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Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest



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Edited by
Judith Rasson and Marianne Sághy



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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 18 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the academic year 2010–2011. As usual, the first section contains articles based on outstanding MA theses. In geographical terms they range from East Central Europe to the Near East and in chronological scope from early to late medieval times. This year's thematic block arose from the Higher Education Support Project in the southern Caucasus, headed by Niels Gaul and István Perczel, run by the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. The project's goal is to develop complementary syllabi for medieval topics and foster communication among students and medievalists from the Caucasus, Europe, and the Americas. Two of the papers in this section are based on presentations made at the workshop launching the project and one paper is based on a thesis encompassing both Byzantine and Georgian materials. Niels Gaul discusses further details in the introduction to this block. The splendid cover illustration this year also comes from the Caucasus.

Part II of the yearbook follows the practice of the previous volumes of the *Annual* in describing the main events of the academic year 2010–2011 and presenting our new graduates' work through abstracts of the MA theses and PhD dissertations that were defended during this period. This year we also include reports on results of two grants: the ESF (European Science Foundation) – OTKA (Hungarian Research Council) research project coordinated by Gábor Klaniczay, “Communicating Sainthood—Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe: Tenth to Sixteenth Centuries,” and a report on a CEU SUN summer university course in codicology and palaeography organized by our senior research fellow, Anna Somfai.

For more information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, and upcoming events, please consult our website (<http://medstud.ceu.hu>). We would also like to call our readers' attention to the continuing publication activity of our department. This year three volumes were published in the CEU *Medievalia* series: *Isolated Islands in Medieval Nature, Culture and Mind* (vol. 14); *Angels, Devils. The Supernatural and Its Visual Representation* (vol. 15); *Violence and the Medieval Clergy* (vol. 16), administered by CEU Press (www.ceupress.com).

We would like to thank the PhD student who worked on various aspects of preparing this volume: Teodora Artimon. Her contributions are much appreciated.

Budapest, June 2012

Judith Rasson and Marianne Sághy, editors

PART I
Articles and Studies



THE SONG OF SONGS AS A TOOL FOR INTER-RELIGIOUS POLEMICS

Andor Kelenbegyi 

Introduction

The *Song of Songs* is one of the most perplexing pieces of Holy Scripture.¹ As part of both the Christian and the Jewish canon,² it has puzzled commentators, interpreters, and readers for centuries. The most important reason for the peculiarity of the *Song of Songs* is that this Biblical book is a piece of love poetry, filled with erotic images. This eroticism was and still is understood by many readers as the main hallmark and the major feature of the *Song of Songs*.³ Nevertheless, nearly two millennia of interpreting this piece in a non-literal way and the tremendous efforts made by rabbis and Christian exegetes to find and outline a deeper and theologically more appropriate meaning in the *Song of Songs* cannot simply be dismissed with the explanation that: “it is the only book in the canon lacking a religious or national theme.”⁴ Although it includes erotic images and scenes there has to be more to its meaning.⁵ If nothing else, the variety of commentaries and the perseverance of exegetes trying to interpret the text make the *Song of Songs* special and signify that it must be more than a recollection of a mere love affair.

The commentaries on the *Song of Songs* are critical resources. Besides interpreting the Biblical text proper, they draw a picture of the interpreters themselves. This interpretation was coeval with the beginning of the separation

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis: “Commentaries on the Song of Songs – a Possible Jewish–Christian Polemics” (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011).

² On questions of the canonicity of the *Song of Songs* and its canonization see: Edmée Kingsmill, *The Song of Songs and the Eros of God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 12–14.

³ See, e.g., M. H. Segal, “The Song of Songs,” *Vetus Testamentum* 12, no. 4 (1962): 479–481.

⁴ Robert Gordis, *The Song of Songs and Lamentations, a Study, Modern Translation and Commentary* (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1954), 1.

⁵ “If the Song were a continuous allegory of sex, no matter how ingenious the techniques or subtle the allusions, it would be nothing more than a riddle or a tease.” Cf. Francis Landy, “The Song of Songs,” in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1987), 305.

between rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, thus, studying the development of the interpretative techniques implemented in commentaries results in an exploration of the cultural, theological, and political context in which exegetes worked. That is to say, commentaries reveal the ways in which the two religions interacted.

The *Song of Songs* is a piece of love poetry. Therefore, Christian and Jewish interpreters – who in general would have wished to come to dissimilar conclusions – had to face a common danger: a reading of the *Song of Songs* in which only its literal meaning is discerned. Threatened by the consequences of uniquely verbatim interpretations, even Jewish exegetes chose to employ an otherwise distinctively Christian approach toward Old Testament literature: allegory, in which the events and characters of the story are identified with well-known personalities of a greater narrative. In the case of the *Song of Songs*, the somewhat indistinct female and male protagonists of the text have to be recognized as personalities with a relationship that is beyond mere eroticism. Using allegory removed one of the greatest barriers that separated the different viewpoints of Jewish and Christian interpreters.

Limited by the shared approach, Jewish and Christian commentators were compelled to show their dissimilar opinions in other ways. In order to prove to their respective communities that their reading and interpretation of a given Biblical piece was correct, and that that of the respective other was unacceptable, both Jewish and Christian exegetes had to highlight that the interpretation of the other is erroneous, despite a methodologically similar approach. In my estimation, this peculiar stance toward the *Song of Songs* is what resulted in an unexpected clash of interpretations between Jewish and Christian traditions.

Christian and Jewish Interpretations

A brief review of the situation in which commentaries were formulated is necessary to understand the context of allegorical interpretations. In the Christian tradition, there were two ways of dealing with the *Song of Songs* in the framework of allegorical understanding. In both of these ways the male character of the *Song of Songs* is identified with Christ, the bridegroom of the New Testament. This identification was perhaps based on copying and replacing the Jewish allegorical

interpretation (an application of Hellenistic exegetical approaches)⁶ or perhaps on some vague New Testament references.⁷

As for the second protagonist, the female character, there were two possibilities. In line with the typological relationship (assumed by the Church Fathers⁸) between the Old and New Testaments, and consequently between Israel and the Church,⁹ it was possible to interpret the female character as signifying the Church. This concept is rendered as ecclesiological interpretation. In accordance with the early Church Fathers' preoccupation with the salvation of the individual,¹⁰ however, there was also a tendency to understand the female character as signifying the soul of the individual Christian.¹¹

The rivalry, or rather the hesitation, between these two ways of interpretation characterized the first centuries of Christian tradition. Origen, one of the first Christians to interpret the text and by far the most famous, managed to reconcile the two allegorical understandings in his commentaries.¹² The fact that both are attested in his works might explain the ambiguity of the subsequent Christian tradition. The followers and successors of Origen seemingly hesitated between the two directions of interpretation.¹³ The inconsistency among Christian interpretations was so significant that as early as the end of the fourth century Theodoret of Cyrhus felt the need to bring some order to the interpretative tradition of the *Song of Songs*.¹⁴ In his commentary, he re-enacted the ecclesiological interpretation. Hand in hand with the growing importance of the Church in the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the significance of the individual soul's journey

6 Marvin H. Pope, *The Song of Songs, a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 112–114.

7 E.g., Eph. 5:22–32. Cf. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs*, 108; Roland E. Murphy, *The Song of Songs, a Commentary on the Book of Canticles or the Song of Songs* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 14.

8 Robert Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 59–61.

9 Cf. Marc Hirschman, *A Rivalry of Genius, Jewish and Christian Biblical Interpretation in Late Antiquity*, trans. Batya Stein, Judaica: Hermeneutics, Mysticism, and Religion (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 13–22.

¹⁰ Cf. Helmut Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hohenliedkommentaren des Mittelalters* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1958), 27–28.

¹¹ Cf. Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 115.

¹² J. Christopher King, *Origen on the Song of Songs as the Spirit of Scripture, the Bridegroom's Perfect Marriage-Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 14–15.

¹³ Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs* (New York: Ktav, 1970 – reprint from 1857), 64.

¹⁴ Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 120–121.

toward God was once and for all replaced by the importance of the Church's role in salvation and its historical value was expressed by its relationship to God. As a consequence, the relationship between the Church and its predecessor, the nation of Israel/the Jewish religion, became increasingly important.

In the Jewish tradition, a framework for interpretation had long existed.¹⁵ In this interpretation the community of Israel is identified with a female character, a bride or a wife, and the male character, a bridegroom or a husband, is understood as God.¹⁶ Besides offering an interpretative framework, this understanding also solidified the role of God in the interpretation of the *Song of Songs*. By applying a prophetic picture to the *Song of Songs*, Jewish exegetes could achieve two ends. Firstly, they could interpret the *Song of Songs* in a way which validated its erotic imagery. Secondly, they could bring God into the picture. There was, however, a certain consequence to this approach. Since the identity of the two protagonists was established for good and all, the interpreters had to expound every verse of the *Song of Songs* according to this principle. This interpretative approach was established so successfully in early rabbinic exegesis that the representatives of it¹⁷ literally displaced, or rather suppressed, any other possible understandings for centuries.¹⁸

It is more difficult to mark the cornerstones of the development of a Jewish allegorical tradition. In some Talmudic interpretations¹⁹ elements of the *Song of Songs* are interpreted along the lines of Israel's relation to God, but different understandings were also widespread in the same corpora. It is difficult to say when and where the rabbinic interpretations changed course, since rabbinic sources that are extant from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages are either compilations of individual commentaries or anonymous works. Many of the materials in these commentaries are much earlier than the time of their sixth- or seventh-century redactions.²⁰ Nevertheless, a redaction is revealing about the concept of the editors and, consequently, the historical milieu where they were active.²¹ The reasons for choosing certain commentaries on certain Biblical verses and organizing them into a certain order can itself be a reflection of the editor's

¹⁵ E.g., Ezek. 54:6–7, Jer. 2:2, Hos. 1–2. etc.

¹⁶ Cf. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs*, 108.

¹⁷ Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 99–100.

¹⁸ Murphy, *The Song of Songs*, 28–31.

¹⁹ See, e.g., *Talmud Bavli Niddah* 47a, *Brakhot* 24a, etc. Cf. Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 89.

²⁰ Cf. Jacob Neusner, *Midrash in Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1993), 70–71.

²¹ See Samuel Tobias Lachs, "Prolegomena to Canticles Rabba," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* ns 55, no. 3. (1965): 247–248.

mentality.²² It is apparent, therefore, that at approximately the same time as the change toward a historical approach took place among Christian commentaries a number of rabbinical works were written or compiled which show similar interpretative patterns.

Methodology

My aim here is to present a case-study with a continuous and parallel comparison of Jewish and Christian interpretations to one chapter of the *Song of Songs* – chapter 8. I will show that the interpretations of the two traditions reveal signs of mutual awareness and polemical edge. Based on the concept of Edward Kessler, I search for four signs that point to the existence of Jewish–Christian polemics on a shared book of the Holy Scripture. These signs are: the use of identical scriptural references in argumentation, identical literary forms, apparently similar or apparently contradictory conclusions, and the introduction of a well-known, controversial theme of Jewish–Christian interrelations.²³ I will focus on the way the characters of the *Song of Songs* and their interrelations are depicted in the fifth- to eighth-century Christian and Jewish traditions. The firm establishment of the ecclesiological reading of the *Song of Songs* brought a difference into Jewish–Christian interrelations which finally resulted in a strong interconnection and the beginning of constant polemics around the commentaries on the *Song of Songs*.

The polemics between Jews and Christians affected the interpretation of the *Song of Songs* to such an extent that by the end of the eighth century the major aim of each tradition was to defend its own understanding of the *Song of Songs* and to discredit the interpretation of the others. According to this twofold nature of the commentaries, I will discuss two separate aims of the interpreters in their commentaries. The first aim was to identify the characters in the *Song of Songs*, and, through their commentaries, to defend this identification by interpreting the plot of the text as their own relationship with God. An additional aim of the interpreters was to disprove the arguments of the respective other.

²² Cf. Neusner, *Midrash in Context*, 70–71.

²³ Edward Kessler, “The Exegetical Encounter between the Greek Church Fathers and the Palestinian Rabbis,” *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001): 402–404.

Analysis

The eighth chapter is not only the final chapter of the Biblical book, but – according to the historical point of view of the *Targum*²⁴ – the end of history as well, and, as a consequence, it contains the plot of the salvation of the community. Since in many Jewish and some Christian commentaries the final chapter is considered to recount the elements of the end of days, how the characters in chapter eight are understood in the two exegetical traditions is of paramount importance.

The discussion of the protagonists and the narrative of this chapter are pinned with expressions of familial love. Due to the rather haphazard nature of the texts,²⁵ I will focus on individual motifs and their understandings rather than on the supposed plot of the story. Occasionally, however, I will follow the historical or thematic reasoning of the commentaries which eventually lead to conclusions concerning an alleged plot.

The eighth chapter commences with the exclamation of a female speaker, who has been generally understood as referring to the respective community in Jewish and Christian commentaries: “Who shall give thee to me for my brother, sucking the breasts of my mother?”²⁶ In the middle of the chapter, however, the appearance of a yet-unmentioned new character perplexed the interpreters:²⁷ “Our sister is little, and hath no breasts. What shall we do to our sister in the day when she is to be spoken to?”²⁸ According to most of the Jewish and Christian commentaries, the introduction of the “little sister,” a third character, into the discussion of the female and male characters upsets the balance of things. Interpreters, limited by the standards of identification they had created, struggled to account for the appearance of an additional female character who is, moreover, described as young. Serious consequences ensued in both traditions. Although this chapter presents many verses worthy of analysis, due to my concentration on polemical tendencies, I will confine myself to a set of focal points which in my estimation mirror the general traits of polemics in the *Song of Songs*’ commentaries

²⁴ Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 94–95.

²⁵ Cf. Murphy, *The Song of Songs*, 195.

²⁶ Cant. 8:1. In *Holy Bible Douay Rheims Version* (Charlotte, NC: Saint Benedict Press, 2009).

²⁷ Due to differences among the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew versions of the texts there are different views of how this character’s identity can be revealed, cf. Richard Frederick Littledale, *A Commentary on the Song of Songs from Ancient and Medieval Sources* (London: Joseph Masters, 1869), 366, cf. Murphy, *The Song of Songs*, 192.

²⁸ Cant. 8:8.

The focal points of the chapter and my analysis are: In verses one and two, the female speaker wishes that her lover would be a brother to her so that they could express their mutual desire without disdain from their surroundings. In verses five to seven a female[!] speaker is mentioned as coming up from the desert and then, taking the initiative, she wishes she was with her lover again.²⁹ Following this, the little sister is mentioned in verses eight to nine, which conclude with a female speaker describing herself.

Early developments in the Christian commentary tradition appear in the commentary of Theodoret of Cyrrihus, who was writing in an age when the Church's rule over the Roman Empire had just been established. In the later, Latin, tradition, authors wrote in a more or less religiously secure oecumene. This difference might have brought about the earlier interpreters' more irenic standpoint towards Judaism and the tradition of the Latin fathers, which shows a particular obsession with the "responsibility of the Jews" in withholding the fulfillment of salvation history.³⁰ Representing this early, but more importantly, irenic, tradition, Theodoret says:

But you, in your great love of humanity ... purposed to suckle at the same breasts as I, in order to demonstrate, in this respect too, that we are brother and sister ... The reason why you came forward to be baptized was not to wipe off the dirt of your sins ... but you show me what the gifts of baptism are and in what manner to suck the grace of the Spirit.³¹

A century and a half later, Apponius gave a tougher explanation, the idea that deliverance from the yoke of the Old Testament is the only way to achieve the situation described in verse one:

*Who shall give thee to me for my brother, sucking the breasts of my mother.*³²

This is wishful speaking... She [the Church] while watching the coming together of the souls of the previously mentioned gentiles to eternal life, asks only the last remaining, incredulous nation, the Jews, which is her mother by the flesh... *That I may find thee without.* Up until today

²⁹ J. Cheryl Exum, *Song of Songs, a Commentary* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 2005), 246–249.

³⁰ See John Bright, *The Kingdom of God The Biblical Concept and Its Meaning for The Church* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 255–257.

³¹ Theodoret of Cyrrihus, "In *Canticum Canticozum*," *Patrologia Graeca* 81 200b–201a; translation from *The Song of Songs Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators*, trans. Richard A. Norris Jr. [Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003]).

