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C E U

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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 12 of our *Annual* offers you the harvest of the academic year 2004–2005. As usual, the first section contains articles on a rich variety of subjects, based on MA theses or papers presented by our students at major international conferences. This year's thematic block marks the establishment and first achievements of our new research and educational center, the Center for Hellenic Traditions. The composition of this block in itself reflects many of the aims of how this new intellectual workshop intends to operate. After a short description written by two of the "founding fathers" of the Center, the first major research project is presented, while the third contributor to the block is a student who received financial support from the Center during her MA year. The other feature that was established as a recurrent item during the last couple of years, the "Guest Article," has been turned into "Guests of Honor" this year to pay tribute to two outstanding personalities in our craft, and to thank them for supporting CEU in its mission.

Part II of the yearbook, as usual, summarizes the main events of the year and provides a survey of our new graduates' work. For information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, please consult our newsletter, the *Medieval News*, and our refreshed and extended website (http://medstud.ceu.hu). As another technical innovation, from Volume 10 onwards, we also publish the *Annual* on CD-ROM, with better search possibilities and less demand for shelf-space than the printed version. We would also like to call our readers' attention to the intense publication activity of our department, which is reflected by the growing number of volumes in the *CEU Medievalia* series. More information on this is to be found on the last pages of this volume.

As usual, the editors were helped in the most demanding tasks of copy-editing by a competent and enthusiastic group of PhD students, which included this year Krisztina Arany, Ágnes Flóra, Réka Forrai, Krisztina Fügedi, and Magdolna Szilágyi, as well as by our colleague Alice M. Choyke. Beside them, we would also like to thank our constant partners in the department's publishing activity, the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House, for turning the manuscripts into a handsome publication.

PART I.

Articles and Studies

THE BUILDING HISTORY
OF ZALAVÁR-RÉCÉSKÚT CHURCH

Maxim Mordovin 📥

Introduction

The archaeological site of Zalavár-Récéskút lies near Zalavár, a village located in Western Hungary near Lake Balaton, in the marshes of the Zala River. Many of the islands in this formerly marshy area were suitable for settlement and, at the same time, easily defendable. Most of these places around Zalavár are known as *sziget* (that is, island). The most important are Vársziget (Castle Island), Kövecses (Stony), Rezes and Récéskút (Well of Teals) (*Fig. 1*).

The history of Zalavár as a regional centre began in the 840s, when a settlement called Mosaburg was founded there.[1] A ninth-century compilation, the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*[2] (in the following: *Conversio*) describes the early history of this place relatively well. The founder of Mosaburg, a nobleman named Pribina, had to flee here from Nitra. He led a hard and adventurous life until finally, around 840, he received a donation from Emperor Louis the German of some territories in Pannonia by the Zala River. In 847 the same territory was already his property, the centre of which became a fortified settlement—Mosaburg.[3] As early as 850, Liupram (836–859), the archbishop of Salzburg, consecrated a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin in the castle.[4] In a relatively short period—according to

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[1] There have been many questions about the identification of the settlement. There is another site also called Mosaburg in Carinthia, but according to the most recent article on this topic there is no doubt as to the identification of Zalavár with Mosaburg. Endre Tóth, "Mosaburg und Moosburg," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 51 (2000): 439–440 (henceforth: Tóth, 2000). This article also gives a good summary and bibliography of earlier research.

[2] Last edited: Fritz Lošek, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte, vol. 15 (Hannover: Hahn, 1997).

[3] Béla Miklós Szőke, "A korai középkor hagyatéka a Dunántúlon" (The legacy of the Early Middle Ages in Transdanubia), *Ars Hungarica* 26 (1998): 267 (henceforth: Szőke, 1998)

[4] Péter Kiss, "Egy forrás a 9. századi Pannóniáról, A Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum 1997-es edíciója" (A source on ninth-century Pannonia, The 1997 edition of Conversio Carantanorum et Bagoariorum), in *Források a korai magyar történelem*

the *Conversio*—a number of other churches were consecrated around Mosaburg by the same archbishop. After that Pribina asked the bishopric for craftsmen, painters, and builders to establish a new *honorabilem ecclesiam*. This church held a reliquary of Adrian the Martyr.
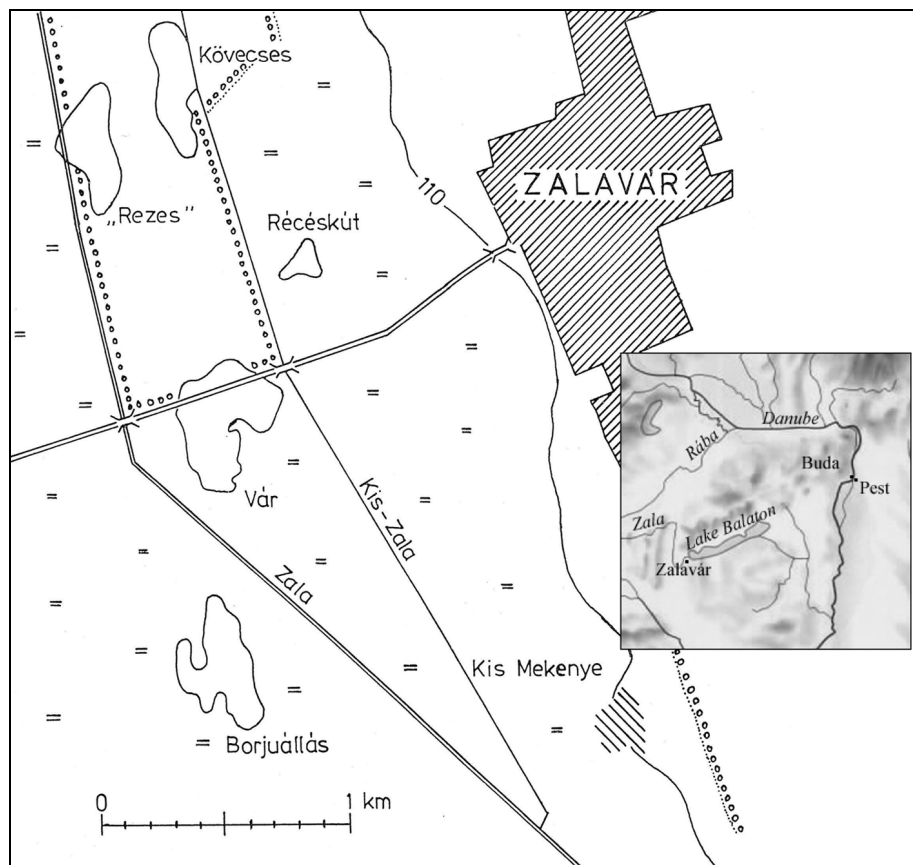
Fig. 1. The situation of Zalavár and archaeological sites around it.
(After Cs. Sós 1984, 157.)

The Hungarian Conquest did not necessarily affect this centre directly. The disintegration of local organisation and the ecclesiastical structure resulted in the flight of the elite and isolation from western connections, more than enough to result in the settlement's temporary decline. Many buildings were destroyed or

ismeretéhez (Sources for the understanding of early Hungarian history), ed. András Róna-Tas (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2001), 83.

used as quarries, others simply fell into decay. The strategic situation of the settlement, however, remained important and as soon as the new state arose in the Carpathian Basin, Mosaburg regained its position under a new name: Zalavár (Castle Zala). In 1019 Saint Stephen (1000–1038) founded a monastery dedicated to the same Saint Adrian as its predecessor. The monastery received large domains and became one of the most prosperous Benedictine abbeys in Hungary. This was not only a prosperous, but also a long-lived foundation; it outlasted the Reformation and the Turkish wars. Only an eighteenth-century decree ordering the demolition of all unnecessary fortifications caused its final destruction in 1702.

Although this history mostly concerns the main site at Zalavár, the closeness of Récéskút to Vársziget (about 500m) leaves no doubt that these sites must have been very strongly connected or even that they may have been part of the same settlement in the Middle Ages.

Research History

Systematic excavations in and around Zalavár have been conducted almost continuously since 1946. The archaeological material covers the period from prehistory until the seventeenth century.

Archaeological research at Zalavár-Récéskút began at the same time as work at Vársziget, initiated by the National Committee for Ancient Monuments. The project was run by Aladár Radnóti, a member of the Department of Archaeology of the Hungarian National Museum.[5] In 1946–1947, Aladár Radnóti found a stone church at Récéskút and completely excavated it. He focused almost exclusively on the architectural details and mostly on those from earlier centuries. The uncovered remains revealed building phases from the ninth century until the end of the Ottoman conquest.[6] Radnóti identified the building as a church and established a chronology consisting of four main phases.[7]

There is no question that this church is of signal importance. Excavations continued in 1953. During this season, Radnóti "cleaned" the interior, removing the last traces of later alterations, and investigated the area surrounding the church. A rotunda-like structure, 2.8 metres in diameter, was uncovered north of the apses of the church.

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[5] János Pintér, ed., *Two Hundred Years of the Hungarian National Museum and its Collections.* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2004), 67.

[6] MNM RT, 59/1946. (List of abbreviations follows the text.)

[7] Aladár Radnóti, "Une église du haut moyen âge à Zalavár," *Études Slaves et Roumaines* 1 (1948): 21–30 (henceforth: Radnóti, 1948).

By the end of the 1950s, Tibor Koppány developed a plan to protect the building remains, requiring landscaping and therefore a new excavation.[8] The new investigation started in 1961 and was led by Ágnes Cs. Sós. She wanted to clarify the ground plan of the post structure and to verify those parts that had already been excavated in 1953, although the documentation not available.[9] Ágnes Cs. Sós' focus shifted soon after the excavation began from the stone church to the wooden (post) structure which she had already identified during excavations as a wooden church. She misleadingly thought that this structure was earlier than the stone building[10] resulting in many contradictions in her documentation and later articles and publications. Ágnes Cs. Sós excavated most of the possible burials (about 130 graves) and a great number of postholes from different periods.

Ágnes Cs. Sós saw the excavated postholes as the remains of two early churches that had preceded the stone basilica. The second one, according to her, was among the largest contemporary wooden churches and was twice as big as the "later" stone basilica. The stone church, in her opinion, was built in the eleventh century only after the destruction of the previous one made from wood and stone.[11]

The main, and still the only publication, on these structures came out in 1969. The publication almost exclusively contains the results of three years of excavation (1961–1963) and part of the documentation connected to the wooden structures.[12] This publication (Cs. Sós 1969) has figured prominently as the basis for all scholarly debate on this subject. The intensity and length of the discussions shows that scholars have been unable to accept her interpretations.[13]

After Ágnes Cs. Sós' death in 1994, Béla Miklós Szőke replaced her as director of excavations at Zalavár-Vársziget. The most significant change in the discussion about the Récéskút basilica was the discovery of the magnificent

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[8] Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, Tervtár (Cultural Heritage Office, Plan Collection), 11062.

[9] MNM RT Cs. Sós' diary, 1961.

[10] Results of these excavations were partially published in Ágnes Cs. Sós, "Berichte über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von Zalavár-Récéskút in den Jahren 1961–63," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 21 (1969): 51–103 (henceforth: Cs. Sós, 1969).

[11] Cs. Sós, 1969, 60, 64–65, 81–82.

[12] Cs. Sós, 1969. The main advantage of the work is that it was written in German. However the results from the 1968 investigations were not included.

[13] For the detailed research history and discussion of scholarly debates concerning this topic see Mordovin Maxim, "Continuity in the Medieval Church at Zalavár-Récéskút," MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2005).

church easily identifiable as the ninth century monastery known from the *Conversio*.[14]

The Main Periods at the Site

The prehistoric and Roman settlements

Two horizons can be identified preceeding the medieval layers. Layers from the earliest horizon contain finds from the Early Bronze Age Somogyvár-Vinkovci Culture.[15] Prehistoric pottery was distributed all over the excavated area inside (under the stone floor)[16] and outside the church, but no features securely connected with the finds could be identified.[17]

A large amount of Roman pottery and *tegulae* fragments indicate that there had also been a Roman settlement on this site, even though no features or walls from this period came to light. A Roman building with a post structure was excavated in 2002 on the neighbouring "Vársziget Island."[18] This, and the presence of Roman pottery and *tegulae* with raised sides under the stone floor of the church[19] support the idea that Récéskút Island was also inhabited in the Roman period.[20]

The ninth-century church and settlement

The next known settlement at this site can be dated to the ninth century. Fills containing material characteristic of the ninth century extended down into the subsoil in some places. That may indicate there had been features here, dug down from upper layers. These, however, seem to have had edges that could not be clarified (a similar situation was observed east of the church, in section S13).

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[14] Ágnes Cs. Sós, "Zalavár az újabb ásatások tükrében" (Zalavár in the Mirror of Recent Excavations), in *Honfoglalás és Régészet* (The Hungarian conquest and archaeology), ed. László Kovács (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994), 86–88. She did not recognise the Saint Adrian church among the excavated remains: it was finally identified in Szőke, 1998, 271–274.

[15] Mária Bondár, "Early Bronze Age Settlement Patterns in South-West Transdanubia," *Antaeus* 22 (1995): 210–211.

[16] MNM AT, Cs. Sós' diary: 1961. VII. 25.

[17] MNM RT, Cs. Sós' diary S25/2.

[18] Unpublished, with acknowledgements to Béla Miklós Szőke and Ágnes Ritoók and their agreement. I participated in the excavation.

[19] MNM AT, Cs. Sós' diary 1961. VII. 25.

[20] Although it is not included in the publication, Ágnes Cs. Sós offered a similar opinion during the excavation (MNM AT, Cs. Sós' diary: 1961. VIII. 04.). She wrote that "Roman bricks appearing near the northwestern corner of the church might have been part of a brick structure, a canal."

In section S13 some fallen burnt timbers were found together with "two fragments of a ninth-century-like pot" on a small (50x180cm) surface oriented east-west. This feature was interpreted by Ágnes Cs. Sós as a semi-subterranean house. A fireplace was excavated south of this area, also dated to the ninth century, and explained as an outdoor fireplace.[21] A stone wall or fence, two more pits west of the church *(Fig. 2, a)*, and a well on the eastern edge of the island were all contemporary with other traces of the ninth-century settlement.

No ninth-century features nor finds were found or observed inside the stone church or under its floor. It appears that the ninth-century settlement must have been contemporary with the stone church.[22]

The first church was built on Récéskút Island in the ninth century, as is seen from the evaluation of its graveyard. The almost-rectangular church seems to have been built as a three-nave building as early as the first building phase.[23] It had an entrance hall, or so-called narthex, at its western end and a belfry attached south of the entrance hall. There are three semicircular apses inside the church although the exterior eastern wall is flat. In this phase, the church had three entrances: the main entrance from the narthex and one each on the south and north sides. The nave of the church was 4.60 m wide and the aisles 2.10 m wide. The length of the four-bay long church, including the entrance hall, is 20.20–20.50 m *(Fig. 2, a)*.

The foundation of the church marks the first sign of mediaeval settlement at this site. The building has a deep foundation, cut into layers containing Roman and prehistoric find materials. The 0.7–1.0 m-deep substructure is 17–25 cm wider than the walls above it.[24] It was laid on small, vertical wooden posts

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[21] Cs. Sós, 1969, 68–70.

[22] Aladár Radnóti did not even reach it; Ágnes Cs. Sós did, but found nothing later than the prehistoric or Roman periods. MNM AT, Cs. Sós' diary 1961. VIII. 04. (Prehistory); VII. 25. (Roman); Cs. Sós, 1969, 64.

[23] Whether the church was a three-aisle basilica was debated from the very beginning. Aladár Radnóti thought the inner pillars to be a later addition but still from the first phase, Radnóti 1948, 26. In 1951 Radnóti wrote that "it is possible that originally columns were in the place of pillars" (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattára (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Collection) MS 4395/3, 2). According to Cs. Sós, 1969, 55, Aladár Radnóti changed his opinion later. I could not find anything that would explain how Aladár Radnóti reconstructed the columns and why he later changed his opinion.

[24] Cs. Sós, 1969, 90. The entire foundation of the building was examined by Ágnes Cs. Sós. The relation between the walls and substructure was investigated particularly at the junction points of the church and belfry, the junction of the narthex and the northern aisle, and the foundations of several interior pillars. Cs. Sós, 1969, Tafel V. 2–4; Tafel

that are 20 cm in diameter and about 80 cm long. These posts were densely positioned at the bottom of the foundation ditch.[25] The masonry was built from large sandstone slabs reusing Roman material including carved grave stele and bricks (*tegulae*) from the former Roman fort at nearby Keszthely-Fenékpuszta.

Each of the six pillars inside the church was built on foundations similar to the main walls, as can be seen on the photos.[26] The pillars correspond to the "buttresses" on the northern and southern walls. Actually, the features that appear on the ground plan of the church as "buttresses" were rather so-called "lisenes" or pilaster strips, a type of wall decoration widespread in this period.[27]

The stone floor inside the church was also laid directly onto the mixed earlier—prehistoric and Roman—deposits. The slabs of the stone floor similarly covered the foundation of the pillars and the walls. The church had a floor of sandstone slabs in the nave and aisles. In the narthex and apses there was a terrazzo floor.[28] Outside, there was a 1–2.50 m wide pavement running around the church comprised of large stone slabs as in the interior of the church.

The western section of the church, previously interpreted as a gallery,[29] was probably an entrance hall (*narthex*), constructed at the same time as the church. This section, similarly to the church, had three naves, but was only one bay long. The aisles were closed to the narthex at this time. The uncovered foundation of these walls is the same as that for the main walls; moreover, the foundation is bonded directly to the walls, which demonstrates that a wall already was present here in the first phase. Aladár Radnóti's sketch and a single photo[30] support the opinion that the narthex must have had three entrances on its western side, of which the middle one was widest. The narthex had only one entrance to the church, the doorway to the nave.

XIII. 4; MNM RT, Cs. Sós's diary, RA/4; S19/9. The foundation had already been described in Radnóti's diary, but the exact location of the part he described is unknown.

[25] MNM RT, Cs. Sós's diary 1961, 3–4. Cs. Sós, 1969, 79, fig. 22.

[26] MNM RT, Cs. Sós's diary RA/5 – S7. The substructure of the pillars is 21–30 cm thicker than the pillars themselves and runs 64 cm deep. It is laid on the same kind of wooden posts as the main walls.

[27] On the churches that remain standing it usually looks like arcading. It had no significant static function, however, as did the buttresses.

[28] MNM AT: 61. Z. II. Radnóti's diary 1947. IX. 04. The ninth-century Saint Adrian's Church at Zalavár-Vársziget also had a terrazzo floor, Szőke, 1998, 274.

[29] In the earlier publications (Radnóti, 1948, 23.) the narthex was interpreted as a gallery contemporary with the church.

[30] Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (hencefort: MTA KIT) MS 4395/3, 2. Due to the recent restoration of the church all possible traces have vanished. László Gerő, *Baudenkmäler Ungarns* (Budapest: IBUSZ, n. d.), 6.
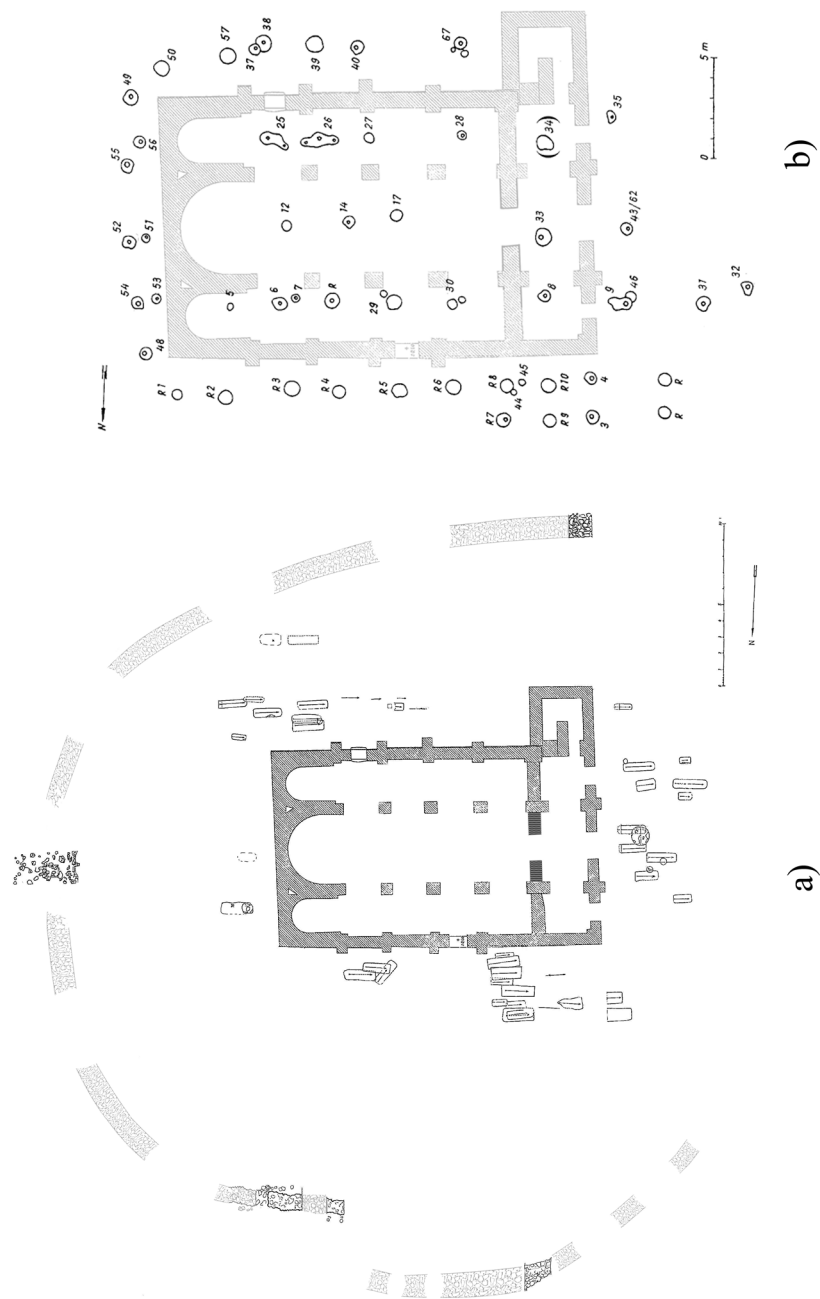
Fig. 2. The ninth-century buildings at Récéskút.
a) Reconstructed ground plan of the first phase of the church. b) Excavated postholes at Récéskút.
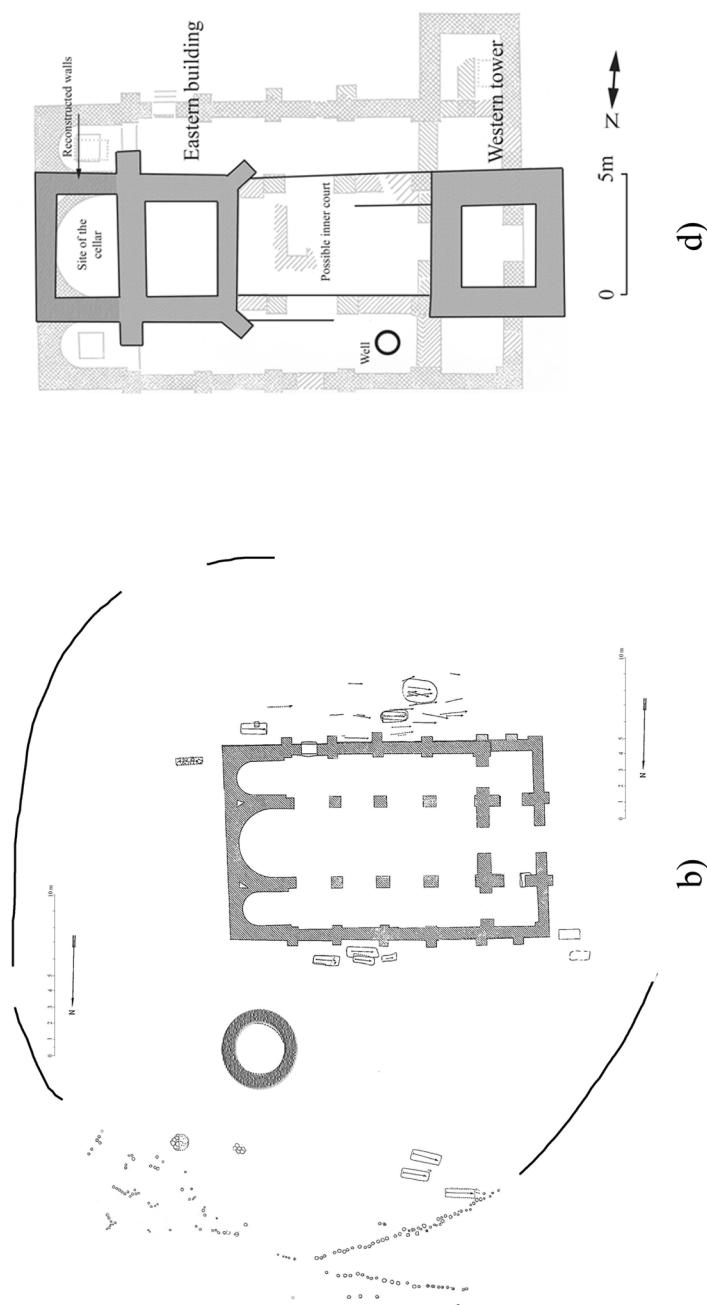
Fig. 3. The late medieval alterations at Récéskút.
b) Reconstructed ground plan of the second phase of the church. d) Reconstructed ground plan of the late medieval buildings.

A belfry (*campanile*) was attached to the south of the entrance hall. The belfry must have been at least two storeys high because there was a foundation for stairs. The entrance was only from the entrance hall. This part of the church was for a long time identified as a "baptistery"[31] because of the well that came to light inside it. The well, however, appears to have been later than the church, as discussed below.

No traces of a monastery or any other buildings contemporary with the first building phase of the church were found within the excavated area.

The postholes

The first structural changes are indicated by particular postholes that appeared in and around the building strictly in alignment with the walls (*Fig. 2, b*). Apart from the dating problems of the church, the possible interpretation of this feature has become the most debated question about this site. The plan of these postholes in itself can be interpreted as an argument against the reconstruction of the wooden churches, since there are almost no known cases where postholes would have been aligned with the walls of a later stone building.[32] The main goal of my earlier work[33] was to examine the stratigraphy of the site. It proved possible to show that these postholes followed the first building phase of the church. The photographs show clearly that in all cases where the postholes were dug, the stone floor had been removed. The same situation can be seen on the section drawings: the floor is missing above the postholes. The fill of the postholes contained prehistoric and Roman pottery exclusively.

The purpose of these posts is as yet uncertain. Using mediaeval sources (mainly pictures and illuminations) I also identified this structure as scaffolding. The duration of this structure must have been very short, because the layers which can be connected with it are barely visible and very thin. A very thin sand (?) layer covers a posthole on the main section drawing. Another posthole in the south aisle is similar. This demonstrates that these posts were cut off in the first

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[31] See Aladár Radnóti's and Ágnes Cs. Sós' diaries: Aladár Radnóti's diary 1946–1947. Ágnes Cs. Sós bequest, MNM RT; Aladár Radnóti's diary 1953. MNM AT, 61.II.Z; Ágnes Cs. Sós' diaries and documentation 1961–1963. MNM RT, Cs. Sós Ágnes hagyatéka, (Ágnes Cs. Sós bequest); Ágnes Cs. Sós' diaries and documentation 1961–1963. MNM AT, 61.II.Z.

[32] Friedrich Oswald, Leo Schaefer and Hans Rudolf, eds, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten, Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen* (Sennhauser, Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1966), 228, 254, 260 (Pior – Saint Martin); 401 (Brenz – Saint Catullus), etc.

[33] Maxim Mordovin, "Zalavár-Récéskút," Diploma thesis (Budapest: ELTE, 2003), 19–22; figs. 30–33.

building phase and that the church had been in use for a short time when those thin layers were deposited. There is no evidence at all that anything was altered or added in this period, but the known historical background permits some conclusions to be made. There are some sources concerning military activity around the third quarter of the ninth century connected mainly with Svatopluk's attacks.[34] It is possible that the church needed restoration after this campaign or may be simply time or an unindentified accident damaged the church and led the community to restore it. It is also possible that the renovation was a consequence of the new, representative function of the nearby imperial *civitas* at Vársziget.[35] Récéskút may have been an official part of the city and this would have been a serious reason to renew the largest building in the place.

The second church

The end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century brought serious changes to the life of the community at Zalavár. The settlement was not necessarily deserted, but the ecclesiastical organisation established by the monks from Salzburg was, without doubt, destroyed. The excavations, however, revealed no traces of intentional destruction. Certainly, the abandoned building could easily have fallen into ruin within the century before Christianity returned to this region.

The second, more important, phase can be dated approximately to the Árpád period using the burials. Evaluation of the archaeological material is needed for more precise dating. The thick layer of rubble can only be explained by the fact that the church was abandoned, fell into disrepair and decay and stood unroofed for a long time, but was not used as a quarry.[36] This fact is very important because it means that the church was still recognisable as a sacred building and could be restored and reused as a church again. Not only does the almost complete reconstruction of the building support its use as a church, but the presence of Christian burials also means that no other explanation is possible.

The new church represented a structure already known from the eleventh century in Árpád period Hungarian architecture although this fact cannot be used

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[34] Tamás Bogyay, "Mosapurc und Zalavár, Eine Auswertung der archäologischen Funde und schriftlichen Quellen," *Südost-Forschungen* 14 (1955): 349–405.

[35] Tóth, 2000, 454.

[36] The church of Saint Adrian at Zalavár-Vársziget was almost completely destroyed and dug out by using it as a quarry still in the Árpád period. (Recent excavations, unpublished.)

for precise dating.[37] The builders retained the original rectangular ground plan and the three-nave structure, but also made some changes. The floor of the new church was raised over rubble above the earlier floor by about 75–85 cm. The church kept its southern entrance, but the threshold was raised to the new floor level; two steps led to this door from outside. The northern entrance was walled up.[38] A choir screen was built in the eastern part, between the two central pillars, the foundation of which was partly excavated but not recognised in the earlier literature.[39] New foundations for altars were erected in the apses (*Fig. 3, a*).

The relationship between layers shows that the belfry was not restored; it must have completely disappeared. During the time the church was abandoned, the ruined belfry seems to have been a perfect place for building a well, dug in the southwestern corner of the room. Previously, the well was thought to be earlier than the belfry. The sides of the well were parallel to the walls of the belfry and the well destroyed the terrazzo floor.[40] The well was dug in the remains of the belfry after the destruction of the first church (or after it was abandoned). The wooden frame is aligned with the walls of the building and parallel to them, thus, it must have been set up relative to these walls and probably reusing them. The removal of the floor tiles also shows that the well must be later than the first building phase of the church. There is no evidence to decide whether the well was filled with rubble from the walls from the first or second building phase. Probably the well was finally filled up when, during the

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[37] It is thought to be typical in that it was a three-aisle church without transepts and with two northern towers. The basilica structure is very probable for the building because almost all of the known surviving examples represent a three-nave basilica type. The earliest examples from the late eleventh century for this type come from Garamszent-benedek (Hronský Beňadik) and Somogyvár, which is significant because they were also Benedictine foundations. Béla Zsolt Szakács, "A templomok nyugati térelrendezése és a 'nemzetségi monostor' kérdése (Western complexes of the medieval Hungarian churches and the problem of the 'kindred monasteries')," in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania III,* ed. Daniela Marcu-Istrate, Adrian Andrei Rusu and Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2004), 77. Among examples of standing churches, the mid-twelfth-century Ákos (Acâş) and the rebuilt Nagykapornak churches are worth mentioning. The latter church actually comes closest in terms of structure to the one in Zalavár. For the typology and development of the western structure of the churches see B. Zs. Szakács, 2004.

[38] Radnóti, 1948, 29.

[39] Sándor Tóth, "A keszthelyi Balatoni Múzeum középkori kőtára" (The medieval lapidary of the Balaton Museum), *Zalai Múzeum* 2 (1990): 157.

[40] MNM RT, Cs. Sós' bequest, Aladár Radnóti's diary.

rebuilding of the church, the last remains of the belfry were demolished and dumped in it.[41]

The most significant changes, apparently, occurred in the western part of the church where two towers were built over the place of the earlier narthex. The doorways were narrowed and two additional buttresses were attached to the northern wall[42] to make the western part stable enough to carry the pressure of the towers. The two towers contained a newly built gallery. The wall was broken down between the aisles and the gallery. On the western façade, two side entrances were walled up and only the main doorway—probably richly decorated—remained. The destroyed interior pillars were also rebuilt using Roman bricks and reusing material from the earlier church.[43]

There are no written sources directly concerning the destruction of the second church. The stratigraphy shows a significant layer consisting of burned organic remains, charcoal and many iron nails, which can be explained as the result of a great fire. The charcoal and nails are remnants of the burnt framework and roof. The church seems never to have been rebuilt again. Another well that was excavated in the northern aisle contained pottery and a coin hoard. Unfortunately, the hoard has been lost. Its contents are known only from a description and can be dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[44] The well is definitely later than the church because, on the one hand, it was aligned with the church and, on the other hand, it contained late material.

The relative chronology of the second well can be reconstructed only by using Aladár Radnóti's description. His observations can be briefly outlined as follows: The wood-lined well, was dug after the church was abandoned, perhaps while the walls were still standing. Then the well was once renewed using Roman bricks and cleaned at least once. After a while, the well was abandonned and slowly filled up with the debris from the crumbling walls. A coin hoard was hidden in the almost completely filled-up well or in the pit which developed on the site of the well, related the sinking of its fill,. The two available descriptions of the hoard are very superficial and different. The first speaks about coins of King Louis I (1342–1382), Queen Mary (1382–1395) and King Sigismund

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[41] Aladár Radnóti's opinion that the well and the belfry (according to him: 'baptistery') were in use at the same time (Radnóti, 1948, 27) is not acceptable nor is Ágnes Cs. Sós' opinion that "if there was indeed a well, then this well must have been created on top of a posthole" (Cs. Sós, 1969, 92).

[42] There may have been two new buttresses on the southern wall as well although they were probably built on the foundation of the former belfry so that no traces remained.

[43] MNM AT, 61 Z.II. Radnóti's diary 1947. 09. 05.

[44] Radnóti, 1948, 29. MTA KIT MS 4395/3, 2.

(1387–1437).[45] The other mentions only silver coins of Queen Mary and King Sigismund.[46]

To the north of the sanctuary of the church, still within the fenced off area, another stone building was erected. It was a kind of rotunda, but recent disturbances have destroyed it almost completely and only traces of the foundations have been excavated.

The Northern Part of the Island and the Fence

Almost half of the northern part of the island was first investigated in 1953 and then again in 1961–1963. An evaluation of the features—large numbers of postholes, stone walls, and pits—has not been carried out until now. Comparing the two sections spatially closest to each other, I/K and S/2, display a similar stratigraphic situation to that found at the church.[47]

Shallow, 75–100 cm wide, foundations of a stone wall were cut into the lowest archaeological layers, which—similarly to those on the rest of the island—can be dated to the Late Copper–Early Bronze Ages and the Roman period. Apart from the below-ground structure the wall has not survived, but the width of the foundation suggests that it was no wider than 75 cm. The debris from the destroyed wall comprised a stony layer,[48] which corresponds—both in depth and in consistency—to layer R from the wall-debris of the church. This means that the surrounding wall must have been contemporary with the first building phase of the stone building on the site. The fencing wall, which can only be identified as such because of its relative thinness, its location and ground plan, was not renewed when the church regained its original function in the second period. Traces of the wall were observed north (sections S2, S8 and S12),[49] east (section S21) and south (section S24) of the church (see the probable line of the stone fencing wall *Fig. 2, a*). According to the section drawing, the rubble from the wall south of the church directly covered the layers preceding the construction of the first church. This supports the idea that the stone fencing wall must have been contemporary with the church, or, at least, they were destroyed at the same time.

The quantity of the stone rubble around and above the remains of the fencing wall suggests that it must have been relatively tall. The stratigraphic

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[45] Radnóti 1948, 29.

[46] MTA KIT, MS 4395/3, 2.

[47] MNM RT, Cs. Sós' diary S2/2, S8, S9.

[48] Cs. Sós had a similar opinion the debris: "seems to be stones from the dug-out walls." MNM RT, Cs. Sós' diary S16, 17, 18/3.

[49] MNM RT, Cs. Sós' diary S11–12/1.

profile shows that it was destroyed when the church was abandoned and its walls had begun crumbling down. After it had vanished, the stone fencing wall was never rebuilt; debris from it was spread over a wide area.

The presence of a fencing wall around a Christian cemetery is said to be a contemporary phenomenon with the appearance of graveyards around churches. First, cemeteries were walled for practical reasons which then became symbolic. The enclosing of burial areas as sacred places became ubiquitous by the tenth century.[50] Thus, in the case of Récéskút, the fencing wall was undoubtedly associated with the graveyard.[51]

Several rows of postholes were excavated along the stone fence. Their construction can be divided into two phases although their characteristics are quite similar: on average 15–20 cm in diameter and on average 70–100 cm in depth. Those which extended into the lowermost layers reached the subsoil and were covered by the rubble of the stone fencing wall from the first phase. These postholes were noted on both sides of the fencing wall excavated north of the church. The purpose served by these posts remains unclear. They are surely connected with the stone fencing wall, but how and why are open questions.

The postholes of the second group, which appeared at a higher level than the first group of posts, in some cases apparently appeared above the stone rubble and in all cases cut the stony layer.[52] This shows that these postholes come from the next phase, established after the earlier stone fencing wall had been destroyed. Despite the relatively large area that has been investigated, the structure comprised by these posts still remains uncertain. Probably the three almost parallel rows of posts excavated north of the church were not contemporary with each other. In my opinion they, or at least the two southern rows, must have been renewed phases of the same feature. All of them appeared

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[50] Ágnes Ritoók, "Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez" (Aspects for the analysis of the graveyards around churches in Hungary), in *"Es tu scholaris" Ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára* ('Es tu scholaris' Studies to celebrate András Kubinyi's 75th birthday), ed. Beatrix F. Romhányi et al. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2004), 116 (henceforth: Ritoók, 2004).

[51] A very similar stone fencing wall was found around Saint Adrian's church on the Vársziget, also dated to the ninth century. Unpublished, as a note: Béla Miklós Szőke, "Templom, egyén és közösség a Karoling Birodalom keleti peremterületén" (Church, individual and community in the eastern periphery of the Carolingian Empire), in *"…a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása* ('…I walk in the Valley of the Shadow of Death' Investigations of medieval churchyards), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 26 (henceforth: Szőke, 2005).

[52] MNM RT, Cs. Sós' diary S3/1.

a few centimetres below the surface. The southernmost row seems to have been a palisade-like fence that surrounded the church, because this was exactly the boundary of the northern extent of the graveyard. The direction of the two northern rows shows there was a connection with the postholes uncovered in the northeastern part of the island. This post structure can be convincingly identified as a palisade, which was altered several times (*Fig. 3, a*).

The Cemetery

The discussion of the building history of any church cannot be complete without an evaluation of the associated graveyard. The graveyard is a necessary "accessory" of a Christian church since the territory around the church was the only consecrated place that could be used for burials.[53]

The dead were buried around the church (*Fig. 2, a* and *3, b*) and the burials contained almost no grave goods. So far, 166 burials have been discovered in excavations at the cemetery around the church.[54] No graves cut or disturbed by the foundations of the stone church were noted. The orientation of the graves in the overwhelming majority of cases corresponds to the orientation of the church itself (east-west, with slight differences).[55] This is evidence that even the earliest graves were dug after the construction of the building. Thus, the approximate dating of the earliest level of the cemetery can provide the *ante quem* date for the establishment of the church. The evaluation of the grave goods from the burials around the church revealed two distinct phases.

The two horizons can be separated based on stratigraphy and grave goods. Those burials which were cut or disturbed by the wooden posts certainly belong to the first building phase of the stone church.

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[53] Ritoók, 2004, 116. The decisions of the synod of Trigger in 895 did not require, but only proposed, that worshippers be buried around a church. This "freedom" survived until 1200, but only meant freedom of choice between parishes. For a good summary on this topic see Ritoók, 2004.

[54] Not all of the burials were fully excavated or excavated at all.

[55] Only three cases display remarkable differences: burials no. 4 (north-south); 22 (northeast-southwest) and 43 (east-west). The east-west orientation is common for most Christian cemeteries, a fact connected with the image of the Last Judgement when the resurrecting people must face the Lord, Ritoók, 2004, 119.
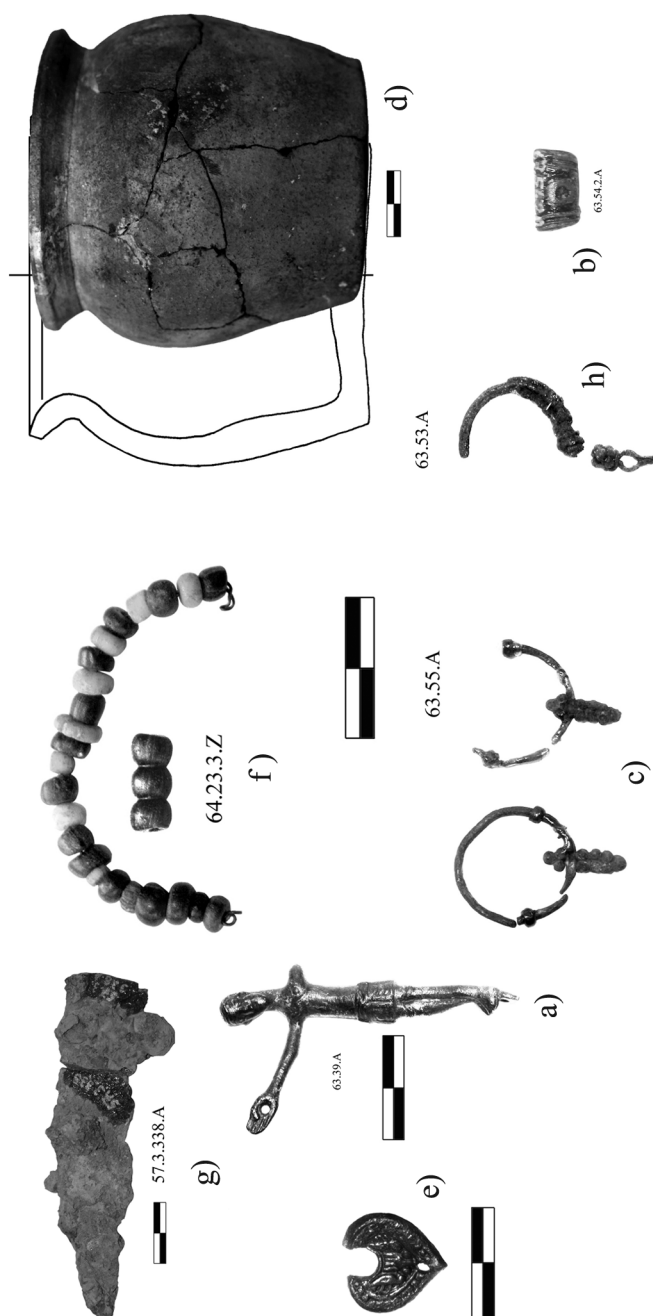
Fig. 4. Gravegoods from different periods.

Maxim Mordovin

The earlier horizon

The burials from the first phase, identified by their being disturbed by the posts (28 graves), were relatively evenly distributed around the church. Only burial 88 contained a piece of jewellery—a simple bronze (hair) ring, which cannot be dated. Nine burials with grave goods contained finds datable to the ninth century—contemporary with the first stone church, but stratigrafically un-recognisable. The grave goods from three of them contain no information regarding the absolute chronology because of their poor preservation.[56] In the following cases, I will not note all the parallels, only those from the close neighbouring areas which shed light on the dating of the finds from the graveyard at Zalavár-Récéskút.

A glass button with a small bronze loop is the only find from burial no. 50.[57] This type is characteristic of the Carolingian period in this area. Similar buttons were found in cemeteries mostly dated from the first half to the mid-ninth-century at Garabonc-Ófalu, Alsórajk-Határi tábla, and Sopronkőhida. Among the most significant of these find locations is a workshop for such buttons excavated at Bratislava-Devínska Kobyla. The ninth-century features of the workshop contained glass slag and waste products from the production of this find type.[58]

The so-called *millefiori*-type bead from burial no. 110 (*Fig. 4, b*) is another characteristic object for this period. Known from the late Avar epoch, these beads must have survived at least until the mid-ninth century. A bead from Zalakomár-Lesvári dűlő with parallels from Sopronkőhida is notable in both time and space. Some similar objects from the neighbouring cemeteries in Zalavár-Kövecses and Zalavár-Rezes are dated to the late ninth century and

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[56] Cs. Sós, 1969, tab. XVII, 2.

[57] Cs. Sós, 1969, tab. XVII, 6.

[58] Béla Miklós Szőke, "Karolingerzeitliche Gräberfelder I–II von Garabonc-Ófalu," *Antaeus* 21 (1992): 488. Taf. 4. 1. (Burial 16) (henceforth Szőke, 1992); Béla Miklós Szőke, "Das birituelle Gräberfeld aus der Karolingerzeit von Alsórajk-Határi tábla," *Antaeus* 23 (1996): Tab. 41, 5 (henceforth: Szőke, 1996); Béla Miklós Szőke "A határ fogalmának változásai a korai középkorban" (Changes in the concept of border in the Early Mediaeval period), *Zalai Múzeum* 13 (2004): 184, burial 80; Vladimír Turčan, "Sklenené gombíky ako súčasť odevu" (Glass buttons as part of the costume), in *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem* (Great Moravia between East and West), ed. Luděk Galuška, Pavel Kouřil and Zdeněk Měřínský (Brno: Arch. Inst. Akademie Věd České Republiky, 2001), 407–408.

must have been worn by the same population that lived around Mosaburg before the Hungarian Conquest.[59]

The hair ring from grave 61 is known only from the drawings made during the excavation.[60] Of the two joined oval-shaped rings, one is decorated with two small spheres. The main parallels to this find type come from neighbouring sites like Garabonc-Ófalu the first cemetery and Sopronkőhida. The last one not only contained this type of jewellery in a quite large numbers, but also in a very similar conjoined form.[61]

Some quite characteristic earrings were found in the burials at Récéskút, known as the "Veligrad type" (*Fig. 4, c* and *h*)[62] This type, found for the first time in the centres of the former Moravian principality and named after its legendary capital, is usually dated to the second half of the ninth century.[63] Two pieces from Récéskút, made of poor-quality silver and with decorative granulation, survived. There are many significant parallels for the earring type from burial no. 109 in the neighbouring area. Some were found at Garabonc—the second cemetery, Zalaszabar-Borjúállás and Alsórajk-Határi tábla.[64] This type of earring was in fashion for a long period. In the sites connected with the Moravian

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[59] Szőke, 1996, 112, fig. 50; 113; Gyula Török, *Sopronkőhida IX. századi temetője* (The 9th century cemetery at Sopronkőhida), (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), tab. 8, 2 (burial 25) and tab. 18, 10 (burial 88) (henceforth: Török, 1973); Ágnes Cs. Sós, *Zalavár-Kövecses, Ausgrabungen 1976–1978*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 73 (henceforth: Cs. Sós, 1984). The excavations at Zalavár-Rezes are not published, but have been mentioned by the author.

[60] Cs. Sós 1969, 87, Fig. 33, 2.

[61] Szőke, 1992, 507. Taf. 23. 2. (Burial 69); Török, 1973, tab. 10: 12 (burial 44); tab. 15: 14 (burial 67); tab. 25: 7–9, 10–12 (burial 129) and tab. 26: 6–9 (burial 142).

[62] Cs. Sós 1969, tab. XXXVII, 2, 4, 5.

[63] For this type: Tatiana Štefanovičová "Das Großmärische Reich zwischen Ost und West," in *Central Europe in 8th–10th Centuries – Mitteleuropa im 8.–10. Jahrhundert, International Scientific Conference, Bratislava October 2–4, 1995*, ed. Dušan Čaplovič and Ján Doruľa (Bratislava: Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, 1997), 139, fig. 8, 3–4; Milan Hanuliak, *Veľkomoravské Pohrebiská, Pochovávanie v 9.–10. storočí na území Slovenska* (Great Moravian cemeteries, Burial in the ninth-tenth centuries on the territory of Slovakia) (Nitra: Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 2004), 154–171; Blanka Kavánová and Naďa Profantová, *Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. a 12. Kostela, Mikulčice – Gräberfeld bei der 6. und 12. Kirche* (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2003, 80–85.

[64] Szőke, 1992, 516, Taf. 32, 1–2 (burial 13); Róbert Müller, "Gräberfeld und Siedlungs-reste aus der Karolingerzeit von Zalaszabar-Dezsősziget," *Antaeus* 21 (1992), 271–336 1996, 136, fig. 61 (burial no. 140); Szőke, 1996, tab. 30, 2–5 (burial no. 21).

Principalities this find type can be dated to the last third of the ninth—first half of the tenth century.

Burial no. 83 contained an everted-rim pot with a wavy motif and a horizontal line beneath it, made before firing (*Fig. 4, d*). Its form and decoration display very close connections to the ninth-century pottery of this region. Similar examples exist from Zalavár-Kövecses, where such pottery was found in a graveyard also dated to the ninth century. From a bit further away, but still important, there are parallels known from Sopronkőhida.[65] Aladár Radnóti mentions another burial in his diary, which contained two pots (no. 5.). Unfortunately no data have survived concerning this pottery.[66] The presence of pottery in burials thought to be Christian is an extraordinary feature. Since this is a clear sign of traces of paganism (the Church did not permit food offerings for the dead), it should be examined more closely. The type of the pottery itself, based on the above-mentioned parallels can be dated to the second half of the ninth century.

The evaluation of the group of grave goods strongly supports the dating of this—probably the first—phase of the cemetery to the mid- or second half of the ninth century. Some of the items are characteristic of the late ninth—tenth century, but their presence in a graveyard associated with a church which was destroyed during the Hungarian Conquest does not permit dating them later than the very beginning of the tenth century. Although the burials had very few furnishings, the graveyard clearly reflects the presence of two traditions: Christian and pagan. The situations of the burials around the church, their orientation, the supine position of the skeletons and—in most cases—the absence of grave goods belong to the Christian rite. The pagan side, however, is reflected in food offerings, taking the form here of whole pots placed in the grave pits. The same situation was noted during excavations at Zalavár-Vársziget, and due to the better quality of the observations it was possible to work out that the burials with pots came from the latest phase at the cemetery. Béla Miklós Szőke equates this fact with decreasing ecclesiastical control caused by the disintegration of Christian organisation after the Hungarian Conquest. This interpretation also supports an early tenth-century dating of these burials.[67]

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[65] Cs. Sós, 1984, tab. II. 3, 4, (burials 13 and 26); Török, 1973, 41. Fig. 23, burials 115 and 125.

[66] MNM RT Aladár Radnóti's diary 1947. Aug. 29.

[67] Szőke, 2005, 27. They were buried around the church not because of their Christianity but because of they wanted to be buried among their ancestors.

The later horizon

The second main building phase at the church can be characterised by a new stone pavement in and around the building. This pavement also helps identify burials connected with the reconstruction of the church; those which were documented as being dug into the 50–80 cm-thick layer of wall debris and cut the pavement around the church or those where the bottoms did not even extend to the pavement. These persons were apparently buried much later, after the first stone church was abandoned.

Altogether 32 burials were identified in this manner. Only two burials contained grave goods. The hair ring with a S-shaped terminal from burial no. 127 (now lost) represents a common and widespread type of jewellery. It cannot be dated in itself because this was a long-lived type appearing in the late eighth and with some changes continuing into the mid-thirteenth century.

Probably the most crucial for dating is a child's burial (no. 104). Belonging undoubtedly to the younger horizon, its dating is very important.[68] The grave contained several artefacts including a gilded heart-shaped mount. This is the only datable piece from this burial. Its motif forms two symmetric stylised birds sitting facing each other framed by beaded lattice-work (*Fig. 4, e*).[69]

This is quite a common find in the post-Conquest material culture from the Carpathian Basin. The form itself is represented in two types of vest accessories: pendant ornaments[70] and the belt mount. The two rivets on the back of this piece show that it originally was part of a belt-garniture. At the same time, a perforation on the broader edge of the find, which cannot be interpreted as part of the original way the belt was fixed, shows that the fitting was secondarily reused and, thus, could have been buried much later than parallel finds. Most examples of this type are usually dated to the tenth century, including a nice silver parallel piece from Bana (north of Zalavár, by the Danube).[71] Similar belt mounts were found at Kunágota, Detta, Perse, and Kiskunhalas-Rekettye

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[68] MNM RT Ágnes Cs. Sós' diary S13–14/2.

[69] Cs. Sós, 1969, 68; 87, fig. 33. 1.

[70] For this type, which I will not discuss, see Csanád Bálint, *Südungarn im 10. Jahrhundert* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 124–125, 127–138 (henceforth: Bálint 1991), where he provides many examples; Szőke 1962, tab. V, 5–13, etc.

[71] Antal Barta and Ákos Kiss, "Graves from the Age of the Hungarian Conquest at Bana," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 22 (1970): 224, fig. 5, 4; tab. XXV, 11. The description: heart-shaped with palmette decoration, the depressions are gilded with three rivets on its reverse: 222–223.

puszta,[72] most of which were found as parts of belt-garnitures. Although the motif is quite different, an interesting parallel was found at Nagymágocs-Homokbánya, where a similar heart-shaped belt mount was reused and therefore perforated. Another similarity is that, among the many pieces decorated with floral motifs, this one also depicts a stylised animal head, maybe a deer with a bird on top,[73] like the one from Récéskút. Most of the parallels have been dated to the tenth century, except the last one, which may be dated to the eleventh century. The situation is the same with the belt mount from Récéskút; its presence in a Christian cemetery around a church strongly suggests a post-1000 dating.

A single, more-or-less, datable burial is not strong enough evidence to date the whole second horizon of the cemetery. The situation of the graves, however, clearly shows the relationship between the two identifiable periods and thus, also supports the post-Conquest dating of the second phase. Since there is no evidence to expect the presence of a community which followed the Christian rite before 1000 in Zalavár, especially considering that the church must have been in ruins for quite a long time by that period, the earliest burials of the second phase of the graveyard cannot be dated earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century.

It has been the subject of debate in the last decades whether the building was used as a church after its restoration.[74] The fact that the building was completely renewed in almost the original form strongly supports the idea that the building had an ecclesiastical function. The presence of the contemporary graveyard around it, dug into layer R and connected with the upper floor, represents another important detail, even if this is a feature in some cases explainable by surviving memories from a sacred place, but not here, where the interruption was too sharp. The gilded bronze corpus found in posthole no. 62 (*Fig. 4, a*) is a significant find clearly indicating the ecclesiastical use of the site. The item can be dated by parallels to the mid- or second half of the twelfth century. [75] This also provides a date for when the building was in use. The presence of this object cannot be explained by any secular function or event.[76]

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[72] Bálint, 1991, 147, fig. 29 (Kunágota); 181, fig. 22–25 (Perse), 208, fig. 14, 18 (Detta), 233, fig. 13–14 (Kiskunhalas).

[73] Bálint, 1991, 242, fig. 55.

[74] Szőke, 1998, 283; 306, footnote 178.

[75] For the typology and dating see Zsuzsa Lovag, *Mittelalterliche Bronzegegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999). For this type see figs. 70, 72, 75.

[76] Cs. Sós, 1969, 84.

The Secular Use of the Island

The destruction of the church did not mean the end of habitation on the island. The well itself shows that the settlement was still in use. The buildings apparently lost their primary function and seem to have been destroyed intentionally—by being used as quarries or just over time. The architectural remains from the centuries after the church was destroyed have barely survived and only the archaeological material from the late medieval and early modern period shows the intensity of life at this site in that time. Unfortunately erosion destroyed the upper layers and only the lowest parts of the foundations of these towers were revealed during the excavations of 1947–1948. These later remains were not noticed by Aladár Radnóti, who removed all traces of them, producing only a few sketches documenting his observations. After that time, all interpretations and reconstructions were derived from these sketches, section drawings and available photographs.

Based on the totality of the collected data concerning the latest structure on the island, the building must have consisted of two main parts, probably a higher and western tower with more stable foundations that may have been used as a guard tower. The eastern two-bay-long building must have been the living quarters at the complex. The two parts flanked a small courtyard, which was additionally enclosed by southern and northern walls (*Fig. 3, b*). The whole complex cannot be interpreted as anything ecclesiastical and probably was a kind of fortified manor house, similar to many others in this region.

The Question of Continuity

The two churches in the same building are connected by the name they share. The main sign of continuity at Zalavár-Récéskút, relevant to the area as a whole, is the surviving *patrocinium* of Saint Adrian. This name is unique enough to be accepted as a connection and not only an accidental coincidence between the ninth- and eleventh-century dedications.[77]

The idea that the re-foundation of the monastery in 1019 (or later) was mediated by monks from the successor to the Benedictine Abbey in Mosaburg cannot be fully refuted. This community would certainly have retained the dedication. However, not only did the saint's name survive, but the location of the earlier church was also, more-or-less, precisely in the same place. This fact can be explained in two ways. First, in early eleventh-century Transdanubia (former Pannonia) the location of the monastery would have stood out. This, at

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[77] Endre Tóth, "Szent Adorján és Zalavár" (Saint Adrian and Zalavár), *Századok* 133 (1999): 3–39., 1999, 25–27 (henceforth: Tóth, 1999).

the same time, would have required a proper institutional survival of the ninth-century ecclesiastical organisation, something which is hardly imaginable. Second, probably at the beginning of the eleventh century in Zalavár (or whatever it was called at that time) the local surviving population, living there continuously since the late ninth century, remembered where the church dedicated to an Adrian Martyr was, even if only faint traces showed its place. The fact alone that somewhere in Pannonia there was a Saint Adrian church would not have been enough to localise it. Contemporary identification supposes the existence of a surviving local population.[78] Certainly, the initiative must have come from the ruler who connected the Benedictine tradition with a local memory.[79]

Archaeologically it is not yet possible to separate the tenth-century material and to pinpoint the burial places of the local population from that period. The reason for this can be explained by the same fact of continuity. The material culture of the same community did not change radically enough in half a century to be easily distinguished from that of earlier times.Considering the fact of the Hungarian Conquest after 902 and the break in negotiations and connections with the West, conservative trends in local production become understandable. The anthropological analyses did not yield clear-cut data although there do seem to be significant similarities between the skeletal samples from the ninth-century and eleventh- and twelfth-century cemeteries on the Vársziget. At the same time, the physical anthropological data from the Zalavár-Village graveyard produced a very mixed picture, quite different from that found at Vársziget.[80] The explanation is that the population from Vársziget was located there continuously while the village was only settled at the time the eleventh-century monastic domains were organized.

List of Abbreviations

MNM RT: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Tár (Hungarian National Museum, Archaeological Collection)
MNM AT: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Adattár (Hungarian National Museum, Database)

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[78] The same conclusions appear in Tóth 1999, 33. He mentions one other site from ninth-century Pannonia where continuity can be observed: Szombathely (Savaria), Saint Martin's Church.

[79] Endre Tóth connected this act of re-foundation with King Saint Stephen (1000–1038), whose brother-in-law was Emperor Henry II (1002–1024). According to written sources, the cult of Saint Adrian is clearly identifiable with Henry II, Tóth, 1999, 30.

[80] Sarolta Tettamanti, "Das Gräberfeld Nr. 1 von Zalavár-Község (11. Jahrhundert)," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 98 (1971): 240–243.

ZOOCEPHALIC FIGURES
IN THE TRIPARTITE MAHZOR

Zsófia Buda

The so-called *Tripartite Mahzor* from fourteenth-century Ashkenazi southern Germany is one of the most mysterious illustrated Hebrew manuscripts. In it, well-known biblical stories are depicted in a strange way. The peculiarity of these illuminations is that they seem to represent a distinction between the genders. Most women have animal heads, while men have normal human faces, and in some cases males and females form different groups.

The *Tripartite Mahzor* is not the only Jewish manuscript that contains animal-headed human figures in its illumination. The zoocephalic motif is a characteristic feature of several other illuminated medieval Ashkenazi manuscripts produced in southern Germany and in the Rhineland from the second third of the thirteenth century until the mid-fourteenth century. Although these manuscripts were produced in the same area and in the same period, and animal-headed figures in them always behave as human beings and not as animals, the group is not completely homogeneous. The use of the zoocephalic motif seems to have followed various patterns from manuscript to manuscript. Moreover, the characteristics, that is, the appearance of the animal heads, are also quite different. This motif has already been dealt with in a number of studies but has not been solved yet. In this paper I focus on the *Tripartite Mahzor* and try to find an explanation for its gender distinction.

In its present form, the *Tripartite Mahzor* is divided into three volumes.[1] None of them has a colophon, thus neither its patron nor its painter is known. The only name given in the manuscript is that of the scribe, a certain Hayyim. The determination of its date of production has to be based on secondary evidence such as stylistic features, heraldic signs, and the mention of the already deceased Rabbi Meir von Rothenburg (d. 1293). According to these features the manuscript was produced around 1322 in the area of Lake Constance in southern Germany.[2]

Who ordered the prayer book and who was its painter? These questions cannot be answered on the grounds of the data that are available now. However,

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[1] Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences MS A384; London, British Library Add. Ms. 22413; Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Michael 619.

[2] Bezalel Narkiss, "A Tripartite Illuminated Mahzor from a South German School of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts around 1300," in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies Papers*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1968), 130.

some general conclusions may be drawn from the content and the layout of the codex. It contains piyyuts (liturgical verses connected to the festivals) which were read aloud by the *hazzan*.[3] The manuscript is quite large[4] and richly decorated, so it was not only a prayer book but must also have had a representative role. This leads to the person of the patron. He could have been a *hazzan* or a rich member of the community who donated the book. In any case, he must have been familiar with the Christian custom of self-representation in book illumination.

Regarding the style of the images, their painter could have been either a Jew or a Christian. The discussion of this topic would lead far from the purpose of this study; therefore, only citation is offered from Marc Epstein, who does not consider the origin of the illustrator a central question: "…it is clear that medieval Jewish art is Jewish not because it was produced by Jews, but because it was produced for Jews—Jewish patron and Jewish audience."[5]

There are three kinds of illumination in the prayer book: miniatures at the beginning of the piyyuts, two zodiac cycles, one together with the Labors of the Months, and a few floral decorations in the margin. The miniatures at the beginning of the piyyuts are partially biblical scenes, partially illustrations connected more closely to the text of the verses. The gender distinction—zoocephalic women versus human-headed men—is present in the biblical scenes, but there are also apparent exceptions that pertain to the signs of the zodiac and the Labors of the Months. These exceptions will be discussed below.

Zoocephalic figures appear in four biblical scenes, one illustration connected to the piyyut, and two images of the zodiac cycles. All of them are found in the first and the second volume: Two initial words and one zodiac sign in the first volume, and three initial words and one zodiac sign in the second one. There are some human figures in other images; all are males with normal human faces. The third volume does not depict human figures at all.

In the biblical scenes all the women are depicted with animal heads and all the men with human heads. In the first volume, at the beginning of the Song of Songs (part of the Pesah liturgy), Solomon appears on his throne (*Fig. 1*). On

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[3] The *hazzan* is the precentor who intones the liturgy and leads the prayers in the synagogue (Hyman Kublin and Akiva Zimmerman, "Hazzan," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, CD-ROM Edition Version 1.0 ([Israel]: Judaica Multimedia, Keter Publishing House, 1997). (Hereafter: *EJ*).

[4] Volume 1: 310×215 mm; volume 2: 315×220 mm; volume 3: 340×245 mm. The size of the text areas is the same in all volumes: 200×155 mm. The main text was written in Ashkenazi square script, while the commentaries are in cursive on the outer margins.

[5] Marc Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (State College, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 7.

the left side of the image two other scenes are depicted. The upper one is probably "The Visit of the Queen of Sheba," while the lower one may portray the two mothers quarreling over a baby, who does not appear, however. Each woman is depicted with an animal head.
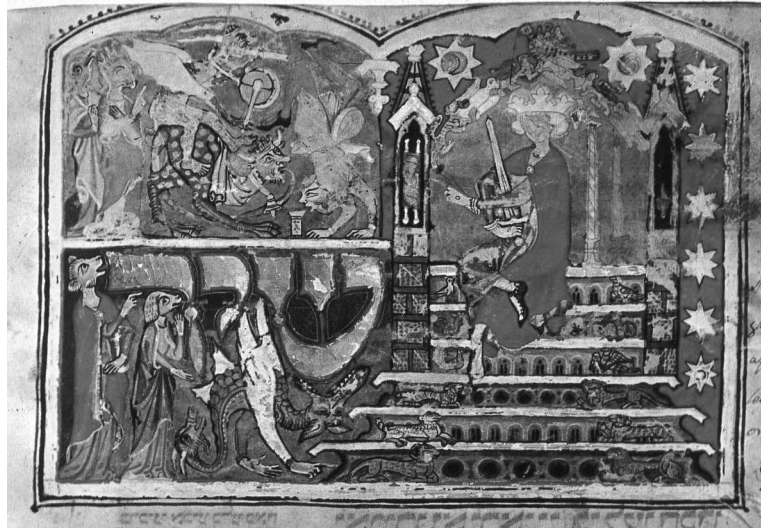
Fig. 1. The Throne of Solomon, Tripartite Mahzor*, vol. 1, fol. 183v.*

Still connected to the Pesah liturgy, one image decorates a piyyut about "Crossing the Reed Sea" (Hebrew for the Red Sea) (*Fig. 2*). The marching Israelites are divided into two groups: first the men led by Moses, all with normal human heads; behind them the animal-headed women are led by Miriam. They hold human-headed babies in their arms. Here, the gender distinction is strengthened by the arrangement of the figures.

The miniature adorning a piyyut for Shavuot depicts the Israelites receiving the Torah (*Fig. 3*). Here the arrangement is the same as in the "Crossing the Reed Sea:" Men and women create different groups. In this case the separation of men and women leans on a written source, namely an eight-century midrash, the *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*,[6] according to which "Rabbi Pinhas says, the eve of Shabbat Israel stood at Mount Sinai, the men arranged by themselves and the women by themselves."

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[6] *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* 40. Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Ha-Mahzor ha-Meshullash," Ph.D. dissertation (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 2001), 8.
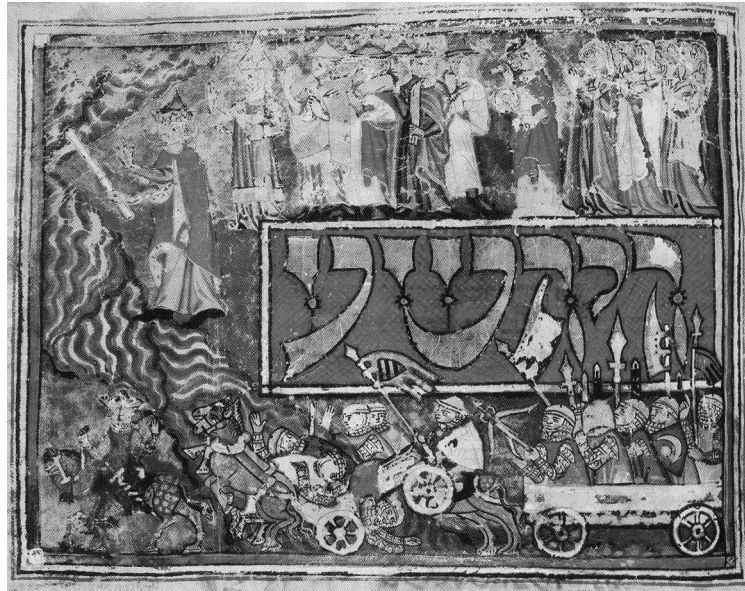
Fig. 2. Crossing the Reed Sea, Tripartite Mahzor volume 1, fol. 197r.

Fig. 3. Receiving the Torah, Tripartite Mahzor volume 2, fol.3r.

Shavuot has another miniature at the beginning of the Book of Ruth (*Fig. 4*). This miniature provides more individual characters than the other images. The identification of these figures, however, is not so unambiguous. The important point for the research here is that all the female figures have animal heads and all the males have human heads.

Fig. 4. The Book of Ruth, Tripartite Mahzor volume 2 fol. 71r.

As for the animal heads, in the Mahzor one can describe them sometimes as mammal heads and sometimes as bird heads, but their exact genera cannot be identified. Moreover, the same figure, Ruth, who can be identified with at least two figures in one image, is portrayed with different kinds of heads, once with a bird head, the second time with a mammal head. This suggests that the role of the animal heads in this manuscript was not to mirror the inner characteristics of the biblical figures, but primarily to cover human, more precisely, *female* faces. Which concepts may stand in the background of this distinction according to gender? Can one find similar ideas in contemporary written sources?

Written Sources

Sight in the commission of sin

Seeing an object or a person can be as bad as committing a sin, since seeing is often just the first step toward sinning. In Jewish tradition sight and idolatry, just as sight and adultery, are strongly connected ideas.[7] Both idolatry and

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[7] Tamás Turán, *Képfogyatkozás. Vázlat az ikonofóbia történetéből a rabbinikus hagyományban* (Eclipse of the image. Outline of the history of iconophobia in the rabbinical tradition) (Budapest: Akadémia kiadó, 2004), 20–31 (hereafter: Turán, *Képfogyatkozás*). In the first

adultery are unfaithfulness or breaking an alliance. In one case, the son of Israel, who turns away from God to worship a foreign god, that is, an idol, breaks the alliance made between God and the people of Israel. In the other case, a wife, who is unfaithful to her husband, breaks the alliance of their marriage. In both cases the sense of sight plays a central role.

One can find numerous examples of this connection in the Bible.[8] Among the commandments in the Book of Numbers is an important sentence which led to many interpretations in later Jewish literature:

> It (the cord) shall serve you as a fringe, and when you see it, you will be reminded of all of YHWH's commandments and perform them. Then you will not be drawn after your heart and your eyes, which you follow so faithlessly![9]

The *Talmud Bavli* interprets this verse as the following:

> 'After your own heart' – this is the *minut*, like he says 'The fool has said in his heart, There is no God' (Ps.14:1);' 'after your own eyes'– this refers to yearning for transgression, as it is written, 'And Samson said to his father, Get her for me, for she is pleasing in my eyes' (Jud.14:3).[10]

Thus, one's heart and eyes are the two main assistants of sin. On the one hand, the act of seeing is capable of generating dangerous desires, which can then lead to sin; on the other hand, the objects of sight may also be dangerous. The rabbinical literature warns of this danger many times. The *Talmud Yerushalmi* says in connection with Num.15:39: "Said R. Levi, 'The heart and the eyes are the two procurers of the sin ...' "[11] Similarly, Rashi (France, 1040–1105)[12] gives the following interpretation of Numbers 15:39: "…the heart and the eyes are

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subchapter he points out the close relationship of two of the Ten Commandments. These two are the prohibition of idolatry (Ex. 20.3) and the prohibition of adultery (Ex. 20.13–14).

[8] Turán, *Képfogyatkozás*, 26. E. g. the whole book of Hosea is built on the metaphor of the unfaithful wife, Israel, and her jealous husband, God.

[9] Num. 15:39. The translation is from *The Anchor Bible. Numbers 1-20. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary by Baruch A. Levine* (New York: Doubleday, 1993).

[10] *Talmud Bavli*, Berachot 12b. The translation is from *The Talmud of Babylonia. An American Translation I: Tractate Berachot*, tr. Jacob Neusner (Chico, CA: Scholar Press, 1984), 101 (hereafter: *Talmud Bavli*).

[11] *Talmud Yerushalmi*, Berachot, 1.4. (translation by the author)

[12] Rashi is the abbreviation of Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac. He is the leading Ashkenazi commentator on the Bible and the *Talmud Bavli*.

the spies of the body, they procure him the sins, the eye sees, the heart desires, and the body commits the sins."

Gazing at a woman

Certain seen objects increase the danger of committing a sin by being seductive. Women are such objects. The demand to limit communication with them is already present in the *Mishnah*: "Do not engage in too much conversation with women."[13] They are dangerous when they are gazing at someone as well as when they are seen. The gaze of a woman can bewitch a man, who then easily commits a sin; seeing a woman can generate sinful desire in the heart and leads to the same result.[14] Such a concept seems to shed light on the intention of the painter or patron of the Mahzor. Is it possible that the animal faces were supposed to prevent the reader of the prayer book from gazing at women, even illustrations of women? To judge the plausibility of this interpretation one has to try to find sources closer to the *Tripartite Mahzor* in both time and space.

The writings of the Hasidei Ashkenaz provide a good opportunity to form a closer image of the concepts that were present in thirteenth/fourteenth-century Germany. The Hasidei Ashkenaz was a pietistic movement flourishing in German lands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[15] Texts related to the Hasidei Ashkenaz could have influenced the phenomenon of gender separation in the Mahzor.

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[13] *Mishnah* Avot.1.5. The translation is from Simon G. Kramer, *God and Man in the Sefer Hasidim* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1966), 120, note 82.

[14] Turán, *Képfogyatkozás*, 81–84.

[15] These Hasidei Ashkenaz represent one of the most significant phenomena in the medieval history of German Jewry. Studies devoted to this group describe it in different ways. Ivan Marcus provides a systematic survey of older literature about them (*Piety and Society. The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* [Leiden: Brill, 1981], 1–10). Only a few certain historical data are known about them. The most prominent figures—R. Samuel ben Kalonymus he-Hasid of Speyer, his son, R. Judah ben Samuel he-Hasid of Regensburg, and Judah's student, R. Eleazar ben Judah of Worms—came from the famous Kalonymus family, whose forefather, Moshe Kalonymus, immigrated to Mainz from Lucca in the ninth century. This family had an important role as community leaders in the German-Jewish Middle Ages. They created a movement which had its first centers in the cities of Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Regensburg, and then extended its influence through most of Germany and into some parts of France (Joseph Dan, "Hasidei Ashkenaz," in *EJ*). Peter Schäfer put the productive period of the Hasidei Ashkenaz, that is, their literary activity, between c. 1150 and 1250 (Peter Schäfer, "The Ideal of Piety of the Ashkenazi Hasidim and Its Roots in Jewish Tradition," *Jewish History* 4, no. 2 [1990]: 9).

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The *Sefer Hasidim*, the main ethical work of the Hasidei Ashkenaz—the title covers different text collections, not a single book—refers to the negative aspects of seeing, especially gazing at women many times.[16]

> As long as someone **does not transgress, and does not enjoy whatever his eyes see**, on high the angels of mercy and angels of peace are similar to the righteous; and if someone **does not embellish his face so that people would desire him**, and is careful not to ruminate [sexually] in the thought of his heart then He causes the brilliance to fall on the face of that [entity] which has been made on high in their likeness. [emphasis added][17]

This paragraph contains two important statements. First, that enjoying what one sees is a transgression; and second, that causing this joy, or even desire, in someone by adorning the face is also a sin. That is, both the act of seeing and being the object of seeing can lead to sin.

Warnings against gazing at women are also present in other statements of the *Sefer Hasidim*. Every woman, even a pious one, is able to lead a man to sin. In order to avoid sexual sins a man should get married because if he lives in a happy marriage he will not desire other women. This "fence" is certainly not enough, however. A man should not look at women lest sinful thoughts emerge in his heart. Both of these warnings also appear in statements of Eleazar of Worms, "One should avoid looking at other women, and have sex with one's wife with the greatest passion because she guards him from sin."[18] A man's attitude towards women can influence other people's judgment about him and can make him be considered unreliable:

> You should not hire a worker or a teacher who gazes at women if he does not have to speak to them, or who talks to a woman if it is not essential. **The law is that a man should not gaze at a woman** unless he has to speak to her, so that he should not lust after her, as it says '[The Torah] will keep you from an evil woman, from the

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[16] It has two main versions, the Parma manuscript from the mid-thirteenth century from Germany and a shorter version printed in Bologna in 1538 (Yehuda he-Hasid, *Sefer Hasidim al pi nosah ketav yad asher be-Parma* [Sefer Hasidim according to the Parma ms.], ed. J. Wistinetzki [Jerusalem: Vegsel, 1998]; idem, *Sefer Hasidim* [Bologna edition], ed. Reuven Margaliot [Jerusalem: Harav Kook, 2004]). According to recent investigations the Parma ms. was composed before 1220–1230, probably in Southern Germany. The Bologna version was probably composed in the second half of the thirteenth century.

[17] *Sefer Hasidim, Bologna edition* §1136. The translation is from Moshe Idel, "Gazing at the Head in Ashkenazi Hasidism," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 6 (1997): 281–282.

[18] *Sefer ha-Roqeah ha-Gadol*, Hilkhot Teshuvah no. 20.

smooth tongue of a forbidden woman. Do not lust for her beauty or let her captivate you with her eyelids.'(Proverbs 6:24–25)[19] [emphasis added]

The aim of this prohibition is not simply to avoid sexual desires and sins, but to concentrate on another, superior direction:

[The pious man's] **intent is for heaven's sake and he does not look at the countenance of women**... And **he does not gaze upon women** at the time when they stand by their wash. When they wash their garments and lift their skirts so as not to soil them, they uncover their legs, and we know a woman's leg is a sexual incitement and so said the sage,[20] 'Nothing interposes better before desire, than closing one's eyes.'[21] [emphasis added]

Visual representation of the human being

Besides the fear of women, one should not ignore a more general idea, the traditional Jewish aversion to depicting human creatures. Man is created in the image of God; therefore, his representation means the representation of God himself, against which there is a biblical prohibition. Making an image is also suspicious from another crucial point of view: it carries the danger of idolatry. One can form an image for worshiping it as a god. Moreover, this action imitates the action of God, which is considered not only sacrilege, but also as a dangerous act.[22]

The Jews' attitude towards the depiction of a human figure was never homogeneous; there were always different opinions. One can recognize a significant difference between the opinions of rabbis living in Muslim countries and in Christian territories. The strict prohibition of Islam of depicting human figures had a strong impact on the Jews of these regions. In Christian countries visual representation of humans was a widespread custom, so Jews could be more lenient, they did not have to fear that "the other" would consider them

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[19] *Sefer Hasidim, Bologna edition* §1000. The translation is from Avraham Yaakov Finkel, *Sefer Chasidim. The Book of the Pious by Rabbi Yehudah HeChasid* (Northvale: Iason Aronson, 1997), 217.

