 vols., 1950 (1-2), 1967 (3), vol. 2. 123-124, and vol. 3. 179.; Verlinden, Ch., *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1. *Péninsule Ibérique - France*. Brugge: De Tempel, 1955. 211-212.

³ *Kitāb al-A'lak an-Nafisa auctore ... Ibn Rosteh et Kitāb al-Buldan auctore ... al-Jakīyī*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (BGA), vol. VII, Leiden, 1892. 143-145.

⁴ Bartold, V.V., "Iz vlecheniye iz sochineniya Gardīzī 'Zayn 'al-'Akhbār' [An Extract from Gardīzī's Treatise *Zayn 'al-'Akhbār*]", *Sobraniye sochineniy* [Complete works], Moscow, 1973, vol. VIII, 38-39.

⁵ Sharaf Al-Zaman Tahir Marwazi on China, the Turks and India, ed. and trans. by V. Minorsky, London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942. text 14.

⁶ *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Kabul: Faculty of Philology of the University of Kabul, 1963. 425-426.

⁷ *Kitāb al-A'lak an-Nafisa auctore*, 127-130.

⁸ Bakrī, al-, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, ed. A. Van Leuwen, A. Ferré, Tunis: al-D r al-'Arabiyya li-l-Kitāb, al-Muassasa al-Wataniyya li-l-Tarjama wa l-Dirāsāt "Bayt al-Hikma", 1992. 330-340.

⁹ Maqqarī, al-, *Nafh al-Ṭib min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, 8 vols., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968. 144-145.; *Cosmographie de Chems ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui*, ed. A.F. Mehren, St-Petersburg, 1866. 261.; and see also, Bakrī, al-, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 914.

By there wars is most likely meant the German advance on the Slavic lands.

4. In Early Medieval Europe it was much easier to trade in pagan slaves than in Christian ones, for the Church and the lay authorities could somehow protect the latter, but did not care about the former at all. Conditions were thus much better for trading in pagan Slavic captives than Christian. Moreover, Slavic prisoners were supplied in great numbers because of wars, whereas to acquire Christian captives, one had to think about peculiar ways of doing it (kidnapping, stealing, purchasing peasants from feudal lords, etc.).

These observations suggest that by *Ṣaqāliba*, Slavs and, in the context of this paper, Slavic slaves are usually meant. However, it is impossible to claim that the use of the word *Ṣaqāliba* was perfectly accurate in all cases. The possibility of error should be admitted. We abstain therefore from saying Slavic slaves, but use the term *Ṣaqāliba* slaves, recognising that most of the *Ṣaqāliba* whom we see in the Islamic sources were Slavs.

The history of the *ṣaqḷabī* slaves attracted the attention of scholars long ago. The first books dealing with this subject appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ At present we have some works dealing with the history of the *Ṣaqāliba* but it should also be said that for some regions and periods the topic remains unexplored. Speaking about the *ṣaqḷabī* slaves in Africa, scholars usually address Fāṭimid history and say little about the *Ṣaqāliba* in other Islamic states of North Africa.¹¹ In this paper, I am going to attempt to partially fill this gap by showing what is known about the *ṣaqḷabī*-slaves in the Aghlabid state.

First of all, let us see how the *ṣaqḷabī* slaves were brought to North Africa. It seems that one may speak about two main routes of the slave trade. One of them went through Spain: captives, usually taken prisoner by the Franks, later on by the Germans, during their wars or incursions against Slavic peoples, were brought by slave traders through Germany and then through France (down the Rhône towards Narbonne and Marseille) to Spain (by land through the Pyrenees or by sea to the eastern coast of al-Andalus). From Spain, as Ibn Khurdādhbih states in his treatise, traders went to Tanger and thence to Kairouan.¹² Not all the slaves were sold in al-Andalus; a number of them were carried farther to North Africa and even to the Mashriq. The second route

¹⁰ Lamanskiy, V., *O slav'anah v Maloy Azii, v Afrike i v Ispanii* [On the Slavs in Asia Minor, Africa and Spain], St-Petersburg, 1859.; Szajnocha, K., *Slav'ane v Andaluzii* [The Slavs in 'al-'Andalus], Moscow, 1874.

¹¹ See for example, Hrbek, I., "Die Slawen im Dienste der Fatimiden." In *Archiv Orientalní*, vol. 21., (1953) 543 - 571.

¹² *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (Liber viarum et regnorum) auctore Abu'l-Kāsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordādhbih et Excerpta e Kitāb al-Kharāj auctore Kodāma ibn Dja'far*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, BGA, vol. VI, Leiden, 1889. 154-155.

lay through Italy where Venice appears to have been the main center of the slave trade. The first data concerning the export of slaves from Venice to the Islamic world go back to the middle of the eighth century. Despite some hindrances the Venetian slave trade continued in the following centuries. Slavic slaves exported from Venice appear to have been partly supplied by the Slavs themselves (particularly by the Narentan pirates) and partly captured by the Venetians. There were other possibilities as well. Captives could be brought from France through the western passes of the Alps or from Austria and Bavaria through passes situated more to the east. Among the *Ṣaqlābiya* supplied to the Islamic world, there were thus representatives of almost all branches of Slavdom: Slavs from the Baltic region, Central Europe, the Balkans.

When did the *ṣaqlabī* slaves appear in the Aghlabid state? Ibn Khurdādhbih's description of the Raḥdānites' trade goes back to the year 846/7 when the first version of his book appeared, but the author speaks about lengthy trade routes which required years to be established. The date at which the first *ṣaqlabī* captives were brought to North Africa should therefore be pushed some decades back, to the beginning of the ninth century. There are two reasons to support this date. First, the earliest references to the *ṣaqlabī* slaves in Islamic Spain date from the beginning of the ninth century. Then, in the beginning of the ninth century, the Franks launched large-scale campaigns against the Slavs, and the wars started supplying captives.

In the sources dealing with the Aghlabid state, the first slaves appear during the rule of the first ruler of this dynasty, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab (800 - 812). In an attempt to free himself from the influence of the army (*jund*), he built himself a new palace (al-Qaṣr al-Qadīm) and started purchasing slaves, mainly for his guard. When he bought enough of them, he moved with them and other people loyal to him to the palace.¹³

The sources do not specify the ethnicity of these slaves. Talbi considers them to be Negroes,¹⁴ and this seems to be the most probable interpretation. However, *ṣaqlabī* slaves appear soon as well. In 817, when 'Abd Allāh I (812-817) died, his place was taken by Ziyādat Allāh I (817-838). On coming to power, the new ruler attempted to eliminate his enemies, and several army officers were persecuted. This was the cause of the revolt raised by a certain Ziyād Ibn Sahl, known as *Ibn al-Ṣaqlabiyya*, or son of a *ṣaqlabī* woman, in 207 A.H. (May 27, 822 - May 15, 823 A.D.). The rebels, however, were defeated by the emir's troops, and many of them perished.

¹³ *Liber expugnationis regionum auctore Imamo Ahmed ibn Jahja ibn Djabir al-Beladsori*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1865. 234.; Nuwayrī, al-, *Nihāyat al-Arab Fī Funūn al-Adab*. Vol. 24, ed. °. Naṣṣār, Cairo: Ed. du Scribe Egyptien, 1983. 102.; Raḥīq al-Qayraw nī, al-, *Tārīkh Ifrīqiyyā wa-l-Maghrib*. Ed. al-Munjī al-Ka'bi. Tunis: Raḥīq al-Saḥāṭī, 1968. 222.; Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bay n al-Mughrib, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1950. Vol. 1., 117.