³² Italics in quotations throughout indicate Biblical quotations from the *Song of Songs*.

the words of God were enclosed in the letters of the laws, by the Old Testament of the Jewish nation. These appeared plainly to the faithful in the incarnation...And he was sent from the father for the sake of the salvation of everybody.³³

The transition, already marked in Apponius' commentary, becomes quite clear in the commentary of Alcuin:

O that you were like a brother to me. This is the voice of the just of the old times, those who were looking forward to the incarnation of Christ. That nursed at my mother's breast. This is: in the Synagogue I was born and fed, by the nature of human conditions.³⁴

A tendency to identify the "sister" with the Jews grew gradually. Although from an eschatological point of view this concept could, and to a certain extent did, lead toward the acceptance of the Jews as being close to Christians, I believe the most important feature of the concept is rather that it sees the Jews as culpable for not realizing that the advent of Christ nullified the strictures of the written law.³⁵

Tracing the corresponding development in Jewish exegesis requires taking early midrashic elements and *Targumic* sources into account. The general line of rabbinic argumentation is concerned with discovering the nature of the familial love explained in the first verse. The first available rabbinic commentaries for this verse date back to the fifth or sixth or perhaps seventh century. The argumentation is ostentatious. Almost all the rabbinical sources return to a concept in which the verse is compared to different examples of the brotherly relationships of the patriarchal age. The *Canticles Rabba* contains the following commentary:

O that thou wert as my brother. Like what sort of brother? Like Cain with Abel? Cain killed Abel... Like Ishmael with Isaac? Ismael hated Isaac. Like Esau and Jacob? Lo, it is said, And Esau hated Jacob. Like the brothers of Joseph with Joseph? They hated him... Then like what brother? It is one that nursed at my mother's breast, namely, Joseph with Benjamin, who loved him with all his heart.³⁶

³³ Apponius, "In *Canticum Canticorum Exposito*," *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina 19, ed. Bernard de Vregille and L. Neyrand (Paris: Edition du Cerf, 1997), 11:16–17.

³⁴ Alcuin, "Compendium in *Canticum Canticorum*," in *Patrologia Latina* 100, ed. J. P. Migne et al. (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1863), 681c.

³⁵ See Ronald E. Heine, *Reading the Old Testament with the Ancient Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), chapter 2.

³⁶ *Song of Songs Rabba*, 8:1; translation in: *Song of Songs Rabba I–II*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

In the *Pesiqta deRab Kahana* one finds this explanation of the same verse:

O that you were like a brother to me. Like what sort of brother? As Cain was to Abel? Cain killed Abel. As Ishmael was to Isaac? Ishmael hated Isaac. As Esau was to Jacob? Esau hated Jacob. As were the brothers of Joseph to Joseph? The brothers of Joseph hated Joseph. But rather, as Joseph was to his brothers. Now the matter yields an argument *a fortiori*: if Joseph, who spoke mild words to the hearts of his brothers and thereby comforted them, when the Holy One, blessed be He, comes to comfort Jerusalem, how much the more so: Comfort, comfort my people.³⁷

Despite the important difference between the two rabbinical conceptions (namely, that in the first example love is *par excellence* between Joseph and Benjamin while in the second Joseph expresses love towards all of his brothers), the common aim is apparent; the relationship between the first patriarchs and their brothers exemplifies the relationship of the Jews towards the nations. In the Biblical tradition, Cain, Ishmael, and Esau represent foreign nations; in rabbinical exegesis, however, they represent all the nations in general.³⁸ Consequently, the emphasis on the brotherly love of Joseph toward his brothers equals the integrity and cohesion of the Jews, since Joseph and his brothers together stand for the whole nation of Israel. I believe that by highlighting the stability and solidarity of the Jewish congregation, the rabbis may have been offering an alternative to the contemporarily developing Christian exegetical tradition, which represented them as the younger sister ignorant of the importance of the advent of Christ. The rabbis' belief that the twelve tribes will ultimately hold together is similarly echoed in the interpretation of the final verses of the same chapter.

The next point is the rabbinical and Christian exegesis of the identification of the characters in verse five. Here the arrival of a female character is described and was understood generally in both traditions as referring to the community (that is, the Church in Christian tradition and the congregation of Israel in rabbinic interpretations).³⁹ The word "wilderness"⁴⁰ was enough for the rabbis to connect

³⁷ *Pesiqta deRab Kahana*, 16:5; translation from: *Pesiqta deRab Kahana, an Analytical Translation I-II*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

³⁸ See Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb. Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 3–4, 10–11.

³⁹ Littledale, *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*, 349–351.

⁴⁰ On the interchangeability of the words "wilderness" and "desert," see Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 661–662.

the verse to the exodus. Not surprisingly, possibly relying on a Talmudic source,⁴¹ Midrashic collections⁴² understand the one “coming up from the desert” as the congregation of Israel fleeing Egypt.

Christian commentaries drew a distinctive line of argument – particularly prevalent among Western Church fathers – which, while identifying the “one coming up from the desert” as the Church, finds an opportunity to fault Jewish religion for its stubbornness. Cassiodorus says:

Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness. The voice of the admiring Synagogue (*speaks about*) the Church assembling from among the nations... *upon her beloved.* Since the Synagogue thought that she was the only one who had cognition of God, thinking that the other nations are lost in ignorance... *I raised thee up under the apple tree...* The divine cross, beneath which the Synagogue is awakened. *There thy mother brought thee forth, there she brought thee forth that bare thee.* It is the Synagogue, the greater and principal part of Jews who are called mother.⁴³

Alcuin adds a further eschatological edge to his – otherwise similar – understanding, when he says:

Under the apple tree I raised thee up. The bridegroom himself is responding to the bride instead of the Synagogue. *I raised thee up.* That means, I recalled you from perpetual death under the tree of the cross, like the apostles and the rest of the elected from Judea. *There thy mother was corrupted.* That is to say the major part of the (Jewish) nation saying no to Christ chose Barabbas, while he (Christ) was condemned to the cross.⁴⁴

Finally, in order to show that these Christian commentaries, or rather, the tradition they represent, were interacting with the Jewish understandings and that the two interpretative traditions stemmed from the same interpretative milieu, I quote the *Targum* on verse eight:

When the dead revive, the Mount of Anointing will split apart and all the dead of Israel will issue from beneath it; and even the righteous who have died in exile will come... And the wicked who have died and been buried in the land of Israel will be cast out... Then all the inhabitants of the earth will say, ‘What was the merit of this people that

⁴¹ See *Talmud Bavli Sota* 11b

⁴² See, e.g., *The Song of Songs Rabba* 8:5, *Exodus Rabba* 20:5, *Midrash Zuta* 8:5.

⁴³ Cassiodorus, “*Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*,” in *Patrologia Latina* 70, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Garnier Freres, 1865), 1101d–1102a.

⁴⁴ Alcuin, “*Compendium in Canticum Canticorum*,” 682a.

comes up from the earth... as on the day when she came up from the Wilderness to the Land of Israel... as on the day when she appeared beneath Mount Sinai to receive the Torah?⁴⁵

The opposition between the two traditions is again striking. For exactly the same verse, interpreters felt the need to legitimize their understanding of the *Song of Songs* at the expense of the respective other. The direct opposition in the *Targum* between the men of Israel and those of the nations is highlighted even more strikingly by Jewish commentaries on the subsequent verses of the chapter.

The verse: “For love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave”⁴⁶ induced a notion of opposition in the minds of the rabbis. The *Canticles Rabba* contains the following explanation (mind the pun on the duality in the usage of the Hebrew word *קנאה* – expressing both the negative aspect of jealousy⁴⁷ and its positive variation⁴⁸):

As strong as death is the love with which Isaac loved Esau: *Now Isaac loved Esau.*⁴⁹ Jealousy is cruel as the grave. The jealousy that Esau held against Jacob: *And Esau hated Jacob*⁵⁰... As strong as death is the love with which the generation that suffered the repression loved the Holy One, blessed be He... The jealousy that the Holy One blessed be He, will hold for Zion, that is a great zealousness.⁵¹

This midrash contains references to Biblical passages where both unquenchable love and jealousy would refer to the Jews. It is noteworthy, however, that the first and final elements of the list, the framework of the concept, relate the discrepancy between the feelings of Jacob and Esau (on a symbolic level: the Jews and the Gentiles/Rome) and the unbreakable love and jealousy (or rather, zeal) of God toward Israel. This structure shows that the author of this midrash wanted to emphasize that although the nations dislike the Jews, the relationship of the Jews with God is as strong as it ever was.⁵²

⁴⁵ Targum 8:5; translation from: *The Targum of Canticles*, ed. Alexander S. Philip (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 195.

⁴⁶ Cant. 8:6.

⁴⁷ Cf., e.g., Num. 5:14

⁴⁸ Cf., e.g., Ezek. 5:13.

⁴⁹ Gen. 25:28.

⁵⁰ Gen. 27:41.

⁵¹ *Canticles Rabba*, 8:6; translation from Neusner, *Song of Songs Rabbah II*, 223–224.

⁵² Neusner, *Song of Songs Rabbah II*, 224.

It is but an easy step from midrashic to the Targumic notion which contrasts the love between Israel and God with jealousy and hatred among the nations:

For the love of your Divinity is as strong as death, and the jealousy which the nations bear us is as harsh as Gehinnom... which the Lord created... to burn therein idolaters. The Lord of the World said to His people, the House of Israel, 'Even if all the nations which are likened to the waters of the sea, which are many, should gather together, they would not be able to quench My love for you.'⁵³

This text of the *Targum*, however, redirects the scholar to a Christian commentary tradition which, in reference to the sixth verse, analyses the Jewish-Christian relationship in the following way:

Jealousy is cruel as the grave. My love for you, O Synagogue, is so strong that I would die for it [lit.: strong until the death], but your jealousy was cruel upon me like hell. But turn your jealousy into love and be my bride and my sister and my friend!⁵⁴

Alcuin's commentary might be somewhat obscure since it needs the reader's recognition of the fact that the speaker is Christ on the cross. One only need look into earlier commentaries, such as that of Cassiodorus, to understand clearly what "jealousy of the Synagogue" is:

Cruel as the grave. This refers particularly to the Synagogue, which was jealous of the nations and envied their salvation. Christ is reminding them by saying this, to cease from envy and rejoice for the salvation of the Church.⁵⁵

The concept expressed in the words of Alcuin and Cassiodorus⁵⁶ is clear. The Church, or Christ representing the Church, expressed his love toward the Synagogue, but he encountered a bitter refusal which was manifest in the fact that the Jews chose to remain with their customs rather than accepting the replacement of the law by the advent of Christianity.

While the interpretation of the *Targum* is structurally similar to the Christian understanding quoted above, one cannot find this similarity in the eschatological message. It seems that at the time when the text of the *Targum* was formed, Christianity could no longer be regarded as a sister, a possible ally, but only as one

⁵³ Translation from: *The Targum of Canticles*, ed. Alexander, 196–198.

⁵⁴ Alcuin, "Compendium in Canticum Canticorum," 662c.

⁵⁵ Cassiodorus, "Expositio in Canticum Canticorum," 1102d

⁵⁶ And further echoed in the works of Bede, Isidorus, and others. For a general survey, see Littledale, *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*, 358–363.

of the nations, and in particular a perilous enemy, against which polemics should be directed.

I identify the turning point in the exegesis of chapter eight at verse eight. Here yet another character is introduced, which, complicating the already intricate set of characters even more, apparently troubled both Christian and Jewish interpreters. Exemplifying the Christian point of view, Bede says that the speaker of the passage is God, who – addressing the Jews – reveals that their younger sister – the Church – is still weak, but will eventually grow stronger.⁵⁷ The apparent difficulty with this interpretation is the contradiction between the plurality of the speakers introducing the younger sister and the fact that both the Christian and the Jewish exegetes identified themselves with a singular feminine speaker in previous chapters of the *Song of Songs*.

Family relations in the *Song of Songs* were of crucial importance for both the Jewish and the Christian interpreters. Following the mutual awareness of both Jews and Christians of their shared past and connectedness,⁵⁸ family ties were particularly likely to be interpreted as referring to the relationship between the rival religions. The term “younger sister” is no exception to this tendency in exegesis. The self-evident direction of interpretation in both traditions is that the “little sister” represents the respective other.

Most of the Christian interpreters from the era understood verse eight as referring to the young Church, which is still in the shadow of the Synagogue. Alcuin, for example, says:

It represents the early Church when it was born out of the gentiles... He talks about it as the Bridegroom of the Synagogue... the Church of the gentiles is still small in numbers... what seems to you, o Synagogue, right to be done with our sister, when she is spoken for?... Since the Synagogue is silent, the Bridegroom answers, telling what should be done.⁵⁹

Alcuin's words are in harmony with the previous Christian tradition (expressed, among others, by Bede and Cassiodorus) and express the idea that during the infancy of the Church the bridegroom (i.e., Christ) asked the Synagogue to help defend and educate the young disciples of the Church of the gentiles.⁶⁰ The Synagogue, however, refused to get involved, which resulted in the

⁵⁷ See Bede the Venerable, “*In Cantica Cantorum Allegorica Expositio*,” in *Patrologia Latina* 91, ed. J. P. Migne et al. (Paris: Garnier Freres, 1862), 1214d–1215a.

⁵⁸ Cf. Yuval, *Two Nations*, 11–14.

⁵⁹ Alcuin, “*Compendium in Canticum Cantorum*,” 662d–663a.

⁶⁰ Cf. Pope, *The Song of Songs*, 679.

formation of the Church on individual principles (i.e., on principles of the Holy Scripture but, in contrast to Jewish religion, including elements that differed from those of the Jewish scriptural tradition). The words of Isidore testify to a similar understanding:

If she (that is the Church) is a wall, we will build upon her a battlement of silver: As if it would have been said: even if some in it have firm faith and pure nature, or if there are (people in it) instructed in philosophy, let us add to it battlements of silver, this is, the knowledge of the divine Scriptures, so that it will be easier for them to guard the weak and the unlearned.⁶¹

A serious statement lies behind this whole concept, namely, that it was the Synagogue's refusal to recognize that the time was ripe for the gentiles to enter the covenant and, consequently, to recognize Christ's messianic nature, that led to the establishment of the Church as an entity separate from Judaism.⁶² Further, this idea implies that the Church is not simply different from the Synagogue, but also superior insofar as it encompasses members with philosophical instruction and inward beauty (charity and gentleness) inherited from the instructions of Christ, which the Synagogue lacks.

The prevalent Jewish interpretation in the midrashic literature is similar to the Christian interpretation since it also identifies its own community (the Jews) with the younger sister of the text. It is important to note, however, that most of the interpretations, particularly those from a relatively early period, understand the younger sister as referring in some way to the Babylonian Jews in general. The first element of this understanding appears in the *Talmud*.⁶³

This Talmudic source recounts the excellence of Israel based on its relation to the Mosaic laws and their continuous study. The later compilation of the *Canticles Rabba* from the post-Talmudic period made important additions to the same idea. Besides emphasizing the excellence and the chosen nature of Israel, it also tells how and why this privileged status is upheld:

We have a little sister. ...All the angelic princes who watch over the nations of the world... are going to come and make the case against Israel before the Holy One... saying: Lord of the world, these have worshipped idols, and those have worshipped idols... How come these go down to Gehenna, while those do not go? The Holy One... will say

⁶¹ Isidore of Seville, "*Expositio in Canticum Canticorum Salomonis*," in *Patrologia Latina* 83, ed. J. P. Migne et al. (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1850), 1131c.

⁶² Bright, *The Kingdom of God*, 257.