[20] *Talmud Yerushalmi*, Berachot 1:5.

[21] *Sefer Hasidim, Bologna edition* §9. The translation is from Judith Baskin, "Rereading the Sources: New Visions of Women in Medieval Ashkenaz," in *Textures and Meanings: Thirty Years of Judaic Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst*, ed. Leonard H. Ehrlich, Shmuel Bolozky, Robert A. Rothstein, Murray Schwartz, Jay R. Berkovitz, James E. Young (www.umass.edu/judaic/anniversaryvolume/), 299.

[22] See for example the various legends of the *golem*.

worse in this respect. This contribution of views is only a general statement; on closer examination one could certainly find quite strict rabbis in the West and lenient rabbis in Muslim territories.

The main sources of rabbinical opinions are, on the one hand, Talmudic compendia and commentaries—these contain general statements and rules— and on the other hand, response literature, which deals with concrete cases based on various interpretations of Toraic laws or Talmudic passages.[23]

The criteria on which visual representation were judged were of three kinds: first, the spatial dimension of the object, second, its theme, and third its completeness (meaning that it is not damaged or distorted). In many cases these three approaches mingle. The spatial dimension was a significant factor, since from biblical times, statues, three-dimensional objects, were considered as idols par excellence. Reading texts that discuss the problem, an often-advised strategy for avoiding the depiction of human figures is the distortion or mutilation of the figures. The Tosafot, Talmudic exegetes in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France and Germany, commenting on the Avodah Zarah tractate of the *Talmud Bavli*, declared that only a whole human figure or human face is forbidden, but half a face can be depicted.[24] "Whole" and "half" refer to the three- or two-dimensional depiction, therefore, "whole" means here a round-shaped figure and "half" means a flat representation, embroidered or painted on textile.

The Talmud compendium of the Rosh (Rabbi Asher ben Jehiel, around 1250–1327) contains important notions on human figures. He, similarly to the Tosafot, differentiates between whole and not whole depictions; however, for him the two categories mean the completeness or incompleteness of a figure, and not the spatial extent of the object. If a depiction is not a whole human figure, that is, not a complete figure, there is no suspicion of it being an idol. His son, Rabbi Jacob ben Asher (1269–1343), who moved to Spain in 1303, follows his father's opinion in his main halakhic compendium, the *Arbaah Turim*, saying that "the fact that it is prohibited to depict a man and a dragon is expressly when they are in full form with all their limbs, but a head or a body without a head entails no prohibition to enjoy it when found or even when made."[25]

A twelfth-century tosafist, Rabbi Ephraim ben Isaac of Regensburg (1110– 1175), had a responsum which deals with the decoration of the Torah mantles

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[23] A detailed discussion of the biblical and Talmudic sources can be found in Turán, *Képfogyatkozás*, 100–108. Concerning the medieval sources see ibidem, 108–127.

[24] Tosafot 43a, "*lo taasun.*"

[25] *Arbaah Turim*, Joreh Deah 141, 144. The translation is in Narkiss, "On the Zoocephalic Phenomenon in Medieval Ashkenazi Manuscripts," in *Norms and Variations in Art. Essays in Honour of Moshe Barasch* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983), 61 (hereafter: Narkiss, "Zoocephalic Phenomenon").

and circumcision jackets.[26] He decrees that one is allowed to pray in a synagogue where such objects are decorated with animal figures and plants, since these images are not considered as idols for the gentiles—the only exception is the dragon, which might be worshiped. He also allowed the depiction of human beings *only if they do not have human faces.*

In his Talmud commentary a Provençal scholar, Rabbi Menahem ben Solomon (1249–1306), known as ha-Meiri,[27] discusses in detail the issue of making and using decorated objects. In the case of objects made by non-Jews, one cannot know whether non-Jews consider them as idols or not. Therefore, owning an object made by a non-Jew which is decorated with a human face is permitted only if the face is deficient or distorted either by the maker or by a Jew. He also says that objects decorated with animal figures are permitted to be used, since animals cannot be regarded as idols.

R. Meir ben Baruch von Rothenburg, the Maharam (died 1293), was a major authority in late thirteenth-century Germany.[28] He has a responsum which deals with decorated prayer books:

> You asked concerning the forms of animals and birds that are in prayer books, and are surprised that I do not object to them, since it has been taught: "You shall not make yourself a sculptured image" (Ex. 20:4) even of animals and fowl, nor an engraving. One might say, you may make a two-dimensional representation…It seems to me they are not acting properly, since when they look at these forms, they do not concentrate during their prayers on their Father who is in heaven. However, there is no prohibition in this case because of the injunction "You shall not make an idol" (Ex. 20:4) and so forth…. There is no substance at all to pictures that are made merely from paints. We are suspicious of idolatry only with a projecting relief seal

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[26] This responsum is cited by the Maharam, *Responsa* (Prague, 1608) no. 610; in Narkiss, "Zoocephalic Phenomenon," 59 and in H. C. L. Jaffé, "The Illustrations," in *The Bird's Head Haggadah of Bezalel National Art Museum in Jerusalem*, ed. Moshe Spitzer (Jerusalem: Tarshish Books, 1967), 70.

[27] Ha-Meiri, *Beit ha-Behirah,* al massekhet Avodah Zarah, in Turán, *Képfogyatkozás*, 117. His Provençal name was Don Vital Solomon. According to Turán this source may have some connection with the zoocephalic figures appearing in Hebrew manuscripts.

[28] As mentioned above, the name of Rabbi Meir appears in all three volumes of the *Tripartite Mahzor.*

but not with an intaglio, and certainly not with an image that does not project and is not sunken, but is merely painted…[29]

The original question cannot be reconstructed precisely. According to the Tosafot, it referred to those who painted such books. However, there are other traditions according to which the question was why the Maharam did not prevent the making or (a third interpretation) the using of these books.[30] On the basis of the last two variations, one may suggest that the books had already been painted when the Maharam was asked. At this point one must take into consideration that—as was clear in the case of Eliakim bar Josef von Mainz— rabbis were often asked after the object had already been made or installed.[31] The permissibility of an object or ornament was brought into question by those members of the community, usually conservative ones, who had doubts concerning the appropriateness of that object. Therefore the influence of certain responsa on the decoration of manuscripts is not obvious. One can speak rather of a mutual relationship between the rabbis' decrees and book illumination. A decorated book could have brought about the objection or the approval of a rabbinical authority and then this opinion might have had an influence on the decoration of other books.

Apart from the rabbinical authorities, another tendency concerning images appeared in thirteenth-century Germany with the activity of the Hasidei Ashkenaz. The attitude towards any kind of visual representation which is outlined in literary works connected to this "group," is apparently negative. They did not make a distinction between the visual representation of a human figure and non-human creatures or things. They interpreted the Second Commandment strictly, and therefore "forbade any adornment even in the home or on clothing."[32]

These written sources may provide answers to some relevant questions. Why was it necessary to hinder the reader from seeing human beings? Because sight is a dangerous act.—What can the reason be for hindering someone from seeing women? Since gazing at women carries increased danger and can easily

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[29] His answer is incorporated into the text of the Tosafot at the margins of the *Talmud Bavli.* (Tosafot to Yoma 54a and b). The English translation is from Vivian B. Mann, ed., *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 110–111(hereafter: *Jewish Texts*).

[30] Turán, *Képfogyatkozás*, 127, n327.

[31] Mann, *Jewish Texts,* 16. She presents two exceptions when rabbis were consulted before the creation of the objects.

[32] Narkiss, "Zoocephalic phenomenon," 57.

lead to committing a sin.—How can someone avoid depicting and depict a figure at the same time?—By distorting that figure or mutilating its body.

Revealing Possibilities

Such ideas concerning women and the dangers caused by them seem to be similar to the handling of female figures in the *Tripartite Mahzor*. Female faces are to be hidden from the eyes of the male reader. In addition, if a crowd was depicted, as in the "Crossing the Reed Sea" or in the "Receiving the Torah," the groups of men and women were separate from each other.

There are five exceptions in the manuscript that deviate from the "animal-headed-females—human-headed males" pattern. In both zodiac cycles the sign of Gemini is depicted as zoocephalic males, while the sign of Virgo is represented as a human-headed young woman. The fifth deviation is a bird-headed man at the beginning of a piyyut for Sukkot. This image is not a narrative biblical scene, but an illustration of the text. The reason for its deviation from the pattern is not clear.

As for the zodiac illustrations, one cannot disregard the fact that in Ashkenazi mahzors the prayer for dew and (sometimes also the prayer for rain) was usually illustrated with the signs of the zodiac, often accompanied by the Labors of the Months. These illustrations were derived from Christian liturgical books. The received model was changed in some respects and special Jewish types emerged. Since the zodiac cycle was already a widespread iconographic theme in Ashkenazi book illumination in the fourteenth century, there is a possibility that the painter of the *Tripartite Mahzor* could have seen some manuscripts and used them as models. The usage of models could have influenced the deviation from the pattern of gender distinction. In addition, zodiac signs were understood principally as symbols of star constellations and not as depictions of living creatures. In this way, even Gemini and Virgo might not have been regarded as representations of human figures. The painter or the patron may not have felt the necessity to hide their faces.

The pietistic texts on "dangerous" women quoted above may offer an explanation for the gender zoology of the *Tripartite Mahzor*. This manuscript is not the only example of the zoocephalic phenomenon, however. There are at least nine other manuscripts that contain animal-headed figures.[33] In all of them, these zoocephalic figures remain human, usually biblical characters, acting in

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[33] For a list of these manuscripts see Bezalel Narkiss, "Introduction to the Mahzor Lipsiae," in *Machsor Lispiae*, ed. Elias Katz (Hanau/Main: Dausien Verlag, 1964), 104–105.

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biblical stories. Animal heads are used as veils to cover the figures' real faces, but the patterns in which they are applied vary considerably from manuscript to manuscript. Some of them use the motif together with other methods of covering the human head. In the *Leipzig Mahzor*[34] the Egyptian soldiers wear helmets and all the others have bird-like faces (*Fig. 5*). In some codices both animal and human heads appear, and among them some, just like the *Tripartite Mahzor*, apply the zoocephalic motif apparently to separate different groups from each other. In the *Bird's Head Haggadah*,[35] for example, Jews are depicted with bird heads, while non-Jews have human heads (*Fig. 6*). While in the case of some manuscripts one cannot discover any pattern. Thus, the zoocephalic motif seems to have been a flexible matter that did not have any decided way of handling but offered a good method of hiding and of differentiating.

Fig. 5. Illustration of the piyyut for Shabbat ha-Gadol,
Leipzig Mahzor volume 1, fol. 64v (detail).

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[34] *Leipzig Mahzor*, ca.1320, southwest Germany, Leipzig, University Library, Ms. V. 1102/I–II.
[35] *Worms Mahzor*, 1272, Franconia, Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Ms Heb. 4°781/I.

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The *Tripartite Mahzor* is unique concerning the application of animal heads to differentiate females from males. At the same time, however, it fits the context of the other zoocephalic manuscripts: it uses the motif to hide and differentiate. The animal heads hide the female faces from the reader and create a distinction between men and women.

Textual sources shed light on the possible theological or spiritual context in which the *Tripartite Mahzor* was produced and offer a plausible explanation for its gender zoology. However, it is necessary to emphasize that no direct relationship between the images and these texts can be proved. As for the biblical and the rabbinical sources—being basic texts of the Jewish culture—they are too general to explain a local phenomenon and they are also far from the Mahzor both in time and space. Even in the case of the writings of the Hasidei Ashkenaz one has to be cautious, as one cannot demonstrate a direct relationship between them and the Mahzor, although they are much closer to it geographically and chronologically, first, because the circumstances of the production of the Mahzor are not known; second, because the Hasidei Ashkenaz and its literary activity is not an unequivocal phenomenon. There is no scholarly consensus concerning the nature of this movement and its influence on the wider Jewish society. Moreover, the *Sefer Hasidim* has several different versions. It is impossible to determine which version was spread in which region. A thirds reason might be that there are several passages in the *Sefer Hasidim* which generally disapprove of the decoration of books or garments.

Fig. 6. Pharaoh and a Jew, Bird's Head Haggadah, *fol. 24r (detail).*

Still, these texts represent a spiritual context in which the intention to avoid gazing at dangerous women might have spread even to the area of book illumination and might have caused or, at least, influenced such a "zoology of gender."

A COMPARISON OF INTERROGATION IN TWO INQUISITORIAL COURTS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY[1]

Irene Bueno

Introduction

The spread of the Cathar heresy in Western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was perceived as a real challenge to orthodoxy. The Catholic Church soon employed all means possible in a reaction against this dualistic religion, which was especially widespread in the south of France and in central and northern Italy. After the conclusion of the Albigensian crusade (1209–1229), effective inquisitorial activity, started in Languedoc in 1233 on the initiative of Pope Gregory IX, became the main weapon employed to undermine the dualistic heresy.[2]

However, in the second half of the thirteenth century a great number of perfects and *credentes* crossed the Alps and established a sort of "church" in exile in the towns of northern Italy. Such a hinterland constituted a reservoir for the re-emergence of Catharism at the turn of the century, when a spiritual *reconquista* was led in Languedoc by the Authié brothers. Even though partial and limited,

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[2] On the general history of Catharism see: Malcolm Barber, *The Cathares. Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000); Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1953); *Cathares en Languedoc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 3 (Toulouse: Privat, 1968); Jean Duvernoy, *Le catharisme: L'histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1976) (henceforth: Duvernoy, *Le catharisme : L'histoire*); *Effacement du Catharisme? (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 20 (Toulouse: Privat, 1985); Elie Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare et l'Inquisition (1229–1329)* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1980); Macolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998); Raoul Manselli, *L'eresia del male* (Naples: Morano, 1963) (henceforth: Manselli, *L'eresia del malè*); Michel Roquebert, *Les Cathares. De la chûte de Montségur aux derniers bûchers (1244–1329)* (Paris: Perrin, 1998) (henceforth : Roquebert, *Les Cathares*); Michel Roquebert, *Histoire des Cathares. Hérésie, Croisade, Inquisition du XI au XIV siècle* (Paris: Perrin,1999).

the success of their mission was supported by fertile resources, represented by the heretical tradition and a web of supporters ready to hide, protect, and accompany the heretics from place to place.

Nevertheless, re-emerging Catharism soon had to confront the capable reaction of the Inquisition headquarters based in Carcassonne, Toulouse, and Pamiers. The Dominicans Geoffroy d'Ablis (Carcassonne, 1303–1316) and Bernard Gui (Toulouse, 1306–1324), and the bishop of Pamiers—future Pope Benedict XII—Jacques Fournier (1318–1325), dominated the scene of the last repression of the dualist heresy. The three inquisitorial seats and their jurisdictional area delimited the region of the last repression, which extended from the Pyrenees to the present *département* of Ariège.

After the famous *Montaillou: village occitane* by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie,[3] historians have studied the demise of Catharism in the French Midi, mostly from anthropological, socio-economic or religious perspectives.[4] While most of the scholarship has been focused on the reconstruction of the persecuted society, my research concentrates on the less investigated inquisitorial institution.[5]

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[3] Emmauel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitane* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) (henceforth: Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*).

[4] The book of Benad represents a critical answer to Le Roy Ladurie, focused on a chronological and biographical approach: Matthias Benad, *Domus und Religion in Montaillou: Katholische Kirche und Katharismus im Uberlebenskampf der Familie des Pfarres Petrus Clerici am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1990) (henceforth: Benad, *Domus und Religion in Montaillou*). However, most of the works are constituted by articles focused on a specific topic, such as alimentation, biographies, or women.

[5] Concerning the most recent scholarship on French Inquisition, see Laurent Albaret, *Les Inquisiteurs: portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (XIIe–XIV siècles)* (Toulouse: Privat, 2001) (henceforth: Albaret, *Inquisiteurs: portraits*); John J. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) (henceforth: Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*); Jacques Chiffoleau, "Avouer l'inavouable. L'aveu et la procédure inquisitoire" in *L'aveu, histoire, sociologie, philosophie*, ed. R. Dulong (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001), 57–97; Alan R. Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors. Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth Century France* (La Haye: Brill, 2000) (henceforth: Friedlander, *Hammer of the Inquisitors*); James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc* (London: Cornell University Press, 2001) (henceforth: Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*); R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Id., "A la naissance d'une société persécutrice: les clercs, les Cathares et la formation de l'Europe," *Heresis* 6 (1993): 11–37; Jacques Paul, "La mentalité de l'inquisiteur chez Bernard Gui," in *Bernard Gui et son Monde*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), 279–316; id., "Jacques Fournier inquisiteur," in *La papauté d'Avignon et le Languedoc (1316–1342)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 26 (Toulouse:

The juridical procedure practiced by inquisitors and bishops in repressing heresy had already matured by the early fourteenth century. The contribution of "un code, des décrétales, des canons de conciles et des lettres officielles qui fixent avec de plus en plus de minutie tous les détails d'un procès," determined a certain uniformity in the work of inquisitors.[6] Nevertheless, inquisitorial documents are not identical with each other. Although similar in many regards, the registers of Geoffroy d'Ablis[7] and Jacques Fournier[8] have different characteristics which seem to show that there was some margin for personal interpretation. The aim of this article is to enquire into the inquisitorial activity of d'Ablis and Fournier through a comparative analysis of their registers, focusing on the major differences between the two courts.[9] I will first compare the procedure employed in the tribunals of Carcassonne and Pamiers, analyzing the construction of the inquest, the summoning of witnesses and accused, and the various phases of the process. Secondly, through the dissection of the questions asked by the inquisitors in the course of interrogations, I will reconstruct the questionnaires employed in the two courts.

Privat, 1991) 39–67 (henceforth: Paul, "Jacques Fournier inquisiteur"); Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001) (henceforth: Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*); Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) (henceforth: Peters, *Inquisition*).

[6] Paul, "La procédure inquisitoriale à Carcassonne au milieu du XIIIe siècle," in *L'Église et le droit dans le Midi, (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 29 (Toulouse: Privat, 1994), 361; id., "Jacques Fournier inquisiteur," 39–67.

[7] Annette Pales-Gobilliard, ed. and tr., *L'inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis et les cathares du comté de Foix (1308–1309)* (Paris: CNRS, 1984) (henceforth: *Geoffroy d'Ablis*).

[8] *Le registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier (évêque de Pamiers): 1318–1325*, ed. Jean Duvernoy, 3 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1965), (henceforth: *Jacques Fournier*).

[9] While I have considered the whole register of Geoffroy d'Ablis (composed by seventeen trials), my analysis on the register of Jacques Fournier was carried out on a representative sample of eighteen selected cases, chosen according to criteria such as kind of accusation, social status, gender, previous appearance at the court of Carcassonne, and relation with other trials. I analyzed the cases of Brune Pourcel (*Jacques Fournier*, I, 382–394), Alazais Fauré (ibid., I, 410–421), Alamande Guilhabert (ibid., I, 422–428), Arnaud Fabre (ibid., I, 429–435), Arnaud Gélis (ibid., I, 128–143), Guillaume Autier (ibid., I, 436–441), Baruch l'Allemand (ibid., I, 177–190), Guillaume Agasse (ibid., II, 135–147), Bernard Marty (ibid., III, 253–295), Guillaume Guilabert (ibid., I, 255–257), Alazais Azéma (ibid., I, 307–322), Bernard Clergue (ibid., II, 268–304), Béatrice de Planissoles (ibid., I, 214–250), Barthélemy Amilhac (ibid., I, 251–259), Guillaume Fort (ibid., I, 442–454), Bernard Benet (ibid., I, 395–409), Jacqueline den Carot (ibid., I, 151–159). Because a complete examination of the entire register is opportune, I am presenting here a report of a work in progress.

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Building the Process. The Inquest and Preliminary Phases

After the passage from accusatorial to inquisitorial procedure, which became the new standard form of criminal court suits in Europe, processes against heresy were issued by the initiative of the ecclesiastical courts on the basis of a *denunciatio*.[10] The suspected heretics were usually summoned by means of a letter sent to their parish priest, but sometimes they preferred to give their depositions spontaneously, hoping to be treated more mercifully. Only four spontaneous confessions appear in the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis, indicated by expressions such as *veniens non citatus*, *gratis veniens*, *veniens non citatus nec vocatus*,[11] while the majority of the processes were started because of a denunciation.[12]

In Fournier's register, the elements of the accusation were summarized at the beginning of the proceeding. This list of errors, compiled on the basis of a previous denunciation, constituted the raw materials for the interrogation. Denunciations were rigorously anonymous and the name of the accuser was never revealed. In spite of his request, not even a powerful man such as the bailiff of Montaillou managed to learn from the inquisitor who had deposed against him, because, according to the bishop, this *non erat de consuetudine vel stilo officii Inquisitionis*.[13]

For inquisitors, interrogations constituted occasions for being informed about other people involved in heresy. As a consequence, a single trial could open the way to a series of trials, according to a sort of "cluster model." During each interrogation, Geoffroy d'Ablis and his lieutenants collected long lists of names. For example, in the trial proceedings of Guillaume de Rodes almost 60 names are listed in his confession.[14] Pierre de Gailhac of Tarascon was another impressive case; he listed 42 names, subdivided by place of origin and with indication of family links.[15] While d'Ablis put together lists of names, Fournier

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[10] Peters, *Inquisition*, 52, 64–65.

[11] Spontaneous confessions were given by Philippe de Larnat, Pierre de Tinhac, Jacques Garsen, and Géraud de Rodes, see the Introduction of Pales-Gobilliard in *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 33–36; Céléstin Douais, *L'inquisition, ses origines – sa procédure*, (Paris: Plon, 1906), 164 (henceforth: Douais, *L'inquisition*); Peters, *Inquisition*, 64–65.

[12] Ten cases out of seventeen: Béatrice de Planissoles, Alazais Azéma, Guillaume Fort, Guillaume Guilabert, Aude Fauré, Baruch l'Allemand, Bernard Marty, Brune Pourcel, Guillaume Agasse, and Bernard Clergue.

[13] *Jacques Fournier*, II, 301–302.

[14] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 134–163.

[15] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 338–341.

performed more detailed investigations. His concern was to enquire into facts, relations, and dialogues, which his notary attentively recorded.

The convocation of witnesses was regarded as a major component of the investigation. With the progressive disappearance of archaic proofs related to supernatural powers—such as ordeals, judicial duels, and purgatory oaths—and the diffusion of evolved methods of proof in secular courts of justice, full evidence was provided either by a full confession of the accused or by testimonies of eyewitnesses who had caught the criminal in the act.[16]

The employment of witnesses was extremely rare in the tribunal of Carcassonne. None of the seventeen proceedings mentions recourse to any external testimony. However, evidence by the accused was routinely put together by comparing different depositions. By interrogating several individuals about the same event and asking them to list the names of the participants, the inquisitor and his lieutenants provided support for the original accusation.[17]

In contrast, the court of Pamiers had recourse to witnesses frequently. Sometimes the accused were simultaneously employed as witnesses for someone else's process.[18] In other cases, innocent witnesses were summoned to give testimony. The more recent the events being enquired into, the more testimonies the inquisitor was able to find. For the process of Aude Fauré, whose doubts on the Eucharist had arisen only a few days before the trial, ten witnesses were found.[19] Moreover, the awareness that an accused was far from confessing the truth made the use of witnesses desirable. This was the case, for example, of Bernard Clergue: five people provided testimony against his attempts to elicit false depositions from them. His case was relevant because of the important role of the Clergue family in the village; therefore the bishop put all his efforts into obtaining a reconstruction of the facts.[20]

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[16] See Peters, *Inquisition*, 65; Jean-Philippe Lévi, *La hiérarchie des preuves dans le droit savant du Moyen Age depuis la Renaissance du Droit Romain jusqu'à la fin du XIVe siècle*, Annales de l'Université de Lyon, (Lyon, 1939), 67–105; John Gilissen, *La preuve en Europe du XVIe au début du XIXe siècle*. Manuels de la Société Jean Bodin, 17 (Brussels: Editions de la Librairie Encyclopedique, 1964); Raoul Charles Van Caenegem, "Methods of Proof in Western Medieval Law," in Raoul Charles Van Caenegem., *Legal History: A European Perspective*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1991), 71–113 (henceforth: Van Caenegem, "Methods of Proof").

[17] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, trials of Guillaume de Rodes (156–163), Blanche de Rodes (232–241), Raimond Issaura (284–291), Pierre Issaura (304–311), and Arnaud Issaura (310–323).

[18] See for example the case of Guillaume Guilhabert's *hereticatio*, or the process of Arnaud Gélis, *Jacques Fournier*, I, 128–143.

[19] *Jacques Fournier*, II, 82–105.

[20] *Jacques Fournier*, III, 268–304.

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The Inquisitorial Procedure: Anatomy of a Trial

After the accused and witnesses were summoned in front of the judging authorities, they were required to take an oath. A group, usually composed of the lieutenants of the inquisitor, Dominican friars, secular clerics, ecclesiastical and civil officials, and a notary acted as witnesses and were present at the various sessions of the process.[21] The interrogations were not necessarily conducted by the appointed inquisitors. Geoffroy d'Ablis entrusted his lieutenants with the role of eliciting the first important depositions and normally he was not present at the first sessions. On the contrary, most of the time Fournier interrogated his accused personally. Among my selected cases only Guillaume Agasse gave his deposition to inquisitorial officials delegated by the bishop.

Moreover, d'Ablis and Fournier elaborated diverse strategies of interrogation and made use of pressure techniques in different ways. Alternatively to regular interrogations and admonitions, means of coercion were normally employed by the inquisitorial courts in order to elicit a full confession. In the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis there is no evidence of torture, while in that of Fournier only one case is documented. This trial was unusual, unique in the whole register for both the subject of the accusation and its procedure. Guillaume Agasse, guardian of a leprosarium in Pamiers, was accused of having participated in a meeting in Toulouse, organized by the king of Granada and the sultan of Babylonia, where about fifty lepers repudiated the Christian faith and assumed the commitment to poison wells and fountains by means of special potions.[22] Interestingly, the first interrogation of Agasse, where torture was employed, was not led by the bishop, but by his procurator.[23] Fournier usually interrogated his accused personally, but in this case he met the accused only for the third interrogation and he did not resort to torture. Although it is impossible to reconstruct precisely the vicissitudes of the process, we can hypothesize some links between the peculiar feature of the accusation, the means of coercion used, and the identity of the interrogating inquisitor.

Preventive imprisonment was much more in use in the tribunals of Carcassonne and Pamiers. Temporary detention had a threatening function and

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[21] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 4–32; Paul, "Jacques Fournier inquisiteur," 43–48.

[22] *Jacques Fournier*, II, 135–147. The case has been studied by Carlo Ginzburg, *Storia notturna* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), 51–52; see also David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[23] *Jacques Fournier*, II, 137.

was conceived to persuade the suspected to confess.[24] In the register of d'Ablis, custody preceding the process was more frequent.[25] On the contrary, the court of Fournier usually decided for temporary captivity during the course of the lawsuit, in case the accused was believed to be hiding the truth after the first deposition. According to Given, Fournier resorted to coercive imprisonment in fifty-five cases out of eighty-nine.[26] Temporary captivity was in fact one of the most effective techniques used to obtain a satisfactory confession.

In Carcassonne, the first interrogations routinely concluded with a declaration of repentance from the accused, who rejected his errors and, having abjured, was reconciled with the Catholic Church.[27] Abjuration was necessary to avoid being considered unrepentant, which would invite the capital sentence. According to the procedure put into practice in Pamiers, this phase was strictly associated with a further session of recapitulation.

This phase was aimed at obtaining a confirmation from the accused of what he had previously confessed. The importance of this stage seems to be confirmed by its official appearance: in Carcassonne, it was undertaken by Geoffroy d'Ablis himself, while in Pamiers it usually included the pontifical judge Jean de Beaune besides Fournier. The notary read the previous confession in the vernacular and the accused under oath *approbavit, innovavit, ratificavit et confirmavit tamquam vera et nullam continentem falsitatem.*[28] If he did not have to make any further additions, he promised to persevere in these declarations, renouncing any possibility of defence in case they were contradicted. Confirmation and abjuration sanctioned the end of the trial sessions and entrusted the repented heretic to pronouncement of the sentence.

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[24] Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 65; for the whole chapter on "Coercive imprisonment," see 52–65.

[25] Seven accused declared during their deposition to have been imprisoned before being summoned in front of the judges: they were Raimond Autier (*Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 116–135), Guillaume de Rodes (ibid., 134–163) and his wife Blanche (ibid., 212–241), Raimond Issaura (ibid., 260–291) and his brother Pierre (ibid., 290–311), Pierre de Gailhac (ibid., 332–361), and Alamande de Vicdessos (ibid., 240–249).

[26] In forty-two of them it was possible to determine the length of time of the forced custody: in 75% of the cases about 37.3 weeks were considered necessary, Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 58–59.

[27] The usual formula employed in Carcassonne was *Juravit et abjuravit omnem heresim et fuit reconsiliatus.*

[28] This was the formula employed in the tribunal of Carcassonne. In Pamiers it was very similar: recognivit esse vera, et in nullo continere falsitatem, et dictam suam confessionem tamquam veram et legitime factam approbavit, ratificavit, et ex certa sciencia sonfirmavit, et pro renunciato et concluso haberi voluit. (*Jacques Fournier*, I, 142).

What were the margins of flexibility in the inquisitorial procedure? Was the mechanism of trials a truly uniform system? Or was it rather open to local modifications?

At Carcassonne, exceptions were allowed according to the social and cultural level of the accused. Two suspected heretics, a notary and the priest of Luzenac, provided their own written confessions. While the former was in charge of registering his interrogation, the latter brought two *cedulae* containing a narration on his links with the Cathar heresy.[29] In this case, writing a confession had the advantage of avoiding a regular interrogation.

Among the trials that I selected in Fournier's register, variations of the procedure were related to the importance of the case. This could be determined by the status of the accused. Bernard Clergue, for example, occupied an eminent position in the village of Montaillou; appointed bailiff, and brother of the village priest Pierre Clergue, he was a member of a powerful family and deeply involved in Catharism. His process presents interesting peculiarities.[30] The total number of times that Bernard was summoned in front of the inquisitor was quite high; not only was he convoked nine times by Fournier, but he had also been interrogated by Geoffroy d'Ablis in 1310 and Jean de Beaune in 1321.[31] On some occasions he tried to turn the course of the process to his advantage. Not only did he manage to be freed from prison by paying a fine, but he also obtained keys to the cells and had free access to the inquisitorial prison. There, alternating promises of rewards with threats and insults, he sought to obtain retractions from those who had denounced his brother.[32] Moreover, Fournier provided the accused with all means to defend himself; he allowed Clergue to read the depositions that various witnesses had delivered against him, and even offered him the possibility of having an advocate. The overall duration of Bernard Clergue's process was also impressive; without considering the deposition released to Geoffroy d'Ablis, it lasted almost three years and four months.

In conclusion, the whole structure of the processes against heresy was aimed at obtaining a "full proof." This was constituted by a confession of the

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[29] Depositions of Pierre de Gaillac (*Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 332–361) and Pierre de Luzenac (ibid., 368–393).

[30] *Jacques Fournier*, I, 268–304; Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, 88–107, 220–241; Benad, *Domus und religion in Montaillou*; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*.

[31] Although the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis does not preserve this deposition, it was in the register of Fournier: this case of double evidence was unique.

[32] From this time Bernard Clergue was accused both because of his involvement in heresy and his attempts to obstruct the work of the inquisition, see *Jacques Fournier*, I, 298.

accused or at least two eyewitness testimonies, which were ultimately supposed to confirm what the judge already knew because he had received the denunciation. Because the suspected heretic had no other choice than to confess or be considered *relapsus* and left to the secular arm, the process was usually concluded with his admission of guilt and his abjuration.[33]

The Interrogation: The Strategies of the "Doctor of the Soul"

Interrogations represent the principal scenario of the dialectical relations between the inquisitor and the accused. Depositions were structured and formulated according to what the Catholic authority considered to be a "heretical" behavior or belief, linking inextricably, by their own nature, the identity of heretics to what inquisitors believed this identity to be. What exactly did inquisitors understand as heretical? How did this understanding change in time?[34]

Inquisitorial documents chronicle a noticeable evolution of the strategies of interrogating suspected heretics between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Concentrating on the famous manuscript 609,[35] Pegg has highlighted the main feature of interrogations in Toulouse in the years 1245–1246, stating that elements of behavior rather than principles of faith represented the most vivid concern of inquisitors:

> 'Did you see a heretic [a good man or a good woman] or a Waldensian?' was, invariably, the first question. … 'If so, then where and when, how often and with whom, and who were the others present?' 'Did you listen to the preaching or exhortation of heretics?' 'Did you give the heretics lodging or arrange shelter for them?' 'Did you lead the heretics from place to place or otherwise consort with them or arrange for them to be guided or escorted?' 'Did you eat or drink with the heretics or eat the bread blessed by them?'[36]

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[33] Peters, *Inquisition*, 40–73; Van Caenegem, "Methods of Proof," 98–99; Paul, "Jacques Fournier inquisiteur," 59–65; Norman Rufus Colin Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 42–43.

[34] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power,* 7; Pegg, *Corruption of Angels,* 47.

[35] Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 609.

[36] And it goes on: 'Did you give or send anything to the heretics?' 'Did you act as a financial agent [*questor*] or messenger [*nuncius*] or assistant [*minister*] of the heretics?' 'Did you hold any deposit or anything for a heretic?' 'Did you receive the peace from a heretic's book, mouth, shoulder, or elbow?' 'Did you adore a heretic or bow your head or genuflect and say 'Bless us' before the heretics?' 'Did you participate, or were you

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The list continues without any reference to what a suspected heretic believed. How had the inquisitorial understanding of heresy changed by the turn of the fourteenth century? What was the meaning of heretical belief for Geoffroy d'Ablis and Jacques Fournier?

1. Inheritance of a Traditional Questionnaire

The traditional feature of thirteenth-century interrogations was not obliterated during the last trials against Catharism in Languedoc. Most of the questions that were mentioned above maintained a central role in interrogatories and shaped fourteenth-century depositions.

In both the registers, the overall structure of most of the depositions shows that meeting with 'good men' represented one of the main concerns for in-quisitors and was regarded as important evidence of involvement in heresy. Two typical examples were derived from the registers under study here (*Table 1*):[37]

Table 1. Typical reports of facts.

D'Ablis: Interrogation of Pierre Tinhac	**Fournier:** Interrogation of Brune Pourcel
Item dixit se visitasse et vidisse V anni vel circa sunt elapsi predictos tres hereticos et Petrum ac Guillelmum Auterii hereticos non tamen simul sed diversis vicibus in domo predicti Martini.	Item dixit quod post annum vel quasi, ipsa iterum venit per se ad domum dicte Alazaicis, et cum fuit in dicta domo, in domo vocata la foganha, inventi stantem iuxta ignem dictum Pradas Tavernier hereticum…

The narration, apparently free, was composed on the framework of some standard elements. Besides rarely omitted chronological and geographical data,

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present at their *consolamentum* or *apparellamentum*…?' 'Did you ever confess to another inquisitor?' 'Did you believe the heretics to be good men and good women, to have good faith, to be truthful, to be friends of God?' 'Did you hear, or do you know, the errors of the heretics?' 'Did you hear them say that God had not made all visible things, that there was no salvation in baptism, that marriage was worthless, that the Host was not the body of Christ, and that the flesh would never be resurrected?' 'If you did believe these errors, and also believed the heretics to be good, then how long have you persisted in these beliefs?' 'And when did you first begin to believe in the heretics and their errors?' 'Did you leave the sect of the heretics?' 'How long ago did you leave and did you ever see the heretics after this time?' 'Did you ever agree to keep silent about all these things?' 'Did you ever hide the truth?' Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 45–46.

[37] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 256; *Jacques Fournier*, I, 384.

verbs such as *videre*, *visitare* or *invenire* [*hereticum*] express the core of each reported episode and provide the answer expected by those who were leading the interrogation: because the deponent had seen the *boni homines*, he was likely to share their faith. In his handbook for inquisitors, Bernard Gui suggests this as the first question to be put to believers of the *Secta manichaeorum*:

> In the first place, let the one under examination be asked whether he has seen or known a heretic or heretics anywhere, knowing or believing them to be such or to have that name or reputation; where he saw them; how often; with whom; and when.[38]

However, meeting heretics did not constitute a sufficient proof of adherence to heresy. Geoffroy d'Ablis and Jacques Fournier inherited a range of questions focused on what a suspected heretic had done, which can be grouped according to their topics.

Having ascertained that the accused had met some of the heretics, inquisitors often investigated his/her participation in rites.[39] The *adoratio* of heretics, or *melhoramentum*,[40] was perceived by d'Ablis as a crucial element of the involvement in the *prava fide*. The deponent was asked *si adoravit dictos hereticos* almost every time that he admitted to having met the *boni homines*.[41]

To the inquisitorial eye the ritual of *adoratio* meant a turning point in the interaction of an individual with heresy due to the passage from passivity to a deliberate choice of performing homage in front of the *boni homines*. In Fournier's register, such a crucial step seems to be represented rather by the participation in a *hereticatio*, or *consolamentum*, as is shown by the iteration of questions on whether someone *fuit receptus et hereticatus per dictum hereticum* and *de modo hereticationis*.[42] Questions concerning what was regarded as the only Cathar

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[38] Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, ed. and tr., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 384–385 (henceforth: Wakefield and Evans, ed. and tr., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*).

[39] On Cathar rituals see Christine Thouzellier, ed., *Rituel cathare* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1977) (henceforth: Thouzellier, ed., *Rituel*); Francesco Zambon, *La cena segreta. Trattati e rituali catari* (Milan: Adelphi, 1997).

[40] According to Albaret's "Glossaire" it is a "Acte de salutation du croyant au parfait dès qu'il se trouve en sa présence et qui 'adore' en lui le bien ou la présence du Saint-Esprit," in Albaret, *Inquisiteurs: portraits*, 175.

[41] See for example *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 115, 121, 125–127, 147, 151, 169, 202, 265, 321. *Jacques Fournier*, 311, 416, 346, 431, 494.

[42] According to the description provided by Bernard Gui, "The heretic asks the individual who has to be received, if [the invalid] can speak, if he or she wishes to become a good Christian man or woman and wishes to receive holy baptism. Upon

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sacrament were more frequent and articulated in Fournier's forum than in d'Ablis'.[43]

Given that *adoratio* and *hereticatio* represented the most relevant scenarios of the encounter between believers and *boni homines*, numerous questions concerned these thematic nodes. Sometimes the inquisitors asked the accused whether he ate the bread blessed by the *boni homines*.[44] A question concerning the *promissio*, (*convenenza* in Occitain) could also be asked.[45] This was a pact through which the believers declared to the heretics their intention of being received into the sect at the end of their life. The importance of this promise was certainly acknowledged by inquisitors because it represented a deliberate and conscious choice of entrusting the salvation of one's soul to mediators different from the Catholic clergy.

As was said above, the accused were frequently asked to recall the names of other people who participated in those meetings, with the aim of situating individuals within a net of relations with other heretics and stimulating

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receiving an affirmative answer, accompanied by the request, "Bless us," the heretic, with his hand over the head of the sick person… and holding the Book, repeats the Gospel… On the spot, or in a place apart, the heretics make many prostrations, obeisances, and genuflections to the ground, repeating the Lord's prayer several times while bowing and raising," Wakefield and Evans, ed. and tr., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 383. See the glossaire of Michel Roquebert, *Les Cathares*, 539–540; Anne Brenon, "Les fonctions sacramentelles du consolament," *Heresis* 20 (1993): 33–55; Franjo Sanjek, "L'initiation cathare dans l'Occident médiéval," *Heresis* 6 (1985): 19–27; Thouzellier, ed., *Rituel*, 222–260.

[43] In *Jacques Fournier*, I, 320, the heretication of Na Roqua is reported by Alazais Azéma; the heretication of Guillaume Guilhabert was witnessed and reported by Bernard Benet (*Jacques Fournier*, 395–409), Alazais Fauré (ibid., I, 410–421), Alamande Guilhabert (ibid., 422–428), Arnaud Fauré (ibid., I, 429–425), Guillaume Authié (ibid., 436–441).

[44] See for example *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 124 (interrogation of Raimond Authié), or 304 (interrogation of Pierre Issaura): the formula is "Interrogatus si comedit umquam de pane a dictis hereticis benedicto;" in *Jacques Fournier*, I, 412 Alazais Fauré is "Interrogata si comedit de pane benedicto per dictum hereticum."

[45] Bernard Gui describes the pact like this: "Also, they teach their believers to make with them a pact, which they call the agreement (*la convenensa*), to the effect that the believers desire to be taken into the heretics' sect and order at the end of the life. Once the pact is sealed, the heretics may accept them during an illness, even though they should have lost the power of speech or their memory should have failed," Wakefield and Evans, ed. and tr., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 382. See examples in *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 118; *Jacques Fournier*, I, 412.

reciprocal denunciations.[46] Moreover, the inquisitors often enquired about what the accused and the other participants did or spoke about with heretics,[47] and asked whether they presented anything to the *boni homines*, which would illuminate their role of collaboration with the *secta*.[48] Following this line, questions regarded the permanence of *boni homines* in a house, and alimentary matters (whether the accused eat or drank with them, who provided food and cooked it, and what it was).[49] In addition, inquisitors investigated the *nuntii* and guides in charge of escorting heretics, their residence and destination.[50] This kind of information allowed inquisitors to draw a sort of map of the places usually frequented by heretics and families willing to host them.

2. Questions of Belief

Was "heretical behavior" the only concern of these inquisitors? Is something else to be found in their records? Theorizing the proper method of questioning the "Manichaeans" around 1323–1324, Bernard Gui also suggests that the inquisitors examine the belief of their accused:

> Also, [ask] what he heard said or taught by the heretics against the faith and sacraments of the Roman Church; what he heard them

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[46] Or simply "Interrogatus de presentibus." Examples of questions on names of participants are to be found in almost every page in the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis, but see samples in *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 112, 128, 150, 338–340, 342.

[47] In d'Ablis' register the question is usually formulated like this: "Interrogatus quid fecit vel dixit cum dictis hereticis," see *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 112, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124–126, 166, 180, 202, 222, 240, 360.

[48] "Interrogatus si dederunt aliquid;" see for example *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 112, 166, 202; *Jacques Fournier*, I, 384: Brune Pourcel is interrogated "si tunc vel in preterita vice misit aliqid dicto patri suo [i.e. Prades Tavernier]; the question could also regard another person: Alazais Fauré was asked whether she knew "quod mater eius dederit aliquid dicto heretico," *Jacques Fournier*, I, 412.

[49] Questions of this type are quite rare among my selected cases in the register of Fournier, while they are frequently reported in the register of d'Ablis, for example 118, 182, 202, 214, 220, 252, 256, 320. On the inquisitorial concern about eating with heretics, see Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 99.

[50] The interrogation of Bernard Marty of Junac is particularly interesting; being brother of a *perfectus*, Bernard was very active in protecting the heretics and escorting them from place to place, *Jacques Fournier*, III, 253–295. The role of various members of the Marty family in guiding the heretics is also testified to in the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis, in particular in the depositions of Arnaud Piquier (164–179), Blanche de Rodes (212–241), Raimond Issaura (260–291), and Pierre Issaura (290–311). See other examples in *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 118, 182, 257.

saying about the sacrament of the Eucharist; about baptism, matrimony, confession of sins to priests, adoration or veneration of the Holy Cross; and similarly for other errors… Also, whether he believed that the heretics were good men and truthful; that they had and kept a good faith, a good sect, and good doctrine; that the heretics themselves and their believers could be saved in their faith or sect; also, how long he has shared in or persisted in the said belief; also, when he first began to accept this belief; also, whether he still believes it; also, when and why he abandoned it.[51]

Such a questionnaire was the result of the evolution of the practice of interrogation in the fourteenth century. In that period depositions were characterised by the emergence of questions of faith. The change implied a new concern of inquisitors in what simple *credentes* believed, which tenets they had learned from the preaching of the *boni homines*, or they had been taught by someone else. While Gui's *Practica* chronicles this change from a theoretical point of view, inquisitorial proceedings show how such an evolution in fact affected the inquisitorial practice.

I will consider first the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis. Undoubtedly in 1308–1309 the inquisitor and his lieutenants used to examine the doctrine of their accused. An individual who had met the *boni homines* was often asked *si audivit monitiones vel predicationes eorum.*[52] In case the suspected heretic admitted to having listened to their *errores*, the next question was likely to regard the content of the preaching.

However, in d'Ablis' register, questions on the Cathar belief were formulated according to a pre-defined and not-too-malleable scheme. As a consequence, answers were repetitive and similar to each other. As in this excerpt from the deposition of Raimond Authié (brother of the famous heretics Pierre and Guillaume Authié), the accused occasionally described the way the *boni homines* lived compared to that of clerics:

> *Interrogatus quid dicebant, dixit quod loquebantur de facto Dei, specialiter de apostolis, videlicet de sancto Paulo et sancto Petro, et quod ipsi tenebant viam et fidem Dei et apostolorum, ita quod non jurabant nec menciebantur et quod non comedebant carnes, caseum nec ova et quod faciebant magnas abstinencias et magna jeiunia.*[53]

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[51] Wakefield and Evans, ed. and tr., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 385–386.

[52] See *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 118, 146; another formulation was: "Interrogatus si audivit dictos hereticos loquentes aliquid de secta sua."

[53] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 118.

Such a description constituted a key element of heretical preaching for, relying on concrete examples rather than abstract principles of doctrine, it set out the basis for a new path to salvation, different from that offered by the Latin Church. Although this description does not appear in d'Ablis' record as often as in that of Fournier, many individuals summoned in Carcassonne spoke about the *boni homines* in a similar way.[54] However, they were more often required to answer a different kind of question:

> *Interrogata si audivit loqui ipsos hereticos aliquid contra ecclesiam Romanam vel fidem catholicam de sacramentis ecclesiasticis, videlicet de baptismo, de matrimonio, de sacrificio misse seu corpore Christi vel de quibuscumque aliis que sunt contra fidem ecclesie Romane…*[55]

In the tribunal of Carcassonne, this question had a central role among those about the content of heretical preaching. The rejection of the Catholic faith was ascertained by referring to the denial of the pillars of the Latin Church, the sacraments. How did the accused reply to this question? Once more, the recorded answers have a repetitive feature. The accused follow step by step the formulation of the question, and reply referring to the Cathar critique of every single sacrament. As a consequence, these depositions are characterised by an obstinate repetition of the same arguments.

In addition, the examination on important tenets of the Cathar belief rarely appears d'Ablis' register. The inquisitor of Carcassonne, so to speak, approached the heretical doctrine from a negative perspective, being interested in what of the Catholic Church the *boni homines* sought to deny, rather than in what they positively stated. In order to identify heresy, the main perspective was indicated by the true doctrine rather than by the *errores manichaeorum*.

The attitude of Jacques Fournier was quite different. The bishop of Pamiers regarded the investigation of doctrine as an essential part of the process dealing with heresy. He was noticeably concerned to discover which tenets the accused had heard during the preaching and which of them he believed in. As an excerpt from the process of Bernard Marty de Junac shows, Fournier led his interrogations on the basis of a more articulated questionnaire:

> *Interrogatus si tunc vel ex tunc credidit dictos errores, scilicet quod dicti eretici essent boni homines et sancti, et quod salvabant animas vel iuvabant ad salvandum ipsas, et quod nullus poterat salvari nisi in fide eorum, et quod nullus*

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[54] See also *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 292: "ipsi non jurabant nec menciebantur nec faciebant malum homini et talem vitam ducebant." Moreover, see *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 250: "Et dicebant quod ipsi faciebant magnas abstinencias et faciebant tres quadragesimas in anno et quod habebant potestatem salvandi animas."

[55] *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, 228; see also 251, 262, 293, 334.

etiam salvari poterat, nisi transiret per manus eorum, et quod recepti per eos absolvebantur ab eis ab omnibus peccatis, et incontinenti post mortem eorum anime salvabantur, et quod si ipse loquens moreretur en la endura, postquam fuerat hereticatus, eius anima statim iret ad paradisum…[56]

The interrogation is quite complex; centred on the function of the *boni homines* as mediators for salvation it also regards death in *endura* and its consequences. Such tight interrogations were usually employed by Fournier at the end of the deposition, probably with a summarising purpose. However, the method he considered most effective in order to elicit the truth was to let the accused speak at length, suggesting directions to their narration and asking for clarifications. As a consequence, the structure of answers was not as repetitive as in d'Ablis' register.[57]

Moreover, as was shown concerning procedures, the way of leading interrogations often varied according to the status of the accused or the relevance of their processes. The case of Béatrice de Planissoles offers another eloquent example. This aristocratic woman was the mistress of the heretic priest of Montaillou, Pierre Clergue, who joined his erotic passion to the teaching of the heresy.[58] Because her interrogation was likely to provide a great deal of information on one of the central figures in the Cathar heresy in Montaillou, Béatrice gave one of the most interesting depositions of the entire register. Her belief was attentively enquired into, with many detailed questions on the dualistic doctrine, on the reincarnation of souls, on the feature of the incarnation on Christ, and on sacraments.[59]

Nevertheless, some cases of particular belief did not fit easily into the frame of the questionnaire formulated by Fournier. Such an example is provided by the trial against Aude Fauré, who could no longer believe in the Eucharist. A real trauma caused her loss of faith: Aude knew of a woman giving birth in the street and was horrified by the *turpitudo* released during the childbirth, namely the placenta. She was so shocked by the event that she could not avoid

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[56] *Jacques Fournier*, III, 253–295, especially III, 267.

[57] The deposition of Béatrice de Planissoles is emblematic; besides her beliefs, she reported about love, sex, contraception, and popular medicine, see *Jacques Fournier*, I, 214–250; the deposition of Bernard Marty also provides an example of a long confession; the accused was expected to speak at length and all details of the narration were recorded by the inquisitorial notary, *Jacques Fournier*, III, 253–295.

[58] The Cathar critique of marriage was interpreted by the village priest of Montaillou as a license for extramarital relations.

[59] *Jacques Fournier*, I, 241–243. On the Cathar doctrine, see Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1979); Manselli, *L'eresia del male*.

comparing it, during the mass, to the Christian archetype of the Mother and the Child, imagining the body of Christ contaminated by the same impurity. However, the inquisitor seemed to be unable to understand the real meaning of Aude's experience. He summoned ten witnesses and many of them were asked whether the woman was known to be heretic, belonged to a heretical family, or had met the *boni homines*. Aude herself had to answer as to whether she had met heretics or spoken with them.[60] In spite of a deep interest in doctrinal matters, the existence itself of a formulated questionnaire prevented understanding the meaning of all those beliefs that were hardly traceable as Cathar.

Interrogatus dixit. Recording Depositions

What kind of narration was originated within the framework of interrogations? How were depositions recorded? Many of the depositions appear as a paratactic series of more or less independent episodes, not necessarily linked to each other by logical or chronological ties. They describe the circumstances in which the deponent, or someone that he knew, saw the *boni homines*. Each of them represents the elementary cell of the discourse and is characterised by the narration of a brief story. In d'Ablis' register these episodes have a very synthetic feature; the essential information is usually put together within the space of 4–10 lines, normally followed by a series of questions.[61] The accused undertook their narration, which was routinely interrupted by the repetitiveness of inquisitorial questions.

    The presence of details was certainly more typical of the depositions issued in Pamiers. There, the accused described accurately the context of their meeting with the *boni homines*. Not only did they provide information on time, space, participants, and facts, but they also reconstructed the entire situation in which the facts took place, with details on daily occupations, relations, dialogues, popular beliefs, and food habits. Moreover, the reports of feelings and direct speeches are much more frequent than in d'Ablis' register.[62]

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[60] *Jacques Fournier*, II, 83; see Laurent Albaret, "L'anticléricalisme dans les registres de l'Inquisition de Toulouse et de Carcassonne au XIIIe et au XIVe siècle," *L'anticléricalisme dans la France méridionale au XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 38 (Toulouse: Privat, 2003) 447–470; Jean Pierre Albert, "Croire et ne pas croire. Les chemins de l'hétérodoxie dans le Registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier," *Heresis* 39 (2003) 91–106.

[61] I am referring to the edition of Annette Pales-Gobilliard.

[62] See, for example, how Brune Pourcel of Montaillou described the circumstances of her meeting with the heretic Prades Tavernier, her father: "Dixit enim quod XVIII anni sunt vel circa, tempore Paschali, … Alazaicis uxor Bernardi Riba quondam de Monte Alionis venit ad domum eius et dixit ei quod portaret Ramundum filium suum lactan-

The bishop of Pamiers was aiming at obtaining a "total" confession. He did not elaborate a revolutionary questionnaire, but rather left the accused more space to answer and on some occasions allowed a free narrative.[63] Moreover, the notary registered a multicolored series of elements that, although arising within a narration concerning heresy, sometimes were not necessarily related to the *heresia manichea*.

Conclusions

The comparative analysis of the registers of Geoffroy d'Ablis and Jacques Fournier allowed highlighting differences and similarities in the activity of two almost contemporary tribunals. The inquisitorial strategies applied in fighting heresy in Carcassonne and Pamiers have been considered regarding the inquest, the structure of the process, and the methods of interrogation.

What can ultimately be derived is a general similarity of the procedures leading from the accusation to the abjuration, although Fournier's activity was characterized by a more articulated phase of investigation based on accurate depositions of witnesses and by more use of imprisonment as a means to elicit full confessions. The interrogatory differed somewhat between the two inquisitors. One the one hand, d'Ablis and his lieutenants followed the structure of a precise questionnaire attentively, contenting themselves with a synthetic type of answer. As a consequence, the narration is concise and does not leave space, as in Fournier's register, for detailed descriptions of the context in which the narrated events took place. On the other hand, questions of faith appear in both the registers, but only in Pamiers were they aimed at enquiring deeply into the beliefs of the accused, in their variety and complexity.

The inquisitorial system in the early fourteenth century was stable and consolidated. However, the differences encountered in the two registers show margins of flexibility that opened the way to the personal interpretation of different inquisitors.

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tem, qui poterat esse medii anni, ad domum ipsius Alazaicis, quia in dicta domo eius erat quedam mulier de Radesio que gravabatur lacte, et ipsa respondit quod non faceret, qua lac dicte mulieris offenderet dictum filium eius. Tandem ad preces dicte Alazaicis, ipsa portavit dictum filium suum ad domum dicte Alazaixis… Invenit eciam stantem in hostio cuiusdam camere Pradas Tavernieir hereticum," *Jacques Fournier*, I, 382. See in particular the depositions of Béatrice de Planissoles (ibid., I, 214–250), Barthélemy Amilhac (ibid., I, 251–259), Bernard Clergue (ibid., II, 268–304), Alazais Azéma (ibid., I, 307–322), Bernard Marty (ibid., III, 253–295).

[63] As in some excerpts of Béatrice de Planissoles' deposition, *Jacques Fournier*, I, 214–250.

After 1307, the activity of Geoffroy d'Ablis was strictly correlated to that of Bernard Gui, inquisitor of Toulouse from that year. However, while the latter obtained extraordinary fame, the former was almost destined to anonymity by the silence of the sources. This lack of posthumous notoriety is in fact contradicted by an essential role in the persecution of the Cathar heresy in Languedoc. The work of d'Ablis was intensive and effective; between 1303 and 1309 his activity led to the capture of most of the *perfecti* of the region, which prevented the recruitment of new believers. Only a last heretic, Guillaume Bélibaste, survived until the time of Jacques Fournier.[64]

Nominated in the context of a large anti-inquisitorial revolt arising around Bernard Delicieux, Geoffroy d'Ablis was appreciated because, coming from Ablis near Paris, he was not familiar with the region and unrelated to the conflict between the Inquisition and the local elites.[65] He was soon involved, however, in the vicissitudes of the uprising of those years. As a consequence of these troubles, d'Ablis had to delegate some of his powers to his lieutenants. The result was the creation of a collaborative relation within the court of Carcassonne, expressed by the concerted effort of various officials under d'Ablis' direction.[66] The choice of delegating affected the features of the trials, characterized by the active participation of the inquisitorial lieutenants.

On the contrary, the court of Pamiers was dominated by the centralizing personality of Jacques Fournier. He was present at every session of the processes and carefully interrogated all his accused. While the Dominican d'Ablis was the appointed pontifical inquisitor of Carcassonne, with authority over seventeen dioceses, the Cistercian Fournier was a bishop and his

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[64] For a list of the last *perfecti*, see Duvernoy, *Le catharisme: L'histoire*, 324–325. In 1310, two years after Amiel de Perles, the heretic Pierre Authié was sent to the stake. The capture of Jacques Authié took place in 1309, while the heretic Sanche Mercadier committed suicide; Prades Tavernier was probably burned after Pierre Authié; imprisoned and having escaped from prison, Philippe d'Alayrac was eventually captured in Donnezan and certainly burned; Arnaus Marty was sent to the stake as well in the same period; see Roquebert, *Les Cathares*, 472–473.

[65] Charles Peytavie, "L'Inquisition de Carcassonne. Geoffroy d'Ablis (1303–1316), le Mal contre le mal," in Albaret, *Inquisiteurs: portraits*, 92 (henceforth: Peytavie, "L'Inquisition de Carcassonne"); see also Friedlander, *Hammer of the Inquisitors*; Roquebert, *Les Cathares*, 425–471.

[66] Peytavie, "L'Inquisition de Carcassonne," 92, 97; "Le nouvel inquisiteur n'entend en rien déroger aux impératifs de sa charge, réactivant toutes ressources disponibles de l'Eglise, depuis la simple paroisse aux échelons supérieurs des archiprêtrés et des diocèses pour accentuer la lutte contre les hérétiques. Lui-même, pour poser sa présence, opère des arrestations à Albi avec le concours de l'évêque." Ibid., 92.

inquisitorial function was limited to the territory of the diocese of Pamiers. The more contained area under the jurisdiction of Fournier constitutes a possible factor for a more intensive and accurate type of interrogation.

However, the difference in the offices of d'Ablis and Fournier affected their inquisitorial personalities in other ways. The inquisitor of Carcassonne systematically applied the ordinary procedures of the fight against heresy. On the contrary, Fournier performed the double function of inquisitor and bishop. Being the chief of his diocese, he acted out of pastoral concern for the salvation of every single soul of his flock. "Total confessions" represented the necessary passage to be accomplished in order to reconcile repentant heretics with the Church.[67]

In addition, some historical factors should also be taken into account. The two inquisitors witnessed two different phases of the late history of Catharism in Languedoc. While d'Ablis challenged the new rise of Catharism since its early expansion—the brothers Authié had come back to the region just three years before—Fournier confronted the heresy already in a retreat, when almost all the *perfecti* had already been captured and sent to the stake.

The methodology of the two inquisitors seems to have responded to the necessities of the moment. On the one hand, d'Ablis practiced a broad investigation aimed at capturing the last handful of *perfecti*, and initiated dismantling the web of *credentes* on a large scale by applying a consolidated procedure. On the other hand, Fournier seems to have been aware of the need for an intensive and deep investigation to penetrate the profound level of the heresy in the complexity of its village and family relations. The search for a "total confession," possible only within the limits of a restricted investigation, put such an approach in practice. Fournier inherited the success of the campaigns of d'Ablis and Gui, and accomplished their mission with a new technique of interrogation. After his investigation, there was scarce evidence of the presence of Catharism in Languedoc.

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[67] Annie Cazenave, "Aveu et contrition. Manuel de confesseurs et interrogatoires d'Inquisition en Languedoc et en Catalogne (XIII–XIV siècles)," in *La pieté populaire au Moyen Âge. Philologie et histoire jusqu'au 1610, Actes du 99 Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Besançon, 1974* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1977), 333–352; Paul, "Jacques Fournier inquisiteur," 64.

THE BURIAL SITE SELECTION
OF A HUNGARIAN QUEEN:
ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF HUNGARY (1320–1380),
AND THE ÓBUDA CLARES' CHURCH

Brian McEntee 🔖

There is scant information on the places of interment of medieval Hungarian queens. Accordingly, it is difficult to assess to detail the decision-making process of the few queens who themselves chose their own burial sites. The case of Elizabeth, wife of King Charles Robert (r. 1310–1342) and mother of King Louis the Great (r. 1342–1382), however, is an exception. From textual and archaeological evidence, we are able to draw conclusions about the factors which impacted her eventual decision to be entombed in the Corpus Christi chapel in the Clares' Church in Óbuda.[1]

At the center of this inquiry is the multi-faceted question of monastic foundation. A thorough examination of Elizabeth's decision to found her monastery at a particular time and in a particular location is necessary for a better understanding of the factors that inspired her ultimate choice of burial site location.

Foundation

The origins of the Clares' convent in Óbuda can be traced to 1334, when Elizabeth was granted papal permission in response to an earlier supplication to build *ad divini nominis et beatae Clarae laudem et gloriam unum monasterium, cum ecclesia, cemeterio, domibus et aliis officinis necessariis*.[2] The text states that the monastery was to be built for the eternal salvation of herself and her parents (*pro tua et progenitorum tuorum animarum salute*).[3] Preoccupation with eternal salvation might have been tied to the death of her father, Wladyslaw Lokietek, King of Poland (r. 1320–1333), a year earlier. This concern is echoed in a 1346 charter that

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[1] This study is based on my MA thesis, "Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (1320–1380), and the Óbuda Clares: A Study in Reginal Burial Site Selection," (Budapest: Central European University, 2005).

[2] Guilelmi Fraknói, ed., *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis,* vol. 2 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1899) (hereafter: MR), 86.

[3] MR, 86.

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states the foundation was made *pro sua ac suorum vivorum et mortuorum salute.*[4] From its conception the complex that would eventually serve as the queen's own tomb had a close affiliation with spiritual concerns and the afterlife.

Elizabeth might have also been inspired to undertake the project by the 1333 journey of Charles Robert and her son, Andrew, to the court of Naples.[5] While it is unknown whether Elizabeth accompanied them and saw the splendor of Trecento Naples with her own eyes or whether she learned second-hand about the flourishing royal-sponsored monastic institutions affiliated with the Neapolitan court, possibly the wish to emulate them led Elizabeth to pursue her patronage. With other similarities taken into account, the proximity of the date of the trip to the initial foundation request might be more than coincidence.[6]

The Clares' convent was not the first foundation for which Elizabeth was granted papal permission. In 1331, Elizabeth requested permission to rebuild on Margaret Island *unum locum cum oratorio ac cemeterio et aliis necessariis officinis, in quo loco fratres ordinis minorum …valeant commorari, de bonis propriis construere de novo.*[7] The supplication seems to suggest a remodeling of the previous existing foundation rather than the establishment of a new one. Unlike the later request, this earlier supplication makes no mention of salvation; her motivations, not explicitly stated, may have lain elsewhere.[8]

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[4] Imre Nagy and Gyula Nagy, ed., *Anjoukori okmánytár* vol. 4 (Documents from the Angevin Period) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1884) (hereafter: AO), 611. Concern for souls of the living and dead, somewhat vague terminology, might reflect that at the time of the later charter, Elizabeth's husband, Charles Robert, had already passed away and Elizabeth was concerned with his salvation as well.

[5] Johannes Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum,* ed. Julius Kristó and Elisabeth Galántai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985) (hereafter: CH), 124. "Anno domini millesimo tricentesimo tricesimo tertio egressus est rex de Wyssegrad cum Andrea filio suo puero sex annorum in mense Iulii, et perrexit cum bona comitiva militum per Zagrabiam ultra mare, ut filium suum per voluntatem summi pontificis, scilicet Johannis vicesimi secundi et ad instantiam et petitionem inclitissimi Roberti Regis Siciliae regni euisdem coronaret in regem." Charles Robert stayed in Naples between June 1333 and February 1334. Andrew remained there, much to the displeasure of the Neapolitan court.

[6] The similarities between the Óbuda Clares' monastery and other royal burial places is dealt with at length in my thesis, Chapter 3 "Possible Influences of Other Burial Places."

[7] Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis* vol. VIII/3 (Buda: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1832) (hereafter: CD), 539.

[8] For the excavation report on this monastery see Erzsébet Lócsy, "Előzetes jelentés a margitszigeti ferences kolostor területén végzett feltárásról" (Preliminary report on the excavations in the area of the Margaret Island Franciscan Friary), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 98 (1971): 92–99. For a brief history, see János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz rendjének története*

Though both supplications were made while her husband was still alive, the papal responses are addressed to Elizabeth alone with no mention of the king. To what extent the queen was, or could have been, acting completely independently in undertaking these two projects is unknown, but these two charters suggest Elizabeth's personal inclination towards religious patronage and building monastic foundations, particularly for the Franciscan order.[9]

In the case of the Clares' church, additional evidence portrays the queen as the one most responsible for the project. A later charter from King Louis refers to the church and convent as *ex provisionis dotalitio Serenissimae Principissae Dominae Elizabeth, eadem gratia, reginae Hungariae, Matris nostrae charissimae, in veteri Buda est constructum et fundatum.*[10] A 1353 charter refers to the monastery as *per Elizabeth reginam Hungariae de novo in Veteri Buda constructo.*[11] Another from the Provincial of the Franciscans states that it was Elizabeth who *monasterium pro sororibus ordinis sanctae Clarae ad exaltacionem divini cultus ... fundavit in civitate Sicambriae.*[12] Nor did Elizabeth downplay her own role; a 1355 charter issued by the dowager herself refers to the monastery as *per nos de novo constructo.*[13]

The foundation documents, thus, demonstrate that Elizabeth, more than anyone else, was the initial sponsor of the project and the motivating force behind the foundation of this monastery. That this patronage was clearly linked to the well-being of her soul reveals the intimate connection between the foundation and the queen. More than just a founder, Elizabeth's highly personal connection with the church manifested itself in additional ways.[14] This devotion demonstrates that the Clares' church held a special place in Elizabeth's heart and offers a clear explanation for her eventual decision to be buried there.

Magyarországon 1711-ig (The history of the Franciscan Order in Hungary until 1711) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1924) (hereafter: Karácsonyi), vol. 1, 200–202, and László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 42–43.

[9] Previously, together with her husband, Elizabeth had acted as the donor for the Lippa Franciscan friary dedicated to St. Louis of Toulouse, Charles Robert's uncle. There is a picture of the donation in the *Chronicon Pictum* (*Képes Krónika* [Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle]), tr. Ibolya Bellus (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1986) (hereafter: *Chronicon Pictum*), 255, and Thuróczy likewise details the donation, CH, 120.

[10] CD, vol. IX/3, 239.

[11] AO, vol. VI, 128.

[12] AO, vol. IV, 611. Sicambria was the Classical name for Óbuda and frequently used in charters.

[13] AO, vol. VI, 354.

[14] Elizabeth's munificence is detailed further in my thesis, Chapter 2 "Construction of the Óbuda Clares' Church" in the section titled "Donations and Indulgences."

Brian McEntee

Nunnery

The initial supplication reveals Elizabeth's aspiration to found a female religious establishment (*in quo decens conventus monialum seu sororum ordinis dicte … commode valeat commorari*).[15] At that time there were only two Poor Clare convents in the Kingdom of Hungary: in Pozsony (Bratislava, est. 1297) and Nagyszombat (Trnava, est. 1240).[16] Deciding to build an establishment for a female religious order on one hand must not be seen as a proto-feministic statement of solidarity and gender promotion, but on the other hand, should not be underestimated. In building a female establishment, Elizabeth left open for herself the opportunity to, at some point later in life, take the veil and live in the convent (either as a nun herself or as a closely affiliated layperson). This would not be strange—both Agnes Habsburg, wife of Andrew III of Hungary, Charles Robert's predecessor, and Jadwiga, Elizabeth's mother, retired to convents after being widowed. In the turmoil surrounding Andrew III's death, Agnes absconded to Austria with her stepdaughter Elizabeth (paving the way for Charles Robert's eventual ascension), where she founded and lived in the Königsfelden Franciscan monastery.[17] Jadwiga relocated into a Clares' convent in Poland only a year before Elizabeth's foundation request. This uprooting from the temporal world to the spiritual upon the death of her father might have influenced the timing of Elizabeth's foundation of the Óbuda complex. Though Charles Robert was relatively young when Elizabeth began the project, the retirement of her mother to a cloister would have been a palpable prompt to think ahead to her own widowhood. Building the convent would not just be an exercise in spiritual devotion, but also a way to plan for the future.

Aside from the "retirement home" scenario sketched above, there is also a likelihood that Elizabeth wished to mirror another royal foundation, the most important female monastic center of Hungary—the Dominican convent on Rabbit Island. This question, particularly with regard to site selection and location, will be dealt with in greater detail below.

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[15] Árpád Bossányi, ed., *Regesta Supplicationum* (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1916), 86.

[16] Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000) (herafter: Romhányi), 53 and 46, respectively. Also Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 509–531 and 460–473, respectively.

[17] See Volker Honemann, "Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997) (hereafter: Duggan, ed., *Queens*), 109–119. Agnes lived until 1364 and, as the daughter of Albert I Habsburg and key player in Habsburg politics, it is likely that Elizabeth would have known of her.

Buda, Oppidum Buda, Óbuda[18]

The 1334 foundation charter for the Clares' church grants Elizabeth the right to establish the convent *in oppido Bude*, a vague term that needs clarification. What is now called Óbuda can be found in later medieval charters as *Vetus Buda* (or also under the anachronism *Sicambria*—the Latin name for the capital of Attila the Hun).[19] Is it conceivable that Elizabeth intended for the church to be built in Buda only to change her mind at a later date? While it is entirely possible, it is unlikely. Almost without exception, Angevin-period royal Hungarian charters refer to Buda as *castrum novum Buda* or *villa Buda* and the distant papacy, knowing little of Hungarian geography, could easily have mistaken the two places.[20] This overlooks, however, that the territories of the Provostry, the ecclesiastical section of Óbuda, continued to refer to themselves as Buda well into the Angevin period.[21] As the queen's foundation was a religious institution, the papacy was using the correct ecclesiastical terminology for the location, *oppidum Buda,* and there was little doubt at the time about its meaning.

Another detail that suggests Óbuda was the desired site was that at the time of the request Buda already had its own Franciscan establishment as well as

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[18] The authoritative source for the history of medieval Buda, Óbuda and Pest is the series *Budapest története* (History of Budapest). Of particular value to this study are the following works: György Györffy, "Budapest története az Árpád-korban" (History of Budapest in the Árpád Age), in *Budapest története*, vol. 1, ed. László Gerevich (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Tanácsa, 1973) (hereafter: Györffy), 273–281; András Kubinyi, "Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig (1541-ig)" (History of Budapest in the Late Middle Ages until the fall of Buda in 1541), in *Budapest története*, vol. 2, ed. László Gerevich and Domokos Kosáry (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Tanácsa, 1973), 11–13, and László Gerevich, "Budapest művészete a későbbi középkorban a mohácsi vészig," (Art of Budapest in the Late Middle Ages until 1526), in *Budapest története*, vol. 2, ed. László Gerevich and Domokos Kosáry (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Tanácsa, 1973), 243–267.

[19] The origins of the name *Sicambria* can be traced back even farther than Attila. Originally *Sugamber*, it was a settlement of German Franks which the Romans eventually conquered. For more information see Györffy, 250–251. The Attila story was only later merged with this mythical place in the Middle Ages as Attila's actual capital was much farther east than present-day Óbuda.

[20] The existing foundation charter is the papal response, not Elizabeth's request.

[21] Julia Altmann, "Óbuda," in *Medium Regni*, ed. Julia Altmann, et al., tr. Erika Zoltán (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999) (hereafter: Altmann, *Medium Regni*), 94–95.

an affiliated female beguine convent.[22] Óbuda, although the site of a Franciscan monastery,[23] had no correlating female branch. In this way, the Clares' convent, rather than proving redundant, would be unique amongst the religious establishments in Óbuda. The Óbuda Franciscans, who administered the holy sacraments to the Óbuda Clares, developed such a close relationship that they even petitioned for and subsequently gained the right to be buried in the Clares' cemetery.[24]

Óbuda and Rabbit Island

Óbuda, thus, was the only reasonable location that could correspond to *oppidum Buda*. There are many possible reasons behind Elizabeth's decision to establish a monastery there, of which the presence of Franciscans and the lack of any female convents have already been mentioned. However, these characteristics fit any number of locations in Hungary. A third reason, the proximity of the location to Rabbit (now Margaret) Island, was something that could only be achieved with a site in Óbuda (*Fig. 1*).

To see the Clares' convent as a spiritually or politically motivated rival to the Dominican convent on Rabbit Island is short-sighted. While Elizabeth did tend to favor the Poor Clare/Franciscan orders in terms of patrimony, any assertion that Elizabeth was attempting to compete with the Dominican convent propagates a fictitious, over-simplified notion of rivalry. Such a supposition blatantly ignores an overwhelming amount of evidence to the contrary; namely that Elizabeth was a firm supporter of the cult of Margaret and a munificent donor to the Dominican Order. Traced through her artistic patronage, it is possible to see this dedication on her journey through Italy (1343–1344) with her gifts to the Dominican convents of Bologna and Milan, both ardent supporters of the cult of Blessed Margaret.[25] Elizabeth's donation to St. Peter's Basilica is also important—an embroidered cloth featuring the whole group of Hungarian and Angevin saints, plus the not-yet-canonized Margaret.[26] Dispelling the notion of rivalry even further, in 1358, Elizabeth sought and received a papal dispensation that allowed her to visit the Dominican convent

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[22] Romhányi, 16; Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 544–548. Interestingly enough, this convent was founded by another widow, Sibilla, wife of Nádor Moys.

[23] Romhányi, 48; Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 222–223.

[24] CD, vol. IX/7, 171.

[25] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses,* tr. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) (hereafter: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*), 337.

[26] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers,* 338.

from time to time.[27] The Dominican order even received healthy donations in Elizabeth's will.[28]
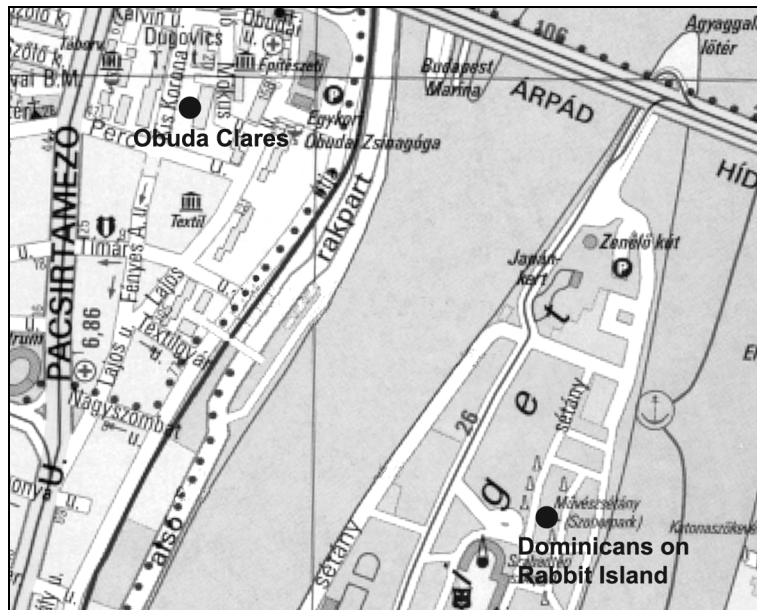
Fig. 1. Map of present-day Budapest showing the proximity of two monasteries.
The institutions are separated in distance by less than a kilometer
though the Danube acts as an additional barrier.

Rather than rival, the Dominican convent on Rabbit Island, on the contrary, must have had a positive influence on the site selection of Elizabeth's foundation.[29] Here was a royal-affiliated female monastery that attracted women from the upper crust of society—including the daughters of kings. The

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[27] MR, vol. III, 220–221.

[28] For a copy of Elizabeth's *testamentum*, consult Ernő Marosi et al, ed., *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342–1382* (Art in the time of King Louis I 1342–1382) (Székes-fehérvár: István Király Múzeum, 1983), 73–75. For more information on Elizabeth's will see László Szende, "Łokietek Erzsébet végrendelete," (The last will of Elisabeth Łokietek), *Kút* 3, no. 2 (2004): 3–12.

[29] For a history of the Dominicans in Hungary see András Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* (The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation) (Debrecen: Nagy Károly Grafikai Műintézetének Nyomása, 1938); on Rabbit Island see especially 104–110.

veneration of Blessed Margaret, daughter of Béla IV, certainly was evident throughout the fourteenth century and might have been achieving a new surge in popularity around the time Elizabeth was beginning to plan the foundation of the Óbuda Clares' convent.[30] This is evidenced by the construction of new tomb sculpture for the holy princess sometime during the late 1330s.[31] More than a holy shrine, however, the Dominican convent on Rabbit Island was a large mendicant institution,[32] one of the largest landowners in Buda and Pest,[33] and a royal burial place.[34]

As the center of female monasticism in Hungary, the spiritual power present on Rabbit Island would have been a powerful beacon and Elizabeth, attempting to draw from its popularity and overall sanctity, must have considered placing the Clares' monastery close to the Dominican convent a serious benefit.[35]

Óbuda as Home

Óbuda, though, was more than the place in which Elizabeth wished to build her monastery. It was also her widowhood home.[36] Less than a year after the death

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[30] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers,* 335. Klaniczay posits that the contacts which led to the construction of the new tomb might have been connected to Charles Robert's visit.