¹⁴ Talbi, M., *L'émirat aghlabide (189-296 / 800-909)*. *Histoire politique*. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1966. 136.

The information we have concerning this episode is not indisputable. It is well-known that in terms of graphics the word *ṣaqḷabī* is very close to *ṣiqillī* or *ṣaqallī* (Sicilian) and can easily be confused with it. In similar cases one should always bear in mind that a scribe could have been mistaken when copying the *nisba* and give an incorrect transcription. A misunderstanding occurs in Ziyād's case as well. Ibn al-Athīr (all the editions which I have consulted - Būlāq, Leiden, Cairo, Beirut 1965, Beirut 1987)¹⁵ and Ibn 'Idhārī¹⁶ (Dozy, who edited this book, states that all the manuscripts give *Ibn al-Ṣaqḷabiyya*)¹⁷ write his *kunya* as *Ibn al-Ṣaqḷabiyya*, whereas Ibn Khaldūn gives *Ibn al-Ṣiqillīyya*.¹⁸ For this case I prefer the reading *Ibn al-Ṣaqḷabiyya*. This transcription is found in sources earlier than Ibn Khaldūn's book; moreover, in the Būlāq edition of Ibn Khaldūn's treatise which I consulted, all similar *nisbas* are written as *ṣiqillī*, even in cases when it is known from elsewhere that the correct transcription is *ṣaqḷabī*.

Most of the information we have about the *ṣaqḷabī* slaves in the Aghlabid state goes back to the years of the rule of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad (875-902). In 264 A.H. (August 23, 879 / August 11, 880 A.D.), the freedmen of this ruler tried to revolt, and only the intervention of the population of Kairouan saved the situation. Having lost confidence in the freedmen, Ibrāhīm put them all to death and replaced them with new slaves: "He ordered new slaves to be purchased," al-Nuwayrī writes, "and numerous slaves were bought. He gave them jobs, provided them with clothes and went with them to wars, in which they showed bravery, persistence and strength."¹⁹ Some of the new slaves were *Ṣaqāliba*. We learn about it in the following way. Some years later, Ibrāhīm, taking seriously the words of an astrologer that he would be assassinated by a palace slave, put his new servants to death. "In 278 A.H. (April 25, 890 / April 14, 891 A.D.) Ibrāhīm discovered that a group of his servants and *Ṣaqāliba* wanted to assassinate him and his mother, and he exterminated them all."²⁰ The participation of the *Ṣaqāliba* in this alleged plot is mentioned by Ibn 'Idhārī as well; the latter, however, places those events in 279 A.H. (April 3, 892 / March 22, 893 A.D.).²¹

One should stay in the years of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad's rule for a little

¹⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Miṣr, 1290 A.H. - 1874 A.D., vol. 6. 122.; *Ibn al-Athiri Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*. Ed. C.J. Thornberg. Leiden, vol. 5, 1870, vol. 6, 1871.; vol. 6. 232.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. 'A. Najjī, Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā'a al-Muniriyya, Vol. 5, 1938, vol. 6, 1934., vol. 5. 185.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, Dār Bayrūt, 1965., vol. 6. 329.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. M.Y. al-Daqqāq, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987., vol. 5. 433., respectively.

¹⁶ *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée Al-Bayān al-Maghrib par Ibn Adhari (de Maroc) et Fragments de la Chronique arabe d'Arib (de Cordoue)*, ed. R.P.A. Dozy, 1 vol., Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1848-1851., 88.

¹⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, 123.

¹⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ed. Būlāq, 1284 A.H. vol. 4., 197.

¹⁹ Nuwayrī, al-, *Nihāyat al-Arab Fī Funūn al-Adab.*, 129.

²⁰ Nuwayrī, al-, *Nihāyat al-Arab Fī Funūn al-Adab.*, 131.

²¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, 163; and see also, *al-'Uyūn wa al-Hadāiq Fī Akhbār al-Haqāiq*, ed. N.'A. Dāwūd, Najaf, 1972. 132.

longer, for two interesting anecdotes involving *ṣaqlabī* slaves are connected to it. The protagonist of one of them is Abū 'Alī 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faraj, nicknamed Ibn al-Bannā, who had been a judge in Qaṣṭīliya for a while but was then relieved because of a conflict with the local people. The governor of Qaṣṭīliya sent him to Raqqāda where he had to defend himself before the ruler. During the interview with Ibrāhīm,

Ibn al-Bannā presented clearly his view and exposed the offence which was raised him. Ibrāhīm raised his head, turned to B.lāgh *al-fatā* and told him *bi-l-ṣaqlabiyya*: 'I see that this man (he referred to Ibn al-Bannā) deserves that the *qalansuwwa* of the judge (he referred to Ibn 'Abdūn [judge and Ibn al-Bannā's opponent at the dispute]) be taken off and put on his head.' Then he enrolled him as a scribe for his judge 'Isā Ibn Miskūn.²²

The other story is connected to a certain Abū l-'Abbās Ibn Tālib. This man, who was judge of Kairouan, did not approve of abuses committed by Ibrāhīm and was finally stripped of his post. The audience in the palace at which this happened is described by Abū l-Faḍl 'Iyād after the narration of Ḥamdīs, the court astrologer. During the audience Ḥamdīs suddenly asked permission to speak and opposed Ibrāhīm, saying in particular that God's will is above the emir's order:

At this point, Ḥamdīs continues, B.lāgh the Servant [or Eunuch - *khādim*] stood up and walked towards me in anger to deal with me, but the emir spoke to him *bi-l-ṣaqlabiyya*, and he stopped.²³

The information concerning B.lāgh which we possess at present is not abundant. It is difficult, for example, to specify how his name should be vocalised. Most sources only give B.lāgh. al-Azdī in his account of al-'Abbās Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn's campaign against the Aghlabids writes *Ballāgh*, but Talbi, who used the *Ṭabaqāt* by Abū l-'Arab (the book which I, unfortunately, have not been able to consult, and where B.lāgh is referred to), calls the servant *Balāgh* throughout his *L'émirat aghlabide*.²⁴ Since I do not know whether the vocalisation *Balāgh* belongs to Abū l-'Arab, or not, I cannot make any conclusions on this subject.

The information on B.lāgh which the sources provide allows us to reconstruct the main stages of his career. B.lāgh was a palace servant. Speaking about Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad, Ibn al-Abbār says that B.lāgh once did not let the poet Bakr Ibn Ḥammād al-Tāhartī enter the room where the emir was, for the emir at that time was enjoying the

²² Mālikī, al-, *Kitāb Riyād al-Nufūs Fī Ṭabaqāt 'Ulamā al-Qayrawān wa Ifrīqiyyā...*, 1 part, ed. H. Munis, Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1951; 2 part, ed. B. al-Bakkūsh, Dār al-Maghrib al-Islāmī li-l-Tibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 1981. vol. 2. 158-159.; see also, *Biographies aghlabides. Extraits des Madarik du cadī Iyad* (1083 - 1149). Ed. M. Talbi. Tunis: Imprimerie Officielle, 1968. 372.