⁶³ *Talmud Bavli*, *Baba Bathra* 7b–8a.

to them: *We have a little sister...* however the Israelites soil themselves all the days of the year through their transgressions, when the Day of Atonement comes, it effects atonement in their behalf... Once the final prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi had died, the Holy Spirit ceased from Israel. Even so, they would make use of the echo. There was the case of sages voting in... Jericho. An echo... said to them, There is among you one man who is worthy of receiving the Holy Spirit... They set their eyes upon Hillel the Elder.⁶⁴

The claim of this midrash is clear. Israel, the younger sister, retains its privileged status by divine will. This status is, in turn, is preserved through the echo of the *bath kol*. Even though the era of prophets ended with Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (and not even by chance with Jesus), God still expressed his will to the Jews and the rabbinic sages, the leaders of the community. The concept of this midrash seems to offer an alternative to an argument, perhaps even a threat, in which the singularity of the Jewish religion was questioned. If one takes into account that the Christian religion itself, but more importantly the contemporary Christian commentaries, argue for the transition of God's love from the Jewish congregation to the Church, it seems reasonable to surmise that this midrash was included in the compilation of commentaries as a polemical answer to challenge Christian interpretations. Moreover, the *Canticles Rabba* gives yet another explanation for the verse, in which the Babylonian identification is connected to the historical framework:

Rabbis interpret the verses to speak of those who came up from the Exile: We have a little sister: this refers to those who came up from the Exile. Little: because they were few in numbers... The presence of Babylonians is a net to draw the Messiah.⁶⁵

In other words, the reunion of the Jews of Palestine with the Jews of Babylonia, the reunion of the twelve tribes, will bring about the advent of the Messiah.⁶⁶ In summary, the concept of the Midrashic compilation seems to oppose the Christian tradition at every focal point. The younger sister is not the Church but Israel, the walls and the towers are not the Christian teachings, but the process of studying the Mosaic laws and the places where this study is done. This concept

⁶⁴ *Song of Songs Rabba*, 8:8–10; translation from: Neusner, *Song of Songs Rabbah II*, 232.

⁶⁵ *Song of Songs Rabba*, 8:10; translation from: Neusner, *Song of Songs Rabbah II*, 233.

⁶⁶ John C. Reeves, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalypics. A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 201–204.

does not deal with the Temple or offerings. Instead, this highlights the eschatological stance of the Church as the way through which the nations are redeemed, highlighting the election of Israel and her constant connection to God. This concept is ultimately also connected to redemption, but in the way in which the individual observes the laws of the Torah. This ultimately shows how much the rabbinical concept and the Christian tradition of the sixth to eighth century were interrelated and depended upon each other's argumentation about the final chapter of the *Song of Songs*.

By comparing commentaries from this period, I have shown that it was no coincidence that the Christian and Jewish understandings match each other and that their structural similarities and contradictory messages were a result of a certain level of awareness of the other's argument and a desire to answer this argument with the help of self-legitimization and direct polemics. Throughout I have tried to show that at certain points in their interpretations Jewish and Christian exegetes used similar structures, implemented the same metaphors, and drew structurally similar (but in terms of content often directly contradictory) conclusions. I want to point out that these elements – although one by one they would not make a difference – together point to a connection, mutual awareness, and polemicizing tendency between Jewish and Christian exegetics.

CONSTANTINOPLE IN BYZANTINE APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT¹

András Kraft 

According to canonical Scripture the culmination of Christian salvation history entails the eventual destruction of the earthly realm. The Byzantine Empire, however, promoted the image of invincible and sustaining rulership. Hence, every Byzantine faced the intrinsic tension between Christian eschatological thought and imperial ideology. The only way to resolve this tension was by proposing that these notions, in fact, converge.² If the Byzantine Empire, in general, and Constantinople, in particular, were to play an eminent role in the last events, then one could argue that this temporal and topographical proximity to the divine realm meant that the Empire enjoyed a privileged position in the divine providential scheme. Moreover, such proximity would emphasize the orderly transfer into the heavenly dominion and would thus be capable of mollifying anxieties arising from the anticipated apocalyptic rupture.³

In what follows, I investigate the increasingly important role that Constantinople came to play in this scheme of convergence. The source material surveyed here consists primarily of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*,⁴

¹ This article is a revised version of a paper I delivered at the “Legacies and Discontinuities in the Eastern Mediterranean” conference organized by the Central European University in Budapest, June 4th, 2011.

² See Paul Magdalino, “The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda,” in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. Roderick Beaton and Charlotte Roueche (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 11–15.

³ Paul Alexander, “The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes,” *Speculum* 37, no. 3 (1962): 344–5.

⁴ The Syriac version: Gerrit J. Reinink, ed. and tr., *Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium [CSCO] 540 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993). The Greek version: W. J. Aerts and G. A. A. Kortekaas, ed. *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*. CSCO 569 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998). While Roman numerals refer to chapters of the Syriac, Arabic numerals refer to the Greek version.

various apocalyptic narratives from the *Visions of Daniel* genre,⁵ the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*,⁶ and patriographic writings.

In the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition the most formative extra-canonical narrative was the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (henceforth *Apocalypse*),⁷ which had tremendous impact throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.⁸ It was composed originally in Syriac, probably in Northern Mesopotamia, at the end of the seventh century. Its pseudonymous author provides a historical apocalypse that starts with recounting world history beginning with Adam in Paradise down to the cataclysmic events of the last days, which culminate in the *Parousia* (the reappearance of Christ as judge for the Last Judgment). Probably the most essential feature of this late antique text was its promotion of Byzantine imperial ideology. In his narrative Pseudo-Methodius promotes the figure of a last Roman emperor who will liberate Christians from the Arab dominion, rebuild churches, and establish a period of peace and prosperity. Ultimately, this Last Roman Emperor is said to rule over all Christians until the approaching advent of the Antichrist causes him to abdicate in Jerusalem, thereby removing the *katechōn*⁹ which was generally understood to be Byzantine imperial suzerainty.

⁵ Klaus Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 12–23 [*Diegesis Danielis*]; Hans Schmoldt, “Die Schrift ‘Vom jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniels letzte Vision’” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1972), 122–144 [*Last Daniel*]; 190–198 [*Seven-Hilled Daniel*]; 202–218 [*Daniel xai ἑσταί*]; 220–236 [*Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse*].

⁶ Lennart Rydén, “*The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*. Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 197–261 (at 201–214).

⁷ Paul Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy de F. Abrahamse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 14: “In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that in the development of the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition the translation of the Syriac text of Pseudo-Methodius into Greek marked the end of the era of Antiquity, and the beginning of that of the Middle Ages. None of the apocalypses written after the translation was made fails to show traces of its influence.”

⁸ For a first overview of the Pseudo-Methodian tradition in the Latin West, see Paul J. Alexander, “Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs. The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor,” *Medievalia et Humanistica*, ns. 2 (1971): 48–54. See further Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2000), esp. 321–349.

⁹ 2 Thess 2:7. The *katechōn*, i.e., the one who holds back, is universally understood as the impeding factor that hinders the revelation of the Antichrist. Generally, the *katechōn* was understood to refer to the Roman, i.e., Byzantine Empire. See Gerhard Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie: die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 u. 7) und der tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20); eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Munich: Fink, 1972), 55, n. 332. Pseudo-Methodius shares this interpretation.

Constantinople is not once mentioned unambiguously in the *Apocalypse*. There are, however, references to “Rome” (V.8) and “Great Rome” (V.4). These mentions are adjacent to references to Thessaloniki, Illyria, and the Black Sea, which indicate that what is meant here is the New Rome, i.e., Constantinople. This reluctance to mention the imperial capital by name is partially due to the absence of its name from canonical scripture. The few references to Constantinople serve only a minor purpose, which is to demonstrate the enormous military expansion of the Midianites,¹⁰ whom Pseudo-Methodius recounts as having conquered most of the Eastern *oikoumenē* at the beginning of the fifth millennium *anno mundi*.¹¹ The subsequent eschatological drama is set in the Near East and takes place in Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. Constantinople plays no part in this. Still, it is the person of the Last Roman Emperor who as the representative of the Byzantine Empire has an essential eschatological function which is played out, however, in Jerusalem and not in Constantinople. Thus, the original Syriac *Apocalypse* disregards Constantinople in its eschatological account.

The focus on Constantinople was introduced in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* when the composition reached a Byzantine audience. It has been argued that a first translation of the Syriac *Apocalypse* into Greek must have been made between 700 and 710 due to the fact that four eighth-century Latin manuscripts present the Merovingian Latin paraphrase of a Greek translation of the *Apocalypse*.¹² This first Greek recension presents, on the whole, a faithful translation of the Syriac original.¹³ At the same time, it contains various emendations, additions, and three longer interpolations. The most noted interpolation was inserted some time during the eighth century and placed at the very heart of the dramatic narrative, that is, at the place just before the Roman emperor is about to awake “like a man

¹⁰ Pseudo-Methodius presents the Midianites mentioned in Judges 6:1–8:35 as the typological counterpart of the seventh-century Arabs. That is, the Midianites are considered to be a proto-Arab people who prefigured the Arab conquest.

¹¹ *Apocalypse* V.1–7.

¹² See Aerts and Kortekaas, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, 16, 30. For characteristics of the first Latin recension, see *ibid.*, 20–9 and for Latin manuscript situation, see *ibid.*, 48–57. See also Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 296–297.

¹³ For a detailed comparison of the Syriac with the Greek version, see Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 51–60, Aerts and Kortekaas, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, 9–14, W. J. Aerts, “Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der ‘Revelationes’ des Pseudo-Methodius (syrisch-griechisch-lateinisch),” in *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag: ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. W. Diem, A. Falaturi (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 124–127 and Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, 97–100.

from sleep after having drunk much wine.”¹⁴ A section of the interpolation reads as follows:

Woe to you, [City of] Byzas, that Ishmael will conquer you. Since every horse will cross over and the first of them will set up his tent opposite you, Byzas, and will begin the fight and crush the Xylokerkos gate and enter until the [Forum of the] Ox. Then the Ox will bellow loudly and the Xērolaphos¹⁵ will roar, since they are being smashed by the Ishmaelites. Then a voice from heaven will arrive and say: “This vengeance suffices for me,” and then God, the Lord, will take away the cowardice of the Romans and throw it into the hearts of the Ishmaelites and he will throw the bravery of the Ishmaelites into the hearts of the Romans and after having turned around they will drive them out of their [lands] smashing them without mercy. Then will be fulfilled what is written: “One [man] will chase a thousand, and two put ten thousands to flight.”¹⁶ Then they will be finished off and their sailors will be destroyed.¹⁷

This interpolation describes the Arab siege on Constantinople, probably the siege of 717/718.¹⁸ During the siege the Arabs are said to penetrate the land

¹⁴ *Apocalypse* [13] 11,3–4. Cf. Ps 78:65. The interpolation can be found at *Apocalypse* [13] 7–10.

¹⁵ The author seems to have deliberately adapted the place name of Xērolaphos to read Xērolaphos so that it resembles ἔλαφος, i.e., deer, which supports the idea of the place producing animal-like sounds. See W.J. Aerts, G.A.A. Kortekaas, ed. *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*. CSCO 570 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 49–50.

¹⁶ Cf. Deut. 32:30.

¹⁷ *Apocalypse* [13] 9–10: [13] 9 Οὐαί σοι, Βύζα, ὅτι ὁ Ἰσαμηλ παραλαμβάνει σε· περάσει γὰρ πᾶς ἵππος Ἰσαμηλ καὶ στήσει ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ κατέναντι σου, Βύζα, καὶ ἄρξῃται πολεμεῖν καὶ συντρίψει τὴν πύλιν Ξυλοκέρκου καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ἕως τοῦ Βοός· τότε Βοὺς βοήσει σφόδρα καὶ Ξηρόλαφος κραυγάζει, συγκοπτόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν. [13] 10 Τότε φωνὴ ἔλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· »ἄρκει μοι ἡ ἐκδίκησις αὕτη«, καὶ ἄρει κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τότε τὴν δειλίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ βάλη εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν βάλη εἰς καρδίας τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ στραφέντες ἐκδιώξουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων συγκοπτοντες ἀφειδῶς. Τότε πληρωθήσεται τὸ γεγραμμένον· »εἰς διώζεται χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας«. Τότε συντελεσθήσονται καὶ οἱ πλωτῆρες αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς ἀφανισμόν γενήσονται.

¹⁸ For a discussion on the dating, see Hans Schmoldt, “Die Schrift ‘Vom jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniels letzte Vision,’” 173; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 296–297; Wolfram Brandes, “Die Belagerung Konstantinopels 717/718 als apokalyptisches Ereignis. Zu einer Interpolation im griechischen Text der Pseudo-Methodios-Apokalypse,” in *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Klaus Belke, Ewald Kislinger, Andreas

walls at the Xylokerkos gate north of the Golden Gate. The Arabs fight their way through the streets until they reach the Forum of the Ox located along the *Mesē*, the primary thoroughfare through the capital. There the Ishmaelites will be beaten back by divine intervention. The Arabs will be put to flight just before the Last Roman Emperor is about to awake (in the subsequent section).

As a result of this narrative, the Xylokerkos gate, the *Forum Bovis*,¹⁹ and the (also mentioned) *Xērolophos*, that is, the seventh hill of Constantinople, became strongly associated with apocalyptic events. As Albrecht Berger and Wolfram Brandes have properly remarked, this prophecy came to shape the city's urban planning and outlook throughout Byzantine history and beyond.²⁰ For instance, the *Xērolophos* was later on regarded as the only Constantinopolitan remain which would survive the eschatological flood that was expected to annihilate the imperial city.²¹ The fact of its very name might have contributed to its characterization as the only place escaping the great deluge, since “xeros” means “dry.”²² As a result of this apocalyptic association, it was said that a huge column stood in the vicinity

Külzer, Maria A. Stassinopoulou (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 71. Cf. Aerts and Kortekaas, ed., *Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen* (CSCO 570), 48 (n.[13] 7,1ff) and Aerts, “Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der ‘Revelationes,’” 130, who proposes an early ninth century date.

¹⁹ The motif of the bellowing ox, which was inserted into *Apocalypse* [13] 9,4–5 (τότε Βοῦς βοήσει σφόδρα καὶ Ξηρόλοφος κραυγᾶσει), became a standard motif reappearing, for instance, in the *Seven-Hilled Daniel* §2.3 (although in modified form, καὶ ὁ Ξηρόλοφος κραυγᾶσει καὶ τὸ σταθόριον (?) εἶπη) and in *Last Daniel* §45 (τότε Βοῦς βοήσει σφόδρα καὶ Ξηρόλοφος θρηνήσει). Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, ed., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), [henceforth *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*] §28, where the harbor of Neorion is said to have had a bronze ox statue that would bellow (κράζειν ὡς βοῦν) once a year when distasters happened. The harbor eventually sank in the reign of Emperor Maurice (r. 582–602).

²⁰ See Albrecht Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel. Topographisches in apokalyptischen Schriften der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit,” in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes, Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 136–7 and Wolfram Brandes, “Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat. Apokalyptische Schriften und Kaiservaticinien als Medium antikaiserlicher Propaganda,” in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes, Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 193–5. For Ottoman appropriations of Byzantine apocalyptic *topoi* related to Constantinople, see Kaya Şahin, “Constantinople and the End Time: The Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 342, 351f, esp. 344–5, n. 103.

²¹ *Last Daniel* §70. Cf. *Diegesis Danielis* §9.4–6 and *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 868B (lines 243–54).

²² Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel,” 144.

of the Xērolophos which contained “the engraved eschatological narratives of the city and its capture(s).”²³

Due to the ubiquitous popularity of the *Apocalypse*, the Xylokerkos gate was henceforth seen with awe and suspicion. It is a well known that Isaac II (r. 1185–1195, 1203–1204) ordered the Xylokerkos to be walled up as a preventive measure to ensure that crusading Germans would not enter the city.²⁴ The fear that Constantinople would ultimately fall to invaders due to a breach at this very gate was a living tradition well into the last days of the Empire. In 1453 the Xylokerkos was most certainly bricked up in an attempt to slow down the eschatological and therefore unavoidable fall of the land walls. Moreover, the credibility which this prophecy enjoyed can be measured by the fact that the Ottomans – following the conquest of the city – kept this gate shut until 1886.²⁵

Similarly, the vaticination of the invaders being repelled at the *Forum Bovis* lived on until the final capture by Mehmet II. The historian Doukas tells about the false prophecy that the Turks would be beaten back by an angel at the Column of Constantine, leading a large crowd to rush to the church next to the *Forum Tauri*.²⁶ It appears that, in time, the *Forum Tauri* became associated with the eschatological role that had originally been attributed to the *Forum Bovis*.²⁷ This might be explained with the close semantic resemblance of both *fora* as well as with the fact that both public squares were located along the *Mesē*. Apparently, the eventual divine intervention rescuing the Constantinopolitans from the Arab or Turkish onslaught was moved further down the *Mesē*, giving a further sense of drama by delaying the completion of the established prophecy. Also, by the

²³ Theodor Preger, ed. “*Patria II*,” §47 in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907): ‘Ομοίως καὶ ὁ κοῦφος κίων ὁ μεγαλιαῖος ὁ ἐκείσε καὶ ὁ Ξηρόλοφος τὰς ἐσχάτας ἱστορίας πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἀλώσεις ἔχουσιν ἐνίστορας ἐγγεγλυμμένας. [Similarly, the slim and high column that is there and the Xērolophos hold the engraved last (i.e., eschatological) narratives of the city and its capture(s).] Translation mine.