[31] Pál Lővei, "The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Árpád Dynasty," *Acta Historiae Artium* 26 (1980): 175–222.

[32] By 1276, the convent could theoretically hold 70 nuns and servants, Elemér Lovas, *Árpád-házi Boldog Margit élete* (The life of Blessed St. Margaret of the House of Árpád) (Budapest: Szt. István Társulat, 1940), 111.

[33] Ibid., 120–127.

[34] Along with Margaret rests her brother Stephen V.

[35] In a somewhat interesting, but tangential, note in the course of my inquiry into Elizabeth's burial place, I encountered a curious mistake in the most renowned medieval account of Polish history, the chronicle of Jan Długosz, *Annales seu Chronica Incliti Regni Poloniae* vol. X (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985) Following the death of Elizabeth: *Elizabeth Karoli olim Hungariae relicta, filia Wladislai Lokietek et soror Kazimiri Polonie, genitrix vero Ludowici Hungarie et Polonie regum, vicesima none Decembris in etate grandeva in castro Buda moritur et in monasterio* in insula Budensi *sepelitur.* (Długosz, X: 75.) How the chronicler came to believe that Elizabeth was buried on Rabbit Island is unknown, but it once again indicates the closeness between the Clares' monastery and the *insula Budensi.*

[36] Elizabeth's widowhood is closely entwined with the chronology of the building process, described in my thesis, "Chapter 2: The Construction of the Clares' Church in Óbuda." Though the foundation request took place while her husband was still alive, the actual construction process did not begin until after Charles Robert passed away.

of Charles Robert, Elizabeth's son, King Louis, granted her legal possession of the castle and its surroundings.[37] A charter from 7 January 1343 reads:

> *Nos Ludovicus…rex…significamus…quod castrum nostrum de Veteri Buda cum tributiis et omnibus suis…pertinenciis universis quocumque nomine vocitatis admisimus…excellentissimae principissae dominae Elizabeth reginae Hungariae genitrici nostrae charissimae ad manendum, conservandum, et inhabitandum usque vitam suam, vel quamdiu sue placuerit voluntati vigore presencium mediante, promittentes eidem, ut quamprimum facultas ad se obtulerit, presentes privilegialiter emanari faciemus.*[38]

Chance was not the reason that Elizabeth came to reside in the same town where she chose to found the Poor Clares' monastery. Many of the reasons that made Óbuda an ideal location for the residence of the widowed queen were also excellent reasons for founding a monastery there. Elizabeth's legal right to the Óbuda castle simultaneously enabled two things: it ensured her proximity to the building project and guaranteed the monastery protection from outside infringement. Moreover, the continued close connection of its patron would assist the growth and development of the convent's wealth and prestige.

For Elizabeth to have the opportunity to live in the same location as her foundation, Óbuda needed to meet a certain number of requirements. Among the most obvious was the presence of a royal residence.[39] The first *curia* can be dated to the late eleventh/early twelfth century, though its function as a royal residence can be dated back to 1189, as attested to by Lübeck's account of Barbarossa's crusade, when the emperor was entertained by the Hungarian king Béla III on the way to the Holy Land. Renovations and building work took

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The notion of "builder widows" and the significance of religious patronage to widows is further explored in the conclusion of my thesis.

[37] It is important to note here that at the time of the exchange Louis was only 14 years old and his mother must have held considerable sway over his decisions. It is unlikely, in any case, that Óbuda was given to Elizabeth randomly and even more likely that Elizabeth, more or less, gifted Óbuda to herself. This latter scenario would mean that Elizabeth had a certain predilection towards Óbuda and this strong affinity would have both manifested itself in the construction of the Clares' convent and her decision to move there. There is also another potential scenario—that Louis, or his advisors, wished to remove the widowed Elizabeth from Visegrád and court politics and that her time in Óbuda was something of an exile. Casting doubt on this is the considerable political importance that Elizabeth maintained throughout her son's rule and this hints more at a situation in which Elizabeth was an active participant rather than a passive bystander.

[38] AO, vol. IV, 297.

[39] For more on the palace see Frigyes Pogány, ed., *Budapest műemlékei* (Monuments of Budapest), vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), 372–382.

place throughout the thirteenth century and the widow of the last Árpád king, Agnes of Habsburg, appears to have lived there before surrendering the castle to the magnates in 1301.[40] The castle appears to have been in the hands of Charles Robert throughout his reign, although there is no record of the court ever living there.[41] Likewise, Louis must have retained a legal right to the castle in order for him to give it to his mother. The castle, as bequeathed, was not initially a suitable residence for the widowed Elizabeth based on the considerable amount of renovation she ordered, particularly to the chapel.[42] Regardless of renovations and expansions, the previous existence of a royal palace in Óbuda was the *sine qua non* of Elizabeth's re-location.

Another factor about Óbuda that made it an appealing place to live was its geography. Situated within the *Medium Regni*, close to Buda[43] and not much farther from Visegrád, Óbuda was in the heart of the Kingdom of Hungary. Rather than bury herself in a distant corner of the land, the politically active widow,[44] whose name is mentioned in the *Decretum* of 1351,[45] might have wished to live near the mechanisms of government, but not at the Angevin court.[46] For a woman whose political influence was based on personal connections rather than institutional sureties, drifting too far from court would have certainly resulted in diminished influence.

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[40] Pogány, *Budapest műemlékei*: vol. 2, 372, and Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historica Artium Hungaricae* 20 (1974) (hereafter: Śnieżyńska-Stolot): 22. Also Altmann, *Medium Regni*, 94.

[41] A charter from 1327 refers to Óbuda castle: "et specialiter castelleno nostro dicti castri nostri nunc et pro tempore…" AO, vol. II, 333; Śnieżyńska-Stolot, 22.

[42] Described at length in Śnieżyńska-Stolot, 22–25.

[43] Louis lived in Buda from 1347 to 1355, then moved to Visegrád.

[44] László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter? Elisabeth von Polen in Ungarn (1320–1380)," paper presented at the CEU Department of Medieval Studies Interdisciplinary Workshop on Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage, Budapest, Hungary, 13–16 October, 2004.

[45] János Bak, et al., ed., *Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,* vol. 2. 1301–1457 (Salt Lake City: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1992), 8–9. "With the gracious consent of the most serene princess, the Lady Elizabeth, by the same grace, queen of Hungary, our dear mother ("de beneplacita voluntate serenissime principisse domine Elizabeth, eadem gratia regina Hungarie, genitricis nostre charissime"), and in accordance with the counsel of our barons, we confirm the same liberties in the words of the above-mentioned bull…"

[46] There is no evidence that she ever lived away from Charles Robert; Óbuda was her first separate residence.

Elizabeth also was following a trend set by the Árpádian queens. An overwhelming majority of queens during that dynastic epoch lived in the Buda–Esztergom–Székesfehérvár triangle,[47] and for the first post-Árpádian queen a residence at Óbuda would not be a break from that tradition.

In order to achieve practical separation from the court, however, Elizabeth would have needed financial sureties and a source of income. Invariably, becoming the suzerain of the Óbuda castle and its appurtenances would have allowed Elizabeth her own separate income. This income, and possession of additional territories, can be seen through Elizabeth's donations to the Clares; one cannot give what one does not have and Elizabeth's gifts of land and willingness to buy surrounding properties on behalf of the nuns indicates reasonably healthy holdings. Her unilateral giving, without consulting king or court, likewise demonstrates her ability to access these funds and dispense them as she wished.

Conversely, a successful mendicant institution ought to be established in a community financially sound enough to support it. Though the royal institution, made wealthy and prestigious through the charity of its founder, in all likelihood never had to beg the citizens for its daily bread, the presence of the Franciscan monastery from the late thirteenth century in Óbuda suggests that mendicant orders would have been able to live from the charity of the townsmen and this hints at the relatively sound economic footing of the town.

The history of Óbuda as the seat of royalty might also have influenced Elizabeth's decision to move to Óbuda. As a site imbued with Árpádian history, resurgent royal interest in the town might have derived from a wish to express the dynastic continuity between the Angevins and their predecessors. However, in terms of residence selection, this does not fit the overall Angevin trend. Charles Robert established and built new palaces at Temesvár and Visegrád, preferring those locations to the more traditional ones (Esztergom, Székes-fehérvár). Nonetheless, his eventual decision to be buried in Székesfehérvár was a powerful statement of dynastic continuity and a return to traditional patterns. That Elizabeth, as his wife and mother of the new king, would have felt obliged to overtly stress the dynastic continuity through her decision to take up residence in Óbuda seems a bit specious. Perhaps her motivations were less political than more nostalgic— based more on a fictive, romanticized past than political power games.

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[47] Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik. A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* (The Árpádians and their wives. The institution of queenship in the time of the Árpáds), (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 44–46.

There is an amusing, but doubtlessly influential, mythical history of Óbuda that extends well beyond the scope of Árpádian nostalgia. Sicambria, the stylized Classical name for the town, was the capital of Attila the Hun, who, in medieval minds, was the first great "Hungarian" ruler.[48] The connection between Óbuda and Sicambria in Hungary was longstanding—it was mentioned for the first time by Anonymous and reiterated in Simon Kézai's *Gesta Hungarorum*. The latter writes:

> After the court, Attila left Eisenach and went to Sicambria, where he murdered his brother Buda with his own hands and had his body thrown in the Danube. Attila's reason was that while he was away fighting in the West his brother had overstepped the boundaries of authority he had established between the two of them and had had Sicambria renamed after himself. Although Attila issued an order to his Huns and his other followers that the city was to be referred to as the City of Attila, and the Germans out of fear respected the order and called the city Etzelberg, the Huns paid scant heed to it and continued to call it Óbuda, as they still do to this day.[49]

What connects the "Scourge of God" to Queen Elizabeth is now considered more legend than fact, but both the antiquity of the town and its relationship to Attila would have made Óbuda a prestigious location, imbued with historical and mythical importance.

Even more interesting is the appearance of Óbuda in the Trojan origin myth of the Franks.[50] According to legend, after leaving the fallen Troy, the Franks lived for some time at Sicambria, before moving westwards. Colette Beaune, a historian of symbols of royal power, asserts that in France the equation of Sicambria with Óbuda was well known as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.[51] In a court with both Capetian and Hungarian/Árpádian dynastic connections, Óbuda would seem a perfect fit to emphasize their common history.

Lastly, the most appealing aspect of Óbuda might be related more to what it was not, rather than what is was. By the time of Elizabeth's taking possession of the town, Óbuda had long since been a location of centralized royal power. At the same time, it was not the site of an important bishopric or saintly shrine.

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[48] Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. and tr. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999) (hereafter: Simon de Kéza), 3–77. This story is also included in the *Chronicon Pictum*, 7–40.

[49] Simon de Kéza, 50–53.

[50] Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, tr. Susan Ross Hutson (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 226–242.

[51] Ibid., 234.

Except for the important Collegiate Church, Óbuda did not possess any large, long-standing, and entrenched monastic groups like the Cistercians or Benedictines.[52] If Elizabeth, in trying to ensure the dominant position of the Clares' convent, was looking for a place free from excessive outside influence, at a distance from the court, and more or less a blank slate for a large monastic building project, Óbuda would have been a logical selection.

Conclusion

With its royal connection, historical importance, central location, and urban community, perhaps the same reasons Óbuda was an excellent place for a royal residence made it an equally good location for a Clares' monastery. The symbiotic relationship between Elizabeth and the Clares suggests that both the nuns and the queen benefited from such proximity. The urban location at the center of Hungary would have likewise ensured the convent an important role as a spiritual center and a considerable attractiveness to donors and future patrons, while also providing an appropriate setting for the order's mendicant mission.

Though Óbuda seems to have been an ideal location for both Elizabeth and the Clares, is it possible to assert that in 1334, when Elizabeth initially requested permission to build the convent *in oppido Buda*, she intended to take possession of the town when widowed almost 10 years later and almost a half century later be buried there? This is unlikely. However, it is impossible to separate Elizabeth's widowhood predilection for Óbuda from the fact that the Clares' convent, her most significant act of patronage, was situated there. It was the opportunity to be close to the monastic institution and thus be heavily involved in its development and foundation that drew her there.

There are at least two important factors which ultimately help answer why Elizabeth, given the opportunity by her long widowhood, would have selected this burial site location: (1) The site was built at her behest and as primary patron of the foundation she had a very strong connection and dedication to it, and (2) Elizabeth had a profound spiritual dedication to the Order of the Poor Clares and believed that her burial place should reflect that dedication—both in particular and in general.

One of the curiosities of the burial site selection process was that Elizabeth was the only individual of her immediate family to be buried in the Clares'

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[52] A conflict with the Provostry led to splitting the town in half in 1355. At that point, the section of the town in which the Clares' monastery was built became known as the Queen's Quarter. For more information see Bernát L. Kumorovitz, "Óbuda 1355. évi felosztása" (The division of Óbuda in 1355), *Budapest Régiségei* 24 (1976): 279–302.

church and the only person buried inside the Corpus Christi chapel. As the solitary person buried in a side chapel in an elaborately decorated mendicant church near a popular shrine of a royal saint, is it conceivable to suggest that Elizabeth someday anticipated being canonized and was building her own saintly shrine? Perhaps this would be egotistical, but in some ways, it would be quite practical and well within Central European royal tradition. One has to only think of the establishments of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Marburg, St. Cunegund in Sandecz and Elizabeth's own grandmother, Yolanda, in Gniezno to notice the connection between holy princesses and the private foundations they established that would later become their burial sites.[53] Furthermore, Elizabeth was surrounded by saints and near-saints—her husband's uncle was a saint, for example—and someone so spiritually devoted and of such holy lineage could have certainly considered it conceivable that one day she might be canonized. Clearly the Clares must have thought the same way—when vacating Óbuda they took with them the relics of their founder and although never formally recognized,[54] one seventeenth-century list of saints includes the queen as *Elizabeth vidua regina*.[55]

In having herself buried in such a setting, Elizabeth was identifying herself with her earthly deeds. There was no place in which she would have been remembered so frequently and more fondly long after she passed away than in an institution of which she was founder and builder.

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[53] On the relationship between saintly queens and architecture, consult Paul Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe," in Duggan, ed., *Queens,* 263–300. It should also be noted that Elizabeth traveled to Marburg on her grand tour of Holy Places with Emperor Charles IV in 1357. Consult Antal Pór, "Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása 1357-ben" (Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Aachen in 1357), *Századok* 35 (1901): 1–14. On the notion of saintly imitation and following of "career-scripts," consult Gábor Klaniczay, "Legends as Life-Strategies for Aspirant Saints," in *The Uses of Supernatural Power,* ed. Karen Margolis, tr. Susan Singerman (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1990), 95–110.

[54] Another interesting observation: The positions of the burials found within the Clares' Church during the excavation show a large cluster in the southern end of the church, directly outside of the Corpus Christi chapel, more or less arrayed around Elizabeth's burial place. Does this show a sort of cultic veneration of Elizabeth? Would this veneration be based on earthly prestige or heavenly sanctity? I do not really know, but it should be looked into.

[55] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, 33, n. 33. From A. de Monasterio, *Sacrum gynecaesum seu martyrologium amplissimum* (Paris 1657), 520. For December 29, the entry in full reads *Elizabeth vidua regina. Casimiri regis Polonorum soror.*

ESTATE STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOPUSKO (TOPLICA) ABBEY. A CASE STUDY OF A MEDIEVAL CISTERCIAN MONASTERY

László Ferenczi 📥

The first Cistercian monastery in Medieval Hungary was Cikádor, founded as early as the mid-twelfth century (1142). Yet, subsequent foundations followed only later; it was King Béla III (1172–1196) and his sons who played a decisive role in the expansion of the order. Between 1179 and 1241 thirteen monasteries were founded out of the total eighteen or nineteen in Hungary.[1] The estate complex of the Cistercian abbey of Toplica, founded in 1211 by King Andrew II,[2] was one of the largest and most significant in medieval Hungary.[3] However, the history of the abbey has been only partially and somewhat superficially studied so far.[4] A closer investigation of the uniquely preserved cartulary

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[1] See, for instance, Beatrix Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians in Medieval Hungary: Political Activity or Internal Colonisation?" in *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1993–1994:* 180–204. (hereafter: Romhányi, 1994); Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium Historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1984) (hereafter: Hervay, 1984); Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, "Les implantations Cisterciennes en Hongrie médiévale: un réseau?" in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes: filiations, réseaux, relectures du XIIe au XVIIe siècle: actes du quatrième Colloque international du CERCOR, Dijon, 23–25 septembre 1998*, ed. Nicole Bouter (Saint Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2000), 453–483.

[2] For the text of the foundation charter see Hervay, 1984, 181–183.

[3] If one looks at the estate map of the country in 1439, the Toplica estate seems to have been one of the most extensive. It was indeed the largest among Cistercian estates, even larger than the estate of Pannonhalma Abbey, the most ancient, rich, and powerful Benedictine monastery (Toplica had ca. 659 km², Szentgotthárd ca. 275 km², Spišsky Štiavnik (Savnik, now in Slovakia) ca. 261 km², and Pannonhalma ca. 440 km². Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: digitális térkép és adatbázis* (Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Digital map and database) (Budapest: Térinfo Bt. – MTA Történet-tudományi Intézet, 2001).

[4] Dénes Lakatos, *A topuszkói ciszterci apátság története* (The history of Toplica Abbey) (Budapest, 1911). On the basis of a collection of charters edited by I. Tkalčić, see Ivan Tkalčić, ed. *Monumenta Historiae Episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, vol. 1–2 (Zagreb, 1873/1874) (hereafter: MHEZ). Lakatos' work addressed the history of the abbey only until the end of the thirteenth century. The author's attempt at the topographical reconstruction of the estate was not correct on many points; however, his results were adopted by Hervay.

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(copybook) of the abbey, prepared around the late 1360s,[5] and a more extensive collection of archival sources on the history of the whole region now allow a more detailed discussion of the economic history of the monastery. The present essay attempts to show the importance of a detailed historical topographical study on the monastic properties and their surroundings, revealing motives behind economic development by demonstrating connections between different kinds of properties (granges, houses, mills, etc.) and the structure or hierarchy of the prevailing settlement network (waterways, routes, markets, towns).[6] (See the map at the end of the article.)

Neighbors, Trade Routes and Waterways

Looking at the historical-geographical environment of the Toplica estate one cannot fail to recognise the surrounding lands of two other ecclesiastical institutions: the bishopric (and chapter) of Zagreb and the Templars of Gora. (See the map at the end of the article.) The geographical order of these estates along a north-south axis seems to reflect the sequence of the royal donations. First, the bishopric was founded at the end of the eleventh century, then the Templars were settled and given donations in the twelfth century, and finally the Cistercians arrived in the early thirteenth century. The share of the Templars in Gora county was relatively minor, thus, the Cistercians were able to obtain a huge territory from the king, still with favourable conditions and not of marginal significance.[7]

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[5] Among the Cistercian monasteries in medieval Hungary the best preserved archives are those of Klostermarienberg (Borsmonostor) and of Veszprémvölgy. The copybook of Toplica is also important, however, since it has preserved numerous documents of the abbey. The photocopy of the document is referred to as Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár, no. 283 328 (National Archives of Hungary, Collection of Charters) (hereafter: MOL DL 283 328). Charters from the copybook have not been published in a single edition. The early charters, issued until 1299, were included in MHEZ. The fourteenth century charters were published by Tadeus Smičiklas, ed. *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae, Diplomaticki zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije,* 16 vols (Zagreb, 1904–1976) (hereafter: Smičiklas).

[6] This article is a revised and abridged version of the third chapter of my MA thesis "The Economic History of the Cistercian Monastery in Toplica – A Topographic Approach," (MA Thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2005).

[7] According to the foundation charter and subsequent confirmation charters, Toplica was donated with the county of Gora. Its center, Gora, was already in the hands of the Templars, other parts still belonged to the king. The royal donation (MOL DL 283328/no. 1) lists more than sixty names referring to different types of settlements,

Access to water resources was important for all of these estates. Significantly, each had a share in the most important waterways on the Glina and Kupa rivers. The fact that fishing places are listed separately at the beginning of the foundation charter of Toplica reflects a specific concern: the importance of a fish supply and access to water due to the need for fish in the diet. This was apparently a general monastic phenomenon, but was probably more explicit among the Cistercians because of their pre-occupation with managing the landscape. The idea of the *Eigenwirtschaft* resulted in the practice of establishing large contiguous properties which also made the management of water resources easier (e.g. river-course modifications for mills and fisheries). Accordingly, taking control of long river courses—apparent in this case—is believed to have been a general feature of Cistercian estate complexes.

At the early stage of the history of the abbey the natural resources of these fishing places could have been of greater significance for an economy based on self-sufficiency. Their location, however, lying along the Sava, near trade routes, could also have provided opportunities for developing commercial interests there, which might have become more and more important later. Two long-distance trade routes lay nearby. One came from the direction of Osijek (Eszék), crossed the Sava, and went to the south along the Una River to Bihac and the Dalmatian coast. The other turned north along the Sava, went to Zagreb and then turned west and reached the coast around Senj (Zenng, Segnia). The connection with trade routes was again typical for Cistercian estates, observed also in Hungary[8] and Poland.[9]

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however, contemporary differences in size, in structure, in the density of their population, and in the way their areas were populated remain obscure. A considerable number of these names can be located using modern settlement names. Proper boundaries are at some points questionable, due to the fact that the perambulation of the estates was allegedly not finished. Unfortunately, the county ceased to appear in historical documents from the fourteenth century on, thus, in fact, there is no better way to assess the historical area of Gora County than to locate the settlements mentioned in the foundation charter. The statute of the Zagreb chapter from 1334 (see MHEZ, vol. 2, 76) mentions Gora as a deaconry and also lists some of its settlements; the list of names here, however, is entirely different from those mentioned more than a hundred years before.

[8] Romhányi, 1994, 184.

[9] Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, "Voraussetzungen und Motive der Ansiedlung von Zisterziensern in Großpolen," in *Zisterzienser. Norm, Kultur, Reform 900 Jahre Zisterzienser*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkampf (Berlin: Springer, 1998), 91–126.

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Urban Property

Besides the connection with trade routes, royal privileges in the salt trade, tax exemptions and custom rights, their urban property also testifies to the Cistercians' interest in the secondary economy.[10] In Hungary, the abbey of Pilis had the most significant "network" in this respect: its possessions included houses and vineyards in and around urban centres and royal residences, e.g. in Buda, Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg), Devín (Dévény), Dömös, Pest, and Visegrád.[11] Further examples of urban properties can be found in many other cases in medieval Hungary; they all represent a direct connection between monasteries and trade routes. The abbey of Zirc (Hungary) had a house in Pápa,[12] the abbey of Savnik (now Spišský Štiavnik, Slovakia) in Levoča (Lőcse, Leutschau, Slovakia),[13] the abbey of Kirc (Kerc, Cirţa Romania) in Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt, Romania),[14] and the abbeys of Cikádor (Hungary) and Petrovardin (Pétervárad, Serbia) around Buda.[15] The Cistercians of Heiligenkreuz (Austria) had a house in Sopron, on the Salzmarkt (Orsolya tér).[16] Strangely enough, data have often come down to us only in the early modern sources concerning these properties and due to the lack of medieval documents little is known about the function of the houses. However, in the cartulary of Toplica three charters have survived—concerning the convent's property in the coastal town of Senj (Zenng)—which are revealing in this context. According to

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[10] In connection to this a groundbreaking study is Constance Hoffmann Berman, *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty-Three Monasteries* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1986). See also Wolfgang Bender, *Zisterzienser und Städte. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen den Zisterzienserklöstern und den grossen urbanen Zentren des mittleren Moselraumes (12.–14. Jahrhundert)* (Trier: Verlag Trierer Historische Forschungen, 1992).

[11] Hervay, 1984, 150.

[12] Jakab Reizner, "A gróf Eszterházy család pápai levéltára" (The archives of the Count Eszterházy family at Pápa), *Történelmi Tár* (1893): 601–616.

[13] Georgius Bohus, *Historisch-geographische Beschreibung des in Oberungarn berühmtesten Zipser Landes. Aus dem lateinischen Original übersetzt von Johann Lipták,* (Késmárk, 1919), 170.

[14] Dan Nicolae Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Ţara Făgăraşului în secolul al XIII-lea Mănăstirea cisterciană Cârţa* I–II. (The Land of Făgăraş in the Thirteenth Century. The Cistercian Monastery of Cârţa) (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000), 305.

[15] Hervay, 1984, 140.

[16] Károly Mollay, "Sopron megye vázlatos története" (A brief history of Sopron County), in *Sopron és környéke műemlékei. Magyarország műemléki topográfiája*, vol. 2 (Historical monuments in and around Sopron. The Topography of Historical Monuments), ed. Endre Csatkai and Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956), 94–106.

the earliest document, from 1240, the abbey had one plot there which they got from the master of the Templars in Gora. The Cistercians made use of the plot by building a warehouse there, nevertheless, there was a strict rule, enforced by the Templars, that Cistercians were allowed to sell and buy goods only for their own purposes, probably so as not to infringe on the Templars' interests.[17] Unfortunately, sources are not detailed on the later history of the house. The controversies around the person of Abbot Seifrid in the late 1350s in connection with the historical circumstances which influenced the preparation of the cartulary[18] could also have led to problems about property rights in Zenng (Senj). In 1363 it is recorded that the town authorities had to confirm the property of Toplica at the request of the abbot. It also turns out that the abbey already had another house there.[19] These houses might have played a continuous role in long-distance trade and communication at least up to the end of the fourteenth century, but further data are not known.

Mills and Market-towns

A more detailed historical-topographical study on the estates could reveal further points of interest in the secondary economy and industry. Settlements

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[17] MOL DL 283 328/no. 70 (1240): "pro rebus propriis et necessariis dicti monasterii emendis et vendendis." The Templars' houses were located along the most important trading routes of Slavonia, which suggests commercial interests. See Balázs Stossek, "Maisons possessions des Templiers en Hongrie," in *The Crusaders and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity,* ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky, (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001), 245–251.

[18] Abbot Seifrid leased and donated various estates, which resulted in financial problems referred to by the letter of Pope Urbanus II in 1364: "abbatia dicti monasterii per laicalem potentiam de facto spoliatus…," see Hervay, 1984, 185–186. A charter from 1355 narrates that the new abbot, Guillermus, wanted to get back the estates donated by Seifrid. See Smičiklas, vol. 12, 266 (1355). Abbot Guido, his successor and a former monk of Clairvaux, continued this policy. Some charters imply that he was clearly aware of his duty, striving to strengthen the economic background of the monastery, and it must have been he who ordered the preservation of the archival material

[19] MOL DL 283 328/no. 72 (1363): "domos dicti monasterii positus in Sennia." This is in accordance with the content of the third charter on the estate here, which says that in 1270 another house was donated to the abbey, formerly leased to a local noble by a certain archdeacon of the Zagreb chapter. See MOL DL 283 328/no. 71 (1271): "quod domus suas, quas dominus Belzaninus in supradicta civitate ab eodem magistro Petro tenebat et possidebat cum omnibus utilitatibus suis et pertinenciis ad manus predicti domini abbatis…"

with central place functions—towns, market towns (*oppida*), or minor settlements organising weekly fairs—certainly played an important part in the estate economy. Tracing the history of the mills of Cistercian abbeys in Hungary demonstrated a marked correspondence between settlements with central functions and the mills of the abbeys.[20] These settlements sometimes had central functions in the settlement network as early as the time of the foundations. They were either villages with the right to organise weekly fairs[21] or high status sites.[22] When, from the fourteenth century on, market economy started to play a more important role in the overall development of the country,[23] interestingly,

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[20] László Ferenczi, "A ciszterci kolostorok malmainak topográfiája" (Topography of mills of Cistercian monasteries in Hungary), (MA Thesis, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, 2004). Monasteries included in the investigation were: Ábrahám (in Dombóvár), Bélapátfalva, Cikádor (in Bátaszék), Pásztó, Pilis, Pornóapáti, Szentgotthárd, and Zirc. Klostermarienberg (Borsmonostor, now in Austria) was also included because of the importance of its well-preserved archive. The importance of town mills for the Cistercian monasteries was certainly not a local phenomenon. For a regional study in Germany see, for instance, Christian Gahlbeck, "Zur Frage der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen der Zisterzienser zu den Städten der Neumark," in *Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft, Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser* 3, ed. Winfried Schich (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998), 99–139.

[21] E.g. *Ked*-hely, *Szerda*-hely, and *Csütörtök*-hely (-hely=place) are placenames, derived from the name of the days (*kedd, szerda, csütörtök*), which indicate weekly fairs. See Jenő Major, "A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei" (The beginnings of Hungarian towns and the town network), *Településtudományi Közlemények* 18 (1966): 48–90. Major has collected, for instance, examples in the cases of the estates of Klostermarienberg and Szentgotthárd. Near Toplica abbey, in the vicinity of its estate in Vinodol, there was a Zeredahel (Zereda [szerda] Wednesday) mentioned in 1292. See Smičiklas, vol. 7., 106–108. Further to the south, near Blina, there was Csütörtökhel*y* (Csütörtök [Thursday]). Rights to organise weekly fairs were occasionally documented by charters as well, e.g. for Kedhely near Klostermarienberg see Hervay, 1984, 65.

[22] The abbey of Klostermarienberg had mills in Lutzmannsburg (Locsmánd, Austria), a centre of a county. See Gyula Kristó, "A locsmándi várispánság felbomlása" (Dissolution of the royal county of Locsmánd), *Soproni Szemle* 23 (1969): 131–144. Szentgotthárd abbey had two mills in Vasvár—also a county centre—and in Győrvár, a centre of the queen's estate later donated to the monastery. The abbey of Zirc had mills in Pápa, a settlement of royal serfs and an important market place.

[23] Elemér Mályusz, "A mezővárosi fejlődés" (The development of market towns), in *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* (Studies on the history of the peasantry in Hungary in the 14th century), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 140–142.

these places often occur in the documents as market towns (*oppida*).[24] Even if the category has to be considered as the one below the full-fledged royal towns, yet, bearing a somewhat flexible or loosely defined legal meaning, it confirms the central role of these settlements: they were the commercial centres of the estates and their population would definitely have been higher than that of average villages.[25]

In the charters concerning the estate of Toplica abbey, various references to mill sites can be found. For instance, the issues of the abbots usually mention mills when they record land-leasing contracts. However, these are all general, formula-type references (e.g. *cum molendinis, pascis, aquis*, etc.), and more reliable ones are only to be found in the cartulary concerning Blatuša (1211),[26] Unčani (*Pounje*, 1278),[27] *Sernou* (1278),[28] Svinica (1301),[29] Komogovina (1312),[30] Mlinoga,

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[24] Among those mentioned above, Kedhely, Locsmánd, Pápa, and Győrvár were referred to later as *oppida*. Not surprisingly, some of the monastic sites (e.g. Pásztó, Cikádor, Szentgotthárd) also became market towns in the late medieval period. For instance, the commercial importance of Pásztó is shown by the Saint Michael's dedication of the parish church and it is also recorded as a market town as early as 1406. See Romhányi, 1994, and Ilona Valter, "Mezővárosi kutatások újabb eredményei Észak-Magyarországon," in *Régészet és várostörténet—tudományos konferencia.* (Archaeology and urban history) *Dunántúli Dolgozatok, Történettudományi Sorozat* 3 (Studies from Transdanubia, Historical Series) ed. Ákos Uherkovics (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, 1991), 195–209. Cikádor (Bátaszék) is mentioned as a market town in 1441. See József Sümegi, *Bátaszék története a középkorban* (History of Bátaszék in the Middle Ages) (Bátaszék: Bátaszék Town Council, 1997). Szentgotthárd also became a market town in the late Middle Ages. See Ilona Valter, "Szentgotthárd története a mohácsi vészig" (The history of Szentgotthárd to the battle of Mohács), in *Szentgotthárd. Helytörténeti, művelődéstörténeti, helyismereti tanulmányok* (Szentgotthárd. Studies in local and cultural history), ed. Lajos Kuntár and László Szabó (Szombathely 1981), 29–80.

[25] See Andás Kubinyi, "Városok, mezővárosok és központi helyek az Alföldön és az Alföld szélén" (Towns market towns, central places in and around the Great Plain), in András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és városhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* (Development and network of towns in and around the Great Plain) (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 7–168.

[26] MOL DL 283 328/no. 1 (1211); MHEZ, vol. 1, 25–27: "In Bachus sunt homines, qui debent ibidem reparare… molendinum"

[27] MOL DL 283 328/no. 31 (1278); MHEZ, vol. 1, 192–193: "…cum omnibus utilitatibus, usu fructibus et pertinenciis ipsarum possessionum, videlicet terris arabilibus, fenilibus, vineis, silvis, montanis, molendinis ac aliis pertinenciis et utilitatibus prescriptarum possessionum universis." The reference here is again a formula, however, I found it peculiar that mines were also mentioned, which may affirm that the text reflects real conditions. Various islands were also mentioned, situated on the Una River,

Vizoka and Strašnik (1364).[31] The mill in Blatuša was apparently documented the earliest, mentioned already in the foundation charter. Though the villages of Mlinoga, *Vizoka*, and Strašnik are also mentioned in the foundation charter, their mills appear as late as 1364. One might, however, suspect that some of them were already established in the thirteenth century. Properties in Komogovina, Svinica, *Sernou*, and *Pounje* were all donated to, or purchased by the abbey—it is in fact the donation acts where mills are mentioned.[32]

If one compares these examples with the Hungarian ones, it is easy to note the same pattern in terms of the connection between mills and central places.[33] Though market interest could have been a possible motive, one must be careful with such a conclusion. Mills were not usually built by the abbeys at their own

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theoretically suitable for milling. Henceforth settlement names without a present-day form are indicated in italics.

[28] MOL DL 283 328 /no. 27 (1278); MHEZ, vol. 1, 197–198: "cum omnibus utilitatibus et pertinentiis terrarum seu possessionum eorundem, reservatis cum molendinis et vineis in eisdem terris existentibus apud ipsos, exceptis quatuor locis molendinorum et quindecim vineis, in quibus eligendis pro sue voluntatis arbitrio prefatus dominus abbas habebit plenariam optionem…"

[29] MOL DL 283 328 /no. 29 (1301); Smičiklas, vol. 8, 11–13: The mill appears in the text of the perambulation: "…ad rivuum in Zuyimicham cadens in eundem infra qoundam fundum molendini…"

[30] MOL DL 283 328/no. 24 (1278); Smičiklas, vol. 8, 307–308: "…notum facimus quod divina inspiratione cooperante fidelibus ac salutaribus amicorum… particulam terre mee patrimonialis in Comogoyna circa ecclesiam Sancte Crucis cum ipsa ecclesia et uno molendino…"

[31] MOL DL 283 328/no. 65 (1364); Smičiklas, vol. 13, 379–381: "…quasdam possessiones [Mlynoga, Vizeka, Ztresich] contra crebras prohibitiones procuratoris dicti monasterii…occupassent et easdem destructis ipsarum veris et antiquis metis nunc tenerent occupatus, de quibus duodecim colonos assignari et septem molendina desolari fecissent…"

[32] Komogovina and Svinica were received as donations, *Pounje* and *Sernou* were purchased.

[33] In Bachus the abbey had market rights donated by King Andrew II as early as 1213. Komogovina is mentioned as a market town in 1486. It was also an estate centre where a castle is documented in the fifteenth century (1443). See Samu Barabás and Lajos Thallóczi, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus. A Frangepán család oklevéltára* vol. 1. (1193–1453), *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* 35. (Budapest: Magyar tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 339. Svinica was in the closest vicinity of Komogovina. *Sernou* was in the vicinity of Blina, the centre of the estate of the Blinai family. *Pounje* was situated on the trade route along the Una, near to the market place of *Vodicsa* (Vodičan). See MOL DL 100 184 (1382).

expense, but were rather received as part of the foundation or later donations. Accordingly, they are sometimes distant from the monastery and from the central part of the estate. For example, the mills of Szentgotthárd in Zala-szentiván, Győrvár, and Boldogasszonyfalva were all at considerable distances from Szentgotthárd, just like those of Toplica. Both Toplica and Szentgotthárd purchased or acquired these mills from different benefactors much later than the foundations.[34]

Sometimes a favourable natural condition for milling, warm-water springs, for instance, explains why one finds this kind of medieval industry often present there, but probably the relatively larger population of the market towns is a more secure explanation. There must have been a need for their capacity and it was also in the lord's interest to have them there as the income drawn from milling rights would have been considerably higher. If the topographical distribution of mills on Cistercian estates is perceived in a general sense as the result of donations, it might be interpreted quite independently from a "Cistercian" estate policy. Yet, the fact that the monks not only received, but sometimes purchased, mills in market towns shows their interest in linking the estate economy to nearby market places.[35]

One has to note, however, that taking only written sources into account—donation or perambulation charters, where mills commonly appear[36]—would give a false impression of the overall topography of mills. It is revealing, for instance, that in 1364 seven mills were mentioned in three villages of the abbey by chance, on the occasion of a feud. One must think that there may have been mills elsewhere, too, not necessarily appearing in our documents. The central part of the estate seems to be usually the most poorly represented in terms of written documents, nevertheless it was the most important in terms of industrial

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[34] This is, however, not to be regarded as a general tendency, e.g. Klostermarienberg (Borsmonostor) had several mill sites on its central estates as revealed by the perambulation of the central area. See MOL DL 86 815 (1225), in *Sopron vármegye története, Oklevéltár* (History of Sopron County, Diplomatarium), ed. Imre Nagy (Sopron: 1889), 9–17.

[35] It is interesting to make a brief comparison here between Cistercian and Pauline monasteries. A detailed settlement and landscape study has shown that the Pauline monasteries in Upper Hungary were even more concerned with systematically acquiring mill sites in nearby market towns and they spent large amounts of money on buying them. See Károly Belényesi, *Pálos kolostorok az Abaúji-hegyalján* (Pauline friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja region) (Miskolc: Hermann Ottó Múzeum, 2004).

[36] Mills were an important part of the holdings from the financial aspect and usually stood on those watercourses which were also the boundaries of the estates.

activity.[37] A detailed analysis of landscape and settlement history, combined with fieldwalking or other surveying methods, might recover more mill sites.[38]

Granges

The topography of granges is a much-discussed general problem of Cistercian estate structure and estate history. Former assumptions about Cistercian economy and the role and function of the granges can be illustrated in the Hungarian literature, for instance by E. Kalász's work on Szentgotthárd abbey.[39] Kalász used both the rules of the general chapter and the archive of the monastery, but the latter was rather overlooked or misinterpreted in favour of the former. Following the *Ordensmythos* and in accordance with the normative sources, he basically outlined the early years of development as a period when granges were established around the monastery on previously uninhabited lands. He argued that granges, being situated explicitly in the central zone within a few kilometres of the monastery, were always run by lay brothers.[40] He also stressed that the Cistercians' main field of activity was—due to the natural setting of granges—forest clearance.[41]

This kind of interpretation of Cistercian economy and estate structure was strongly linked to the rules of the general chapter, to contemporary ideas about the process of foundation, to the self-representation of the Cistercians' as *Rodungsorden*, and to the social background. It has now been reconsidered to a great extent,[42] but regardless of the change, the grange economy is still best

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[37] Paul Benoît, "L'espace industriel cistercien à lumière des exemples bourguignons et champenois," in *L'espace cistercien*, ed. Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994), 378–390 (hereafter: Benoît, 1994).

[38] It is probable that there were further mills near the monastery. Unfortunately, detailed documents describing the immediate neighbourhood of the complex have not come down to us. On the basis of an extended approach, however, there was a tendency in the case of the Hungarian abbeys that mills in the central area—especially those in the vicinity of abbeys—did not appear in the medieval records, but only later.

[39] Elek Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai és a ciszterci gazdálkodás a középkorban* (The estates of Szentgotthárd Abbey and Cistercian economy in the Middle Ages) (Budapest, 1932) (hereafter: Kalász, 1932).

[40] Kalász, 1932, 22–23.

[41] Kalász, 1932, 28.

[42] See, for instance, Wolfgang Ribbe, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter: Agrarwirtschaft," in *Die Zisterzienser Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler.*

approached and explained based on the same questions: What were their functions? How were they run? What specific role did they play in monastic economy? How did their location, their spatial relation to the whole estate, reflect this role? and How could grange topography be influenced by structural conditions of the estate?

As far as the Hungarian scholarship is concerned, these problems have not been the subject of a detailed study so far, probably due to the lack of written sources and the complexity of the question. In medieval Hungary only a few charters mention granges in connection to Cistercian abbeys,[43] and the relevance of these documents is sometimes questionable.[44] As for architectural evidence, it seems that with a few exceptions there are no visible remains of grange buildings in Eastern Central Europe.[45] The little excavation evidence at hand[46] is valuable, yet, mostly if one is mainly concerned about the industrial or agricultural activities of the order; it provides only minor and incidental clues for a

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Schriften des Rheinisches Museumsamtes 10, ed. Kaspar Elm (Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1981), 203–215, (hereafter: Ribbe, 1981).

[43] Written evidence is known so far for Klostermarienberg (Borsmonostor), Petrovaradin (Pétervárad, Serbia) and Toplica. Hervay, 1984, 64, 65, 136, 140, 182, 184.

[44] In the case of Zwettl, Christoph Sonnlechner noted that there is a papal charter (issued by Innocent II) just one year after the foundation charter, where the central estates, similarly to Klostermarienberg—see Hervay, 1984, 64—are called "granges." It is improbable that in one year the monastery re-organized the whole area. The papal curia might have used the word grange to denote the central possessions around the monasteries. Accordingly, the "granges" of Klostermarienberg also have to be treated critically.

[45] Kateřina Charvatová, "Le modèle économique cistercien et son application pratique en Bohême," *Cahiers de civilisation médievale* 30 (1987): 65–70; Kateřina Charvatová, "Mindful of Reality, Faithful to Traditions, Development of Bohemian Possessions of the Cistercian Order from the 12th to the 13th Centuries," in *L'espace cistercien, ed.* Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994), 177–184 (hereafter: Charvatová, 1994).

[46] The presence of a grange is probably attested by an archaeological investigation in Stankovac near Toplica. The results are unknown to me at this time. See Zorislav Horvat, "Neke cinjenice o cistercitskom samostanu i crkvi u Topuskom" (Some data on the Cistercian monastery in Toplica), *Prilozi Instituta za Arheologiju u Zagrebu* 13–14 (1996/1997): 121–134, esp. 122. Another probable grange site is Kovácsi-puszta near Pilis, where field surveys, excavation materials, and the site location might support this suggestion. See István Torma, ed. *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája, vol. 7, Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: A budai és szentendrei járás.* (Archaeological topography of Hungary. Archaeological topography of Pest County: Buda and Szentendre districts), (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986).

topographical analysis. Accordingly, if one has to rely on documents alone, the problem of the physical definition of a "grange" immediately arises. Does the term refer to a whole settlement or settlements completely turned into a grange or to a certain part of a settlement's boundary?[47] The answer by all means requires an interdisciplinary approach, combining aerial photography, landscape survey, the collection of cartographical and place name evidence, and so on. A more elaborate "micro"-topography—like that presented by Colin Platt[48]—would go beyond the scope of the present study, thus I will restrict my investigation here to the analysis of written documents and address mainly the large-scale distribution of granges, also drawing on comparative examples.

Studies on Western European Cistercian estates often point out that the idealised model of grange economy is sometimes not far from reality.[49] Due to the significant role of the lay brethren and for practical reasons of management (the importance of the property was usually in reciprocal relation to its distance), grange economy was indeed typically established in the central area. C. Platt argued that Cistercians "for the first time set about assembling the more important of their properties into easily managed units, each to be controlled by a team of lay brethren."[50] He observed the organisation of granges in close connection to the social background, specifically to the early development of the estate. It was also argued that granges could be organised sometimes with the

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[47] The same problem was stressed by K. Andermann in the case of the Maulbronn granges. See Kurt Andermann, "Zur Besitz- und Wirtschaftgeschichte des Klosters Maulbronn," in *Maulbronn. Zur 850-jährigen Geschichte des Zisterzienserklosters*, ed. Kurt Andermann et al. (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1997), 31–42. See also Winfried Schich, "Grangien und Stadthöfe der Zisterzienserklöster östlich der mittleren Elbe bis zum 14. Jahrhundert", in *Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft, Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser 3*, ed. Winfried Schich (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998), 64–98, (hereafter: Schich, 1998), esp. 67.

[48] Colin Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London: Macmillan, 1969) (hereafter: Platt, 1969).

[49] E.g. Maulbronn settled on uninhabited land and established granges there. Between 1150 and 1300 the number of settlements in the area grew by approximately 50 percent as a result of the Cistercian colonisation activity. Change was the most impressive in the vicinity of the monastic site, where the monks even re-located settlements. See Peter Rückert, "Die Bedeutung Maulbronns für die Siedlungsgenese zwischen Stromberg und Schwarzwald im Mittelalter," and Kurt Andermann, "Zur Besitz- und Wirtsschaft-geschichte des Klosters Maulbronn," in *Maulbronn. Zur 850-jährigen Geschichte des Zister-zienserklosters, ed.* Kurt Andermann et al. (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1997), 15–29, and 31–42.

[50] Platt, 1969, 71.

purpose of being the centres of those estates which were situated at a distance and did not have a direct connection to the monastic site. W. Schich has also noted that there are two different sub-groups of granges: those lying in the vicinity of the monastery and those lying at a greater distance.[51]

Whereas an idealised model can be a telling one, for instance, in the case of Maulbronn, case studies on the topography of the granges of, for instance, Dargun[52] and Preully[53] demonstrate a further aspect influencing their distribution. Granges were not only to be found in the central area, but also along nearby trade routes. As an early twelfth-century foundation, the history of Preully abbey reflects moreover a chronological difference between granges with central and marginal positions. The central granges were founded in the earliest period (1118–1163), while more distant granges along the trade routes (still within a radius of 10–30 kilometres) were all established later (1213–1258).[54] The change in the structure of the estate and in the grange-system in this case was not only the consequence of the subsequent acquisitions and the growth of the estate in size, but probably also due to the changing importance of economic opportunities offered by the developing urban centres of the thirteenth century.

When approaching the question of grange economy in Eastern Central Europe, the local historical and social circumstances also have to be considered, for they could have offered a different setting that influenced the development of the monastic properties. It is often stressed that the role of already inhabited land (villages and consequently tithes) was more important, and the bias concerning the duality (or mixed character) of the Cistercian economy definitely shifted to rent-paying villages in Poland,[55] Bohemia,[56] and Hungary.[57] It is also

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[51] Schich, 1998, 75.

[52] For Dargun see Gerhard Schlegel, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Dargun, 1172–1552, Studien zur Katholischen Bistums- und Klostergeschichte* (Leipzig: St Benno Verlag, 1980), 10–13.

[53] For Preully see Nathalie Picart, "Le domaine de Preully," in *L'espace cistercien*, ed. Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifique, 1994), 568–580, (hereafter: Picart, 1994).

[54] Picart, 1994, 573. The granges were to be found along a north-south axis, according to the route system. They connected the area with the Champagne fairs.

[55] The role of villages and tithes is stressed by Józef Dobosz and Andrej Marek Wyrwa, "Dzialalność gospodarcza cystersów na ziemiach polskich–zarys problemu" (Cistercian economy in the Polish lands. An outline) in *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae* 1*, Dzieje i kultura męskich klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych* (History and culture of male Cistercian monasteries in the Polish lands and the Old Republic from the Middle Ages until the present), ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, Jerzy Strzelczyk, and Krzysztof Kaczmarek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999), 189–212, (hereafter: Dobosz–Wyrwa, 1999), esp. 211.

noted that there was a difference between "western" and "eastern" granges in terms of their size and number.[58] Nevertheless, the structural aspects of Eastern Central European Cistercian estates have not been investigated appropriately so far and the spatial distribution of the granges has usually been outside of the range of research. Only the estate of Plasy abbey in Bohemia has been studied thoroughly by K. Charvátová. She has argued that the granges of the abbey were all established in already existing settlements, in previously cultivated areas, despite the fact that the monastery had sufficient uninhabited lands suitable for agricultural expansion. Uninhabited areas were settled by villagers whom the abbey relocated after establishing granges on their holdings. Accordingly, the distribution pattern of granges seems to be quite scattered in this case. One would say that it reflects a sort of "irregularity" if compared to the Western examples, which are more identical to the ideals presented by the rules of the general chapter. Charvátová has also argued that granges were not established in the early period, but later, when forest clearance and the re-location of village populations had already taken place. Thus, not only the distribution pattern, but also the process of estate development diverges from what would have been experienced in Western European cases where the organisation of granges usually followed immediately after the foundation.

Granges of Toplica abbey are documented at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in Bruchina (1211, 1274, 1278, 1302), Graduša (1242, 1334), Bojna (1279, 1334), *Grangya* (1334), and *Krala* (1260).[59] In Stankovac archaeological excavation attested the presence of a grange. In fact, Toplica is by far the best-documented abbey if one compares these data with

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See also Grzegorz Żabiński, "Mogiła and Henrików: A Comparative Economic History of Cistercian Monasteries within their Social Context (Up to the End of the Thirteenth Century)," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2005), 123.

[56] Charvatová, 1994, 179. The papal confirmation charter of Plasy abbey from 1250 mentions 47 villages, 10 churches, and 11 granges.

[57] For the foundation charters of Hungarian abbeys see Hervay, 1984. The Toplica estate, as described in 1211, was without doubt not abandoned land in the back of beyond, yet most surely had uninhabited areas as well.

[58] See e.g. Ribbe, 1981.

[59] For Bruchina see MOL DL 283 328/no. 39, 40, 41. For Graduša see MOL DL 283 328/no. 23 and MHEZ, vol. 2, 76. For Boyna see Samu Barabás and Lajos Thallóczy, ed., *A Blagay-család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay* (The archives of the Blagay family) (Budapest, 1897), 36–38. See also MHEZ, vol. 2, 76. For Krala see MOL DL 283 328/no. 18. For Grangya see MHEZ, vol. 2, 76. These charters are the earliest ones where the names of these settlements appear, e.g. *Grangya* and its St. Michael's church (or chapel?) was first mentioned in 1334.

those on others connected to Hungarian abbeys. One should be careful, however, with interpreting the data from the written sources in the framework of the development patterns of Cistercian estates described above, since the reconstruction of a topographical history of the settlement pattern of Zagreb county still awaits systematic landscape survey. The relevance of comparative examples for the present study might well be that grange distribution is best considered and understood not simply as a result of a Cistercian "masterplan," but as a subject which has to be investigated in close connection to the structural and historical development of the overall estate.

The distribution pattern of the Toplica granges in the main might resemble the one observed in Plasy. Again, a congruent central zone is missing; the grange in Boyna is the only one situated in the direct neighbourhood of the monastery, and all other granges are scattered within a 20–30 km radius, which is the usual distance limit for the central area.[60] A hypothetical explanation of this pattern might be the functional connection of granges with the market places in their vicinity. *Krala* was situated in the vicinity of Bihać, along the trade route leading southward in the valley of the Una River to the town of Zadar (Zára) on the coast. In 1260 Bihać is referred to as a fortified royal town (*civitas*). Bruchina grange was in the neighbourhood of a market place (*forum*) documented between Maya and Bruchina in 1302. The grange in Gradusa was situated next to Komogovina, mentioned as a market town (*oppidum*) in 1486. In 1515 Gradusa itself is also mentioned as a market town.[61] *Grangya* was located near Kladusa, similarly a market town, but is also mentioned as a market place where the abbot collected tolls as late as 1481. Stankovecz was located near Brkisevina, also referred to as a market place in 1481.[62]

Although the spatial relations just described probably explain a great deal about the historical circumstances of the establishment and about the development of granges, there are many practical problems making the interpretations of their genesis difficult. Due to the lack of written sources before the Cistercians' arrival, the settlement pattern and settlement hierarchy of the area in the early period remain obscure; even the first few decades in the history of the abbey are virtually missing. Thus, the structural hierarchy of the settlement pattern of the former royal estate can only be approached in a general way. The territory should have had settlements for the service people and for the

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[60] Benoît, 1994, 378–390.

[61] MOL DL 31 006: "item castellum Gradyza cum oppido similiter Gradyza ac possessiones Babrownycza, Zelcze."

[62] Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta Historica Liberae Civitatis Zagrabiae* vol. 2 (Zagreb: 1894), 405–408.

privileged *iobagiones castri* and also market places. Some of the nearby settlements were centres of territorial administration: Sisak, for instance, is referred to in the thirteenth-century documents as *comitatus*, similarly to Gora. Yet, this is far too little to explain the unusual distribution of granges; the written sources disguise many aspects of the Cistercians' activity—namely structural or demographical changes in the settlement pattern initiated by the abbey, assarting, other kinds of landscape management, and so on. Thus, in order to assess the development of the settlement system and the problem of grange development in a more elaborate way one has to have archaeological and other kinds of data as well. The historical-geographical development of the area must be studied further, which might confirm the above suggestion.

In all probability, written sources documenting the existence of the granges are later than the first half of the thirteenth century. In the foundation charter, only Bruchina is mentioned as the first grange of the abbey (*prima grangia*) and no others are named. Can the fact that no further grange appears in the documents until the second half of the thirteenth century support the idea of a late development of the granges, manorial farms, and demesne economy—a development similarly observable in Plasy or in Poland?[63] Hypothetically, the expansion of the grange economy of Toplica at that time might be connected with the occasional data from the same period on purchasing servants.[64] Besides, growth and innovation was not typical in the early years after the foundation due to manpower shortages. An insufficient number of lay brothers could definitely have played a part in the vicissitudes of early settlement projects. Servants and hired workers could have provided a solution, yet abbeys had to invest money in them. Interestingly, other sources show that there was no particular concern about securing manpower in other ways. Kalász has stressed, for instance, that the feudal duties of villagers toward the monasteries were mainly defined in terms of money, not in terms of labour.[65]

Since the territory of Toplica abbey was large enough, the Cistercians could have had, in fact, various opportunities to decide where to locate their granges or manorial courts. The reasons why they chose this or that place could be similarly various and should be further analysed with other methods. One has to remember that the distribution of granges can develop along various economic aspects of estate management. Granges could have different concerns according to different natural resources and possibilities of land usage. Marshland areas or

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[63] Dobosz–Wyrwa, 1999, 212.

[64] MOL 283 328/no. 73, 74 (1308, 1269). These two documents attest that the abbey purchased and received a number of servants.

[65] Kalász, 1917, 50.

alluvial valleys were, for instance, better for harvesting crops, while granges with marginally arable soils were suitable for sheep breeding.[66] For a better understanding of functional questions one has to make use of various methodological approaches, exploring different contexts of grange economy. The example presented by Christoph Sonnlechner for Zwettl, where the monks experienced the limitations of the local environment and re-structured their granges in order to have more appropriate ways of exploitation, can serve as a useful comparison. This dynamism underlines that estate development can be far more complex than the few aspects considered above.

Particular aspects, such as the local natural environment of settlement boundaries, settled or unsettled areas, the settlement hierarchy, and the spatial relation between grange and village could not be taken into account in the present discussion. On the basis of the few valuable pieces of information derived from the written sources only some general elements of the estate structure could be highlighted. The Cistercians settled near important river courses and trade routes, and—as was usual for Cistercian estates—the monastery was connected to them by relatively distant "satellite" settlements. Toplica had a town house in Senj (Zenng) which served as a kind of trading post, demonstrating far-reaching commercial interest. The number of mills and granges of the abbey was relatively high. Their spatial distribution and date of appearance suggest that market economy became more relevant in the economic development of the monastery from the second half of the thirteenth century on. The milling industry, established in nearby market towns, was likely to have been an important source of income. Granges were probably not established until the second half of the thirteenth century. Their scattered pattern might be the result of the insufficient number of lay brothers, whereby central area was necessarily less important and granges were run individually with the help of local servants. Sources also shed light on the importance of a market economy: the distribution of the granges suggests that their production was beyond the practical needs of the community, and this should be seen rather from the perspective of the secondary economy.

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[66] These two different types of granges were already mentioned by Platt 1969, 71.

Fig. 1. Granges and Mills on the Estates of Toplica Abbey.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE – TWO FLORENTINE MERCHANT FAMILIES IN BUDA DURING THE REIGN OF KING SIGISMUND (1387–1437)[1]

Krisztina Arany

> *"Be with others in the trade missions, in banks and go abroad, exercise commerce, see with your own eyes the lands and countries where you plan to trade… if you trade abroad, go there personally often, at least once a year, to see and to settle the yearly account. Supervise what kind of life your assistant lives who stays there, if he spends superabundantly: whether he makes good credits, if he does not hazard or go under in order that he would work hard and would never override his commission."[2]*

Introduction

Hungarian–Italian commercial relations played an important role in the economic history of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Most studies dedicated to this issue analyze the trade relations of Hungary and Venice, and deservedly so, since as a political and commercial power Venice had a direct influence on

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[1] This article contains a revised version of in my MA thesis "Florentine Merchants in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund – Economic and Social Strategies," Central European University, 2005. Due to the limited space the chapters related to a third case study and the quantitative chapter analyzing the general patterns of the Florentine families' economic interests and integration possibilities in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom have been left out. This research is continued within the framework of my PhD studies at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU. Here I would like to express my gratitude towards my supervisors, Katalin Szende and Balázs Nagy for their kind and firm support. I also wish to thank Zsuzsa Teke for her precious remarks and advice related to my thesis.

[2] "Istá con altrui a'fondachi, a'banchi e va di fuori, pratica i mercatanti e le mercantie, vedi coll'occhio i paesi, le terre dove hai pensiero di trafficare … se traffichi di fuori, va in persona ispesso, il meno una volta l'anno, a vedere e saldare ragione. Guarda che vita tiene chi é per te di fuori, s'egli spende di soperchio: se faccia buoni crediti, che non s'avventi alle cose né si metta troppo nell'affondo, che faccia sodamente e non passi mai il mandato…," Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, *Ricordi,* ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Fratelli Le Monnier, 1969), 226–228.

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Hungarian history throughout the centuries.[3] Scholarship paid less attention to the activity and presence of the Florentines in Hungary until the last two decades, though the Florentine city-state had an outstanding role in the European economic life of that age and besides the Venetian businessmen Florentine traders also played a notable role in the Hungarian royal government and in the commercial life of the country.[4]

The earliest pieces of information in the field of Florentine–Hungarian relations refer to the appearance of papal tax-collectors of Florentine origin. They were usually commissioned by Florentine or Sienese banking houses working for the Roman Curia, as early as the thirteenth century.[5]

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[3] Zsuzsa Teke, *Velencei–magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a XIII–XV. században* (Venetian–Hungarian trade relations in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries), Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 86. (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1979) (hereafter: Teke, *Velencei–magyar)*; Wolfgang von Stromer, "Die Kontinentalsperre Kaiser Sigismunds gegen Venedig 1412–1413, 1418–1433 und die Verlagerung der Transkontinentalen Transportwege," in *Trasporti e sviluppo economico. Secoli XIII–XVIII,* ed. Anna Vannini Marx, Serie II.–Atti della quinta "Settiman adi Studi," Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini" di Prato 5 (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 61–84.

[4] Hermann Kellenbenz, "Gli operatori economici italiani nell'Europa centrale ed orientale," in *Aspetti della vita economica medievale, Atti del Convegno di Studi nel X. anniversario della morte die Federigo Melis* (Florence: Ariani, 1985), 333–357; Bruno Dini, "L'economia fiorentina e l'Europa centro-orientale nelle fonti toscane," *Archivio Storico Italiano* (hereafter: *ASI*), 153 (1995): 632–655; Tomisláv Raukar, "I fiorentini in Dalmazia nel sec. XIV," *ASI* 153 (1995): 657–680; Neven Budak, "I fiorentini nella Slavonia e nella Croazia," *ASI* 153 (1995): 680–695 (hereafter: Budak, I fiorentini"); Zsuzsa Teke, "Firenzei üzletemberek Magyarországon 1373–1403" (Florentine businessmen in Hungary 1373–1403), *Történelmi Szemle* 37 (1995): 129–150 (hereafter: Teke, 'Firenzei üzletemberek"); Zsuzsa Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok, kereskedők Magyarországon Zsigmond uralmának megszilárdulása után 1404–1437" (Florentine merchant houses, tradesmen in Hungary after the consolidation of King Sigismund's reign 1404–1437), *Századok* 129 (1995): 195–214 (hereafter: Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok"); Zsuzsa Teke, "Operatori economici fiorentini in Ungheria nel tardo Trecento e primo Quattrocento," *ASI* 153 (1995): 697–707.

[5] About the issues related to papal tax-collection see Raymond de Roover, *Il banco Medici dalle origini al declino (1397–1494)* (Florence: La nuova Italia, 1970), 92–95 (hereafter: De Roover, *Il banco Medici*); Béla Mayer, "Pápai bankárok Magyarországon a középkor végén" (Papal bankers in Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages), *Századok* 57–58 (1923–1924): 648–668. About the papal tithe-collectors in Hungary see *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae. Magyarországi Vatikáni Okirattár. Ser. I. Tom. I. Első sorozat 1. köt. Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Pápai tizedszedők számadásai 1281–1375* (Hungarian charters in the Vatican, Accounts of papal tithe-collectors 1281–1375) (Budapest: Franklin Ny., 1887) [Reprinted: Budapest: METEM, 2000].

From the Angevin period the number of Florentines in the kingdom increased, partly due to their traditionally good relations with the Neapolitan royal dynasty. In fact, the Florentine banking houses supported the crowning of Charles Robert (1301–1342) in Hungary financially.[6] Hungary also became attractive for the Florentine businessmen because of the possibilities related to the lease of royal incomes, among them the Hungarian gold- and silver-mining and minting chambers, since Hungarian gold and silver mines were some of the most important in Europe, especially during the fourteenth-century European gold crisis.[7]

As far as the period of King Sigismund (1387–1437) is considered due to Zsuzsa Teke's, Bruno Dini's and other renowned scholars' research, Hungarian and also Italian scholarship acknowledges the increasing presence and activity of these businessmen in Hungary.

This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of the favorable historical periods and professional possibilities that attracted these medieval entrepreneurs into the Hungarian Kingdom through two family reconstructions. Their main fields of activity in the area, their relations to the king, and their demands and opportunities for integration into Hungarian society will be surveyed. Beside the basic features of their business operation, I am particularly interested in the contacts and social position they acquired while living in the kingdom.

The choice fell on the Melanesi brothers' company in Buda on one hand due to the rich information and also due to their long-term successful settlement and complex activity in the kingdom. In order to offer comparative material to their case I chose the Carnesecchi-Fronte Florentine company, which operated in Buda in this period and was the only business company explored by scholars so far.[8]

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[6] A record from 1. June 1305 confirms that the Florentine Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses provided three hundred ounces of gold for Charles Robert's affairs in Hungary. Gyula Kristó, ed., *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* I. (Charter collection of the Angevin Period). (Budapest–Szeged: JATE, 1990), 744; idem, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* (The wars of the Angevin Period) (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1988), 10. About the monetary reforms of Charles Robert see Bálint Hóman, *A magyar királyság pénzügyei és gazdaságpolitikája Károly Róbert korában* (The finance and economic policy of the Hungarian Kingdom during the Reign of King Charles Robert) (Budapest: Budavári Tudományos Társaság, 1921).

[7] Bálint Hóman, "A XIV. századi aranyválság" (The fourteenth-century gold crisis), in *Emlékkönyv Fejérpataky László életének hatvanadik évfordulója ünnepére* (Festschrift for László Fejérpataky) (Budapest: Franklin, 1917), 212–242.

[8] Zsuzsa Teke found the separate Catasto declaration for the Hungarian business of the Carnesecchi-Fronte company and she made a detailed and precise analysis of their

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On the other hand, the Corsini brothers' and their family's fate presented here provide a rather rare occasion to explore the possible factors of a failure, which is normally much less documented. Their apprentice in Buda and their further career serves to contrast the first case study.

The history of these families can, in fact, be reconstructed from a puzzle of data taken from a number of sources and from the relevant scholarly literature. In the course of the data collection I relied prevailingly on the archival fond of the Florentine Catasto, a taxation system from 1427.[9] It contains the declarations (*portate*) of the Florentine citizens (approximately 60,000 householders), their excerpts (*campioni*) made by the officials of the Catasto, and finally the later corrections from 1428 and 1429. Also the tax returns of the subsequent Catastos of 1430 and 1433 were in part researched for the purpose of this study. Each tax return includes both the immobile and mobile wealth, plus current business investments, lists of creditors and debtors and finally also the family-members supported by the householder, listed by their names and ages, kinship relations, and the occupations of the males. Moreover, I used the diplomatic correspondence of the Florentine *Comune* with King Sigismund, the commissions, instructions and reports of Florentine legates sent to the Hungarian realm and the source material in Hungary.[10]

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activity, which is deservedly considered an important survey which influenced the general statge of research in the field, not only in Hungary but also in international scholarly circles. See Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 195–198.

[9] ASF, Archivio del Catasto. About the Catasto see David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *I Toscani e le loro famiglie. Uno studio sul catasto fiorentino del 1427* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1988) (hereafter Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*). The Index of this study is available on-line at www.stg.brown.edu/projects/catasto/overview; Zsuzsa Teke, "Az 1427. évi firenzei catasto. Adalékok a firenzei–magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok történetéhez" (The Florentine Catasto from 1427. A contribution to the history of Florentine–Hungarian commercial relations), *Történelmi Szemle* 27 (1984): 42–49.

[10] Florentine diplomatic sources: Archivio di Stato di Firenze (The State Archives of Florence) (hereafter: ASF), Signori, Carteggi, Missive-I.cancelleria; Hungarian source collections: Magyar Országos Levéltár (The Hungarian National Archives) (hereafter: MOL), Diplomatikai Levéltár (Collection of Charters); MOL, Diplomatikai Fénykép-gyűjtemény (Photograph Collection of Charters); Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa and Norbert C. Tóth, ed., *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*. I–IX. köt. (1387–1422) (Charter collection from the period of King Sigismund (1387–1422), vol 1–9 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951–2004) (hereafter: Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár).

A Manifold Family Business – The Melanesi Brothers in Buda

Simone di Pietro and Tommaso di Pietro Melanesi were among the few Florentine merchants who managed to establish and run a long-term trading operation in Buda in the early fifteenth century. Their operation was recorded in a remarkably rich source material: the *campione* of their catasto in 1427 inserted in the tax return of their uncle, Filippo di Filippo Melanesi.[11] Additional information has been found in Filippo's subsequent catastos from 1430 and 1433 and Tommaso's really laconic separate catasto from 1433.[12] Moreover, a number of other pieces of information regarding their activities could be surveyed from charters issued to them by King Sigismund along with pieces of diplomatic and economic correspondence.

These materials facilitate the attempt at biographical reconstruction in the case of this family. Moreover, the sources enable the survey of the social network these businessmen created for themselves in the Hungarian realm. Therefore this survey aims to highlight the main characteristics of their operation in the kingdom and to analyze factors generally influencing such decisions in their case: the homeland family and economic background, their business network in their native city, and finally, their trading and social network in their new milieu.

Simone and Tommaso Melanesi – the main features of their activity

As to the main biographical data of the brothers, according to their tax-declaration Simone was the elder brother, aged forty, while Tommaso stated that he was thirty-six years of age in 1427. The birth dates included in the catasto can be generally considered only approximate. In any case they must have been born around 1380 probably in the *contado* of Prato, since the family came to Florence from this near-by town.[13]

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[11] Filippo di Filippo Melanesi's catasto, ASF, Archivio del Catasto 1427 (hereafter: ASF, Catasto 1427), Campioni, Reg. 77. folio 247r-249r. Within this tax return see Tommaso's and Simone's catasto about their business operation in the Hungarian Kingdom ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 77. folio 248v-249r., and the original *Portata:* Portate, vol. 46. folio 649v-655v.

[12] Filippo di Filippo Melanesi ASF, Catasto 1430, Reg. 406. folio 401r-402v.; Filippo di Filippo Melanesi ASF, Catasto 1433, Reg. 406. folio 401r-402v.; Tommaso di Pietro Melanesi, ASF, Catasto 1433, Reg.496. folio 499v.

[13] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 77. folio 247r. The real estates listed in the catasto of his uncle, Filippo, were also mainly located in the contado of Prato. About the administrative position of Prato within the Florentine city-state see Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 177.

According to my present knowledge, they first appeared in Hungary around 1417, so they had been working in the kingdom for at least ten years by the year of the Catasto.[14] This also implies the possibility that their activity in the kingdom was not part of their apprenticeship, since young Florentines were usually sent abroad to gain experience in their late teens.[15] They were surely not the first long-term Florentine entrepreneurs in the Hungarian realm of Sigismund. At that time other Florentines had also been working in the royal seat of Hungary, like Francesco Bernardi, Noffri di Bardi from the previous generation or the company formed by the Fronte brothers (Antonio and Fronte) in Buda and Pagolo del Berto Carnesecchi in Florence, for several decades.[16] The latter company's debtors' and creditors' list included in the catasto of 1427 has been analyzed at length by Zsuzsa Teke.[17] The information and results published by her will serve as comparative material to the survey of the Melanesis' tax return. This choice may be justified by the fact that the experience and business network of the Fronte-Carnesecchi company must have been an extraordinary help for the Melanesi brothers, who were in fact employed by them in 1417.

The latter, however, launched their own business activity very soon, probably benefiting from their personal contacts partly to local Hungarians and Florentine merchants acquired while working for Fronte. They created their business network with other important commercial centers as well. There is evidence of their regular commercial relations with a Florentine company settled in Venice, that of Uberto, Niccolo and Antonio Zati from the Zati family, well known in Hungary.[18] They seem to have entered the inner circles of the Scolari and become associates of the powerful Filippo Scolari, called Pipo of Ozora in Hungary.[19] Their direct relation to the entire Scolari family is symbolized by the

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[14] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 196.

[15] Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 781–785.

[16] The list is far from being complete, however, the listed merchants were among the most influential ones.

[17] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 195–214.

[18] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 196.; Antonio di Francesco Zati served as a travelling contact person between the two companies, see Teke, "Firenzei kereskedő-társaságok," 197.

[19] Filippo Scolari (1369–1426), a Florentine businessma, came to Hungary at a young age and made an extraordinary career. He entered the nobilty by marriage and became one of the closest counsellors of the king and held significant offices in the central administration. Among other dignities around 1399 he was *comes* of the gold mining and minting chamber at Körmöcbánya (Kremnica, Slovakia), he controlled the salt chambers of the kingdom and was also appointed treasurer. In 1420 he was assigned lay governor

fact that Simone and Tommaso were appointed executors of Andrea and Mattia Scolari's last wills in 1426.[20]

The Melanesi brothers also served King Sigismund of Luxemburg, who appointed them his *familiares* in 1424 and employed both of them as financial experts.[21] Tommaso was later appointed *ispán* (*comes*) of a mining and minting chamber by Sigismund in 1435 and he held this office probably until his death in 1437.[22] He apparently had some previous experience related to the Hungarian copper trade with Venice around 1429.[23]

According to the uncle's entry in his catasto, in 1430 Tommaso must have accompanied Sigismund to South Germany for eight months. He must have run some business in the meantime according to the catasto because he declared 500 florins of profit for this period.[24] King Sigismund left Tata at the beginning of June 1430 and stayed from the end of December until the end of January of the

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of the Kalocsa archbishopric. His highest dignity was that of *comes* of Temes, which elevated him to the rank of Hungarian barons (high aristocrats). He supported and promoted his fellow country men and their activity in Hungary. About Filippo Scolari see Gusztáv Wenzel, *Ozorai Pipo. Magyar történelmi jellemrajz Zsigmond király korából* (Pipo of Ozora. A Hungarian historical character study from the period of King Sigismund) (Pest, 1863); Pál Engel, "Ozorai Pipo," in *Ozorai Pipo emlékezete* (The memory of Pipo of Ozora), ed. Ferenc Vadas (Szekszárd: Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum, 1987), 53–89.

[20] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 198.

[21] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 198; About the Hungarian copper trade see: Ambrus Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem a középkorban* (Hungarian Foreign Trade towards the West in the Middle Ages) (Budapest 1925) (hereafter: Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló)*; Dénes Huszti, *Olasz–magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a középkorban* (Relazioni Commerciali tra l'Italia e l'Ungheria nel Medioevo) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia., 1941) (hereafter: Huszti, *Olasz–magyar)*; Teke, *Velencei–magyar*, 76–82; Oszkár Paulinyi, "A középkori magyar réztermelés gazdasági jelentősége" (The economic importance of medieval Hungarian copper-production), in *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik évfordulójának ünnepére* (Festschrift for the eightieth anniversary of Árpád Károlyi's birth) (Budapest: Sárkány Ny., 1933), 402–439.

[22] Tommaso must have died in 1437 with some open accounts which had to be settled by the order of King Sigismund, see Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 207.

[23] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 207.

[24] ASF, Catasto 1430, Reg. 406. folio 401r "Del traficho dungheria dicie no[n] dicie alchuna chosa p[er]o dicie che da tommaso melanesi ne sarete avvisati che chosi dicie a letto dallui che p[er] tutto ilmese diluglio p[r]ossimo che viene dicie ma[n]dar in ogni sua sustanze e incharichi i quali si tenevano nelle parti di uncheria che p[r]ima nollo apotuto fare che stato i[n] chostanza chollo imperado[re] circha di mesi otto ragiomalli … buoni i[n] detto traficho 500 fl."

following year in Constance.[25] Therefore, in December Tommaso could inform his uncle about his stay in the town and the approximately eight months mentioned in the document may refer to his joining the cortége at Tata. However, diplomatic sources confirm that Tommaso visited Florence personally as ambassador of the emperor already in March of the following year. He apparently negotiated with the comune regarding the emperor's journey towards Rome and eventual stay in Florence.[26] Tommaso was also a member of the courtly entourage which accompanied the king to the imperial coronation in Rome 1430–34.[27] On this occasion he also handed in a supplication in his name and for two Hungarian magnates, Michael Jakcs, *comes Siculorum* and his brother, Ladislaus, which hints at his good relations with the Hungarian aristocracy.[28] He also mentions his *familiaris*, a certain Demetrius litteratus de Pagan and the latter's family in the document, but no more information is at our disposal about them at the moment.

In this letter Tommaso defines himself as *nobilis* and *officialis imperatoris* without any mention of his Florentine origin, which was usually not the case in other Florentines' petitions to the papal curia for practical reasons. The members of the imperial cortége had gratis supplication possibilities in 1433 on Sigismund's request and this must have played a role in Tommaso's decision.[29] However, this certainly hints also at his efforts of integration.

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[25] On King Sigismund's stay in Konstanz and his itinerary see Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368–1437* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 362. (hereafter: Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*); Pál Engel and Norbert C. Tóth, "Zsigmond király és császár itineráriuma 1382–1437" (The itinerary of King and Emperor Sigismund (1382–1437), in *Királyok és királynék itineráriumai 1382–1438. Intineraria regum et reginarum Hungariae (1382–1438)* (Itineraries of Kings and Queens 1382–1438) ed. Norbert C. Tóth (Budapest: MTA Támogatott Kutatóhelyek Irodája, 2005) (hereafter: Engel and C. Tóth, "Itinerary"), 125–126.

[26] ASF, Signori, carteggi, missive, I. cancelleria, Filza 33. folio 61v -63r. 6. March 1431.

[27] About this see Enikő Csukovits, "Egy nagy utazás résztvevői. Zsigmond király római kísérete" (Participants in a great journey. King Sigismund's cortége to Rome), in *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére* (Studies in Honour of Iván Borsa), ed. Enikő Csukovits (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1998), 20, 22 (hereafter: Csukovits, "Egy nagy utazás").

[28] The supplications handed in to the papal curia by the Hungarian members of the imperial cortége in 1433 are included in Pál Lukcsics dr, ed., *XV. századi pápák oklevelei II. kötet. IV. Jenő pápa (1431–1447) és V. Miklós pápa (1447–1455)* (Charters of fifteenth-century popes, vol. 2. Pope Eugen IV /1431–1447/ and Nicholas V /1447–1455/) (Budapest: MTA, 1938) (hereafter: Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák*), 253.

[29] Csukovits, "Egy nagy utazás," 13.

The Melanesis' determination to settle definitely in Buda was probably strengthened by the fact that Simone married the daughter of a citizen of Buda, named Lucia. Not much is known about the wife or even the exact date and circumstances of this marriage since the prevailingly economic sources provide only indirect information, but his catasto states that he received a vineyard in Óbuda from his wife, probably as her dowry.[30] However, in 1427 he had a four-year-old son, named Piero, who after his father's death (before 1430) went under the guardianship of his uncle, Tommaso, staying in Buda.[31] From Tommaso's supplication to the Curia it is clear that both Lucia and Smeralda, Tommaso's wife, were still alive in 1433, since he includes them in the petition.[32] Through this marriage Simone must have acquired the privileges related to the citizenship of Buda. This enabled him, among other things, to merchandize his goods under much better conditions.[33] Tommaso's wife figures only with her name and age in the presently known sources.