²³ *Biographies aghlabides*. 229.

²⁴ Wüstenfeld, F., *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, Göttingen, 1875 (1-2 Abt.), 1876 (3-4 Abt.). vol. 3. 58.; Talbi, M., *L'émirat aghlabide*. 315 and 351, respectively.

society of his harem maidens.²⁵ Talbi states that B.lāgh's name appeared on some coins minted under Ibrāhīm.²⁶ Besides this, we know that in 880-881, when al-ʿAbbās, son of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, attacked Ifriqiya, B.lāgh was sent with troops to the Aghlabid governor of Tripoli Ibn Qarhab with the task of joining the attack against the invaders.²⁷ This evidence suggests the following interpretation of B.lāgh's career. At the beginning he served at the palace. Then he became one of the emir's favorite servants, and his name appeared on coins. As a servant who enjoyed the emir's confidence, he occasionally performed missions outside the palace.

What was the language in which the emir spoke to his servant? It appears that it was a Slavic language. The sources give *bi-l-ṣaqlabiyya*, and there are enough reasons to support this reading. A confusion may have been made in a *nisba*, but this case is different. There was no Sicilian language, so only *bi-l-ṣaqlabiyya* could originally be in the text. One cannot, unfortunately, specify what language it was, for no word is quoted, and Slavic slaves were brought to North Africa from various regions. Perhaps it was a mixture of different Slavic dialects which the *ṣaqlabī* servants used among themselves.

What prompted the emir to learn the language of his slaves (I say slaves, for the emir is not likely to have studied a language because of a single slave)? *Ṣaqlabī* slaves served at the court, and some of them (this appears to have been B.lāgh's case) enjoyed the emir's particular confidence. The emir might have wished to find such a way of speaking to them that the words would remain incomprehensible to anybody else, and the information to be kept secret would be hidden from others. On the other hand, given that Ibrāhīm was almost maniacally suspicious, one can suggest another explanation: fearing a plot, the emir attempted to know about his servants as much as he could, including their language, so as to be better prepared to resist potential danger. A similar case happened later, when the Fāṭimid caliph ʿal-Muʿizz studied a Slavic language to understand the meaning of a remark uttered by his *ṣaqlabī* slave Qayṣar.

No information about B.lāgh's further career has been preserved. Perhaps he was put to death together with other slaves at Ibrāhīm's order. The executed servants were replaced by newly bought black slaves. The latter were numerous although moderate evaluations of their number given by Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn Khaldūn, five and three thousand men respectively,²⁸ should be preferred to al-Nuwayrī's unrealistic figure of one hundred thousand.²⁹ However, this did not put an end to the *Ṣaqāliba*'s presence in the

²⁵ Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-Sayrā*, ed. Ḥ. Munis, 2 vols., Cairo: La Société Arabe des Publications, 1963, vol. 1, 173.

²⁶ Talbi, M., *L'émirat aghlabide*, 351., note 4.

²⁷ Kindī, al-, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, Dār Bayrūt, 1959, 246.; Wüstenfeld, F., *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, vol. 3, 58.

²⁸ Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 164.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, vol. 4, 123.

Aghlabid state. We know that some *Ṣaḡālība* served emir ‘Abd Allāh II (902-903). This ruler was assassinated by his servants on *Sha‘bān* 28, 290 A.H. (July, 23, 903 A.D.). These were *ṣaḡlabī*³⁰ eunuchs,³¹ three according to Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn al-Khaṭīb,³² two according to Ibn ‘Idhārī. Ziyādat Allāh, the murdered emir’s son, to whom ‘Abd Allāh’s head was brought, displayed anger (it is not known whether he was privy to the plot or not) and put the eunuchs to death.

Ziyādat Allāh was the last Aghlabid ruler in Africa. The movement of the *Kutāma* Berbers which paved the way for the establishment of the Fāṭimid state in North Africa was gaining momentum, and in 296 A.H. (September 30, 908 / September 19, 909 A.D.) Ziyādat Allāh had to leave his capital Raqqāda and flee to the East. The description of his flight as presented by al-Nu‘mān shows an impressive procession: “He [Ziyādat Allāh] selected among his slaves, *ṣaḡlabī* servants [or eunuchs], one thousand men and girdled each of them with a belt with one thousand dinars inside, fearing to unite all the money he had into one burden.”³⁴

The evaluation of the slaves’ number should not be understood literally. The study of Islamic sources reveals that the numbers which are quoted in them are usually exaggerated. Moreover, the *Ṣaḡālība* were not the only servants who accompanied Ziyādat Allāh.³⁵ One cannot, therefore, state that the *Ṣaḡālība* were exactly one thousand though the reference suggests that they were numerous. It is noteworthy, in this respect, that the *Ṣaḡālība* were selected by Ziyādat Allāh; they were probably his most loyal servants.

Some information has reached us concerning the fate of the Slavs who went to Mashriq with Ziyādat Allāh. When the procession stayed in Egypt, one of the *ghulāms* stole one hundred thousand dinars and fled. On passing through Egypt, Ziyādat Allāh reached Ramla where he stayed for a while. There he received some proposals from local noblemen who wanted to buy his slaves. He refused, but the noblemen presented a claim against him to Baghdad, and Ziyādat Allāh was not able to enter the capi-

²⁹ Nuwayrī, al-, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, 131-132.

³⁰ Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-Sayrā*, vol. 1. 175.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 6. 103.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*, vol. 4. 205.

³¹ Nu‘man, al, *Ifitāḥ al-Da‘wa*. Ed. F. al-Dashrāwī. Algiers: Dīwān al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Jāmi‘iyya, Tunis: al-Sharika al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Tawzī‘, 1986. 152.

³² *Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-‘Arabī fī al-‘Aṣr al-Wasīṭ. al-Qism al-Thālith min Kitāb A‘māl al-A‘lām li-l-Wazīr al-Gharnāṭī Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, ed. A.M. al-‘Abbādī and I. al-Kinānī, Casablanca, 1964. 37.

³³ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 181.

³⁴ Nu‘man, al, *Ifitāḥ al-Da‘wa*. 234.; see also, Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 232; Nuwayrī, al-, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*. 147; *Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-‘Arabī fī al-‘Aṣr al-Wasīṭ. al-Qism al-Thālith min Kitāb A‘māl al-A‘lām li-l-Wazīr al-Gharnāṭī Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, 43.