²⁴ See Jan L. van Dieten, ed. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 404, 6–7. See alternatively Harry J. Magoulias, tr. *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1984), 222.

²⁵ See Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel,” 136–137 and Brandes, “Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat,” 193–194.

²⁶ See Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 100–101.

²⁷ As is apparent from *Apocalypse* [13] 9, the *Forum Bovis* was originally considered the place where the fortunes of the battling Constantinopolitans would change for the better. Berger points to the fact that in the seventh and eighth centuries the Forum of the Ox was often the scene of public execution, see Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel,” 138. Therefore, one might argue that the square carried the connotation of just retribution.

time of the Palaiologan period, the column of Constantine had long taken on eschatological meaning. For instance, in the (probably tenth-century) *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* one finds that the column is associated with precious nails (τίμιοι ἦλοι),²⁸ that is, with the nails of the crucifixion. This association was meant to attribute indestructibility to the column.

It is well known that Constantine the Great imported various statues and monuments into his new city in order to produce the cultural capital which might be expected from a city favored by the emperor.²⁹ In time, however, the original meaning of the manifold mythological motifs which these artifacts carried became more and more obscure. They often gained an enigmatic, even mysterious character. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* tells the story how the statue of Maximian (which represented the builder of the Kynegion, i.e., a quarter on the acropolis of ancient Byzantium near the sea walls) fell upon narrator's companion, striking him dead. The narrator adds that he later learnt that the statue was destined to kill a prominent man.³⁰ This incident exemplifies the mystique and alarming aura that was sometimes attributed to pagan statues.

Often the identification of ancient sculptures was ambiguous. For instance, by the tenth century an equestrian statue located on the *Forum Tauri* was considered by some to represent Joshua, the son of Nun,³¹ others, however, saw it as the mythological hero Bellerophon.³² The base of the equestrian statue is said to have hold carved-in narratives about the last days of Constantinople, when the city would be devastated by the Rus. This event was thought to be visually represented in a small man-like object that was chained and keeling in front of the left forefoot

²⁸ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 868B (line). Cf. *Diegesis Danielis* §9.3–6: οὐαὶ σοὶ ταλαίπωρε Βαβυλῶν, ἡ μήτηρ πασῶν τῶν τόλεων, ὅτι κλινεῖ Θεὸς τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ γέμουσαν πυρός. καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ σοῦ τεῖχη καταποντισθήσεται. καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπομείνη ἐν σοὶ εἰ μὴ εἷς στῦλος τοῦ μεγάλου σκῆπτρου τοῦ Βυζαντίου τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ἵνα ἐκεῖ θρηνησῶσιν οἱ πλείοντες τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπαρθήσεται δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἀπὸ σοῦ. [Woe you, Seven-Hilled Babylon, mother of all cities, since God will direct His wrath (against you), which is full of fire. And your high walls will sink in the sea. And nothing shall remain in you except one pillar of the great scepter of Byzantium, (i.e.) of Constantine the Great, in order that there those who sail the sea shall wail. Thus, your reign will be taken away from you.] Translation mine.

²⁹ See Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. 37–136.

³⁰ *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, §28.

³¹ Joshua is a minor character in the Torah, who is said to be Moses' apprentice (Ex. 32:17). He is also said to have been an informant sent out explore the land of Canaan (Num. 13:16–17). Joshua, son of Nun, is mentioned in the canonical books of Exodus, Numbers and Joshua.

³² Homer, *Iliad* VI.155–203, Pindar, *Olympian Odes* XIII.63–96.

of the horse statue.³³ The fact that eschatological events were associated with a rider statue is due to the apocalyptic imagery taken from canonical scripture.³⁴ However, the exact meaning and the provenance of this scenery are still unclear. What is important, though, is to recognize that imagery on public monuments was frequently appreciated as representing apocalyptic narratives. The fact that Constantinopolitans considered apocalyptic imagery to be present in the everyday urban space of the megalopolis supports Gilbert Dagron's assertion that "... le sentiment subsiste que l'histoire de la capitale chrétienne n'est qu'une apocalypse progressivement réalisée."³⁵

In sum, ever since the Greek *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* introduced Constantinople into the eschatological end-of-days drama, numerous prophecies and apocalyptic narratives became associated with locations, buildings and statues in the Queen of Cities. Of course, Constantinople appeared in earlier apocalypses as well. For instance, in the early sixth-century *Oracle of Baalbek* Constantinople, or "City of Byzantium," was said to last no longer than 180 years, thus dating its final destruction to the year AD 510.³⁶ The fifth-century Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* also tells about the Seven-Hilled City's wickedness and subsequent destruction. However it is possible that the reference to the Seven-Hilled City refers to Rome instead of Constantinople.³⁷ In any event, in these earlier Christian apocalypses Constantinople did not play any significant role in the eschatological narrative of the last days.

³³ Preger, ed., *Patria* II, §47: Τὸ δὲ τετράπλευρον τοῦ ἐφίππου τὸ λιθόξεστον ἔχει ἐγγεγλυμμένας ἱστορίας τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς πόλεως, τῶν Ῥώσ τῶν μελλόντων πορθεῖν αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ τὸ † ἐμπόδιον, ὅπερ ἀνθρωποειδὲς χαλκούργημα βραχὺ παντελῶς καὶ δεδεμένον γονυκλινὲς ἔχει ὁ ποὺς ὁ εὐώνυμος τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ μεγαλιαίου, καὶ αὐτὸ σημαίνει, τί ἐστὶν ἐκεῖσε γεγραμμένον. [The square-shaped hewn stone base of the equestrian statue holds carved-in narratives about the last days of the city when the Rus will destroy this city. And there is an object resembling a very small bronze man-like figure that is bound and kneeling, which signifies what is engraved there. – I read ὡσπερ instead of ὅπερ, I thank Professor Perczel for this suggestion.] Translation mine.

³⁴ Most importantly: Rev. 6:1–8 and Gen. 49:17.

³⁵ Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des "Patria"* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), 324.

³⁶ Paul Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967): 14 (lines 94–5): μὴ κανχῶ, Βυζαντία πόλις, τρὶς γὰρ ἑξηκοστὸν τῶν ἐτῶν σου οὐ μὴ βασιλεύσεις. [Do not boast, city of Byzantium, thou shalt not hold imperial sway for thrice sixty of thy years!] – tr. by P. Alexander See further Cyril Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (New York: Scribners, 1980), 203.

³⁷ See Lorenzo DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 102–103 and Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, 203.

This changed when Constantinople gradually became identified with the Seven-Hilled City of the *Revelation of John*. It is unclear when this identification was first formulated; it is possible that the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* presents one of the earliest instances. The oldest topographical source, the mid-fifth-century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* does not mention this name.³⁸ A later source, the ten-century *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, which is basically a collection of topographical descriptions and folkloristic reports, mentions Constantinople as having seven hills.³⁹ It is far from clear when the attribute “seven-hilled” became a recognized designation and when the seven hills were actually identified.⁴⁰ What is clear, though, is that by the early seventh century this identification was endorsed by Andrew of Caesarea,⁴¹ and that by at least the eighth century Byzantine apocalypses generally followed his lead.⁴² Therefore, it was the association of Constantinople with the sinful Babylon of the *Revelation of John* (Rev. 17–18) that led to the generally accepted notion that the Byzantine megalopolis was the Seven-Hilled City.⁴³ Originally, the sinful Babylon was understood to refer to Rome; therefore, it was only a matter of time until the Byzantines appropriated this characterization and applied it to their New Rome.⁴⁴ As noted above, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* refers to Constantinople as the “Great Rome.”

³⁸ Otto Seeck, ed., “Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae,” in idem, ed., *Notitia dignitatum Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Provinciarum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876), 227–243.

³⁹ Preger, ed., *Patria* III, §19: Τὸ καλούμενον Μεσόλοφον μέσον ἐστὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ λόφων. ἦγουν ἡ μία μοῖρα τῆς πόλεως ἔχει τρεῖς λόφους καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα τρεῖς λόφους, καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ τοῦτο. οἱ ἰδιῶται Μεσόμφαλον καλοῦσιν αὐτό. [The so-called Middle-hill (Mesolophon) is located in the middle of the seven hills. That is to say, one part of the city has three hills and the other also has three hills, and this one is in the middle. The uneducated call it Middle-navel (Mesomphalon).]

⁴⁰ For further reference to Byzantine sources that employ this *topos*, see Wolfram Brandes, “Sieben Hügel Die imaginäre Topographie Konstantinopels zwischen apokalyptischem Denken und moderner Wissenschaft,” *Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (2003): 58–71, esp. 62–67.

⁴¹ See Eugénia S. Constantinou, “Andrew of Caesarea and the Apocalypse in the Ancient Church of the East: Studies and Translation,” Ph.D. dissertation (Quebec: Université Laval, 2008), 173 (§181). See also Andreas Külzer, “Konstantinopel in der apokalyptischen Literatur der Byzantiner,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 50 (2000): 68.

⁴² See, for instance, *Diegesis Danielis* §4.5–9, §5.8, §6.5, §8.1–2, §9.3.

⁴³ See Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel,” 140. See Wolfram Brandes, “Das ‘Meer’ als Motiv in der byzantinischen apokalyptischen Literatur,” in *Griechenland und das Meer. Beiträge eines Symposions in Frankfurt im Dezember 1996*, ed. E. Chrysos et al. (Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 1999), 124–125, esp. n. 34.

⁴⁴ This is so despite the initial reluctance among Byzantines to accept the *Revelation of John* as a canonical book, which was an issue of debate until about the sixth century. See

By gradually identifying Constantinople with the Seven-Hilled Babylon, the imperial capital gained scriptural legitimacy to play an essential role in the end drama. At the same time, this implied that Constantinople would eventually be destroyed by a great flood as foretold in Rev. 18:21. Indeed, the *Diegesis Danielis*, *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*, *Last Daniel*, and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* all mention the city's ultimate submergence into the sea.⁴⁵ One also finds a reference in the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, where it says "that the earth, the sea, and the seven ages are consumed by the flood."⁴⁶ The development to integrate the sinking of the imperial capital into the eschatological scheme was, in part, motivated by this canonical verse of the *Revelation of John*. Additionally, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* identifies three cataclysmic events in world history: the Great Flood, the invasion of the Midianites, and finally, the Ishmaelite conquest.⁴⁷ Looking at the Pseudo-Methodian typological framework, one can easily speculate that just as the Muslim Arabs were the eschatological repetition of the ancient Midianites, so too the submergence of the Roman capital would be the typological antitype of the Great Flood. In the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* one finds a reference to Matt. 24:37, which compares the time prior to the advent of the Antichrist to the prosperous and peaceful days preceding the Great Flood.⁴⁸ Thus, in a typological framework one might expect an eschatological flood to be associated with the arrival of the Antichrist. At the same time, one should also not forget the possible influence of oracular traditions which prophesy the sinking of various cities and islands.⁴⁹

The central role that Constantinople came to play in the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition was most certainly amplified by the Arab expeditions against Constantinople in the seventh and eighth centuries (particularly the sieges of 674–678 and 717/718). In fact, Muslim eschatology focused on the capital's eventual

Wolfram Brandes, "Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (7.-9. Jahrhundert)," in *Varia III* (Poikila Bizantina 11) (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1991), 50–51, n. 108. See also John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 7–8. However, its use in Byzantine apocalyptic literature is increasingly recognized, see Paul Magdalino, "The Year 1000 in Byzantium," in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. idem (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 249–254.

⁴⁵ *Diegesis Danielis* §9.4–6, §12.19, *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §3.10, §4.24, *Last Daniel* §70, and *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 868B (lines 243–54).

⁴⁶ Preger, ed., *Patria II*, §77: ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ αἰῶνες εἰσιν οἱ ἐσθιόμενοι διὰ κατακλυσμόν. Translation mine.

⁴⁷ See Michael Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudomethodius," *Byzantion* 6 (1931): 276ff.

⁴⁸ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 856C (lines 57–8).

⁴⁹ For examples, cf. Brandes, "Das 'Meer' als Motiv," 127–128.

capture and considered that the end of the world was dependant on it falling into Muslim hands.⁵⁰ Consequently, Constantinople became the new focal point of eschatological expectations of both Christians and Muslims. As a result, the fate of the capital and the actions of a last victorious imperial ruler in the Pseudo-Methodian *topos*, i.e., the Last Roman Emperor, became increasingly linked. First, this eschatological emperor is said to arrive in the capital from the East (*Diegesis Danielis* §5.5–8) in order to fend off the besieging Ishmaelites, then he is said to be crowned emperor in Constantinople (*Seven-Hilled Daniel* §2.7, *Last Daniel* §49); in other narratives he would even be revealed within the city itself (*Last Daniel* §47). In the Byzantine tradition, the eschatological emperor functioned as an agent who, first and foremost, safeguards the defense of the capital and the imperial restoration while Constantinople developed gradually to represent the empire *in toto*. Thus, in the case of the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* and *Last Daniel* the Seven-Hilled City is said to outlive its last emperor. Ultimately, Byzantine apocalypses increasingly advanced conceptual models that would delay the ultimate end of the world by prolonging the eschatological decline of the Byzantine Empire.⁵¹

In conclusion, these examples should demonstrate that apocalyptic imagery and motifs played a pivotal part of the common conceptual landscape of the Byzantines. Notions such as the Xylokerkos gate being breached first influenced the urban planning of Constantinople at least down to 1886.⁵² The prophecy of divine rescue at the *Forum Bovis* or *Tauri* caused crowds to converge onto it when the city finally fell in 1453. Such spectacular consequences were, in the end, generated by apocalyptic motifs. What is more, the same compelling force of these notions could promote or oppose public policies;⁵³ these ideas could even support or threaten emperors.⁵⁴ Eschatology is most essential for Christian theology, just as apocalyptic themes are most vital for Byzantine *Realpolitik*. At the very center of imperial policy-making stood the New Rome, which in the

⁵⁰ See Vasiliev, “Medieval Ideas of the End of the World,” 472–6. See further David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 2002), 53–66, 166–171.

⁵¹ Cf. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie*, 102 and Brandes, “Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost,” 58.

⁵² See Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel,” 137.

⁵³ See Brandes, “Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat.” See further Paul Magdalino, “Isaac II, Saladin and Venice,” in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepherd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 93–106.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 77–95, where Alexander argues that *Daniel zaì Èstai* advances a justification of Basil I murdering Michael III. Concerning the political repercussions of apocalyptic compositions in general, see Brandes, “Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat,” 157–200.

course of the seventh/eighth-century struggle with Islam emerged as a new focal point of the eschatological drama of the last days.⁵⁵ Therefore, in the eyes of the Byzantines, the unavoidable end of the world came to be associated with the end of Constantinople.⁵⁶ Thus, one can rightly argue that Byzantine apocalypses became a “Constantinopolitan genre.”⁵⁷ Based on the canonical apocalyptic narratives – first of all the *Revelation of John* – notions such as the gnashing of teeth,⁵⁸ the sinful Seven-Hilled City,⁵⁹ the eventual fall of the city,⁶⁰ or the concept of an eschatological flood⁶¹ were gradually identified with the fortunes of the wicked Babylon, i.e., the New Rome – Constantinople.

⁵⁵ The apocalypses that are presumably of Sicilian origin (i.e., *Daniel xai Ęσται* and the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse*) pay only moderate attention to Constantinople. This indicates, as one might expect, that provincial apocalypses were slightly less interested in the fate of the imperial capital. It also suggests that the apocalypses that devote much attention to the Seven-Hilled City were composed with a Constantinopolitan audience in mind. Cf. Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, 207–208.

⁵⁶ Cf. Alexander, “The Strength of Empire,” 343.

⁵⁷ Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 328.