According to the entry in their Catasto they owned real estate in the royal residence of the kingdom. They declared the possession of "a garden with house"[34] located next to the city walls of Buda and rented to another Florentine,

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[30] ASF, Catasto, 1427, Reg. 77, folio 247-8. Usually, they listed their properties first, and then the income they obtained from them. The first entry refers to this vineyard in Óbuda, which was more of a deficit according to the document. This affirmation may be validated by András Kubinyi's research statement regarding the incomes of the vineyards in the region which in bad years did not even cover the related costs. See: András Kubinyi, "Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig 1541-ig" (The history of Budapest in the later Middle Ages until the fall of Buda in 1541), in *Budapest Története,* vol. 2 (History of Budapest), ed. László Gerevich and Domokos Kosáry (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Tanácsa, 1973), 130 (hereafter: Kubinyi, *Budapest története 2*)

[31] Piero is mentioned in both Catastos, see ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 77. folio 248r; ASF, Catasto 1430, Reg. 406. folio 402v.; The Catasto of 1430 mentions Simone already as defunct therefore he must have died between 1427 and 1430.

[32] Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák*, no. 253.

[33] About the limited trading possibilities for foreign merchants in Buda see the Law Book of Buda codified in the 1420s § 68–88., 404–434. László Blazovich and József Schmidt, ed. *Buda város jogkönyve I–II* (The Law Book of Buda I–II), Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 17 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2001), 82–84, 202–204, 348–360, 524–539; (hereafter: *Law Book of Buda*) The edition of the German text: Karl Mollay, ed. *Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1959).

[34] "casa da ortolano con orto grande … la quale posto al lato della mura di Buda," probably a garden with a house on the plot, but not the dwelling house of the Melanesi, since it was exempted from tax, ASF, Catasto, 1427, Campioni, Reg. 77. folio 248v.

Tommaso Corsi.[35] Buda had a double-wall system, the inner one enclosing the castle hill and the outer one encircling and defending the suburbs. One may assume that the wall mentioned in the tax declaration implies the inner one and that Simone Melanesi's house may have been located in the vicinity of the street of the Italians. According to András Kubinyi, gardens and manors were only situated in two suburbs, Tótfalu and Taschental.[36] These gardens were farmed to supply the family. The brothers declared an income running to 175 florins, which may have derived from the rent paid to them by Corsi, but there is no explicit allusion to this.

Their homeland, Florence, also acknowledged the Melanesi brothers' success and their consequential influence in Hungarian political circles, especially when one of their relatives, Giovanni Melanesi, became bishop of Várad after the death of the previous bishop, Andrea Scolari, Filippo Scolari's brother.[37] However, he had a relatively short career as bishop since he died in the very same year when he was consecrated. The Florentine *Signoria* sometimes used the Melanesi as direct mediators with the king or more often with Filippo Scolari. On other occasions they functioned as political and "logistical" supporters of other Florentine ambassadors sent to the Hungarian royal court in Buda.[38] They may have also served as information sources about political changes within the borders of the Hungarian realm because this kind of "intelligence service" had been a commonly used "device" of the Florentine *comune* for centuries. In fact, the Florentine city-state was usually well informed and up-to-date about any changes in the internal political affairs of foreign lands within its range of interest.[39] According to the detailed written sources preserved about the rather

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[35] Corsi himself had been working in Hungary for a long time according to information drawn from the Catasto, but his tax declaration is rather laconic on his activity in the kingdom. About him see his catasto ASF, Catasto, 1427, Campioni, Reg. 69. folio 244.

[36] Kubinyi, *Budapest története 2.* 131. On the historical topography of medieval Buda see András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* (The medieval topography of Buda) (Ph.D. dissertation, ELTE, Budapest, 2001), 68–70.

[37] About Giovanni Melanesi see Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (The lay archontology of Hungary 1301–1457), vol. 1–2. (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996), I/77 (hereafter: Engel, *Archontology)* About Andrea Scolari see Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár II/2, no.7841.

[38] *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi per il comune di Firenze dal 1399–1433,* vol. 2. 1424–1426, Documenti di storia italiana. Pubblicato a cura della R. Deputazione sugli studi di storia patria per le provincie di Toscana, dell'Umbria e delle Marche, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1869), 976. (hereafter: *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*)

[39] As an example of how well-versed these merchants were in Hungarian internal affairs, a commission letter of the *comune* to its ambassadors can be quoted. The Florentine

unsuccessful ambassadorship of Rinaldo di Maso degli Albizzi to the court of Sigismund in 1426, the Melanesi brothers and the bishop of Várad played a crucial role in his mission. Albizzi's reports to the Florentine *Comune* contain copies of correspondence between him and the Melanesi, mainly with Simone and Giovanni.[40] The letters cover both diplomatic and business affairs related to the journey of the ambassadors. Tommaso seems to have laid an emphasis on maintaining relations with the *comune* since he kept on declaring his wealth and paying the tax although both his business activity and social aspirations appeared to focus on the Hungarian territory and possibilities. In 1433 his uncle was no longer willing to submit a common tax declaration with him.[41] At that point he submitted his own catasto under his name,[42] which may have been result of personal negotiations with the officials of the Catasto. In fact, being in King Sigismund's cortége, he stayed in Siena from June 1432 until April of 1433[43] and thus he had the possibility to spend a longer period in Florence.

Other members of the Melanesi family who stayed in Florence also used the brothers in Buda to trade their goods, prevailingly cloth.[44] Some sources hint at the general knowledge among Florentine businessmen about Simone's and Tommaso's success and stable business activity in the remote Buda. As an example, one of the account books of Giovanni di Matteo Corsini can be quoted; according to one entry he emancipated both his sons, Battista and Matteo, and sent them to Buda as apprentices at the Melanesi and Panciatichi companies in 1429.[45] Therefore, I think it is even more relevant to examine all the information related to the latters' family and economic background both in Florence and in Hungary.

authority provided the legates with all related information concerning the high dignitaries and offices of the royal court, see ASF, Dieci di Balia, Lettere filza 2. Legazioni e commissarie, folio 17v. 25. April 1396. About Florence's foreign affairs see Zsuzsa Teke, "Firenze külpolitikája és Zsigmond (1409–1437)" (Foreign affairs of Florence and King Sigismund (1409–1437), in *"Magyaroknak eleiről," Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* ("About the Hungarians' forefathers" Studies in Honour of the sixty-year-old Ferenc Makk), ed. Ferenc Piti and György Szabados (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 559–568.

[40] *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, 552–613.

[41] ASF, Catasto 1433, Reg. 496. folio 193v.

[42] ASF, Catasto 1433, Reg. 496. folio 499v.

[43] Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 628. Engel and C. Tóth, "Itinerary."

[44] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 198.

[45] Armando Petrucci, ed., *Il libro di Ricordanze dei Corsini (1362–1457)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1965), 130–131. (hereafter: Petrucci, *Ricordanze dei Corsini*)

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The Melanesi kindred in Florence

The lack of any other available source or information about the extent of the kindred does not enable me at the moment to draw general conclusions about the Melanesi brothers' position within their kin group in terms of wealth and economic power. However, the Catasto contains information about Simone's and Tommaso's uncle's financial situation. Besides him we find a few hints about at least one other family belonging to the Melanesi kindred.

Filippo di Filippo Melanesi,[46] Simone's and Tommaso's uncle, stated that he was 64 years old in 1427, probably at the end of his active business career at the time of the declaration. He lived in the city of Florence in the Gonfalone of the Lion of the Quarter Santa Maria Novella in a rented house. Filippo had been widowed but declared six persons living in his household. The data of the Catasto rank him among the wealthier of the kin group with his declared total income running to 10,996 Florentine florins. This sum can be collocated according to Herlihy-Klapisch's classification among the highest incomes declared in the tax returns of the Catasto.[47] His business concentrated on private investments, with the sum of 8,647 florins, compared to his public investment in the Monte Comune, which reached only 225 florins before 1427. The value of his immobile properties was 2,124 florins. Altogether it reached a total of 10,996 florins, but after the deduction of his debts and other charges it dropped to 3,389 florins liable to taxation.

Comparing his economic background to the above-mentioned Simone di Pagolo Carnesecchi's general financial situation, one notices that Carnesecchi had a total wealth similar to Filippo di Filippo Melanesi's.[48] However, the difference is already striking considering the amount of taxable wealth. Simone Carnesecchi listed many fewer charges and deductions in order to lower his taxable wealth. Within these total sums another difference is visible that regard to Melanesi's private and public investments compared to Carnesecchi, which clearly hints at a different business strategy. Filippo Melanesi invested only 10% in the more secure public debt compared to Simone Carnesecchi but therefore 27% more in private affairs than Simone. The distribution of investment types in the case of the Melanesi confirms that they stayed abroad for a longer time

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[46] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 77. folio 246.

[47] Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 348–352.

[48] Zsuzsa Teke, "A firenzeiek vagyoni helyzete a Zsigmond-kori Magyarországon az 1427. évi Catasto alapján" (Financial background of the Florentines in Hungary during the reign of King Sigismund), *Történelmi Szemle* 43 (2001): 55–59. See the main data of Carnesecchi's wealth in ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 79. folio 81. and in the related on-line Index indicated in footnote no. 9.

and their Florentine public investments were much lower presumably for this reason.

The documents of the Catasto contain at least one relative richer than Filippo, a young householder named Baldassare di Luigi Melanesi, aged 19.[49] There is no further hint about their kinship degree, but the patronymic and the age difference between Filippo di Filippo and Baldassare di Luigi imply the closest possible family link, with Baldassare's father Luigi being a cousin or nephew of Filippo di Filippo. Anyway, his catasto states a remarkably higher wealth than that of Filippo, 16,641 florins with relatively low deductions (1,373 florins), partly due to the few persons he maintained; he declared only two *bocche*.[50] This favors the possible portrait of a young and still unmarried man having inherited considerable wealth who keeps on running the business of the previous householder.[51] In any case, he was relatively wealthy and owned a house in the central area of Florence, in the Gonfalone of the Dragon in the Quarter of San Giovanni.

We may assume from the Melanesi kinship relations just described that both families belonged to the upper-middle wealth stratum. They had at least occasionally or even regularly common affairs according to the debtor and creditor lists inserted in Simone's and Tommaso's catasto. This source also reveals some connections with another relative, Melanese di Ridolfo Melanesi, who sent them cloth on consignment.[52] Also, the short-term appearance of other members of the Melanesi clan, Bartolomeo and Giovanni, in Hungary seems to confirm the conclusion drawn from the Catasto. However, according to the currently available data, Bartolomeo appeared in the documents only in 1427 when he was captured at the queen's request in Buda; thereafter no hints are known of his presence in the kingdom.[53] Giovanni as bishop of Várad had much better chances in Hungary and he had very close business relations with Simone and Tommaso.

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[49] ASF, Catasto 1427. Campioni, Reg. 79, folio 147.

[50] The list of "bocche" (mouths) or sometimes "teste" (heads) of the Catasto refers to the members of the given household. 200 florins could be deducted from the taxable sum after each such supported person. About this see Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 82–86.

[51] In fact Christiane Klapisch-Zuber and David Herlihy in their study on the Florentine Catasto came to the general conclusion that the attitude towards marriage in medieval Florence varied with changes of economic conditions but men usually tended to marry at a later age, after having reached 25 years. See Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 533–567.

[52] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 198.

[53] Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 207.

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Considering these arguments for research into the Melanesi brothers' affairs, the detailed analysis of their Florentine debtors' and creditors' lists in connection with their Hungarian business is also relevant. These lists provide useful information about their social and business network.

The creditors' and debtors' lists of Simone and Tommaso Melanesi's Catasto from 1427

The following paragraphs introducing the creditors and debtors of the Melanesi company in Hungary list the Florentine businessmen they worked with in the kingdom. Most of their landsmen working in the territory of the realm are named among the partners listed in the source. A few of these entrepreneurs are already familiar to scholars due to their presence also in the related lists of the Fronte-Carnesecchi company. Antonio di Piero Fronte is registered as their creditor with the considerable amount of 825 florins, which shows the two companies' common trading activity. Filippo Scolari also figures among the debtors with three items running altogether to the remarkable amount of 7550 florins. The reason for such a big sum is that he died without having settled his accounts. The list was compiled after Scolari's death in 1426 but the Melanesi brothers tried to collect the sum from his heirs. However, according to the note made in the margin of the third item of 7,000 florins, Scolari's heritage was confiscated by King Sigismund.[54] At the same time, one of Scolari's heirs, Filippo di Rinieri Scolari, figured as a creditor of the same company with 1,800 florins. The Zati company, which traded in the area, was also a creditor of the Melanesi of Buda. Their catasto names a few partners which also figure in the Melanesi catasto, like Bernardo Lamberteschi, who was also a creditor of the Melanesi company. His appearance is of utmost importance since he was one of the richest Florentine citizens of that time with a taxable income of 43,327 florins.[55] He also had common partners with the Melanesi, for instance, a certain Luca di Piero Rinieri figures in both catastos with large sums of credit. As for the other members of the Lamberteschi kindred, Tommaso and Giovanni Lamberteschi must be mentioned because they worked prevailingly in the Hungarian kingdom. They owed 320 florins according to the register. Tommaso's father, Andrea, who lived in Florence, also figures in the lists.

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[54] Zsuzsa Teke's research confirms that Sigismund appointed Filippo Scolari his *factor* (business agent) and after his death the king sequestrated his goods with reference to the fact that the accounts had not been settled, see Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 203. For their creditors' and debtors' list see also the original *Portata:* ASF, Catasto, 1427, Portate, vol. 64. folio 654v-655r.

[55] ASF, Catasto, 1427, Campioni, Reg. 68. folio 41–6.

Giovanni di Niccolo Falcucci figures in the lists of the Melanesi brothers. Moreover, he had, strangely enough, a debt registered in the Florentine affairs of Tommaso Melanesi, but he also figures with the same sum, 387 florins, among Tommaso' creditors in his tax return regarding his Hungarian affairs. Given the shortage of further details I have no direct explanation for these two entries. However, I assume that, since they are the same amount of money, the two entries may register one transaction according to the medieval double-entry system.

Giovanni di Matteo Corsini, whose son's apprenticeship at the company in Buda will be analyzed in the second case study of the present article, was also listed as a debtor with 50 florins. Since the son only arrived in Buda in 1429 and the data of the Catasto of 1427 refer to the open accounts at that moment, one may assume that the debt hints at an earlier loan and that due to this earlier relation Corsini's father chose the Melanesi company for the apprenticeship of his son.

The lists of the Catasto also contain Hungarians. During the analysis of the source I had difficulty in identifying these persons, since their names are not easily decipherable and sometimes they even appear to be distorted or "italianized." Furthermore, the information comprised in the catasto provide few hints on the details of their business relations with the listed persons, but the given debt and credit sums clearly show the volume of these trade deals.

An important family name appears in the very first entry of the debtor list, that is, István Kanizsai and a sum of 12 florins, whereas Kanizsai's son, László, figures there with 18 florins.[56] The Kanizsai belonged to the most influential aristocratic families in this period. Both of them were magnates and held important offices at the royal court.[57] István Kanizsai figured also in the lists of the Fronte-Carnesecchi company.[58]

A certain Kristóf Pálóczi, probably a member of the influential Pálóczi family, is also listed with a debt of 6 florins. As for the Pálóczi lineage, György Pálóczi was the most powerful member of the family since he was the arch-

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[56] István's name figures also on the debtor's list of the Fronte-Carnesecchi company. See Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 196.

[57] István Kanizsai's main dignities were: *comes Siculorum* (1391–1395), *comes* of Somogy county (1395–1401), *comes* of Komárom county (1398–1401), *comes* of Sopron county (1411–1427) baron from 1422. His son, László was *comes* of Somogy county between 1428 and 1434). See Engel, *Archontology*, II/122–123.

[58] See Teke, "Firenzei kereskedőtársaságok," 197.

bishop of Esztergom at the time of the Catasto and later became chancellor, but also other members of the family held offices in the kingdom.[59]

A certain archbishop, "Bartolomeo," appears among the Hungarian debtors of the Melanesi. No archbishop is listed by this name in the archontologies so his identification is not possible yet. However, the prelate owed 32 florins to the company. The sums listed allude to rather small and occasional loans to members of the Hungarian royal court and to high prelates, but one may assume from the list that the Melanesi had a remarkable network of personal relations with the influential elite.

As for their Hungarian creditors, King Sigismund again appears with the remarkable sum of 2550 florins among them, which may have been related to the lease of the mining chamber or other such operations. Furthermore, they listed an unidentifiable abbot to whom the company owed a large sum, 495 florins, which may refer to an unaccomplished commission of purchase. They also registered a certain "Nicholo veschovo di Vezia," probably referring to Miklós, son of Jakab Alcsebi, bishop of Vác, who credited 118 florins to the Melanesi, again supposedly for a commission of purchase.[60]

Regarding the entries referring to citizens of Óbuda and Buda one finds that the sums are relatively high. As far as Buda is concerned, Iacopo, a shopkeeper (*chalmaro*), lent them 200 florins.[61] They may have been commissioned by him to procure some goods. In this case the Melanesi brothers must have had citizenship in Buda, otherwise Iacopo could not work with them according to the town laws of Buda.[62] On the other hand, the heir of another Buda citizen, Piero, owed them 250 florins. Based on these sums, Iacopo and Piero must have belonged to the wealthiest citizens of the town.

I also found a certain "Michele nodolaro," citizen of Buda, in the list. He owed them 144 florins, a high amount in relation to Hungarian business, which hints at his financial potential and at his high position in the town community. He may be identical with Mihály Nadler, listed among the town counselors in 1439.[63] This Nadler, a south German entrepreneur, according to István

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[59] Engel, *Archontology*, II/184-185.

[60] Engel, *Archontology*, I/75.

[61] The word *chalmaro* or its German equivalent, *Krämer*, refers to shopkeepers of the town involved mainly in bartering and local trade.

[62] Kubinyi, *Budapest története 2*, 50; *Law Book of Buda*, § 74, 87.

[63] Mihály Nadler worked in the administration of the mining and minting chambers, moreover, he belonged to the financial experts of the king completing the different financial commissions of Sigismund. The Nadlers were the merchant ramification of the

Draskóczy worked together with another Florentine, Giovanni Noffri later, in 1435, in affairs related to the central administration.[64] Another person from Óbuda is also listed among their debtors with 13 florins (the name is unreadable).

Comparing the sums noted for Florentine and Hungarian clients and partners, one sees a great difference in the amounts. The considerably higher sums figuring after the Florentine names are due to the nature of the business relations they had with the Melanesi; probably most of these entries refer to common trading business. They also reflect the undoubtedly higher capital they disposed of. The relatively lower sums listed with the Hungarian names show a great variation; from quite small amounts of money (probably small loans or purchase commissions) up to large sums which imply common business affairs. These names allude to a manifold business network which did not focus exclusively on a closed courtly aristocratic milieu. The Melanesi brothers worked together with some members of urban society as well. Furthermore, considering that Simone married into a local family of Buda and that they had real estate in both towns, one may assume that they tried to integrate into local urban society to a certain degree. At the same time their activities and services for King Sigismund and the dignities they acquired in the realm show that they also relied on the direct support of the royal power. Besides King Sigismund's and Filippo Scolari's protection, the financial background of their family and the participation of other members of the kindred in their business in the Hungarian kingdom also seem to have been indispensable in gaining such success and favored their settlement in the royal seat as a standard company. It is important to emphasize the importance of this fact since it contradicts previous Hungarian scholarly opinions that alleged the temporary character of these merchants' presence and sojourn in the medieval Hungarian kingdom.[65]

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patritian Tillmann family and from 1430 onwards they got the estate of the kin group. Kubinyi, *Budapest története 2,* 50, 65.

[64] István Draskóczy, "Kamarai jövedelem és urbura a 15. század első felében" (Chamber incomes and "urbura" in the first half of the fifteenth century), in *Gazdaságtörténet – Könyvtártörténet. Emlékkönyv Berlász Jenő 90. születésnapjára.* (Economic history – library history. Festschrift in honour of the ninety-year-old Jenő Berlász), ed. János Búza (Budapest: BKÁE Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti kutatócsoport, 2001), 159.

[65] See György Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város* (The medieval Hungarian town) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1980), 168; Vera Bácskai, *Városok Magyarországon az iparosodás előtt* (Towns in Hungary before industrialization) (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 45.

A "Failure" Story – The Corsini Brothers in Buda

The apprenticeship of the Corsini brothers was rather a failure compared to the Melanesi company's long-term and successful activity in Buda. The analysis of their activity in Hungary is strongly conditioned by their rather short sojourn and consequently by the shortage of related information. It is also influenced by the negative outcome of the Corsini brothers' activity in Hungary.

Considering the family's history, one must underline the noble origin and successful banking activity of the Corsinis in the second half of the fourteenth century. In fact, they were one of the highly respected and rich merchant families of the city. However, by the time of the father, Giovanni di Matteo, the glorious past was shadowed by the professional and financial decline of the family, which ended up with the bankruptcy of the family bank in 1425. Nevertheless, some members of the kin group still had notable positions in the city, for instance the assets of the archbishop of Florence were invested with a Corsini in 1427.[66]

Matteo di Giovanni Corsini – possible reasons behind a "failure"

In one of Giovanni di Matteo's account books, in the *Ricordanze*, he made an entry about his sons with the date of 5. April 1429. He registered that he had emancipated and enrolled his two sons, Matteo and Battista, at the Ufficiali of the Mercanzia because he had an apprenticeship agreement for them with two companies working for a long period in Buda. Although he is very laconic about the agreement, he registered that the two companies determined the conditions of his sons' employment.[67]

The choice fell upon the Melanesi and Panciatichi companies in Buda, presumably for several reasons. The poor financial situation and the lack of any large capital certainly did not enable him to arrange a more favorable apprentice-ship at a larger and more powerful company or at a more significant European commercial center (*piazza*).[68] The father's catasto confirms the information drawn from the *Ricordanze*, namely, that despite their high social position in Florence the taxable assets of Giovanni ran only to 1009 florins.[69] On the other hand, he surely had some previous relations to the Melanesi company at least, because his wife, who had died in the meantime, had credited 118 florins to

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[66] Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 115.

[67] Petrucci, *Ricordanze dei Corsini,* 130–131; Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 783.

[68] From the previous generation Niccolo, the elder brother of Giovanni, was sent to Avignon. See Herlihy–Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 782–783.

[69] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg.66. folio 106.

Tommaso Melanesi in Florence whereas he himself figures in the Melanesis' lists with 50 florins of debt.[70] At this stage I have no information on any eventual earlier business or social relation of the Corsini with the Panciatichi. However, it seems worthwhile to give some basic information also on the Panciatichi not only because they gave the possibility for the Matteo Carnesecchi to start his professional life. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Panciatichi was one of the wealthiest Florentines at his time with a total asset of 70,548 florins. (His brother, Gabriello had 80,994 florins.)[71] Therefore his direct presence in Buda extends and modifies the general picture on Florentines interested in the trade of the kingdom. At an early phase of the research on this company some fundamental features of their operation can be identified without further details. Panciatichi commissioned and established a factor, named Filippo di Simone Capponi (called Kapun Fülöp in Hungarian sources), for the long run in Buda.[72] Capponi defined himself in the Catasto as "fattore," a salaried business representative.[73] These data hint at a classical Florentine business organization similar to that of the Fronte-Carnesecchi company.

Corsini's choice of Buda may also have been influenced by the previous experience of a member of the kindred in the Hungarian kingdom. A certain Filippo Corsini was sent to the Hungarian queen, Mary (1382–1387), as ambassador together with Gherardo di Buondelmonti and Vanni Castellani with some diplomatic tasks in 1386.[74] Therefore the positive experience within the kin group may have had an effect on the decision of the father, Giovanni, in his rather desperate situation to send both sons to the kingdom as apprentices.

The next information about the brothers' activity in the kingdom appears in a correction of the Catasto in 1431, in which Matteo, already back in Florence, rather disappointedly declared that his affairs in the kingdom were a loss and provided no profit at all.[75] According to this document, Matteo di Giovanni Corsini did not spend more than two years in Hungary before he returned to Florence. The only business partner mentioned in his Catasto was a

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[70] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg.77. folio 247.

[71] See ASF, Catasto 1427, Portate, Reg. 53. folio 1004r-1020v.

[72] For Hungarian sources see Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár VI. 2369. 24. Sept. 1418.

[73] As far as the established agents (*fattore*) of the Panciatichis' company in Buda and Filippo di Simone Capponi (known in the Hungarian sources as "*Kapun Fülöp*") are concerned, a thorough analysis will be presented in the framework of my ongoing PhD research at CEU. See also Filippo di Simone Capponi, ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 65. folio 479v-481v.

[74] ASF, Signori, carteggi, missive, I. cancelleria, Filza 20. folio 102r. 10. Aug. 1386.

[75] ASF, Catasto 1431. Reg. 342. folio 784.

certain Francesco di Guido di Tomaso, also from Florence. He owed Matteo some money due to their common activity in Hungary, which Matteo said he "did not appreciate at all." All these pieces of information hint at rather unsuccessful economic activity, at least in the case of Matteo. At the moment I have no information about his brother, Battista, who apparently worked for the Melanesi.

As far as the young Matteo's later professional development in Florence is concerned, it was based on his friendly relations with the members of the Medici family. Due to this he held different offices of the Comune and was able to more or less stabilize his financial situation.[76] His example shows clearly that not every merchant willing to work in Hungary achieved such success as the Melanesi. According to the present information the lack of capital must have played a crucial role in his failure. Moreover, the period between 1429 and 1431, when they tried to set up their business in Hungary, was particularly controversial between Sigismund and the Florentines in general.[77] This probably confounded their expectations, since Sigismund's support was also a crucial factor for the business success of a newcomer family. On top of all this, Filippo Scolari died in 1426 and that was a great loss generally for the Florentines residing in the kingdom. However, the survey of the kin group's economic situation may contribute other possible factors as well.

The Corsini kin group in Florence

Considering the larger kin group's financial situation in 1427, based on the data of the Catasto, the problems related to the shortage of capital may be generalized. The father's, (Giovanni) elder brother was in an even worse situation with a taxable sum of only 461 florins.[78] The largest taxable wealth in the kin group ran to 2822 florins and generally we can see that there was no remarkable difference between the total and taxable assets.[79] Therefore one may assume that the low sums of taxable wealth are not mainly due to a smart way of collecting

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[76] Petrucci, *Ricordanze dei Corsini*, XXXIX.

[77] ASF, Signori, Carteggi, missive- I. cancelleria, Filza 32. folio 63v-64r. 5. April 1429, 179v-180r. 7 Febr. 1429. and Filza 33. 116v-117r. 10. April 1427, The diplomatic correspondence about the capture and expulsion of some Florentines from the kingdom.

[78] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 66. folio 348.

[79] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 66. folio 61. Gherardo di Filippo Corsini. I assume that this wealthy householder is the son of that Filippo Corsini, who in 1386 came to Hungary as ambassador.

all possible deductions and charges. Comparing this amount of money to that of the Melanesi and Carnesecchi kin groups, the difference is striking.

The other interesting difference between the Melanesi, Carnesecchi, and the Corsini kin groups is that in the latter's case the incomes declared in their tax returns derived prevailingly from their real estate, whereas the public and private investments were generally negligible.[80] This strategy is usually characteristic of economies in decline. It implies a different, rather aristocratic and less flexible, life-style and in general much less mobility, which has already been demonstrated in the cases of other medieval trading centers.[81] In the case of the Corsini kin group the structure of their incomes hints at a general crisis of enterpreneurial spirit within the family and the overall aspiration to a more modest but secure financial situation and to preserve the remainder of their wealth and their former high social status. This may be confirmed by Matteo's choice of investing in urban offices after his return to Florence.[82] This development of a business mentality must have been strongly influenced by the great losses and bankruptcy experienced earlier.

Conclusions

The present article aims to analyze the Florentines' presence in Buda and in a broader context in the Hungarian kingdom in the first half of the fifteenth century through two detailed case studies. Who were these Florentines, what economic and social background did they come from and what were their professional and social aspirations in the area are some among the relevant questions that may and should be asked and answered in case the source material allows doing so.

Based on the data of the Florentine Catasto I surveyed the Florentine economic and social background in the case of two successful Florentine companies: I compared the Melanesi brothers' situation to the Fronte-Carnesecchi company also working in Buda in the same period. Moreover, I

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[80] ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 66. folio 148, folio 20, folio 214, folio 267, folio 350.

[81] Jaume Aurell, "The Merchants' Attitudes to Work in the Barcelona of the later Middle Ages: Organisation of Working Space, Distribution of Time and Scope of Investments," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 197–218.

[82] He was not the only one accepting urban offices for work, a certain Giovanni di Stefano Corsini was among the first scribes of the Catasto in 1427. His financial situation was even worse than that of Matteo. Herlihy and Klapisch, *I Toscani*, 115. ASF, Catasto 1427, Campioni, Reg. 66. folio 267.

contrasted to their examples the Corsinis' less successful attempt. In the course of the analysis I focused on the possible factors contributing to business success or failure in Hungary in this period.

Regarding the financial background of the kin group, I found that significant wealth stood behind both of the successful companies. The total assets in both the cases of the Melanesi and the Carnesecchi families, participating directly in Hungarian business, are calculated at around ten thousand Florentine florins, which was already considerable wealth. On the contrary, as described above, the Corsini family had serious financial problems in the middle of the 1420s and according to their catasto they did not have much floating capital. The remains of their wealth was made up of estates and the related incomes, whereas they had hardly any private or public investments.

However, the lack of capital may not have been the only relevant factor. I also assume that the unfavorable timing of their appearance in Hungary contributed to the Corsini brothers' failure. In fact, the Melanesi and the Fronte-Carnesecchi companies were set up more than a decade earlier and therefore they could and did count also on Filippo Scolari's support, which provided numerous business possibilities and above all security for them. Indeed, personal contacts and a network were crucial both in Hungary and in Florence, as the later career run by Matteo in Florence relied very much on his friendship with the Medici.

As far as the activities of the two successful companies are concerned I already found some significant differences: in the case of the Melanesis the range of activity seems to be much wider. It, in fac, comprises almost all the business fields typical of the Florentines working in the territory of the kingdom from the lease of royal incomes up to crediting and merchandizing activity. King Sigismund's constant need for money provided them with lucrative business opportunities, like crediting activity or participation in the central financial administration of the country, although the earlier lease possibilities related to the royal incomes changed significantly in the meantime. The case of the Fronte-Carnesecchi company, which the business-partner Frontes represented in Buda, it can therefore be considered a "classical" type of company; we have no hint of chamber lease activity. They seem to have relied much on trading and probably crediting.

Regarding the volume of the two companies' affairs, the debtors' and creditors' list provides some further information. In the case of the Melanesi company in Buda I had the entire lists related to their Hungarian affairs at my disposal. This information clearly shows that the brothers were mainly working together with Florentine fellow countrymen. Not only was the number of Florentines significantly higher, but also the sums credited or owed were much

larger. In the case of the Carnesecchi-Fronte company the same feature can be observed.

The lists also contributed to the identification of some non-Florentine business partners of the Melanesi brothers. Among them I identified a German entrepreneur from Óbuda who later became partner of the Noffri brothers but presumably also worked together with Tommaso Melanesi in the copper trade. These partnerships hint at a necessary cooperation among the Germans and Italians although scholarship usually emphasizes the competition between them in early fifteenth-century Hungary.

At this stage of the research one can more often trace the tendency to settle and the aspiration to integrate in the case of the Florentines interested in the lease of royal incomes (like the Melanesi) than in the case of other Florentines, who prevailingly traded in the kingdom. From the point of view of preference in the choice of the working area and seat, Buda's increasing import-ance as royal seat and constant residence was clearly shown by the case studies.

Considering the integration possibilities, the Melanesis' particularly well-documented case shows a clear intent to establish themselves in the kingdom. At least one of them followed the classic strategy and married into a local burgher family. They had immobile goods in Buda and created their own *familiaris* circle as well. Moreover, the other brother, Tommaso, defined himself as *nobilis* and official of the emperor. It seems definitely not to have been the case by with other Florentines living also for the long term in Hungary, like Filippo di Simone Capponi, and presumably neither by the Frontes since they defined themselves and were defined also by others as Florentine merchants. However, the aspiration to integration for the Melanesi did not mean a complete break up with Florence. The sources clearly show their intention to maintain the relations to both the kinship (as far as it was possible) and to the Florentine *comune*.

I regard this article as a preliminary step towards a more complex analysis, which would be extended to the elaboration of the original *portate* of the Catasto of 1427 and the material of the subsequent Catastos of 1430 and 1433 especially in the case of the Florentine businessmen of importance in Hungary, including the Melanesi family. This research would make it possible to draw a much more detailed picture of these entrepreneurs' professional activity in Florence and eventually also in other European commercial *piazza*. It will then be possible to discover their integral business network and analyze Hungary's position in a broader framework.

THE POLITICAL AND CONFESSIONAL LANDSCAPE IN ALEXANDER THE GOOD'S MOLDAVIA: THE HUSSITES

Cristian Nicolae Daniel ⬇

The age of the Hussites was anything but an age of tolerance. Starting with the bull *Inter Cunctos* issued by Pope Martin V on 22 February 1418[1] and ending with the death of Wenceslas IV in 1419, an age of continuous warfare descended on Central Europe.[2] Five devastating crusades, interminable discussions of doctrine between various Hussite factions, counter-crusades in neighbouring lands, and the emergence of the first enduring Reformation: these are the highlights of history in the Bohemian lands in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Still, the Hussites found ways to spread their teachings and to move to more hospitable lands.[3] The only place in the first half of the fifteenth century where there were no persecutions directed against them was Moldavia, a small principality in Eastern Europe bordered by the Black Sea, the Nistru River, and the Carpathian Mountains. The place of the Hussites in the Moldavian political and confessional landscape in the first half of the fifteenth century is the subject of this article.

I chose this topic because of the uniqueness of the Moldavian case within the political and confessional framework of the time. A country with an Orthodox ruler, a country with an Orthodox Church that had just defined its status, a country where the Catholic presence went back to a time before the Mongol invasion, with established bishoprics and Mendicant houses became a

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[1] Thomas Fudge ed., *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437. Sources and documents for the Hussite Crusades* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), 45–49 (hereafter: Fudge, *The Crusade*).

[2] For a detailed overview see František Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002), 1071–1108, 1188–1233; (hereafter: Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*) see also Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride. The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998) (hereafter: Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*); František Kavka, "Bemerkungen zur Rolle des Hussitentums in Sigismunds europäischer Politik." In *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387–1437*, ed. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi, Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf: Fahlbusch Verlag, 1994), 89–93 (hereafter: *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa*).

[3] See Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, vol. 3, 1913–1966.

second home for religious émigrés from Central Europe.[4] One question arose immediately: How did the policy of the *voivode* influence the presence of Hussites in its lands? To answer this question one must know the major lines of the foreign policy and the confessional policy of Alexander the Good.

The Foreign Policy of Alexander the Good

The rule of Alexander the Good began on 23 April 1400.[5] He was the son of Roman I (1391–1394) and Anastasia, and he was born sometime between 1375 and 1380.[6] His reign proved to be one of the longest and most stable in the history of the Moldavian principality.

Alexander the Good tried to secure his throne and the integrity of Moldavia through several alliances during his 32 years as *voivode*. Moldavia had connections with Constantinople, the Polish kingdom, the Lithuanian dukes, the *voivodes* of Wallachia, the Hungarian kingdom, the Tartars and the Ottomans.[7] The policy of the *voivode* was influenced by the general state of international relations in the region (the fall of the Golden Horde, the Polish-Lithuanian union, the fight for the mouth of the Vistula River, the rivalry for the mouth of the Danube, the Ottoman expansion into the area, and the Hussite wars).[8] His

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[4] Claudia Dobre, "The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land: A Case Study of Moldavia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 225–248.

[5] Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei. Probleme controversate* (The founding of Moldavia. Controversial problems) (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru-Ioan Cuza," 1997), 293–299, (hereafter: Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei*); Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun* (Alexander the Good) (Iași: Editura Junimea, 1984), 58–61 (hereafter: Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*).

[6] Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Mușatinii* (Bucharest: Editura Albatros, 1976), 38 (hereafter: Gorovei, *Mușatinii*).

[7] For a detailed overview of the policy of Alexander the Good see Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 224–271.

[8] For a general account of the situation see Șerban Papacostea, "Relațiile internaționale în răsăritul și sud-estul Europei în sec. XIV–XV" (The international relations in the East and Southeastern Europe in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) *Revista de Istorie* 34, (1981/5): 899–918 (hereafter Papacostea, "Relațiile internaționale"); on the general lines of the policy of Sigismund of Luxembourg in south-eastern Europe see Sabine Wefers, *Das Politische System Kaiser Sigmunds* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989); Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001) 231–243 (hereafter: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*); also Pál Engel, "Ungarn und die Türkengefahr zur Zeit Sigismunds (1387–1437)", in *Das Zeitalter König*

country continued to seek an alliance with Poland as his predecessors had,[9] and, accordingly, Alexander recognized the Polish king, Wladislav Jagiello as his suzerain. Also, there is a possibility that he gained his throne with help from the Lithuanian Duke Witold.[10]

One of the most important points in the relations between Moldavia and Poland was the repayment of money that Peter I Mușat had loaned to Wladislav Jagiello.[11] The Polish king had pledged the region of Pocuţia, on the north-western border of Moldavia. Nevertheless, Moldavia was in need of Polish help due to the continuous interest of Sigismund of Luxembourg in the principality, which he treated as an usurped possession until 1412 at least.[12]

Thus, in 1402 Alexander the Good promised his allegiance to the king of Poland, Wladislav.[13] The official oath was delivered at Kameniec, 1 August 1404,[14] and then renewed in 1407.[15] The principality provided military help both to the Poles and the Lithuanians several times. In 1406, Moldavian troops

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Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich, ed. Tilmann Schmidt and Péter Gunst (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2000), 55–71; (hereafter *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds)*; for the Polish interests see Oscar Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe* (Highland Lakes, NJ: Columbia University Press) 261–292 (hereafter: Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*).

[9] The first time a Moldavian voivode swore allegiance to a Polish king was in 1387 (Peter I Mușat to Wladislav Jagiello) see Mihai Costăchescu, ed., *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. 2 (Iași: Viaţa Românească, 1931–1932) 599 (hereafter: Costăchescu, *Documente*); Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei*, 163 and Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, 175.

[10] Veniamin Ciobanu, *Ţările Române și Polonia. Secolele XIV – XVI* (The Romanian Principalities and Poland. Fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1985), 27 (hereafter: Ciobanu, *Ţările Române și Polonia*); Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 66; see also the document which established the Armenian bishopric of Suceava, where Witold is mentioned as "the great Knjaz (*cneaz*) Vitovt," *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1975), 21 (hereafter: DRH A).

[11] See O. Iliescu, "Le prêt accordé en 1388 par Pierre Mușat à Ladislas Jagellon," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12, No. 1 (1973): 123–138.

[12] F. Constantiniu and Șerban. Papacostea, "Tratatul de la Lublau (15 Martie 1412) și situaţia internaţională a Moldovei la începutul secolului al XV-lea" (The treaty of Lublau, 15 March 1412, and the international situation of Moldavia at the beginning of the fifteenth century), *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 17, No. 5 (1964): 1132–1133 (hereafter: Constantiniu and Papacostea, "Tratatul de la Lublau").

[13] Gorovei, *Mușatinii*, 38.

[14] Costăchescu, *Documente,* 625–626. Witold also swore allegiance to Wladislav in the same year; see Veniamin Ciobanu, *Ţările Române și Polonia*, 29.

[15] Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 243.

helped Witold in his war against the Muscovites.[16] Also, after the Polish kingdom began preparing for war with the Teutonic order in 1409, Alexander the Good was faithful to his duties as an ally and sent troops. Moldavian and also Bohemian contingents both fought in the battle which took place at Grünwald in July 1410.[17] This battle also represented the beginning of the end for the Teutonic Order and its supremacy on the Vistula.[18]

After the peace of Toruń (1411), cracks appeared in the alliance between Witold and Wladislav, the former wanting to transform Lithuania into a separate kingdom. Sigismund of Luxembourg was very interested in weakening the Polish crown[19] and demanded the principality of Moldavia for himself. A defensive treaty against Sigismund was signed between Moldavia and Poland in 1411 in Roman.[20] Furthermore, Alexander once again fulfilled his duties as vassal to the Polish king, sending military help during the conflict with the Teutonic Order in 1411, 1412, and 1414.[21]

In the treaty of Lublau, directed against the Ottomans and dated 15 March 1412, Sigismund recognized the suzerainty of Poland over Moldavia for the first time (*de jure*).[22] Nevertheless, a secret clause was introduced, stipulating that Moldavia would be divided between the two kingdoms if the principality did not help Sigismund in his struggle against the Ottomans.[23] This was part of the oriental policy that the emperor was trying to develop in Southeastern Europe with the help of the Genoese cities on the Black Sea.[24]

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[16] N. Grigoraş, *Ţara Românească a Moldovei până la Ştefan cel Mare (1359–1457)* (The Romanian principality of Moldavia up to Stephen the Great, 1359–1457) (Iaşi: Editura Junimea, 1978), 90 (hereafter: Grigoraş, *Ţara Românească a Moldovei*).

[17] Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, vol. 1, 269; Mihail Dan, *Cehi, români şi slovaci în veacurile XIII–XVI* (Czechs, Romanians and Slovaks from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century) (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Progresul, 1944); 135–136 (hereafter: Dan, *Cehi, români şi slovaci*).

[18] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, 280–282; Papacostea, "Relaţiile internaţionale," 905–906.

[19] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, 282–283.

[20] Costăchescu, *Documente,* 637–639.

[21] Gorovei, *Muşatinii*, 42.

[22] Constantiniu and Papacostea, "Tratatul de la Lublau," 1133, Ciobanu, *Ţările Române şi Polonia*, 32.

[23] Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368*–1437 (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1996), 348 (hereafter: Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*).

[24] Zsigmond P. Pach, "Die Verkehrsroute des Levantehandels nach Siebenbürgen und Ungarn in der Zeit Sigismunds," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa*, 192–199; Constantiniu and Papacostea, "Tratatul de la Lublau," 1136–1137.

Sometime between 1415 and 1419, Alexander the Good married Ringala, the sister of the Lithuanian Duke Witold and cousin of the Polish king.[25] The marriage did not last long, however, as can be seen from the letter sent to Pope Martin V by Bishop John of Ryza on 1 July 1420. There he asks the pope to permit their divorce because they were relatives and because Ringala had not managed to convert Alexander from his Orthodox beliefs.[26] The marriage had been contracted in order to strengthen relations between Poland and Moldavia. On 13 December 1421, Alexander, already remarried, gave his former wife the town of Siret and its dependencies together with an annual pension of 600 gold coins for as long as she lived.[27] By 1422, however, Witold was preparing to attack Moldavia because the *voivode* had divorced his sister.[28] The Lithuanian duke also criticized the taking of the citadel of Chilia on the Danube by Alexander, which happened during the same period.[29] Still, the alliance continued even after the divorce of the *voivode*, who in 1422 again came to the aid of the Polish king in his war against the Teutonic Order.[30] Probably trying to reestablish good relations with the Lithuanians, in 1425 Alexander decided to marry his son, Iliaș, heir to the throne after his death, to Marinca, the daughter of a Lithuanian knjaz, Andrew Oligmandovici.[31]

The alliance against the Ottomans did not work properly. After the death of Mircea the Old in 1418, Wallachia was plundered several times by the

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[25] C. Rezachevici, "Ringala-Ana. Un episod dinastic în relațiile moldo-polono-lituaniene din vremea lui Alexandru cel Bun" (Ringala-Ana. A dynastic episode in the Moldavian-Polish-Lituanian relations in the time of Alexander the Good), *Revista de istorie* 14, (1982/8), 918 (hereafter: Rezachevici, "Ringala-Ana").

[26] Item cum dudum devotissima filia Sanctitatis Vestrae Ringola ducissa minoris Wallachiae Christiana corde gerens firmiter, quod Alesandrum ducem Graecorum et Gentilium ritui inhaerentem ab illorum revocare posset errorum deviis, eundem tertio affinitatis gradu sibi coniunctum matrimonialiter, carnali etiam secuta copula, sociaverit, excommunicationis sententiam incurrendo, et praefatum ducem ab erroribus huiusmodi ad verae fidei agnitionem reducere, ut sperabat, non possit, supplicat Sanctitati Vestrae praefatus episcopus Muldaviensis…inter ipsos ducem et ducissam auctoritate apostolica divortium celebrandi… *Vatican Archives*, vol. 138 A, f. 193, quoted by Radu Rosetti, "Despre unguri și episcopiile catolice din Moldova" (On the Hungarians and the Catholic bishoprics in Moldavia), *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* 2, Vol. 27 (1904–1905), 306 (hereafter: Rosetti, "Despre unguri și episcopiile catolice").

[27] DRH A, 69.

[28] Gorovei, *Mușatinii*, 45.

[29] Grigoraș, *Țara Românească a Moldovei*, 105.

[30] Rezachevici, "Ringala-Ana," 921.

[31] Gorovei, *Mușatinii*, 46.

Ottomans[32] making Alexander strengthen the border with his southern neighbour.[33] The expedition planned by Sigismund in 1426 never took place. The Moldavian and Polish troops waited at Brăila for some months for the arrival of the emperor's army,[34] which in the meantime had been operating in southern Transylvania.[35] Alexander continued to fulfill his duties as vassal by sending 800 Moldavians to fight with Polish troops in Mazovia in 1427.[36]

Sigismund did not give up his ambitions, so at the meeting in Luck with the Polish king in 1429, he asked that the secret clause of the Lublau treaty be applied,[37] accusing Alexander of divorcing Ringala and not helping in the crusade against the Ottomans in 1426.[38] He was strongly backed by Witold.[39] Wladislav opposed any interference by either Sigismund or Witold, especially because the former wanted to obtain control of Chilia where he was planning to bring Teutonic knights.[40] Another ruler was also interested in Chilia. This was the *voivode* of Wallachia, Dan II, who with Turkish help, attacked the citadel but was repelled.[41]

A great change in Alexander's attitude towards his suzerain took place after the death of Witold in 1430 when Wladislav named as his successor Sigismund, the brother of Witold. A Lithuanian faction revolted, demanding that the brother of the king himself, namely Swidrigiello, should be their new ruler.[42] Alexander made an alliance with Swidrigiello.[43]

This change in the policy of the *voivode* is difficult to understand, especially after thirty years of continuous alliance with Poland. Ciobanu suggests that the *voivode* thought that a powerful Lithuanian state would help counterbalance the expansionism of Poland and Hungary.[44] Grigoraş thinks that this change in

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[32] Elemér Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn 1387–1437* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 141–142.

[33] Grigoraş, *Ţara Românească a Moldovei*, 103.

[34] Gorovei, *Muşatinii*, 46.

[35] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 236–237.

[36] Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 265.

[37] Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 348.

[38] Ciobanu, *Ţările Române şi Polonia*, 41.

[39] Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 349; Gorovei, *Muşatinii*, 46.

[40] Grigoraş, *Ţara Românească a Moldovei*, 112.

[41] Grigoraş, *Ţara Românească a Moldovei*, 113.

[42] For a detailed genealogical table see Norman Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 136–137.

[43] Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 268.

[44] Ciobanu, *Ţările Române şi Polonia*, 44–45.

political policy should be blamed on the diverging plans of the Polish king and his lack of support during the Wallachian-Ottoman attack on Chilia.[45] It is possible to link this change in attitude to the increased importance that the *voivode* attributed to the Polish king. The title of *autocrator* appeared on a stole produced during his reign; the *voivode* is wearing vestments similar to those used by the contemporary Byzantine emperor, suggesting the desire of the prince to rid himself of any external influence in his territory.[46] Nevertheless, in 1431, messengers from Swidrigiello could be found in Moldavia.[47] Also allied with Swidrigiello were some Bohemians.[48] This time, in comparison with the attitude of Witold, Alexander was: *fidelis noster waywoda Moldaviae*.[49] In order to help his new allies, Lithuania and the Teutonic order, he invaded Galicia, occupying Pocuția and reaching Halich and Lviv.[50] The death of the *voivode* on 1 January 1432 meant an end to the period of stability in Moldavia and the beginning of a period of civil war that only ended in 1457.[51]

The Voivode's Religious Policy

The major lines of the foreign policy adopted by the *voivode* were connected to his religious policy to a certain extant. Fifteenth-century Moldavia was a country with diverse nationalities and confessions. Alexander's religious policy concerned no less than four Christian confessions present in his principality: Orthodox, Catholic, Monophysite, and Hussite. One can retrace the different ways in which the *voivode* dealt with each.

At the beginning of his reign, Alexander the Good was very much interested in resolving the conflict with the patriarchy in Constantinople that had already lasted for more than a decade. He also wished to have Josef recognized as metropolitan of Moldavia, which took place in 1402. In 1386, the diocese of Moldavia was mentioned as one of the ecclesiastical Byzantine prov-

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[45] Grigoraș, *Țara Românească a Moldovei*, 115.

[46] Nicolae Iorga, "Patrahirul lui Alexandru cel Bun: cel dintâiu chip de domn român" (The Stole of Alexander the Good: the first image of a Romanian ruler), *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* 2, Vol. 35 (1912–1913): 343.

[47] Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 268.

[48] Dan, *Cehi, români și slovaci*, 140.

[49] Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Densușianu, ed. *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* (Documents regarding the history of Romanians), vol. 1, part 1 (Bucharest: Socec, 1887), 594–595 (hereafter: Hurmuzaki, *Documente*).

[50] Gorovei, *Mușatinii*, 48.

[51] Grigoraș, *Țara Românească a Moldovei*, 125.

inces. The conflict between the principality and the patriarchy of Constantinople arose soon after, when the metropolitan of Halich in Galicia[52] ordained two bishops, the above-mentioned Josef[53] and Meletie.[54] At this time, the bishopric of Asprocastron was subordinated to the metropolitan of Halich. Future steps, which could be taken only with the approval of Constantinople, included the transformation of the ecclesiastical province of Moldavia from a bishopric into a metropolitan and the transfer of Josef to the new seat.[55] The patriarch of Constantinople, Anthony, reacted to this by sending another candidate named Teodosie.[56] Neither he, nor the other candidates sent by the Patriarchy to Moldavia, were accepted.

[52] The patriarch of Constantinople was first informed that the patriarch of Ohrid had ordained them; due to the bad relations between the two seats of ecclesiastical power, the situation of the Moldavian bishops only worsened.

[53] Concerning Josef, it should also be mentioned that he was considered the bishop of Asprocastron (Cetatea Albă) before becoming bishop and metropolitan of Moldavia. See Răzvan Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale românești (secolele X–XIV)* (Byzantium, Balkans, Occident at the beginning of Romanian medieval culture, tenth to fourteenth centuries) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1974), 186 (hereafter: Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale românești*). This idea is based on the fact that the name of the city is present in the patriarchal letter of 1401 referring to the validity of Josef's election. The presence of Josef as bishop in Asprocastron must be explained by the fact that after the city became part of the Moldavian principality Josef became bishop of the entire country. Another argument would be the moving of the relics of St. John the New from Asprocastron to Suceava in 1414–1415 as a transfer of importance between the two ecclesiastical centres, the old and the new. On the integration of Asprocastron (Cetatea Albă) in the principality see Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei*, 200–210.

[54] The need to ordain two bishops is also interesting. One of the possible explanations is connected with the fact that the principality was still divided into a Lower and Upper Country. Thus, Josef was meant to be the bishop of the recently acquired and so-called Parathalassia (the parts close to the sea), while Meletie was the bishop of the older parts of the principality; see Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 186.

[55] Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei*, 188.

[56] Up to this point, the situation resembled that in neighbouring Wallachia, where some forty years earlier the *voivode* brought the bishop of Vicina to his residence city, also close to the Black Sea. One can see that the attitude of the patriarch of Constantinople was positive and accepting. When almost the same situation occurred in the Moldavian principality, the patriarchate refused to recognise it. The bishops were members of the ruling family, they were not ordained by the patriarch. Furthermore, there were problems with the metropolitan of Halich, who was supported by the Polish king against another candidate from Constantinople. See also Ștefan Andreescu, "Mitropolia

In the summer of 1401, a delegation composed of boyars and ieromonks from Moldavia was present in Constantinople to try to settle the dispute. The delegation presented the Patriarch several letters and was also interrogated over the person of Josef, his origin and ordination. Two patriarchal letters were sent to Alexander the Good.[57] Both presented the situation of the Church in Moldavia.[58] The Patriarch decided to send two envoys to check the validity of the ordination of Josef. These two envoys included an ieromonk, Gregory[59], and a deacon, Manuel Arhon. After their mission was completed the Moldavian plea for Josef to be recognized as hierarch was voted on in Constantinople. This happened in 1402, when the canonical situation of Josef was finally resolved.[60] The last mention of Metropolitan Josef was in a document issued by Alexander the Good on 16 September 1408.[61] He continued his policy of strengthening the Orthodox Church in his country by assuming the status of the first among the patrons of his realm, as the *basileus* and other Orthodox rulers did.[62] A number of documents state the donations the *voivode* made to the metropolitan as well as to various churches and monasteries. Compared to other confessions in the principality, his preference for the Orthodox Church was reflected in the sheer number of donations. I have grouped the donations into six categories of beneficiaries. There are also several types of donations: to the Metropolitan seat: a

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de Halici şi episcopia de Asprokastron. Câteva observaţii" (The Metropolitan seat of Halich and the bishopric of Asprokastron. A few remarks), in *Perspective medievale* (Medieval perspectives) (Bucharest: Editura Nemira, 2002), 11–23.

[57] *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae. Scriptores et acta Imperii byzantini saeculorum IV–XV*, vol. 4 (Bucharest, 1982), 268–277; quoted in Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei*, 176.

[58] From the letters, discussed by Mircea M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* (The History of the Romanian Orthodox Church), Vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1992) (hereafter: Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*), 279, it seems that Josef was a native of Moldavia, related to the ruling dynasty. He was present in Moldavia before 1392–1393, when Jeremiah, the metropolitan of Tarnovo, was nominated for that seat. The letters also reveal that the metropolitan of Halich ordained Josef.

[59] Identified by some with Gregory Tamblac, future Metropolitan of Kiev; Gorovei, *Muşatinii*, 43.

[60] The voting in the synod was very close, with two votes in favour of Josef and two for Jeremiah. The Patriarch cast the deciding vote; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 282.

[61] DRH. A 23, 34.

[62] Flavius Solomon, *Politică şi confesiune la început de ev mediu moldovenesc* (Politics and confession in the beginning of the Moldavian Middle Age) (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2004), 155 (hereafter: Solomon, *Politică şi confesiune*).

place called the Clearing of the Bishop,[63] three villages in 1403;[64] to the Bishopric of Rădăuţi: a village will pass to the bishopric after the death of the *voivode*'s mother–in–law (the document was issued in 1413);[65] to monasteries: Moldoviţa (two mills, Tartar serfs in 1402),[66] Pobrata (two villages in 1404),[67] the Clearing of Siret (fishponds, a field for a vineyard in 1409),[68] Neamţ (a fishpond in 1409),[69] Moldoviţa (the customs on the Moldoviţa River in 1409),[70] Bistriţa (two villages, an annual income in different products in 1411),[71] in Poiana (Tartar serfs in 1411),[72] Humor (a village and land in 1415),[73] Moldoviţa (two villages in 1421),[74] Neamţ (a village and land in 1422),[75] Neamţ (two villages in 1427),[76] Moldoviţa (31 dwellings of Gypsies and 12 of Tartars in 1428),[77] Neamţ (a fishpond and an apiary in 1429),[78] Bistriţa (the income from a custom station, four apiaries in 1431);[79] to parish churches: St. Paraschiva in Roman (villages with a mill, and a crossing place on the Moldova River in 1408);[80] to painters of a church: gifts in 1414;[81] to priests: a village to the priest Nan in 1424,[82] a village and land to the sons of Protopope Simion in 1427,[83] two villages to the priest Iuga in 1431.[84]

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[63] DRH A, 22–23.
[64] DRH A, 24–25.
[65] DRH A, 49–50.
[66] DRH A, 23.
[67] DRH A, 27–28.
[68] DRH A, 36–37.
[69] DRH A, 38.
[70] DRH A, 38–40.
[71] DRH A, 41–42.
[72] DRH A, 44–45.
[73] DRH A, 57–59.
[74] DRH A, 66.
[75] DRH A, 73–75.
[76] DRH A, 98–99.
[77] DRH A, 109–110.
[78] DRH A 138–139.
[79] DRH A, 150–151.
[80] DRH A, 32–34.
[81] DRH A, 55–57.
[82] DRH A, 81–83.
[83] DRH A, 99–100.
[84] DRH A, 151–152.

His policy towards the Catholic Church has to be considered in the framework of his alliance with the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom.[85] The role of the missionary in this game of religious allegiances was played by the women.[86] The *voivode* had two Catholic wives. The first was called Margareta and she is supposed to have been the founder of the Franciscan house in Siret.[87] She is thought to have been from the family of a *voivode* of Transylvania.[88] He also founded a Catholic church at Baia, in the first half of his reign, whose dedication mentions that Margareta was buried under the baptismal font.

> *Anno 1410. Hoc templum in Honorem B. M. V. dedicatum, ab illmo Principe Alexandro Woyda Aedificatum est, una cum monasterio Moldavicem, cujus piae memoriae conjux Margareta sub fonte baptismatis sepulta est. Requiescat in vitae aeternae resurrectionem. Amen.*[89]

This church was entrusted to the Franciscans, who probably came there from Siret, where the Dominicans were located.[90] Another church was probably built at Bacău.[91] As I have already mentioned, in 1413, King Wladislav II of Poland asked Pope John XXIII to have a Catholic bishopric founded in *Civitas Moldaviensis* (Baia) under the jurisdiction of the Polish bishop of Lviv. The pope issued a bull on 7 August 1413 asking the bishop of Kameniec to check and see if the situation in the region demanded establishment of a new bishopric, also recommending that John of Ryza be ordained bishop of this new diocese.[92] Thus, a new bishopric was founded in Moldavia, probably in 1414. The church built a few years earlier there was transformed into a cathedral.[93]

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[85] A more detailed overview in Solomon, *Politică și confesiune*, 169–177.

[86] For the missionary strategies of the Mendicant orders see Claudia Dobre, "The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land: A Case Study of Moldavia (Thirteenth to Fifteenth century)," MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2002); Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté greque aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1997).

[87] Gorovei, *Mușatinii*, 40.

[88] Ibid., 40

[89] *Codex Bandinus*, ed. V. A. Urechia, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* 2, Vol. 16 (1895): 91.

[90] Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale românești,* 186.

[91] Petru Malciuc Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica nei territori della Moldavia nell` epoca medievale (secc. XII–XV)* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1999), 95 (hereafter: Malciuc Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*).

[92] Conrad Eubel, *Römische Quartalschrift* (1903): 189, cited as such in Rosetti, "Despre unguri și episcopiile catolice," 302, footnote 3.

[93] Malciuc Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*, 95.

I have already mentioned that Alexander the Good had been married to Ringala, his second Catholic wife, the sister of the Lithuanian Duke Witold and cousin of the Polish king.[94] It seems that she also tried to convert her husband but failed as he would not renounce his "errors." With the help of Bishop John of Ryza, Ringala obtained a divorce in 1420–1421.[95] Cihodaru has suggested that this interference of the Catholic clergy affected the attitude of the *voivode* towards them and can be seen as one motive for him allowing Hussites into the country.[96]

Moldavia was represented by Gregory Tamblac, metropolitan of Kiev, at the Council in Constance.[97] He was accompanied by lay people: two boyars (Georgeo Samusinis and Stanislaus Rotampan)[98] and delegates from some of the cities in Moldavia (Suceava, Târgu-Neamţ, Roman, Iaşi, Baia, Orhei, maybe Galaţi).[99] It is most probable that the delegates were sent there for political reasons;[100] however, they were still able to participate in resolving the Hussite problem.

Another group that was received by the *voivode* comprised the Monophysite Armenians in Moldova. In 1401, Alexander the Good established a new bishopric in Moldavia for the Armenians there with its centre in Suceava with Ohanes as bishop:

> *By the mercy of God, we, Olecsandro (Alexander) voivode, lord of the Country/Land of Moldavia, with our brother Bogdan. We make known, by this our letter, to all of our good nobles (pans) who will see this letter or who will hear it that this true Ohanes, Armenian bishop, came to us, to our throne in Moldavia, and was presented to us with rightful letters from the Ecumenical Patriarch Anthony of Constantinople, because we had not yet met his Armenian*

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[94] Rezachevici, "Ringala-Ana," 918–919.

[95] See the quotation in Note 26.

[96] Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 191, 256.

[97] For the sources for the Council see John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody ed. *The Council of Constance. The Unification of the Church* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

[98] Stanislav Rotompan is mentioned in the documents issued by the chancellery of the *voivode* between 1402–1414. DRH A. 2, 4, 8–11, 13, 17–19, 22–25, 27–35. Another interpretation says that they may have been Giurgiu and Stan of Şomuz: Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun*, 254.

[99] Constantin I Karadja, "Delegaţii din ţara noastră la Conciliul din Constanţa (în Baden) în anul 1415 (Delegations from our country to the Council in Constance, in Baden, in the year 1415), *Academia Română. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice* 3, Vol. 7 (1927): 63, 69–70.

[100] Ibid, 73.

patriarch, in order to be promoted to this bishopric, with the help of our lord, the great Knjaz (cneaz) Vitovt. He also swore to our lordship to receive and to organize all the church affairs. This is why we gave the Armenian churches and their priests to Ohanes the Armenian bishop; everywhere in our country he will have power over the Armenians by his right as a bishop; we gave him residence in Suceava, our city. Those of the Armenians who will honor him, it will be as if you were honoring us, in our country, in Moldavia; that one who does not obey him we shall chastise him by his hand. And to this is my faith, of the above-written Olecsandro voivode, and the faith of the brother of my grace, Bogdan, and the faith of all of the Moldavian boyars, both lesser and great. And it was written in Suceava, under our seal, in the year 6909 [1401] July, 30, by the hand of Bratei (translation by the author).[101]

Ohanes Nasredinian, (Ohabes or Hovannes), who had the same name as the Armenian bishop who held the seat of Lviv in the same period, was in charge of organizing a bishopric for Armenians in Moldavia.[102] Due to the fact that there were no links at that time between the Moldavian *voivode* and the Armenian Patriarchy in Cilicia, (formerly in Ecimiadzin), and because the Armenian patriarch was on good terms with the ecumenical patriarchate, one can understand why the Ecumenical Patriarch intervened and asked the Moldavian *voivode* to permit a new bishopric to be established.[103] The bishopric of Suceava remained subordinate to the bishopric in Lviv, while having Suceava and the Country of the Wallachians under its jurisdiction.[104]

The Hussites began coming to Moldavia in the 1420s and continued to do so over the following decades. Furthermore, after the death of Wenceslas IV in 1419, the Hussite parties in Bohemia met at Čáslav. The later meeting, held in 1421, recognised the precarious international position of Bohemia.[105] The country was reluctant to accept Sigismund as heir to the throne because of his

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[101] DRH A, 21–22.

[102] Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei,* 177–178.

[103] Zareh Baronian, "575 de ani de la înfiinţarea Episcopiei armene din Moldova" (575 years since the establishment of the Armenian bishopric in Moldavia), *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 94, (1976/7–8): 754.

[104] Şerban Papacostea, "Hrisovul lui Alexandru cel Bun pentru Episcopia Armeană din Suceava (30 Iulie 1401)" (The Document of Alexander the Good for the Armenian Bishpric in Suceava, 30 July 1401), *Revista istorică română*, (1934/4): 50.

[105] Frederick G. Heymann, "The national assembly of Čáslav," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, (1954/8): 32–55.

attitude towards Jan Hus and the reform in Czech lands.[106] Thus, negotiations started with Wladislav Jagiello who was offered the Bohemian crown but declined it.[107] His cousin Witold was not as interested in the religious problems of the Bohemian lands. He was far more interested in being crowned, weakening the Samogitians,[108] and gaining a new ally against the Teutonic Order.[109] For this reason he accepted the Czech proposal.[110] His nephew, Sigismund Korybut, was regent in Bohemia between 1422 and 1427. Due to his negotiations with Pope Martin V, the Lithuanian claimant was arrested and expelled from Bohemia, a fact that further strengthened the position of Sigismund of Luxembourg.[111] Bohemia appeared to have lost a good ally.[112] Relations with Poland, however, continued to be ambiguous, with the Polish king issuing anti-Hussite edicts in 1424 and also organizing public debates involving Hussites and Catholics.[113] Furthermore, Hussites were a constant presence in fifteenth century Poland (including Silesia, one of the target areas for Hussite military campaigns and proselytizing).[114]

Up to 1430, Alexander the Good had been on good terms with the Polish king, and one of his most steadfast allies. The alliance of these two rulers prob-

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[106] Tilmann Schmidt, "König Sigmund und Johannes Hus," in *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds* 158–159.

[107] In the following years the Polish king tried to act as mediator between Hussites, the papacy and Sigismund; see Pawel Kras, "Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period – Religious Aspects." in *The Bohemian Reformation and religious practice: Papers from the fourth International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice under the auspices of The Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic held at Vila Lana, Prague 26–28 June 2000*, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2002), 183. (hereafter: Kras, "Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period").

[108] Giedrė Mickūnaitė, *Grand Duke Vytautas: Establishing Vytautas the Great*, Ph.D. diss. (Budapest: CEU, 2002), 80.

[109] Ibid., 77.

[110] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 101.

[111] F. M. Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution 1424–1437* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 13–24 (hereafter: Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution 1424–1437*),; Fudge*The Crusade* , 213.

[112] Fudge, *The Crusade*, 215.

[113] Pawel Kras, "Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period," 183.

[114] Pawel Kras, "Hussites in fifteenth century Poland," in *Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13.–16. Jahrhundert: Internationales Kolloquium Prag 5.–10. Oktober 1998*, ed. František Šmahel (Prague: Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia I, 1999), 180–181 (hereafter: Kras, "Hussites in fifteenth century Poland").

ably favoured the movement of Hussites from Bohemia and Moravia to Moldavia via Poland. Surprisingly, the change in the policy of the *voivode* towards Wladislav did not imply a change in his attitude regarding the Hussites. Furthermore, the information available shows that the Hussites became a significant problem for the Catholic clergy in Moldavia. The new ally of Alexander, Duke Swidrigiello, had also allied himself with the Hussites[115] and the voivode continued his policy of tolerance towards them. He dealt with the Hussites differently from the ambiguous approach of the Polish kings.[116]

From the three documents (the letter of John of Ryza, the Catholic bishop of Baia, to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Catholic bishop of Cracow, 5 March 1431;[117] the letter of Wladislav Jagiello to Alexander the Good, May 1431;[118] and the letter of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki to the Cardinal Julian Cesarini, January 1432)[119] concerned with the Hussite presence in the principality during the reign of Alexander the Good, an interesting picture can be assembled.

The activity of the Hussites in Moldavia seems to have been complex. John of Ryza complains to the bishop of Cracow that he was involved in a dispute, probably theological, with Jacob, leader of the Hussites, who is also said to have earned a bachelor's degree in medicine: *a magistro Hermanno bacalaurio in medicinis percepimus*.[120] The discourse of Jacob contains general accusations regarding the pope and the Catholic clergy, which, can also be found in the doctorinal program of the Hussitesin Moldavia (the so-called *Reprobationes* 38 *articulorum*. The Hussite even recounts the well-known story of a woman pope who gave birth during a procession: *ex quo Agnes meretrix papa fuisset et puerum gignisse*.[121]

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[115] Dan, *Cehi, români și slovaci*, 140.

[116] Not only Wladislas led an ever changing policy towards the Hussites as Solomon, *Politică și confesiune*, 177, suggests, but this was a constant characteristic of the Poles, due to their strong ties with the papacy.

[117] *Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525* (Göttingen) (hereafter: Ryza-Oleśnicky); cited as such by Șerban Papacostea, "Știri noi cu privire la istoria husitismului în Moldova în timpul lui Alexandru cel Bun" (New information relating to the history of Hussitism in Moldavia in the time of Alexander the Great), *Studii și Cercetări Științifice-Istorie* 13, No. 2 (1962): 257–258.

[118] *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 12, (Cracow: 1891) (hereafter: Wladislas-Alexander), 254–255.

[119] *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 12 (Cracow, 1891) (hereafter: Oleśnicky-Cesarini), 290–291.

[120] Ryza-Oleśnicky.

[121] Ryza-Oleśnicky.

Besides the dispute that took place in the presence of the *voivode*, the Hussites proselytized throughout the country: *sectam Hussitarum publice predicare et docere.*[122] Jacob was accompanied by a Franciscan friar: *habens circa se apostatem de ordine minorum,*[123] *quendam sacerdotem religiosum de ordine Minorum,*[124] *iuncto sibi quodam monache appostata de ordine Minorum.*[125] The *voivode* favoured the preacher Jacob and provided him with a residence in the city of Bacău. There, the Hussites offered the Eucharist as bread and wine, baptizing, and hearing confessions: *communicans sub utraque specie tociens quociens sibi et suis placuerit, baptizando, confessiones audiendo.*[126] Besides activities linked to the spiritual arena, the Hussites in Moldavia also seem to have been able to train the military: *et vadit per campestriam habens maximam sequelam populi et turbarum, docens eos et exercitus ducere.*[127] This information is connected to the interest the *voivode* showed in them since just at that time he was just preparing for the war with the Polish kingdom and Hussites were renowned for their military abilities.[128] However, the *voivode* placed the Hussites under his protection. Anyone trying to impede them was required to pay a fine:

> *qui eum vel discipulos suos hussitas calcitraret daret penam domino XX ducatos de Turcia in auro propterque ita animosus factus est quod neminem curat,*[129] *and:*
> *confestum edictum fecit in tota sua terra, ne aliquis eum sub certis penis molestare auderet, sed quod libere viveret et predicaret sectam.*[130]

The actions that Alexander took to protect the Hussites were totally opposed to what the Polish king had suggested. He had asked the *voivode* to arrest the heretics and send them to Poland so that they could be brought to judegment: *prefatum Jacobum cum suis complicibus comprehensum nobis et regni nostri prelatis et maioribus dignemini tradere ut qualis sit inquisicione canonica examinetur et examinatus dignam subeat disciplinam,*[131] a demand which the *voivode* did not comply with since the relations between the two countries were already compromised.

The death of the *voivode* meant the beginning of a quarter of a century of internal turmoil. This period is characterized by a paucity of information

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[122] Oleśnicky-Cesarini.

[123] Ryza-Oleśnicky.

[124] Oleśnicky-Cesarini.

[125] Wladislav-Alexander.

[126] Ryza-Oleśnicky.

[127] Oleśnicky-Cesarini.

[128] Fudge, The Magnificent Ride, 102–107.

[129] Ryza-Oleśnicky.

[130] Oleśnicky-Cesarini.

[131] Wladislav-Alexander.

regarding the religious policy of the *voivode*s towards confessional groups other than the Orthodox Church which continued to receive donations. The relations with Poland and Hungary, which intervened in the struggle between the various pretenders to the throne, were more important. No internal sources exist making mention of the Hussites.[132]

Conclusions

The foreign policy of Alexander the Good was aimed at strengthening Moldavia and securing his throne. Though his religious policy was linked to his foreign policy, his tolerance was not dependent on the latter alone. Due to the interest shown by Sigismund in the Lower Danube, the *voivode* paid homage to the Polish king and remained his staunch ally for almost thirty years. Still, this did not impede him from becoming involved in alliances with other countries or to intervene in Wallachia, where after the death of Mircea the Old, the situation became unstable. The shift in alliances with Lithuania is a good example.

As a result of his opposition to Sigismund, who fought five crusades against the Bohemians, and of the ambiguous attitude of the king of Poland towards the Hussites, they headed towards Moldavia. The confessional landscape of Moldavia was both intriguing and unique in fifteenth-century Europe. Orthodox, Catholics, Armenians, and Hussites were all given privileges by the same person. Alexander's inclination towards Orthodoxy is obvious at least from the letter of John of Ryza and from the countless donations he made. Still, this did not stop him from accepting and giving rights to all of the confessional groups living in the principality. Alexander and his successors up to Stephen the Great did not consider the Hussites a danger to Moldavia and made use of some of their skills. There were not only political reasons for the acceptance of the Hussites. Both Alexander and his immediate successors changed allies but they did not change their attitude towards the confessional groups in their principality. No repressive actions were taken against them although Alexander was certainly not indifferent towards his religion, as stated in recent research.[133]

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[132] An overview of this period may be found in Grigoraş, *Ţara Românească a Moldovei*, 125–199; Gorovei, *Muşatinii*, 49–57.

[133] Malciuc Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*, 126.

THE STATUS OF THE COUNTS OF CILLI AS PRINCES OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Robert Kurelić 🔽

More than a hundred years after Franz Krones first published *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*,[1] the story of this famous family still fascinates both historians and their audience.[2] What is it that draws our attention so intensely to a family whose presence on the stage of greatness lasted a little more than a century, a mere act in a play? Was it perhaps that the short moment that was given to them on the great wheel of time shone brighter than the stars? Indeed, the history of the House of Cilli[3] is a success story rarely seen. Rising from the obscurity of lesser nobility in 1341,[4] in less than a century the Cilli climbed the mountain of medieval hierarchy with meteoric speed, nearly reaching the pinnacle before exiting the stage in a Shakespearean manner.[5] Yet in this short interlude they left a trace in history that still inspires historians today, so that the amount of literature written on them could fill whole bookshelves. But, as Heinz Dopsch said thirty years ago and Štih repeated in 1998, the Cilli were and are "ein Forschungsproblem."[6]

One of the many questions still left unresolved in the history of this immensely successful family is the question of their princely rank. The Hungarian

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[1] Franz Krones v. Marchland, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli, Part 1: Die Freien von Saneck und der erste Graf von Cilli, Part 2: Die Cillier Chronik* (Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1883) (henceforth: Krones, *Chronik*).

[2] This article is based on: Robert Kurelić, "The Uncrowned Lion. Rank, Status, and Identity of the Last Cilli," MA thesis (Central European University, Budapest, 2005).

[3] The family is called differently in different countries. I have decided to adopt the usual German and English form.

[4] Heinz Dopsch, "Die Freien von Sannegg als steirische Landherren und ihr Aufstieg zu Grafen von Cilli," (henceforth: Dopsch, *Freien*) in *Celjski grofje, stara tema—nova spoznanja* (The Counts of Cilli, old topic–new knowledge), ed. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (Celje: Pokrajinski muzej, 1998), 23–36 (henceforth: Germadnik, ed., *Celjski grofje*).

[5] See Johannes Grabmayer, "Das Opfer war der Täter," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 111 (2003): 286–316 (henceforth: Grabmayer, "Opfer").

[6] For a review of the literature see Heinz Dopsch, "Die Grafen von Cilli – ein Forschungsproblem," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 17/18 (1974/1975): 9–49 (henceforth: Dopsch, "Grafen"), and Peter Štih, "Celjski grofje – še vedno raziskovalni problem?" (The counts of Cilli – still a research problem?) (henceforth: Štih, "Celjski grofje") in Germadnik, ed., *Celjski grofje*, 11–22.

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king and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Sigismund of Luxemburg, elevated Frederick II and Ulrich II Cilli to the rank of imperial princes in 1436, granting them an independent principality in the process. Peter Štih has analyzed the legal position of the principality of Celje and concluded that it ceased to exist with the Cilli–Habsburg treaty in 1443. According to this treaty the Cilli were left only with their princely name ("fürstlichen namen"), which was an unprecedented event in the history of the empire. What effect did this have on their rank as princes? Were the Cilli accepted in their social and political environment as befitted their rank or were they seen as somewhat inferior due to the absence of an independent principality?

The world of medieval nobility was governed by two main ideas: rank and the preservation of dignity.[7] Rank, expressed by prestige and social standing,[8] was the basis of a hierarchical society in which the terrestrial kingdom mirrored its heavenly counterpart.[9] Social standing is, however, a matter of perception, and it was often difficult to decide who outranked whom in any particular situation. A "measurement" unit for the nobility, a product of the age and the ideals of chivalry, was honor. It was the central determining factor for social interaction in medieval society and can be understood as the "ideal capital of public respect that a person enjoys based on his social standing and his political role."[10] As William Ian Miller says, "A person's honor was fragile and easily violated; its state of health was closely monitored by his (and even her) sense of shame and a keen ability to discern whether others envied him more than he envied them."[11] Taking all this into account it can be assumed that the loss of an

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[7] Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers. Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004), 62 (henceforth: Althoff, *Family*).

[8] Raymond van Uytven, "Showing off One's Rank in the Middle Ages," (henceforth: Uytwen, "Showing Rank") in *Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 19–34, here: 19 (henceforth: Blockmans, ed., *Showing Status*).

[9] See Wim Blockmans and Esther Donckers, "Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in Blockmans, ed., *Showing Status*, 81–113, here: 81.

[10] Jean Marie Moeglin, "Fürstliche Ehre im Spätmittelalterlichen Deutschen Reich," in *Verletzte Ehre, Ehrkonflikte in Gesellschaften des Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Schreier and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), 77–91, here: 77 (henceforth: Moeglin: "Fürstliche Ehre"). See also Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace, Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 213–218.

[11] William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 144.

independent principality can be interpreted as an assault against the integrity and status of the Counts of Cilli.