³⁵ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 201.

tal. Moreover, at al-Raqqā he was accused of practising immoralities with his eunuchs. Only the intervention of the local judge saved the situation. The judge assumed the task of selling the slaves for Ziyādat Allāh. They were sold at al-Raqqā, and no further traces of them have been preserved.³⁶

For the Aghlabid period we have some information about *ṣaqlabī* slaves in the possession of private individuals. One of them is mentioned as being owned by Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Tālib, the judge of Kairouan referred to above. The anecdote in which this *ṣaqlabī* is mentioned is related by al-Mālikī and ‘Iyād.³⁷ Both authors repeatedly write *ṣaqlabī*, and this is a good reason to prefer this transcription to *ṣiqillī*, which is provided by a later writer, Abū Zayd al-Dabbāgh, who gives an abridged version of the story and refers to the slave just once.³⁸ At least two *ṣaqlabī* slaves are reported to have been owned by Abū ‘Abd Allāh the Shī‘ite. One of them served him as a guard,³⁹ another one travelled together with Abū ‘Abd Allāh to Sijilmassa to meet ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī.⁴⁰

On presenting the information on the *ṣaqlabī* slaves in the Aghlabid state, which we possess at present, one can make some final observations. The import of *Ṣaqāliba* slaves to North Africa appears to have continued throughout the ninth century, that is to say, during the whole period of the Aghlabid government. On reaching Africa some captives were purchased by the court, others by private individuals. The *ṣaqlabī* slaves became particularly numerous at the end of the ninth century, when one can speak about a considerable number of the *Ṣaqāliba* at the court. However, they do not appear to have ever become influential at the Aghlabid court. There were at the court forces much more powerful than slaves - first of all, the emirs who could put the slaves to death at any moment, then members of the Aghlabid house, army officers, local noblemen etc. Therefore, although we sometimes see slaves performing important duties (B.lāgh commanding troops), they never had positions in the state similar to those of the *Ṣaqāliba* party in al-Andalus, or of Kāfūr and others on Barjawān in Egypt. Moreover, in the Aghlabid state the *Ṣaqāliba* appear to have been greatly outnumbered by other slaves, first of all, the black slaves who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, were

³⁶ Nu‘man, al, *Itfātāh al-Da‘wa*. 266-267.; Nuwayrī, al-, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*. 152.

³⁷ Mālikī, al-, *Kitāb Riyād al-Nufūs fī Ṭabaqāt ‘Ulamā’ al-Qayrawān wa lfrīqiyyā...*, vol. 2. 380-381.; *Biographies aghlabides. Extraits des Madarik du cadi Iyad* (1083 - 1149). 217.

³⁸ Dabbāgh, al-, *Ma‘ālim al-Imān Fī Ma‘rifat Ahl al-Qayrawān*. Ed. M. al-Aḥmarī Abū l-Nūr and M. Ḥādiq. Maktabat al-Khanjī bi-Miṣr, al-Maktaba al-‘Atīqa bi-Tūnis, 1972. P.2. 171-172.

³⁹ Mālikī, al-, *Kitāb Riyād al-Nufūs Fī Ḥabaqāt ‘Ulamā al-Qayrawān wa lfrīqiyyā...*, vol. 2. 63.; *Biographies aghlabides. Extraits des Madarik du cadi Iyad* (1083 - 1149). 356.


⁴⁰ Ivanow, W., *Ismāili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, London etc.: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1942. 216-217.

the support of the dynasty. The *Ṣaḡālība* thus were mere palace servants, and their position is similar to the Andalusian *Ṣaḡālība* of the same period, who were present at the court but still were not powerful.

Very important for us is the fact that emir Ibrāhīm spoke to his slave B.lāgh in a Slavic language. Some decades earlier Ibn Khurdādhbih had written that the *ṣaqlabī* slaves were interpreters for Rūs' merchants when they came to Baghdad. One can conclude that the Slavic slaves brought to the Islamic world did not lose their mother tongue. Slaves employed at the court had, of course, more possibilities to preserve their language, for they could find countrymen among many slaves serving at the court, whereas slaves owned by private individuals usually remained alone among the Muslims.

After the downfall of the Aghlabid dynasty, *ṣaqlabī* slaves did not disappear from Africa. When Abū 'Abd Allāh the Shi'ite entered Raqqāda, one of his first orders was to gather all the slaves. The black slaves were reportedly massacred, others were probably told to stay in Raqqāda and to wait for al-Mahdī, whom Abū 'Abd Allāh the Shi'ite was planning to fetch from Sijilmassa. When 'Ubayd Allāh came to Raqqāda, the *Ṣaḡālība*, together with other slaves, were brought before him, and he gave each of them a job. The *ṣaqlabī* slaves wrote several interesting pages into the history of the Fāṭimid state, but their history is rather a separate topic.

NOBLE RESIDENCES IN THE MIDDLE AGES: POMÁZ AND ITS OWNERS (A CASE STUDY)¹

Gábor Virágos 

The problem of noble residences is a current issue in scholarship. Some parts of it are well-elaborated, such as the residences of the highest aristocracy: thorough investigations have been carried out especially in the case of castles.² Other types of dwellings, such as the unfortified ones, and the question of the living conditions of the lower nobility seem somehow to have been ignored. This is a tendency throughout Europe, but research on noble residences is at its earliest stages in Hungary. The research has developed along two different lines, usually pursued separately: the remains of bigger buildings are explored by archaeological excavations, and the data concerning the problem of noble dwellings and possessions are studied by analyzing the written evidence. Although the written sources refer to three groups of noble dwellings (*castrum*, *castellum*, and *curia*), scholars have difficulties connecting this classification to excavated sites.

To come closer to a solution of the problem of residences, carefully selected case-studies are required: preliminary works on single examples with the simultaneous investigation of the archaeological data and the historical sources.³ The investigation of a building complex in Pomáz (Hungary) is a good possibility for tackling this problem although its interpretation is very much debated. The former excavations in Pomáz, in 1938-1944, discovered a building complex, surrounded by an almost square fence wall, and two small churches, one above the other, surrounded by a wall. The two building units were joined together by two walls.⁴ Moreover, the whole complex, including the area of the yard, was encompassed by the remains of a medieval village. Besides a few pages which appeared in a volume of the archaeological topography series, the documentation of the site and the material is basically unpublished.

¹ This paper was delivered in Rostock at the conference on *Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa*, 12-14, June, 1997.

² For instance, Csaba Csorba, "A magyarországi várkutatás története" [The History of the Castle Investigations in Hungary] In *Az MTA Filozófiai és Történettudományok Osztályának Közleményei* 23.2 (1974): 289-310; Erik Fügedi, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary (1000-1437)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986); András Kubinyi, "Főúri rezidenciák a középkor végén" [Residences of Aristocrats at the End of the Middle Ages] In *A Dunántúl településtörténete. Falvak, várak, puszták a Dunántúlon (9-19. század)* [The History of Transdanubian Settlements. Villages, Castles and Plains in Transdanubia, from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century] 7 (1987): 87-95.

³ See for example, Belo Polla, "Stredoveká zaniknutá osada na Spiši (Zalužany)." [A Former Medieval Settlement in the Zips: Zalužány] In *Archaeologica Slovaca Fontes* 4 (1962): 1-214. This is the closest parallel to Pomáz.

⁴ The diary of Sándor Sashegyi, a local "archaeologist," is basically the only surviving documentation about these excavations. (Hungarian National Museum, Central Data Archives, 149.P.II. and Ferenczy Museum of Szentendre, Data Archives, 663-73)

The site has always been known to the local inhabitants since ruins were visible above the surface. The first report on the ruins is from the pen of Flóris Rómer from 16 August 1863.⁵ The ruins were believed to be those of a monastery until the first excavations in 1937. Historians identified the site as a royal hunting castle or as a "road-house" for the royal court. Later, the site was interpreted as the residence of the queen in Old Buda, and thus the site was identified with this town.⁶ The whole site was excavated during World War II. The results of it are known only from a short description and a ground-plan. Therefore, it seemed necessary to carry out a series of new control excavations in 1995-97.

Scholars recently suggested this site was the residence of the Cyko family.⁷ The finds, the documentation of the excavations, and the written sources all refer to this family.