⁵⁸ Matt. 24:51. Cf. Preger, ed., *Patria* III, §170.

⁵⁹ Rev. 17.

⁶⁰ Matt. 23:37–24:1, Rev. 18:1–19:5.

⁶¹ Rev. 18:21. Cf. Jer. 51:42, 51:63f, Ezek. 26:19, 27:34.

THE TRINITY AS SEEN BY MUSLIMS WITH A FOCUS ON IBN TAYMIYYAH'S PERCEPTION OF THE DOCTRINE

Sona Grigoryan 

Introduction

Over the long tradition of the medieval Muslim anti-Christian polemical tradition two polemical themes, namely, the Divinity of Christ and the Trinity, were always at the center of the heated debates and discussions.¹ These themes were present in the writings of most Muslim authors, not so much for polemical reasons as to re-establish the truth of Islam through discussions on the errors of the other religion. However, there was another strong polemical *topos*, the notion of *tahریف*,² according to which Jews and Christians had corrupted both the meaning and the text of the Scriptures; therefore, the Qur'an was the only valid sacred book with true revelation. This essay will discuss the perception of only one of these doctrines, the Trinity, as seen by Muslims, focusing on one of the most complex authors of Muslim intellectual history, Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328), whose refutation of Christianity differed from previous ones due to its unprecedented and consistent emphasis on *tahریف* as a generative notion for all the false doctrines of Christianity. As no one else, Ibn Taymiyyah made a scriptural approach the center of his entire polemical discourse.

The reason why Ibn Taymiyyah is of particular interest here lies in the fact that he produced a comprehensive anti-Christian work which is the longest and the most detailed of his time. The significance of Ibn Taymiyyah's polemic lies not only in his effort to incorporate all the existing arguments against Christianity, developed in numerous refutations before his time, into a comprehensive framework of arguments, but also in his ability to draw new conclusions and to

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis, "Anti-Christian polemics of Ibn Taymiyyah: Corruption of the Scriptures" (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011).

² Corruption of the Scriptures is an old polemical *topos* that originated in the Qur'an. The Qur'an accepts that the Torah and Gospels, as divine revelations, originally derived from the *lauh al-mahfūz* (Eternally Preserved Tablets); however, the Qur'an accuses both Jews and Christians of both intentional and unintentional alterations in the text and meaning of the Torah and Gospels (respectively, *tahریف al-nass* and *tahریف al-ma'nā*). The Qur'anic accusation of corruption carries other connotations such as substituting, concealing, twisting the language of, and forgetting (*tabdīl, kitmān, labṣ, nisyān*) parts of the Scriptures.

articulate an approach with distinctive features and emphases in his discussion of older polemical themes. Ibn Taymiyyah's main anti-Christian work is *Al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li man baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ* [The Right Answers to those who altered the Religion of Christ] (hereafter referred to as *al-Jawāb*),³ which is about one thousand printed pages, one third of which has been translated by Thomas Michel and supplied with a comprehensive contextual introduction to Ibn Taymiyyah's polemical thought in general.⁴

Discussions of the Trinity

Among all the polemical themes that Ibn Taymiyyah examined, I will focus only on the Trinity. It must be pointed out from the very beginning that Muslim authors,⁵ even the most competent ones, always relied on the Qur'anic references to the Trinity as a plurality of divinities, one of them is this verse:

O People of the Book! Commit no excesses in your religion: nor say of God aught but the truth. Christ Jesus the Son of Mary was (no more than) an apostle of God, and His Word, which he bestowed on Mary,

³ Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyah, "The Right Answer to Those Who Altered the Religion of Christ," in *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyyah's Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. T. Michel (New York: Caravan Books, 1984). *Al-Jawāb* was written in response to a letter written by Paul of Antioch, the Melkite bishop of Sidon (d. ca.1180). Paul's original letter, *A Letter to a Muslim Friend*, written around 1150, had already been in circulation for almost two centuries before it reached Ibn Taymiyyah in 1317. *Al-Jawāb* was a response not to the original version of Paul's letter, but to another text (*A Letter from the People of Cyprus*), which was an expanded version by an unknown author who had adopted a more conciliatory tone than Paul of Antioch. David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's 'Letter to A Muslim Friend' and the 'Letter from Cyprus,'" in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. D. Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 203–22. For the edited letter of Paul see P. Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, Evêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe s.)* (Beirut, 1964).

⁴ Thomas Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyyah's Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ* (New York: Caravan Books, 1984).

⁵ This doctrine has been refuted by numerous Muslim authors and it is impossible to present these discussions here thoroughly. I will rather focus on selected authors who made significant input into the elaboration of the debate on the issue. For a detailed discussion of these topics, a survey of famous works on these issues, and useful references to Muslim authors see: 'Abd al-Majīd Al-Sharḥī, *Al-fīk'r al-Islāmī fi-l-radd 'ala al-Nasāra* [Islamic Thought of Refutation against Christianity] (Tunis: Al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1986), 197–258, 259–377; also D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam, Abū 'Isa al-Warraḡ's 'Against the Trinity'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 31–50, and idem., *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: Abū 'Isa al-Warraḡ's 'Against the Incarnation'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37–59.

and a Spirit proceeding From Him: so believe in God and His apostles. Say not "Trinity": desist: it will be better for you: for God is One God (4:171).⁶

Another verse of reference was: "They do blaspheme who say: God is one of three (*thalithu thalatabtu*) in a Trinity: for there is no God except One God" (5:76). These verses suggest that Christians conceive of God as one of three divinities and that the divine Godhead consists of three separate divine entities. Relying on these references, Muslims represented the doctrine as *Tathlith*, i.e., tritheism, contrasted to *Tawhid*,⁷ monotheism, and, in fact, never departed from this pre-disposition. The notion of tritheism was used as a polemical motif even if Muslims had a clear understanding of Christian theology.

One of the earliest Muslim discussions of the Trinity is that of Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 860), included in his *al-Radd 'alā al-Naṣārā* [Refutation against the Christians].⁸ Al-Qāsim describes God as three individuals (*ashkās*) differentiated in hypostases (*aqānīm*) and united in essence (*dhāt*).⁹ He puts the emphasis on the hypostases as three separate persons, thus ignoring to some extent the identity between them in the divine essence. It is important to mention that the Arabic word *shakhs* that he uses to describe the hypostases carries the meaning of a quantifiable individual, which makes the Trinity a unit of three different entities. The idea that there is more than one divine entity which creates a form of plurality in the understanding of God was the issue that Muslim authors targeted the most.

One might assume according to this definition that Muslims, even if familiar with the terms describing the doctrine, were not aware of the supporting philosophical notions. However, this was not entirely the case; one of the first greatest Arab philosophers, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūbī al-Kindī (d. 864),¹⁰ explained the godhead as a community of hypostases identical to the divine essence, each

⁶ The Qur'anic references are taken from the English translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

⁷ Literally, *tawhid* means "to make one" and *tathlith* means "to make three," which is a clear indication of one compared to three.

⁸ See D. Thomas, "The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Early Abbasid Era," in *Islamic Interpretations of Christianity*, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 83f.

⁹ As early as the ninth century, Muslim authors were acquainted with the Arabic terms to explain the doctrine: *jawhar* (sometimes also *dhāt*) became the usual term for the Greek *ousia*, "substance," and *uqnūm*, from the Syriac *qnoma*, meant "hypostasis," "person."

¹⁰ Al-Kindī himself based his arguments on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and Aristotle, see D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemics in Early Islam: Abu Isa al-Warraḡ's Against the Trinity* (Cambridge: Oriental Publications, 2002), 36.

differentiated by its own properties. The critical argument of al-Kindī was that the hypostases create a composite (*murakkaḥ*) entity. Whatever is composite is a result of causality (*‘illah*), and whatever is caused (*ma‘lūl*) is no longer eternal (*aẓālī*).¹¹ The idea of a strict divine unity is vitiated as soon as these constituents within the Godhead are emphasized as the main characteristic of the Trinity. What is possible to conclude is that Muslim authors, even if acquainted with the Trinitarian terminology, did not put much effort into accepting the Trinity in the way they existed in the Christian context (or rather, as they were understood by the three main denominations in Christianity: Melkites, Jacobites, and Nestorians).

Even the most famous and detailed presentation and refutation of the Trinity from the ninth century, namely, that of Abū ‘Isā al-Warrāq¹² (d. 860), provides a similar presentation of the doctrine. Abū ‘Isā still follows the earlier Muslim pattern of Trinitarian refutation. It is clear from his account that he commanded a good knowledge of all three Christian sects, which is evident from the structure and content of his *Radd*. First of all, Abū ‘Isā presents the understanding of the Trinity among the three sects and then comes up with answers for each of them.

Paraphrasing, the Jacobites and Nestorians claim that the Eternal is One substance and three hypostases, and that the three hypostases are the one substance and the one substance is the three hypostases. The Melkites, those who follow the faith of the king of the Romans, claim that the Eternal One is one substance which possesses three hypostases, and that the hypostases are one substance but the substance is other than the hypostases, though they do not acknowledge that it is numerically a fourth one of them.¹³

It is clear from this description that Abū ‘Isā was preoccupied with the idea of presenting the hypostases as three differentiated and quantifiable items, which was sufficient to consider the doctrine invalid. “The argument against you stands as long as you claim that they are differentiated in any way and the one substance is not [differentiated],” he claims.¹⁴ The persons of the Trinity were thus a multiplicity in a variety of guises, whereas God is singular. Further, Abū ‘Isā argues against the contradictory nature of the doctrine: If the substance is the hypostases then the hypostases cannot be differentiated. However, this is what the

¹¹ See al-Sharfi, *Al-fīkḥ al-Islāmi*, 209.

¹² Al-Warrāq was a skeptical, controversial free thinker for his time and was regarded as suspect. His refutation “Against the Trinity and the Incarnation” stands out as the single most detailed and comprehensive work by a Muslim against Christians from the entire early period of Islam. See Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemics*, 2–30.

¹³ Al-Warrāq, *Al-Radd*, 67.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

Jacobites and Nestorians claimed, and this is what Abū 'Isā announces is a “patent contradiction.”¹⁵ The reply to the Melkites is also based on the argument that the doctrine has inner contradiction.¹⁶ If the hypostases are one substance, but the substance is distinct from the hypostases (in contrast to what the Jacobites and Nestorians say), it would follow that there are four constituents of the Godhead and not three as is claimed. Abū 'Isā hence emphasizes two points wherever it is possible: that the one cannot be three and vice versa (in the case of the Jacobites and Nestorians) and that the Godhead has four and not three constituents (in the case of the Melkites).¹⁷

That Abū 'Isā was influenced by the polemical thrust of the traditional Islamic methodology of Trinitarian refutation should not cause one to underestimate the value of this work. It remains one of the most careful studies on the Trinity among medieval Muslim polemical writings. It also influenced later refutations such as those of an Ash'arite author, al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013).¹⁸ These authors based their work on previous writings on the Trinity and elaborated the discussion intensively on the relationship between the substance and hypostases.¹⁹ Al-Bāqillānī bases his refutation on the assertion that God can be neither substance nor hypostases. He relies on the Aristotelian classification of existing things into three categories, namely, pure substance, composite bodies, and accidents existing in substances and bodies.²⁰ Further stressing the view that substances are the loci of accidents, al-Bāqillānī claims that God's substantiality assumes that He must receive accidents (*a'raḍ*). He is also aware of two types of substances, noble (*sharīf*) and ignoble (*kebasīr*), according to which the former does not accept accidents but the latter does.²¹ This, however, does not change the nature of al-Bāqillānī's argument, for, on this basis, he suggests another analogy; the same distinction,

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 81f.

¹⁷ A helpful guide for discussion is Yahya Ibn 'Adī's reply to al-Warraḡ, see E. Platti, “Yahya Ibn 'Adī and his Refutation of al-Warraḡ's Treatise on the Trinity in Relation to his Other Works,” in *Christian-Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period*, ed. S. Kh. Samir, J.S. Nielsen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 172–191.

¹⁸ Thomas shows that al-Bāqillānī and the Mu'tazilī scholar 'Abd al-Jabbār followed al-Warraḡ in their refutations.

¹⁹ For a general discussion of al-Bāqillānī's refutation see al-Sharfi, *al-Fīkr al-Islāmī*, 204–214 and also Wadi Z. Haddad, “A Tenth-Century Speculative Theologian's Refutation of the Basic Doctrines of Christianity: al-Bāqillānī,” in *Christian-Muslim Encounters*, ed. Y. Y. Haddad, W. Z. Haddad (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1995), 82–95.

²⁰ Abū Bakr Ibn al-Tayyīb Al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, ed. R. J. McCarthy (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-Sharqiyyah, 1957), 17.

²¹ Ibid., 76.

he claims, can be made between bodies, so that there can be noble and ignoble bodies. Therefore, God, in the same way, can be called a body, a noble body.²² What can be concluded is that the concept of substantiality functioned differently in Christian and Muslim contexts. For Christians the substance existed by itself and being so did not create problems; for the Muslims the substance was not regarded as self-subsistent and was thus subject to accepting accidents.

The discussions on the issue of hypostases were intensive as they represented the greatest source of contradictions for Muslims. They discussed the divine hypostases as follows: On the one hand, hypostases are identical by the virtue of the divine substance; on the other hand, each of them is differentiated by its own Attribute which is not possessed by the other two. The question that Muslims asked in general is: If the hypostases are one substance, and the Father is the substance of Himself as well as of the Son and the Holy Spirit, why are all the hypostases not one substance, i.e., the Father? Al-Bāqillānī argues²³ that if the hypostases are one substance they cannot be differentiated, and that if they are then there is no reason why one of them is Father to the others.²⁴ In the same way ‘Abd al-Jabbār opposes the claim that hypostases are differ in their Attributes yet are identical in substance by arguing that it is impossible for things to be different and identical at the same time (*wa kawn al-ashyā’ muttāfiqa mukhtalifa mustahil*).²⁵

Over time, the term *uqnūm* was replaced by the term *ṣifāt*, referring to the Attributes and qualities describing God. This has been a central concept among Muslim theologians, who gradually developed sophisticated discussions on the issue of Attributes, the central concern of which was to provide an explanation that would exclude any pluralistic notion in the understanding of God. To put it generally, two approaches existed concerning the issue, one promoted by the Mu’tazilah and the other by the Ash’arites. For the former, the Attributes were only an expression of a human approximation for an unknowable God. Attributes merely served to apply appellations to God. For the latter, God’s Attributes

²² Ibid.

²³ Al-Bāqillānī constructs his discussion on the hypostases upon two aspects: the unity of the hypostases on the one hand and their differentiation on the other hand, see *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, chapter 8, 85–86.

²⁴ Ibid., 86–87.

²⁵ ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī fi Abwāb al-Tawhīd wa al-‘Adl* [The Summa on the Topics of Divine Unity and Justice], vol. 5, ed. M. M. al-Khudhayrī (Cairo: Al-Dār al-Miṣriyyah lil-Ta’līf wa Tarjamah, 1965), 91.

represented realities subsisting in and not distinct from God's essence.²⁶ There was a distinction in the Attributes of God: inherent Attributes which God possessed from all eternity on account of his essence (*ṣifāt dhāt*) and Attributes which God merits and manifests in his acts (*ṣifāt fi'l*). Arab Christians were aware of this differentiation²⁷ and most often affiliated themselves with the second approach, representing the hypostases as essential Attributes of God distinguished from Attributes of action. The rationale behind this was to explain the Trinity through the vocabulary and its associated concepts borrowed from Islamic theological tradition and make the doctrines less vulnerable to attack.²⁸ Replacing the term *uqnūm* with *ṣifāb* by Arab Christians, however, never eased the tension between the two sides, not least because of a simple problem: Why was the number of the Attributes limited to only three? Therefore, Christian endeavors to ease the tension through common terms failed to solve the problem, moreover, they allowed more space for miscommunication and misunderstanding.

Ibn Taymiyyah's Discussion of the Trinity

Ibn Taymiyyah, in the course of structuring his argument, did find common points of objection with previous writers; however, given his scripturalist orientation, his primary objection against the doctrine is its innovative nature and departure from the Revelation. This, in accordance with the logic of Ibn Taymiyyah's overall polemics, would mean that the doctrine cannot be proven true.