The "Lehenspyramide" in the Holy Roman Empire

The high and late medieval Holy Roman Empire rested on the principle known as the "Heerschildordnung."[12] The word "Heerschild" originally stood for an armed military unit (Langob. "arischild," Nord. "herskjöldr"), but after the end of the twelfth century it came to be used in close association with the system of vassalage itself. It symbolized several things: the military contingent of a senior, his right to have vassals, and to command them in battle—in short, the ability to be a part of the noble hierarchy (Ger. "Lehenfähigkeit"). In the Saxon Mirror the "Heerschildordnung" represents a legal division of estates according to rank into a pyramid of seven levels. The first "Heerschild" was reserved for the emperor; the clerical princes occupied the second grade, and then came the secular princes, followed by the free lords ("Grafen" and "Edelfreien"). These four shields represented the aristocracy. The lower nobility, the vassals of the lords, occupied the fifth ("Ritter") and the sixth ("Edelknechte") shields.[13] The seventh seems to have been considered only partially a Heerschild as its members only had a passive "Lehenfähigkeit," meaning that they could only be vassals, but not have their own.

The practical consequence of the "Heerschildordnung" was the prohibition of the so-called lowering of one's own shield. This meant that one could only possess fiefs from those who ranked higher in the pyramid without endangering one's own position in it. This development was the result of a strategy to hinder the formation of alliances between the most powerful men of the realm against the emperor, keeping the crown vassals bound to the king

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[12] See *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Zurich: Artemis, 1989), 2007–2008, and Heinrich Mitteis, *Lehensrecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1933), 437–441 (henceforth: Mitteis, *Lehensrecht*).

[13] For example Emperor Frederick III ordered all "Fürsten, Herren, Rittern, Knechten" in 1440 not to disturb the archbishop of Salzburg in his patronage rights over the foundation of Reichersberg; Heinrich Koller and Paul-Joachim Heinig, ed., *Die Urkunden und Briefe des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs in Wien, Abt. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Algemeine Urkundenreihe, Familienurkunden und Abschriftensammlungen (1440–1446)*, Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493)*, vol. 12, (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 55 (henceforth: Koller, *Regesten*).

alone.[14] Originally the secular and clerical princes belonged to the same shield, but they were separated as a consequence of the concordat of Worms. Since the clerical princes were positioned higher in the pyramid, this was a legal loophole that enabled the secular princes to hold fiefs from them without diminishing their own rank.[15]

Another development was the formation of the so-called "Reichsfürstenstand,"[16] the estate of princes of the empire composed of the second and the third "Heerschild." In order to qualify for this rank one had to hold fiefs directly from the empire and command vassals of one's own. This was the beginning of territorial lordship, as the princes received jurisdictional, mining, and coinage rights in their territories.[17] At the same time it was decided that new princes could only be elevated with the permission of all of the other members of the "Reichsfürstenstand." This left the fourth "Heerschild," the free lords, somewhere in between. Though members of the aristocracy, they were subject to the jurisdictional authority of the territorial princes, which prevented them from forming direct relationships with the emperor. Only those that achieved the status of "Reichsfürst"[18] or became "reichsunmittelbar"[19] could escape the

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[14] This was done similarly in France under the term *ligesse*. This prohibition later evolved to include the forbidding of alliances against the emperor and the empire. See Mitteis, *Lehensrecht*, 434.

[15] For example the counts of Görz, who had been members of the "Reichsfürstenstand" from the second half of the fourteenth century held a number of possessions from the patriarchate of Aquileia. See Peter Štih, "Goriški grofje" (The Counts of Görz), in Peter Štih, *Srednjeveške goriške študije* (Medieval Görzian Studies) (Nova Gorica: Goriški muzej, 2002), 61–88, here: 70. The counts of Cilli also held a number of holdings from the patriarchate which they received as a fief. See Božo Otorepec, *Centralna kartoteka srednjeveških listin* (Central database of medieval charters) (Ljubljana: Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti), August 16, 1436, Celje (henceforth: CKSL), and Dopsch, "Grafen," 19.

[16] Mitteis, *Lehensrecht*, 432–444.

[17] Mitteis, *Lehensrecht*, and Peter Štih, "Die Grafen von Cilli, die Frage ihrer landesfürstlichen Hoheit und des Landes Cilli," *Mitteilungen des Institus für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 110 (2002): 67-98, here: 85 (henceforth: Štih, "Grafen").

[18] Although Mitteis states that both the counts and free lords were members of the fourth "shield," to my knowledge only counts could be elevated to the rank of princes, which suggests that the count was a higher rank. The counts of Schauenberg thus progressed from "Edelfrei" to "Graf" in 1300 as did the Cilli in 1341. See Alois Niederstätter, *Österreichische Geschichte. 1400–1522: das Jahrhundert der Mitte: an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1996), 206 (henceforth: Niederstätter, *Geschichte*).

pressure of the princes, but, as Heinrich Mitteis states, the fate of the count families was already sealed at the end of the twelfth century.[20] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that to ascend to the status of prince was a probably the goal of every ambitious family of the fourth "Heerschild."

Forms of Address

Each grade of the "Heerschild" had its appropriate form of address as a symbol of rank and standing. This was an attribute that a person would add before the title and name of a noble when addressing him or her. Originally, for the higher nobility down to the fourth degree of the "Heerschildordnung," the terms "nobilis" or "edel" were used. However, after the end of the fourteenth century a greater diversification took place and new terms were introduced to better reflect changes in society. The lower nobility, which had previously used only the titles "ritter" or "edelknecht" without a special form of address started adding "nobilis" or "edel" to their titles. They did so in an attempt to try to erase the differences between themselves and the higher nobility. As a response the higher nobility developed new forms of address at the beginning of the fifteenth century in order to maintain the distinction: "hochgeboren" and "wohlgeboren."[21] "Hochgeboren" or "illustris" was reserved for the members of the "Reichsfürstenstand," whereas "wohlgeboren" applied to the fourth "Heerschild" and then only to counts.[22] In the case of princes the form of address was also combined with the word "prince" itself to produce "hochge-boren fürst"[23] or "illustris princeps,"[24] and for a count it was "wohlgeboren

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[19] A member of the fourth shield who receives his fief from the king, and is outside the jurisdictional authority of a prince, but is not a member of the "Reichsfürstenstand." See *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7 (Munich: Artemis, 1995), 645.

[20] Mitteis, *Lehensrecht*, 441.

[21] Joseph Morsel, "Die Erfindung des Adels. Zur Soziogenese des Adels am Ende des Mittelalters – das Beispiel Frankens," in *Nobilitas, Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Werner Paravicini (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 312–375, here: 320–321 (henceforth: Morsel, "Erfindung").

[22] I have found no example in which "wohlgeboren" would be used for someone of lesser rank than count.

[23] "hochgeborn fursten herczog Friedrichs, and hochgeboren mein genedigen heren graff Friedrich vnd graff Vlreich sein sun grauen ze Cilli vnd in dem Seger." CKSL, May 25, 1436.

[24] "illustres principes et domini domini Fridericus et Vlricus eius natus dei gracia Cillie Orthenburge Zagorieque etc comites," CKSL, July 29, 1439.

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graf."[25] The previously used "nobilis" and "edel" became associated with the lower nobility and later evolved into a new form which stood for the nobility in general—"Adel."[26] One example can be seen in the notaries, who adopted the new term for lower nobility.[27] The conservative papal chancellery, however, still used "nobilis vir," even for princes.[28]

Another important difference that distinguished the members of the "Reichsfürstenstand" from the other nobles was the *dei gracia* or "von Gottes Gnaden," the part of their *intitulatio* that symbolized the divine origin of their rule. Originally it was reserved only for kings as it was understood that only sovereigns ruled "by the grace of God." However, with the formation of territorial lordships in the empire, the actual power slowly passed from the hands of the emperor to the princes. This change was reflected in the fact that they started legitimizing their power by mimesis, adopting the royal "Herrschafts-propaganda," and consequently also the *dei gracia* in their titles.[29]

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[25] "dem wolgeporn herren Graf Johannsen von Schaunberg," József Teleki, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* (The Age of the Hunyadis in Hungary), vol. 10 (Budapest: Emich Gusztáv Könyvnyomdája, 1853), 237 (henceforth: Teleki, *Hunyadiak*); "wolgeboren unsern besunder lieben graf Sigmunden von Crabaten," Blažena Rynešová, ed., *1438–1444, Listár a listinář Oldřicha z Rožemberka 1418–1462* (Archive of Ulrich of Rosenberg 1418–1462), vol. 2 (Prague: Nákladem Ministerstva školství a národni osvéty, 1932) 93, March 4, 1441, and 94, April 4, 1441 (henceforth: Rynešová, *Rosenberg 2*); "der wolgeborn vnser lieber swager graf Friedrich graff zu Ortenburg," CKSL, August 16, 1436, Celje. One exception I have found is Ulrich of Rosenberg, who is addressed by Ulrich Cilli as "wohlgeboren," and "magnificus," but without a title. See Blažena Rynešová and Josef Pelikán, ed., *1449–1462, Listár a listinář Oldřicha z Rožemberka 1418–1462* (Archive of Ulrich of Rosenberg 1418–1462), vol. 4 (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladitelství, 1954) 274, August 18, 1450 (henceforth: Rynešová, *Rosenberg 4*), and Blažena Rynešová, ed., *1445–1448, Listár a listinář Oldřicha z Rožemberka 1418–1462* (Archive of Ulrich of Rosenberg 1418–1462), vol. 3 (Prague: Nákladem Ministerstva školství a národni osvéty, 1937) 461, February 16, 1446 (henceforth: Rynešová, *Rosenberg 3*).

[26] Morsel, "Erfindung," 321.

[27] Engelhart Auersperg, a lesser noble from Carniola, is addressed by the notary as "nobilis vir." CKSL, February 13, 1450, Celje.

[28] "Nicolaus episcopus servus servorum dei. Dilecto filio nobili viro Udalrico comiti Cilie" CKSL, January 19, 1451, Rome.

[29] This mimesis was not absolute as some borders were still preserved between the emperor and the princes. The religious legitimization of their rule was done in a more humble manner, using a parabell of the Staufen emperors which proclaimed the princes as the pillars of the empire. Thus they were not legitimized individually, but instead acquired their function in their totality, as the entire estate. See Heinrich Fichtenau, "Arenga, Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln," *Mitteilungen des*

"Fürstliche trewe" / "fürstliche würde"

Being recognized and addressed by others as a prince or "fürst" and adding *dei gracia* to the *intitulatio* was one step in the process of assertion as a prince. Another was using the word "fürst" in charters with the person addressed being the issuer himself. This usually came in compound form with the words "ere," "trewe" or "würde" and was used in the *corroboratio* of a charter. After 1338 the members of the "Reischsfürstenstand" replaced the usual oath form "bei unseren treuwen" with "bey unsern fürstlichen Eren," or "bei unsern fürstlichen trewen," and by the fifteenth century it was used throughout the empire. Simultaneously, "furstliche wirdigkeit" appears in the arenga of the charters.[30] Jean Marie Moeglin concludes that the addition of the word "fürst" articulated the increased self-awareness of the princes, whose rank in the empire was legally defined, contrary to the example of France.[31] However, there still seems to have been some sort of barrier, perhaps psychological or social, that prevented newly elevated princes from using this word for themselves, as seen in the example of the Burgraves of Nürnberg, who only adopted the formula twenty-five years after their elevation to princely status.[32]

The Counts of Cilli as "Reichsfürsten"

The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxemburg, elevated the Counts of Cilli, Frederick II and Ulrich II, to the rank of princes of the empire on November 30, 1436, in Prague.[33] This was in accordance with the traditional policies of the Luxemburg dynasty, which hoped to weaken its greatest rival, the Habsburgs, by severing the link between them

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Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 18 (1957): 172 (henceforth: Fichtenau, "Arenga").

[30] *Fürstliche wirdigkeit* was used by Duke Rudolf IV in order to stress his equality with the prince-electors of the empire. See Moeglin, "Fürstliche Ehre," 81.

[31] Moeglin, "Fürstliche Ehre," 85.

[32] The burgraves of Nürnberg, the Zollern family, were elevated to the status of princes in 1363 by Charles IV, but they were long after addressed by the imperial chancellery as *spectabilis/edel wohlgeboren* and not *illustris/durchleuchtig hochgeboren*. It was only after the other princes started addressing them appropriately to their rank that they adopted the formula *fürstliche trewe*, the first example of which is noted in 1388. Moeglin, "Fürstliche Ehre," 82.

[33] For details see Štih, "Grafen," 84–85, and Dopsch, "Grafen," 23.

and their vassals.[34] Sigismund's chancellery was very precise with the proper forms of address, as can be seen from the charter:

> …die durchleuchte furstyn frawn Barbaran romische vnd zu Vngern etc kunigyn des **wolgeborn Hermans grauen zu Cilli etc** seligen tochter, vnsers lieben swehers vnd getruen zu vnserer gemahl gerucht haben ze nemen … nach abgang des wolgeborn Friedrichen grauen ze Ortemburg … auch der egenant **graff Vlrich an statt des hochgeboren Friedrichs grauen zu Cilli zu Ortenbgurg vnd in dem Seger** vnsers lieben swagers vnd **fursten** sun mit zwein aufge-rakten banyeren, ains der grafschafft zu Cilli, das ander der graf-schafft zu Ortenburg vnd Sternberg…[35] (emphasis mine)

Whereas in a letter to the chapter of Čazma only five days earlier Sigismund had addressed the Cilli as *spectabilibus et magnificis Friderico et Vlrico Cilie et Zagorie comitibus*,[36] he changed to "hochgeboren" during the charter, symbolizing with this the very moment of their elevation. He also ordered that they should be called "fürsten" and addressed appropriately by all the princes of the empire, prescribing a fine of two hundred marks of gold for those who refused to do so. Furthermore, since Hermann had died in October 1435, Sigismund called him only "wohlgeboren," unlike the patriarch of Aquileia, who in the summer of 1436 had already honored the entire family with "hochgeboren" (but not "fürst").[37] Written evidence shows that Frederick and Ulrich added *dei gracia*/ "von Gottes Gnaden" to their title as a symbol of their new status.[38] But what was the response from their social and political environment?

In the Holy Roman Empire it seems that almost all those who had contacts with the Cilli accepted their new rank immediately upon proclamation and acted accordingly. One of the first was Count Henry of Görz, also a "Reichsfürst," who concluded an inheritance treaty with the Cilli on March 14,

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[34] See Štih, "Grafen," 73–74.

[35] CKSL, November 30, 1436, Prague.

[36] CKSL, November 25, 1436, Prague.

[37] CKSL, August 16, 1436, Celje. However it should be noted that the Cilli were the patrons of the patriarch since he was forced out of Aquileia by the Venetians, so that addressing them with a higher honorific could be considered as a form of flattery.

[38] "Wir Fridreich von gotes gnaden graf ze Cili ze Ortenburg und in dem Seger etc," CKSL, April 2, 1437, Celje; "Fridericus dei gracia Cillie, Ortenburge, Zagorieque etc. comes," CKSL, December 21, 1437, Krapina; Ivan K. Tkalčić, ed., *Izprave: 1400–1499*, Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatiis Zagrabiae, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Brzotisak K. Albrechta, 1895), 135 (henceforth: Tkalčić, *MCZ 2*).

1437, calling them "die hochgeborn fürsten."[39] Another such example mentioned in the charters of the Cilli archives is that of Michael, burgrave of Maidburg and count of Hardeck in 1449.[40] But not everyone joined the choir. Since the formation of a Cilli principality directly endangered the territorial interests of the Leopoldinian branch of the Habsburgs,[41] in whose lands the newly formed principality was situated, Duke Frederick V of Habsburg (Emperor Frederick III from 1440) did not accept the elevation and, consequently, did not address the Cilli as princes. A draft of a letter by the duke to Frederick Cilli from August, 1437, shows that he avoided the title altogether by calling them "Edler und lieber getrewer von Cili."[42] In the armistice treaty from August, 1440, he refers to them simply as "die von Cilli."[43] That the Cilli were insulted by this is clear from their chronicle:

> und der fürst von Oesterreich wolt ihn ihr würdigkeit als fürsten an seinen briuen nicht schreiben und ihren titul nicht hocher setzen weder vor, das verdross die von Cilli also, das von desselben tituls wegen mancherley schreiben ihn geschach, und wardt ein grosser unwillen zwischen ihnen und kamen zuletzt darumb in krieg, der lang zwischen ihnen gewehrte.[44]

A year later, in September, 1441, the Cilli issued a charter prolonging the armistice treaty and this time, for the first time since their elevation, they omitted the *dei gracia* from their title. Instead, for themselves they used simply "grauen zu Cili etc," while according Frederick full respect.[45] This was a clear

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[39] CKSL, March 14, 1437, Gornji Dravograd. Another example is from Henry, the prior of the convent of Gornji Grad (Ger. Oberburg), CKSL, April 5, 1443. I have named only the examples that I could find in the sources before August 16, 1443, when the feud between Frederick of Austria and the Cilli ended and he recognized them as princes.

[40] "Wir Michel von gots gnaden des heilign römischen reichs burgraf ze Maidburg vnd graf ze Hardegk etc… den hochgeboren fürsten vnsern lieben ohaim graf Fridreichen vnd graf Vlreichen seinen sun grauen ze Cily ze Ortenburg vnd in dem Seger etc ban in Windischen landen," CKSL, January 6, 1449.

[41] The Habsburgs divided into two branches in 1379. The Albertinian branch received Austria, and the Leopoldinian branch the remainder of the possessions. See Niederstätter, *Geschichte*, 140–141.

[42] CKSL, August 23/24, 1437, Wiener Neustadt.

[43] Koller, *Regesten*. 58.

[44] Krones, *Chronik* 2, 84.

[45] CKSL, September 4, 1441. He is addressed as "allerdurchleuchtigst furst und herr…unser gnedigster herr"

sign that the Cilli were at the time a weaker party in the feud, the reason for which is probably to be found in the events that took place in Hungary.

Reconciliation with Wladislas III Jagiełło

Albert II (Albert V of Austria), who was Sigismund of Luxemburg's heir in Hungary, Bohemia, and the empire was also related to the Cilli through his marriage to Elizabeth of Hungary, daughter of Barbara Cilli. Although Frederick V requested that Albert II arbitrate in the matter of the Cilli's new rank,[46] the king seems to have followed in Sigismund's footsteps. As early as February 24, 1438, he referred to Ulrich as *fidelis noster illustris princeps Vlricus Cylie, Ortenburgensis et Zagorie comes*[47] and even appointed Ulrich governor of Bohemia with great powers.[48]

In the civil war that tore Hungary apart after the death of King Albert in 1439, the Cilli took the side of the widowed queen Elizabeth, and her infant son Ladislaus V, against the Polish pretender, Wladislas III Jagiello.[49] Wladislas was supported by the majority of the Hungarian nobility, whereas the richest magnates, including the Serbian despot and the Garai, were in the Habsburg camp. The forces were evenly matched until the battle of Bátaszék, in which John Hunyadi and Nicholas Újlaki defeated the last army Elizabeth could muster from the central and southern parts of the kingdom. This seems to have been the turning point of the war, when most of Elizabeth's supporters surrendered and made peace with Wladislas. The Cilli submitted on April 19, 1441, near Szombathely which, according to Vjekoslav Klaić, "finally tipped the scales in Wladislas' favor."[50]

In exchange for a pledge of loyalty and his acceptance as king, Wladislas recognized the Cilli as *vera atque legitima membra corone regni Hungarie.*[51] This was an

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[46] Štih, "Grafen," 89–90.

[47] Tkalčić, *MCZ 2*, 142.

[48] Dopsch, "Grafen," 24. Albert wrote to Rosenberg informing him that he would send "Oldřich hrabé Cilský, švagr náš vérný milý" Rynešová, *Rosenberg* 2, 19, 1438, October 27. Already the term "hrabé," great lord instead of "pán," lord, shows that Albert was honoring Ulrich's status as a prince.

[49] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, tr. Tamás Pálosfalvi, ed. Andrew Ayton (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2001), 280–283 (henceforth: Engel, *St. Stephen*), and Vjekoslav Klaić, *"Povijest Hrvata"* (History of the Croats), vol. 3 (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1975), 209–221 (henceforth: Klaić, *Povijest*).

[50] Klaić, *Povijest,* 216.

[51] CKSL, April 19, 1441, near Szombathely.

important achievement for the Cilli. It not only legitimized their status as Hungarian nobles,[52] but it also awarded them special status comparable to another great man, Despot George Branković, whom King Albert had called *principale regni huius membrum* in 1439.[53] This special status was evident at the assembly in Buda in the summer of 1442. In the list of witnesses of the decrees Frederick II Cilli is ranked immediately after the Serbian despot, before the other secular magnates of Hungary.[54] Moreover, Wladislas addresses them in the charter as *illustres principes Fridericus et Vlricus Cillie, Ortemburge et Zagorie comites.*

Seeing that one Hungarian king had elevated them and his successor had honored them with the title, there was little reason for Hungarian nobles to deny them the appropriate form of address, even if the acceptance of foreign titles need not have been automatic. During the conflict between the Cilli and the royal city of Gradec in 1437[55] and the court procedure that followed as a result, a number of charters clearly show that the chapter of Zagreb,[56] the citizens of Gradec,[57] and even Ban Matko Talovac[58] addressed them as *illustres principes*. Despite the acceptance of their rank in Hungary, the political position of the Cilli within the kingdom was weakened by their submission to King Wladislas.

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[52] On the problem of the acceptance of the Cilli as Hungarian nobles see Grabmayer, "Opfer," 296.

[53] Quoted from Klaić, *Povijest*, 188. Vjekoslav Klaić did not use footnotes, and I was unable to locate the original source.

[54] The list of the witnesses goes as follows: "Et nos Symon Agriensis, Johannes Waradiensis, Mathias Wesprimiensis Petrus Chanadiensis Joseph Boznensis Episcopi, Georgius despotus Rascie, Fridericus Cillie Ortenburge et Zagorie Comes, Laurencius de Hedrehwar Regni Hungarie palatinus, Nicolaus de Wjlak wayuoda Transiluanus et Banus Machoviensis, Mathko de Tallowcz Comes Cetine, necnon Regnorum Dalmacie et Croacie ac tocius Sclauonie Banus, Petrus Odrawasch, Leopoliensis, Hirczko Podolie palatini…" See Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 120.

[55] See Nada Klaić, "*Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*" (Medvedgrad and its masters) (Zagreb: Globus, 1987), 129–139 (henceforth: Klaić, *Medvedgrad*), and Nada Klaić, *Povijest Zagreba* (History of Zagreb) (Zagreb: Liber, 1982), 142–147 (henceforth: Klaić, *Zagreb*).

[56] Tkalčić, *MCZ 2*, 152.

[57] CKSL, July 29, 1439.

[58] Tkalčić, *MCZ 2*, 136.

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Spectabilis et magnificus

One interesting example stands out though, apparently unique in the sources, and therefore deserving special attention. Nicholas Újlaki, the voivode of Transylvania, sent a letter on April 8, 1443, to Frederick Cilli:

> *Spectabilis et **magnifice** vir, domine et frater noster honorande. Ecce accedet erga vos egregius Ladislaus Tyteus de Bathmonostra, per quem aliqua nostri ex parte **magnificencie vestre** verbotenus nunciavimus; quare rogamus eandem **vestram magnificenciam**, quatenus verbis et dictis ipsius Ladislai de Bathmonostra nostri ex parte pro hac vice credencie fidem velitis adhibere*[59] *(emphasis mine).*

Újlaki was not only the voivode of Transylvania, an office which he shared with John Hunyadi,[60] but also one of the richest magnates in western Hungary, even possessing some holdings in eastern Slavonia.[61] His interests and those of the Cilli seem to have been diametrically opposed. Furthermore, although at the beginning of the civil war he was an ally of the Cilli and one of the supporters of Queen Elizabeth against King Wladislas, it was his defection that proved instrumental in Wladislas' victory and the subsequent submission of the Cilli in 1441. By 1443 Újlaki's position in relation to the Cilli seems to have become even stronger. Not only was he firmly in the camp of a victorious king, but his ally John Hunyadi had inflicted two spectacular defeats upon the Ottoman Turks in the previous two years.[62] Moreover, encouraged by these campaigns, the assembly in Buda was already collecting funds for a new expedition against the Ottomans.[63]

On the other hand, the position of the Cilli was not very strong. Their feud with Emperor Frederick was not going well,[64] Queen Elizabeth had died in December 1442, and their strongest ally in Hungary, Ulrich's father-in-law, and

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[59] Imre Nagy, ed., *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára* (Charters of the Zichy family), vol. 9 (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1899) (henceforth: Nagy, *Zichy 9*), 51.

[60] Engel, *St. Stephen*, 283.

[61] András Kubinyi, "Residenz- und Herrschaftsbildung in Ungarn," in *Fürstliche Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Hans Patze and Werner Paravicini, 421–462, here: 439 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991).

[62] Engel, *St. Stephen*, 285.

[63] Klaić, *Povijest,* 225.

[64] Štih, "Grafen," 90.

Serbian despot George Branković also made peace with Wladislas in 1442.[65] In my opinion, addressing the Cilli as *magnificus* instead of *illustris* was the voivode's way of showing his own superiority and possibly exacting revenge in a symbolic manner for previous insults.[66]

Furthermore, he did it directly, addressing Frederick Cilli personally, whereas, at approximately the same time, Ban Matko Talovac referred to them as *illustres* in a letter sent to a third party.[67] That it took someone of Újlaki's power to do so—at the time probably second only to the king, and perhaps Hunyadi—in my mind says much about the power of the Cilli.[68] Whether a foreign title was recognized in Hungary seems to have depended on the prestige and power of the noble in question. Apparently the Cilli had enough of both to force all but one of the strongest of magnates to acknowledge and pay respect to their princely status. After Wladislas' death at Varna, and the recognition of Ladislaus Posthumous as king, the balance of power was once again shifting to the side of the Cilli. As a result, on January 6, 1446, *Nicolaus de Wylak inter cetera wayuoda Transsiluanius banus Machouiensis Siculorum et Themesiensis comes* issued a charter which shows that he had forged an alliance *cum illustribus principibus Friderico et Vlrico filio eiusdem dei gracia Cilie Ortenburge Zagorieque comitis necnon regni Sclauonie banis.*[69] Until Ulrich's murder in 1456 no one denied the Cilli their princely title within the Kingdom of Hungary, not even the Hunyadis.[70]

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[65] Momčilo Spremić, "Prvi pad despotovine" (The first fall of the despotate), in *Doba borbi za očivanje i obnovu države (1371–1537)* (The age of struggles for the preservation and restoration of the state [1371–1537]), ed. Jovanka Kalić, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. 2 (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1982), 241–253.

[66] Helene Kottaner, the lady-in-waiting of Queen Elizabeth, wrote "And every time my gracious lady needed to discuss something urgently in a secret meeting, her grace sent for Duke Albert and for Cillei, and this began to aggravate the Lord of Freistadt, Nicholas Újlaki, who became hostile because he was not included in secret talks too." Helene Kottaner, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottaner (1439–1440)*, tr. Maya Bijvoet Williamson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 49.

[67] Nagy, *Zichy* 9, 58. This was on June 4 in a letter to Ladislaus de Bathmonostra, so not even directly to the Cilli.

[68] Újlaki did not defy only the Cilli. When he visited Vienna in order to negotiate with Emperor Frederick about the release of Ladislaus V on September 30 1445, he greeted the emperor at the gates of the city as an equal, without even dismounting. Klaić, *Povijest*, 246.

[69] CKSL, January 6, 1446, Castrum Palota.

[70] However, the available charters for the Hunyadis are from the 1450s. Both John and Ladislaus refer to Ulrich Cilli as "illustris princeps," or in the case of Ladislaus Hunyadi

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Reconciliation with Frederick III

The two feuding parties finally negotiated a peace treaty in August, 1443. Emperor Frederick III recognized their status as princes. In return, the Cilli were forced to give up the territorial lordship that violated the integrity of the Habsburg lands. The "Landschranne," a symbol of independent jurisdiction which the Cilli had proudly stressed in 1437,[71] was a necessary sacrifice on their part, but that was not all. They also had to sign a mutual inheritance treaty which put the Cilli in an inferior position.[72] In exchange for all their possessions in the empire, the Habsburgs offered significantly less territory, a good part of which was already in pledged possession of the Cilli.[73] Frederick III then elevated the Cilli to the rank of princes, but he did not accord them the appropriate form of address. He still referred to them as "wohlgeboren,"[74] as did his brother Albert who, despite being an ally of the Cilli in the feud, called them "wolgeborn vnser besunderlieb graf Fridreich vnd graf Vlreich grafen ze Cilli und in dem Seger."[75] It seems that the emperor did not consider the Cilli and the Görz as fully belonging to the "Reichsfürstenstand." For them he used the inappropriate "wohlgeboren,"[76] whereas he addressed the other "Fürsten" as "hochgeboren."[77] Since this arrangement was detrimental to the honor and

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even "Illustrissime princeps domine noster prestantissime." See CKSL, August 1, 1455, Buda; Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 384, and CKLS, March 31, 1456, Buda.

[71] In 1437, when Frederick II Cilli was accused by his vassal Jost Auert of unjustifiably taking his fief, for which he should have appeared before the "Landschranne" in Graz, he replied to Frederick of Habsburg that his court had no jurisdiction over the Cilli and that this right belonged to the king alone, as the only person that could try a "Reichsfürst." See Štih, "Grafen," 87.

[72] CKSL, August 16, 1443, Wiener Neustadt, B.

[73] Štih, "Grafen," 91–92.

[74] CKSL, August 16, 1443, A, B, C, Vienna.

[75] CKSL, Mai 13, 1442, Forchtenstein.

[76] "des wolgeboren Heinrichs graven zu Görtz" Joseph Chmel, *Regesta chronologico diplomatica Friderici III. Romanorum Imperatoris (Regis IV.)* (Vienna, 1838–1840) on Andreas Kuczera, "Regesta Imperii," http://regesta-imperii.uni-giessen.de/regesten/index2.php?abteilung=13 (May 27 2005), 1767, October 1, 1444 Nürnberg. Also CKSL, January 26, 1451, Wiener Neustadt (henceforth: Chmel [no. of the regesta, date, place]).

[77] "dem hochgeborn Ludwigen lanndgraven zu Hessen," Chmel, 612, June 18, 1442, Aachen; "der hochgeborn Ludwig pfalczgrave by Reine," Chmel, 2502, Oktober 18, 1448 Vienna; "die hochgeborne furstynne frawe Margarethen herczogin zu Sassen," Chmel, 2312, September 1, 1447, Vienna, and "hochgebornen Bernhart marggraf zu Baden," Chmel, 2194, November 24, 1446, Vienna.

prestige of the Counts of Cilli, the emperor had to find an alternate means to compensate them. This was done by offering Ulrich Cilli a position as royal councilor. In a letter from January 12, 1444, Aeneas Sylvius wrote: *Comes Cilie et dux Albertus ambo in consilium Regis sunt recepti et his diebus iurarunt.*[78] Medieval kings and lords were obliged to discuss important issues with their loyal followers, but there were no rules as to who should be included in this privileged group.[79] Consequently this means that those who were consulted on all important matters, the counselors who enjoyed "the ear of the lord," were able to exert considerable influence on the politics at court and assert their claims or interests. At the court of Emperor Frederick III, at any given time, only a small number of people, half a dozen to a dozen at most, were consulted on any major decision.[80] It is important to keep in mind that "power could be of all kinds: political, judicial, military, fiscal or ecclesiastical, but it could also be mere influence. What really counted was the degree or scale of power."[81] Having the ear of the emperor carried with it a great deal of power and prestige.

This was immediately apparent during the meeting of the Reichstag in Nürnberg, in 1444, where Ulrich appeared as a member of Frederick's en-tourage.[82] The statement of expenditures of the city shows how much was spent on gifts to the king, the princes, and the king's court.[83] The value of such gifts

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[78] Quoted from Janez Mlinar, "Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih viri" (The image of the counts of Cilli in narrative sources), Ph.D. dissertation (Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana, 2001), 323, St. Veit January 12, 1444, (henceforth: Mlinar, "Podoba").

[79] Gerd Althoff, "Royal Favor," in *Ordering Medieval Society, Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, ed. Bernhard Jussen, tr. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 243–269, here: 252. One often finds in charters the formula "nach vnser rett vnd diener rat." For example CKSL, September 29, 1444, Ozalj.

[80] Peter Moraw, "The Court of the German Kings and of the Emperor at the end of the Middle Ages 1440–1519," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility, The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450–1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London, German Historical Institute, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 103–137, here: 116 (henceforth: Asch, *Princes*).

[81] Uytwen, *Showing Rank,* 21.

[82] Aeneas Sylvius writes in a letter to Caspar Schlick on June 24 "…Illuc sequuntur regem Albertus et Sigismundus Austrie duces, Ulricus Sillacei comes, et dominus de Wallsee…" Quoted from Mlinar, "Podoba," 324. June 24, 1444, Vienna.

[83] *Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg,* in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3 (Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 398–401 (henceforth: *Chronik Nürnberg* 3).

was in direct proportion to the recipient's importance[84] and it reflected the judgment of the citizens concerning social rank.[85] On this roster Ulrich Cilli is listed together with the bishops of Trier and Mainz, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg, all of them prince electors of the empire. Though he ranks last, the mere fact that he is grouped together with the electors implies that he was accorded great respect.[86] This is even more significant as the list with the entourage of the lords suggests that several princes were present who were not given special gifts.[87]

"Fürstliche Wirdigkeit"

After discussing the *intitulatio* and forms of address it remains to be seen how the Cilli used the word "fürst" or "princeps" themselves. Both Frederick and Ulrich made use of it when they mentioned each other,[88] but when looking for the word "fürst" in oaths I was unable to find it. In a charter regarding a ceasefire with the Habsburgs in 1441 the Cilli used the "von Gottes Gnaden" in their title, but swore "mit vnsern trewen."[89] And on September 24, 1443, after receiving a charter from the Habsburgs in which Albert and Sigmund swore "bej vnsern fürtlichen trewen,"[90] they responded with "bey vnsern wirden vnd lautteren trewn."[91] No less than five charters can be found in the archive of the

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[84] Paul-Joachim Heinig, "How large was the Court of Emperor Frederick III?" in Asch, *Princes*, 139–156, here: 141.

[85] Uytwen, "Showing Rank," 20.

[86] He received 6 new hellers (about 24 golden florins), Frederick of Brandenburg 7, the bishop of Mainz 8, the bishop of Trier 8, and the duke of Saxony 19. *Chronik Nürnberg* 3, 401.

[87] The list mentions the musicians of "Herzog Ludwig," "kunigs von Denmark," and the "bischoffs von Coln." It should be noted that the bishop of Cologne was also one of the electors, but it is possible that these lords were not present, although the presence of their musicians suggests that they were. *Chronik Nürnberg* 3, 399–400.

[88] For example Frederick in 1437 "et egregium Vilhelmum nostrum, illustrisque principis comitis Vlrici etc. filii nostri carissimi, capitaneum de Medwe," in 1450 "Nos Fridericus…presenciam exhibuit nobis quasdam litteras illustris principis domini Vlrici, dei gracia etc., nati nostri carissimi," and Ulrich in 1456 "als der edel unser lieber freunde Ulrich von Rosenberg und sein erben weilend dem hochgebornen fursten unserm lieben herren und vater graf Fridrichen uns und unsern erben vier tausent gulten schuldig." See Tkalčić, *MCZ* 2, 134, 210, and Rynešová, *Rosenberg 4*, January 21, 1456.

[89] Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 96.

[90] Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 134.

[91] Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 144.

Cilli issued by Count Henry of Görz in which he uses "fürstlichen trewen vnd wirden,"[92] "fürstlichen trewen vnd eeren,"[93] or just "fürstlichen trewn."[94] It is possible that the choice of words used might have depended on the scribes or chancellors. Robert Schwanke and Primož Simoniti suggest that the chancellery of the Cilli was inferior to that of the Görz and the Habsburgs,[95] and that Ulrich Cilli seems not to have been very interested in developing it.[96] In my opinion, the Cilli seem to have been unsure, or perhaps modest, about their status as "Reichsfürsten," similarly to the burgraves of Nürnberg in the fourteenth century, and decided to swear with just their "wirden." A very speculative suggestion would be that Emperor Frederick, who considered the Haus Habsburg to be by far superior even to the Cilli as princes, would not allow them to use a formula that the Habsburgs were employing with such great care. Thus the Cilli made no use of the word "fürst" in any of the aforementioned combinations, save on one occasion.

Frederick Cilli elevated Celje to the status of city in 1451.[97] After his death, his son Ulrich issued another charter on October 6, 1455, confirming the privileges of Celje. It reads:

> Wir Vlrich von gotts gnaden graue zu Cili ze Orttenburg vnd in dem Seger etc ban zu Dalmatien zu Croatien vnd in windischen landen, Bekhennen für vns vnser erben vnd nachkhumen vnd tun khundt mit

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[92] CKSL, November 30, 1443, Lienz, and CKSL, 1443, Lienz.

[93] CKSL, December 11, 1443, Lienz.

[94] CKSL, February 10, 1452, Heunfels, and CKSL, February 12, 1452.

[95] Robert Schwanke, "Beiträge zum Urkundenwesen der Grafen von Cilli," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband* 14 (1939): 411–422, here: 414 (henceforth: Schwanke, "Beiträge"), and Primož Simoniti, *Humanizam na Slovenskem in slovenski humanisti do srede XVI. Stoletja* (Humanism in Slovenia and Slovenian Humanists until the middle of the sixteenth century) (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1979), 18 (henceforth: Simoniti, *Humanizam*).

[96] Schwanke, "Beiträge," 421.

[97] Sergej Vilfan, "Glose k zgodovini srednjeveška Celja" (Glosses about the History of Medieval Celje), *Kronika Časopis za Slovensko krajevno zgodovino* 22 (1984): 15–19. The original of the charter is not preserved. A copy can be found in *Archiducis Caroli Confirmationes privilegiorum für Innerösterreich 1, 1564-1568*, manuscript in the Landesarchiv Graz, fol 218–220 (henceforth: *Archiducis*). I have used a transcribed version by Božo Otorepec at the Institute for History Milka Kos at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Slovenia in Ljubljana. According to Vilfan, the charter was merely a confirmation of the actual state of things; Celje had long since enjoyed the rights of other Styrian cities. Furthermore, in the charter with which the Cilli were elevated to the status of princes Celje is referred to as "stat," CKSL, November 30, 1436, Prague.

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dem offen brieff allen vnd yeglichen gegenwürtigen vnd khunftigen
die diesen brief hören, sehen oder lessen wie das **vnser fürstlichen
wirdigkhait** zuegehoret vnd woll ansteet, das wir müehe arbait vnd
leiden vnser vnderthanen vnd getrewen mit embsigen vleiss
bedenckhen vnd in vnserm gemüet bewegen auch zu statten khomen
das nach gelegenhait der zeit vnd menschlicher wandlung gemainer
nutz nicht geminnert sonder gemert vnd pesser werde…geben wir in
diesem vnsern brief **mit vnsern fürstlichen anhangunden insigl**
besigelt[98] (emphasis mine).

This arenga as a form of "Herrschaftspropaganda," in itself a rarity in the
charters of the Cilli,[99] represents a demonstration of power and articulates their
princely self-awareness, as Jean Marie Moeglin has suggested. Why did Ulrich
wait for so long before adopting this princely formula?

"Hochgeboren Fürst"

It was in the last two years of his life that Ulrich achieved a degree of power
unrivaled in the region. In 1455 he became the informal guardian of Albert's
posthumously born son, Ladislaus V,[100] and as the young king wrote after his
assassination: *pro decore Curie nostre ac directore rerum nostrarum*.[101] One of the first
displays of the king's favor was the official bestowal of the banate of Dalma-
tia/Croatia.[102] By September, 1456, Ulrich ruled all of Croatia except the castle

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[98] *Archiducis*, fol 220–223.

[99] I have found only one other example in which the Cilli used an arenga, in a charter
issued on September 7, 1437, in which Ulrich confirms a privilege to the city of
Medvedgrad. However, he was probably imitating Sigismund, whose previous charter
does include an elaborate arenga, when he includes in his own. Emilije Laslowski,
Povijesni spomenici plemenite općine Turopolja nekoć "Zagrebačko polje" zvane (The historical
monuments of the noble communitiy of Turopolje formerly known as "Zagrebačko
polje"), vol. 1 (Zagreb: Tisak Antuna Scholza, 1904), 250–251.

[100] Peter Štih, "Ulrik Celjski in Ladislav Posmrtni ali Celjski grofje v ringu velike
politike" (Ulrich Cilli and Ladislaus Posthumous or the Counts of Cilli in the ring of big
politics), in *Spomeni Helene Kottaner* (The memoirs of Helene Kottaner), ed. Igor Grdina
and Peter Štih, 11-47, here: 39 (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 1999).

[101] Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 549.

[102] In 1453 the nominal holder of the banate was Ladislaus Hunyadi, as can be read in a
letter to the city of Bratislava from May 3 of that year (Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 384).
However, it seems that Ladislaus never actually ventured into Croatia and what is even
more interesting is that in a letter to Ulrich bearing the same date as this charter he does

of Klis, which had surrendered to Venice.[103] In Hungary proper, the power of the Cilli grew continuously. Although Hunyadi still retained the title of "captain general of the kingdom" (*capitaneus regni Hungariae generalis*) and held a great share of royal revenues in his possession, he was abandoned by his long-term ally Újlaki, who joined the baronial league which wanted to restore royal authority, led by the Cilli, Garai and the *iudex curiae* Ladislaus Pálóci.[104] Hunyadi's power was gradually decreasing. He signed an alliance with Ulrich in August, 1455,[105] and at the beginning of 1456 he had to give up some of the royal revenues as well as some of the royal fortresses.[106] After he died of plague in August, the king appointed Ulrich "captain general of the realm," by which token he seems to have fulfilled Ulrich's ambition in Hungary. There was no man more powerful in the kingdom than he.

Another important success was achieved on the symbolic plane. In a charter issued on January 25, 1455, Sigismund of Tyrol addressed Ulrich as "dem hochgeborn fürsten vnserm lieben öheim graf Vlreichen grauen zu Cili zu Ortemburg vnd im Seger etc, ban zu Dalmacien Croacien vnd in Winndischn-lannden."[107] Nineteen years after the elevation, this was, to my knowledge, the first time that a Habsburg addressed a Cilli as "hochgeboren," according Ulrich, now the last male member of the dynasty, the appropriate form of address. How much this recognition could have meant to Ulrich is impossible to tell, but the content of the charter might be an indication. According to the charter Ulrich loaned Sigismund two hundred thousand florins. Taking into account that the yearly revenue of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1475 was from five to seven

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not use the title of Ban of Dalmatia/Croatia (Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 385). See also Klaić, *Povijest*, 323. In a letter to the Serenissima in May, 1455, Ulrich informed the Venetian government of his appointment by the king. See Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike* (Documents regarding the relations between the southern Slavs and the Venetian Republic), vol. 10 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1891), 95. The first charter I was able to find in which he called himself "regnorum Dalmacie, Croacie et Sclauonie banus" is from January 27 1455. See Nagy, *Zichy* 9, 351, and Klaić, *Povijest*, 329.

[103] Venice became the guardian of the late Ban Pavao Talovac's children and the city of Klis was taken under this pretext. See Klaić, *Povijest*, 330.

[104] Engel, *St. Stephen*, 294. Alliance treaty in Teleki, *Hunyadiak*, 437–438.

[105] CKSL, August 1, 1455, Buda, A. He also agreed to the previously arranged marriage between his son, Matthias, and Ulrich's daughter Elizabeth, which he had cancelled when Ulrich was out of the king's favor. Furthermore, he confirmed that the dowry was to be determined solely by Ulrich. See CKSL, August 1, 1455, Buda, B.

[106] Engel, *St. Stephen*. 295.

[107] CKSL, January 25, 1455, Lienz.

hundred fifty thousand florins,[108] it seems that Ulrich paid dearly for this honor. Additionally, in February, 1456, Ulrich forged an alliance with William and Frederick, the dukes of Saxony and electors of the empire. Clearly, at this time, there was no question regarding his status as "Reichsfürst."

The forms of address, the presents received, and the alliances forged clearly suggest that in the social and political environment the Cilli were perceived as princes and treated as such. In all likelihood the time period in which they lived was still one in which personal power, family ties and standing were more important for the assertion of identity of a noble than the legal status of his possessions. Regardless of the fact that the treaty with Emperor Frederick ended the brief existence of a Cilli principality, contemporaries accepted the Cilli as full members of the "Reichsfürstenstand." In 1455 Ulrich II Cilli, count of Cilli, Ortenburg and Zagorje, and ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (and after Hunyadi's death even captain general of Hungary) was powerful enough to be able to refer to himself as he was percieved by society: "Fürst." However, he was only able to enjoy his newfound power for a short while. In November, 1456, when it seemed that nothing could stand in his way, he was struck down by Ladislaus Hunyadi in Belgrade and the lineage of the Cilli ended with him.

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[108] András Kubinyi, "Stände und Staat in Ungarn in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Bohemia* 31 (1990): 312–325, here: 323, and János M. Bak, "Monarchie im Wellental: Materielle Grundlagen des ungarischen Königtums im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Reinhard Schneider (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 347–384.

LITHUANIAN WIDOWS IN LAND
PRIVILEGES BEFORE 1529

Jurgita Kunsmanaitė ⬇

Introduction

Of all women of medieval and early modern times, widows are one of the most visible groups due to their—sometimes greater and sometimes lesser—freedom from the custody of men and the family, and to their changed legal status. The depictions of widows and widowhood in medieval and early modern Europe range from descriptions of widowhood as a state of independence, prosperity, and authority to accounts of poor widows struggling for survival or widows being exploited in their defenceless state or deprived of authority in the administration of their property. There is no contradiction between these different views: the role of widows in society and in the family varied from country to country, from period to period, from social stratum to stratum, and differed in the urban and the rural environment. Furthermore, the picture of widowhood depends to a great extent on the source materials used for the investigation.

One of the ways of analysing the position of widows is an investigation of the changes in the legal status of women upon their husband's deaths. Quite extensive research has been carried out on the legal status of widows in various Western European countries.[1] For Eastern Europe, most of the existing research is hardly accessible because of linguistic reasons. For example, although important research has been carried out on the status of women, including widows, in Lithuania,[2] it remains largely unknown outside the country. In fact,

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[1] For a good bibliography on the research on widows and widowhood in Europe, see S. Cavallo and L. Warner, ed., *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman, 1999).

[2] The legal status of widows, among other issues, is researched by I. Valikonytė, S. Lazutka and V. Andriulis: I. Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių, atspindinčių moterų padėtį, šaltiniai" (Sources for some of the articles of the *First Lithuanian Statute,* concerning the status of women), *Jaunųjų istorikų darbai* 1 (1976): 29–40; [S. Lazutka and I. Valikonytė] С. Лазутка и И. Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины (матери, жены, дочери, сестры) привилегированного сословия по Литовскому Статуту" (The property status of a woman [mother, wife, daughter, sister] of the privileged stratum according to the *Lithuanian Statutė*), *Lietuvos*

even in Lithuanian this field has not been exhausted yet—there are no recent works dedicated exclusively to the status of widows in Lithuania in the late medieval and the early modern period.

This article discusses one specific group of primary sources from the legal history of Lithuanian widows.[3] The primary sources which are discussed in this article have already been analysed to some degree in previous scholarship. They have never been translated into English, however. While the first major legal code, the *First Lithuanian Statute* of 1529 (FLS), has been published twice in English translation,[4] the minor legal sources have not received sufficient attention as yet. Furthermore, some recent publications of the different variants of the sources allow slightly different interpretations of some of the documents.

TSR aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai. Istorija 16/2 (1976): 74–103; [I. Valikonytė] И. Валиконите, *Социально-економическое и правовое положение женщин в Великом Княжестве Литовском (конец XV – первая половина XVI в.) и его отражение в Первом Литовском Статуте* (The socio-economic and legal status of women in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [from the end of the fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century] and its reflection in the *First Lithuanian Statute*), Ph. D. dissertation (Vilnius University, Vilnius, 1978); [I. Valikonytė] И. Валиконите, "I Литовский Статут – один из важнейших источников истории положения женщин в Великом Княжестве Литовском" (The *First Lithuanian Statute*: One of the most important sources of history of the status of women in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), in *Первый Литовский Статут 1529 года (материалы республиканской научной конференции, посвященной 450-летию Первого Статута)* (The *First Lithuanian Statute* of 1529: Materials of the scholarly conference of the Republic on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the *First Statute*), ed. J. Kubilius et al. (Vilnius: Lietuvos TRS aukštojo ir specialiojo vidurinio mokslo ministerija, 1982), 38–46; I. Valikonytė, "The *Venets* of Noblewomen in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 2 (1997): 97–107; V. Andriulis, *Lietuvos Statutų (1529, 1566, 1588 m.) šeimos teisė* (Family law of the Lithuanian Statutes [1529, 1566, 1588]) (Vilnius: Teisinės informacijos centras, 2003).

[3] Currently I am working on a PhD dissertation "Widows, Family Property and Law in Sixteenth Century Lithuania." The dissertation concentrates on the legal status of widows regarding family property matters. The research is based on the analysis of the normative law (such as ducal privileges, the decrees of the Council of Lords, the *First Lithuanian Statute* of 1529 (FLS) and the *Second Lithuanian Statute* of 1566) and legal practice (judicial records from the *Lithuanian Metrica*, the collection of the records of the chancery of the GDL) and aims to examine, on the one hand, the interaction of the normative law and legal practice, and on the other hand, the legal rights of widows and their behaviour and position in court.

[4] *Lithuanian Statute of 1529*, ed. and tr. K. von Loewe (Studies in East European History, vol. 20) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), republished, with a more extensive introduction, in *Lietuvos Statutas – The Statute of Lithuania – Statuta Lituaniae, 1529*, ed. and tr. K. von Loewe and E. Gudavičius (Vilnius: Artlora, 2002).

Widows in Lithuanian Legislation

The FLS of 1529 presents a fully developed system of norms regarding the legal status of widows and their property rights—although further refinement of this system occurred later on, all the basic provisions are already there. There appear to be three major factors which determined the property status of widows: 1) the financial provisions in connection to the marriage, 2) the marital status (remarriage or no remarriage), and 3) parental status (no children, minor children, adult children). The most important factor in the FLS is the presence or absence of financial provisions. If a dower contract had been made, a widow was entitled to the dower regardless of her marital or parental status. If there was no dower contract, there were certain legal provisions granting the rights of widows, but their status was much more complicated. Non-dowered widows were not entitled to keep any of their previous husband's property upon remarriage, while for those who stayed unmarried their position depended on the number and ages of their children. The system found in the FLS did not appear out of nowhere; it was based on earlier normative legislation and on legal practice, which in turn reflected the norms of customary law and foreign practices. This article concentrates on one particular group of normative legal documents, applicable to the whole of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL), whose contents were enshrined in law before 1529 and which were to a great extent the basis of the FLS: land privileges.[5]

Land privileges, which are the earliest surviving written forms of Lithuanian legislation, first appeared at the end of the fourteenth century. The privileges created a rather small but important group of legal documents, which, together with other legislation, regulated legal relations in the GDL during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They were the first step towards statutory law and legal codification,[6] and they had a certain influence on the FLS.[7] The privileges were a compromise between the noblemen and the ruler, who needed their support in the internal and external politics of the time. In time these

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[5] In this article I omit another group of privileges, granted to separate provinces of the GDL and valid only in these specific provinces, which had much less, if any, influence on the FLS, at least regarding the status of widows. I also omit the decree of the Council of Lords of 1509, which deserves more attention than I can give it in an article of this scope.

[6] J. Machovenko, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teisės šaltiniai: mokomoji priemonė* (Legal Sources of the Great Duchy of Lithuania: A Schoolbook) (Vilnius: Justitia, 2000), 11.

[7] The analysis of the influence of the privileges on the FLS is presented in S. Lazutka and E. Gudavičius, "I Lietuvos Statuto šaltinių klausimu" (About the question of the sources of the *First Lithuanian Statute*), *Istorija* 11 (1970): 149–175.

privileges granted the nobility more and more extensive rights and a greater role in ruling the state.[8]

Out of seven land privileges issued before the FLS came into effect in 1529,[9] six—from the years 1387, 1413, 1434, 1447, 1492 and 1506—give some details about the status of widows. As regards the legal status of widows, the land privileges reveal a steady process of defining these rights in more and more detail. Although in general they touch upon only a few aspects of the property status of widows, there is a traceable development of putting various legal norms regarding widows into writing,[10] as will be demonstrated in this article. In the land privileges, there are two basic types of laws on widows; one group of laws concerns the property status of widows and the other defines their freedom to choose a remarriage partner. This article addresses only the first of the two groups: the property status.

The Land Privilege of 1387

The first known land privilege, the privilege of 1387, which defines the rights of the Catholic nobility of the GDL, is also the first legal document which addresses the position of widows:[11]

Concedimus etiam et donamus eisdem armigeris plenam et omnimodam potestatem, ut natas ipsorum, neptes et quaslibet faemellas in confinitate ipsis iunctas maritis tradant libere et viduas, ritum in talibus catholicum observantes. Cum autem natam, neptem vel cognatam alicuius eorundem armigerorum post obitum sui mariti relictam seu viduam fieri contingerit,

Furthermore, we grant and donate full and all-embracing power to these same warriors, to freely give their daughters, female descendants and any other young women who are closely connected to them, as well as widows, to husbands observing the Catholic rite in such cases. Moreover, if a daughter, a female descendant or a kinswoman of some warriors should

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[8] Machovenko, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teisės šaltiniai*, 15, 18, and 20.

[9] There are 16 known land privileges in total. [I. Jakubovskij] И. Якубовский, "Земские привилегии Великого Княжества Литовского" (Land privileges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), *Журнал министерства народного просвещения* 346 (April 1903): part 1, 277–278; Machovenko, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teisės šaltiniai*, 15.

[10] The questions of the development of the legal system rather than those of the development of the written legal tradition have been investigated by numerous scholars, most recently by V. Andriulis and I. Valikonytė.

[11] Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 30–31.

illam in bonis seu possessionibus mariti sui manere volumus, quamdiu videlicet in toro permanserit viduali. Quae si ad secundas nuptias convolare voluerit, <ipsa marito, quem elegerit ducendum, tradetur,>[12] bonis et possessionibus huiusmodi circa pueros, si fuerint, si vero non, extunc circa proximiores eiusdem sui prioris mariti derelictis, prout et caeterae mulieres viduae in aliis terris Regni nostri maritantur.[13]

be left after the death of her husband, that is, widowed, then we want her to stay in the property, or the possessions of her husband, as long as she clearly remains in her widow's bed. If she wants to enter into a second marriage, she should be given to the husband that she chooses to marry, having left the property and the possessions of that sort to the children, if there are any—if not, then to the relatives of the previous husband, just like other widowed women who are married off in other lands of our kingdom.

The land privilege of 1387 defines the property status of widows in two different circumstances: in the event that the widow remains in the widow's seat and in the event that she remarries. The widow, according to this privilege, has only two extreme options: either to remain unmarried and keep the whole of the husband's property[14] or to remarry and be left with nothing. The privilege does

[12] "… ipsa, marito, quem elegerit, dotandum tradetur" in *Zbiór praw litewskich od roku 1389. do roku 1529. Tudzież rozprawy sejmove o tychże prawach od roku 1544. do roku 1563* (Collection of Lithuanian laws from 1389 to 1529. Also the decisions of the Diet regarding these laws from 1544 to 1563), ed. Działiński (Poznań: W drukarni na Garbarach Nr. 45, 1841), 2. Działiński's publication relies on the eighteenth-century Polish copy of the *Lithuanian Metrica* rather than the original. "Dotandum" seems to be a scribal error, since the expression "ducere maritum" is a regular phrase for "getting married" and it also appears in the same context in the land privilege of 1447 as "tradenda est marito cui nubendum duxerit" and the land privilege of 1492 as "ipsa, marito quem ducere elegerit, tradatur." In many publications, such as *Lietuvos TSR istorijos šaltiniai, I tomas: Feodalinis laikotarpis* (Historical sources of the Lithuanian SSR, vol. I: The Feudal Period), ed. K. Jablonskis et al. (Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1955), 57, Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 31, and Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų…*, 87, scholars had relied on Działiński's version, which resulted in some interesting interpretations of "dotandum" as a "share."

[13] *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga Nr. 25 (1387–1546), Užrašymų knyga 25* (The *Lithuanian Metrica*, Book No. 25 [1387–1546], Book of Inscriptions 25), ed. D. Antanavičius and A. Baliulis (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1998), 35–36.

[14] Although it is not stated explicitly in the privilege, Andriulis assumes that the widow keeps the *whole* of the deceased husband's property (Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų…*, 87), and

not bring into consideration the parental status of either the non-remarrying or remarrying widow; the absence or the presence of children does not seem to affect the widow's property status.

In general, the privilege seems to be discouraging the remarriage of widows. Such a norm makes a remarriage quite difficult, since the widow brings none of her husband's property to her new family, whereas, if she does not remarry, she keeps all of it. On the other hand, the remarriage of widows is clearly not prohibited, since the grand duke grants the nobility the right to marry off their widows, and widows are allowed, as long as they have the approval of the relatives, to choose their husbands.

The institution of dower as such was already known in Lithuania by the end of the fourteenth century.[15] According to Vytautas Andriulis, who is evidently using the variant of the text with *dotandum*, a remarrying widow is to be dowered by the new husband.[16] However, the variant of the text with *ducendum* definitely does not allow any similar reading. Irena Valikonytė notes that the land privilege of 1387 differs from all later privileges, and treats this difference as a change of norms: according to the privilege of 1387, a remarrying widow leaves with nothing, later on, in all subsequent privileges, she is guaranteed a dower.[17] Another possible solution is that the land privilege of 1387 and the subsequent privileges define two different, but coexisting, types of legal norms rather than indicate a change of norms. Although the institution of the dower was already known in the GDL by the end of the fourteenth century, this particular privilege defines the legal provisions[18] for a widow rather than any sort of contractual provisions,[19] while some of the later privileges, as will be demonstrated, concentrate exclusively on contractual (dower) issues. While according to the FLS contractual provisions come into effect immediately after the death of the husband, in the land privileges the contractual provisions become important only in the event of remarriage—if there is no remarriage, there is no difference between the legal and the contractual provisions.

Valikonytė's interpretation implies the same idea (Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 31).

[15] Лазутка и Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины," 81–82; Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 32–33.

[16] Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų…*, 87.

[17] Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 31.

[18] By legal provisions here I mean basic rights, guaranteed for all widows, enshrined in law and applicable without any special arrangements or agreements.

[19] By contractual provisions I mean the dower contract, which may modify the legal provisions for widows to a certain degree on an individual basis.

The Land Privilege of 1413

The land privilege of 1413 raises the following issues regarding the position of widows:

Similiter uxoribus suis, dotalitia in bonis et villis, quas ex successione paterna, vel concessione nostra perpetua, habuerint, vel fuerint habituri, poterint assignare, prout in regno Poloniae assignantur. Filias autem, sorores, consanguineas et affines suas, praefati barones et nobiles terrarum Lyttwaniae copulare poterint viris duntaxat catholicis, et tradere coniugio, iuxta beneplacitum eorum voluntatis, et iuxta consuetudinem regni Poloniae ab antique observatam.[20]	Similarly, for their wives they may assign dowers in property and estates, which they [i.e. the husbands] have or will have as [their] paternal inheritance or our everlasting grant, as is assigned in the Polish Kingdom. Moreover, the aforementioned lords and the nobles of the Lithuanian lands may unite their daughters, sisters, kinswomen and women related to them by marriage with men, that is to say, Catholics, and give them into marriage as they please and according to the custom of the Polish Kingdom observed from the old times.

The property status of widows is defined in the land privilege of 1413 completely differently from the way in which it is defined in the land privilege of 1387, since the privilege of 1387 presents the legal provisions for supporting widows, while the privilege of 1413 introduces contractual provisions—the concept of dower. According to Valikonytė, it is the first legal act in Lithuanian context which contains the term *dotalicium* (dower).[21]

The privilege allows husbands to assign not only movable, but also immovable property as dower for their wives (*dotalitia in bonis et villis*).[22] What is significant here is that the types of land from which the dower should be assigned are defined; it could be assigned both from the paternal inheritance (*succesione paterna*) and from the property received from the ruler (*concessione perpetua*). If the land privilege of 1387 gave the nobility the right to dispose of their hereditary property to a certain degree, the land privilege of 1413 gave the nobility the right to dispose of the donations of the ruler (admittedly, with the

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[20] *Zbiór praw*, 13.

[21] Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 31, note 11.

[22] I. Valikonytė et al., *Pirmasis Lietuvos Statutas, 1529* (The First Lithuanian Statute, 1529) (Vilnius: Vaga, 2001), 285.

permission of the latter).[23] The purchased property, is not, however, mentioned here. According to Andriulis, there were no restrictions regarding purchased property, and the dower could be assigned from purchased property.[24]

Another important detail is that this privilege explains how the dower should be calculated; it says that the dower should be assigned from the property which the noblemen have or will have (*habuerint, vel fuerint habituri*). This means that the dower is calculated from the amount of the husband's property owned by him at the time of death and not from the original amount owned by him at the time of marriage. The result of such a regulation, the size of the dower being related to the size of the final amount of property, would mean that widows' property status depended on the economic success of their husbands during their lifetimes.[25]

The privilege does not, however, specify the circumstances under which the widow was entitled to the dower. There are no grounds to suspect that the circumstances of receiving the dower were different from those defined in the later privileges, that is, that the dower was given to a widow upon her remarriage.

One more feature which deserves some attention is the reference to the laws of the Polish Kingdom. References to Polish law occur in most of the privileges analysed in this paper. From the texts of these privileges it appears that the institution of the dower, together with some other norms, was borrowed from Polish law. According to Lazutka and Valikonytė, the formation

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[23] S. Vansevičius, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valstybiniai-teisiniai institutai (pagal 1529, 1566 ir 1588 m. Lietuvos Statutus)* (State and legal institutions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania according to the Lithuanian Statutes of 1529, 1566 and 1588) (Vilnius: Mintis, 1981), 12–13.

[24] V. Andriulis, "Sutuoktinių turtinių santykių reguliavimas įkraičio (вено) sutartimi 1588 m. Lietuvos Statute" (Regulation of property relationships of spouses in the contract of dower in the *Lithuanian Statute* of 1588), *Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos darbai, A serija* (*Visuomenės mokslai*) 52/3 (1975): 42.

[25] The privilege does not say anything about the time of signing the contract. According to Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų…*, 104, the records of legal practice imply that the dower could be assigned either before or at any point during marriage. But in FLS IV/8 the bride's father is already urged to arrange the dower contract before the marriage, and FLS V/[11]10 protects the wife's dower during the marriage. When the amount of the dower is not specified, as here, or when it is defined as one third of the husband's property, as in the decree of the Council of Lords of 1509, the time of assigning the dower does not really matter. But if the dower is assigned as a specific amount of money (FLS IV/[1] states that the dower should be double the size of the dowry), the time of calculating the dower becomes crucial for the size of the dower.

of the institution of the dower could have been influenced by Ruthenian and Polish law, but essentially appeared in Lithuanian customs as a result of similar social circumstances rather than because of foreign influences.[26] The Polish influence could have only accelerated the development of the institution of dower in Lithuania.[27]

The function of the dower in Lithuania, as in other countries, was to provide for women in their widowhood. Although it is not explained in any of the land privileges, from the later legislation it appears that the securing the dower was in the interests of the bride's family, and the duty of requesting a dower lay with a woman's father.[28]

The land privilege of 1413, like the privilege of 1387, leaves many aspects of the widow's property status undefined. It is a significant document insofar as it introduces the institution of dower into the normative law and describes how to calculate it. The fact that the dower could be assigned in immovable property is of particular importance, since it reinforced[29] the right of widows to own immovable property.[30]

The Land Privilege of 1434

The land privilege of 1434 further specifies the property status of widows:

Si autem aliquem predictorum principum et boiarorum ab hac luce decedere contingat, uxor manens in sede	And if any of the aforementioned dukes or boyars leaves this world, the wife, left in the widow's seat, stays in

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[26] For a detailed analysis of influences from and parallels with Polish, Ruthenian, Russian and Prussian laws, see the following: Лазутка и Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины," 81–84; Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 32–34; Lazutka and Gudavičius, "I Lietuvos Statuto šaltinių klausimu," 165. For the status of women in Poland, see, for example, M. Koczerska, *Rodzina szlachecka w Polsce późnego średniowiecza* (The Noble Family in Late Medieval Poland) (Warsaw, 1975), and M. Bogucka, *Women in Early Modern Polish Society, against the European Background* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) (the latter work includes an overview of Polish literature on women).

[27] Valikonytė et al., *Pirmasis Lietuvos Statutas*, 287.

[28] FLS IV/8.

[29] According to Lazutka and Gudavičius, "I Lietuvos Statuto šaltinių klausimu," 162, Lithuanian girls and widows had the right to dispose of property from much earlier, but they do not specify if they mean *immovable* property.

[30] According to Лазутка и Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины," 81, and Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 30, the right of women in general to inherit immovable property is first recorded in the land privilege of 1447.

viduali, in bonis paternis mariti sui permanebit, serviciis nostris et nostrorum successorum non diminutis. Si vero voluerit ad secundas convolare nupcias, dotalicio per maritum designato gaudebit, bona paterna liberis legitimis ipsius mortui relinquendo. Si vero pueri non fuerint, extunc germani fratres hereditaria bona possidebunt, serviciis nostris et successorum nostrorum similiter semper in omnibus salvis.[31]

the paternal property of the husband, without reducing the services to us and our descendants. But if she wants to enter into a second marriage, she enjoys the dower assigned to her by her husband, leaving the paternal property for the legitimate children of the deceased. And if there be no children, then the brothers hold the hereditary property, likewise always maintaining all services to us and our descendants.

The land privilege of 1434 repeats the point which was first raised in the land privilege of 1387, that widows may hold the property of their deceased husbands if they do not remarry. However, the privilege of 1434, unlike the privilege of 1387, defines the situation of the dowered widows. It appears that in the fifteenth century the status of the dowered and the non-dowered non-remarrying widows was the same—they were entitled to stay in the deceased husband's property—with contractual provisions modifying widow's property status only in the event of remarriage.

In the land privilege of 1413 the conditions of receiving a dower are not specified. The land privilege of 1434 specifies that the dower should be given to the widow in the case of remarriage. The rest of the property goes to her children or, in the absence of children, to the brothers of her deceased husband.

This privilege, besides defining the status of non-remarrying and remarrying widows, also states that duties must be continued to be provided from the property held by widows. It appears from this statement that the widows were entitled to run the property on the same grounds as men.

Again, like the land privilege of 1387 and the land privilege of 1413, this privilege does not address many aspects of widows' property status. It contributes, however, two further details for a fuller definition, namely, that widows have to perform state services from the property which they keep and that the dower is given to widows in the event of remarriage, the widows otherwise being entitled to stay in the whole of the husband's property.

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[31] *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 14: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3 (1392–1501), ed. A. Lewicki (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1894), appendix, no. 22, 530.

The Land Privilege of 1447

The land privilege of 1447 contains the following article regarding the status of widows:

Original Latin version	**Contemporary Ruthenian translation**	**Translation**
Item quando aliquem Principum, Baronum, Nobilium, et Civium predictorum, ab hac luce decedere contigerit, exunc viduam in bonis seu possessionibus mariti sui volumus remanere, quamdiu in sede permanserit viduali: que si ad secundas nupcias convolare voluerit, ipsa marito, quem ducendum eligerit [sic!], tradatur; pueris tamen in bonis et possessionibus paternis, si fuerint: sin autem, proximioribus eiusdem mariti prioris, derelictis: prout et cetere vidue Regni Polonie maritantur. Si vero prior maritus, in prefatis bonis et possessionibus suis, aliquod eidem uxori sue dotalicium assignaverit, et de eo sufficienter probare potuerit, illo secundum ordinem iuris recepto, cui voluerit, nubat in dominio.[32]	А такожъ, коли некоторому князю, ⁀рытеру⁀, шляхтичю и местичу съ того света пригодилося бы изыйти, тогды удову у-въ именьи мужа ея оставити хочомъ, такъ долго, какъ долго будеть на столци вдовьемъ седети: ажь, пакъ, коли которая усхочеть къ другой свадбе приити, ⁀маеть быти дана, когожъ выбереть⁀. А дети ажь будуть первого мужа, въ ⁀именьи⁀ имають остати: ажь, пакъ, не будеть детей первого мужа, ино ближнимъ именье первого мужа, якожъ и иныи удовы у коруне Польской ⁀держать⁀. Ажь первый мужъ у предреченомъ ⁀именьи⁀ своемъ своей жене некоторое вено запишеть, а она можеть	Also, when any aforementioned duke, ⁀lord,⁀[34] nobleman or townsman happens to pass away from this life, then we want the widow to stay in the property of her husband as long as she continues to be in the widow's seat; if she wants to enter into a second marriage, ⁀she is handed over to the husband whom she has chosen to marry;⁀[35] however, the children, if there are any, and if not, then the relatives of her previous husband, are left in the ⁀paternal property and possessions:⁀[36] just as also other widows of the Polish Kingdom ⁀are married off.⁀[37] If the previous husband has assigned to his wife something in the aforementioned ⁀property and possessions⁀[38] as a dower, and she can suf-

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[32] *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vol. 1, ed. L. Rzyszczewski and A. Muczkowski (Warsaw: Drukiem Stanisława Strąbskiego, 1847), no. CLXXXVIII, 336.

| того досветчити: тогды, подлугъ ᵀобычаа права, кому усхочеть тому полецить>.[33] | ficiently prove that, then, according ᵀto the accepted law, she marries whomever she wishes, with her property.>[39] |

As regards the property status of widows, this privilege introduces little that is new. According to this privilege, as also according to the land privilege of 1434,[40] widows are allowed to keep the deceased husbands' property if they do not remarry. In the event of remarriage, dowered widows receive the dower, and the rest of the property goes to the sons (in the Ruthenian version children) of the deceased husband, and, in their absence, to the relatives of the deceased husband. According to Andriulis, the privilege of 1447 contains the norm of 1387 as regards the non-dowered widows, and the norms of 1434 as regards the dowered widows,[41] since it includes both the statement that non-dowered widows leave with nothing and the statement that the dowered widows get their dower in the case of remarriage. Thus, it is the first document which combines both the legal provisions and the contractual provisions available for widows.

A new detail in this privilege is that the widow is expected to "sufficiently prove" that she has been assigned a dower. This might be a sign that the dower was gaining firmer ground in regulating the family property relationships and that the contractual provisions for the wellbeing of a widow were becoming more clearly separated from the legal provisions.

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[33] *Акты, относящиеся к истории Западной России, собранные и изданные Археографическою коммиссиею. Том первый. 1340–1506* (Acts concerning the history of Western Russia, collected and published by the Archeographical Commission, vol. 1, 1340–1506) (St. Petersburg: Типография II Отделения Собственной Е. И. В. Канцелярии, 1846), 75.

[34] Ruthenian "knights."

[35] Ruthenian "then she may be given to whomever she chooses."

[36] Ruthenian simply "property."

[37] Ruthenian "keep it."

[38] Ruthenian simply "property."

[39] Ruthenian "to the custom of law, she entrusts [her property] to whomever she wishes." This variant comes from a Pilot Book of the beginning of the sixteenth century (*Акты, относящиеся к истории Западной России*, vol. 1, 75). The version, coming from the manuscript collection called Dzialiński Codex, published in *Zbiór praw*, 32, says "majet sia otdati s kim chotiaczi" ("may give herself to whomever she wishes").

[40] According to Lazutka and Gudavičius, "I Lietuvos Statuto šaltinių klausimu," 161, this privilege, together with the privilege of 1387, was the source of the privilege of 1447.

[41] Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų…*, 88.

This privilege reveals that widows had the right to dispose of their dower freely.[42] In the Latin version, a widow "marries whomever she wishes, with her property." In the Ruthenian version, she "entrusts [her property] to whomever she wishes." The Latin version seems to suggest only that the widow is entitled to give her dower to her new husband, while the Ruthenian version implies the freedom to manage it freely.

The land privilege of 1447 does not mention the obligation of widows to perform state military service, which was recorded in the land privilege of 1434, but there are no reasons to suspect that this obligation was cancelled in the interim, especially since it reappears in the land privilege of 1492. Many aspects of the economic status of widows still remain unaddressed by this land privilege. Although not introducing many new data regarding the economic status of widows, this privilege serves as a template for many of the later privileges, both those given to the whole land[43] and those given to the provinces.[44]

The Land Privilege of 1492

The land privilege of 1492 gives essentially the same information as that found in the land privilege of 1447,[45] and repeats the requirement for widows to fulfil state military service from the land that they hold, which is first found in the land privilege of 1434. However, it also introduces one new point:

Item quando aliquem Principum, Baronum, Nobilium, et Civium predictorum, ex hac luce decedere contingat, extunc viduam in bonis seu possessionibus mariti sui volumus relinquere, seu remanere, quamdiu in sede permanserit viduali: que si ad secundas nupcias transire voluerit,	Also, when any aforementioned duke, lord, nobleman or townsman happens to pass away from this life, then we want the widow to remain, or stay, in the property or possessions of her husband as long as she continues to be in the widow's seat; if she wants to go to a second marriage, she is

[42] Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų…*, 114.

[43] Лазутка и Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины," 81; Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 31.

[44] Lazutka and Gudavičius, "I Lietuvos Statuto šaltinių klausimu," 161, also see its influence on the decree of 1509 and the FLS.

[45] According to Якубовский, "Земские привилегии," part 1, 273, the privilege of 1492 repeats word for word the privilege of 1447 and has 20 new articles as well. Indeed, the differences are few and insignificant as regards the meaning of the privilege. See also Лазутка и Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины," 81 and Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 31.

ipsa marito, quem ducere elegerit, tradatur; pueris tamen in bonis et possessionibus paternis, si fuerint: sin autem, propinquioribus eiusdem mariti prioris, derelictis: prout et cetere vidue maritantur. Si vero prior maritus, in prefatis bonis et possessionibus suis, aliquod eidem uxori sue dotalicium assignaverit et de eo sufficienter probare poterit, illo secundum ordinem juris recepto, cui uoluerit, nubat in dominio.[46]

handed over to the husband whom she has chosen to marry; however, the children, if there are any—and if not, then the relatives of her previous husband—are left in the paternal property and possessions, just as other widows are also married off. If the previous husband has assigned to his wife something in the aforementioned property and possessions as a dower, and she can sufficiently prove that, then, according to the accepted law, she may marry whomever she wishes, with her property.

Item, vidue, que remanserunt in bonis haereditarijs post mortem maritorum, ad servicia terrestria et bellicas expeditiones, iuxta facultatem possessionum, obligabuntur.[47]

Also, widows who remain in the hereditary property after the husbands' death are obliged to [undertake] land service and war expeditions according to the resources of the possessions.

Item si aliqua virgo aut vidua, voluerit nubere ad alienas partes extra Magnum Ducatum Lithvanie etc., expedicione ac dote recepta, bona hereditaria hic relinquat, ad eaque intromittere se non debebit.[48]

Also, if some girl or a widow wishes to be married off to foreign regions outside the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, having received the travel money and a dowry, she leaves hereditary property, into which she cannot be introduced, here.

The property status of widows according to this privilege remains the same as described in the land privileges of 1434 and 1447. It seems that for nearly sixty years the legal status of widows remained essentially the same—or at least there were few changes in the normative law.

The land privilege of 1492 introduces one new restriction regarding the property status of women, including widows.[49] It establishes that any girl or widow who is to be married off abroad has to be satisfied with a dowry and not

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[46] *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vol. 1, no. CXCIV, 347.

[47] *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vol. 1, no. CXCIV, 350.

[48] *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vol. 1, no. CXCIV, 351.

[49] Lazutka and Gudavičius, "I Lietuvos Statuto šaltinių klausimu," 162.

claim the inherited property. This new article raises several questions connected to the property status of widows. First of all, from this article it appears that remarrying widows were entitled to a dowry. This statement does not correspond to any of the earlier known norms. One explanation could be the lack of precise terminology, which implies the lack of precise distinction between the institutions of the dowry and the dower.[50] Thus, it is possible that here *dos* refers to any property received either by a girl getting married for the first time or by a remarrying widow.

Another important point of the privilege is the restriction barring those women who are married off abroad from holding immovable property. This regulation reflects the attempt of the Lithuanian nobility to protect themselves against the efforts of the Poles to acquire Lithuanian lands.[51] It is also one of the signs (although maybe not the primary concern under these circumstances) of the general tendency of restricting women's rights to immovable property.

The Land Privilege of 1506

The land privilege of 1506 offers less information regarding the legal status of widows than is found in the earlier privileges, since it mainly confirms the previous privileges without repeating their contents.[52] The only article regarding the status of widows found in the land privilege of 1506 most likely refers to the article of the land privilege of 1492 regarding the status of women who get married to foreigners:

Illae autem faeminae haeredes, virgines et viduae, quae nupserint alienigenis, conservabuntur juxta jura provinciae scripta.[53]

Also, those heiresses, girls and widows who are married off to foreigners are treated according to the written laws of the province.

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[50] That inconsistency of the terminology for dower may be demonstrated on the texts of the already quoted privileges: the land privileges of 1413 and 1434 refer to the dower as "dotalicium," while the land privilege of 1447 uses "dos" (translated as "вено" in Ruthenian).

[51] I. Valikonytė, "Ar Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVI a. moteris buvo pilietė," *Lietuvos istorijos studijos* 2 (1994): 65.

[52] Якубовский, "Земские привилегии," part 1, 273.

[53] *Zbiór praw*, 96.

Jurgita Kunsmanaitė

Conclusion

As may be seen from this analysis of the land privileges issued prior to 1529, few norms regarding the status of widows are found there. However, the privileges outline the most important family property law features regarding widows; the difference between the legal provisions and the contractual provisions is clarified, and the main features of the statuses of remarried and non-remarried widows are recorded.