Based on these preliminaries, a complex investigation was made both on the site and the family, including the analysis of both written and archaeological sources. Let me summarize some of the results of these parallel observations:

1. The Klissza hill is three kilometers to the west of the present position of the Danube. Its foreground is still a damp area; presumably, it was the Danube's flood area all the way to the hill. From the point of view of the protection of the residence and the traffic, it seems less significant whether the river was there in the Middle Ages, or whether there was only a swamp at the site. One of the most crucial roads of medieval Hungary, the *magnavia strigonia*, ran somewhere close to the hill. However, the exact lines of the road system are not known. The other special feature of the Klissza hill is its location at the foot of the Pilis mountains. The hill itself is 138 meters above sea level. It can be established that this was the best place for settlers of the region: the low hill is half-way between a river and a mountain; the hill is high enough to give protection against attacks and the rising river, but low enough to make life and agriculture comfortable. In addition to the position of the residence in reference to the surrounding region, the location of the site in the country was also significant. Pomáz is in the Danube bend which was always the political heart of the country. Both Visegrád, the royal residence of the Angevins, and the later developed royal center of Buda are approximately at the same distance, ca. fifteen to sixteen kilometers, from Pomáz to the north and to the south, respectively. The archbishop's residences in Esztergom is twice as far; the influential nunnery of Rabbits Island (*insula leporum*, now St. Margaret

⁵ Travel notices of Flóris Rómer, vol. 12 in the Data Archives of the National Institute of Monument Protection.

⁶ See the various items in the Data Archives of the Hungarian National Museum for the different opinions: 8.P.I; 89.P.II; 85.P.II.

⁷ Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája [Archaeological Topography of Hungary], vol. 7, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 185-90.

Island) is less than fourteen kilometers from the Klissza hill. The early monastery of Dömös was about the same distance as Visegrád. Moreover, one of the most important "towns" of the Angevin period, Old Buda, was ca. ten kilometers away, that is, two hours or so on foot. The monastery of Pilisszentkereszt is even closer. As is evident, Pomáz was the closest region to both the royal and the ecclesiastical centers of the thirteenth-fifteenth-century Hungarian kingdom, strongly influenced by such administrative and economic centers as Old Buda or Buda. The closest fortified site was the rather insignificant castle of Solymár, ca. ten kilometers to the south west.

2. The ruins on the Klissza hill can be separated into two basic phases (the second phase has at least three "subphases"). (Fig.1.)⁸ During the twelfth (eleventh?) and thirteenth centuries, a presumably large village existed, including Árpadian-age pit huts and open-air ovens of several phases (which were also located in the area of the later residence), and a small church, ornamented with carved stones of a sophisticated style, ending with a semicircular apse. The cemetery was situated around this church. The settlement and the church were disturbed, most probably, by fire (of the Mongols?), but the settlement was rebuilt, and it was continuously used later.

A change in the life of the site was the appearance of a noble residence in the village. It appears first as only a simple-floor stone building with a cellar and perhaps with a portico. This building was later enlarged: a second floor was erected, and a new wall was built with buttresses at the corners and the middle of the long sides of the wall. This building was perhaps surrounded by a wooden fence. When the residence hall was further enlarged, the wooden construction of the surrounding wall was replaced by a stone enclosure, and the church was enlarged and rebuilt in Gothic style. The costs of the works were defrayed by the owner family; therefore, the Cykos could attain some kind of rights and lordship over this church, such as the right to be buried in the church or private seating in the chancel during ceremonies. This authority of the family was expressed by the connection of the churchyard's wall to the wall of the residence. However, this church also served later as the (most probably only) parish church of the village. The residence was rebuilt in several phases until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The several burned layers reveal major fires. The date of the collapse of the residence is not known, but the buildings could have been destroyed by the Turks in the first half of the sixteenth century since there are no later finds from the site.

The excavations have made obvious that the living complex was a manor house. No defense constructions were attached to the buildings (such as ditches, towers, strong walls, etc.), but there were some service buildings in addition to the richly ornamented, decorative living houses.

⁸ This theoretical reconstruction is based on the ground-plan published in the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*, vol. 7, 186.

3. The Cykos, as members of the ancient Kartal-Kurszán kindred, had had properties in the region since the early Middle Ages. A residential hall on the top of the Klissza hill, next to the church, could have been constructed by an early landholder of the village, but it was surely built after the main part of the village was obtained by the Cyko family at the latest. Once the family became rich and powerful, acquiring most of the village and having good connections with the royal court in the neighborhood, a new building complex was required for their new status. This was the time of the rebuilding of the church and the time of the enlargement of the residence.

The selection of the place for the center of the family seems to have been the choice of such a person who had permanent duties in the royal court and who was absolutely loyal to the royal dynasty. There was considerable risk of losing one's properties at any point, if he did not remain a true and faithful supporter of the king, since the estates and the residence were not far from the king's court. A strong relationship with the rulers and the proximity to the center of the country are the explanations for the respect and high social status of the family, for the rich decorations of the residence, and for the luxurious goods found in the site.

The written and archaeological sources support and supplement each other concerning the decline of both the family and the site. After a *magister tavernicorum* and a bishop in the family during the Angevin dynasty and during the early phase of King Sigismund's reign, the descendants still married daughters of aristocrats or owners of big estates, but in the mid-fifteenth century the family came to be restricted to the county they lived in, and some members even married non-nobles. The Cykos of the fourteenth century belonged to the group of big landowners. They were knights, but not having enough wealth and power to become independent, the personal patronage of the king was necessary for them. They had probably a few hundred tenant plots in a few villages in the southern, western, and middle parts of Hungary. Although the family temporarily approached the level of aristocrats (Cyko II and even more Stephen I), they could not command such material background (estates and one castle at least) which would have enabled them to become aristocrats. Unable to continue rising socially, they slowly started to decline. After a "transitional generation" (John III, Stephen II, etc.), they ended up among the medium landowners. Although Sandrin, John IV, or Caspar of Basth did not become retainers of aristocratic families and belonged to the leaders of their county, their place remained in the local elite.

4. The basic question of the present paper is the relationship of residences and their owners. Since the archaeological data are ambiguous, an investigation of the historical context was necessary. Pomáz and the Cyko family offered a rare possibility to investigate the two different types of sources. While archaeology helped to identify the

functions of the parts of the building complex and to create a relative chronology (which parts were built earlier compared to other parts), the written evidence allowed me to connect this to definite dates and to arrive at an absolute chronology. Although both the residence and the church of the village were mentioned only a few times, these simple data have extreme importance because these are the only pieces of information concerning the definite connection of the family and the residence, as well as the dating of the churches. The reconstruction of the genealogy of the Cykos proved to be an aid for dating certain changes in the site. In addition to the results about the connection between the family and the finds, the written evidence also provides information about the nobility and its residences in general. A noble family of a certain level of the society could (or might want to) possess a certain type of residence. However, there is a special feature of the Cyko family: they had direct personal connections to the royal family during the main period of construction of the residence.