²⁶ Ash'arites embraced the approach of Ibn Kullab (d. 855), for whom the divine attributes did exist yet were not distinct from God's essence. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, "Ibn Kullab" and "Kullabiya."

²⁷ R. Haddad, *La Trinité Divine chez les Théologiens Arabes: 750–1050* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985), 194.

²⁸ Wolfson argues that it was particularly Arab Christians (among Western Latin theologians the only exception was Marius Victorinus) who identified the individual hypostases in the Trinity with specific attributes of God (Existing, Living; Knowing). He argues that this approach resulted from the encounter with Islam. See H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1974), 122f. Thomas also notes that Arab-speaking authors tried to make use of the disagreements among Muslims concerning divine attributes, however, in making parallels between the hypostases and attributes Arab Christians failed to grasp the function of the attributes in the Islamic context, "For in Muslim understanding an Attribute confers a quality upon its subject: thus knowledge makes someone knowing. But it does not confer a quality upon itself." See D. Thomas, *Christian Doctrines in Islamic Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 4.

In addition, Ibn Taymiyyah's whole refutation of the Trinity²⁹ is based on the Islamic understanding of God and Revelation. He identifies the concept of the biblical God with that of the Qur'an by a staunch claim that the prophets received a perennial, self-consistent Revelation from one and the same God. He thus interprets the verse: "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matthew 28:19), as: "The meaning is that they command people to believe in God and His Prophet which God sent and the angel by which God sent down the Revelation which he brought. That would be a command for them to believe in God and His angels, books, and messengers."³⁰

This interpretation is a clear reflection of the Qur'anic understanding of God, prophets, and angels. "The Son is the one reared, the subject of mercy"³¹ and without a divine nature, like all the prophets. God supports the prophets through the Holy Spirit (as is confirmed in the Qur'an, 2:87, 2:253, 5:110), which might also be an angel such as Jibril (Gabriel). Any other application to the verse is a matter of *ta'wil*, i.e., an allegorical interpretation, which diverts the message from its evident meaning and leads to mysteries incompatible with the teachings of the prophets.

Instead of obeying the evident understanding of God, Christians, Ibn Taymiyyah claims, introduced terminologies and concepts such as *uqnum* to describe Him. If by hypostases Christians mean to affirm God's Attributes of Essence, Word, and Life (corresponding with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, respectively, which Islamicised the three persons of the Trinity and the attributes as represented by Paul of Antioch), this is a faulty argument, since the Attributes of God cannot be limited to three. Further, Ibn Taymiyyah bases his discussion on the identification of the hypostases with the Attributes. If God's Attributes, meaning names, are numerous, their limitation to three expresses ignorance of the rest. He totally rejects the idea of Attributes of essence (*ṣifāt al-dhāt*) on the basis

²⁹ For general discussion on the issue see Nancy Roberts, "Reopening the Muslim-Christian Dialogue of the 13th-14th Centuries: Critical Reflections on Ibn Taymiyyah's Response to Christianity," *Muslim World* 84, no. 3-4 (1996): 342-366; Muhammad H. Siddiqi, "Muslim and Byzantine Christian Relations: The Letter of Paul Antioch and Ibn Taymiyyah's Response," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 31, no. 1 (1986): 33-45; Ismail Abdullah, "*Tawḥīd* and Trinity: A Study of Ibn Taymiyyah's *al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*," *Intellectual Discourse* 14, no. 1 (2006): 89-106.

³⁰ Ibn Taymiyyah, "The Right Answer to Those who Altered the Religion of Christ," in *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyyah's Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. T. Michel (New York: Caravan Books, 1984), 262.

³¹ *Ibid.*

of a strict assertion that any Attribute ascribed to God cannot be less essential than the rest.

Ibn Taymiyyah also considered another problem concerning the hypostases. This is related to the Christian claim that the Father is the origin of the other two Attributes. If the Father is the essence and the origin of Life and Speech, it means that the Father existed before them. This in turn means that the Father became living and knowing over time. This idea, on the one hand, implies that God was completed by the other two, and, on the other hand, it implies that the Attributes came into being over time, which means they cannot be eternal. This is what Ibn Taymiyyah describes as:

the greatest form of unbelief, and the most impossible. The Attributes of Perfection necessarily follow upon the essence of the Lord from the beginning to the end. From eternity to eternity He is living, knowing, acting. He did not become living after He had not been, or knowing after He had been unknowing.³²

Similarly, claiming that the Logos (*al-Nuṭq*) is born from the Father like speech from the mind would mean that the Logos came into existence over time and turned God's potentiality for speech into an act of speech, a patently absurd proposition, as God is ever realized and accomplished and does not move from potentiality into actuality.

Ibn Taymiyyah's claim is that there must be a clear distinction between God and his Attributes. God as a substance has many Attributes, like power, hearing, sight, and so on, but none of them is God. Attributes are meanings expressed through the names by which people know God. Not only do Christians limit the number of God's Attributes to three, but they also fail to differentiate between God and His Attributes. Ibn Taymiyyah's understanding of Attributes and their identification with hypostases became crucial for the further refutation of the Trinity. "An Attribute is not a self-subsisting substance,"³³ he claims. Yet Christians made Attributes equal to the Father in substance. With the assertion that only a substance can be equal to a substance, Ibn Taymiyyah concludes that the Son must also be a substance. According to this logical structure, the Holy Spirit is the third substance, which means there are three substances and therefore three gods: "this is a clear statement establishing three substances and three gods," he concludes.³⁴

³² Ibid., 267.

³³ Ibid., 270.

³⁴ Ibid.

In the light of this discussion of Attributes, Ibn Taymiyyah points out another mistake of Christians, namely, making the Son and the Holy Spirit Attributes of God. “The term ‘son’ is never used in the divine Books with the meaning of any Attribute of God.”³⁵ For Ibn Taymiyyah it is absolutely unreasonable to refer to the Knowledge and Word of God as a “son” and then to make it an Attribute. An Attribute of God subsists in His essence, not in anything else. Consequently, the Knowledge of God as an Attribute cannot subsist in the Son. The same is true for the Holy Spirit, who is represented by Christians as the Life of God and as an Attribute. That God is living (*ḥayy*) is clear by His nature, and the Life of God is an Attribute, again, subsisting in him and not in the Holy Spirit. Ibn Taymiyyah concludes, consequently, that Christians have ascribed meanings to the Son and Holy Spirit that were never stated by Christ or an apostle. Moreover, if the Holy Spirit were one of the three divine hypostases or Attributes, “every one of the prophets would be a God to be worshiped, as the Holy Spirit speaks through all the prophets. Each of the prophets would have divine and human natures, yet Christians claim the divinity of the Christ only and not of other prophets.”³⁶

Ibn Taymiyyah devotes a number of passages to the discussion of the Holy Spirit and its procession from God, as in the Nicene Creed. He places particular emphasis on the idea of procession in the Creed (“The Holy Spirit, the giver of life who proceeds from God”), explaining it as an act of emanation: “Proceeding here means an overflowing, a pouring forth, and an emanation from something.”³⁷ This would mean, Ibn Taymiyyah implies, separation from God or partition. The Life of God as an Attribute subsistent in Him cannot be emanated.³⁸ Ibn Taymiyyah’s final conclusion is that Christian doctrines cannot be supported by scriptural evidence, which means that they cannot be proven by reason either.

Conclusion

This essay has brought together Muslim arguments against the doctrines of the Trinity and divinity of Christ. Clearly the major concern of Muslim authors was to show the logical inconsistency in the refutation of the Trinity and to raise questions which would allow drawing a categorical conclusion about the invalidity

³⁵ Ibid., 276.

³⁶ Ibid, 272.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ He refers to the Qur’anic verse *allahu ṣamad* (112:3), usually translated as “God is Eternal Absolute,” but interpreted as “one from whom nothing proceeds.” See Roberts, “Reopening the Muslim–Christian Dialogue,” 354.

of these doctrines. Ibn Taymiyyah pursued the same objective, although his major purpose was to point out the inauthenticity of these teachings in relation to the Scriptures. Ibn Taymiyyah, although relying on the previous tradition of refuting these doctrines on the basis of logical argumentation, primarily aimed to show that they are foreign to prophetic message and do not derive from the Books.

DE FINE SAECULI
THE DEBATE BETWEEN AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO AND
HESYCHIUS OF SALONA¹

Krisztina Lilla Földy 

Apocalypticism is part of the biblical inheritance perpetuated in Christianity from the first centuries up until today. Although apocalypticism and eschatology have been studied and argued intensively, there is still room to explore their perception and reception by different authors. In this paper I discuss how two Latin authors, both bishops, interpreted biblical passages of apocalyptic relevance at the beginning of the fifth century. Focusing on the correspondence between them, I want to emphasize how closely their apocalyptic thoughts are related and – in my view – dependent upon biblical exegesis. I use Roland Teske’s translation² of Augustine’s *Letters 197, 198 and 199* between the two bishops, also comparing it with the Latin texts of *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (the CSEL).³

The exchange of opinions between the two bishops is worth studying not only because these letters show two different approaches to biblical passages of apocalyptic importance, but also because Augustine, in his second letter to Hesychius, was pressed by the situation to thoroughly discuss his opinion about the end of the world. Although apocalyptic expectations were intense during the last decades of the fourth century and especially after the sack of Rome at the beginning of the fifth century,⁴ Augustine himself did not devote much attention to this problem. He had already rejected any kind of calculation about the end of

¹ Bishop Hesychius of Salona was the metropolitan of the Church in Dalmatia between 405 and 420/426. During his time there was significant building in Salona. He also corresponded with John of Chrysostom and Pope Zosimus. See more about Hesychius and his activity in J. Jeličić-Radonić, “Salona at the Time of Bishop Hesychius,” *Hortus Artium Medianaum* (1330–7274) 13 (2007): 13–24. This article is based on sections of my MA thesis: “Augustine of Hippo on Biblical Apocalypticism” (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011).

² Augustine, *Letters 156–210, The Works of Saint Augustine, A Translation for the 21st Century*, II/3, tr. R. Teske (New York: New City Press, 2004).

³ Augustinus, *Epistulae*. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ed. A. Goldbacher (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1911) Vol. 57, esp. 185–270;

⁴ See more about this in B. E. Daley, “Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Vol. 2 (New York: Continuum, 2000), 22–30.

the world in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos 6* in 392/394,⁵ and stayed consistent with this approach to the end of his life. In 418–419, however, Hesychius of Salona confronted him with the problem of expectations of the end of the world.⁶

Augustine's Entry into the Discussion

Hesychius' first letter to Augustine is now lost, but one can infer some points of it from Augustine's reply. As the bishop of Hippo is sending Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* attached to his letter, and briefly notes that he understands the weeks in Daniel⁷ as a reference to the past,⁸ Hesychius must have asked about this prophetic statement. Replying to him, Augustine makes the best of the opportunity to affirm how impossible it is to calculate the end of the world. He paraphrases Acts 1: 7: "No one can know the times that the Father determined by his own authority" (*nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate*) four times⁹ in the five paragraphs of his short letter. Explaining the meaning of *tempora* in this passage, the bishop of Hippo calls attention to the meaning of two Greek terms in Latin, *tempora* here, *καιρός ἢ χρόνος*,¹⁰ emphasizing that neither the appropriate time nor a calculated period can be predicted as *καιρός* refers to the appropriate time and duration of an activity (e.g., the harvest), while *χρόνος* refers to a chronologically definable abstract date.

For, whether the times are auspicious or inauspicious, they are called *καιροί*, but to calculate the times, that is, *χρόνοι*, in order to know when the end of this world or the coming of Christ will be, seems to be nothing else than to want to know what he himself said that no one can know.¹¹

According to Augustine, calculating the time of the end of the world and the second coming of Christ is not only impossible, but doing so also contradicts the teaching of Jesus, who clearly states in the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark

⁵ In J.-P. Bouhot, "Hesychius de Salone et Augustin," in *Saint Augustin et la Bible* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986), 229–250.

⁶ This correspondence must have taken place between 418 and 420. Both of them refer to the eclipse of the sun on July 19, 418, and Augustine calculates 420 years after the birth of Christ in *Ep. 199*. See Bouhot, "Hesychius de Salone et Augustin."

⁷ Dan. 9: 24–27.

⁸ *Ego enim maxime illud de hebdomadibus Danibelis secundum tempus, quod iam transactum est, intellegendum puto. Ep. 197, 1.*

⁹ See *Ep. 197, 1, 2, 3, 4.*

¹⁰ See *Ep. 197, 2.*

¹¹ *Ep. 197, 3.*

that: “Concerning that day (*dies*) and hour (*hora*), however, no one knows.”¹² Here Augustine introduces two new terms, but does not explain how the Scripture uses “hour” and “day” in place of “time;” he does this in more detail in his second letter to Hesychius, but in *Letter 197* he is satisfied with mentioning that “not knowing the times was spoken with perfect clarity.”¹³

Augustine accepts only one sign of the timing of the end of the world. He writes that “the occasion for that time will certainly not occur before the gospel is preached in the whole world as a testimony to all nations,”¹⁴ because Jesus clearly states that the gospel will be preached in the whole world “and then the end will come” (*et tunc veniet finis*).¹⁵ According to Augustine, only experience will prove that the time has arrived when the gospel has been preached everywhere,¹⁶ but even “if we already had absolutely certain reports that the gospel was being preached in all nations, we still could not say how much time remained before the end,”¹⁷ as the time between the two events is nowhere defined in the Scripture. As Hesychius’ first letter is lost, one cannot be sure if he referred to the Christianization of the world or not. I would argue that Augustine introduced this question into their correspondence, as he does not refer to Hesychius’ previous letter but writes, “the opinion of a certain person, whom the priest Jerome also accuses of rashness, forces me to say this.”¹⁸ Apollinarius of Laodicea,¹⁹ similarly to Hesychius,²⁰ interpreted the weeks in Daniel 9 as predictions about the future.²¹ Augustine must have wanted to divert his correspondent from this dangerous path.

Augustine asks Hesychius in the last paragraph of *Letter 197* to share his point of view with him. I agree with J.-P. Bouhot, who suggests that Augustine

¹² Matt. 24:36; Mark 13:32 cited in *Ep. 197*, 2.

¹³ *Ubi omitto dicere, quem ad modum soleant scripturae diem vel horam etiam pro tempore ponere. sed certe illud de ignorantia temporum apertissime dictum est. Ep. 197*, 2.

¹⁴ *Opportunitas vero illius temporis profecto non erit, antequam praedicetur “euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus.”* Matt. 24: 14 in *Ep. 197*, 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *sed si ita erit, facilius, cum factum fuerit, probari experiendo quam legendo, antequam fiat, inueniri potest, Ep. 197*, 4.

¹⁷ *Unde si iam nobis certissime renuntiatum fuisset in omnibus gentibus euangelium praedicari, nec sic possemus dicere, quantum temporis remaneret in fine, Ep. 197*, 4.

¹⁸ *Ep. 197*, 5.

¹⁹ Apollinarius was a bishop of Laodicea in Syria who was condemned for his Christological views at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and died in 390. He wrote a treatise *Against Porphyry’s* interpretation on Daniel in which he predicted the coming of the end of the world in 490. Jerome cited and criticized his view in his *Commentary on Daniel*.

²⁰ See in *Ep. 198*, 7.

²¹ See Apollinarius’ view in Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel* 9, 24.

might have wanted to study Hesychius' interpretations in more detail,²² perhaps in order to be able to direct him more concretely how to interpret biblical passages with apocalyptic relevance.

Hesychius of Salona on the End of the World

Shortly after receiving Augustine's low-key reply, Hesychius answered the bishop of Hippo. He starts his letter respectfully and politely, but it turns out in the first paragraph that he might have been unsatisfied with Augustine's brief answer and has his own independent opinion about how to understand some apocalyptic passages of the Scripture.²³ Hesychius' letter is confident and structured logically. First of all, he objects to Augustine's claim that "no one can know the times."²⁴ Then he gives reasons why one should wait for the second coming of Christ, then lists the signs which will show the coming of the end of the world.