The legal provisions for widows are defined in the very first land privilege, that of 1387. The next two land privileges, those of 1413 and 1434, present the main principles of the contractual provisions. The privilege of 1447 presents both the legal and the contractual provisions. The privilege of 1492 incorporates most of the norms of the earlier privileges. The privilege of 1506 does not introduce any new points. In many documents the same information frequently reappears, which demonstrates the continuity of the legal tradition.

To summarise the property status of widows as reflected in the land privileges of the fifteenth century, the following picture emerges. If we accept that the dower concept as such was already known to Lithuanians from the late fourteenth century, there were no changes in the norms regarding widows—the already existing norms were slowly being put down in writing, probably more or less in the order of their significance for the given circumstances. According to the legal provisions, a widow was entitled to stay in her husband's property as long as she did not remarry, and in the case of remarriage she was left with nothing. According to the rules for contractual arrangements, a widow would keep the whole of her husband's property if she did not remarry and receive her dower, of undefined size, upon remarriage. Thus, the main function of the dower was to provide for widows who remarried.

After the widow's death, depending on her parental status, her property was to go either to her children or to the relatives of the husband. The importance of the number or ages of children is not, however, mentioned in any of the privileges. Besides these provisions, the widow, staying in the husband's estates, was obliged to perform the land service from the property under her management and was not allowed to keep any immovable property if she was married off abroad. None of the privileges explain whether the dower became the property of a widow or whether it was hers only with usufruct rights.

The land privileges pay the most attention to the property status of remarrying widows. The financial arrangements connected to marriage—that is, being dowered or non-dowered—became important only if widows decided to remarry. This is understandable; it was much more important to define the

situation of remarrying widows since a remarriage meant terminating the relationship between the widow and her previous husband's family.

The legal status of Lithuanian widows as regards their property in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century was similar to that of widows elsewhere in Europe. Since the land privileges do not reflect all aspects of the property status of widows in Lithuania, however, the comparison between Lithuania and other European countries may be only partial. In some countries widows received some dower under similar conditions to those in Lithuania. In other countries the importance of the dower was less significant. Dowry or other kinds of female property played the main role in providing for widowhood, but even there an option of giving some property to a widow for her use within her lifetime was not unknown. In most countries widows were entitled to some provisions by law and could receive some additional property through private property arrangements. Generally, the main change in widows' property status occurred upon remarriage, normally resulting in some loss of property.

Land privileges, together with the decree of the Council of Lords of 1509 and court practice, were the source of the articles of the FLS regarding the property status of widows.[54] In comparison with the system developed in the FLS, the land privileges are not very informative, but they were a necessary stepping stone in the development of normative law in Lithuania.

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[54] Лазутка и Валиконите, "Имущественное положение женщины," 83, 84; Valikonytė, "Kai kurių I Lietuvos Statuto straipsnių…," 32.

INTRODUCTION TO THE *PALEYA*.
MEDIEVAL ORTHODOX WRITINGS
ON THE OLD TESTAMENT[1]

Alen Novalija 📥

This article gives an introduction to the *Paleya* genre in all its varieties, the reasons for its existence, its function, target audience, and diffusion. A brief overview of scholarly research on the *Paleya* is also presented.

What is the *Paleya*?

In the medieval Slavia Orthodoxa, the *Paleya* (also spelled *Paleja*, *Palaea*, or *Palaia*) was a common name for a kind of writing that dealt with the Old Testament—either retelling it or interpreting it or both. The name itself comes from the Greek παλαιά [διαθήκη]—"Old [Testament]," and this was indeed one of the names by which the Slavs, too, called the books of the Old Covenant, especially the Pentateuch and the Octateuch themselves (the latter sometimes combined with four books of Kingdoms).[2]

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[1] This article is a shortened and adapted version of my MA thesis, "The World Through the Eyes of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*: The Story of Original Sin in the Hilandar Manuscript," (Budapest: Central European University, 2005), written under the super-vision of Prof. Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis. The thesis contains fuller argumentation, references and an edited and translated chapter of the *Tolkovaya Paleya* with a commentary and detailed description of the nearly forgotten Hilandar manuscript. An electronic copy of the thesis is available at the Hilandar Research Library, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

[2] See В. Истрин [V. Istrin], *Очерк истории древнерусской литературы домосковского периода* (An Overview of the Old Russian Literature of the Pre-Muscovite Period) (Petrograd, 1922; reprint: Moscow: Academia, 2003), 270 (hereafter: Истрин 1922 [2003]), and Б. Ангелов [B. Angelov], *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература* (From the Old Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian Literatures), vol. 3. (Sofia: Издателство на Българската академия на науките, 1978), 167, although the latter reference is rather vague. In the Western tradition, books of Kingdoms are styled 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, but I shall refer to them as 1–4 Kingdoms, as some writings dealing with Byzantine and Orthodox culture do, retaining the Septuagint tradition.

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The Proto-Paleya

Due to the testimonies of various medieval Slavic compilations (such as *Kaaf* and *Yatsimirsky's Miscellany*), which claimed to borrow some of their material from the *Interpretative [Tolkovaya] Paleya* or *Paleya With Interpretation*, some nineteenth-century scholars supposed the existence of a purely interpretative writing that initiated the *Paleya* genre as such. V. M. Istrin[3] drew a persuasive conclusion that the *Paleya* referred to was actually composed of excerpts from Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Questions (and Answers) on the Octateuch*.[4] In Istrin's opinion, Theodoret's *Interpretative Paleya* (or *The Interpretation of the Old Testament*) was undoubtedly one of the chief sources for the later *Interpretative Paleya* of Slavic origin, and it even gave the title to the latter.

Some other works occasionally called Paleya

The name *Paleya* has also been given to some other works different in form or scope. In 1415 the translation of all four books of Kingdoms was done for Despot Stefan Lazarević under the title *Paleya*,[5] apparently in the same tradition of calling almost any work that deals with the Old Testament a *Paleya*. In addition, it seems that a kind of the *Hexaemeron*—the interpretation of the six days of creation—received the same designation in some manuscripts.[6]

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[3] See В. М. Истрин [V. M. Istrin,] *Замечания о составе Толковой палеи* (Notes on the Structure of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*) 2 (St. Petersburg: Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук, 1897), esp. 877–880 (hereafter: Истрин, *Замечания*).

[4] Published in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 80. In fact, only a few months after making this speculation, Istrin found a nice confirmation in the *Catena Aurea* (Чепь златая) of Trinity-St. Sergius Laura, which overtly quotes "[from] Theodoret's [work] on the Interpretation of the Old Testament," ("Θеодоритово отъ толкованія палея"). Истрин, *Замечания* 3, 512.

[5] See Ђ. Trifunović, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova* (Dictionary of Serbian Medieval Literary Terms) (Beograd: Vuk Karadžić, 1974) (henceforth: Trifunović 1974).

[6] Cited thus in the manuscript Shchuk. 465 - 8° of the Library of the Moscow Historical Museum. This is the only copy I have examined, but I have not found anything about such a designation in scholarly literature.

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The Historical Paleya

Besides these variants of secondary importance, there are three basic types of *Paleya.*[7] The *Historical Paleya* retells the content of the Old Testament (with some apocryphal interpolations and short explanations), but does not try as much to interpret it. It is an abbreviated exposition of Old Testament history up to King David's census (i.e., to the end of the 2 Kingdoms [2 Samuel]).[8] A. Popov, the first publisher of the Slavic translation, analysing the sources for this *Paleya,* points out it could not been written before the ninth century (as it quotes St. Theodore Studites, who died in 826), but refrains from suggesting a more precise date. As a grammatical analysis clearly shows, the Slavonic translation was done very early—at the latest in twelfth-century Bulgaria.[9] Some scholars opt for an even earlier date of translation—not later than the first quarter of the

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[7] This differentiation was made for the first time by V. Istrin and K. Istomin (see В. Истрин, "Редакции Толковой Палеи," [Redactions of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*] *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук 10* (1905): Vol. 4, 135–203; 11 (1906), Vol. 1, 1–43; Vol. 2, 20–61; Vol. 3, 418–450 [hereafter: Истрин 1906], and К. Истомин, "К вопросу о редакциях Толковой Палеи," [On the Redactions of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*] *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук 5* (1905): Vol. 1, 147–184; 11 (1906): Vol. 1, 337–374; 13 (1908): Vol. 4,: 290–343; 18 (1913): Vol. 1,: 87–172 [henceforth: Истомин 1905–13]) at the beginning of the twentieth century, but until then researchers styled all kinds of *Paleya* simply as the *Tolkovaya Paleya.* Even today, there are many articles (particularly in encyclopaedias and dictionaries) which do not make a clear difference among *Paleya*s.

[8] This holds true for most copies, but the Krušedolski manuscript, for instance, also has a chapter on King Uzziah according to 2 Chronicles 26. Greek manuscripts of the *Historical Paleya,* varying considerably in content, also have passages on the demon Asmodeus, the prophets Daniel and Habakkuk, and some other passages omitted in Slavic copies. For comparison of contents, see М. Сперанский [M. Speransky], "Югославянские тексты –'Исторической Палеи' и русские ее тексты" (South Slavic Texts of the *Historical Paleya* and Its Russian Texts) *Из истории русско-славянских литературных связей* (Moscow: Издательство министерства просвещения РСФСР, 1960, 104–145. Original edition: Belgrade, *Споменик* 16, 1892, 1–15) (henceforth: Сперанский 1892).

[9] For the critical edition and dating, see *Книга бытия небеси и земли – Палея Историческая* (The Book of the Genesis of Heaven and Earth – the Historical Paleya), ed. А. Н. Попов [A. N. Popov] (Moscow: Имераторское общество истории и древностей российских при Московском университете, 1881), esp. xxii–xxxii (hereafter: Попов, *Книга бытия*). The Greek edition in А. В. Васильев [A. V. Vasilev], *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina, Pars Prior* (Moscow: Московский университет, 1893).

eleventh century.[10] There were three different translations of the Greek original into Church Slavonic: Western Bulgarian, Serbian, and Middle Bulgarian (spread in Moldova).[11] Manuscripts of the *Historical Paleya* usually bear the title *The Book of the Genesis of Heaven and Earth* (Книга бытия небеси и земли) or *The Eyes of the Paleya* (Очи палейныя), and date from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

The *Historical Paleya* gave rise to the special *Abbreviated Paleya of Russian Redaction*.[12] This type, although it includes a considerable number of additional apocryphal stories, can still be regarded as a historical *Paleya*. Indeed, sometimes it retells in detail minor events totally omitted by the longer *Historical Paleya* (e.g., a detailed account of prophet Samuel's life). It is interesting that, now and then, it uses folk narrative techniques. Popov's edition ends with the capturing of the Ark of the Covenant by the Philistines (1 Kingdoms [1 Samuel] 5:2), but the end of the manuscript is lost.[13] In this mutilated form, it is approximately half the length of the unabbreviated *Historical Paleya*. Popov's edition is based on a sixteenth-century manuscript. There were also some Serbian attempts to create an abbreviated *Historical Paleya*.[14]

The Tolkovaya (Interpretative) Paleya

This *Paleya* is much broader in scope, with pretensions to encyclopaedic knowledge. The earliest incomplete codex is from the fourteenth century and the earliest complete from 1406, copied in Kolomna (near Moscow) by a certain

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[10] See Т. Сумникова [T. Sumnikova] "К проблеме перевода Исторической палеи" (About the Problem of the Translation of the *Historical Paleya*), in *Изучение русского языка и источниковедение*, ed. В. Ф. Дубровина [V. F. Dubrovina] (Moscow: Наука, 1969), 27–30; Т. Славова [T. Slavova] "Архивският хронограф и Тълкновата Палея" (The *Archival Chronograph* and the *Tolkovaya Paleya*) *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 48 (1994/4), 48–63 (henceforth: Славова 1994).

[11] See Сперанский 1892, although É. Turdeanu does not agree and supposes only one Western Bulgarian translation; see É. Turdeanu, "La *Palaea* Byzantine chez les Slaves du Sud et chez les Roumains," *Revue des Études Slaves* 40 (1964), 195–206.

[12] Also published as an appendix to Попов, *Книга бытия*, from a sixteenth century miscellany of Novgorod provenance.

[13] This is a proof that the *Paleya*, even in its shortest form, cannot be styled "Octateuch," as some uninformed writers do (see, e.g., Д. Петканова [D. Petkanova], *Старобългарска литература, Енциклопедичен речник* [Old Bulgarian Literature: An Encyclopedic Dictionary], Sofia: Петър Берон, 1992б entry "Палея").

[14] See Trifunović 1974.

Cosmas, but there are more than thirty-one other extant manuscripts.[15] It retells biblical history up to the reign of Solomon,[16] but adding many apocryphal stories—most prominent among them are those about Satanael, Abraham ("The Revelation of Abraham" and an account of how Abraham destroyed his father's idol workshop), "Jacob's Ladder," "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," and Moses—a few apocryphal details). Numerous explanations of natural phenomena, in the spirit of ancient and medieval natural science, are inserted throughout the text. The author describes the structure and functions of the human body, the soul-body relation, some traits of real (octopus, cuckoo, eel, seal, lion, snake) and mythical (alconost, phoenix) animals, the nature of fire and the atmosphere, twelve precious stones, and gives a table of connection between lunar and solar cycles. The *Tolkovaya Paleya* is not only descriptive, but also polemic writing. Besides some minor Christian theological disputes and a few attacks on the "dirty Muslim faith," it constantly debates with Jews and Judaism, frequently calling the attention of a fictitious Jewish listener—"O, (wretched) Jew"—to the fact of Christian truth and Jewish error.

The compiler in the beginning draws heavily on *Hexaemeron* of John the Exarch (which probably took its material from St. Basil's *Hexaemeron*) and Severian of Gabala, St. John Chrysostom's *Interpretation of the Genesis*, and also resorts to Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography*, St. Ephraem Syrus' *Exhortation* (*Parainesis*),[17] the *Revelation* of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara, and others. One of the sources is a hypothetical paraphrase of biblical history that included many apocryphal stories, and this writing was, it is suggested, the common source for the famous "Philosopher's Speech" incorporated into the *Tale of Bygone Years* (Повесть временных лет, under the year 986).[18]

It also handles material from the lives of the saints. In the chapter on the Fall it mentions several saints (Barbara, Tryphon, Abercius of Hierapolis) and

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[15] For the best list, see Т. Славова [T. Slavova], *Тълкновата Палея в контекста на старобългарската книжина* (The Tolkovaya Paley in the Context of Old Bulgarian Literature) (Sofia, Университетско издателство Св. Климент Охридски, 2002) (hereafter: Славова 2002).

[16] Not so in its earliest fourteenth-century copy, where it stops with the reign of Solomon's son Rehoboam, but the end of the manuscript has been lost, so the point to which it continued is unknown.

[17] A Slavic compilation of St. Ephraem's homilies, unknown in Greek in this form.

[18] О. В. Творогов [O. V. Tvorogov], "Летопись–Хроника–Палея: Взаимоотношение памятников и методика их исследования (Chronicle–Chronograph–*Paleya*: Interrelations of These Documents and Methods of Studying Them)," in *Армянская и русская средневековые литературы*, ed. Д. С. Лихачев [D. S. Likhachev] (Yerevan: Издательство Академии наук Армянской ССР, 1986), 19–30.

gives an account of the discovery of the Holy Cross by St. Helena, while in the section on the book of Judges it interpolates the story about St. George and the dragon.

There are two opposing tendencies in the narrative structure of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*: one is to ignore all side stories of the Old Testament—which make the Book so authentic—to concentrate on the main stream. This is done rather skillfully. However, the retelling is constantly interrupted with exegetical sections, which regularly leads into peculiar details and slows down the narration considerably. In spite of interruptions and the heterogeneous material it uses, the *Interpretative Paleya* maintains a remarkable degree of literary unity—unlike most early Slavic compilations—and is regarded as a masterpiece of old East Slavic literature.

Several questions of primary importance have been disputed by scholars: Was the *Tolkovaya Paleya* compiled in Byzantium or by the Slavs? If by the Slavs, where—among the East or South Slavs?[19] When did it emerge? And finally—which redaction is older and the basis for the later one—the *Tolkovaya* or the *Chronographic*? (The latter type will be presented in the next section.)

Early researchers in the nineteenth century supposed that the *Tolkovaya Paleya* was a translation of a lost Greek original.[20] However, no one has ever discovered a Greek text that could remotely resemble the *Interpretative Paleya*. A. Mikhaylov showed that it doubtless used a previously existing Slavonic translation of Genesis (modifying it to serve special interpretative purposes),[21] while others have determined that the text made use exclusively of Slavic

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[19] There is also an isolated opinion about the Moravian origin of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*, expressed first by Shakhmatov (he claimed that the *Proto-Paleya* was composed by St. Methodius or his disciples), and now supported by V. Panayotov. See А. Шахматов [A. Shakhmatov], "Толковая Палея и русская летопись' (The *Tolkovaya Paleya* and Russian Chronicles)," *Статьи по славяноведению* 1 (1904), 199–272; В. Панайотов [V. Panayotov], "За редакциите на Тълковната Палея," (On Redactions of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*) in *Епископ-Константинови четения,* vol. 2 (Shumen: Университетско издателство "Епископ Константин Преславски," 1996), 256–260.

[20] E.g. В. Успенский [V. Uspensky], *Толковая Палея* (The *Tolkovaya Paleya*) (Kazan: Православный собеседник, 1876); Е. Голубинский [Ye. Golubinsky], *История Русской Церкви* (A History of the Russian Church) (Moscow: Московский университет, 1900–1911).

[21] А. Михайлов [A. Mikhaylov], "К вопросу о тексте книги Бытия пророка Моисея в Толковой Палее," *Варшавские университетские известия* 9 (1895): 1–35; 1 (1896): 1–23 (hereafter: Михайлов 1895–96).

translations throughout.[22] F. Thomson infers that the biblical texts used are, by and large, from the East Slavic redaction.[23] Some still suggest a very early (tenth century) Bulgarian origin,[24] while the majority accept an East Slavic provenance and much later date—thirteenth century—as is evident from an examination of its biblical text and some other characteristics.[25] As a matter of fact, the mere number of early Russian copies on the one hand, and (with only one exception of a later date) the practical non-existence of any of South Slavic manuscripts on the other can be accepted as a positive demonstration of East Slavic provenience, as A. Mikhaylov has already pointed out.[26]

In 2002 T. Slavova made an exceedingly helpful contribution in her monumental work, *The Tolkovaya Paleya in the Context of Old Bulgarian Literature,*[27] a product of amazing diligence and the main recent critique of the Russian-origin hypothesis. Slavova's chief argument is linguistic proofs, based on grammatical, syntactic, and lexical analyses. The *Tolkovaya* teems with archaisms and South Slavic sentence and word structures. This is undeniable, and other scholars have explained this with the fact that it is a compilation that draws on older translated literature, and most of these sources were translated in South Slavic literary centres. It is also indisputable that the text abounds in Russianisms (East Slavicisms) in all parts.

There have also been attempts to establish a hypothetical Greek work that was the basis for the "added" Slavic material of the *Tolkovaya,* but the material (though frequently from earlier Slavic translations of Greek writings) is so overwhelmingly of Slavic origin that the proposed Greek core would almost count for nothing, as V. Adrianova has noted.[28] Thus, we can conclude that the

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[22] Истрин 1906; В. Адрианова [V. Adrianova], "К литературной истории Толковой Палеи," *Труды Киевской Духовной академии* 8 (1909): 377–415; 9: 134–157 (henceforth: Адрианова 1909).

[23] F. Thomson "The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament," in *Interpretation of the Bible* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1998): 872–873 (hereafter: Thomson, 1998).

[24] Славова 1994 and 2002.

[25] Истрин 1906, Адрианова 1909, Thomson 1998.

[26] Михайлов 1895–96. The only non-Russian manuscript is a copy of the *Tolkovaya Paleya* from 1632/33, kept in the Serbian Monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos. It was almost completely forgotten. Special thanks go to Mary-Allen Johnson from the Hilandar Research Library (the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio) who drew my attention to the manuscript and provided me with the high-quality xerographic copies made from the microform and sent me innumerable other publications. Without her my MA thesis and this article would have been impossible.

[27] Славова 2002.

[28] Адрианова 1906.

compiler was certainly Slavic, probably a Russian who lived in the thirteenth century, although the last premise is open to debate.

The Chronographic Paleya

The third type of *Paleya* is the *Chronographic Paleya*, considered by many scholars to be merely a longer version of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*. It continues the narration about the most important historical events not only to the birth of Christ, but goes on to the tenth century and relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Russians. Its main sources are two Byzantine chronicles—from the sixth century by John Malalas and from the ninth century by George the Monk (also known as Hamartolos—the Sinner).[29] There are two versions—the full and the abbreviated—and the latter is considered to be an abridged version of the former. The earliest manuscripts are from the second half of the fifteenth century; ten copies of the *Full Chronographic Paleya* are known and eight copies of the abbreviated version.[30] Some manuscripts of this work are followed by a series of texts usually styled *Addition to the Paleya*, and several among them belong to the genre of disputations with the Jews.[31]

Some scholars, especially K. Istomin, have argued that the *Tolkovaya Paleya* is an abridgement of the *Chronographic Paleya*.[32] The author of the *Tolkovaya* announces several times his intention to continue writing at least to one New Testament event (the Virgin birth), and many untouched Old Testament parts. On the other hand, The *Chronographic* variant fulfils these expectations at least to some extent. Istrin was well aware of this fact, but he explained it in a sense that the author lacked the further interpretative material and also found it difficult to maintain the same zealous polemical mood, so he intentionally put an end to his work with the reign of Solomon.[33]

It might be that the compilers of *Chronographic Paleya*s disliked the *Tolkovaya*'s interruptions of narration and accumulation of typological

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[29] Both sources were used in the *Tolkovaya Paleya* as well, but to a limited extent.

[30] See Tvorogov's entry on the work in *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси*, Vol. 2. ed. Д. С. Лихачев [D. S. Likhachev], (Leningrad: Наука, 1987–1989), but for a fuller list see Славова 2002, 33–34.

[31] See О. Творогов [O. Tvorogov], *Древнерусские хронографы* (Old Russian Chrono-graphs) (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975) (henceforth: Творогов 1975). Such additions occa-sionally occur with the *Tolkovaya Paleya*, too, such is, e.g., the manuscript Eparkh 363 – 1° of the Library of the Moscow Historical Museum, which I had the opportunity to see.

[32] See Истомин 1905–13. He rather failed to prove his viewpoint.

[33] Истрин 1922 (2003), 269.

interpretations, so they decided to quote important biblical passages *in extenso,* and to remove or relocate many explanations so as not to disturb the storytelling. The *Chronographic* redactions use clearer language and syntax, but texts were added too mechanically and the arrangement lacks the graceful touch of the *Tolkovaya* compiler, who succeeded in gracefully intertwining narrative and interpretative parts. Not only is the *Chronographic Paleya* deprived of the stylistic unity and artistic skilfulness of the *Tolkovaya,* but it also lacks its daring to handle material freely and to subject it to higher purposes (as when the *Tolkovaya* gives the true meanings of Jewish names but also interprets them according to phonetic similarity to Slavic words).

Istrin linked the emergence of the *Chronographic Paleya* with the heresy of Judaizers and the Third Rome theory. In his view, it served as a companion in the struggle against the heretics, and it connected the history of Russia with the sacred history of the Jews and Byzantines. Taking into consideration how powerful the idea of the New Israel was in Russia at that time, one can fully embrace this hypothesis.[34] It is in any case much more plausible than the theories that even the *Short Chronographic* version was created in tenth-century Bulgaria.[35]

The Communist Period and Afterwards

It should be noted that research on the *Paleya* was suppressed after the Russian Revolution, and only a few more articles were published in the 1920s (V. Istrin's article in 1925 and A. Mikhaylov's in 1928). A revival started slowly in the mid-1970s with Tvorogov's book on old Russian chronographs,[36] which is careful not to touch any "dangerous" theological issues. At the end of the 1980s the Communist government relaxed its stance on religion, which resulted in the revival of *Paleya* studies—at first only in some encyclopaedia and dictionary articles, but later in the main literary and scientific journals. Today, study of the *Paleya* thrives, as in Russia so too in Bulgaria, and there is a tendency to bring this ancient text "not only into scholarly but also onto a broad cultural horizon"[37]– to make it accessible to the general reader. The main experts in the

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[34] For the New Israel ideology in medieval Russia, see Daniel B. Rowland, "Moscow – The Third Rome or the New Israel?," *Russian Review* 55 (1996): 591–614.

[35] See Славова 2002, 279.

[36] Творогов 1975.

[37] A good example is Kamchatnov's edition: *Палея Толковая* (*The Tolkovaya Paleya*), tr. and ed. А. Камчатнов [A. Kamchatnov], foreword by В. Кожинов [V. Kozhinov] (Moscow: Согласие, 2002).

field today are Ye. G. Vodolazkin and O. V. Tvorogov in Russia, and R. Stankov and T. Slavova in Bulgaria.

Why the *Paleya*?

What was the purpose of compiling the *Paleya*, particularly in its Interpretative version? Here I present my own observations and challenge a deep-rooted notion of the *Paleya* I believe to be wrong.

A chronological overview of the Old Testament and a substitute

When, near the end of the fifteenth century, Novgorod Archbishop Gennady wanted to collect and publish the whole Bible, he was not able to find the books of Chronicles (1-2 Paralipomenon), Ezra (Ezra, 1-2 Esdras), Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Maccabees, parts of Esther and Jeremiah. All these were then translated from the Latin Vulgate—the work was completed in 1499. More than six centuries after the death of St. Methodius (885), the Slavs got the full collection of Old Testament books. This does not mean that the Orthodox Slavs were unconcerned with studying the Old Testament, but that part of the Bible has always been present in a special form. The Orthodox Church emphasises the prefigurative role of the Old Testament, and in its liturgy it points out again and again the typology between the testaments. Thus, in the *parimeyniki*, Old Testament readings selected for church services, only the events which were said by the Church Fathers to act as major prophetic symbols of New Testament events are to be found.

Outside the *parimeyniki*, the Old Testament most often occurs in interpretative writings or miscellanies, such as St. Hesychius of Jerusalem's and Theodoret of Cyrrhus' commentaries on the Psalter, Theodoret's explanation of all the prophetic books, St. Philo of Carpasia's interpretation of the Song of Songs (permeated with excerpts from St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Hippolytus of Rome, and Pseudo-Procopius of Gaza), and St. Hippolytus' commentary on Daniel. It is evident that these most common interpretative works deal exclusively with the prophetic books of the Old Testament,[38] while the historical books were completely neglected.

The main function of the *Paleya* was to provide the Orthodox reader with a general chronological overview of the holy history before Christ's birth, which is otherwise scattered in hundreds readings from the *parimeynik*, totally deprived of

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[38] According to a strong Christian tradition; Judaism has a different way of grouping and naming the books of the Hebrew Bible.

their historical and temporal sequence. Essentially connected with this is the fact that the *Paleya* functioned as the substitute for quite rare Old Testament books.[39]

General worldview and meditative guidelines

As noted above, the *Tolkovaya Paleya* has a tendency to offer the reader encyclopaedic knowledge, the comprehensive worldview of an educated Orthodox Christian. That is why the compiler presents so much natural scientific material—on the human body, relations between the soul and the body, real and fantastic animals, the qualities of the atmosphere and fire, the outlook and properties of precious stones, and calendar cycles. The reader should be acquainted not only with sacred history and basic theological truths, but has to be able to read theology from everything that surrounds him and see in everything God's astonishing wisdom, His arrangement and plan. Therefore, the *Paleya* is a kind of intellectual exercise which teaches the reader how to think and gives guidelines for further reflection. This explains why it picks up only several animals from the bestiary and why it does not expand contemplation on the elements and other scientific categories.

Judging by the number of the extracts found in various other writings, it is evident that in the later centuries the *Paleya* was perceived as an encyclopaedia. Portions were taken from its biblical verses mingled with fragments of interpretation, as well as from its apocrypha and natural scientific sections. From this role, which was—one may presume—the primary objective of its author, a conclusion can be drawn that the target audience the compiler had in mind was any Christian soul who needed enlightenment, rather than any Jew or Muslim, however often addressed in the book.

A liturgical companion

There is one liturgical writing that requires greater knowledge of the Old Testament than can be grasped from any of these materials (including the *Paleya*)—St. Andrew of Crete's *Great Repentant Canon*. Sometimes it seems the *Paleya* does not use the *Canon* to elucidate or adorn its own material, but to clarify it. Popov identified more than twenty direct quotes from the *Canon* in the

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[39] For the study of the Slavonic translation of the Bible, it is a point of interest that some quoted parts of the Wisdom of Solomon (4:19–5:7) cannot be found even in the *prophetologium* or the *Balance of Justice*, the only Cyrillic writings which more or less extensively quote this book**.**

Alen Novalija

Historical Paleya.[40] The *Canon* plays an important part in the Lenten services of the Orthodox Church, especially in the first week and in the exact middle of Great Lent, and is generally considered one of the most significant canons.

There is a slight possibility that the *Paleya* served—partly—as an explanatory companion to the *Great Repentant Canon*. In any case, highlighting all the crucial prototypical events and motifs of the Old Covenant and connecting them with the New Testament, the *Paleya* undoubtedly helped literate worshippers to comprehend innumerable references and allusions to pre-Christian occurrences put forth by the Orthodox liturgical books.

A polemic companion and a reaction against the Judaic Khazars and the Jews

One theory holds that the *Tolkovaya Paleya* had a practical social role. It was, according to one such presumption, a companion for, or an embittered reaction to, the struggle of Kievan Rus' against the Khazar Khanate.[41] Yet, this theory relies on the erroneous supposition that there were no anti-Judaic polemics in Russian literature from the twelfth all the way to the fifteenth century and the occurrence of the Judaizers' heresy, and it rests on a strange dating of the *Paleya* uncorroborated by any historical or philological evidence.[42] Nonetheless, one cannot entirely discard the speculation that it might also have been intended for practical argumentation against the Jews.

The greatest authority on the *Tolkovaya Paleya*, V. M. Istrin, also held a view that this work emerged as a reaction to a historical movement of the Jewish people. He proposed the following hypothesis: At the time of the Crusades (from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries) Jews in Western Europe, particularly Germany, became socially oppressed, which made them turn to a deeper study of their religion and caused a migration to the East—to neighbouring Slavic countries. At the same time, northeastern Rus' began to assume the primary role among the Russian regions and had many contacts with the West. Consequently, the Jewish merchants and even settlers were more and more present in northeastern Rus', and one should not exclude a possibility, says Istrin, that a Jewish messianic sect emerged there. This provoked a reaction among educated

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[40] See Попов, *Книга бытия*, xxiv–xxvii.

[41] Attests V. Kozhinov in the introduction to the *Палея Толковая* 2002. See also M. Тихомиров [M. Tikhomirov], *Русская культура X–XVIII веков* (Russian Culture From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow: Наука, 1968).

[42] For a true picture of anti-Judaic writings in ancient Rus', see Pereswetoff-Morath, *A Grin Without a Cat*, vol. 1 (Lund: Lund University, 2002) (hereafter: Pereswetoff-Morath 2002).

Orthodox people who compiled the *Tolkovaya Paleya* and the thirteenth-century *Jewish Chronograph.* The linguistic evidence, indeed, shows that these writings might have been produced in this region. Istrin notes that some Greek anti-Judaic manuscripts were created at the same time and most likely for the same reasons.[43]

Yet, modern historiography recognizes Jewish communities of the thirteenth century only in the far Russian west—in eastern Galicia and Volhynia. As a matter of fact, these communities absorbed the Jewish migration from Germany and Bohemia caused by the persecutions of the fourteenth (the time of the Black Death) and fifteenth centuries. Lithuania gained control over western Russia from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it granted the first extensive privileges to Jewish communities at the end of the same century. But truly large waves of Jewish immigrants began to appear in Ukraine only from the middle of the sixteenth century.[44] The hypothesis of the thirteenth-century Jewish communities in northeastern Rus' is not supported by material evidence. Thus, it is not impossible but is rather unlikely that the author of the *Tolkovaya Paleya* was so much alerted by the Jewish presence that he compiled such an anti-Judaic encyclopaedia, especially in the light of facts that will be examined in the next passage. Furthermore, there is no evidence for the existence of a Jewish messianic sect in this region in that period.

Simply—Christian

In any case, Christianity in general, and Orthodox Christianity in particular, in polemicizing against Judaism and making a difference from Judaism the departure point of its own existence saw God's eschatological plan, expressed in the words of St. Paul:

> If some of the branches were broken off [i.e. the unbelieving Jews], and you [Gentiles], a wild olive shoot, were grafted in their place to share the richness of the olive tree, do not boast over the branches... You will say, 'Branches were broken off so that I might be grafted in.' That is true. They were broken off because of their unbelief, but you stand fast only through faith. So do not become proud, but stand in awe… And even those of Israel, if they do not persist in unbelief, will be grafted in, for God has the power to graft them in again… I want

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[43] See Истрин 1922 (2003), 262–273.

[44] All these data taken from the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* – CD-Rom Edition, ed. C. Roth, G. Wigoder et alii (Jerusalem, Judaica Multimedia [Israel] Ltd., 1997), articles "Russia" and "Ukraine" (henceforth: Judaica 1997).

you to understand this mystery, brethren: a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in (Rom 11:17–25).

So, the Jews were cut off because of their unreadiness to believe, but God's plan is to take them back after the Gentiles are enlightened with the truth. Jewish apostasy was anticipated in God's economy, their unbelief became proverbial—the symbol of all unbelief, but His plan foresees their final conversion, too. Christianity is a witness to Judaism's "agony"—it exists in this tension between acceptance and non-acceptance, belief and unbelief, falling off and being grafted in again. Christianity is called to testify to the Jews and to expect their return to the truth. [45]

The polemic with Judaism, consequently, is not conditioned merely by political circumstances, but is in the very essence of Christianity. It was not only inherited by Russia from Byzantium, but absorbed with (Orthodox) Christianity. The most "theological" among the gospels—the Gospel of John—constantly mentions "Jews," almost as a synonym of unbelief and resistance to God's will,[46] and the Orthodox liturgy, especially services for Holy Week, are permeated with "anti-Judaic" comments. There has been no century when patristic authors and prominent theologians have not spoken or written against Judaism. The *Paleya* just "goes with the flow"—reminds the Jews of their blindness and calls them back. In all probability, this is just a literary device, a means to stimulate the Orthodox reader to ponder the magnificent truths of Christianity. If the author of the *Tolkovaya Paleya* had wanted to create a purely anti-Jewish work, he could

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[45] For these classical Christian views on non-Christian Jews, see the *Epistle of Barnabas*, St. Justin's *Dialogue With Trypho*, Tertullian's *Against the Jews*, St. Hippolytus of Rome's *Against the Jews* and *On the Antichrist*, St. Gregory of Nyssa's *Great Catechism*, St. Aphraates' *Demonstrations*, St. John Chrysostom's *Homilies Against the Jews*, St. Ambrose's *Epistles* 72–75, St. Augustine's *Sermon Against the Jews*. On the final conversion of (a part of) the Jewish people which should occur just before the end of the world and about which at least two dozen of the Church Fathers speak, see Chrysostom's *Homily on the Epistle to the Romans* XIX, Augustine's *City of God* XX, 29, St. John Damascene's *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* IV, 26. These are just a few significant titles from the early period; otherwise, it seems there were few patristic authors who did not write against the Jews. A recent major study discussing Christian attitude towards the Jews is by H. Schrekenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 3 vols. Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXIII-Theologie, vols. 172, 335, 497 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995 [2nd ed.], 1997 [3rd ed.], 1994).

[46] On this remark, see the Roman Catholic commentary on the Gospel of John, appended to the so-called *Jerusalem Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 2000). The *Judaica* agrees, in the article "Christianity," see Judaica 1997.

have used many more anti-Judaic texts, which he almost certainly had at his disposal.[47]

Next, the *Tolkovaya* does not show the vehemence that is so characteristic of anti-Latin Old Russian writings.[48] Muslims and Islam in the *Tolkovaya* are always preceded by the epithet "filthy," while the Jews are spared any such designation. V. Istrin finds the address "O, wretched Jew" not at all despising but rather pitying, compassionate, and fatherlike-instructive.[49]

And lastly, it should not be overlooked that the title of the work is *Tolkovaya – Interpretative*, which indicates its key function, although some copies have extra words "Which is Against the Jew" (яже на Iудея). The author is a master of typology, regardless of where he found his data. For each Old Testament event he handles, he finds a New Testament parallel. Would that be an accomplishment of a man who just wants to rebuke Jews?

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[47] Pereswetoff-Morath 2002: 52.

[48] St. Theodosius of Kiev explicitly states that "even that what the Jews do not do, they [Latins] do." See Chapter 37 in the *Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, "The Question of the Pious Prince Izyaslav About the Latins." The critical edition is *Києво-Печерський патерик*, ed. Д. И. Абрамович [D. I. Abramovich] (Kiev, 1931).

[49] Истрин, *Замечания* and Истрин 1922 (2003).

Guests of Honor
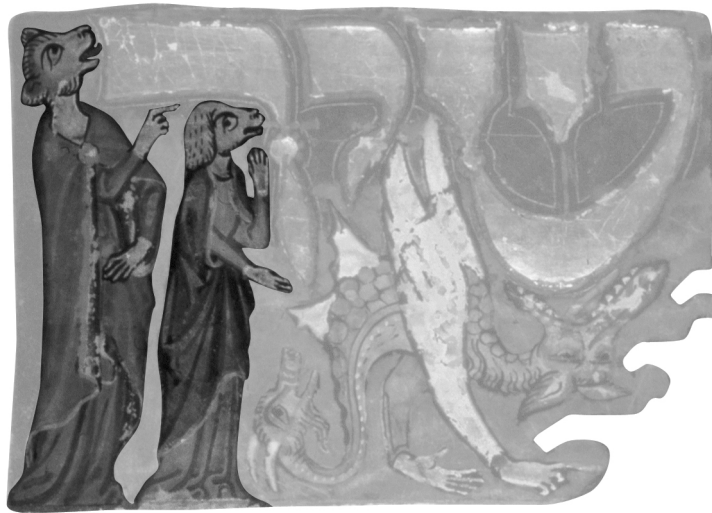
HONORING NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS[*]

TWO VIRTUES

István Rév

We are here this evening to honor and celebrate Natalie Zemon Davis, one of the few classics among our contemporaries. But, if I may put it this way, by honoring her we pay tribute to virtue. For the sake of brevity, I would like to identify just two virtues visibly associated with Natalie's work and personality.

In an exemplary and memorable piece of writing and argumentation— entitled "On the Lame"—that Natalie published in response to Robert Finlay's ill-willed misreading of "The Return of Martin Guerre" (published in *The American Historical Review* in June 1988) she wrote: "Throughout, I worked as a detective, assessing my sources, establishing a conjectural argument that made the best sense, the most plausible sense, of sixteenth-century evidence … I also chose to advance my arguments—about the case, about rural society, about identity, about doubt—as much by the ordering of narrative, choice of detail, literary voice, and metaphor as by topical analysis."

The author of *Fiction in the Archives* has more than once been accused of having "fashioned" or "refashioned," "conjectured," or "fictionalized" the characters and objects of her studies.

Today, still today, we live in a world of skeptics who have a pervasive suspicion about truth (they are convinced that suspicion directed at the idea of truth is well-founded, factually proven, so it is true); who question that objective truth, or truth at all, can honestly (or, as we naturally put it, truthfully) be regarded as the aim of our inquiries into the past. It is assumed, as Bernard Williams put it, "that the sociology of knowledge is in a better position to deliver truth about science than science is to deliver truth about the world." Since we are skeptics—especially as far as truth goes—in a paradoxical way; we have an intense commitment to truthfulness, a readiness against being fooled; we are keen to see through things to, presumably, the truth. As a strange conse- quence of our uncertainty we are desperate to encounter truthfulness, somebody we can trust who is truthful well beyond reasonable doubt. Bernard Williams, in my view the most interesting moral philosopher of the past decades, who taught

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[*] Laudationes presented to Natalie Zemon Davis on the occasion of her retiring from the CEU Board of Trustees, on 4 March 2005.

at Berkeley where Natalie Davis also taught for six years before she moved to Princeton in 1978, asserted that truthfulness implies respect for the truth. This relates to the two basic virtues of truth: Accuracy and Sincerity. Accuracy is the virtue of carefully investigating and deliberating over the evidence for and against a belief before asserting it. Sincerity is the virtue of genuinely expressing to others what one in fact believes. "The authority of academics," says Williams, "must be rooted in their truthfulness in both these respects."

Those who have had the good fortune to read any of Natalie's works are able to testify that she has not only unearthed fiction from the depth of the archives, but invested an uncountable number of hours of work and inhaled immense quantities of dust in those archives, starting with the Municipal Archives in Lyon. Her voice for her readers and students is the voice of the exemplary honest individual and intellectual. She does not only say what she believes; she does what she believes. Perhaps not all of you know that Natalie Davis is not only the author of volumes of celebrated academic work, but also the anonymous author of a 1952 pamphlet *Operation Mind*, which argued that Joseph McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee "did not simply go after people because they represented a political or security threat, but it tried to stop them from expressing their ideas and principles." As a consequence of her courageous and uncompromising sincerity, her passport was confiscated for long years, and Chandler Davis, her eminent mathematician husband, was sentenced to six month in the federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut. The Davises did not live behind the Iron Curtain, but on the other, more fortunate side of the Cold War divide; still, they became close relatives of the future Eastern and Central European dissidents.

In January 1999, the President and Hillary Clinton invited Natalie Davis to deliver one of the Millennium lectures in the White House. (I do not want to compete with Bill Clinton but for the record I have to state that the president just imitated us. A few years before the White House lecture, together with Gábor Klaniczay, we invited Natalie Davis to talk on the role of: "The Historian Almost at the Very End of the Twentieth Century." Natalie took part at that memorable event in the City Hall of Budapest, together with Reinhart Koselleck, Thomas Laqueur, Karla Hesse, and Stephen Greenblatt.) Natalie Davis concluded her Millennium lecture with the following words: "I often ask myself whether, despite the danger and suffering posed by the violence, zeal, and totalism of apocalyptic movements, we would want a human history deprived of millennial vision. Our dream-making capacity, our capacity to imagine, can give birth to the good as well as to the bad… History reminds us that, no matter how bleak and constrained a situation, human initiative is put into play in opposition, improvisation and transformation… No matter what

happens, people try to do something about it, and tell stories about it and bequeath them to the future.”

Natalie Davis lives according to her convictions: she did and does something about it, she tells stories—accurately and sincerely—about it, and bequeaths them to the future.

WOMEN AND OTHER MULTIPLE STORIES IN NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS’ HISTORICAL CRAFT

Gisela Bock

It is an honor to be allowed to contribute to honoring Natalie Zemon Davis at this occasion. By pointing to her pathbreaking contributions to women’s and gender history, I do not wish to imply that this is the one single most outstanding part of her manifold *œuvre*, since the latter has many other striking dimensions. Rather I wish to point to the fact that she has demonstrated to a long generation of historians, of which I am a part, how to practice women’s and gender history and how to integrate it into the overall *métier* of the historian, while at the same time redefining the historian’s craft.

When I first met Natalie Zemon Davis, over three decades ago, she did not know that we met. Much later, in her 1997 Charles Homer Haskins Lecture at the American Council of Learned Societies—*A Life of Learning*—she recalled that situation by pointing to the two great events of the 1970s that influenced her historian’s craft: one of them was the emergence of the new women’s history (the other being the important role which anthropology began to play for her).[1] At the 1974 meeting of the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, then held at Radcliffe College, a few hundred people were expected, but about two thousand were found in attendance. I happened to be one of the two thousand, and Davis’ keynote lecture on “‘Women’s History’ in Transition”

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[1] Natalie Zemon Davis, *A Life of Learning*. Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1997, American Council of Learned Societies, *ACLS Occasional Paper,* 39 (1997): 14–17. This text, as many others, has also been published in various other languages; in German in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Lebensgänge. Glikl. Zwi Hirsch. Leone Modena. Martin Guerre. Ad me ipsum.* Aus dem Amerikanischen von Wolfgang Kaiser (Berlin Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1998), 75–104. The edition includes a bibliography of Davis’ works and German translations. – The following text is a slightly reworked version of my presentation at the Symposium in honor of Natalie Zemon Davis held at Central European University, March 4, 2005.

became a key for my own historical work, as it did for many others.[2] Since 1951, so Natalie said in 1997, after having written an essay on Christine de Pisan, she kept a folder called "women" in which she placed historical documents on pregnancy dresses, baby food, times of weaning etc., and over the years the folder swelled and turned into a filing cabinet. By 1974, at "the Berks," the filing cabinet must have reached sizable proportions. But most of all, her keynote lecture gave directions and visions of lasting value. Let me point to some of them and some that go beyond.

First: In the title of her lecture, she placed "women's history" in quotation marks, because we should "be interested in the history of both women and men" and not assume a history of women as being separate from that of men: this would lead to an impossible "historical fragmentation".[3] Instead, the historian's task is to discover "the significance of the *sexes*, of gender groups in the historical past" (the term "gender" in this sense was very novel at the time and not yet widespread). This implied, among many things, that not only women, but men, too, have a history as sexual human beings—much later this implication developed into a new field of research: of "men's studies" as part of an overall gender history.

Secondly: Natalie suggested that it should become second nature for any historian, whatever her or his specialty, to consider "the consequences of gender" as readily as any other historical issue, such as class, power, social structure. She envisioned what she called a "multidimensional charting of social structure" in which male and female, lower and upper classes, cleric and lay, and many other social and cultural relationships would have their place.[4]

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[2] Natalie Zemon Davis, " 'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," in *Feminist Studies* vol. 3, no. 3/4 (1976): 83–103. We thoroughly met then in 1987, when we taught a summer course on gender history, along with Leonore Davidoff and Karin Hausen, at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin.

[3] Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition," 90. The meaning of the quotation marks is underlined in Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History, Multiple Stories," in *Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* 11 (1990): 99–106, 99. The problem of "historical fragmentation" is mentioned with regard to Mary Beard, *Woman as a Force in History* (New York: Macmillan, 1946) in Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History as Women's Education," in *Women's History as Women's Education. Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis and Joan Wallach Scott*, Symposium in Honor of Jill and John Conway (Northampton, MA, 1985) 13–14.

[4] Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition," 90–91. She also formulated, like many other women's historians at the time, the claim that the study of gender in history would change historical periodization (p. 90). That this did not come true, was due to many factors; see Tommaso Dettti, "Tra storia delle donne e 'storia generale': le avventure

Subsequently Natalie was one of those (rare) scholars who were willing and able to put this into practice, and never was she satisfied with unidimensional approaches, structures and meanings.

Thirdly: Natalie claimed that gender does not mean any one thing, not even one or two sexes, but a relationship, or rather: manifold relationships between human beings. In particular she rejected the assumption, widely held in the 1970s—but also much later—that there were just one or two major relationships between the female and the male, symbolized by the polarities of "nature and culture" and/or "private and public." The sources in Natalie's filing cabinet had shown to her that such universal and universalizing polarities were not only historically misleading, but also somewhat boring. Instead she insisted that "What is striking about sexual symbolism is not its poverty, but its richness".[5] She made this point for the early-modern period, and meanwhile we know that it also holds for the late-modern period and many other situations inside and outside Europe.

Fourth: Natalie Zemon Davis conceived of gender relationships not only as relationships *between* the sexes, but also those *within* the sexes,[6] that is, not just between women and men, but also between women and women as well as between men and men. In other words: she claimed that there is not one single female voice over time, just as there is not one single male voice over time, and that we must expect "multiple voices." [7] Women do not all have the same history, and Natalie was out for studying the likeness as well as the difference among women, and the difference as well as the likeness between women and men.[8] And she spelt this out in many ways. One of them has been her pathbreaking study on "women on top," dealing with unruly women, with sexual inversions and "topsy-turvy" as an important part of sexual symbolism in the early-modern period,[9] another was the study on "Iroquois Women and European Women."[10]

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della periodizzazione," in *Innesti. Donne e genere nella storia sociale,* ed. Giulia Calvi (Rome: Viella, 2004), 293–303.

[5] Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition," 92.

[6] Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition," 88.

[7] Davis, "Women's History as Women's Education," 16.

[8] Davis, "Women's History, Multiple Stories," 105.

[9] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, Chapter Five: "Women on Top," (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124–151.

[10] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 243–258.

Fifth: A further instance of Natalie's search for multiple voices simultaneously overturned the relationship between the assumed margins and centers of history; it is best represented by the inspiring portrayals in her *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* which brings back to life the Jewish merchant Glikl bas Judah Leib who crossed borders between Germany and France, the Catholic nun Marie de l'Incarnation who crossed the Atlantic between France and Canada, and the Protestant artist Maria Sibylla Merian who crossed from Germany to the Netherlands and to Surinam.[11] All of them were marginal in the male as well as in the female world; they moved in novel directions and new worlds and were involved with other marginal peoples, among them Amerindians and black slaves. Most importantly, it was Natalie who moved these figures from the margins of history to the center of our historical attention and even affection. And she never forgot to remind us, as she did in her lecture in Amsterdam at the symposium for the tenth anniversary of the Dutch Yearbook of Women's History, that women's history is not just one story, but "multiple stories" and "the multiple telling of stories," which she views as "a way to end rigid dichotomies once and for all."[12]

Natalie's view of the multi-dimensional, manifold and plural character of women's lives in the past and the present has been a great inspiration to many practitioners of historical research. Of course this vision of human and historical plurality concerns not only the history of women, but also that of men. Yet I venture to say that the study of women's past and of gender relations has contributed much to this view of human plurality in general. I do not really wish to compare Natalie's historical thought in this matter to anyone else, but I cannot avoid seeing a parallel in the thought of another Jewish woman: Hannah Arendt. In *The Human Condition*, Arendt grounded her own strong vision of human plurality on the creation story in the biblical Genesis (1: 27): "Male and female created He *them*." In Hannah Arendt's eyes, humankind existed, from the outset, not in the singular (nor, one might add in this context, as a polarity), but in the plural.[13]

Just a few words on Natalie Zemon Davis' use of "stories" for and in "history." This leads to what one may call—with some reluctance—her "method." My first point here is on "theory and historical sources," the second on "stories and dialogue."

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[11] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins. Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[12] Davis, "Women's History, Multiple Stories," 106.

[13] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 8.

Over the decades, Natalie moved from the history of ideas through social history to cultural or anthropological history and to the relationship between literature or fiction and history. Yet she adhered to none of the theories that are usually linked to those approaches, though she freely used some of their concepts and elements. Her insistence on the "multiple meanings" of the historical documents was, as she said in a lecture of 1985, "a needed antidote to claims for totalist or hegemonic theory," and in 1997: "I like the concept of multiple axes around which the same society is organized and moves, as contrasted with my earlier two-dimensional Marxist model."[14] One might add her reluctance toward other two-dimensional models, such as the notion that all women are victims and all men oppressors: Natalie was foremost among those who rejected this—supposedly—"feminist" model, both for the past and the present.

Yet her reluctance toward theoretical models results mostly from her eagerness and her constant joy[15] to listen to the voices of the past which usually do not fit today's models; here she practices what the historian Reinhart Koselleck called "das Vetorecht der Quellen," the right of the historical sources to a veto against historical model-builders. On the other hand, Natalie insists that a historian is not, and should not be, just a tape recorder for the sources.[16] So what is between the veto right of the sources and their today's reading? Of course it is the historian's craft, as practiced by Natalie, and it includes creativity, imagination and immersion. Her introduction to the best-seller *The Return of Martin Guerre*, the story of a marriage imposter with an uncertain identity and "his" wife, concludes with a phrase which illustrates finely her close reading of the historical texts as well as her intuition and the balance between both: "What I offer you here is in part my invention, but held tightly in check by the voices of the past."[17] In her *Fiction in the Archives*, where she analyses the tales formulated by convicts in sixteenth-century France who appealed for pardon, she reflects on the relation between the crafting, by men and women, of past

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[14] Davis, "Women's History as Women's Education," 16; Davis, *A Life of Learning*, 11.

[15] Davis, *A Life of Learning*, 23.

[16] Politics, Progeny and French History: An Interview with Natalie Zemon Davis, in *Radical History Review* 24 (1980): 115–139, 132.

[17] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983). While this book has been read by many non-historians too, it is mostly historians who are fascinated by Natalie's response to some other historians' attack against her "method," including what is compressed in the above-quoted sentence; see Natalie Zemon Davis, "On the Lame," in *American Historical Review* 93/3 (1988): 572–603 (Part of "AHR Forum: The Return of Martin Guerre").

narratives under duress and the realities underlying them.[18] Yet when some people after a lecture on social and cultural history which Natalie gave at the University of Bielefeld in 1993, assumed (happily or critically) that in cultural history hard facts would be replaced by fiction, Natalie responded: "I like facts!" And when around the same time the historical study of gender, in the Western world, focused ever more exclusively on the "cultural construction" of gender, up to a point where women and men (and various other categories) appeared to be nothing but fiction, she held against this trend the words of a young Russian historian who, as she reported, had "enough of *mentalités* and cultural history;" instead: "We want realities!"[19]

For Natalie Zemon Davis, the voices of the past—whether literary, legal, or criminal sources—are also sources of storytelling.[20] And she is a storyteller of sorts. Her study on "Iroquois Women, European Women" concludes with an Iroquois tale of the origin of stories: it is a magical stone that introduces the Iroquois audience to storytelling ("What does it mean—to tell stories?" the boy asked. "It is telling what happened a long time ago...").[21] In Natalie's interaction with her sources she enters into dialogue with the multiple and often contradicting voices of the past. While immerging herself fully into the meanings of past voices, at times she imagines debate, such as in her Prologue to *Women on the Margins*: the Jew, the Catholic, and the Protestant protest *unisono* against the author for having placed them alongside each other in one single book, for no other reason than being women and regardless of the overwhelming differences among them: religious, professional or familial. The author intervenes, responds to her subjects' puzzled questions such as "*Gender* hierarchies? What are gender hierarchies?," attempts to explain the meaning of "margins" (against objections such as "Margins are where I read comments in my Yiddish books ... In my Christian books ... River margins are the dwelling place of frogs") and the dialogue concludes: "*NZD*: You *found* things on the margins. You were all adventurous ... *Maria Sibylla Merian*: It sounds to me, historian Davis, as though *you're* the one who wanted adventures. *NZD* (after a pause): Yes, it was an adventure following you three to so many different climes. And I wanted to write of your hopes for paradise on earth, for remade worlds, since I have had those hopes, too. At least you all must admit that you loved to describe your world. Glikl and Marie, how you loved to write! And Maria Sibylla, how you

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[18] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives. Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 1987.

[19] Davis, "Women's History, Multiple Stories," 102.

[20] Davis, *A Life of Learning*, 20.

[21] Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," 258.

loved to look and paint! *The Other Three Women:* Well ... maybe, maybe..." Altogether, this Prologue may be read as a subtle statement on method, as well as on multiple axes and voices in society. Moreover, it includes that element of fine irony which is so special in Natalie's texts.

Dialogue is at the center of Natalie's craft as a historian. In an interview of 1980 she argued that we, as historians, "have a dialogue and sometimes a debate with the past ... How can I recreate these people without molding them in my own image?" One of her techniques of doing so is "to imagine my subjects in a dialogue with me." Even if she does not always understand or agree with them, she tries "to let my text give them a chance to defend themselves, to answer me back even if I have the last word." She thought that there is "something partly maternal in me with regard to the past. It's wanting to bring people to life again as a mother ... It's a re-creation."[22]

I take all this as a symbol of Natalie's intellectual generosity. In one of her more recent books, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*[23] (this project was on her mind as early as 1980), she explores a society where gifts—and not so much market exchange—were a major language for creating reciprocity and obligation. And she called her work on the old sources in the libraries also a gift.[24] She has turned this gift to herself into a gift to all her dialogue partners: because her partners in dialogue are not only the people of the past, but also—and perhaps most of all—today's historians and non-historians. Thank you, Natalie, for your gift of multiple stories of women and men.

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[22] "Politics, Progeny," 132.

[23] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

[24] Davis, *A Life of Learning,* 21.

EXPLORING AND EXPANDING
THE MARGINS OF HISTORY

Sorin Antohi

Exactly two years to the day before our March 4, 2005, symposium celebrating Natalie Zemon Davis, the author was teaching a seminar at CEU on "Cultural Mixture, or How to Study People Between Worlds." History students and faculty were gathered in History Department's Room 210, in eager anticipation, holding their handouts: (a) Natalie's article on "Cultural Mixture and Historical Mediation," published in 1997 by the *Budapest Review of Books*, a fragment of the original English version of the June 13, 1995 Marc Bloch lecture on "Metissage culturel et mediation historique" (published in *Le Monde* on June 19, 1995), and one core element of a book whose title—*Braided Histories*—existential contexts and academic content are explored by Randolph Starn in his presentation here; and (b) an excerpt from the 1600 English translation by John Pory of a book on the "geographical historie" of Africa, written by one of the two characters discussed in the first handout (the other was David Nassy) – John Leo, a Moor; (Iohannes) Leo Africanus; al-Hasan al-Wazzan, etc. [On May 5, 2006, as I revise these lines, I have on my desk a copy of the magnificent book on al-Wazzan, *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), carrying the author's words for me; hundreds (thousands?) of people around the world pride themselves in receiving Natalie's letters, offprints, and books, and I suspect based on my own reaction, would carve her (all-too generous) words in stone, post them on their Internet sites…]

That passionate, erudite, engaging seminar presentation and its thought-provoking, fascinating handouts generated a very lively academic exchange at CEU that late morning, and have remained among the scholarly and pedagogical highlights of academic year 2002/2003. On many other occasions, Natalie Zemon Davis has *returned*—this word, as Gabor Klaniczay indicates in his contribution to the celebration, carries more than one meaning; in many minds, its first connotation is now linked to Martin Guerre and Natalie Zemon Davis—to Budapest and CEU. She has returned in various capacities: as friend and mentor; lecturer and conference participant; member of the Board of Trustees, and most recently Honorary President of Pasts, Inc. Institute of Historical Studies (whose creation in 2002 she strongly supported), and Chair of the History Department's Advisory Board. We can only wish Natalie and ourselves many more *happy returns…*

That seminar, beyond its main focus, wider frames, and one-off interactive dynamics, focused on some of the categories one could use as privileged keys to the life and work of Natalie Zemon Davis: mixture, blending, separation; in-betweenness, mediation, polarity; multiple identities and entanglements; a passionate fusion of ideas and lives; travel, displacement, and… return. While a thorough study of such categories would generate at least a book, and a number of conferences, I shall single out here and now just one: *margins*.

In our (post)modern world, dealing with marginality is ideologically loaded. Scholars of left-wing persuasions and inclinations have lionized the marginal beyond recognition, ascribing to him/her an angelic profile that historical research may not corroborate, but current (post)political sensitivities render mandatory. Marginals, and their next of kin, minorities, are thought to be inherently progressive, (self-)consciously subversive, morally superior to those in power (centers). Thus, our posthistorical ideological, political, moral, ethical, and epistemological topologies seem to be predicated on a carnavalesque *Umwertung aller Werte*, but ultimately seem to institute just another mechanistic *mundus inversus*. A topsy-turvy universe, to be sure, but one that is cleansed of most of its ambiguities, (self-)ironies, (black) humor, undecidable dilemmas, fuzziness, multiple path dependencies and causalities, blurred consequences; and is construed as a perennial cognitive Cold War of mutually exclusive oppositions. Marginals are expected to be, or represented as, activitsts of their own marginality; they are astute, systematic, determined resistants; they strive resolutely (through revolution) and/or surreptitiously (through subversion) to occupy the center of the world's stage; their marginality is consequently recycled as a new form of normative centrality. One could almost read through this palimpsestic mental map of past social and cultural worlds the legacies (i.e., the undead clichés) of the Western cultural wars that have agitated and shaped the last three or four decades of the previous century. Anachronistically, such clichés are thus retrospectively imposed on our past(s). Consequently, our past(s) are reduced to a mere avatar of the present: most social scientists and political theorists have been doing this for almost fifty years, writing a-historically and being proud of it; more recently, even historians are attracted to *presentism*, our epoch's "regime of historicity" (according to François Hartog).

Refreshingly, Natalie Zemon Davis is different. First of all, she is a self-limiting theorist (if I am allowed a pun on the concept of "self-limiting revolution," first advanced by Jadwiga Sztaniskis in connection to Polish dissidents in the 1980s). She sticks to documentary evidence, which she explores in a very intensive way, does not overinterpret, but rather examines in its contexts, within the conditions of possibility and options available to 'her' actors, within the horizons of their worlds, thus, her obvious, occasionally

spectacular, always seminal conceptual and methodological innovations are somewhat understated; surely, this is why they have stood the test of decades of scholarly changes in fashions and orthodoxies. She does not "read" her own cultural, ideological, political, and other preferences into the materials she so avidly and relentlessly "processes." Secondly, she locates and interprets subversion, idiosyncrasy, "otherness," resistance, rebellion, and *Umwertung* exactly where they can actually be located, and exactly along the lines on which they can be meaningfully interpreted. Taking the theory and practice of the *eccezionale normale* one step further, Natalie Zemon Davis has given us unforgettable portraits of women and men that are on the margins for some, central for others (these two positionings include the actors' self-identities), thus effectively exploding the notion of margin and marginality. Moreover, Natalie has always seen margins and marginals as processes, has never reified and essentialized them, not even in order to glamorize or celebrate them. What ultimately results from this exploration and expansion of the margins (and marginals) of history is a set of human, all-too-human, historical heroes that change continuously, travel incessantly, are passionately curious, struggle with their worlds and with their contemporaries (this, again, includes themselves) for meanings, values, and occasionally for lives. Thus, even humble persons are able to take their fates into their own hands, "at least" in their imagination, and behave like makers and masters of their universes. This is how I interpret Natalie's most recent works in a long series of writings devoted to marginals, impostors, and other such characters. Individuals can and should transcend all sorts of constraints, obstacles, limitations, determinations, and determinisms; in some peculiar cases, they can (almost) achieve a quasi-godly status. That is, they become tricksters, the next best thing to being a god, but definitely the best thing available to humans.

BRAIDED HISTORIES

Randolph Starn

What we've heard so far has already made the point of my title: the person we honor and celebrate brings together, connects, links, *braids* together many people, interests, themes, places. "Braided Histories" is actually Natalie Davis's term. I first heard her use it during her month's residency at Berkeley's Townsend Center for the Humanities in 1997. "Braided Histories" was the title for the talks she gave on a cast of early modern men whose cultural boundaries and identities crossed and mixed—she had already, in 1995, done something similar in *Women on the Margins*. The title fit the characters perfectly: al-Wazzan, alias Leo Africanus and other names, a trophy scholar in High Renaissance Rome; slave-owning Jews, Enlightenment ideas, and mixed races in Suriname; Rabelais, a cross-over writer if ever there was one, and the cat's cradles of his readers, including the twentieth-century Romanian philologist and Rabelais scholar whose name had Jewish, Romanian, and French variants—Chaim, Shineau, Sainéan—in different contexts and periods of his life.

But Natalie's "braided histories" are, so to say, thicker than that. I don't know whether they go back to little girls' pigtails, but I can go back to the early 1970s when, between her positions at the University of Toronto and Princeton, she was a colleague, close friend, and neighbor for six years in Berkeley. She and her husband Chandler Davis chose to buy a house on our street, Hillegass Avenue, on the flatlands, not in the hills, the Pest not the Buda side of town. This put them in the thick of the heady politics and community organizing of those years. Just across the street was Frances Elizabeth Willard Park; originally named after a nineteenth-century feminist, teacher, publisher, and political activist, it had been renamed Ho Chi Minh Park as a symbolic protest against the Vietnam War. (Berkeley is a little Hungarian in renaming its public places as the political wind blows.) Just down street was People's Park, a scruffy piece of ground the university had cleared of rooming houses and, so it imagined, student radicals and apostles of the counter-culture; it had become a tilting-ground between an anxious, outmaneuvered university administration, utopian activists, and political opportunists, including then-governor Ronald Reagan, who made his political reputation by calling out the National Guard to put down "the mess in Berkeley." Berkeley lived up to its reputation for being on the political cutting edge, in this case as a red flag for a conservative reaction.

Now, imagine Natalie, riding her bicycle, books and papers stacked to overflowing in her basket, making the jog on Hillegass Avenue at Ho Chi Minh Park, then peddling the two blocks to the corner of People's Park; another jog

on Hillegass to Bowditch along the Park brings her past the 1910 Byzantine-Gothic-Japanese Christian Science Church of Berkeley's eccentric genius of an architect, Bernard Maybeck. On the way she's likely to see people passing out flyers announcing a political rally or a community meeting or a living-room seminar; she will want to know everything that's going on. In about ten minutes she's on the Berkeley campus. Just beyond Sather Gate, a Beaux-Arts confection built in 1909 by a lumber magnate's widow who rejected its nude sculptures of the virtues and had them removed, she will have come to Dwinelle Hall. This ostentatiously dull labyrinth of a building was built in the 1950s, supposedly by two quarreling contractors. The history department, still mostly a male club and rather smug about its growing reputation, has its offices and most of its classes there. Today Professor Davis may be lecturing in her pioneering course on "Society and the Sexes;" perhaps she has an undergraduate or a graduate seminar on parades and processions in sixteenth-century France, topsy-turvy rituals at carnival time, or movies and history from, say, Carl Dreyer's 1928 silent with the wondrous Madame Falconetti as Joan of Arc to the *Return of Martin Guerre* based on a sixteenth-century case of identity theft and adapted from her best-known book. She'll certainly have long office hours afterwards for students. Back home on the 2700 block of Hillegass there are family, probably some visiting scholar or student, three-star Franco-California food to cook and serve in the arts-and-crafts redwood dining room. The table talk will be engaged, intense, and lively, one reason perhaps why the front room's ceiling plaster came crashing down. *Talk about braided history!*

Yes, let's do…. *Braiding* links and crosses and is stronger for that; it's as organic as double helixes and as crafted as ropes, laces, or coiffures; a beautifully braided thing is sturdy and a wonder and a pleasure besides. Natalie's work as a historian is braids all the way down. It binds together things that narrow-gauged historians want to keep apart: high culture and low—the village, the court, the church, the workshop, the scholar's study—social margins and centers; the arresting novel-worthy detail pieced into the Big Picture; scholarship and sympathy; pasts in the present and the other way around. If a historical explanation is straight and narrow, she will suspect that it's probably crooked. She wants us to relish, as she relishes, in the back-and-forth, the give-and-take, of the people whose stories she teases out of her sources, literally teasing, often surprising her readers and, supposing they could know it, her historical actors themselves. Facts and fictions, history and literature, anthropology and detective work are part of the weave, but never so abstractly as a list because this is braided history with sleeves rolled up. Natalie brings the same phenomenal energy and curiosity to finding out things as to intertwining what she finds, looking for the fit. It's as if there should be or, better, that there must be a

covenant between the living and the dead—not just to remember but to take care to remember rightly. We have responsibilities to the dead as we might hope our successors will have to us. Of course nothing is inevitable about those responsibilities being met—more likely, to the contrary. Braids can come unraveled; they usually do sooner or later. But that's why history matters: because it is humanly contingent, because people make choices, even though the contexts are limiting and the dice are usually loaded. Natalie wants to tell us that outcomes are not foreordained and that our judgments about them cannot be fixed in advance either.

When Natalie left Berkeley in 1977, her students put on a kind of charivari, making "rough music," dancing around her, eating and drinking quite a lot so as to make their displeasure known while also letting off festive steam. They needn't have worried too much; nor need the CEU worry about her stepping down from the board, because she's always adding, not losing, ties that connect friends, colleagues, students, admirers, and readers in many languages around the world. She was already a one-person World Wide Web before a now-largely-forgotten American politician invented the internet. It's a good thing, too, just now, when there is so much clamorous divisiveness in the world—we/they, our group, power, boundary, tradition vs. yours—at the very same time when we are more inextricably interconnected than ever before. Natalie's early modern world was already like that in its historical differences and in the equally historical facts of their intermingling. If there are lessons in history, it's hard to imagine a more important one than the braidedness she creates and confirms.

THE RETURN OF NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS

Gábor Klaniczay

When I decided to put my contribution today under the banner of the best known book by Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, I was obeying a set of inevitable constraints. The strongest among them was, of course, that the amazing story in this slim volume does not cease to make one think and wonder ever since one has read it. As Natalie Davis points out, already the judge and prime narrator, Jean Coras seems to tell two stories at once: a "prodigious" and a "tragic" one. Ingeniously deciphering the contradictory descriptions and opening up the ambivalent interpretation possibilities in the different layers of the story, she manages to show that all the emerging questions, puzzles and mysteries have at least two or three possible explanations. Already the meaning of the title has two layers: the first return of Martin Guerre which occurs in the shape of the impostor Arnaud du Tilh (alias Pansette), who brings love, tenderness and new children to the previously unhappy marriage of Bertrande de Rols, abandoned by her husband eight years earlier, and the second return of Martin Guerre, the true one, with a wooden leg, who decided to come back finally from Spain, to testify before the court to reclaim his family, property and identity. The real ambivalence is, of course: how could this story happen at all; how was such an imposture possible; how could it have been believed in the first place, and how could it come to be undermined, in the second. To recreate the uncertainties of this situation, the "perhapses", the "may-have-beens", as Natalie Davis tells in her preface, is a truly exciting and perplexing task for the analyst—and she liked this challenge. The multivalent solution she offered was centered around the subtle and inventive reinterpretation of the role of Bertrande. While the wife was considered by most contemporaries and later interpreters to have been a victim duped by the impostor, Natalie's alternative reading (based on the reconstruction of peasant mentalities and feminine roles) shows her rather as the accomplice of the new Martin, helping him with "shrewd realism," playing a clever double game when constrained by Pierre Guerre to accept accusing him of imposture, and collapsing in tears and repentance when the real Martin eventually reappears. This reconstruction is paired by a double portrait of Arnaud du Tilh, who is not only the talented trickster, impostor and adulterer, but who gets transformed by his new life to take seriously his role as substitute husband, to develop tender feelings for his wife, to stick to his refashioned identity to the point of giving admonishments, before being hanged, to the real Martin Guerre not to be too harsh with Bertrande.

After confessing my unceasing fascination with the way Natalie Davis told this amazing story, I have to mention a second impact of this same book in my life (a return of *The Return of Martin Guerre*). Having become personally acquainted with her in Princeton in 1986, and having even hosted her for a lecture in Budapest in 1987 (on the *Fiction in the Archives* appearing just about then), she sent me in 1988 an offprint with a scathing critique on her Martin Guerre (by Robert Finlay), and her triumphant response to it, both appearing in the same issue of the *American Historical Review*. I can still recall the afternoon when I first read the critique with astonishment and anxiety, witnessing first the rather persuasive rhetoric and the nearly annihilating judgments attempting to destroy Natalie's masterly analysis, and then the relief and reassurance when I switched to reading her magnificent thirty-page-long answer, entitled (following Michel de Montaigne, another commentator on this famous story) "On the Lame." It was a cathartic feeling: a quietly argued, wittily illustrated and spicily seasoned reasoning systematically dismantling the torrent of malicious, insinuating and defamatory accusations and allegations brought up in the critique of Finlay, refuting them to a point that by the end of her article we are simply brought to forget about the whole thing altogether—with a popular analogy: "the return of the Jedi" after the "strikeback of the Empire." Forced and fuelled by the context of the polemics, the essay "On the Lame" reformulated the analytic schemes and the methodological ruses of the original *Return of Martin Guerre* in a sharper, more eloquent, and more explicitly argued form—in a kind of self-explanatory illustration of "the historian's craft," or rather the craft of the special kind of historian she is. When reading this with true admiration with some friends of mine we were busy planning a critical review publishing precisely such heated scholarly controversies—Natalie's "On the Lame" reassured me of the spectacular merits of this genre. When *The Budapest Review of Books* was founded in 1989, and soon, in 1991, an English language version was created as well, Natalie Davis was naturally asked to be on our board, which she accepted. She helped us a lot by recommending this review to the readers of the *New York Review of Books*.

While Natalie Davis kept on returning to Budapest in the 1990s, telling about her new themes and stories (such as "History and Memory," "Women on the Margins" or "The Gift"), Martin Guerre returned a third time in my life, when there opened up a possibility for publishing a Hungarian translation in a book series I co-edited on Microhistory, in 1999. The translation, done with care by two young colleagues, Emese Lafferton and Marcell Sebők, allowed me to get closer to this text again, for which we organized a nice promotion campaign in Budapest: with Natalie sitting out in front of the tents on the "Book-Week," on Ferenc Liszt Square and Vörösmarty Square, dedicating copies for interested

buyers, presenting Martin Guerre in the bookshop of the Osiris Publishing House, and, after projecting at the Budapest French Institute the 1982 movie "Le retour de Martin Guerre" (by Daniel Vigne, with Gérard Depardieu and advised by Natalie herself), she gave a lecture in French, comparing this story to "Sommersby," its American adaptation. This return of Natalie Zemon Davis to the Budapest scene was spectacular enough. To my great rejoicing, she returned again to Budapest in the following year, in an even more significant quality: at the invitation of George Soros she became a member of CEU Board of Trustees—a new period of intensive cooperation which has lasted until the present moment.

I think I could give enough reasons why my present contribution was so inevitably associated to *The Return of Martin Guerre*, it is now high time that I make some use of the notion of return.

Similarly to Sorin Antohi or Randolph Starn, who characterized her historian's achievement by borrowing some key-terms from her *œuvre* (such as "margins" or "braided histories") let me try to make the concept of "return" my emblem for this purpose. More than a decade ago (in 1993) Jacques Le Goff gave an inspiring lecture in Santiago de Compostela on "The 'returns' in French historiography" (*Les 'retours' dans l'historiographie française actuelle*). He described an interesting set of changes in the paradigm of the *Annales* school. This school, as we know, had been notorious for its refusal of the history defined in terms of events, prominent personalities, a political history of kings, states, war, and the corresponding genres: historical narrative (*histoire-récit*), biography, a "positivist" research of "facts." They proposed instead an examination of social, economic, demographic, environmental "*structural history*," "*longue durée*," "*mentalité*," the reliance upon comparative approaches, a problem-centered, "scientific" analysis based upon methodologies borrowed from anthropology, sociology, geography. In 1993, after the shifts of historiographic interest and the changing method-ologies of the seventies and eighties, Le Goff observed five fields of spectacular "return" to previously discarded territories: "political history," "event," "narrative," "biography," and the "individual." To be sure, these "old themes" started to be cultivated now in a new, methodologically underpinned, self-reflectively circumscribed manner (not the least by himself in his 1995 biog-raphy on St. Louis). Yet, the coinciding set of these returns is still remarkable, and testifies to the fact that the triumphant "*nouvelle histoire*" is not necessarily a deviation from the traditional concerns of historiography. While it continues to introduce provocative innovations, it can also continuously rehabilitate unjustly discarded fields.

Though Le Goff does not mention Natalie Davis among his examples for these "returns," much of what she has done has very eminently contributed to

this movement. Her first research explored the social history of the *menu peuple,* developing into a "historical anthropology" of "rites of violence," "Abbeys of Misrule," "charivari," "women on top," religious change, "strikes and salvation," and many other fascinating problems (a selection of which made her first successful book on *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* in 1975). All this provided, incidentally, new insights into the history of Reformation times in France, with a taste for spectacular events and their memory preserved in elaborate narratives. Already before the famous article by Lawrence Stone, she directed attention to the "revival of the narrative" in her ingenious review of Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* in the *Annales* (*"Les conteurs de Montaillou"*). The energy she dedicated to the story of Martin Guerre also served to restitute the voice and the discourses of the original storytellers. In her *Fiction in the Archives. Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Early Modern France,* she sets out to analyze judicial narratives in a new way, with a "zestful appetite for good stories" as Alfred Soman remarked. She manages to show indeed, that some of the pardon tales formulated for saving the lives of mercy-seeking murderers could be worthy rivals (and sometimes skillful plagiarizers) of analogous stories in "high literature" (Boccaccio, Sacchetti, Noel Du Fail, Shakespeare).

The attraction of Natalie Davis to narrative is fully exploited in her *Women on the Margins*, which, at the same time, provides a fascinating new kind of biography (a second territory where the *nouvelle histoire* returned recently): a comparative analysis of the autobiographies of three women (the Jewish Glickl bas Judah Leib, the Catholic Maria de l'Incarnation, and the Protestant Maria Sibylla Merian). In the line of *The Return of Martin Guerre* and also that of several fascinating characters appearing in the *Fiction in the Archives*, this rich book on the three women is also concerned with the problem of the individual, the subject, the identity. Understanding these personalities and their adventurous, extraordinary lives through the prism of their religious beliefs, their family histories, their specific interests, passions, hostilities, and reconstructing their meanings from the indices discovered in the documents—this is the scope of her enquiry. The results of her observations are frequently resumed in suggestive, evocative phrases ("a woman emerges—curious, willful, self-concealing, versatile, carried along through religious and family change by her ardent pursuit of nature's connections and beauty"—she writes on Maria Sibylla Merian, p. 141)—but eventually all this gets subtly documented and elaborated, reviving these "three seventeenth-century lives," to the point of engaging personally into a vivid conversation with them in the Prologue of the book. Though "political history" and "events" are not absent from these accounts, instead of returning to these themes Natalie would rather explore new uncharted fields opened up by her exceptional narrative sources: the confrontation

of native Amerindian cultures in the course of the religious missionary activity or the exploration and documentation of nature's curiosities as part of the new expanding enterprise of science and collecting.