The building work of the residence probably followed the rise and decline of the family; however, some of the goods used in the residence remained luxurious, though we do not know their proportions to the common artifacts. The decorative carved stone material, the inscriptions, the glass windows, the imported ceramics, the early use of eating forks, the weapons and armor, the decorative fittings of clothing, the heating system (stoves which were regularly replaced according to the contemporary custom), the service wing of the building, all suggest a comfortable, even luxurious, and prestigious life for the inhabitants of the residence. As knights they were living in (and close to) a real courtly culture (including the custom of tournaments) as is reflected in the finds from Pomáz. At the same time, the finds of an agricultural (plough-iron, hoe, pruning knife, hoops) and industrial life (anvils, hammers, tools of masonry), and the rooms for such activities (barn, storage, wine cellar, workshops) indicate a very active economic center. We do not know the exact time frame of each of these activities, but we can suppose that the division of the space did undergo several changes. The size of the buildings would not allow the existence of all these at the same time. Although Pomáz became the center of the family in the beginning of the fourteenth century at the latest, it lost its importance parallel to the decline of the family. Finally, the Cyko family left the buildings and exchanged them for other properties.

The written evidence never mentions the site as "residence," but the formula *curia nobilitaris* and the importance of Pomáz reflected in the charters could be references to a residential function. The location of the site is also meaningful in the light of the family's history: it was close to the royal court. The mass of finds, their types, and the structure of the buildings also suggest a central place for a family. Moreover, the widowed daughter of a Cyko (Ursula) returned to Pomáz. Although the location of the archives and the treasury is not known, and we do not have charters issued there, the regular use

of the place name in the family's name is a crucial piece of evidence for the central function of the site. The first appearance of the formula "of Pomáz" is almost contemporaneous with the beginnings of the family (Cyko II) and with the building (or enlargement) of the stone house in the village while the break in the formula's usage happened at the same time as the exchange of the residence for other properties.

The main archaeological evidence is, however, the church, rebuilt and connected to the house, and the burial site in the church. If Cyko II had lived a hundred years earlier, he would surely have built a monastery for the kindred or for the family, but living in the mid-fourteenth century, he could only obtain some limited authority over the church next to his family's residence.

To sum up the arguments, although there is no direct evidence naming the site a residence, all the sources indirectly suggest that we should interpret it so. Pomáz, therefore, can be described as a "*curia* looking like a *castellum*," belonging to a family which was situated between the aristocracy and the middle layer of the nobility.

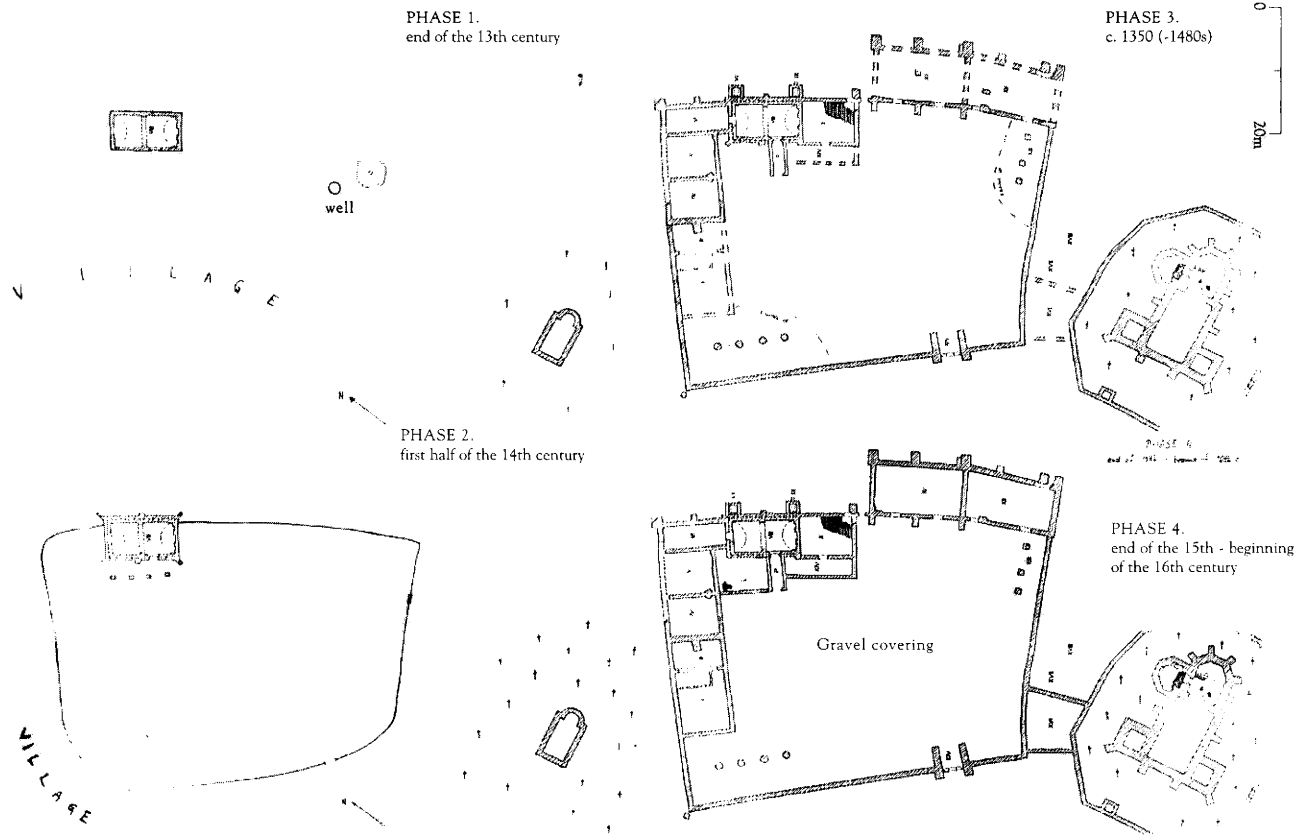
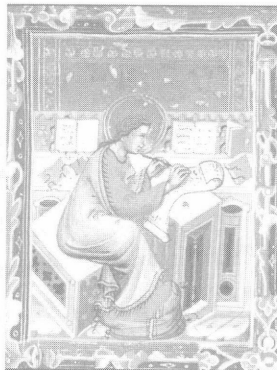


Fig. 1.

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- Review of: Stanisław Sroka, "Z dziejów stosunków polsko-węgierskich w późnym średniowieczu. Szkice" [From the History of the Polish-Hungarian Relations in the Middle Ages. Outline], Cracow, 1995. In *Universitas; Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 104, fasc. 1. (1997) 102-105.

- Review of: "Korai magyar történeti lexikon, 9.-14 század." [Lexicon of the Early Hungarian History, Ninth to Fourteenth Century], eds. Gy. Kristó, P. Engel, F. Makk, Budapest, 1994. In *Studia Őródlnawce*, 36 (1997) 157.
- Review of: "The Passion of Saint Ursula, Regnante Domino, transl. P. Sheingorn and M. Thiébaux, Toronto, 1990-1991. In *Studia Őródlnawce*, 36 (1997) 161-162.