The first argument against Augustine's "excuse" that "No one can know the times that the Father has established by his authority"²⁵ is that all things are governed by the will of God, who shared the knowledge of the past, present and future events with people through holy prophets. The bishop of Salona would find it surprising that "the events that God wanted to be foretold could never enter the minds of human beings."²⁶ His second argument is based on a different formulation of this biblical passage in the Scripture. Hesychius firmly corrects²⁷ Augustine, who did not cite verbatim the passage common in *Vetus Latina* and in the *Vulgate*, which says: "It is not for you to know the times or moments that the Father has established by his own authority"²⁸ (*Non est uestrum nosse tempora uel momenta, quae pater...*).²⁹ In Hesychius' interpretation, this passage is addressed

²² Bouhot, "Hesychius de Salone et Augustin," 233.

²³ *Et quia dignatus es id petere a nobis, ut, quid senserimus de ipsis quaestionibus, per litteras tuae sincerissimae caritati insinaremus, ad ea, de quibus scripta legi, prout intellectus exciguus meae mediocritatis sentire potuit aut intellegere, infra scripsi.* Ep. 198, 1.

²⁴ Acts 1:7, cited in Ep. 197, 1, 2, 3, 4, and Ep. 198, 2.

²⁵ "Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate," cited in Letter 198, 2.

²⁶ *unde satis admiratione plenum est, si ea deus, quae praedici uoluit, ad hominum sensus penitus non posse peruenire constituit secundum hoc capitulum* in Ep. 198, 2.

²⁷ *Primum quia et in antiquissimis libris ecclesiarum non ita scriptum est "nemo potest," sed scriptum est: "Non est uestrum..."* in Ep. 198, 2.

²⁸ Acts 1: 7, cited in Ep. 198, 2.

²⁹ Bouhot, in "Hesychius de Salone et Augustin," 234, shows that Augustine also cited Acts 1:7 in this version, e.g., in DCD 18.50 and 22.30.

to the apostles, whose task, defined in the next passage,³⁰ is to be witnesses of Christ's name and his resurrection, but not of the end of the world.

The difference between Augustine's allusion and Hesychius' verbatim quotation of Acts 1:7 reveals two different uses of intertextuality in Classical rhetoric and early Christianity. For Augustine, verbatim quotation was not necessary because he used this biblical passage as an authoritative text to support his argument. Young draws attention to the fact that the rhetorical use of quotation and allusion was a means of suggesting and reinforcing the subject matter and lending authority to the intent of the discourse in both the non-Christian and Christian literary traditions.³¹ Hesychius' exegesis, however, was problem-oriented and used the grammatical and historical methods of ancient schools³² to discover the meaning of the problematic passage. First of all, he referred to the exact wording of the translations of the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgata* and identified the context and the audience which the words were addressed to.

Then Hesychius emphasizes that "the Lord himself warns about the knowledge of times"³³ by supporting this statement with several passages.³⁴ Here Hesychius uses bible verses as authoritative texts in order to support his argument. In his reply, Augustine re-contextualizes and interprets these passages one by one. Hesychius argues that the faithful and prudent servant of God has to look forward to the coming of his Lord, feeding people "by the word of preaching."³⁵ He cites and interprets Jesus' parable about the good servant and the bad servant.³⁶ According to Hesychius, good servants wait for the second coming of Christ, bad servants, however, criticize them, saying that he is late in coming.

Before listing the signs that predict the end of the world, Hesychius agrees that no one can calculate the periods of time because the Gospels say, "No one knows the day or the hour."³⁷ This time is also difficult to calculate, states Hesychius, as the last days will be shortened. He, however, thinks that it is good

³⁰ "But you will be witness to me in Jerusalem and in Judea and in Samaria and to the end of the world." (Acts 1:8), cited in *Ep. 198,2*

³¹ Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 103.

³² About this see *ibid.*, 76–89.

³³ *Nam de temporibus cognoscendis ipse dominus monet* in *Ep. 198,3*.

³⁴ Luke 12: 56; 2 Tim. 3:1; 1 Thess. 5: 1–3; 2 Thess. 2: 5–8; Isa. 11:4; Luke 19:42, 44; Mark 1:15; Dan. 7:11–13.

³⁵ *Ep. 198, 3*.

³⁶ Matt. 24:45–50; Luke. 12:45–46, cited in *Ep. 198,3*.

³⁷ *Quod autem nemo possit temporum mensuras colligere, manifestum est. euangelium quidem dicit: "De die et hora nemo scit."* Matt. 24:36; Mark 13:32, cited in *Ep. 198,5*.

to share what he understands in the Gospels and in the Prophets as signs of the approaching end. That is why he cites Luke 21:24–26 verse by verse, and identifies the signs in the verses with past or contemporaneous events. The first sign, in his view, was the occupation of Jerusalem by the Gentiles,³⁸ which happened in AD 70. The signs of the sun and the moon could be seen during the eclipse of the sun on July 19, 418, when people were also shocked by barbarian attacks, thus perfectly fulfilling Luke 21:25. The fears and expectations about which Luke 21:26 speaks are also recognizable, according to the bishop of Salona. Here he must have referred to the intense expectations of the end of the world at the beginning of the fifth century. After this Hesychius concludes that “all the signs that the gospel discloses above to its readers have been for the most part realized.”³⁹

Hesychius accepts Augustine’s argument that the gospel has to be preached to all nations before the end comes, because several passages support this claim. He also confirms it by citing Matt. 24:14, Rom. 10:18; Ps. 19:5 and Col. 1:5–6. But he also quotes: “Before all these things, they will first lay hands upon you and persecute you and hand you over to their synagogues and prisons, taking you before kings and governors, on account of my name.”⁴⁰ Hesychius sees these events fulfilled by the first three centuries. In his view, the apostles had already spread the gospel among the nations, but the persecutions prevented its full growth. However, after the conversions of the emperors, thinks Hesychius, the gospel will spread quickly over the whole earth.⁴¹

Finally, the bishop of Salona admits that Jerome’s *Commentary on Daniel* which Augustine had sent to him did not help him in his questions and problems, because Jerome rather presented than evaluated the interpretations of Daniel 9:27. Saying this, Hesychius is not perfectly correct. Although Jerome tries to stay in the background, putting forward the different interpretations of the teachers of

³⁸ Luke 21:24, verbatim cited in *Ep.* 198,5.

³⁹ *Omnia signa, quae superius euangelium legentibus manifestat, ex maxima parte completa sunt.* *Ep.* 198, 5.

⁴⁰ Luke 21:12, cited in *Ep.* 198,6.

⁴¹ *Nam ex quo clementissimi imperatores Christiani dei uoluntate esse coeperunt, quicquid paulatim fides, causa persecutionis, crescebat in saeculis, factis regibus Christianis ubique in paruo tempore euangelium Christi penetravit.* See in *Ep.* 198,6.

the Church,⁴² he expresses that he finds Appolinarius of Laodicea's calculation,⁴³ which "breaks away from the stream of the past and directs his desires towards the future"⁴⁴ problematic, because if it does not happen in 490 future generations will have to revise the "erroneous interpretation."⁴⁵ Hesychius, however, does not refer explicitly to Appolinarius' calculation, he only emphasizes that he thinks that the last week of Daniel has not already passed. He argues for the future fulfillment of "the abomination of desolation" in Daniel 9:27 by citing the same term from the "Little Apocalypse" in Matthew and Mark,⁴⁶ and asks for further instruction from Augustine.⁴⁷

It is worth emphasizing again how widespread the expectation of the approaching end of the world was at the turn of the fifth century. Not only Hesychius and Appolinarius of Laodicea, but also Ambrose, Jerome, Quintus Julius Hilarianus, Sulpicius Severus, Evodius of Uzala, Gaudentius of Brescia, Maximus of Turin, and Peter Chrysologus thought that the end of the world was at hand.⁴⁸ Hesychius did not calculate the end of the world absolutely, but thought that the relative chronology of the signs predicted its coming.

De fine saeculi (Ep 199)

Having received Hesychius' reply, in which the bishop of Salona made his point very clear in opposing Augustine's views put forward in the first answer, referring to, but not thoroughly explaining, several passages of the Scripture, Augustine replied to him with a lengthy letter in 420, which he entitled *De fine saeculi* in

⁴² "And so, because it is unsafe to pass judgment upon the opinions of the great teachers of the Church and to set one above another, I shall simply repeat the view of each, and leave it to the reader's judgment as to whose explanation ought to be followed." In Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel* 9, 24–27.

⁴³ Apollinarius of Laodicea calculated that the world would end in 490 based on the division of the weeks in Daniel, (7+62+1). Seven years is counted as one week. His starting point was the birth of Christ. The Romans took up arms against the Jews during Claudius' rule in AD 48/49 (which is the seven weeks). Then after 434 years (which is sixty-two weeks) the temple of Jerusalem will be rebuilt for three and a half years, beginning with the advent of Elias, and then the Antichrist will sit in it for another three and a half years (the last week). See *Commentary on Daniel* by Jerome.

⁴⁴ Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel* 9:24–27.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Matt. 24:15, Mark 13:14, Dan. 9:27 cited in *Ep. 198*, 7.

⁴⁷ *Plenius autem dignare verbo gratiae tuae rescribendo instruere et lactificare. Ep. 198*, 7.

⁴⁸ See B. E. Daley, "Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology," 22–25.

De civitate Dei.⁴⁹ In *Letter 199*, as usual in his correspondence, Augustine follows the order of the text of his correspondent in a well-structured way, which is also appropriate to the standard procedure of debate in those days.⁵⁰ J.-P. Bouhot divides the text into seven parts: an introduction, five critical statements based on the paragraphs in Hesychius' letter to Augustine (*Letter 198*), and a conclusion.⁵¹

In the first three introductory paragraphs, following Hesychius' paraphrase about the good and bad servants of God, Augustine clarifies and (re)defines the meaning of these two groups as an interpretative framework for the whole letter. Good servants wait eagerly for the coming of Christ, but this does not mean that all of them think that this coming goes together with the soon-approaching end of the world. They are pilgrims in this world, "thirsting for the living God."⁵² The servant, however, who says: "My master is slow in coming,"⁵³ cannot be considered to be a member of the city of God because he/she is not waiting for God at all. To support these definitions, Augustine cites bible verses which will be re-cited and interpreted later in his letter. Naturally, the most important among them and the most often cited (verbatim more than ten times in the whole letter) is Acts 1:7.

Here again, Augustine follows Hesychius' train of thought but shows the contradiction in Hesychius' argumentation as far as Acts 1:7–8 is concerned. Augustine is unusually polite and ironic at the same time when he has to express his disapproval. He introduces his opinion by stating that he still does not understand how one should interpret these passages according to the bishop of Salona, and asks if he meant that it is not the task of the apostles to know or to teach about the times. But if the task of prophets is to teach about future events and Hesychius thinks that it would be "quite surprising if God decreed that the events that God wanted to be foretold could never enter the mind of human beings,"⁵⁴ how much more surprising, says Augustine, "that the apostles were kept from knowing or teaching what the prophets foretold to human beings! But how could the apostles fail to understand the prophets whom we are discussing when they taught about the times if we understand them?"⁵⁵ Augustine cleverly turns Hesychius' argument against Hesychius' interpretation with the help of

⁴⁹ *Ep. 199* and *De civitate Dei* 20, 5.

⁵⁰ I thank György Geréby for drawing my attention to this.

⁵¹ In Bouhot, "Hesychius de Salone et Augustin," 238–248.

⁵² Ps. 42:3 cited in *Ep. 199*, 1.

⁵³ Matt. 24:48–49; Luke 12:45 cited in *Ep. 199*, 1.

⁵⁴ *Ep. 198*, 2 cited in *Ep. 199*, 5.

⁵⁵ *Ep. 199*, 5.

a rhetorical device called *biaion*⁵⁶ by converting the statement of the bishop of Salona to his own purpose,⁵⁷ and rather thinks “hence it is more believable not that God did not want to be known what he wanted to be preached but that he did not want to be preached what he saw it would be useless to know.”⁵⁸

Following the bible verses cited by Hesychius in *Letter 198*, Augustine dedicates one or two paragraphs to passages about the circumstances of the end. He does not really interpret these verses here, rather emphasizes that they do not tell after “how much time this would come about but only how it would come about.”⁵⁹ Reading Paul’s second letter to the Thessalonians:

But regarding the times and moments we do not have to write to you, for you yourself know quite well that the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night. When they say, Peace and security, then sudden destruction will overtake them like the pains of a woman in childbirth, and they will not escape,⁶⁰

Augustine emphasizes that it is not the date of the end which is important, but its suddenness. He also adds that this statement “seems to remove either the hope or the fear of this last day from our own time. For we do not see those lovers of this world, whom sudden destruction will overtake, now saying, ‘Peace and security.’”⁶¹ Here the bishop of Hippo certainly refers to the general threat of barbarian attacks in the Roman western provinces which characterized the beginning of the fifth century.

Turning to the calculations, Augustine points to the distinction between time and eternity. He asks Hesychius if he suggests that one can know a more extended period of seven or ten years when Christ will come. Here the educated rhetorician attributes this view to Hesychius so that he can refute it. Augustine says that he does not know any passage of the bible which can help to determine a period of even fifty or a hundred years. In order to accept Hesychius’ approach, Augustine needs “suitable proof by which you were able to discover this.”⁶² All

⁵⁶ E. A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation. Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 62.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., *Ep. 199*, 5.

⁵⁸ *Unde credibilis est non deum noluisse sciri, quod uoluit praedicari, sed noluisse praedicari, quod uidebat non utiliter sciri. Ep. 199*, 5.

⁵⁹ *Et hic non dixit, post quantum temporis hoc futurum sit, sed quo modo futurum sit. Ep. 199*, 8.

⁶⁰ *De temporibus autem et momentis non necesse habemus uobis scribere; uos enim ipsi diligenter scitis, quia dies domini sicut fur in nocte ita ueniet. cum dixerint ‘Pax et securitas’, tunc subitaneus illis apparebit interitus quo modo dolores parturientis et non effugient. 2 Thess. 5:1–3 cited in Ep. 199*, 8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Idonea documenta, quibus id potueris indagare in Ep. 199*, 16.

believers, argues Augustine, “see from the appearance of many signs, which we read the Lord foretold, that these are the last times,”⁶³ but this can be one day or a thousand years, nobody knows, since in God’s eye a thousand years is like one day.⁶⁴ Explaining this verse,⁶⁵ Augustine emphasizes the distinction between time and eternity. Brian E. Daley says that this distinction is the key to understanding Augustine’s eschatology.⁶⁶ For the bishop of Hippo, eternity is “no longer the endless duration of Origen’s ‘aeons’, but a total freedom from duration, extension or sequence; it is the utterly simple, unchanging present of God’s being.”⁶⁷ That is why, according to Augustine, when the evangelist John said many years ago that “It is the last hour,”⁶⁸ he simply used hour instead of time. Listing several problematic calculations, Augustine argues against any kind of calculation of the end of the world. The bishop of Hippo emphasizes the distinction between human and divine perception by showing the exchangeability of the terms *tempus*, *tempora*, *hora*, and *dies* in the Scripture as far as the end of times is concerned, and by demonstrating the inadequacy of making calculations. Here Augustine clearly argues not only against Hesychius but against interpretations based on calculations in general.

Continuing with the interpretation of Daniel’s prophecy about the seventy weeks, Augustine uses Apollinarius of Laodicea’s interpretation and calculation⁶⁹ when he argues against Hesychius’ approach. He asks Hesychius how it is possible that the prophecy of Daniel counts the weeks precisely and the interpretations based on this do the same with the years, while Christ says that the days will be shortened, consequently there will be fewer? He goes to the absurd statement that the angel who foretold Daniel the prophecy did not know the shortening of the days or lied to Daniel. Here it is worth noting that for Augustine the whole Scripture must be consistent. The principles of legal interpretation (*lex posteriori derogat legi priori*, *lex specialis derogat legi generali* and *lex primaria derogat legi*

⁶³ *Nonissima enim esse ista tempora multis rerum signis apparentibus, quae dominum praedixisse legimus, omnes, qui ea credimus, cernimus* in *Ep. 199*, 17.

⁶⁴ Augustine verbatim cites Ps. 90:4; 2 Pt. 3:8 in *Ep. 199*, 17.

⁶⁵ J.-P. Bouhot draws attention to and cites from Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Ps. 89* which might be contemporaneous with his letter to Hesychius and in which Augustine explains this verse in detail. See Bouhot, “Hesychius de Salone et Augustin,” 241.