This "return" of narrative, biography, identity and self-fashioning remained in the heart of her interest up to present time, in her "braided histories" and analyses of cultural mixture. An "all fire-all flame history," *Une histoire tout feux tout flamme*, as the title of her recent conversations with Denis Crouzet characterize her approach. Or, to return to her formulation in 1988 in her AHA Presidential address: "My image of history would have at least two bodies in it, at least two persons talking, arguing, always listening to the other as they gestured in their books; and it would be a film, not a still picture, so that you could see that sometimes they wept, sometimes they were astonished, sometimes they were knowing, and sometimes they laughed with delight."

I cannot imagine a more attractive way of writing history, a real return to the archaic, homeric origins of storytelling. After the conservative resistance to this kind of historical narrative has faded away, the only thing her readers occasionally complained about was that her books were "so tantalizingly short." As Keith Thomas wrote on *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* ("not the vast monograph which the subject might be thought to have required, but an elegant and relatively short essay, suggestive rather than definitive, yet bristling with intellectual excitement...."). Well, as for my own taste, instead of missing the absence of the *Religion and the Decline of Magic*-like volume of her books, I do not cease to marvel, how that intellectual excitement can return every time. Now that she ends her administrative activities on the CEU board, our contact will again reside only in this: waiting for her new books, articles, films, lectures— new forms of the return of Natalie Zemon Davis.

HONORARY DOCTORATE FOR PETER BROWN

LAUDATIO FOR PETER BROWN
DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF AWARDING HIM
THE HONORARY DOCTORATE OF CEU, 20 MAY 2005

Gábor Klaniczay

A few years ago, when Peter Brown provided a new edition of his first book, the biography *Augustine of Hippo,* he started his preface by telling us what kind of experience it was for him to append an Epilogue to a text that was written in the 1960s. "I wished, as it were, to come upon that young man—a young man half my age—as if meeting him unexpectedly on turning a corner. He would, I think, be thrilled to meet me and to learn of how much has been discovered" since he wrote that book. In a recent interview he gave another formulation of all this: "Researchers in European libraries discovered 22 hitherto unknown sermons written by Augustine in his early years as a bishop and 27 vivid letters written during his old age. The new material altered my opinion of certain interpretations in the book. But the lovely thing about the new evidence was it gave me a reason to go back and revise certain points in the first edition about which I had simply changed my mind. Some 40 years had passed since I began work on the first edition, and I found that I related to Augustine differently. Perhaps I had just grown up."

Peter Brown's autobiographical approach to his own writing appropriately parallels here that of Augustine, who in his old age prepared a complete list of his works in chronological order.

"One does not do what the French call *égo-histoire* only out of egotism," he said when two years ago he gave his Charles Homer Haskins Lecture at the ACLS, looking back on his "Life of Learning." "Scholars need to become, from time to time, historians of themselves in order to learn a measure of intellectual humility. A little history puts one firmly back in one's place." This critical reexamination of his own former themes, in fact, has been an integral part of Peter Brown's *modus operandi* for some time. In 1997, on the initiative of Thomas Haegg, he revisited *The World of Late Antiquity*; the same year, for the quarter-centenary of his seminal article, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," he published a long study with the same title, augmented by the double date: 1971–1997. In fact, he started this critical reappraisal already in a lecture in 1993 on "Arbiters of the Holy: the Christian Holy Man in Late

Antiquity." This same article was revisited in 1999 by an entire volume on *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, edited by James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward, with a series of fascinating and thorough studies using this article for a critical appraisal of the whole body of his writings.

I am starting with these references to indicate that with the honorable task of presenting the life-work of Peter Brown today I am in the fortunate situation of being able to set forth on a broad and well-trodden path where I can rely upon the guidance of his numerous friends and colleagues and, most of all, himself. When I set out to prepare this *laudatio,* I might have been relieved after having discovered all this, but, I must confess, I was rather intimidated. Can I express more eloquently than James Howard-Johnston the fact that "none can match the inspiration given by Peter Brown or the energizing force which his teaching and writing have imparted to research in the field"? Or more fulsomely than the scholar nominating him to be the Haskins Lecturer? "He is one of very few scholars now alive who have, in effect, invented a field of study, the burgeoning one of late antique studies... an expanding galaxy of scholarship in history, religion, literature and much more for which Brown's work provided the initiating Big Bang, and in which he continues to function as a benevolent and generous Providence."

Or more concisely than Averil Cameron? "Peter Brown is a historian through and through. He wants to understand how things came about as they did… a bravura display of empathy with the abundant source material." And most of all, how could I come near to his marvelous starting sentences or paragraphs, such as the one of *The Cult of the Saints* "This book is about the joining of Heaven and Earth, and the role, in this joining, of dead human beings." or the beginning of *The Making of Late Antiquity*: "I wish I had been one of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. These Christian brothers had been walled up in a cave in the middle of the third century, during the pagan persecution of the Emperor Decius (249–251). They were awakened in the early fifth century, in the reign of Decius' direct successor, the Empreror Theodosius II (408–450), in order to enlighten the most Christian monarch on a point concerning the resurrection of the dead. Imagine their surprise when, on entering the city, they saw the Cross placed above the main gate, heard men freely swearing by the name of Christ, saw a great church and the Christian clergy busied with repairing the walls of the city, and found that the solid silver coins of a pagan emperor caused amazement in the marketplace. This book is an attempt to enter into their surprise."

Should I just continue to offer a series of quotes? It would surely be the best solution, but I am obliged to resort to a less perfect one. The ritual of conferring an honorary degree requires a combination of biographical details,

enumerations and a somewhat immodest self-presentation of the hosts, who intend to show themselves worthy of conferring this title. Let me make some awkward steps in this direction.

Peter Brown was born in Dublin, and his Irish Protestant background gave him, as he tells it, an unconventional approach to the study of Greek when he started public school in England: instead of "doing Classics" like his English classmates, Greek was for him "to return to the New Testament and the origins of Christianity itself." Subsequently he studied at Oxford, at New College and then at All Souls, planning first to write a dissertation in medieval history, but "choosing his bishop" finally from late antiquity—Augustine of Hippo, of course.

Understanding Augustine was a fascinating enterprise. On the one hand it was a "spiritual biography," the study of the personality, the admirably articulated thoughts, the religious fervor, the ample radius of activities of this "founder of Western Christianity;" on the other hand it was a portrait of *Religion and Society in the Age of Augustine*, as the first collection of his articles puts it. It was the study of an "extraordinary period of crisis... the real rise to power of the Catholic Church in the West, and the first earth tremors of the barbarian invasions"—the study of the social and religious dynamics of a whole historical period, which he was to soon to characterize and analyze as late antiquity in a series of books. Repudiating the image of "decline and fall" perpetrated by Edward Gibbon, he reminded us that this period, extending from roughly 250 to 800 AD, can boast of a rather impressive series of achievements in a world of dramatic change: the rise of the Christian Empire, then of Byzantium, the codification of the Roman Law, the birth of the Catholic Church and of Islam. The vast legacy of Classical antiquity had to be reinterpreted in these contexts.

As a remarkable parallel to this combination of a biography with a synthetic vision of a whole civilization, let me mention here the example of Jacques Le Goff, whose trajectory was similar but inverse: he first wrote his *Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* in 1965, and had been, for several decades, staunchly opposed to biographical approach, until he revised this *Annales* doctrine and wrote his *Saint Louis* in 1995, which, incidentally, revisits and reformulates the whole synthetic presentation of the civilization of the medieval West, seen now from the Archimedean point of St. Louis' life and memory. Though the course of the research of Peter Brown went in the opposite direction, from the individual towards broader social and cultural frameworks, he never lost sight of the biographical approach. This is demonstrated not only by his return to his Augustine monograph recently, but also by a long series of vivid portraits embedded in his analyses—Julian the Apostate, Libanius, Anthony, Jerome, St. John Chrysostom, Simeon the Stylite—and I would also

mention here his magnificent intellectual biography of his master, Arnaldo Momigliano.

The formation of Peter Brown's life work was framed by his three "great displacements:" from Oxford to London University, then to Berkeley, and finally to Princeton. The teaching in London brought him an ever-broadening contact with social anthropology and psychology, which offered new theoretical tools to understand and analyze the problems of late antiquity. He describes his acquaintance with the writings of Mary Douglas in the late 1960s as "nothing less than the equivalent of the discovery of a universal law of gravity," which enabled him to reject the simplistic two-tiered models which dismiss much of late antique religion as either "syncretism" or even "popular superstition" instead of reconstructing its complex moral and intellectual cosmology. His participation in one of the enquiries organized by Mary Douglas in 1969 on *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, paying tribute to the anthropological work of Edward Evans-Pritchard, made him—together with Keith Thomas—one of the ground-breakers of historical anthropology. It is the anthropological approach to the roles of religious mediators within communities that directed his attention to the rise of the holy man, this "key point of intersection between spiritual, wider cultural, social and political forces" (to quote James Howard Johnston), and when he subsequently looked at the cult of saints "through kinship colored glasses," many new dimensions unfolded.

The anthropological view took him even further, beyond individual anthropologically relevant themes. "The historian might treat periods as Mary Douglas treated tribes," he said. His prospective "field" was, of course, late antiquity. He explored it first in its chronological span from the third to the eighth century (as shown in the studies collected in *Society and the Holy*), then also with a thorough geographical meticulousness, first exploring the variety of eastern regions (Egypt, Syria, Byzantium), then turning back, time and again, to the *Rise of Western Christianity*. This simultaneous analysis of the Mediterranean landscape East and West, however obvious and necessary it may seem, has been and remains rather rare in historical research, a void only occasionally filled by the likes of Fernand Braudel or Peter Brown, and an approach of special value for the kind of studies that we intend to pursue here at Central European University.

In 1978 he decided to move to Berkeley, where new theoretical orientations enriched his analyses: Victor Turner, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Hadot. The fruit of his new enquiries, perhaps his most commanding monograph, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, was the response of a Classical scholar to the heated debates of "sexual politics" very much in the air then. Intrigued by the provoking question of Michel Foucault,

who was looking for the late antique genealogy of European civilization's obsession with sex, Peter Brown decided to spell out, in a series of careful consecutive enquiries, how ascetic renunciation moved to the center of Christian life, how sex, contact with sex, and refusal of sex was made by the church into one of the main benchmarks of hierarchy in Christian life.

This book, inspired by the Berkeley spirit, was only completed after he moved to Princeton in 1983. On the East Coast, besides a new group of inspiring colleagues—Clifford Geertz, Tony Grafton, and Natalie Zemon Davis (who also came from Berkeley)—the most precious treasure that he found was "God's plenty in the libraries," leading him back to his original credo: "Erudition, diverse and concrete, is the only way into crucial areas of the study of late antiquity." He has not written another thick book since *The Body and Society*, finished at Princeton. In a series of elegant, finely written, eloquently argued small monographs or synthetic overviews he rather kept on elaborating different aspects, refining, polishing the image of the progress of Christian-ization. In *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (1992) he explains social, political and religious change with a closer look at late antique elites. In *Authority and the Sacred* (1995), he revises his approach to Christian holy men and women, directing his attention away from the narrative (the "smokescreen") of their legends and towards a critically evaluated historical context of their lives. In *Rise of Western Christendom: 200–1000 AD* (1996), written in the series of *Making Europe* edited by Jacques Le Goff, he paints a new panorama of the varieties of the legacy of the Roman Empire (extending late antiquity this time until the first millennium); in *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (2002) he comes back to the question of what lies behind the Christian rhetoric of the love of the poor. His current work, *Treasure in Heaven,* which he shared in a fascinating Summer University in July 2004 at CEU, is just the counterpart of this enquiry. He analyzes here how people thought about wealth, "because until you understand that you can't understand the significance of radical Christian criticisms of wealth."

Having arrived at the present after this hasty overview of his rich oeuvre, let me try to add some notes of a more personal tone to this presentation. It was at Princeton, during a brief visit in 1986, that I first met Peter Brown. I still recall our intensive conversation after lunch and before he had to run to a seminar. I was impressed by the enthusiastic and encouraging way in which he launched his interested questions upon an unknown young scholar from remote Hungary who wanted to talk to him about his own research on sainthood, heresy, shamanism, and witchcraft. Whenever I touched upon a new theme, he deciphered my intentions in a few seconds, and urged me to move on to the next "hot spot." In a few minutes he plunged us into a common discussion, a

kind of complicity in jointly discovering novelties, pouring out inspiring comments and advice. I remember talking to some friends there later that day, where all agreed that ten minutes discussion with Peter Brown can indeed be plenty. And our contact, sporadic and discontinuous as it may have been, still endures after nearly two decades, and has provided me on several occasions with precious suggestions (hand-written excerpts from obscure sources on Caucasian sorcerers or Muslim travellers) and equally valuable books and offprints.

It might be worth recalling that some years later Peter Brown directed the PhD of a Hungarian doctoral student (on the rise of the cult of martyrs in the time of Pope Damasus), the work of Marianne Sághy, who is now our colleague here at CEU Medieval Studies. Still later our expert in the Late Antique patristic tradition, István Perczel, made contact with him—and it was due to his efforts that Peter Brown agreed to convene the 2004 Summer University on Late Antiquity—attracting his colleagues such as Glenn Bowersock, Sebastian Brock, Averil Cameron, Christina D'Ancona, Garth Fowden, and Robert Marcus to the CEU—a real miracle for us. The workshop contributed to the subsequent foundation of our Center for Hellenic Studies, and the workshop on Late Antique Alexandria is also a continuation of this successful seminar of that summer. Besides all the inspiration, knowledge, and pleasure that we have derived from his oeuvre, we must also thank him now for his help, generosity, and collegiality.

To conclude, let me return once more to Peter Brown's autobiographical "Life of Learning." He wrote there that: "if each age gets the historical methodology that it deserves, then the Christian writers of late antiquity, skilled rhetors that they were and impenitent producers of powerful and self-serving 'representations' of the world around them, have got what they richly deserved: a stringent dose of post-modern 'hermeneutical suspicion.'"

For the present moment I would rephrase this, with less spice and irony but perhaps with more optimism. In the person of Peter Brown, the Christian writers of late antiquity have the historian they richly deserved: someone able to value their deep attachment to Classical learning in a changing world, someone capable of understanding and appreciating their efforts to be useful to their communities in new ways, and someone who could have sincere human compassion for their ambitions and failures, their desires and weaknesses.

He has managed, in his analyses, to show (or, if needed, reconstitute) the link between antiquity and modernity, between East and West—and not to forget between Heaven and Earth. We are proud and very happy indeed that he has accepted the invitation to become our honorary doctor.

ANSWER TO GÁBOR KLANICZAY'S *LAUDATIO*

Peter Brown

I am truly moved, deeply moved, and like any late antique or medieval person, feeling true emotion I turn back to well tried texts, bridges that can carry the traffic of my own feelings. Let me read to you a text which I think most of you will already know, the "Admonition of King Stephen," whose Latin text was provided to me by Professor János Bak:

> *Sicut enim ex diversis partibus et provinciis veniunt hospites, ita diversas linguas et consuetudines, diversaque documenta et arma secum ducunt, que omnia regna ornant et magnificant aulam et perterritant exterorum arrogantiam. Nam unius lingue uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est.*

Just as foreign visitors come from different regions of the world and from diverse provinces, so they bring with them different languages and different ways of life, *diversaque documenta et arma*, different monuments of culture and different skills in war—which was a rather eleventh-century desire, we should perhaps say "computer numeracy"—which decorate kingdoms, lend magnificence to their court and strike fear into the proud hearts of others. For a kingdom made up of one single language only and one lifestyle alone is weak and brittle.

Nowhere have I found this admonition more fully fulfilled in our own times as here in Budapest, in the Central European University. It has been a joy for me to follow the emergence of this university, it has been a joy for me, gradually over the years, to make contact, either as colleagues or as students, with its products, and above all it has been a joy, a true joy, to take part in its horizons. Every year when I open the *Annual* of the Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University I unfold a map of Europe, a true wide map as I have always deeply wished it to be, now come true. I know, leafing its pages, that I can move through the holy fools of Russia to the urban ceremonials of the Baltic cities, to pilgrimages in the Balkans and in Scandinavia, to a whole richness marvellously opened up for me. It's something to which I have in recent decades been deeply grateful. It is one of those dreams which I never dared to think, when rising in the mid-1960s, would become so marvellously true.

It is also a dream of friendships come true. Prof. Klaniczay, you were the beginning, but one swallow was only the beginning of a very warm summer. Last year I was able personally to make contact with you all having previously, through the Hellenic Studies Program, in Princeton made contact with István

Perczel. Let me tell you one anecdote: after his paper on Dionysius the Areopagite and the Origenist controversy I noticed, walking down Witherspoon Street, that people were mentioning names like Dionysius, Origen, a small world was positively hopping with the Tritheist controversy—this doesn't happen often. I was very glad, very grateful. Now, for my other friends, George Geréby, László Török, József Laszlovszky, Aziz Al-Azmeh, and of course, Csilla Dobos [departmental coordinator], who kept us all together and in order. There, one can again lapse into Latin, which is best: *ubi amici ibi patria.*

It is a great honour to be here on such a friendly and intimate occasion. Here, distant thinking really brings forth something, not simply tired gatherings of conferences, but something more like the reaching the critical mass in an atomic experiment through the exchange of information. What I think I should always say is that when an award is made it is not the person, it is the generation that is being recognised. One should never underestimate how important intervisibility is in one's own field and also how far back those voices go; yes, there is a chronological generation, but there are also the imagined generations, the generations one wanted to belong to as they stood at your elbow on library shelves.

Any student of the Later Roman Empire, within the first few months in the late 1950s, entered it through the works of Andreas Alföldy: *The Conversion of Constantine* and *Pagan Rome*, *The Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire*, his amazing festival of Isis and his work on the *contorniati* first published, and as a young student I thrilled at the very thought of it happening, in Hungarian. But I read it in 1956 and I didn't know what a future lay ahead. The outreach of the dual monarchy carrying us into the areas of the Middle East, which the more parochial traditions of Europe had not touched, the errant genius of Strzigowsky, the breakthrough to which I still owe so much, of Alois Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, in Islamic Studies, indispensable opening of an entire window through the works of Ignác Goldziher.

This has always placed Hungary as part of what I might call my generation, a generation of friends, who have come for this occasion alone. One must remember as scholar, and particularly as a graduate student, the real thing that matters, is what Augustine knew very well: it is not the beginning, it is the gift of perseverance. One draws one's gift of perseverance not from oneself, but from one's age, from one's colleagues, from one's friends, from people who are out there, from people who have helped you, either personally or who have been part of your cohort, who have come across your path in published books. It's those people, so many of them now, so many of them here, gathered together for this workshop, which certainly, in my case, brought me the gift of perseverance.

What I think is a great delight to know is that this workshop has taken place under the auspices of the Centre for Hellenic Traditions. Again, this strikes me as a characteristically courageous and exhilarating outreach. Outreach to the diversity of Hellenic traditions of which this study, this workshop on Alexandria, is only one example. But there are so many others. One can follow the path, as I did as a young undergraduate, one can take the great Coloman's road where Hungary and the Danubian valley, dominated by the Hungarian kingdom, stood at the crossroads between Byzantium and Western Europe. The world of Gyula Moravcsik's Byzantino-Turcica and his astounding commentary and translation of the *De administrando*. One can go to Zalavár where at least we like to think among those ecologically correct marshes that Prince Pribina once received Methodius. To go, more realistically, to the crown of Constantine Monomachos, that stunning, stunning piece of Byzantine work, found in the ground of Hungary, now in the National Museum.

So we've also come together to honour a generation which has made this further outreach, this further step forward by the Central European University, possible and delightful in the prospect, as only you can. What I think would be the best way, would be to take a quotation from László Török's *Transfigurations of Hellenism*. What better title for the Coptic art which we have dug out from underneath a mass of scholarly junk, trash, misperceptions. It's a reminder that scholarship is always about something new. Truth is always better than the former scholarly fiction of former ages, even though it has a sharp taste—it's as sharp as salt water in the mouth—but as bracing. It's best to wish this new venture what was wished in the beginning of the citation which begins chapter 8, on the images of good life: "Wealth – Joy – Praise – Abundance – Virtue – Progress."

I instantly recognised it, that awesome figure of *hestia polyolbos*, the much blessed hearth, receiving what does she receive, what do we wish you all: Wealth, not an inconsiderable matter, wealth, joy, praise, abundance, virtue, and last, but not least, *procopé*, progress. Thank you very, very much! It has been a great honour to be part of this progress.

CEU
Medieval
Studies

The Center for
Hellenic Traditions

THE CENTER FOR HELLENIC TRADITIONS (CHT)

István Bodnár and István Perczel

The Character and Research Interests of the Center

If we were to define the concept of CHT in one sentence, we would say that it is a kind of extension, both in the geographical area and the time period covered, of Peter Brown's concept of the Mediterranean World and Late Antiquity. CHT is a research institute of the Central European University concerned with work on Hellenic traditions in an interdisciplinary framework which goes beyond a Eurocentric bias and the ensuing limitations of previous approaches. The emphasis is on interactions in the premodern period among intellectual traditions in the area stretching from the Mediterranean to South Asia. This focus implies rethinking disciplinary boundaries (for example, between philosophy, religion, theology, the history of art, and the sciences), classificatory categories (translation and commentary), and spatial and chronological frameworks (disjunction between political and cultural boundaries; a broader conception of "late antiquity," in terms of both time and space). Work on texts and manuscripts neglected because they do not fit into canonical listings will be central, as will promoting training of researchers in the range of languages needed for this research. In its meetings and workshops CHT seeks to stimulate interdisciplinary collaboration and to attract young scholars by offering new models of research.

The geographical area of CHT's interest is the Mediterranean, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and India, that is, first, all those regions that were incorporated into the empire of Alexander the Great and the Diadochus states and, second, that constituted first the Roman Empire and later the "Byzantine Commonwealth" (to use Obolensky's term). The Hellenic tradition is in the focus of CHT's interest not as a merely Greek-speaking culture nor as the "cradle of Western civilization," but as an integrative cultural factor created by a number of different and competing city states along the Mediterranean coast, and later securing unity across various intellectual enterprises on the expanses of the vast *oikumene* throughout many centuries, cutting through religions and "civilizations." The eager adaptation of Hellenic civic engineering, education, culture, even language, remains a unique and intriguing phenomenon in history.

István Bodnár and István Perczel

A Brief Justification of the Concept,
the Geographical Extension and the Time Limits

The Hellenistic Age is usually defined as extending from 333 B.C., that is, the Battle of Issos, to—let us say—30 B.C., the conquest of Alexandria by Octavianus. By Hellenistic culture we mean a blending of Greek and Oriental elements that we usually attribute to the conscious policy of Alexander and his Diadochi, meant to serve a more efficient administration of the newly created vast empires. However, this relationship could be reversed. Hellenism was primarily a blend of Greek and Oriental elements, born as a cultural movement as early as the sixth-fifth centuries B.C., and particularly reinforced by the outcome of the Persian-Greek wars. The birth of this cultural blending was probably a result of intense trade and economic contacts, unhindered by any state or "civilizational" borders. This situation is witnessed by the extraordinary works of archaic art in Lebanon, dating from the sixth and the early fifth century B.C and displaying a blending of the highest possible quality of Archaic and Classical Greek, Egyptian and Persian elements.[1] The distinguishing mark of this Hellenistic art before Hellenism is its anthropocentrism, which was to remain throughout the later periods.

Macedonia was a Hellenistic state before extending its power to Greece and Persia. So apparently the very concept of Alexander to conquer the *Oikumene* was prepared by the birth of this Hellenistic economic and cultural unity and his success was not only due to his extraordinary talents as a military leader or to the mere superiority of Macedonian military might, but also to the deep need to abolish the impediments to free exchange, travel, trade, and cultural contact raised by the Achaimenid Empire. Thus, although the way for Alexander's campaigns was prepared by the spread of Hellenistic material and high culture, the bureaucratic, administrative and financial reforms he introduced were fundamental in creating the *oikumene*. The economic, social, and cultural synthesis resulting from the creation of these Hellenistic states left an indelible stamp on the whole history of Eurasia and North Africa. Neither did it end with the Battle of Actium. Indeed, the role of the Greek language was not weakened in Egypt by the arrival of a Roman administration, but rather strengthened.

To set the date of 30 B.C. as the end of the Hellenistic Age is arbitrary not only because the Roman conquest never extended as far as the eastern sphere of

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[1] Such as a *kouros* statue found in Bustan esh-Sheikh near Sidon (sixth century BC) or the child statuettes and the anthropoid sarcophagi of Eshmun (early fifth century BC) or a capital with bull protomes from Sidon (fifth century BC).

the Hellenistic world, but also because of the deep impact of Hellenism on the Roman Empire itself. Hellenism was the cultural milieu in which the great Late Antique religions, Christianity, first Hellenic, then Rabbinic Judaism, Gnosis, Manichaeism, and Islam were born.[2] If we consider recent debates on the dating of the lives of Buddha and Jina, the great Indian religious reformers, in which several scholars argued for a fourth, even third-century, dating, one may wonder whether the same is also true for Buddhism and Jainism. Independently of the dating of the founders' lives, however, it is certain that Buddhist and Jain culture was formed under Hellenistic influences. The Graeco-Buddhist art of Kushan (Gandhara) is well known; less well known is the much earlier impact of Hellenism on the Maurya Empire, testified to by Ashoka's edict pillars, the creation of the Brahmi script, and the beginning of Indian history writing. A strange fact is that the iconography of the Jain saints simply reproduces that of the archaic Greek *kouroi*. Hindu figurative art as we know it was born as a reaction to the Buddhist-Jain challenge and continues its patterns.

Not only the Roman, the Maurya, and the Kushan empires, but also Sassanid Persia show the deep impact of Hellenism. The Yavanas and the St. Thomas Christians in India are also its representatives. Needless to argue for Byzantium; recent studies such as those of Glen Bowersock and Garth Fowden have raised the deep continuity between the Byzantine and the Umayyad periods in the Middle East. The Hellenism of the Abassid Empire is testified to by the Baghdad translation movement (from Greek to Arabic) initiated by the first Abassid caliphs and favoured by the rationalist Mu'tazilite theology that they adopted. The Syrian Christian physicians of the court played a major role in this movement. In general, religious, linguistic, and cultural minorities had a catalyzing function in the creation of the cultural unity of the *oikumene* throughout the ages.

The transmission of Greek science and philosophy is a paradigmatic case for illustrating the integrative role of Hellenism. Platonism and Aristotelianism, just as the medical theories of Galen and Hippocrates or the astronomy of Ptolemy, are ubiquitous in the o*ikumene*. This transmission, whose details remain largely unknown and whose documents are largely unedited, will constitute one of the focal points of interest of the Center. As a prerequisite for charting this development, CHT will also be devoted to in-depth studies of the sometimes shared, sometimes conflicting presuppositions of Greek science and philosophy.

Naturally, Byzantium was the main transmitter of Hellenism between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries; the facts and data of this transmission are

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[2] For this reason, Adolf von Harnack's view on a "Hellenisierung des Christentums" seems to be an a-historic construct.

well known. However, much more is known about the relationship between Byzantium and the West (although the nature of this relationship is often described in a partisan way) than about Byzantium and its eastern neighbours, that is, about Byzantium and the *oikumene*. Both of these relationships will be important research areas of the institute. Although the cultural relations between Byzantium and the Byzantine Commonwealth are no *terra incognita*, more advanced methodological inquiries into this area are likely to give interesting new results. Indeed, it is a vital need of scholarship to connect Slavic studies (all too often conducted in isolation) to Hellenic and Byzantine studies and *vice versa*.

The role of the Hellenic constituency in the Ottoman Empire is well known and so also is the impact of Hellenism on the Byzantine Commonwealth, including Russia, even after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. As late as the end of the eighteenth century, Rigas Velestinlis, who propagated the idea of a Hellenic Republic, still thought that this new state would include the entire terrritory of the Ottoman Empire, with all its peoples, religions, and languages. Certainly, he was deeply influenced by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, especially by the Declaration of Human Rights, but he also continued the idea of Hellenism as a non-nationalistic, universalist, and integrative concept.

When, in 1736, the Turkmenian Nadir Shah conquered Persia he was accompanied by a Greek chronicler, who wrote the chronicle of the campaign in Greek. The manuscript of the chronicle is in the National Libary of Athens and awaits an edition. When, in 1825, Alexander Csoma de Körös, the great Hungarian traveller and scholar entered Tibet, he introduced himself as Sikander Beg from Rum Yul. Sikander means Alexander in Tibetan and Rum Yul is the Roman Empire. These were the concepts that made the Tibetans understand the place of origin of the first Western traveller whom they met. Both phenomena constitute clear testimony to the persistence of Hellenism as a cultural factor in Asia.

The emergence of competing nationalisms fundamentally rewrote the political and cultural map of the region where Hellenism exerted its influence. The Center follows these developments, as the various nationalisms certainly did not erase all traces of the multicultural integrative mold of Hellenism.

The activities of CHT challenge the arbitrary mental constructs of Orientalism and Westernism, Civilizationism and Eurocentrism. We are convinced that Hellenic studies thus conceived will show that the world did not have to wait for Western colonialism and modern globalism to be global or, rather, oikumenical. By concentrating on Hellenism as an integrative factor of the Euro-Africo-Asian *oikumene*, CHT will unearth, rehearse, and draw scholarly attention to many facts, relationships, and historico-cultural structures that have

hitherto remained invisible due to the "blind spot effect" of the combined ideologies of Eurocentrism and Orientalism.

Current Activities of CHT

- Digitization of Syriac manuscripts in Southern India (in collaboration with the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft)
- Hellenic Colloquia Series
  lectures presented by György Karsai, Pavel Gregoric, László Török, György Geréby, Paolo Odorico, Chloé Balla
- Workshops
  1. *Late Antique Alexandria. Interdisciplinary workshop in the honour of Peter Brown 20–21 May, 2005*
  2. *Religio Academici. Workshop on Skepticism, Religion and the Pursuit of Knowledge* 10 November 2005
- Co-ordinating international interdisciplinary research projects
- Fellowships (MA, postdoctoral, different research grants)
- Book publication
  1. *The Nomocanon of Metropolitan Abdisho of Nisibis.* Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005.
  2. *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy. Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation.* Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006.
- Setting up a specialized collection in the CEU Library.

THE TÜBINGEN UNIVERSITY–CEU CENTER FOR HELLENIC TRADITIONS JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT ON PRESERVING THE SYRIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SAINT THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN INDIA[1]

István Perczel

The Nature, Aims and History of the Project

The Saint Thomas Christians call themselves by this appellation because their tradition holds that their ancestors, all from the high castes of Hindu society, were converted by the Apostle Saint Thomas, who arrived in India in the year 52 AD. At present there is no way to scientifically prove or disprove this tradition. One thing is certain: Ever since the discovery of the monsoon winds by Hippalus, an Alexandrian ship captain, in 45 AD, land and sea routes were open from the Mediterranean via the Persian Gulf to India and there were indeed intense contacts between these areas. Be that as it may, the tradition of Christ's Apostle doing missionary work in India is the main formative element of the identity of a large and flourishing (at present seven-million-strong) community. At a certain stage of its history, this community entered into intense contacts with the Syrian Christian world. Tradition also tells that this happened in 345 AD, when Thomas of Cana, a rich Syrian merchant from Persia, landed in Cranganore, accompanied by seventy families. Their descendants, the endogamous Knanaya community, boast of having preserved pure Syrian blood. Thus, according to the unanimous traditions of the St. Thomas Christians, it was Thomas of Cana and the bishops who accompanied him who established permanent contact with the Syrian Church. Ever since Thomas of Cana, if we are to believe tradition, the Malabar Church, consisting of an Indian and a Syrian component, has belonged ecclesiastically and culturally to the Syrian Christian world. Thus, the St. Thomas Christians' native tongue is Malayalam, their everyday culture and customs are typically Indian, while their language of worship and of high culture has been Syriac for many centuries. In fact it seems to me that for the Indian Christian community, which traditionally constituted a high caste within Hindu society, Syriac played a similar social function to that

which Sanskrit played for the neighbouring Hindu high-caste society. There is, however, a point where traditional opinions are divided in India. Although we know that at the time when the Portuguese arrived in India the Malabar Church had been under the jurisdiction of the Persian Church for at least two centuries, some hold that before this date the Indian Church belonged to the Patriarchate of Antioch, while according to others, the Persian jurisdiction was the original one.

During the Middle Ages the importing and copying of manuscripts to and in India was a normal phenomenon, as attested by the few Indian manuscripts and their colophons and marginal notes which are preserved from this period. Most of these manuscripts are now in European libraries in Rome, Lisbon, London or Cambridge. The situation changed with the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar (1498), following which they launched an attack on the Syrian culture of the community and submitted them to a forced Latinisation. This process culminated in 1599, at the ill-famed Diamper Synod, when many of the Saint Thomas Christians' books were condemned to be burnt. This unhappy event could not stop but rather excited the Saint Thomas Christians' quest for Syriac culture, all the more so because the leaders of the community in 1653 made a solemn oath not to obey those whom they called the "Franks" (*Phrangaye* in Syriac and *Parangi* in Malayalam) but to preserve their identity and faith. This was the famous Bent Cross Oath (Kunan Kurishu) at Matancherry, Cochin, an event which resulted in the fact that approximately half of the Saint Thomas Christians gradually joined the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch.[2] Thus, the circulation of Syriac manuscripts between the Middle East and India, as well as the copying of manuscripts in India, remained uninterrupted until quite recently.

Our project aims at preserving and making known this heritage. In its framework we are surveying, digitising, and cataloguing the manuscripts preserved in Kerala. This means large-scale international cooperation between scholars and institutions, which we initiated in the year 2000. The present fieldwork is the continuation and new stage of a long-term project that has been going on for five years, hosted by Central European University and sponsored by diverse institutions and funding agencies. The first fieldwork took place, financed by CEU and the Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI)

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[2] On the Bent Cross Oath see Jacob Kollaparambil, *The St. Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653* (Kottayam: Catholic Bishop's House, 1981), M. K. Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1982), 53; Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India.* (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1982) Vol. 2, 91; Xavier Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India* (Kottayam: Oriental Inst. of Religious Studies, 1998), 97; E. M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St Thomas* (second ed. Kuriakose Corepiscopa Moolayil, Cheeranchira, Changanessery: Mor Adai Study Centre, 2002; first published: Kottayam: E. P. Mathew Edavazhikal, 1908), 133.

in Kottayam, Kerala, in the year 2000. The project was the beneficiary of several grants from the Central European University and a one-time Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University) Project Grant in 2002/03. In 2002 a second round of fieldwork was conducted, sponsored by CEU and hosted by SEERI. At present the project is being conducted in the framework of international cooperation between the Oriental Institute of the University of Tübingen, Germany, as the senior partner, and the CEU Center for Hellenic Traditions (CHT), Budapest, Hungary. The third member of the consortium is the Beth Mardutho Syriac Institute in New Jersey, US. The project's main finances come from the German Research Council via Tübingen, with an important and essential contribution from CHT. The Tübingen side of the project is directed by Prof. Dr. Stephen Gerö, the CEU side is directed by me, Beth Mardutho Institute is directed by Dr. George Kiraz.[3]

On the present mission

The present mission consists of four modules: a. Field work in Kerala, b. Scholarly background work in Tübingen, c. The processing of electronic data in Budapest, d. Publication of the results in electronic and book format, mainly assumed by the Beth Mardutho Syriac Institute.

Field Work in Kerala

Personnel. The Indian team consists of three persons: myself, presently research associate in Tübingen besides Prof. Stephen Gerö and director of the project on the part of the CHT; Attila Baticz, technical director, responsible for all the technical setup, assisted by Yesudas Chovokkaran, technical associate of the project, and Harshad Attuparambath, assistant. The team gets efficient help for gaining access to manuscripts from a number persons, including His Grace Mar Aprem Metropolitan, Rev. Fr. Ignatius Payyappilly, Rev. Fr. Sleeba George Panackal, Dr. Susan Thomas, Mr. Geejo George, Dr. Thomas Joseph, and others. The job of this team is to locate and identify manuscript collections and archives, survey their contents, establish a preliminary checklist of the manuscripts, digitise them, and complete their material description for further cataloguing.

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[3] For a report on the initial ideas concerning this project, as we saw it in the year 2000 and for its preliminary results see Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux, István Perczel, Jacob Thekeparampil, "The Kerala Manuscripts on CD-ROM: a Joint Indian-French-Hungarian Mission," *Symposium Syriacum VII*, ed. Rifaat Ebied, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56, no. 1–4 (2004), 245–256.

István Perczel

Technical data. During the present mission we are using a KODAK PROFESSIONAL DCS Pro SLR/n camera, that is, a 14 megapixel digital SLR camera, with a Nikkor AF 50 mm f/1.4 normal lens and Nikkor AF 28–105 mm f/3.5–4.5 zoom lens. This technology permits making high-resolution images (14 megapixels) with great photographic fidelity, because the camera works just as any professional analogue camera, using Nikkor lenses. The raw file formats in which we are saving the digital images assure that all the basic settings of the camera and the properties of the image files can be modified conveniently at any time and without any loss of data, as if in the camera itself at the time of shooting. They are, and hopefully will remain, compatible with any existing or future operational system.

Work completed during the period between 15 January and 1 December 2005

I think I am the author of the hitherto most complete list of the known Kerala collections.[4] That study listed altogether 18 MS collections and gave an estimate

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[4] István Perczel, "Syriac Manuscripts in India: The Present State of the Cataloguing Process," *The Harp: A Review of Syriac and Oriental Ecumenical Studies.* Vol. 15 (2002) *Festschrift Mar Aprem, Kottayam, Kerala, India,* 289–298. This is the most complete, because most recent, list of the collections but not the most complete list of the manuscripts. This remains the excellent, scholarly and pioneering study of J. P. M. van der Ploeg, O. P., *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manuscripts* (Rome and Bangalore: Center for Indian and Inter-Religious Studies – Dharmaram Publications, 1983). Besides Van der Ploeg's work, the most important catalogues of Indian manuscript collections hitherto published are (in chronological order): E. R. Hambye, S. J., "Some Syriac Libraries of Kerala (Malabar), India: Notes and Comments," in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus*, ed. R. H. Fischer (Chicago: The Lutheran School of Theology, 1977), 35–46; Mar Aprem, "Syriac Manuscripts in Trichur," in *IIIᵒ Symposium Syriacum 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7–11 Septembre 1980)*, ed. René Lavenant, S. J., Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, 1983), 355–374; Mar Aprem, "Syriac Manuscripts in Trichur," in *The Church I Love. A Tribute to Rev. Placid J. Podipara C.M.I.*, ed. J. Madey and G. Kaniarakath (Kottayam-Paderborn, 1984), 355–374.; Daniel L. McConaughy, "Syriac Manuscripts in South India: The Library of the Saint Thomas Apostolic Seminary," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 52 (1986): 432–434; Daniel L. McConaughy, "An Update on the Syriac MSS Collections in South India," *Oriens Christianus* 71 (1987): 208–212.; Hubert Kaufhold, "Syrische Handschriften juristischen Inhalts in südindischen Bibliotheken," in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungberichte,* Vol. 535 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989); F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, J. Thekeparampil, "Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques de la collection du Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (Kottayam)," *Le Muséon* 110, Fasc. 3–4 (1997): 383–446; Emmanuel Thelly, "Syriac Manuscripts in

of the number and quality of the manuscripts contained therein. As a final esti-mate, the study proposed that we would have to deal with over a thousand manuscripts in Kerala. Our present fieldwork has shown that the number of the collections is to be much greater and that, accordingly, the estimate of the number of manuscripts should also be multiplied, although to a lesser extent, but it has also made it clear that the very concept of stable collections with more or less stable contents should be discarded. Here we do not have to deal with individual collections, but with an entire manuscript culture, which once pervaded the whole Thomas Christian society and which, after the substitution of the Malayalam vernacular for Syriac as the liturgical language, is presently on the way to extinction. Some of the "collections" listed by earlier scholars no longer exist, some of them have many more manuscripts than anybody would have thought and most of the collections remain unknown. Many holders of manuscripts jealously keep the secret of the existence of their collections. During our present mission we have been able to identify 30 hitherto unknown collections and to digitise the material of 16 of them. This number 30 (containing manuscripts from 1 up to 50 or more, size, according to the specific case) is subject to continuous increase. We have also begun the identification of Christian Malayalam palm-leaf manuscript collections and discovered old Syriac and Vattezhuttu Malayalam inscriptions, hitherto unknown to Western scholar-ship and of great importance for the history of the community.

Even in the known libraries, the content has proved to be much richer than earlier thought. For example, in the Library of the Church of the East in Thrissur the latest published checklist, by Mar Aprem Metropolitan, contained 83 items.[5] However, we found 123 manuscripts, some of them of great age, others containing unique texts, 400 pages of manuscript fragments, and almost three thousand archival documents written in Syriac, Malayalam and English from the time period between 1790 and 1962.

During our present mission we have digitised 390 Syriac manuscripts, not counting the fragments and the Malayalam manuscripts, ca. 1,500 Syriac archival documents of up to 20 pages in length, and 9 rare prints in Syriac, printed in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and unavailable elsewhere. One palm-leaf manuscript of great importance containing the Malayalam version of eighteen Christian apocrypha, including the Acts of Thomas, has also been digitised. To deal with inscriptions is not part of the original project, but we could not omit photographing and noting three presumably medieval and

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Mannanam Library," *Symposium Syriacum VII: Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56, no. 1–4 (2004): 257–270.

[5] see above, note 3.

several Early Modern and modern inscriptions. Of these, the three old inscriptions are in Syriac, engraved on granite crosses. Another by-product of the present research is several hundred digital photographs of medieval, that is, pre-Portuguese, monuments, churches, granite crosses, reliefs, and statues, that have remained partly or completely unknown in the West. Recently we began to make complete surveys of churches, including the manuscripts—both Syriac and Malayalam—the inscriptions, and the works of art. This has already yielded very valuable new historical information.

Besides this material, we have digital copies of 109 manuscripts from the two field trips conducted in 2000. These contain images of inferior quality, which, however, will be of great documentary value if re-digitisation of these manuscripts would for some reason prove to be impossible. The digital images of another 58 manuscripts, digitised in 2000, have lost their importance, given that now we have new copies conforming to European standards.

Scholarly Background Work in Tübingen

This work is mainly done by Dr. Alexander Toepel, research assistant of Prof. Gerö. Dr. Toepel does all the necessary research for the newly discovered or not yet described or identified items, a kind of research that is only possible in the best orientalist libraries such as the one in Tübingen. He has already contributed to the identification of a number of hitherto unknown texts contained in the Indian manuscripts; he has prepared the edition with commentaries of a short document of major historical importance found in Thrissur and is presently working on the catalogue of the Thrissur Library of the Church of the East, which will be the first complete catalogue published within the framework of the present project, co-published by Mar Aprem Metropolitan, Prof. Stephen Gerö, Alexander Toepel, and myself.

Processing the Electronic Data

Processing the electronic data is being done by Mr. Tivadar Feczkó, IT engineer, in Budapest, who has also created the project's dynamic website, soon to be launched. However, as the data to be processed are immense and as it is good to connect this work to the task of electronic publication, this task has been partly taken over by the Beth Mardutho Institute, which will create an open-access digital library out of the digital images and catalogue descriptions produced during the project.

Publication of the Results in Electronic and Book Format

We have a standing agreement with Beth Mardutho Institute, New Jersey and its director, Dr. George Kiraz, for the electronic publication of the scanned manuscripts in an open-access digital manuscript library, pending the approval of the proprietors. We set the open access policy as a preliminary requirement for working in a collection. Thus, all the proprietors of the aforementioned collections have agreed to this policy. This huge new open-access digital manuscript library will give an unprecedented tool to the Syriacists of the world. Certainly, the open-access principle bars the way to collections whose proprietors refuse to subscribe to it. However, the unimpeded communication of the project's results to the scholarly world is worth the sacrifice one makes for it.

We have also launched a series of facsimile editions for publishing the most important Indian Syriac manuscripts at Gorgias Press, closely associated with Beth Mardutho Institute. The editorial board of the series consists of: Dr. George Kiraz (Piscataway, N. J.), Prof. David Taylor (Oxford), the Rev. Prof. Jacob Thekeparampil (Kottayam), and myself. The advisory board of the series consists of the following: Mar Aprem Metropolitan (Church of the East), Fr. Johns Abraham Konat (Indian Syrian Orthodox Church), Fr. Antony Vallavanthara and Fr. Thomas Koonamackal (Syro-Malabar Church), Fr. Kuriakose Moolayil (Jacobite Syrian Christian Church), Prof. Sebastian Brock (Oxford), Prof. Hubert Kaufhold (Munich), and Prof. Stephen Gerö (Tübingen). The principle of the series is to give a complete facsimile version of the manuscript published, introduced by an up-to-date study written by one of the best experts of the given subfield. We ask every contributor to renounce their royalties in favour of the proprietors of the manuscripts, so that the entire amount of the royalties, namely 15 % of the total sales, goes to benefit the Indian libraries. The first volume of the series was recently released, a facsimile edition of the earliest manuscript of the East Syriac *Nomocanon* of Abdisho of Soba (dated 1291) from Thrissur, edited by me, with a detailed scholarly introduction by Hubert Kaufhold.[6] The next two volumes planned are the West Syriac *Nomocanon* manuscript of Gregory Barhebraeus (dated 1290) from the Konat collection, introduced by Hubert Kaufhold, and a *Hudra* (East Syriac Breviary) manuscript (dated 1598) from Thrissur, introduced by Sebastian Brock.

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[6] *The Nomocanon of Metropolitan Abdisho of Nisibis: A Facsimile Edition of MS 64 from the Church of the East in Thrissur*, ed István Perczel, with a new introduction by Hubert Kaufhold, tr. from the German by István Perczel (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005). For further information, please consult http://www.gorgiaspress.com/bookshop/pc-55558-4-abdisho-of-nisibis-the-nomocanon-of-abdisho-of-nisibis.aspx.

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We are presently constructing the project's website. It will contain, among other things, the catalogues of the digitised material and will give information on Indian Church History. It will be reachable at www.srite.de. ("srite" means manuscripts in Syriac).

Local Support for the Project

This project enjoys the full support of three Indian hierarchs and several bishops: His Grace Mar Aprem, Metropolitan of India for the Church of the East, who has permitted the digitisation and the open-access electronic publication of the entire collection of his Church; His Beatitude Baselius Thomas I, Catholicos of the East of the Jacobite Syrian Christian Church, who has given an official letter authorising me to locate all the manuscript collections of his church and asking all his clergy to help me; and His Eminence Cardinal Varkey Joseph Vittayatthil, Major Archbishop of the Syro-Malabar Church, together with his Vicar General, Bishop Thomas Chakiath, who permitted the digitisation of the manuscripts in their archdiocesal archives and are helping us to get access to other collections within their Church. I very much hope that it will be possible to enlist all the other hieararchs of the St. Thomas Christians and thus preserve the project's ecumenical character.

Appendix
One of the discoveries made during the present field work

In 1599 the Portuguese colonisers of the Malabar Coast held a synod in Udayamperur (Diamper), where they condemned the teachings and the practices of the indigenous Christians. Decree XIV of the IIIrd session of the Synod contains a list of of Syriac books condemned to be burnt.[7] One of the greatest achivements of the present project is that manuscripts containing a number of texts condemned at Diamper were found.[8] One of these newly discovered manuscripts is *MS Piramadam Syr 14*: The first page of a manuscript contain an anonymous Nestorian gospel commentary condemned at the Diamper Synod.[9] (*Fig. 1*) The manuscript was probably copied in the seventeenth century, that is, after the Synod. The commentary has proven to contain excerpts from the gospel commentary of Ishodad of Merv, a ninth-century East Syriac author. One may observe that the place for the title was left empty in the upper right section in order to hide the identity of the book. The book belongs to the collection of Gethsemane Dayro, a Syrian Orthodox monastery in the Kottayam district of Kerala. Until our present field work, the existence of this collection, containing 35 manuscripts, had remained unknown to Western scholars.[10]

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[7] The Portuguese text of the Synod of Diamper was published in *Synodo diocesano da Igreia e Bispado de Angamale dos antigos Christaõs de Sam Thome das Serras do Malauar das partes da India Oriental, celebrado pello Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Arcebispo Metropolitano de Goa, Primaz da India e partes Orientales Sede vagante do dito Bispado…* (Coimbra: Diogo Gomez, 1606). The text of Session III, Decree XIV is on f. 12–14. For an English translation of this text, see Scaria Zacharia, tr., *The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper 1599* (Edamattam: Indian Institute of Christian Studies, 1994), 101–102. See also J.-B. Chabot, "L'autodafé des livres syriaques du Malabar," in *Florilegium Melchior de Voguë* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909), 613–623.

[8] On this issue see István Perczel, "Have the Flames of Diamper Destroyed All the Old Manuscripts of the Saint Thomas Christians?" *The Harp: A Review of Syriac and Oriental Ecumenical Studies. Vol. XIV (2006) – Festschrift Jacob Thekeparampil*, 87–104.

[9] *Synodo diocesano da Igreia e Bispado de Angamale*, 13v: "Item o liuro que chamão a exposição dos Euangelhos em que a cada passo pretende prouarse que em Christo ha dous supostos, & que Christo como pura creatura per força auia de adorar a Deos, & tinha necessidade de orar que foy templo da Santissima Trindade etc." See also the following: Chabot, "L'autodafé des livres syriaques du Malabar," 618, no. 17; J. Kollaparambil, "The Impact of the Synod of Diamper on the Ecclesial Identity of the St. Thomas Christians," in *The Synod of Diamper Revisited* (= *Kanonika* 9), ed. G. Nedungatt (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, 2001), 147–172, here 163.

[10] For more information on this manuscript see István Perczel, "Have the Flames of Diamper Destroyed All the Old Manuscripts of the Saint Thomas Christians?" 91–93.
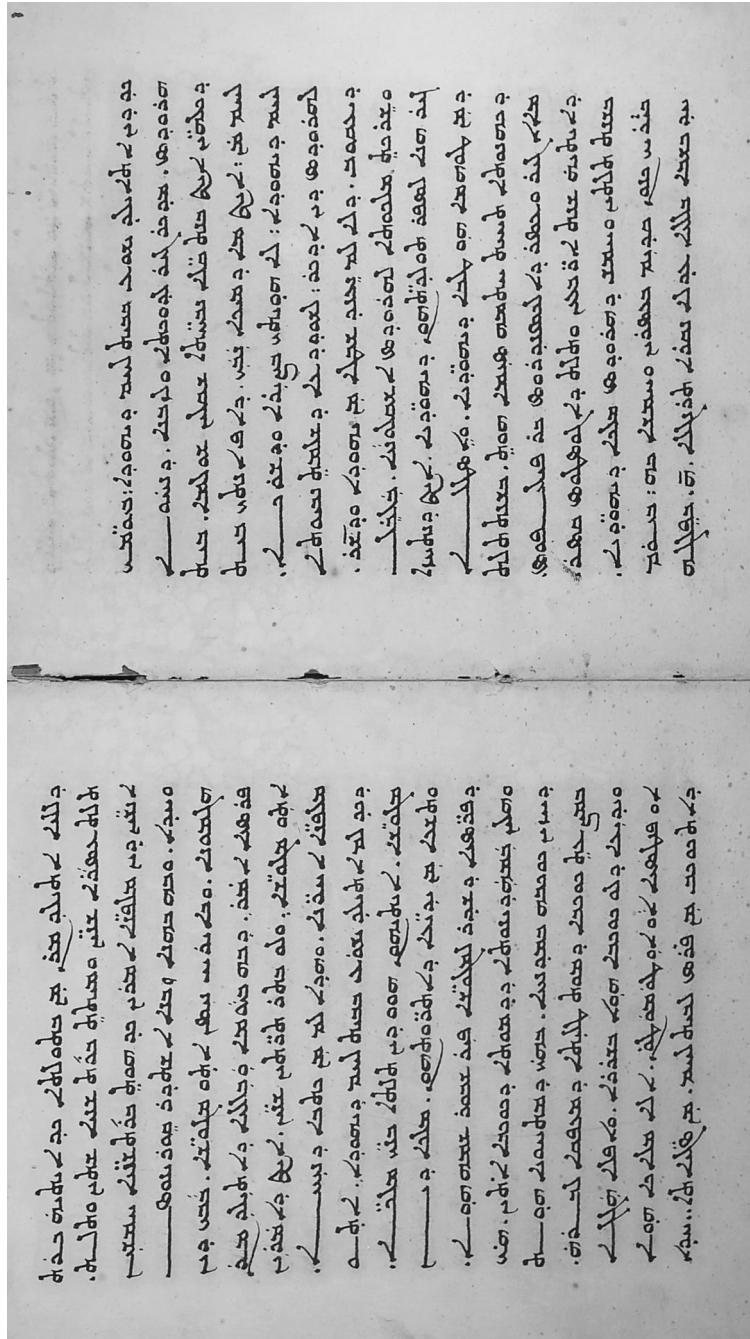
Fig. 1. MS Piramadam Syr 14.

ST. GERMANOS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, IN OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATED SOURCES[1]

Natia Gabrichidze

The Legacy of St. Germanos

Surprisingly little is known about St. Germanos I,[2] who occupied the patriarchal see of Constantinople from 715 until 730, although one can hardly find a literary source dealing with the history of the iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium that does not mention the name of this famous patriarch. The data on the "shining by word and example,"[3] "highly experienced archpriest both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs," "an adviser of emperors and Patriarchs"[4] is still incomplete.[5]

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[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "Germanos I Patriarch of Constantinople in Old Georgian Translated Sources: Homily on the Cross and Holy Icons" (Budapest, Central European University, 2005). I acknowledge the awarding of a partial scholarship by the Center for Hellenic Traditions for completing my MA studies at CEU.

[2] St. Germanos' birth and death dates are debated. The earliest date of his birth given by scholars is 630, the latest 668 (see the brief entry in the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database, available at http://www.doaks.org/hagiointro.pdf [last accessed May 24, 2005], co-directors: Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot (hereafter: Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database). In 715 he was elevated to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople and in 730 was exiled by Emperor Leo III. The approximate date of his death is between 733 and 740.

[3] John of Damascus, *Apologia*, I, 12 (see John of Damascus, *Apologia Against Those Who Decry Holy Images*, tr. Mary H. Allies, available at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/johndamascus-images.html [last revised 11/9/1999]).

[4] Pope Gregory II, *Opera Omnia*, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca 98, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841–1857; facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1982–1993), coll. 148–156. For this letter, see J. Guillard, "Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: le témoignage de Grégoire II," *Travaux et mémoirs*, 3 (1968), 243–307.

[5] The main sources for reconstructing St. Germanos' biography are *The Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor (Theophanes the Confessor*, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern Histo*ry, A.D. 284–813, tr. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) and *Short History* of Nicephorus Patriarch of Constantinople (Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, in Greek and English, tr. Cyril Mango (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection, 1990). The *Life* of St. Germanos, written by an anonymous author, is considered to be confusing and full of contradictory facts, see Lucian Lamza, "Patriarch

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If all the works ascribed to St. Germanos I were indeed written by him, then his literary legacy appears to to contain works in a number of different genres. Then St. Germanos seems to be not only the famous defender of icon veneration, but also a poet, the author of several hymns and prayers, a commentator on the *Areopagitic Corpus*, one of the main commentators on the Orthodox liturgy, a preacher, the author of several homilies, and a historian. The major problems of present-day scholarship dealing with St. Germanos' legacy are the following:

1. The identification of St. Germanos' legacy

There are endless discussions on authorship and authenticity of the texts ascribed or attributed to the famous patriarch. Among the writings under the name of Patriarch Germanos I only some are undoubtedly attributable to him— five polemic *Epistles,* three of which are directed to the pro-iconoclast bishops of Asia Minor[6] and seven *Homilies* on the Holy Virgin.[7]

The attribution of the other works remains problematic. Patriarchs of Constantinople St. Germanos I (715–730) and St. Germanos II (1222–1240) are often confused. The work of one sometimes is attributed to the other. The

St. Germanos I. von Konstantinopel," in *Das Östliche Christentum*, Vol. 27, (Würzburg: Ostkirchliches Institut, 1975). The Greek text of this edition is available at http://www.doaks.org/saints2/dohp.asp?cmd=SShow&key=111 [last accessed May 24, 2005]). The *Life* of Stephen the Younger (PG, 100; Critical edition, with French translation see: Marie-France Auzépy, ed. and tr., *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune / par Étienne le diacre* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), the *Letters* of Pope Gregory II to Leo III and the *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea also contain significant evidence about St. Germanos. For a general overview of his life and activity see Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, in Greek, tr. P. Meyendorff (New York: St. Vladimir Seminary Press, 1985), 14–16 (hereafter: Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*).

[6] Bishop Constantine of Nacolia in Phrygia, Metropolitan Thomas of Claudiopolis and Metropolitan Theodore of Ephesus, see Germanus I, *Opera omnia*, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca 98, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857), 3–39. Based on the evidence from these epistles, some scholars assume that the initiative for the iconoclastic movement lay not with Emperor Leo III, but in ecclesiastical circles, namely these bishops, see Friedrich Kempf, *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, tr. Anselm Biggs (New York: Herder & Herder, 1969), 27–28. For the analysis of the letters see Dietrich Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinishen Bilderstreites und seine Entwicklung bis in die 40er Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, 1980).

[7] The cult of Holy Virgin and her veneration was also disputable at that time. In his *Orations on Icons*, John of Damascus also justifies the veneration of Holy Virgin and the saints.

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dialogue *On the Predestined Terms of Life* has often been ascribed to Photios.[8] The authorship of the commentary on the liturgy under the title of *Historia Ecclesiastica* remains dubious.[9] The *Narratio de Synodis et Heresibus*,[10] a historical work about the six ecumenical councils held to that date, has also been ascribed to St. Germanos I, but some scholars argue that the text in its extant form certainly dates to the later eighth century.[11] A number of liturgical hymns and poems survive, mostly in manuscript form, but their ascription to St. Germanos I is uncertain.

2. The lack of critical editions

The fact that the very first stage of study, that is, the approximate reconstruction of the texts according to all extant manuscripts, has not been accomplished yet makes the research more complicated. Linguistic analysis or historical research on the text without clarifying its textual tradition would certainly be misleading.

3. Disregarding the indirect evidence

Scholars have rarely given any consideration to the indirect evidence, that is, the Old Georgian, Old Church Slavonic, and Arabic translations, which in fact constitute invaluable evidence for research and can help scholars to find the way out of the impasse of establishing St. Germanos I's legacy. Without doubt any data from such indirect sources can serve as an argument for the final conclusions and should be taken into consideration. For instance, the Georgian translations were compiled no later than the eleventh century in the Georgian scholarly centers and translation schools at the monasteries of Iviron (Mount

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[8] For the discussion on these issues see St. Germanos I, *On Predestined Terms of Life*, tr. Charles Garton, Leendert G. Westerink (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979).

[9] Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*, 13.

[10] PG 98,40–8; According to M. Geerard the text is preserved only in a Greek version, see Mavritius Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 3, (Brepols: Turnhout, 1979), 507 (herafter: Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*).

[11] Recently it appeared to have been compiled before the Quinisext council of 692, while chapters 40–42, dealing with iconoclasm, are a later interpolation, probably made after 787, although the iconoclast council of 754 is not referred to. It is possible that some of the letters of St. Germanos were drawn upon as inspiration for the interpolated section on iconoclasm. See Leslie Brubaker, John Haldon and Robert G. Ousterhout, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (c. 680–850): The Sources: An Annotated Survey* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 246 (hereafter: Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*).

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Athos) and Black Mountain (Syria). The Georgian scholars producing translations of philosophical, theological, historical, and exegetical works aimed to provide the Georgian Church with the complete Byzantine material in order not to lag behind the main cultural processes in Byzantium. Their translation principles and theories, and the fact that they had access to all the dictionaries and original sources of that time, allows me to evaluate their translated production as valuable and considerable sources.

The present article is a report on the very first stage of research in progress. First of all I will provide information about the texts attributed to St. Germanos in the Georgian sources, including data about the manuscripts and, if possible, about the translators as well. In the second part of the article I will deal with one of these sources, namely the *Homily* on the cross and icons. Thus, I will try to demonstrate the importance and usefulness of such evidence and show that these sources in some cases can solve problems which now seem to be insoluble. The overall aim is to find a way out of the impasse mentioned above, that is, to find a proper methodology for further research.

The Georgian Translated Sources

In Georgian manuscripts the following texts are ascribed to St. Germanos, Archbishop/Patriarch of Constantinople:[12] three homilies (the *Homily* on the holy belt of the Holy Theotokos, the *Homily* on the Archangel Michael, and the *Homily* on the cross and holy icons against the heretics), the *Narration* about the miracles of Archangel Michael and other holy angels, commentaries on *De Divinis Nominibus* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the commentaries on the divine liturgy known as *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation*, and several hymns and prayers. Two of the homilies, the *Homily* on the Archangel Michael and the *Homily* on the cross and holy icons against the heretics are preserved only in Georgian translation.

The identification of Germanos is not difficult in this case. All of these texts were translated no later than the eleventh century and have been preserved in eleventh- or twelfth-century (and later) manuscripts. Therefore, the confusion

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[12] In some manuscripts Germanos/Germane is named with his title, Archbishop of Constantinople—in the later manuscripts, Patriarch of Constantinople. For instance, in the eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts of Tueni compiled by St. George Mtatsmindeli, inscriptions mention St. Germanos without any additional information. In the eighteenth-century hymnographic collection of St. Anton the Catholicos the name of the hymnographer is more concrete—Germanos/Germane the Patriarch (of Constantinople).

of three patriarchs of Constantinople: St. Germanos I, St. Germanos II (1222–1240), and St. Germanos III (1265–1266) is excluded. Without doubt, naming Germanos/Germane Archbishop/Patriarch of Constantinople the translators, compilers or scribes meant the famous St. Germanos I, who occupied the patriarchal throne of Constantinople from 715 until 730. According to the Georgian Synaxars[13] (eleventh and sixteenth centuries) St. Germanos Archbishop of Constantinople was commemorated on May 12, which is the date of death, and consequently of commemoration, of St. Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople.

Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation of St. Germanos

The *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* known as the *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation*[14] is one of the chief works by St. Germanos I. There is tremendous variety in the manuscripts, including several early translations (Arabic, Latin, Old Church Slavonic). The fact that no such work was written after St. Germanos until the fourteenth century shows that it was not only popular and influential, but also an officially accepted explanation of the Orthodox liturgy in the Byzantine Christian world from the time of its composition at least to the time of Cabasila's work (fourteenth century). The authorship of the text is debatable. Scholars attribute it either to St. Germanos II Patriarch of Constantinople (1222–1240) or St. Germanos III Patriarch of Constantinople (1265–

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[13] Synaxar (Synaxarion) is the name of a liturgical book of the Byzantine Church and represents the collection of short lives of saints and accounts of events whose memory is kept.

[14] The critical edition of the text including the full technical apparatus of all extant manuscripts has not been prepared yet. For the editions and a short bibliography about the Latin, Arabic, and Old Church Slavonic translations see Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum,* 508; for more information about the manuscripts and editions see Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*, 11–12. The edition by Migne (PG 98, 384–453) is not recommended by scholars as it seems to be a corrupt version of the *Commentary*. The Greek text included by Paul Meyendorff (Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*, 55–70) is the reconstruction made by N. Borgia (on this edition see, Ibid., 11). For an English translation see Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*. In this work P. Meyendorff discusses the background to the *Commentary* of St. Germanos, its literary genre and style, and tries to situate the text in the context of the Byzantine liturgical tradition (Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus the Confessor, Cabasilas). The language, style, symbolism, and allegories of the *Commentary's* author have not been thoroughly researched yet.

1266), sometimes to St. Cyril of Jerusalem (died 386) and even St. Basil the Great (died 379).[15]

The *Historia Ecclesiastica* was translated twice into Georgian and the text is preserved in 16 manuscripts. In some manuscripts it is ascribed to St. Basil the Great, only later manuscripts name St. Germanos as the author.[16]

St. Germanos' Commentaries on De Divinis Nominibus

In all the manuscripts the text has the same structure; the main text is in the center of the page and the commentaries around it. On the borders across to the beginning of a new commentary the name of the commentator is indicated. The authors of the commentaries are named Maxime (Maximus the Confessor) and St. Germanos/Germane (probably St. Germanos, the patriarch of Constantinople). The inscriptions indicating the authors are up to the sixth chapter of *De Divinis Nominibus*. The other commentaries are without any attribution.

Table 1. Manuscripts Containing St. Germanos' Commentaries on
De Divinis Nominibus

Code	Collection	Date	Place of Origin	Kept in
A-110	Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum	12th c.	unknown	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
A-189	Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum	12th c.	unknown	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
A-163	Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum	16th c.	unknown	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)

Homily on The Most Venerable Belt of the Holy Virgin

St. Germanos' seven homilies on the Holy Virgin have survived; one of them in Georgian translation as well. At the present I have found three manuscripts preserving this *Homily*. The oldest, dated to the eleventh century, is kept in the Library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. This text was also translated into

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[15] For the bibliography see Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*, 13. Meyendorff suggests that the authoritative position of the *Commentary* in Byzantine theology led to its ascription to various persons.

[16] The text is being researched by a Georgian philologist, Ekvthime Kochlamazashvili. The critical edition will be published soon.

Georgian by St. Euthymius the Athonite in the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos in the tenth century.

Table 2. Manuscripts containing the homily on
The Most Venerable Belt of the Holy Virgin

Code	Collection	Date	Place of Origin	Kept in
Jer. 21		11th c.	unknown	The Library of Jerusalem Patriarchate
H 1347	The Museum of the Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society	11th–12th cc.	Monastery of St. Davit Gareja	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
H 4624	The Museum of the Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society	1812	unknown	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)

Homily on the Archangel Michael

This *Homily*, according to M. Geerard, is also preserved only in Georgian translation. Only manuscript A-70 has survived from the thirteenth century. Apparently the manuscript was deemed defective and seems to have been restored in the eighteenth century. The place of translation, date, and translator remain unknown. This brief *Homily* is included in the collection of readings.

The Narration *on the Miracles of the Archangel Michael*

The *Narration on the Miracles of Archangel Michael and other Holy Angels* is without doubt attributed to Panteleimon the Deacon and is included among his works in *Patrologia Graeca*. In the Georgian manuscript the text is sometimes ascribed to St. Germanos, and sometimes in other manuscripts the author is Panteleimon the Deacon. In *Patrologia Graeca* the text is among the works of the latter.

Table 3. Manuscripts in which the Narration *is ascribed to to St. Germanos I.*

Code	Collection	Date	Place of Origin	Kept in
A-1103	Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum	11th c.	Mount Athos	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
A-186	Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum	16th–18th cc.	unknown	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)

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The oldest manuscript, A 1103, was brought directly from the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos. The manuscript has an inscription mentioning the translator *Ephtvime* (Euthymios Athonite). I assume that the manuscript was probably either written by the translator himself or transcribed on his order, as in the inscription the translator calls himself "sinner and miserable." If it were a later manuscript, no scribe would dare to mention St. Euthymios as a "sinner and miserable." Thus, the text preserved in this manuscript seems to be an original version of St. Euthymios' translation. The question is: Why is the text attributed to St. Germanos Archbishop of Constantinople? The same text in the twelfth-century and later manuscripts (e.g. A 128, A162, etc.) is ascribed to Panteleimon the Deacon.

Hymns and Prayers

A great many hymns and prayers are ascribed to Germanos/Germane, Archbishop/Patriarch of Constantinople. They are included in the hymnographic collection called *Tueni* compiled by St. George Mtasmindeli in the eleventh century. The texts survive in old manuscripts from the Georgian monasteries in Syria. The following list includes the main hymns attributed to St. Germanos. The codes and dates of manuscripts are indicated in parentheses.

1. [On September 7] The hymns to the Theotokos (Sin.7, 11th–12th cc., Sin.56, 12th and 13th cc.)
2. [September 8] On the birth of the Holy Virgin (Sin.56, 11th–12th cc., Sin.94, 13th –14th cc)
3. The hymn to the holy martyr Trophime, Theophile and the others (Sin.56, 11th–12th cc.)
4. [October 25] The hymn to the holy martyrs Markianos and Martyr (Sin.56, 11th–12th cc.)
5. [December 5] The hymn to Nicholas (Sin.56, 11th–12th cc.)
6. [June 24] The Hymn on the birth of John the Forerunner (Sin.56, 11th–12th cc.)
7. [April, 23] Hymn to the Holy Great Martyr George
8. Paraklisis on Christ's icon not made by hands and so on.

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St. Germanos' "Treatise against Heretics Who Venerate Only the Cross and Not Icons"

According to M. Geerard[17] the *Homily* on the icons and cross is preserved only in Georgian translation. There is neither a Greek original nor any other translation. In Georgian scholarly literature the *Homily* is usually mentioned in the list of works translated by St. Ephrem Mtsire and Georgian scholars attribute it to Germanos without expressing any doubt.[18]

In all Georgian manuscripts the treatise has the same title: "On the first Sunday of the Great Lent. The Word of Our Holy and Blessed Father St. Germanos the Archbishop of Constantinople on the Cross and the Holy Icons, Made and not Made by [Human] Hands, Against the Heretics Who Venerate Only the Cross and Not Icons." This homily was directed to the heretics who decried the holy icons but accepted the veneration of the cross. It is probable that the Georgian translator ascribing this treatise to St. Germanos means St. Germanos I, because it was during St. Germanos' patriarchate that the first iconoclastic crisis broke out in Byzantium and he was the first defender of icons.

The question is why neither the Greek original of the text nor any translation in other languages is preserved. Was the text so unimportant and unpopular? Then why was it translated into Georgian in the eleventh century? First of all I will examine the history of the text, then the question of translator and place of translation. I will search the text for data which can serve as evidence for identification of the author and determination of the time and circumstances. Finally, I will try to investigate all the interrelated conditions in which the text existed both as an original written in Byzantium in the eighth century and as a translation made for Georgian society in the eleventh century. I will try to situate the text at the center of intense contextualization, in other words, to examine the treatise as a single episode from multiple perspectives and thus investigate the reasons for its emergence, purpose, and function in both the Byzantine and Georgian realities.

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[17] Geerard, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, 8033.

[18] Korneli Kekelidze, *ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ტექსტები. კიმენი* (Georgian Hagiographic Texts. Kimena) v.1 (Tbilisi, 1918), xxi (hereafter, Kekelidze, *Georgian Hagiographic Texts*); Korneli Kekelidze, *ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია* (The History of Georgian Literature) v.1 (Tbilisi, 1960), 485 (hereafter: Kekelidze, *The History of Georgian Literature*); Tamar Bregadze, *ეფრემ მცირის მიერ ნათარგმნი თხზულებები (ბიბლიოგრაფია) (Ephrem Mtsire's translated works [Bibliography]), მრავალთავი, ფილოლოგიურ-ისტორიული ზიებანი,* T I (Tbilisi, 1971), 485 (hereafter: Bregadze, *Bibliography*).

Although the critical edition with the French translation was published recently (in 1999) by Michael Van Esbroek,[19] I will use the text of the *Homily* reconstructed according to all extant manuscripts by Professor Zaza Skhirtladze and me,[20] as Van Esbroek's edition is not too precise and needs additional polishing. An excellent Russian translation, compiled by Vladimir Baranov and Levan Gigineishvili,[21] is also available.

The history of the text[22]

Information about the manuscripts can help solve the following problems:

1. What function and practical aim did this anti-iconoclastic treatise have for the Georgian community?
2. How popular was the text in Georgia? Can one discover a particular interest of any of the Georgian scientific schools in the text? In which centuries? In which regions?
3. To what extent might the text be preserved in these manuscripts?

As already mentioned, the treatise is preserved in seven manuscripts (see Table 4).

All the manuscripts represent the collected readings (mostly homiletic, partly polemic works of the Church Fathers) arranged in the order of the church calendar. Such collected books were sometimes called *Metaphrasi* as they included only translated material. These manuscripts can be divided into two main groups—one group (manuscripts A-162 and K-8) contains the probable entire version and the second (all the rest of the manuscripts) the shortened

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[19] Michael Van Esbroeck, "Un discours inédit de saint Germain de Constantinople sur la Croix et les Icônes," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65 (1999): 30 (hereafter: Esbroeck, *Germain de Constantinople sur la Croix et les Icônes*).

[20] The text is under intensive preparation and will be published in the near future.

[21] For the Russian translation, with commentaries, see [Vladimir Baranov and Levan Gigineishvili] Владимир Баранов и Леван Гигинейшвили, *Слово о Кресте и святых иконах» патриарха Германа I Константинопольского* (The Oration on the cross and holy icons by German I Patriarch of Constantinople), *Духовное наследие свв. Кирилла и Мефодия на сибирской земле: Сборник научных статей*, 2005.

[22] In the present work, as it does not represent a critical edition of any of the texts discussed here, the detailed description of the manuscripts will not be included The full data (number of sheets, dimensions, binding, material, cover, content, inscriptions, names of scribes, owners and so on) about the manuscripts can be found in the inventories and descriptions published by K. Kekelidze of the Georgian Institute of Manuscripts in the second half of the twentieth century. In discussions below I will indicate an exact volume where the information about a mentioned manuscript is provided.

version of the text. The text in the second group lacks two essential passages which are preserved in the version of the first group.

Table 4. Information on the seven manuscripts of the Treatise against Heretics…

Code	Collection	Date	Place of Origin	Kept in
A-162	Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum	11th c.	unknown	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
K-8	Collection of Kutaisi State Historical Museum	16th c.	Gelati Academy (Georgia)	Kutaisi State Historical Museum, Kutaisi (Georgia).
Q-39	New collection of Georgian State Museum	1560–1578	Mart'vili Archive (Georgia)	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
Q-652	New collection of Georgian State Museum	17th c.	Monastery of Mghvime (Georgia)	K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (Georgia)
K-35	Collection of Kutaisi State Historical Museum	18th c.	Gelati monastery	Kutaisi State Historical Museum, Kutaisi (Georgia).
K-89	Collection of Kutaisi State Historical Museum	1771	the church of St. George (Khoni, Georgia)	Kutaisi State Historical Museum, Kutaisi (Georgia)
K-64	collection of Kutaisi State Historical Museum	1788	The church of St. George Jruchi (Georgia)	Kutaisi State Historical Museum, Kutaisi (Georgia)

The oldest of the manuscripts listed above is considered to be A-162. Unfortunately, the only basis for the dating of the A-162 is handwriting. A Georgian historian, Tedo Zhordania (1854–1916), who described and inventorised A-162 in 1902, assumed that the handwriting of the scribe (as is mentioned in one of the inscriptions, his name was Stephane) is peculiar to the eleventh century.[23] Later, in 1976, a group of palaeographers and philologists described the manuscript again, without changing its dating.[24] Although the

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[23] Tedo Jordania, *Описание рукописей Тифлисского Церковного музея* (Description of the manuscripts of the Tbilisi Ecclesiastical Museum), vol.1 (Tbilisi: 1902), 166 (hereafter: Tedo Jordania, *Описание*).

[24] Tamar Bregadze, Tsisana Kakhabrishvili, Tamar Mgaloblishvili, Mixeil Kavtaria, Leila Kutateladze, Tsiala Jgamaia, Elene Metreveli, ed., „ქართულ ხელნაწერთა აღწერილობა, ყოფილი საეკლესიო მუზეუმის (A) კოლექციისა (Descrip-

manuscript itself is deficient, some pages are missing, and several parts (48r-52v) were restored in the eighteenth century, the treatise by St. Germanos is in the fully preserved oldest part (136v-140r). A great many inscriptions mentioning the names of owners and scribes, from the twelfth through the eighteenth century,[25] demonstrate that the manuscript was in widespread use during the centuries. A-162 is particularly important due to its inscription (თარგმნა ეფრემ [*targmna Ephrem*] "translated by Ephrem"), attributing the translation of the treatise by St. Germanos to Ephrem Mtsire.

Evidently the Georgian church considered the anti-iconoclastic treatise by St. Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople, interesting, useful, and necessary for the congregation as it was read in the monasteries and the churches of Georgia from the eleventh century until the eighteenth (and maybe even longer). The number of manuscripts seems considerable, taking into account that we have nothing from the eleventh until the sixteenth century. The fact that all the manuscripts are from western Georgia is difficult to explain. One can hardly use this fact as an argument for an assumption that the treatise was used and spread only in western Georgia. I also assume that the manuscripts A-162 and K-8 must have preserved the text almost in the same form, with minimum change, as the translator wrote it.

The Translator

As already mentioned, the eleventh-century manuscript A-162 has an inscription (*targmna Ephrem* "translated by Ephrem") in the margin indicating the translator of the treatise. This is the only basis for the assumption that St. Ephrem Mtsire compiled the translation of the treatise. The Georgian scholars K. Kekelidze and T. Bregadze, listing St. Germanos' among the works translated by St. Ephrem, do not provide any other information or argumentation about the translator.[26]

Most of the texts concerning icons and icon-veneration are attributed to St. Ephrem Mtsire. He translated two orations of St. John of Damascus *Against Those Who Calumniate Holy Icons*, the legends about miraculous icons (the icon of Jesus Christ in Chalkopratia; the icon which was thrown into the sea by St. Germanos, Patriarch in Constantinople, and reached Rome; the Icon of Jesus Christ in Bivritia).

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tion of Georgian manuscripts, Formerly (A) Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum), Vol. 12, (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1976), 223.