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- "The Image of Polabian-Baltic Slavs in the Chronicle of Helmold." Paper delivered at the Conference *Slaviane i nemtsy* [Slavs and Germans], Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 12-14 May, 1997.
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- ☒ "The Rotten Apple and the Good Apples: Orthodox, Catholics, and Turks in Philippe de Mezieres' *Crusading Propaganda*." In *The Journal of Medieval History*, vol.23. 3, (September, 1997) 255-270.
- ☒ "England and the Balkan Slavs, 1354-1583: An Outline of a Late Medieval and Renaissance Image." In *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol.75. 1 (January, 1997) 86-117.
- ☒ "Die Orientalisierung des Balkans in der deutscher Vorstellung des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Eine Untersuchung spaetmittelalterlichen Wahrnehmungsmuster in Deutschland." In *History and Society in Central Europe* (=Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 37), Krems, 1997. 40-58.
- ☒ "From Schismatics to Fellow Christians: East Central European Religious Attitudes Towards the Orthodox Balkans." In *Mediaevistik*, vol. 7., ed. Peter Dinzelbacher, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995) 137-158. (appeared in 1997).

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- ☞ "O počelu individuacije pri Tomažu Akvinskem" [On the Principle of Individuation by Thomas Aquinas]. In *Problemi*, 3/4 (1997) 109-125.
- ☞ "Mathematics and the Gaze of God: The Case of Nicholas of Cusa." In *Angewandte Semiotik, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Semiotik*, Vienna/Graz, 1997 (forthcoming).
- ☞ "*Mathematica nos docunt ad penitus absoluta*: filozofia matematike Nikolaja Kuzanskega" [*Mathematica nos docunt ad penitus absoluta*: Nicholas of Cusa's Philosophy of Mathematics]. In *Filozofski vestnik*, 2 (1997) 85-100.
- ☞ Review of: Alain de Libera, "La querelle des universaux." In *Filozofski vestnik*, 1 (1996) 153-174.

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- ☞ Thomas Aquinas, "O bivajočem in bistvu/*De ente et essentia*." In *Problemi*, 5/6 (1996) 114-156.

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- "The English Nobility in the First Phase of the Hundred Years War." In *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* (forthcoming).
- "Medieval Castles in Upper Hungary, in Present-day Eastern Slovakia." In *Debreceni Szemle* (forthcoming).
- Chapters "England in the Anglo-Saxon Age, 367-1066" and "The Vikings, 793-1066" In the book *Europe in the Early Middle Ages, 200-1200 AD* (forthcoming).
- "Rise to Prominence in Fifteenth-century Hungary: Lesser Noble Careers in King Sigismund's Court. The Pálóci Family." Paper delivered at the Conference on *Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbein und Ostmitteleuropa*, Rostock, 12-14 June, 1997.
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- "A Joint Effort for a New Europe in the Early Fifteenth Century: Political Relations between Emperor Sigismund and King Henry V of England (1410s-1420s)." Proceedings of the Conference *Sigismund Tagung 1387-1997*, Debrecen (forthcoming).
- Chapters "Prehistoric Britain", "Britain under the Roman Empire", "The Anglo-Saxons", "Early Medieval England", "Late Medieval England", "Reformation in England" In the book *The History of England from the Prehistoric Times to Present Day*. (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press) (forthcoming).

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☞ "Fraternities in Dalmatian Towns in the Middle Ages." In *Croatica Christiana*, Zagreb (forthcoming).

☞ "Regulation of Communal Space in Dalmatian Towns of Middle Ages." Paper delivered at the *International Mediterranean Congress*, Koper, Slovenia, October, 1997.

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- "'Auteur' et 'écriture': autodesignation et subjectivité dans la poésie des troubadours." Paper delivered at Occitanes the *Colloque Jeunes Chercheurs*, Montpellier, 1-3 March, 1997. In *Bulletins de l'Association Internationale des Études* (forthcoming).

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- ☒ "A bögzői műemléktemplom" [The Medieval Church at Bögzőz, Mugeň]. In *Horror vacui füzetek*, 3 (Sepsi-szentgyörgy, 1996).
- ☒ "A Paris Bible at the Beinecke Library." In *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 71 (April, 1997) 107-119.

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- ☒ "Glagoljanje plemića njemačkoga podrijetla u medievalnoj Istri" [The Glagoljanje of the Noble of German Origin in Medieval Istria], In *Nova Istra*, 4 (1997) 127-141.
- ☒ Articles and entries for the *Hrvatski leksikon*. ed. Antun Vujić et al., (Zagreb: Naklada leksikon d.o.o., 1997.)
- ☒ Critical apparatus for *Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost. Srednji vijek (VII-XII. stoljeće). Rano doba hrvatske kulture*. ed. Ivan Supićić et al. (Zagreb: HAZU & AGM, 1997.)

- Review of: Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem* [Counts of Gorizia and Their *ministeriales* and *milites* in Istria and Krain.] In *Questiones medii aevi novae*, a. II.(1997).
- Review of: Milan Kruhek, *Krajinske utvrde i obrana hrvastkog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća* [The Frontier Fortifications and the Defence of the Croatian Kingdom during the Sixteenth Century.] Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995. In *Questiones medii aevi novae*, a. II.(1997).
- Review of: Catherine W. Bracewell, *Senjski uskoci. Piratstvo, razbojništvo i sveti rat na Jadranu u šesnaestom stoljeću* [The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Bandity, and the Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic.] trans. Nenad Popović et al., ed. Drago Roksandić (Zagreb: Barabat, 1997.) In *Nova Istra* a.II, 4 (1997).
- "Entwurzelter Adel. Das Schicksal niederen Adels Kroatiens während des osmanischen Vordringens." Paper delivered at the conference of *Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa*, Rostock, June, 1997.

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- "Tautervishoiust ja sundsteriliseerimisest Eestis" [On Racial Hygienics and the Sterilization Policy of Estonia]. In *KLEIO. Ajaloo ajakiri*, 4 (22), Tartu, 1997.
- "Prof. Juhan Aul and Eugenics." In *Papers on Anthropology*, 8, Tartu, 1997.

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- "Edna hipoteza za pokloniĉestvo v Bŕlgarii prez X vek." [A Hypothesis on the Pilgrimage in Bulgaria in the Tenth Century]. In *Bŕlgarite v Severnoto Priĉernomorie*, V, (Valiko Tŕrnovo, BG: PIK, 1996.) 149-175.
- "Topografijata na tri rannosrednovekovni manastira i priĉinite za tĵahnoto osnovavane: opit za interpretacija." [The Topography of Three Early Medieval Monasteries and the Reasons for their Foundation: An Attempt at interpretation]. In *Arheologija*, 4, 1996 (forthcoming).
- "A Tenth-Century Graffito of St. Basil the Great in Light of His Cult in Eastern Monasticism." In *Palaebulgarica*, 4, 1997 (forthcoming).

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- "Cyril and Methodius in the Steppes." In *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 21 (Birmingham, 1997.)
- "Building the Tower of Babel. Byzantine perceptions of foreign languages in the second half of the ninth century." Paper delivered at the *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, 14-17 July, 1997. (Session 1006. Missions and Conversion in the Byzantine-Slavonic World)
- "The *Liber Pontificalis* and the Latin Mission to Bulgaria in the 860s." Paper delivered at the *Byzantine Studies Seminar*, Oxford, April, 1997.
- "Building the Tower of Babel. Byzantine Perception of Foreign Languages in the Second Half of the Ninth Century" (forthcoming).
- "Roman Politics, the *Liber pontificalis* and the story of the Bulgarian Conversion." In *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 1997 (forthcoming).