[25] The dating of inscriptions is also based on the analysis of handwriting, Tedo Jordania, *Описание,* 167.

[26] Kekelidze, *Georgian Hagiographic Text,* xxi; Kekelidze, *The History of Georgian Literature*; Bregadze, *Bibliography*, 485.

Ephrem Mtsire (the Lesser) is representative of a Georgian translation school in the monastery of Black Mountan (Syria).[27] St. Ephrem was the first to systematize theological terminology and he compiled the first Georgian lexicon. He was the founder of the critical study of the texts in both translation and the original source, and he established a new system of critical apparatus: introductions, commentaries, notes, colophons.[28] He was a scholar who introduced the principles of an exact translation and the need for absolute coincidence of a translation and an original source. St. Ephrem changed the direction of the Georgian translation school and the Georgian translation practice began to follow a hellenophile trend, which was not only translation techniques, but also a new literary event and cultural orientation.

Why was the text translated into Georgian?

The investigation of the Georgian translation of St. Germanos' treatise requires discussion of some related issues. Questions arise such as: Why did the translator consider the oration directed "against those who venerate only the cross and not icons" to be still useful and necessary for Georgian society and the clergy in the eleventh century, almost two hundred years later after the final condemnation of iconoclasm? Was there ever any iconoclastic movement in Georgia? Did the translator have any definite aim other than the justification of icon veneration?

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[27] The extant sources about the establishment and development of the Georgian Monastery on the Black Mountain are *A History of the Monks of Syria* by Thedoret of Cyros, the *Life* of St. George Mtatsmindeli by George the Lesser, the *Life* of the Blessed Martha, and the *Life* of St. Simeon the Wonder-Worker, also a large quantity of translated material and a great many manuscripts. According to these sources the monastic life on the Black Mountain in Syria, near Antioch, began in the fourth century, when St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder went there. Under his influence a great number of monks from all over the world fled to Syria, Georgian monks among them. However, the organized Georgian monastery and the scientific center at Black Mountain appeared only in the 1030s. Georgian sources name St. George (Dakurebuli) as an initiator of the Georgian translation school here. He innovated the principles of translation by requiring the comparison of previously translated material with the Greek originals and their revision and edition. St. George Mtasmindeli and later Ephrem Mtsire continued and developed the translation technique, and thus in the eleventh century a new so-called hellenophile tendency of translation appeared.

[28] His translations include patristic works (John of Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistles*; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*; Theodoret of Cyrros, *History*), dogmatic theology (John of Damascus, *Fountain of Knowledge*, *Apologies on Holy Icons*), mystical theology (Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite), and ascetic works (Basil the Great of Caesaria, *Asketikon*; Ephrem the Syrian, *Asketikon*) and so on.

Natia Gabrichidze

There is no evidence directly relevant to the question of any iconoclastic movement in Georgia in the original Georgian literature of the eighth and ninth centuries, and the translations of the Byzantine texts concerning icons and icon veneration were made only in the eleventh century.[29] However, scholars conducting research in this direction have observed some useful hints (not only in Georgian, but also in Byzantine sources), that can serve as signposts for determining the orientation of the Georgian Church and clergy during the iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium.

One of the important sources on the subject is the *Life* of Stephan the Younger (died 25 November 764), written in the ninth century by Stephan the Deacon.[30] This invaluable source gives particularly interesting and significant rare data about the regions of the empire which were not affected by the iconoclastic movement. The *Life* does not give any direct indication about the Georgian regions, but the author underlines the fact that the northern and northeastern areas of the Black Sea firmly maintained an iconodule position, including Zichia, which was situated on the coast of the Black Sea neighboring Abasgia (Abhasia)—western Georgia—according to Constantine Porphyrogennetos' (905–959) *On the Administration of the Empire*[31] and the *Legend* about the

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[29] St. Euthymius the Athonite (955–1028) or Euthymios the Iberian, also known as Euthymios Mtacmindeli (see ODB, II, 757), translated the *Life* of Stephen the Younger and also a work by St. Nicephoros the Patriarch of Constantinople (758–829). Both of these texts are unpublished so far. The latter is preserved only in an eleventh-century manuscript (Code: Jer.151, kept in the Library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate) and seems to be a chapter from one of the writings of the patriarch. Beside St. Euthumius' version of the *Life* of Stephen the Younger there is another Old Georgian translation, made by an anonymous author, preserved in two manuscripts. Most Georgian translations of Byzantine material concerning icons and icon veneration, as already mentioned above, were compiled by Ephrem Mtsire.

[30] PG, 100, coll. 1069–1186. For a critical edition, with an introduction and French translation, see: Marie-France Auzépy, ed. and tr., *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune / par Étienne le diacre* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997). (Hereafter: M.-F. Auzépy, *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune.*)

[31] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, 42.95–99. According to Constantine, Zichia is a land on the coast of the Black Sea that was separated from Tamatarcha-Tmutorokan by the Oukrouch River and had a city called "Nikopsis;" he mentions the inhabitants of Cherson who served the emperor in Rhosia, Khazaria and Zichia. It is unclear to what extent and when Byzantium established control over Zichia, Khazaria and Gothia. Manuel I used, among others, the title "emperor of Zichia, Khazaria and Gothia," but this could have been vainglorious.

Apostle Andrew's travels.[32] As regards the relationship between the Georgian Kingdoms and Gothia in the eighth century, presumably it was quite close based on the historical data from *Life* of St. John of the Goths (died in 800).

The *Life* of St. John of the Goths was compiled by an anonymous author, who probably lived on the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea during the second period of iconoclasm, that is, not earlier than 815 and not later than 843, when icon veneration was restored.[33] According to the *Life,* St. John, after spending three years in the Holy City,[34] went to Iberia and was consecrated a bishop there, reportedly by the Patriarch of Georgia Ionane the Second around 759.

The fact that St. John was consecrated traditionally not in Byzantium but in Iberia confirms that "the initial Orthodox orientation of the Georgian Church remained unchanged and the iconophilia was firm in Georgia."[35] Later, St. George Mtasmindeli, while defending the autocephalia of the Georgian Church before the clergy of Antioch, underlined that "there was time when no orthodoxy could be found through the whole Greece and John, Bishop of Goths, was consecrated a bishop in Mtsxeta [ecclesiastical center of Middle Georgia]."[36]

Not only textual, but also non-textual Georgian sources show that there has presumably never been any iconoclastic movement in Georgia. After investigating the ecclesiastical art of the eighth and ninth centuries, art historian Zaza Skhirtladze concluded that:

> examination of the notes preserved in the historical sources as well as an analysis of the monuments of visual art shows that the wave of Iconoclasm did not touch Georgia. On the contrary—the continuity of an artistic tradition was contributed here by the stressed iconodule

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[32] Here under the term *western Georgia* I mean the area called *Colchis* or later *Lazika* and in Georgian and Egrisi and Abchasia in ancient Greek and Byzantine sources, which in the years 978–1258 and 1330–1491 represented part of United Georgian Kingdom.

[33] Alexander Vasilev, *The Goths in the Crimea.* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1936), 89.

[34] The identification of the Holy City is disputable. Edisher Chelidze considers that Holy City in this passage means Byzantium. I infer that it can also be Jerusalem.

[35] Zaza Skhirtladze and Edisher Chelidze, *"ეპიზოდი საქართველოს ეკლესიის ისტორიიდან"* (An Episode From the History of Georgia), *ლიტერატურა და კპელოვნება* 3–4 (1992), 233.

[36] ცხორებაი და მოქალაქეობაი წმიდისა და ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა გიორგი მთაწმინდელისაი, "ძველი ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ძეგლები", vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1967 gv. 154, online version available on http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/gh/gh2/gh2.htm.

tendency traceable in the national culture during the whole Early Middle Ages and especially distinctly in the eighth-ninth centuries.[37]

So, if there was no problem of iconoclasm in Georgia, then why were the texts about icon veneration needed? St. Ephrem translated the *Apology* for icons by St. John of Damascus, I assume, because the theology of icons was necessary for the Georgian church. But the reason he chose the *Homily* on the cross and icons still remains obscure for me. Levan Gigineishvili and Vladimir Baranov, trying to explain this literary act, supposed that the text was probably directed to the neighbouring Armenians, but the question still remains open.

The genre of the text. The task of the author and his audience

The *Homily* was evidently intended as a sermon for delivery to an audience. The title indicates the iconoclastic character of the text: "On the First Sunday of Great Lent. The Word of Our Holy and Blessed Father St. Germanos the Archbishop of Constantinople on the Cross and the Holy Icons, Made and Not Made by [Human] Hands, Against the Heretics Who Venerate Only the Cross and Not Icons." In the very first paragraph of the text the character and the main task of the author are well defined:

> The thunderstruck and ignorant words of those suffering from madness and ignorance, their vulgar and blind arguments against icons, their cruel and poisoning lawgivings exasperate the sons of the Church. Thus, come here and beg God to give us the divine words and let us say something in opposition to them.[38]

Later the author declares that his main task is to prove that it is illogical to venerate the Holy Cross and deny the veneration of icons. The reason for such a heretical misapprehension is ignorance. If someone does not accept the veneration of icons he or she will not be able to venerate the cross, either.

The treatise is intended first of all for those "impious" and "furious" people who decry the holiness of icons. They are called *Khattmletseli* in the Georgian translation. The exact meaning of the word is "the person who destroys icons." At the same time, the author turns to the iconodules—sons of the Orthodox Church—asking them not to let heretics communicate until they

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[37] Zaza Skhirtladze, "Main aspects of Georgian Monumental Painting of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, Telovani Jvarpatiosani and Artistic Trends of the Transitional Period" (PhD Dissertation, Tbilisi, 2003), 47.

[38] As there is no English translation of the text I give my own translation in the present article. For the Georgian version and the French translation see Esbroeck, *Germain de Constantinople sur la Croix et les Icônes*, 33.

return to the truth by means of repentance. In the last part of the treatise the author gives a brief homily to the wider society.

The author's argumentation against Iconoclasts and his theory of the Icon

The content of the sermon reflects the theological context in which the homily was composed. One can easily reconstruct the iconoclastic ideology, as the authors' discourse and argumentation is based on the refutation of iconoclastic ideas.

Iconoclasts rejected the veneration of holy icons but they accepted the holiness of the cross. One of their arguments was that icons are made of inanimate things such as color, wood, and other matter. The author of the treatise used this argument against iconoclasts in order to prove that the veneration of the holy cross and rejection of holy icons based on this argument is illogical and absurd. The cross was also made of wood by impious people as the instrument for the death of Christ. This argument is similar to the argument of John of Damascus.[39] At the same time, however, the cross is the instrument of our salvation and that is why both the iconodules and iconoclasts venerate it. If the cross is venerated because of Christ, who was crucified on it, why do we reject the image of the Man who suffered because of us, the icon of his crucifixion, burial, and resurrection? The cross was sanctified by Christ, who was willingly crucified on it; why do iconoclasts accept the sacrificial cross and not the sacrificial icon?

The author comments on the iconoclastic interpretation of the Biblical prohibition on holy icons. In the treatise he discusses the basic misunderstanding of iconoclasts—they could not realize the main distinction between icon and idol and identified an icon as an idol—referring to excerpts from the Bible where idolatry is forbidden.

I cannot find in the treatise any exact definition of icon as in the treatises of John of Damascus. The author, however, makes it quite apparent what he means by icon. An icon for him is the symbol of the incarnation of Christ. An icon is not an attempt to circumscribe the creator of the world within the

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[39] John of Damascus, *Apologia*, II, 19. 1–6. For the English translations see John of Damascus, *Apologia Against Those Who Decry Holy Images*, tr. Mary H. Allies (available on http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/johndamascus-images.html [last revised 11/9/1999]) and John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, tr. David Anderson (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir Seminary Press, 1980). For the critical edition of the Greek text see *In Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. B. Kotter, vol. 3, Patristische Texte und Studien 17 (Berlin: 1973).

painting, as iconoclasts' claimed, but the depiction of God who was made incarnate for mankind.

The author also explains the main functions of the icon. First, the icon is the way to the divine for the human mind. An icon, which is a depiction of Christ made of colors and other concrete material, is a way for the human mind towards uncircumscribed, divine, and immaterial nature. Secondly, the author considers the icon as a way of remembering. Therefore, we make icons to remember Christ's birth, baptism, miracles and deeds, crucifixion, and resurrection. Third, the icon demonstrates the real realization of the predictions of the prophets and the evangelists long before Christ's incarnation. The icon is the demonstration of continuation from the Old Testament, where God was invisible, and the New Testament, where God became visible after taking human nature. Finally, the icon is an informative symbol for pious people, especially for those who cannot read. In the Georgian texts there is a very explicit formulation of this function of icon—*Tsigni tvittargmanebuli*—the book which interprets and explains itself. The icon is like a book for illiterate people, a brief narration, and remembrance. Therefore, it is better to decorate churches with icons than with animal pictures.

Iconoclasts denied the possibility of representing the invisible and immaterial God by evil matter: wood, colors, metals, and so on. The author argues against this idea. His question is what since Adam has not been made by hand in this world? The traditional example from the Bible is that the tent and the temple of Solomon devoted to God were also made by human hands. There is no other way to do it than to build, make by hand and so on. After the incarnation of the Word of God everything in the church—the cross made of gold, silver, wood or any material, sacred vessels, even bread and wine for the holy Eucharist are also handmade. If they accept the holiness of all these things why do they deny the holiness of images?

The author also explains why iconoclasm is so dangerous. It is not a struggle only against icons but against Orthodoxy as well. The Son is the icon of the Father; if they deny the Son, they deny the Father as well. Consequently, if somebody rejects the veneration of the icon of Christ he or she rejects the veneration of Christ as well. Therefore, the destruction of icons leads to the destruction of Orthodoxy itself.

Thus, all of the crucial issues of iconoclasm are discussed in this treatise. At the moment it is impossible to speak about interrelationships between this treatise and the dogmatic works on icons by John of Damascus, but it is indeed noticeable that in this brief anti-iconoclastic treatise almost every crucial question is discussed. The author is not systematic, he does not give the exact formulas and definitions, but he explains the main ideas of icon, icon veneration,

and the misleading ideology of iconoclasts easily and understandably for the people.

Conclusions

Thus, Georgian sources preserve data which can help scholars find a way out of the problems of understanding Germanos' legacy. The first step on the path should be the investigation of the transmission and history of the texts, including all the extant manuscripts and the reconstruction of their more or less "genuine" core. The second step should be the accurate and thorough linguistic analysis of translations (if possible the comparative analysis of the translation and the original) that is, the language (style, terminology, rhetorical devices, allegories, and metaphors). And finally, the investigation should cover all the interrelated conditions in which the text existed both as an original written in the eighth century in Byzantium and as a translation made for Georgian society. The texts should be situated at the center of intense contextualization and examined from multiple perspectives and thus the reasons for their emergence, purpose, and function should be determined in both the Byzantine and Georgian realities.

PART II.

Report of the Year
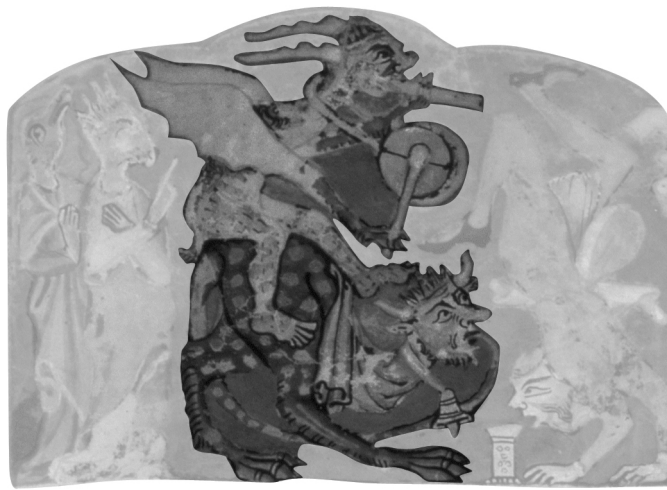
REPORT OF THE YEAR

József Laszlovszky

In my previous report, as the characterization of the academic year 2003–2004, I wrote that it was more a year of preparation then a period of festive events. The academic year described in this report also represented a period of hard work more than celebrations, but at the same time it can also be seen as the "harvest" of long preparations, thorny processes, and efforts for a higher level of academic recognition. The most important outcome among these was the accreditation of our MA program, together with other programs of the university, by the U.S. Middle States Accreditation. This added a new American recognition to our previous New York State Accreditation, thus we took a further important step in the original mission of our department, to create an internationally acknowledged study and research point on the map of East Central Europe which is known not only for its achievements by American colleagues, but is also recognized officially. The other accreditation, this time by the Hungarian Accreditation Board (MAB), approved our doctoral program, together with the history program. For this purpose, we created the joint Doctoral School in Historical Studies at CEU, an institutional requirement for Hungarian accreditation, which enables us to have closer cooperation between the Medieval Studies and History doctoral programs. At the same time, the two separate programs (medieval and history) of the doctoral school build on the independent development of these two educational units of the university. The Hungarian accreditation cannot be interpreted as a step in the realization of the original mission of the department, but as an unavoidable new stage of our development. The extension of the EU towards the former Soviet Block countries and the so-called Bologna Process made it crucial that an international institution such as CEU also integrate itself into the new emerging regional and continental system of higher education. Hungarian accreditation gives us automatic EU accreditation, and this is a particularly important aspect for our new MA and PhD students. Their degrees are now accepted on both sides of the Atlantic, and with their CEU documents they receive official recognition of their studies and academic degrees by US and by EU standards at the same time. In a more and more difficult job market, in a more and more global world, it is a

fundamental issue and medievalists should also face these challenges if they want to adjust their program to the highest international academic standards. Therefore, I regard these steps as crucial for our program and the work which was needed to achieve it as extremely useful for our academic recognition, as difficult and often bureaucratic as it sometimes was.

Having discussed the most important issues in the life of the department, we can now turn to the more or less regular patterns of the academic year. I shall start with the character of the new MA group beginning their studies September 2004. Concerning the nationality of our new MA students, the usual colorful picture emerged as a result of the complex selection process. We had MA students from Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Ukraine, the US, and for the first time (at the MA level), from Italy. This is rather standard for our program, but we experienced different application patterns as well. There was a significant group dealing with power and representation in the Middle Ages. Another small group dealt with linguistic and literary approaches. The MA topic selection included some not-very-usual subjects or methodological approaches, such as the problem of animal-headed figures in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts; the question of heretics in medieval Moldavia or, alternatively, in a Cathar context. In this way the topic selection of students was quite balanced, basically every faculty member found MA students with particular interests similar to their research and teaching directions.

The academic program of the year started with our now-standard fall academic field trip to a historical region of Hungary, this time to the Central Western part of the country. On the way we stopped to visit several medieval monastic sites, such as Zsámbék and Gyulafirátót (Premonstratensian monasteries), Vértesszentkereszt (a Benedictine abbey and later Dominican friary), Bakonybél (a Benedictine abbey), and Zirc (a Cistercian abbey).The monastic theme was not only important for understanding the different characters of the monastic orders, but it also offered us the opportunity to discuss monument protection theories and practices from the nineteenth century onwards to our present-day concepts. This complex attitude to the past was also demonstrated very well at Tata, where the artificial "medieval" ruin of the English Garden, the romantic rebuilding of the medieval castle, and the ancient art copies collection housed in a former synagogue building helped our faculty members to discuss our ever-changing modern attitudes to the heritage of the past with the new MA group. The interdisciplinary character of the program became clear for all our MA students through this field trip when they heard about the topics of their fellow students for the first time and when they visited sites with different historical characters. The cathedral of Veszprém, for example, allowed faculty members and PhD students to speak about architectural history, while the castle

at Nagyvázsony offered the opportunity to discuss medieval archaeology. The selection of the field trip sites and topics was also important to introduce some later elements of our program, particularly the interdisciplinary workshop of the second semester focusing on the "Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages." As this program also included some less serious aspects, mainly in the form of an exhibition entitled "Uses and Amuses of the Middle Ages," the academic field trip did not lack medieval, but also not-so-serious, programs. Our new MA students put on skits showing some of the most remarkable pairs of personalities in the Middle Ages, with lots of intuition and humor. At the same time, our medievalist academic route at the beginning of the academic year was a good test for some related activities of the department. The Cultural Heritage Initiative of the CEU Consultancy scheme recently developed several cultural routes for the wider public, one of them the "Monastic Cultural Route" (www.kolostorut.hu). As faculty members of our department were involved in the creation of this cultural tourist program, it seemed obvious to visit some of the places and monuments available to interested travelers, which we also introduced to our MA students, many of them traveling in Hungary for the first time. Their questions and comments at these places were useful for developing information materials for foreign visitors and at the same time helped us to get closer to the personal and academic interests of our new MA students.

The course selection of the fall semester followed the tradition of previous years, but we continued to experiment with the "research methods" block of courses. As in the previous year, we wanted to offer for our MA students a combination of "learning" and "doing" these kinds of things in a way that would be helpful for the methodological parts of their MA theses. The character of the first semester was introductory, as it was in the previous academic year, but we offered different short modules in the second semester to give more freedom for the students in the selection of relevant research methods.

The educational program of our department was enriched by other academic activities in the fall semester, such as the Curriculum Resource Center (CRC) program. Research projects carried out by the department, academic workshops and exhibitions, organized by ourselves or in cooperation with other academic and cultural heritage institutions, played an important role in the creation of such programs. The CRC visitor group was able to join a very interesting academic workshop on the problems of "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," which took place between 13 and 16 October 2004. This workshop was organized with the help of our alumnus Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen) and Orsolya Réthelyi, PhD student of the department preparing a dissertation on Mary of Habsburg, one of the most interesting female figures in European political life

in the first half of the sixteenth century. The workshop enriched our knowledge on the households and economic basis of late medieval and early modern courts of queens and their role as patrons of the arts and culture.

Another very important scholarly gathering took place at CEU in the first semester, an academic meeting to create a new study center. As was reported in the previous *Annual*, faculty members of our department, with the help and support of Academic Board members of the Medieval Studies program, started to organize a Hellenic Center with the active participation of other CEU academic units. As a result of this process, the "Founding Conference of the Center for Hellenic Traditions" (CHT) took place at CEU at the end of November 2004. Leading scholars of Byzantine studies from all over Europe (Evangelos Chrysos, Stephen Gerö, Katerina Ierodiakonou, and Diether Roderich Reinsch) participated. Along with representatives of other relevant academic fields (Giles Constable, Nancy van Deusen, Rafael Chodos, Hubert Kaufhold, Urs Schoepflin, Rüdiger Klein, Gábor Bolonyai, Michael Frede, and György Karsai) and departments at CEU (Gábor Betegh and István Bodnár). They discussed the aims and goals of the new center, and with the active contribution of the Medieval Studies Department (István Perczel, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky, György Geréby, and Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis) the CHT was launched. We can regard this new unit as a result of the successful interdisciplinary and international cooperation of several faculty members of the Medieval Studies Department. The CHT started to shape its activity in the framework of this department, but after gaining further academic support from CEU and other institutions, it will now act as a center with a wider chronological framework than only the Middle Ages, also focusing on the antique and modern aspects of Hellenic culture. The academic agenda and the first achievements of the Center are described in detail in a special section of this *Annual*.

A less formal organization was the result of another workshop during the first semester. Gerhard Jaritz and Alice Choyke invited scholars from many different fields to launch a new cooperative research project on medieval animals and on their impact on human society. The first meeting of this informal group discussed the possible sources and the intrerdisciplinary methodology of this research and the creation of the Medieval Animal Database (MAD). The workshop, entitled "Speculum Animalium: The Importance of Interdisciplinarity in Medieval Animal Studies", led to very successful academic cooperation clearly manifested in the publication of a volume during the following year.

In the first term we offered a large number of seminars and some reading courses to show many different approaches and methods to medieval studies. We can mention the course on Demography, Trade and Urbanization in

Medieval Central Europe taught by Balázs Nagy and Ian Blanchard, and Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages by Béla Zsolt Szakács. While the fall term was mainly taught by resident faculty, the winter term incorporated a number of courses with the participation of guest professors. The visiting professors significantly contributed to the interdisciplinary character of our program by offering seminars or blocks in the research methods course on Medieval Codicology (Anna Somfai) and on the "Bookish Tradition: Authority and the Book in Scripturalist Religions" (Nadia Al-Bagdadi and Aziz Al-Azmeh). New areas of studies, as well as new approaches in medieval studies, were also present in our curriculum, as new members of our resident faculty widened the scope of our course offering. Aziz Al-Azmeh has already contributed to our teaching program as distinguished professor of the Humanities Center, but as he has joined our department he was able to focus his courses more on Arabic historical tradition or problems related to historiography. In this way, these areas also became standard parts of our course selection. The same can be said for new areas in Byzantine studies, as Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis put emphasis on literary, linguistic, and historiographic aspects of this field. As one of the most interesting experiments one can mention the course on different Latin literary genres, a course developed and in significant part taught by very active pair of PhD students (Réka Forrai and Lucie Doležalová), with the support and contribution of several faculty members. Visiting professors also joined this course. Francesco Stella, a very well known expert on medieval Latin poems and one of the leading figures working on a huge digital database of this field, introduced our students to this fast-developing research area and also had a public lecture for a wider audience with the title "The Corpus of Latin Rhythms: An Open Digital Edition of Medieval Music and Texts".

Our regular interdisciplinary workshop at the end of February was somehow special in this academic year. With the academic contribution and financial support of other institutions, we were able to organize a large scholarly gathering on the "Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages". The many contributing institutions such as the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung, Köln; Historisches Seminar, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg; Institut zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, Paderborn; La Mission Historique Française en Allemagne de Göttingen; Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest; Pasts Inc., Center for Historical Research, CEU Budapest, highlighted many different aspects of our modern understanding of the past. Key issues discussed included the old and new cults of saints, national mythologies and the presence of the Middle Ages in modern media culture. The very large set of papers and an additional exhibition related to the topic clearly demonstrated the manifold interests in the medieval period in how we can see, use or misuse the period of our scholarly interest, as

well as the many distorting factors from political ideology to contemporary rock culture. The program, developed from our side by Gábor Klaniczay and János M. Bak, turned out to be a very thought-provoking series of papers and presentations (including "medieval" films and modern re-animation of contemporary warfare). Hopefully it can be studied in the future by a much larger group of specialists and interested non-specialists in the form of a published volume and another, even larger, exhibition.

The standard spring academic field trip followed the usual sequence of field trips of the previous years. We traveled to Slovakia and arranged a program that included more than just buildings, paintings or archaeological sites. We enjoyed the lovely spring sunshine in "Slovak Paradise" and the beautiful landscape setting of Árva castle. The most remarkable moment of the excursion for all of us was the way to Klaštorisko, an abandoned and deserted medieval Carthusian monastery. Climbing on iron ladders, walking along cliffs several meters above the fast running water of the stream coming down from the medieval ruins, and crossing narrow canyons below spectacular water falls was tough exercise after months of hard academic work in libraries and seminars, but its educational value was just as strong as any of the public lectures during the year. The beautiful view from the top of the hill, the well-excavated and partly restored ruins of the monastery, and even more the excellent food cooked for us by our Slovak colleagues will surely remain in all of our memories for many years. This was not the only occasion when faculty members and students experienced the collegial contacts, institutional and individual support, that made the field trip so much more than just an academic program of a university semester. The small village church at Smrečany (Szmrecsány) and the royal castle at Zvolen (Zólyom, Neusohl) all contributed to our understanding of a very important historical region, where working on the Middle Ages also means learning at least three names for each place (Slovak, Hungarian, German) and being familiar with the modern history of the Habsburg Empire, the Hungarian Kingdom, and Czechoslovakia, states which do not exist in this form today, but which heavily influenced the use and interpretation of medieval heritage of this region.

After this very intensive program, the spring session was an equally busy and academically challenging time for our MA students. However, one of the most remarkable events of this academic year also took place in this period. Based on the proposal of the Medieval Studies Department, the Senate of CEU decided to invite Prof. Peter Brown (Princeton) to receive the honorary doctorate of our university. Peter Brown has been following our activity during the years of existence of our department, and in the previous academic year he directed a remarkable Summer University Course on the problems of Late An-

tiquity. His special interest in and dedication towards the academic achievements of Central Europe in the field of antique and medieval studies made this festive event into a very remarkable moment for all of us. As the most important texts of this celebration are published in this volume, the author of this report does not have to summarize the *laudatio* or the words of Peter Brown himself. Not only his academic oeuvre, but rather his special personality, really caught the interest of our students, and of course his reassuring opinion on the work we are doing at this department, as you can read yourself on the back cover of this volume. This very positive, but at the same time critical opinion is crucial for re-thinking our mission in the region or even for the next steps in the changes of our academic program. His critical remarks, just as the very detailed report written on our department by Natalie Zemon Davis, Giles Constable, and Patrick Geary at the request of the rector of CEU, will help us develop new directions in our activity and keep the most valuable elements and standards of our program. Their strong dedication and continuous interest is just as import-ant for us, in the context of academic recognition, as the accreditations described in the beginning of this report.

Recognition of academic achievements on a different level was also the main characteristic of the last part of the academic year. As usual, a fairly large group of MA students defended their MA theses, while our first-year doctoral students passed their comprehensive exams and prospectus defenses with good results. Some of them should be mentioned in particular: Zsófia Buda, for an original and important scholarly contribution resulting in a thesis that is an interdisciplinary expansion of our understanding of visual and religious culture and Brian McEntee for an exceptional transformation over the course of the academic year as he grew in his understanding of and participation in the world of Central European learning and society. Both of them received the Tănasă Fund prize of the department, while the other members of the MA group received their new degrees on the basis of their well-defended theses. Their topics and abstracts—as usual—can be found in this volume.

Even after this late June event there were academic programs connected to the Department of Medieval Studies, namely two important Summer University courses, one of them on "Bookish Traditions: Authority and the Book in Scriptur-alist Religions," and the other on "Conflict and the Law in Medieval Europe."

Let me finish this report with a short but very personal remark. After all this academically important and, from the educational point of view interesting, program, for the author of this report the most remarkable event of the year was a summer event. The surprise party organized with strong cooperation of faculty members and my family indeed was the most successful preparation for my mystical journey to the unknown land of the "Great Sabbatical."

MA THESIS ABSTRACTS

Florentine Merchants in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund – Economic and Social Strategies

Krisztina Arany (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende
External Readers: Péter E. Kovács (Hungarian Academy, Rome), Zsuzsanna Teke
(Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

The thesis is dedicated to a survey of Florentine businessmen's economic and social strategies in the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437). Their possibilities have been explored through a quantitative analysis of a prosopographic database and with the help of detailed case studies.

A relatively balanced participation and the continuing presence of subsequent generations of Florentine families can be observed in the administration of various royal incomes. This prevalence is reflected in the choices of Florentines who settled in urban society since most of the Hungarian towns they chose were also administrative seats. Buda's role as royal seat and constant residence has to be emphasized. Besides these economic factors also the personal influence of Filippo Scolari attracted other Florentines into Hungary.

Based on the data of the Florentine Catasto, I surveyed the Florentine economic and social background of two Florentine companies settled in Buda in the early fifteenth century. In the cases of the two successful companies I found almost all the typical business fields of the Florentines working in the kingdom. I had the entire Catasto list of the Hungarian affairs of Melanesi company at my disposal; the brothers mainly worked together with Florentine fellow-countrymen. The lists also contributed to the identification of some non-Florentine business partners of the Melanesi brothers in Hungary. I contrasted the less successful attempt of a third case, the Corsini brothers, with their examples. In their case, besides the lack of capital, the unfavorable timing of their appearance in Hungary also contributed to their failure.

Zoocephalic Figures in the Tripartite Mahzor

Zsófia Buda (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Readers: Judith Baskin (University of Albany), Marc Michael Epstein
      (Vassar College, New York)

Animal-headed figures often appeared in Ashkenazi Jewish liturgical books in southern and central Germany from the second third of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century. Scholars who have dealt with this phenomenon have considered it, on the one hand, a method to avoid the visual representation of a human being for theological reasons, and, on the other hand, as an anti-Semitic sign taken over from Christian art.

The use of animal-headed figures seems to have followed various patterns from manuscript to manuscript. Therefore, it is necessary to examine each book and then draw a conclusion concerning the whole group. The Tripartite Mahzor shows a tendency to depict women with animal heads and men with human heads. This thesis is an attempt to explore the background of this pattern of the visual distinction of genders by studying the religious and gender discourse of the Jewish tradition.

The first chapter describes the images of the Mahzor, focusing on the zoocephalic depictions. The second chapter examines Jewish written sources on the problem of seeing, the face, and the visual representation of a human being. Two types of writings are discussed: rabbinical literature and the writings of the German pietistic movement, the Hasidei Ashkenaz, chiefly their main ethical writing, the so-called *Sefer Hasidim*. The third chapter analyses the visual parallels of the Mahzor, pointing out the differences in the use of the zoocephalic motif.

The last chapter discusses the possible relationships between the images and the written sources. The conclusion is that the distinction according to gender in the Tripartite Mahzor may be connected to similar concepts of Jewish tradition. Especially the ideas of the Hasidei Ashkenaz concerning women may have had some role in the formation of the spiritual context of the illumination of the Mahzor.

Two Inquisitors of the Declining Catharism

Irene Bueno (Italy)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Carol Lansing (University of California Santa Barbara)

The inquisition registers of Geoffroy d'Ablis (Carcassonne, 1308–1309) and Jacques Fournier (Pamiers, 1318–1325) were produced in the context of the last persecutions of Catharism in Languedoc. Scholars have studied these records mostly from ethnographic, anthropological, socio-economic, and religious perspectives. The aim of my research is to enquire into the inquisitorial activity of d'Ablis and Fournier through a comparative analysis of their registers. What are the main dissimilarities between the two sources? How are they to be situated in the historical context? Do they reveal characteristics of a personal interpretation of the inquisitorial role?

After discussing the historical evolution of inquisitorial documents, I carried out a comparison of inquisitorial procedures, analyzing the construction of the inquest, the summoning of witnesses and the accused, and the various phases of the process. Secondly, through the dissection of the questions asked by the inquisitors in the course of interrogations, I have reconstructed the questionnaires employed in the two courts.

The procedures leading from accusation to abjure are generally similar, although Fournier's activity was characterised by a more articulated phase of investigation, a greater use of preventive imprisonment, and a more direct participation in the lawsuits. Relevant differences were noted regarding the questionnaire, especially concerning questions of belief and the way of registering answers. Differences may be related to the different attitudes of the Dominican d'Ablis and the Cistercian bishop-inquisitor Fournier, each in charge of fighting against heresy in jurisdictional areas of different sizes. The two inquisitors each played a different historical role in the demise of Catharism: Jacques Fournier inherited the success of the campaigns of d'Ablis and Bernard Gui, which had led to the imprisonment of most of the *perfecti*, and completed their mission with a new technique of interrogation.

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MA Thesis Abstracts

The Hussites, Orthodox, and Catholics in the Moldavian Context:
A Unique Case of *Conviventia* in Fifteenth-Century Europe
Cristian-Nicolae Daniel (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Marcell Sebők
External Reader: Maria Crăciun (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

The presence of the Hussites in a largely Orthodox country constitutes a unique and intriguing case in fifteenth-century Europe. The historiographers of the Hussites in Moldavia have analysed the primary sources separately from those on other religious groups, and thus missed a general, yet still detailed, picture. An overview of the historiography shows more interest in the Peasant War of 1437 in Transylvania and its uncertain links with the Hussite "revolution" than in the Hussites in Moldavia. A few studies have also been dedicated to the doctrinal programs of the Hussites in Moldavia and Transylvania, while the interaction between Orthodox and Hussites in Moldavia has been but briefly analysed.

The aim of this thesis is then to find out what made Moldavia an attractive place for the Hussites to come to. The study of the interaction of the secular and religious policies of the rulers in the region and the analysis of the doctrinal programs and structure of the Hussite communities brought together information on attitudes of the Hussites towards others and themselves.

A comparative analysis of institutions, policies, and doctrines constitutes an important part of the thesis. I compared the confessional landscape of Transylvania and Moldavia because it influenced the choice of the Hussites. The doctrinal programs of the Hussites in Transylvania and Moldavia were compared in order to establish their affiliation to one of the Hussite factions, and also to check their differences and common points. The policy of Alexander the Good, Prince of Moldavia, was compared with that of neighbouring rulers in order to establish the impact of the international background on the coming of the Hussites to Moldavia.

The thesis argues that Moldavia was a better place for Hussites to be than any other country in the region. This was due to several factors: the policy of the ruler, the attitude of the Orthodox Church, the conflict between the Catholic bishops and the Mendicants, and the acceptance by the local Catholic population of the Hussite message. The Hussite community in Moldavia was a lively one; it was protected by the ruler, proselytysed among the locals, produced the first Bible in Hungarian, and continued to do missions in neighbouring Transylvania and the Balkans. All of this happened in Moldavia without any kind of organised repression. Their presence offered a rare case of *conviventia*

between Hussites, Orthodox, Catholics, and Monophysites, which remained unparalleled in fifteenth-century Europe.

The Economic History of the Cistercian Monastery in Toplica – A Topographic Approach
László Ferenczi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Readers: C. James Bond (Independent Scholar), Beatrix F. Romhányi
    (Budapest History Museum)

The estate complex of the Cistercian abbey of Toplica, founded in 1211 by King Andrew II, was one of the largest and most significant in medieval Hungary. The history of the abbey has been discussed only superficially so far, but the archival documents collected now in a considerable number enabled a detailed reconstruction of the economic history of the monastery.

The thesis aims at investigating the Toplica estate within a comparative framework, applying a topographic approach. On the basis of the foundation charter, previously suggested locations for the place names mentioned in the documents have been revised. Concerning the settlement pattern of the estate, special attention was paid to the problem of the internal hierarchy of the Cistercian possessions and to the practice of a mixed economy, analysing the topographical features of the estate (trade routes, market towns, market places, granges, mills). Following a different thread, the social connections of the community's history have also been approached with the help of those charters which documented the land acquisitions of the monastery or land transfers on behalf of lay people or ecclesiastics.

The analysis revealed that the economy of the monastery was probably the most prosperous around the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. This was the time when new landed properties were acquired. These acquisitions, as a sign of social support, however, seem to have played a limited role in forming the monastic estate. This trend was clearly apparent when comparing Hungarian and Polish examples. In terms of commercial activity, the trade route along the Una River, and a warehouse in the town of Senj (Zengg, Segnia) on the Adriatic coast could have been of primary importance for the abbey. The close topographical relation between settlements and granges and central places suggests that the community played a productive role in the secondary economy.

From the 1330s on, Toplica started to lease some of its estates to various lay and religious persons, which remained a continuous tendency until the end of its history in the sixteenth century. According to these contracts, there were close contacts between the community and the Zagreb chapter, the Blinai/ Bátmonostori family, and the Blagay family, who all played leading roles as factors of local policy. A considerable number of charters attest that the abbey also established another type of social clientele by donating lands to lesser nobles for their service.

St. Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople, in Georgian Translated Sources: The *Homily on the Cross and Icons*

Natia Gabrichidze (Georgia)

Thesis Supervisor: Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Reader: Zaza Skhirtladze (Tbilisi State University, Georgia)

This thesis aims to provide scholarship with evidence on St. Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople, from Georgian translated sources. The authorship and authenticity of the writings attributed or ascribed to this famous patriarch remain problematic. In my work I propose to use "indirect" sources, namely Georgian translated texts, for establishing St. Germanos' legacy. My aim is to demonstrate that these translations indeed contain significant rare data and are useful for this purpose.

In the first part of the thesis I describe and to a certain extent evaluate the Georgian translated sources on St. Germanos I, provide data about the manuscripts and, if possible, about the translators as well. The first chapter is intended to show the complete picture of the extant Georgian material. Apparently the translations were compiled by skillful and well-educated Georgian translators in Georgian scholarly centers and translation schools at the monasteries of Iviron (Mount Athos) and Black Mountain (Syria). Their translation principles and theories and the fact that they had access to all the dictionaries and original sources of that time allows me to evaluate their translated production as valuable and considerable sources. The texts are mostly preserved in eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscripts. I think that this data should be taken into account as any kind of information from the eleventh century, even false, can serve as an argument for the final conclusions concerning the authorship and authenticity of particular texts.

In the second part I analyze one of these sources, namely the *Homily on the Cross and Icons*, which is preserved only in Georgian translation. I tried to situate the text at the center of intense contextualization, in other words, to examine the treatise as a single episode from multiple perspectives and thus investigate the reasons for its emergence, purpose, and function in both the Byzantine and Georgian realities. In the second chapter I tried to find a proper methodology for further research, as one of the crucial questions is what methodology should be applied to both original and translated sources. It was clear in the second part of my work that only historical or even literary studies have not helped me to determine its author or authenticity.

I think that only careful, accurate, and thorough linguistic analysis will enable scholars to arrive at any definite conclusion. It will be possible to achieve results only after researching the author's language, style, terminology, rhetorical devices, allegories, and metaphors. Linguistic analysis of the text will be impossible, however, without clarifying the text tradition. Only very little of Germanos' literary legacy has been critically edited and published. Therefore, the first step on this path, in my opinion, is the investigation of the transmission and history of the texts, including all the extant manuscripts and the reconstruction of their more or less "genuine" core. My final conclusion is that the only way out of the impasse of establishing St. Germanos' legacy is first of all critical editions of all the extant sources, both original and translated, second, their thorough linguistic analysis, and finally, historical study.

Images of King and Court in *The Book of States* by Don Juan Manuel and *The Poem of Palace Life* by Pedro Lopez de Ayala

Irina Kaliteevskaia (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Reader: István Rákóczi (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

In the Late Middle Ages in Castile, as elsewhere in Europe, the form of the royal court was evolving. This process was closely connected with the strengthening of royal power and changes in the image of the king. The aim of the thesis is to examine the correlation between the image of the king and the court in didactic works of Castilian writers of the fourteenth century. The research is based on the works of writers involved in the political life of Castile who had personal contact with the Castilian rulers. The main sources are *The Book of States* by Don Juan Manuel and *The Poem of Palace Life* by Pedro Lopez de Ayala. *The Book of Examples* by Don Juan Manuel, *Glosses of Wisdom or Moral Proverbs* by Santob de

Carrión, and the chronicles of Pedro Lopez de Ayala are also used for comparisons.

The texts are read both as representations of the notions of their authors and as a means of constructing the images that had a particular effect on their contemporaries. Don Juan Manuel regarded the king as one of the great lords in the hierarchy of the vassal state; thus, his court did not differ from the household of any other noble person. The main function of Lopez de Ayala's king was to preserve peace and harmony in the kingdom, which puts him much higher than and separates him from the other lords. His court thus becomes a special society invested with the power that comes from the fact of proximity to the king.

The thesis demonstrates that the image of the ruler represented in the literary work influenced the image of the court. In the works of Don Juan Manuel and Pedro Lopez de Ayala the differences between the idea of kingship and the real and proposed qualities of the court show that a transformation was going on in the fourteenth century and allows the indication of some paradigms of this evolution.

Personal Name Patterns in Medieval Winchester
(Tenth to Fourteenth Century): Social and Linguistic Approaches

Olga Khotskina (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende
External Reader: Derek Keene (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, London)

The question of the appearance of specific personal names has always captured the minds of scholars. This work presents an insight into the world of first/given names from Winchester in the tenth to fourteenth century. It aims to combine socio-historical and linguistic methods in analysing the personal name material of the Biographical Register of the *Survey of Medieval Winchester*.

My sample included 1717 individuals from approximately 5000 people in the Register from the tenth to fourteenth century. After a general presentation of the material, I tried to characterise the personal names from a social point of view and to establish a chronological evolution of various influences affecting the appearance, popularity, and/or disappearance of forenames. I also discuss the difference between the female and male name corpus, as well as the ethnic and occupational characteristics of my sample. The thesis also includes a case study on the Arthurian influence and small-scale research on family trees. The

other approach to the forenames is from the linguistic perspective, focusing on the etymology, semantics and structure of the selected data.

As one of the results of my work I demonstrate the gradual process of the changes in the forename corpus from the Old English period through the Anglo-Saxon and Continental Germanic to the strong domination of Biblical/ Christian examples in the later periods. Consideration of the female and male systems showed the difference in the name choice peculiar to each of them. The Arthurian case study pointed at the importance of fashion in the name choice, especially in the later centuries, inspired by the development of the Arthurian literature and Winchester's role in this connection.

Perception of the "Other" and its Stereotypes: Lithuania in the Descriptions of the Fifteenth and the First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries
Alena Kliuchnik (Belarus)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität Hagen)

Particularities of perception of the "other" and its stereotypes are an essential compound of the discourse about other lands. The object of investigation in this thesis is the image of Lithuania as described in Western European written sources in the Late Middle Ages, a period of great interest and numerous accounts about other countries. This research is the first step in tracing the image of Lithuania in the West through the study period, how it was formed, and how it evolved. Two main groups of written sources provide the principal data here. The first group are so-called cosmographies and geographies and the second group comprises travel accounts. Images and the cartographic data help to demonstrate the way stereotypes were applied and spread on the visual level.

The analysis of the image created of Lithuania demonstrates that cultural, moral, and religious issues were the criteria used to emphasise its "otherness." The description of Lithuania by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini appears to have been the most influential in the whole study period. Through the practice of copying it can be traced practically unchanged in all later Western European cosmographies and geographies, thus shaping stereotypes and the pattern of the image of Lithuania. The travel accounts by Sigmund Herberstein are the apogee of sources by an eyewitness. The analysis showed that this later description was also influenced by the image of Lithuania created by geographers and cosmographers.

The main conclusion of the investigation is that the image of Lithuania seen in the investigated sources remained firm and relatively stable and became a kind of stereotype itself. This is partly explained by minimal information about it in the West. At the same time, the image created corresponded to particularities of historical religious-cultural understanding of "otherness" in the West. The topic has good potential for further investigation in the context of comparing the image of Lithuania with images of the previous period or with neighbouring lands.

The Uncrowned Lion:
Rank, Status, and Identity of the Last Cilli
Robert Kurelić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak
External Reader: Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey)

The Counts of Cilli were princes of the Holy Roman Empire without a principality of their own. Scholars have pointed out the uniqueness of this phenomenon in the fifteenth century. Moreover, many activities of this powerful family that spanned two realms—the empire and the Kingdom of Hungary—still remain shrouded in mystery. Their seemingly endless financial resources and wide area of influence contrasted with a relatively small personal domain.

I approach the problem from a social perspective, dealing with the problem of status and social standing, its presentation and recognition. By analyzing charters, correspondence, and narratives, I try to establish how their rank was perceived by the society in both realms, the empire with its rigid *Lehenspyramide*, and Hungary with a nominally egalitarian nobility. I also examine their seals and try to decipher their symbolic message to see whether they can tell us something about their owners' identity and ambitions.

From the birth of Ladislaus V, in whose stead Ulrich II Cilli held the crown and read the coronation charter, until his Shakespearean assassination in Belgrade, I trace the path of the counts of Cilli in their struggle for recognition and prestige.

Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (1320–1380), and the Óbuda Clares:
A Study in Reginal Burial Site Selection

Brian McEntee (United States of America)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy
External Reader: László Szende (Hungarian National Museum)

Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, was buried in 1380 in the Óbuda Clares' convent, a nunnery of her own foundation. The convent has been studied previously using historical sources and more recently through archaeological inquiry, although the question of why Elizabeth decided that this location should serve as her burial place has never been asked. This thesis argues that burial site selection, rather than being mandated by tradition or custom, was a deeply personal choice made by Elizabeth. She chose the Clares' convent both because of her particular affinity for the Óbuda foundation, in whose establishment and growth she was especially involved, and because of her spiritual commitment to the Poor Clares, the religious order to whom the majority of her religious patronage was directed. Likewise, this work posits that there is an important connection between widow queens and the building of monastic foundations that eventually serve as their sepulchres and that there is a difference between kingly and queenly burial site selection.

Continuity at the Medieval Church at Zalavár-Récéskút

Maxim Mordovin (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: István Feld (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

This work deals with the results of the excavation of a medieval site in Zalavár-Récéskút. This place was inhabited from the ninth century until the Turkish wars. Due to insufficient publications, a long-lasting scholarly debate started about the periodisation of the building and its identification, but none of the interpretations can be accepted until a new thorough evaluation is done. In this thesis I focus on the chronology of different phases and the question of continuity at this site.

The first two chapters give an outline of the historical events in this region and show the complexity of the research connected to Zalavár. The next chapter summarizes the research history of this particular site starting from the very beginning and including the most recent opinions. After describing the documen-

tation, especially recently discovered documentation made in the first years of the excavation and unknown before, I emphasize the differences in the quality of these records and problems of their interpretation. Investigating the documentation I established a relative chronology for this site, described the building history of the church and the following building. To clarify the chronology of the two main phases of the ecclesiastical structure I evaluated the burial data of the cemetery around the church. The last two chapters deal with the question of continuity at Zalavár-Récéskút and a possible absolute chronology based on pottery analysis.

As a result I have delineated three main phases of the settlement during the Middle Ages: a ninth-century church, a second church built in the Árpádian period (eleventh to thirteenth century) that reused the earlier building, and a late-medieval (probably fifteenth-century) fortified manor house. I could not give a more precise absolute chronology by evaluating the pottery data. By demonstrating the continuity of the ecclesiastical role of the building, I also support the idea of the continuity of the population at this site from the ninth until the eleventh century.

The World Through the Eyes of the *Tolkovaya Paleya:* The Story of Original Sin in the Hilandar Manuscript
Alen Novalija (Slovenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Reader: Vladimir Petrukhin (Institut of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

A *Paleya* is a type of historical and exegetical writing compiled by Byzantine and Orthodox Slavic authors, in some redactions taking on a strong anti-Judaic polemic character. This thesis deals with the *Paleya* in general, and with the Hilandar manuscript of the *Tolkovaya Paleya* of 1633 in particular (the only non-Russian copy of the *Tolkovaya Paleya*), which has been completely neglected so far by scholarship.

Scholars of the nineteenth century identified different types of *Paleya*s, especially trying to establish the time the *Tolkovaya Paleya* emerged and its geo-graphical provenance. Consensus on the last issue, however, still has not been reached, as some opt for an early Bulgarian origin, while others support the hypothesis that it was compiled in thirteenth-century Russia.

In the first chapter I present the characteristics of all types of the *Paleya*, and offer an overview of the scholarly research on the *Paleya* to date with some critical remarks. I put the *Paleya* into a broader context of Byzantine and Old Russian literature and try to establish the reasons for its emergence, its

functions, audience, and diffusion. As regards its functions, I have tried to demonstrate that the *Paleya* was a substitute for the Old Testament and its chronological overview and also helpful in the liturgical field. It was an encyclopaedic companion which offered a comprehensive worldview and guidelines for further reflection, rather than a handbook for the fight against the Jews and Judaism. At the end of the chapter I give a detailed description of the Hilandar manuscript and discuss the copyist and reasons for his work.

The second chapter is the edited text of the story of the Fall with my English translation, which gives the reader an opportunity to come into direct contact with the text and, for one who knows Church Slavonic, to see the seventeenth-century South Church Slavonic standard and its interaction with the East Slavic prototype.

In the third chapter, a commentary on the edited text, I explore its relation to the corresponding texts of the Bible, genre aspects in the text, and its sources. Moreover, I connect the *Paleya*'s handling of the story of original sin to the patristic tradition and compare it to the related accounts in other *Paleya*s, with special attention to their apocryphal sources.

The conclusion of the third chapter is that the author was well acquainted with teachings of the Church Fathers, as his assertions and foci are to be found in the works of the most distinguished Church authorities. What is more, he used apocryphal material with much greater caution than compilers of other *Paleya*s. Finally, as regards the attitude towards the Jews, it can be said that the author takes a very harsh stance against Judaism. His addresses to the Jews range from compassionate pity to fierce offence, but in this thesis I try to show that this is a literary, instructive, and exegetic device rather than a true attack on any specific Jews.

Madness in *Yvain* Reconsidered—A Comparative Study of *Yvain* by Chrétien de Troyes and its Medieval Translations
Catalina Soloveanu (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Gertrud Blaschitz (Institut für Realienkunde, Krems)

Yvain ou le chevalier au Lion by Chrétien de Troyes has been translated into Middle High German, Old Norse, and Middle English. During the translation process the scene of madness, which stands at the center of the Old French romance, has been adapted and transformed. Scholars have noticed that this scene in the Old French original represents the hero's separation from civilization; his sojourn in the forest is read as a rejection of the values of society. This thesis

argues that although there are many levels of difference between the translations and the original text, the basic opposition of madness vs. civilization is still perceived and understood by the translator of each text. The points of divergence concern the social values that push the hero to madness and the detailed descriptions of clothes and food.

Ockham's Theory of Demonstration

Simona Vucu (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: George Geréby (CEU), Paul Bakker (University of Nijmengen)
External Reader: István Bodnár (CEU, Budapest)

In this thesis, William Ockham's conception of demonstration is examined, paying attention to the way Ockham is changing the theory of demonstration in order to adjust it to his own ontological or theological views. In dealing with Ockham's theory of demonstration I looked at his relation to other medieval thinkers: Robert Grosseteste, Thomas Aquinas, Walter Burley, and John Buridan. The main source for this research is his last philosophical work, *Summa Logicae* III-2, however, some problems related to the theory of demonstration are also addressed in the Prologue to his *Commentary on the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus* or *Ordinatio*. Both texts are discussed to some extent in the modern literature, nevertheless, there are sufficient shortcomings so that a new examination of Ockham's theory of demonstration is needed.

The thesis is organized according to what I thought were the most important problems of *Summa Logicae* III-2. The first chapter deals with the prior knowledge that is required for having valid demonstrations. Here Ockham lays down the requirements for terms and propositions that can enter into demonstrations. In the second chapter, I discuss the kinds of demonstration. The last chapter is dedicated to the problem of the demonstrability of the answers to the four Aristotelian questions (*si est*, *quid est*, *quia est*, *propter quid est*).

The conclusion of this thesis is that, on the one hand, Ockham is enlarging the domain of demonstrative knowledge, both in the sense of a more epistemologically orientated approach to the theory of demonstration and in the sense of widening the domain of possible things about which one can construct demonstrations. On the other hand, from his treatment of different topics of the Aristotelian theory of demonstration, his own semantic, ontological, and theological conceptions emerge, showing that Ockham was always ready to change the traditional perspective when that was needed, so that the theory of demonstration also took on an Ockhamist flavor.

PhD DEFENCES DURING
THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2004–2005

Reception and Its Varieties:
Reading, Re-Writing, and Understanding Cena Cypriani
in the Middle Ages

Lucie Doležalová (Czech Republic)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on May 18, 2005 consisted of: Howard Robinson (CEU, Dept. of Philosophy), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; György Karsai (CEU, Dept. of Classical Philology, University of Pécs); Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external reader was Reinhold F. Glei (Seminar für Klassische Philologie, Ruhr-Universität Bochum).

The thesis is a case study of the medieval reception of a Latin text, likely of Late Antique origin, which has been interpreted in various ways, most frequently as obscure, enigmatic and mysterious. I have attempted to place the text into the more solid context of the actual evidence of its reception rather than of its theoretically possible parallels. Thus, the thesis includes little comparative literary analysis of the *Cena Cypriani* (*CC*) and its four medieval versions (which has been undertaken in detail by others such as Christine Modesto and Francesco Mosetti Casaretto), but rather concentrates on references to the text and its manuscripts themselves. Thus, a new type of source material has been gathered, on the basis of which the views of the reception of the *CC* can be re-evaluated.

The medieval mentions of the *CC* all come from twelfth-century theologians: Peter Abelard (1079–1140) briefly refers to the *cena* as to a well-known allegory in his *Expositio symboli apostolorum*, Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1141) happily refuses to provide a commentary on it as he does not have the text at hand, while Hervaeus of Bourgdieu (c. 1075–1150) does write a commentary on the *CC*. This commentary, in style and method equal to Bible exegesis, provides a unique source on how the *CC* was read and understood in a monastic context, and has been edited and analysed as part of the thesis.

Surviving medieval manuscripts of different *cenae* were gathered and analysed from different points of view; an overview of the times and places of their origins shows clearly that the text was most popular in French Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries during the twelfth century, as well as in humanistic Italy. The distribution of the individual versions suggests that each area had its 'own' *cena*; in the German-speaking area and in England, the *CC* was soon substituted by the version of Raban Maur (*CHM*), in Italy only the original *CC* and the version of John the Deacon of Rome (*CID*) circulated, while in France there was at least one manuscript of each. Two fragmentary versions, the *Cena of Azelinus* and the *Cena of Arras*, were also written there.

Further evidence is offered by the contents of codices in which the *cenae* appear. About half of the *cena* copies are found in codices of Cyprian's works and half in miscellanies. Within Cyprian's works, *cenae* (that is, not only the original *CC* but also Raban's and John Deacon's versions) are present in about one third of the codices, usually near the end among other spurious texts. The miscellanies with *cenae* are an extremely varied group, difficult to categorise. Besides miscellanies bound later and thus of little relevance for the study of codex contents, a number of codices seem to have been carefully designed. As even those are rarely classifiable as whole units, the discussion rather concentrates on reappearing texts and types of texts. Among the *cena*'s neighbours, Biblical tools, paraphrases, and memory aids are the most frequently encountered.

Two specific cases-studies of well-documented copyists of the *cena* (Raban's version in both cases) provide further source material on *cena* reception. *CHM* was copied in 1198 by Bernard Itier (1163–1225), a librarian at St. Martial of Limoges (ms. Paris BN lat. 3549). A closer look at other activities of Bernard shows his interest in condensed lists combining Biblical and Classical knowledge. In the fifteenth century, *CHM* was copied three times (mss. St. Gall 293, 692, and 972b) by a wandering monk from St. Gall, Gallus Kemli (1417–1477). The copies differ from one another, and thus, Kemli's specific approach can be studied; the last manuscript includes so many changes that it might even be called "*Cena* of Gallus Kemli." Other texts copied by Kemli include a number of Biblical aids and tools, as well as other shorter amusing and useful texts.

Finally, the texts of the *cenae* themselves are analysed. The copies differ substantially from one another, which makes it virtually impossible to create a meaningful edition of the text or to establish a stemma of the manuscripts. Yet, exactly the differences provide an excellent source for *cena* reception. The transmission of the *CC* makes it clear that in twelfth-century France, manuscripts were compared and collated—the 'best' version was actively sought—while by the fifteenth century, the text had become "fixed" within Cyprian's corpus. Transmission of the *CHM* is the richest in substantial additions. Most common

are either explanatory additions incorporated into the text or marginal identifi-cations of the Biblical places referred to, the former giving a hint to the solutions of the *cena* "riddles," the latter plainly providing these solutions. A newly noted *cena* version, the "*Cena* of Vadstena," provides unique evidence on the medieval reception of the fragmentary *Cena Azelini*.

The thesis offers, on the one hand, rich source material for a reception case study, some of which has passed unnoticed so far. This evidence provides a clear context for the *cena* in the Middle Ages and speaks in favour of some of the suggested contexts of *cena*, such as mnemotechnic aids or allegory, while it leaves out some others, such as parody and satire (only rarely found in the *cena*'s vicinity in the miscellanies). On the other hand, the study points to several more general problems discussed in contemporary scholarship, such as the relevance and way to interpret the codex contents of medieval miscellanies or the way a very varied text transmission should be approached and analysed. I have not resolved these issues, yet I hope to have pointed out the relevance of "multi-contextualisation" and to have suggested possible directions for further studies of medieval reception and transmission of texts.

Mogiła and Henryków: A Comparative Economic History of Cistercian Monasteries within their Social Context (Up to the End of the Thirteenth Century)
Grzegorz Żabiński (Poland)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on May 25, 2005 consisted of: Nenad Dimitrijević (CEU, Dept. of Political Science), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Beatrix F. Romhányi (Budapest History Museum); János M. Bak (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external readers were Constance B. Bouchard (The University of Akron, OH); Martina Schattkowsky (Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde e.V.).

The purpose of this research is to comparatively analyze the economic develop-ment of two Cistercian monasteries within their social contexts. The dissertation addresses the question of factors influencing the particular developments of individual monasteries. These factors comprise pre-foundation conditions, foundation processes, monastic acquisition and estate management policies, or relations between the monasteries and their social, economic and political environments. Development of both houses was examined within the broad Cistercian context.

The main sources were charters, monastic chronicles, and necrologues. Maps of areas where monastic benefices were concentrated, as well as architectural and archaeological data, also proved to be of considerable use. As there are no statistical sources *sensu stricto*, a quantitative-qualitative data analysis was applied. Due to several shortcomings in the available sources, a contextual and comparative analysis was decided upon, meaning that the aforementioned factors were examined and their impact on both houses was estimated. An attempt was also made to see if the selected factors proved important for other selected monasteries, with particular reference to local conditions.

Chapter 1 focuses on the foundation processes. The foundation of Mogiła was originally an enterprise of *Comes* Wisław of the Odrowąż clan. Due to the resistance of his relatives, this work was taken over by Iwo, Bishop of Kraków (of the same clan). The transition from a clan foundation to an Episcopal foundation caused a re-location of the monastery from Kacice to Mogiła, close to Kraków. Chiefly due to Iwo's support, the monastery was endowed with rich foundation benefices consisting of well-organized rent estates and revenues (with special reference to tithes). Those benefices were concentrated in two main cores, around Prandocin and Mogiła, in areas of old and dense settlement. Because of the role played by Bishop Iwo, the foundation was favored and supported by the rulers of Kraków. It was also probably thanks to Iwo's support that the monks were able to initiate extensive building works.

The foundation of Henryków was the initiative of a clergyman named Mikołaj, a canon of the Wrocław cathedral chapter and a notary of Henryk the Bearded, Duke of Silesia, with the probable inspiration from the chapter milieu. Mikołaj acquired and consolidated certain land property in the vicinity of Henryków. His foundation idea was accepted by Duke Henryk, although with great reluctance and in the name of good relations with the Church. Thus, although for the sake of protection Mikołaj transferred patronage rights to Henryk the Bearded and his son Henryk the Pious, the dukes showed little interest in the foundation. The most of the important foundation benefices were concentrated close to Henryków. Although this area was certainly not primeval forest wasteland, it had only been subject to settlement and cultivation for a short period before the foundation. Thus, it was still quite sparsely populated. Other foundation benefices comprised several distant villages in Little Poland, Great Poland, and Upper Silesia, as well as extensive forest areas in Lower Silesia and Great Poland. As the foundation benefices were not very profitable and no other support was available from the founders, the monks launched their first building activity on a very modest scale only. Chapter 1 shows the striking difference in the attitudes of founders. Concerning foundation benefices, Mogiła's were profitable enough to secure the monastic future, while

Henryków's still needed a great many further acquisitions, re-organisation, and investments, with special reference to forest areas.

Chapter 2 deals with the development of both monasteries up to the Mongol invasion in 1241, using the set of issues influencing monastic development proposed above. Mogiła was supported by Bishop Iwo up to his death in 1229, as well as by his ecclesiastical entourage. Although this support resulted in conflict with the Odrowąż clan, the issue was soon settled. This monastery, situated close to the capital, established good relations with the rulers, which resulted in further grants. Mogiła also began to buy its own acquisitions although this proved secondary compared to grants. New acquisitions (chiefly villages) were usually situated close to already existing estates. The monastic chief partners in this period were high clergymen, rulers and high nobility. Although Kraków burghers took part as well, there was no trace of a more profound monastic interest in the urban economy.

Henryków's acquisition activity was aimed at concentrating property in the immediate vicinity of the monastery. It often led to conflicts with local nobility, which could be particularly ardent given the lack of ducal support. On the other hand, monastic economic supremacy over local landowners was a factor which facilitated expansion. The monastery also received several grants, but they were either distant or in barely populated forest areas. In all probability, on account of the scarcity of monastic resources, Henryków was not able to launch colonization activity in that period. The support of the bishops of Wrocław facilitated acquisition of rich tithes from the Stary Henryków parish. As opposed to Mogiła, Henryków chiefly acquired sparsely populated pieces of land. Thus, they were usually organised within the framework of a monastic demesne (court) economy. Apart from the monastic community members, the main labor force in the monastic courts was composed of dependent peasants. Courts were the most productive component of Henryków's estates and out of ca. 240 marks of monastic income before 1241, ca. 150 of it originated from that source.

Chapter 2 concludes that the basic trends defined within the foundation processes were continued. As Mogiła's foundation benefices chiefly comprised rent estates and revenues, the monastic economy was based on rents. Out of ca. 290 marks, ca. 140 came from tithes and ca. 100 from peasant rents. Concerning the question of a "foundation determinism," for Henryków, the only possible choice was to develop the court economy because of considerable property deconcentration in the monastic environs and a lack of financial resources. Mogiła, richly endowed at the foundation, felt no such need. Another crucial factor was the strong support from various parties for Mogiła and the lack of more pronounced founders' support for Henryków.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the development of the monastic economy from 1241 to 1300. Although the direct impact of the Mongol invasion on Mogiła was probably grave, the monastery was soon able to recover. The election of Prędota of Białaczów as the new Bishop of Kraków in 1242 was important. Prędota, as the relative and a spiritual heir of Iwo, proved a zealous supporter of the house. Mogiła also managed to maintain good relations with Duke Bolesław the Shy, the new ruler in Kraków. Several periods may be distinguished within the development of Mogiła. Up to 1244, a great acquisition dynamic was apparent, chiefly related to the activity of the bishops Iwo and Prędota, as well as the men of their entourage. The prominent role of the ducal factor was also visible. Then there was a period of slowing down. The consecration of the monastic church in 1266 ushered in a new phase of prosperity. From the late 1270s onwards, a new series of exemption privileges came into play, related to the re-organizations surrounding the introduction of German law. Again, this new acceleration was to a great degree related to political factors. Concerning estate organization, the tendencies from the previous periods continued for Mogiła. The monastery concentrated property around Mogiła and Prandocin, but several attempts to expand in other directions can be seen as well. Concerning the structure of monastic income, out of ca. 500 marks, ca. 350 came from tithes and ca. 60 came from peasant rents. Thus, as in the previous period, the role of the demesne economy was secondary.

For Henryków, the impact of the invasion of 1241 was much more grave because of the political chaos which followed and the lack of ducal support. Protection of a powerful local lord (Albert Beard) counterbalanced it only partially. Thus, the community was exposed to violent property seizures and claims. The attitude of the Silesian dukes towards Henryków was ambiguous. They conferred several grants or property confirmations, but neither did they hesitate to seize monastic estates. All in all, however, the monastery was able to recover and renew its acquisition activity. As in the previous period, the main goal seems to have been consolidating property in the immediate vicinity of the monastery. Monastic acquisitions often led to conflicts with local nobility. The growing economic supremacy of Henryków over local landowners greatly facilitated property expansion. Henryków also managed to launch implementation of the German law, since, compared to Mogiła, it mainly aimed at settling and colonizing forest areas. As in the previous periods, acquisitions in the close environs of the monastery were consolidated and re-organized within the framework of the court economy. Monastic acquisitions also comprised tithes, on account of good relations with the Silesian hierarchy. Although Henryków (as opposed to Mogiła) usually abstained from political affairs, in the late 1270s and the 1280s it supported Duke Henryk IV of Wrocław in his conflicts with other

Silesian dukes and Bishop Tomasz II of Wroclaw. This resulted in ducal protection, although Henryków was not as favored by Henryk as Mogila was by the rulers of Kraków.

At the end of the thirteenth century, apart from continuing land property expansion in the vicinity of the monastery, Henryków strengthened its relations with the urban world, especially with the neighboring town of Münsterberg. Although it came into conflict with this town over monastic textile production, relations with the town were usually good and the monastery acquired property there. From that period, there are also data on monastic interest in trade. A visible sign of Henryków's consolidation and prosperity was the foundation of a filial monastery in Krzeszów in 1293.

As with Mogila, there were several phases in the development of Henryków. As for Mogila, the first years of its monastic existence were marked by an initial attractiveness, accompanied by several grants. However, already in this early period, it came into conflict with the local nobility. After 1241, the monastery had to re-obtain seized estates and resist several property claims. However, it was during this difficult period that Henryków started to colonize its forest estates on the German law. In the 1250s and the 1260s, because of previous consolidation and growing economic supremacy over local land-owners, the monastery renewed its vivid acquisition activity, aimed at concen-trating property in the vicinity of Henryków. Then, in the 1270s, came a period of slowing down. This was followed by a new cycle of property expansion in the surrounding areas, which was also accompanied by a more profound monastic involvement in handicrafts, urban economy, and trade. Concerning the structure of monastic income, the tendency from the previous period continued. Out of ca. 730 marks, ca. 420 marks were from court income, ca. 250 from peasant rents and the rest from other sources. As in the previous periods, apart from lay brothers, monastic-dependent peasants (the so-called "*ortolani*") comprised the chief

The monastic necrologue provides data on the monastic community itself and its social composition. Most of the monks were of German origin, as, in all probability, were the lay brothers, although a certain presence of Poles cannot be excluded because of several Slavonic or Polish names. Some fragmentary data make it apparent that the monastery was able to recruit people from the monastic vicinity. The special importance of the town of Münsterberg is evident.

As regards the monastic relations with the "outer world," apart from Duke Henryk the Bearded, his son Henryk the Pious, and Duke Bolko I, no other Silesian duke was commemorated in the necrologue, something which clearly reflects the cold relations between Henryków and the Silesian rulers. On the

other hand, the necrologue commemorates the bishops of Wrocław and men from their milieu, corresponding to the good relations the monastery had with the Silesian hierarchy. Numerous entries concerning the local nobility and burghers of Münsterberg show that Henryków had developed a broad network of social relationships locally.

The conclusion of Chapter 3 provides a summary of monastic developments. Mogiła, thanks to the political choices it made, enjoyed the steady protection and support of the rulers in Kraków. On the other hand, Henryków was never favored by any of the Silesian rulers. Both monasteries maintained reasonable relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. While Henryków shaped its prosperity through numerous arrangements with local nobility, the role of the nobility as a partner for Mogiła decreased and became virtually nonexistent in the later period. Both houses maintained relations with urban society, although Henryków's were much more diversified. There are also striking differences concerning the economy of both monasteries, as Mogiła's income was based on rents while the court economy played a decisive role for Henryków.

Finally, Chapter 4 contains an analysis of several examples of development at other selected monasteries from the point of view of local factors mentioned at the beginning of the work: pre-foundation conditions, the foundation process and early benefices, and monastic relations with the changing social and economic environment. It is demonstrated that the selected monasteries, as in the case of Mogiła and Henryków, developed under the influence of these mutually interrelated factors. Thus, the diverse development of Mogiła and Henryków was part of a broader phenomenon.

A Revised Diplomatic Edition and a Historical and Textual Investigation of the Letter of Love and Concordance between the Emperor Constantine the Great, Pope Sylvester, the King of the Armenians Trdat the Great, and St. Gregory the Illuminator

Zaroui Pogossian (Armenia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on December 20, 2004, consisted of: Susan Zimmermann (CEU, Gender Studies Dept.), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Manya Shirinyan (Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Erevan); the external readers were Peter Cowe (UCLA) and Sergio La Porta (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

The Armenian source known as the *Letter of Love and Concordance* is a forgery, falling into the same typological genre as the *Constitutum Constantini*. Composed between the last two years of the twelfth and the first four of the thirteenth century, it pretends to be a "document," a real "Pact of Alliance" established between the first Christian Armenian king, Trdat III, and Emperor Constantine the Great, as well as the Founding Father of the Armenian Church, St. Gregory the Illuminator, and Pope St. Sylvester. This "document" has attracted the attention of historians since the seventeenth century. The first scholars to deal with it were representatives of either the Armenian Apostolic Church or the Fathers of the (Catholic Armenian) Mechitarist Congregation. Their interest was naturally the analysis of the religious aspects of this source and they dealt with the *Letter of Love* mainly from a religious point of view. However, due to their work many questions have been clarified as to the approximate time-frame of the composition of this source and its literary sources. The *Letter of Love* has also been the subject of several articles over the last five years. Although versions of the *Letter* have been published several times, none of the editions have been based on more than one manuscript.

This dissertation proposes several new approaches to the study of the *Letter of Love and Concord*. First of all, it intends to provide a better understanding of the context of when this "document" was created, presenting the contemporary literary, historical, and ecclesiastical situation in Cilician Armenia. Chapter I focuses on the history of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom up to the time of King Lewon II (1187–98 as prince, and 1198–1216 as king). Then, it provides a detailed analysis of changes that took place in Armenian dogmatic/polemical literature from the second half of the twelfth until the middle of the thirteenth century. Due to a minute study of historical sources, polemical letters, and

theological discourses from this period one can observe several new elements that appear in them, all aimed at justifying particular aspects of the doctrine or the liturgical calendar of the Armenian Church. While previously the Armenians justified their idiosyncratic traditions based on quotations or invoking the authority of pre-Chalcedonian Church Fathers, in this period they make more references to the usages of the Roman Church as a way of proving the orthodoxy of their own doctrinal position or liturgical praxis. On several occasions, Constantine the Great and Pope Sylvester are mentioned as having established this or that particular feast. The other new element is the growing knowledge of the representatives of the Armenian Church about the concepts of primacy of the Roman Church. As a consequence, the Armenians become more anxious about insisting on the autocephaly of their church, particularly with respect to the pretensions of the Church of Rome to having a juridical authority over all other churches. The *Letter of Love and Concordance* had absorbed all these elements and may be considered as the Armenian response to the contemporary political and religious situation.

Chapter II is dedicated to the study of the sources of the *Letter of Love*. Building on the discussion in Chapter I, several other so-called legendary or apocryphal sources are presented that were composed in a time-span very close to the *Letter of Love* and have many similar elements in the content. Then, the chapter analyses the content of the *Letter of Love*, dividing it into subjects, and reveals various textual, symbolic, ideological, and possible oral sources that were integrated into it. The chapter relies on and uses previous studies conducted on the subject, then presents sources not mentioned by others or indicates more precisely the information taken from each source. Some of the textual sources that are presented here for the first time include: the *Vision of the Cross of Constantine*, the Armenian translation of the *Kartlis Cxovreba*, the *Life of St. Jacob of Nisibis,* the *Life of St. Ephrem,* particular sections from Ps.-Yohvan Mamikonean, Uxtanēs, *Prophecy of Agaton*, *Sermo de Antichristo*, *Constitutum Constantini*, the Latin *Life of Sylvester*, and some excerpts from the Armenian translation of the *Vita Silvestri* not pointed out previously, as well as various apocryphal letters attributed to Movsēs Xorenac'i (and published under his name), and the probable influence of the apocryphal *Martyrdom* of Apostles Bartholomew and the *Translation of Relics* of St. Thomas.

A lengthy discussion on the political and ecclesiological ideology of the *Letter* is aimed at demonstrating that its author used these sources cleverly in exalting the importance of Armenia, its king and its catholicos. While the apparent purpose of the *Letter* was to forge a document which would pretend to present the text of a fourth-century Roman-Armenian alliance, the underlying purpose was much more subtle. Here, the Armenian king was presented as the

equal of the Roman emperor and his representative in the east. To strengthen this point the *Letter of Love* made references to various imperial symbols, such as the use of sea-purple, the sitting of two rulers on the same throne, as well as affirming the bestowal of provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire upon King Trdat. The Armenian catholicos, on the other hand, was presented as second only to the pope. Such ideology expressed the hopes and aspirations of Cilician political and ecclesiastical rulers at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, when the power of the newly crowned Armenian king, Lewon II, was on the ascendant. It is particularly significant that Lewon II clearly aspired to an *imitatio imperii* at his coronation ceremony.

Based on these ideological aspects and on the fact that the *Letter* was quoted for the first time by the Armenian theological Vardan Aygekcʻi sometime before 1205, a possible time-frame for its composition is proposed. It was very likely prepared after the coronation of King Lewon and the signing of an official union between the Armenian and the Roman Churches in 1198, a date to be considered as *terminus post quem*. Whereas Vardan Aygekcʻi's theological treatise can be considered as *terminus ante quem*, another indication for it can be the Forth Crusade and the establishment of a Latin emperor in the city. The *Letter of Love* employs a strong imperial rhetoric for Trdat and this king is presented as the ruler of the east. Although not saying it explicitly, this source implies that Trdat was, indeed, the emperor of the eastern part of the Roman Empire. As long as there was a weak Byzantine emperor, such aspirations, or perhaps wishful thinking, on the part of the Armenians who may even have hoped to reach such a status with the help of a Western crusade, could have seemed not totally impossible. Once there was a Latin Emperor sitting in Constantinople, however, it is difficult to envision that a text insisting on a Roman-Armenian alliance would completely ignore Constantinople, its emperor, and its church replacing its political and religious position with the authority of an Armenian king and catholicos. Thus, the content of the *Letter of Love* would better fit a date after 1198 and before 1204, the Latin conquest of Constantinople.

Chapter III is devoted to text-critical issues. It presents the twenty-four manuscripts used for this revised diplomatic edition of the *Letter of Love*, as well as six others studied but not taken into consideration for the edition. Since it was not possible to consult all the extant manuscripts, this cannot be considered a critical edition. However, it presents a much better idea of the history of the text of the *Letter* and clarifies many of the corrupt readings that were not possible to detect in previous editions, particularly those of geographical names. It is the hope of the author that this edition will be much more useful for purposes of future scholarly research that would utilize this source.

Finally, the dissertation presents the text of the *Letter of Love* using Manuscript 732 of Maštoc' Matendaran as its base text and presenting variant readings in the apparatus. It is followed by the English translation, which is the first translation of the *Letter* into any modern language. Appendix I discusses some of the geographical names found in the *Letter*; Appendix II is a glossary of foreign terms.