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- "Problemát za zapadnoslavjanskite (česki) iztočnici na Kirilo-Metodievskija pasaz v *Povest' vre mennych let'*" [The Problem of West Slavonic, or Czech sources of the Cyrilo-Methodian part in *Povest' vremennych let'*]. In *Medievistični izsledovanija v pamet na Pejo Dimitrov*, Sumen, (1994) 213-222.
- "Pocitaneto na papa Grigorij Veliki - edin ot aspektite na Kirilo-Metodiewite tradicii sred slavjanite." [The Cult of St. Gregory the Great. One of the Aspects of the Cyrilo-Methodian Traditions among the Slavs]. In *Sbornik na Mezhdunarodnata balgarsko-ceska konferencia*, May, 1995, Sumen.

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- "La fable dans la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle, un genre sans frontières? Le cas de Marie de France."
In *Reinardus*, 11, 1998 (forthcoming).
- "Les versions manuscrites des Proverbe au Vilain: quelques hypothèses." In *Studi Francesi*, 43, 1999
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- "How to Identify a 600 Year-Old Forgery? The Formulas of the Charters of the Székes -fehérvár Convent of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem up to the mid-Fourteenth Century" In *International Conference of Ph.D. Students, Section Proceeding: Humanities.* ed. E. Szőke. Miskolc: University of Miskolc, 1997., 87-94.
- Book Review of Pósnán, László. *A Német Lovagrend története a 13. században.* [A history of the Teutonic Order in the 13th century] in *BUKSz Budapesti Könyvszemle* 3 (1997) 345-348.

Conference Papers:

- ☐ "Semantic Problems in the Early History of the Hungarian Nobility," Conference on *Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa*, Rostock, June, 1997.
- ☐ "Charters," *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds (Session 504. Signs and Symbols of Conversion, I: The Written Sources)
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- ☒ "Gap or Continuity?" Mining in Early Medieval Italy." In *Proceedings of the Norgberg Conference "The Importance of Ironmaking: Technical Innovation and Social Changes"*, 8-13 May, 1995, ed. Gert Magnusson (Stockholm: Jernkontorets Bergshistorika Utskott, 1995.) 262-271.
- ☒ "La fabbricazione delle spade delle Grandi Invasioni. Per la storia del *processo diretto* nella lavorazione del ferro." In *Quaderni Medievali*, 44 (December, 1997) 30-55.
- ☒ "A Survey of the Archaeometallurgical Evidence of the Lombards. Problems and Suggestions." In *Early Ironworking in Europe. Abstracts of the Papers of the Plas tan y Bwlch International Conference*, 19-25 September, 1997, eds. Peter and Susan Crew. (Plas tan y Bwlch, Wales, UK: Plas tan y Bwlch Occasional Publication, 3, 1997.) 36-37.
- ☒ "Archaeometallurgy of Lombard Swords. From Artefacts to a History of Craftsmanship", Florence: All«Insegna del Giglio (forthcoming).

Papers delivered at congresses:

- "Two Attempts at Reviving Italian Metallurgy between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: the Work of C.A. Lippi and G.B. Brocchi." *Russia and Western Europe: Interaction of Industrial Cultures*. 1700-1950, Nizhny Tagil, Russia, 15-18 August, 1996.
- "Archaeologia delle attività produttive, storia del lavoro e storia della scienza: verso un cammino interdisciplinare." TICCIH (*The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage*) Conference "L'Archeologia Industriale e la nuova cultura del riuso", Rome, 11-12 October, 1996.
- "Notes on Early Medieval Ironmaking in Italy". *Traditions and Innovations in the Early Medieval Iron Production*, Sopron, Hungary, 30 May-1 June, 1997.
- "De La Pirotechnia of Biringuccio. A key to the craftsmen production. Technical questions and aspects of organization of production." *The 20th International Congress of History of Science*, Liege, Belgium, 20-26 July, 1997.
- "Metallographic Analysis of Lombrard Swords," and "Archaeometallurgical Research of Iron Objects Production in the Medieval Town of Leopoli-Cencelle", together with Prof. L. Mihok et alii. *Archaeometallurgy in Central Europe*, Košice, Slovakia, 9-11 September, 1997.

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- "La civiltá ungherese e il Cristianesimo." Paper delivered at the *4th International Hungarological Conference*, Rome-Napoli, September, 1996.
- "The Characteristics of Irish Monasticism and its Influence on European Christianity: Irish Monastic Ideas and Monastic Architecture and the phases of the Irish *Peregrinatio* to the Continent during the Middle Ages." Lecture delivered in Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
- "Mapping of Irish Monastic Influence in Twelfth-Century Central Europe." Paper delivered at the *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, 14-17 July, 1997.
- "Irish in Central Europe in the Middle Ages: Some Aspects of the Irish Monastic and Literary Activity during the 11th-15th Centuries." Paper delivered at the *International Conference of Ph.D. Students*, University of Miskolc, Hungary, 11-17 August, 1997.

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- with A. Kriiska and A. Mäesalu, "Haruldane tinatoos Pänust." [A Rare Pewter Box from Pärnu], with a summary in German. In *Ars Estoniae Medii Aevi*, ed. Kaur Altkoa, (Rapla: Ramona, 1995.) 195-208.
- "Pleasure and Piety: Spring Festivities in Medieval Livonian Towns." Paper delivered at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, 14-17 July, 1997 (Session 1117. Feasts and Games)
- "Kahest kadunud karikast" [About Two Lost Chalices], with a summary in English. In *Kauniste aduslikke uurimusi*, 9, eds. Jüta Kreevallik and Karin Hallas (Tallinn: Kunst) (forthcoming).

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- *Opatijska Zora: Priča o jednom simbolu* [Zora of Opatija: The Story of a Symbol.] (Opatija: Grad Opatija, Katedra Čakavskog sabora Opatija, 1997.)
- Fabbro, Franko, Andrea Clarici, Amir Muzur, and Antonio Bava. "Effects of Hypnosis on the Fundamental Frequency of Voice in Different Emotional Imitations." In *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 82 (1996) 571-577.
- *Psychosomatic Medicine*, vol. 23/4 (December, 1996) 215-218. Full text available also at <http://www.dissociation.com/index/published/MUZUR.TXT>.
- Škrobonja, Ante, and Amir Muzur. "The Cult of Saint Sebastian in Istria." In *Croatian Medical Journal* (forthcoming).
- "Sanctity and Sanity". In *Bulletin of the Indian Institute for the History of Medicine* (forthcoming).

Papers delivered at congresses:

- "The Hippocratic Characterology: A Bridge Between East and West." *IXe Colloque International Hippocratique*, Pisa, Italy, September, 1996 (to be published in the *Proceedings*).
- "Hildegard of Bingen and the Revival of the Hippocratic Humoralism." *15th International Congress for the History of Medicine*, Kos, Greece, September, 1996 (to be published in *Vesalius*).
- "Saints as Suggestion Therapists." *7th European Congress of Hypnosis-Eurohypnosis '96*, Budapest, August, 1996 (to be published in *Hypnos*).
- "Doprinos mađarskog elementa razvoju opatijskog zdravstvenog turizma" [Contribution of the Hungarian Element to the Development of Opatija's Health Tourism]. *First International Symposium "Opatija-Promotor of Health Tourism"*, Opatija, Croatia, November, 1996 (to be published in *Proceedings and Turizam*).
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This volume offers a glimpse into the life of the department in the 1996-97 academic year.