⁶⁶ B. E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 131.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁶⁸ 1 John 2:18 cited in *Ep. 199*, 17.

⁶⁹ Apollinarius of Laodicea’s interpretation in the *Commentary on Daniel 9:24–27* by Jerome.

subsidiariae),⁷⁰ which helped solve conflicts in Roman laws, cannot be applied in the case of the Holy Scripture. Consequently, Augustine rather suggests that the weeks foretold by Daniel are in accord with Jesus' statement about the shortened days and prefers an interpretation of Daniel's prophecy as a reference to the past. Examining the possible fulfillments of this prophecy of Daniel more closely, the bishop of Hippo lists three possibilities. It has either already been fulfilled or it will be fulfilled later or both.⁷¹

The similarity and the difference between Hesychius' and Augustine's approaches are quite apparent here. The bishop of Salona supposed the future fulfillment of this prophecy because of the terminological identity of "abomination of desolation" (*abominatio desolationum*) in Dan. 9:27, Matt. 24:15, and Mark. 13:14.⁷² To understand this argument one has to identify "abomination of desolation" as a "type" and explain the key notion of patristic exegesis. As Young summarizes,

the important element in a 'type' is its integrity, its 'reality' whether as event or simply as narrative or character or act, its autonomy, and yet its capacity significantly, often prophetically, to mirror another event or narrative or character or act.⁷³

Although the bishop of Hippo agrees with Hesychius and also identifies "abomination of desolations" as a type which refers to a future event, but he understands that it has already been fulfilled in AD 70,⁷⁴ and needs more proofs and arguments to accept Hesychius' interpretation, against the general consensus of several commentators, that this refers to the forthcoming end times.⁷⁵ Augustine's basic argument *pro* the fulfillment of this prophecy around the first coming of

⁷⁰ T. Nótári, "*Summum ius summa iniuria* – megjegyzések egy jogértelmezési maxima történeti háttéréhez" [Notes on the historical background of a legal interpretative maxim], in *Jogelméleti Szemle* 2004 no. 3.

⁷¹ *Equidem uideo, quia, si primus eas non compleuit aduentus, necesse est, ut secundus eas compleat, quoniam prophetia illa esse non potest falsa. quae si tempore primi aduentus impleta est, non cogit intellegi, quod etiam de fine saeculi implebitur. ac per hoc incertum est, etiam si uerum est, neque negandum quidem sed neque praesumendum est id futurum. relinquatur itaque, ut, qui uult cogere istam prophetiam credi saeculi fine complendam, contendat, quantum potest, est ostendat, si potest, primo aduentu domini non fuisse completam contra tot expositores diuinorum eloquiorum, qui hanc non solum computatione temporum uerum etiam rebus ipsis completam fuisse demonstrant. Ep. 199, 21.*

⁷² *Ep. 198, 7.*

⁷³ F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 154.

⁷⁴ *Ep. 199, 21. and Ep. 199, 28.*

⁷⁵ See *Commentary on Daniel* by Jerome.

Christ is that Hebrew manuscripts say “And the Christ will be killed, and he will not belong to it any more”⁷⁶ in Daniel 9:24, 26.

One of the most difficult tasks Augustine faced in *Letter 199* is the interpretation of the passages from Matthew, Mark, and Luke about the destruction of Jerusalem, the end of the world with the second coming of Christ, and Christ’s coming through his body, the Church.⁷⁷ These passages have no discrepancy among them, says Augustine, and they refer to these three events in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish which sign refers to which event; only careful comparison can guide the reader.⁷⁸ First of all, he distinguishes the signs which are clear, referring either to the destruction of Jerusalem or the last coming of Christ, and the signs which are obscure. Then he compares the terms of the obscure passages in the three synoptic Gospels.

The first of them is the “abomination of desolation,”⁷⁹ which was predicted by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place. The term “abomination of desolation” appears in Mark but not in Luke. However, because the desolation was followed by the words “who are in Judea flee to the mountains”⁸⁰ in all three cases, Augustine concludes that the “abomination of desolation” predicted by Daniel must have happened when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans.⁸¹ He allows, however, other interpretations, because “on the account of the obscurity of the expression this abomination of desolation need not be understood by everyone in one way.”⁸² Interestingly, while he allows, although he does not prefer, the possibility of the parallel fulfillment of Daniel’s prophecy in the past and in the future,⁸³ he explicitly does not count on this possibility in the case of the tribulation of the synoptic Gospels. This silence is even more noticeable when he refers to the final tribulation of the Antichrist but explicitly does not support this with biblical passages.⁸⁴ Speaking about those evil days, both Matthew and

⁷⁶ As Augustine did not know Hebrew, here he must have relied on Jerome and his translation based on Hebrew. In the Vulgate one reads: *Occidetur Christus et non erit eius*. Cited in *Ep. 199*, 21.

⁷⁷ See Matt. 24:4–33; Mark 13:5–29; Luke 21:5–33 in *Ep. 199*, 27.

⁷⁸ See *Ep. 199*, 25.

⁷⁹ See Matt. 24:15; Mark 13:14, Luke 21:20.

⁸⁰ See Matt 24:16; Mark 13:14, Lue 21:21.

⁸¹ *Ep. 199*, 28.

⁸² *Quamquam ipsa desolationis abominatio propter obscuritatem dicti non uno modo ab hominibus potuerit intellegi.* *Ep. 199*, 31.

⁸³ See *Ep. 199*, 21.

⁸⁴ See *Ep. 199*, 30, and 32. It is also worth noting that the persecution of the Antichrist is discussed in detail in *DCD* 20, 8, 11, 13, 14, 19, and 23 on the basis of Rev. 20: 7–9, 2

Mark say that these will be shortened because of the chosen people and there was not such tribulation from the beginning of creation and there will be none such afterward.⁸⁵ Although Luke does not include these verses, Augustine understands these passages also as reference to the destruction of Jerusalem. It is worth noting here that at the same time or one or two years later, when Augustine wrote Book 16 of *De civitate Dei*,⁸⁶ he interpreted the verse of Matt. 24:21 as a reference to the end of the world.⁸⁷ One can conclude that Augustine not only allows others to interpret this verse differently, but he himself also does so. And although he does not explicitly allow the parallel fulfillment of this prophecy in the past during the destruction of Jerusalem and in the future at the end of the world, he practically interprets Matt. 24:21 in this way.

Having compared the synoptic Gospels, Augustine understands “the coming of the Son of Man” in Luke 21:27, Mark 13:26, and Matt. 24:30 in a figurative sense, referring to the daily coming of Christ to the Church in the whole last hour. However, his interpretation is uncertain. It is hard to understand why the bishop of Hippo chooses this interpretation here, as he also accepts the second coming of Christ to judge. Augustine agrees with Tyconius, who distinguished two meanings of the phrase the “coming of the Son of Man.” However, while Tyconius interprets “and they will see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven” in Matt. 24:30 as referring to the final coming of Christ, Augustine understood it figuratively. The interpretation of these passages⁸⁸ caused troubles for Augustine. That may be one reason why he does not interpret these passages of the synoptic Gospels in *DCD* 20, only refers the reader to his letter to Hesychius.

Speaking about the spread of the Church, he reminded his colleague that he had already proved to him in his first letter that the gospel has not yet reached every nation.⁸⁹ Here it is useful to comment on the possible different perceptions of the world by these two bishops. While Hesychius might have seen the world

Thess. 2:1–12 and Dan. 7:24–25; 12:7.

⁸⁵ Matt. 24:21–22; Mark 13:19–20.

⁸⁶ Book 16 of *DCD* might have been composed between 419 and 424 according to O’ Daly, *Augustine’s City of God, A Reader’s Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 35.

⁸⁷ “A horror of great darkness signifies that about the end of this world believers shall be in great perturbation and tribulation, of which the Lord said in the gospel, ‘For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning.’” *DCD* 16, 24

⁸⁸ Luke 21:27, Mark 13: 26, Matt. 24:30

⁸⁹ *Nescio tamen, utrum intueri aliquid certius in hac questione possemus, si ulla ratione seu facultate possemus, quam illud, quod in epistula priore iam posui, quando euangelio mundus universus impleatur. quod enim putat uenerabilitas tua iam hoc per ipsos apostolos factum, non ita esse certis documentis probavi.* In *Ep.* 199, 46.

as far as the *limes* of the Roman Empire, where “the merciful emperors became Christian by God’s will,”⁹⁰ the learned Augustine draws his colleague’s attention to the territories outside the Roman Empire. In Africa, he says, there are “countless barbarian nations where the gospel has not yet been preached; it is easy for us to learn this every day from those who are taken captive from them and are now among the slaves of the Romans.”⁹¹ It is true, continues Augustine, that some of the African territories became Roman provinces headed by Christian governors, but they are few in number and exceptional. Most Africans are not under Roman power and have no contact with the Christian religion, “yet it is by no means correct to say that God’s promise does not pertain to them.”⁹² Then he confirms that the gospel will be preached and God will be worshiped in “all the nations”⁹³ in several passages.⁹⁴ As Augustine knows “the world is girded by the sea called Ocean”⁹⁵ that is why the Psalmists says, “from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth.”⁹⁶ However, this does not mean that everyone will have faith everywhere, as “God promised all the nations, but not all the human beings of all the nations.”⁹⁷

Closing his text, Augustine refers back to the introduction about the good servants of God and tells a parable about three good servants in order to warn Hesychius against making errors by saying that Christ will come “either more quickly or more slowly than is going to be the case.”⁹⁸ All three servants are waiting for the arrival of the Lord. The first one says that one has to be prepared because he will come soon. The second servant says that people have to be ready at any time because life is uncertain and everybody dies, however, he/she thinks that Christ will come later. The third one avoids mistakes by admitting that he/she does not know when the Lord will come. According to Augustine, the first approach can be harmful because if Christ does not come soon, the delays might disturb those who are weak in faith and they will “begin to think that the coming of the Lord will not be late but will not be at all.”⁹⁹ For Augustine, who thought

⁹⁰ See *Ep.* 198, 6.

⁹¹ *Ep.* 199, 46.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Ps. 86:9, cited in *Ep.* 199, 47.

⁹⁴ E.g., Zeph. 2:11 cited in *Ep.* 199, 47; Acts 1:8 and Matt. 28:20 cited in *Ep.* 199, 49; Rom. 10:18; Ps. 19:5; 1 Tim. 3:15–16 cited in *Ep.* 199, 50; Col. 1:5–6 cited in *Ep.* 199, 51.

⁹⁵ *quoniam mari Oceano cingitur universus* in *Ep.* 199, 47.

⁹⁶ Ps. 72:8 cited *ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ep.* 199, 48.

⁹⁸ *Sive citius sive tardius, quam futurum esse, dominis venturus esse credatur.* *Ep.* 199, 52.

⁹⁹ *Et incipiant domini aduentum non tardum putare sed nullum.* *Ep.* 199, 53.

that every right reading of the Scripture serves the theological virtues: faith, love and hope,¹⁰⁰ interpretations calculating and expecting the soon-approaching end of the world must have meant false reading of the Scripture which might lead people to think that “false promises had been made to them and they would give up hope about the reward of faith.”¹⁰¹ The opinion of the second one is not so dangerous, but could be false if Christ comes soon. Augustine rather chooses the third approach.

But the one who admits that he does not know which of these is true hopes for the former, endures the latter, and is mistaken by nothing, because he does not either affirm or deny any of them. I beg you not to look down on me for being such a person.¹⁰²

Conclusion

The correspondence between Hesychius and Augustine motivated the bishop of Hippo to elaborate his opinion about the end of the world. Both bishops were trained enough to contribute to the debate. Hesychius of Salona cited several biblical passages that Augustine recontextualized and interpreted thoroughly. Comparing their methods in exegesis, J.-P. Bouhot finds many similarities: both of them studied the context of the biblical passages, the terminological identities and differences in the bible passages, and the rationality of the interpretations.¹⁰³ The methodological similarities originated in their common educational and cultural background.

They arrived at quite different conclusions, however. While Hesychius thought that the end of the world could be expected soon, the bishop of Hippo warned him against inconsiderate rashness. Augustine did not reject the interpretation of history and of contemporaneous events as fulfilled prophecies of the Scripture. He interpreted the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem as the fulfillment of Daniel 9:27 or, interpreting 1 Tim. 4:1, he says: “The times of heretics and of the sort of people he described had not yet come, but they have come now.”¹⁰⁴ He also insisted on the literal fulfillment of the prophecies that the

¹⁰⁰ “So there are these three things which all knowledge and prophecy serve: faith, hope, love.” In *De doctrina Christiana* (hereafter: *DDC*) 1, 37, 41, 90.

¹⁰¹ *Ep. 199*, 15.

¹⁰² *Qui autem, quid horum sit uerum, ignorare se confitetur, illud optat, hoc tolerat, in nullo eorum errat, quia nihil eorum aut adfirmat aut negat, obsecro te, ut me talem non spernas* in *Ep. 199*, 54.

¹⁰³ Bouhot, “Hesychius de Salone et Augustin,” 248.

¹⁰⁴ In *Ep. 199*, 22.

gospel will be preached in all nations before the end. Augustine, however, cleverly used the critical methods of Classical schools as he recommends in his theoretical work of exegesis. As he explains in Book 2 of *De doctrina Christiana*, historical enquiry, chronology, natural science, technology, dialectics, and logic may provide important background information for exegesis and help in understanding difficult and obscure passages.¹⁰⁵ Augustine adapted his knowledge in his exegesis. He was well-informed about the world, knew about eclipses of the sun, and pagan territories outside the Roman Empire. This helped him avoid seeing the events of his days as the fulfillment of biblical prophecies about the end.

Moreover, he did not think that the time of the end can be calculated on the basis of the fulfillment of the prophecies, because he was clever enough to realize that the frustrations caused by rash prophecy fulfillments could reduce the credibility of the Church. Augustine focused on the theological virtues (faith, hope, and love) as main principles of exegesis. I agree with J.-P. Bouhot, who says that both bishops were waiting for the literal *adventus* of Christ, but had different approaches to exegesis. While Hesychius read the bible to find answers and explanations for contemporary troubles, Augustine read the bible to strengthen his faith and hope in order to be able to cope with the difficulties of his time.¹⁰⁶

According to Augustine, “There are two things on which all interpretation of scripture depends: the process of discovering what we need to learn (*modus inueniendi*), and the process of presenting what we have learnt (*modus proferendi*).”¹⁰⁷ Writing about how Augustine interpreted bible verses of apocalyptic relevance, one must also study how he communicated what he thought about the end of the world. As Pollmann observes, “knowledge and speaking are in pragmatic context two sides of a coin and must not be separated if one wishes to comply with the social component of language.”¹⁰⁸

Reading the correspondence of the two bishops, one can conclude that they followed the technicalities of the tradition of letter-writing as far as the structure and style of the letters are concerned. Besides this, however, *Letter 199* is a thoroughly worked out piece of writing by Augustine. Its well-composed structure indicates that this letter was not only addressed to Hesychius. Augustine’s

¹⁰⁵ In *DDC* 2, 28–32.

¹⁰⁶ Bouhot, “Hesychius de Salone et Augustin,” 250.

¹⁰⁷ *DDC* 1.1.1.1

¹⁰⁸ *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, 428–429. See more about the social implications of Christian discourses in Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) and E. A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation*.

reference to it in *DCD* 20 also supports this, as he gives it the title *De fine saeculi*. At the same time, *Letter 199* bears not only the characteristics of a letter, but also characteristics of theological instruction.

I propose that *Letter 199, On the End of the World*, can be read as a rhetorical text which belongs to the deliberative genre (*genus deliberativum*) of Classical rhetoric.¹⁰⁹ According to a standard rhetorical definition (also by Quintilian), deliberative rhetoric (also called advisory rhetoric), deliberates about the future, and also enquires about the past, while its functions are twofold and consist of advising and dissuading.¹¹⁰ In deliberative rhetoric, the speaker assesses the action of the future and if it is useful (*utile*), he recommends it, if it is not useful or even harmful (*inutile*), he warns against it.¹¹¹ At the end of his letter (*Letter 198*), Hesychius asks for an instruction from Augustine, who chooses the proper way to give advice. The first three paragraphs of *Letter 199* can be read as an introduction (*exordium* or *principium*). *Exordium* is not a compulsory part of deliberative oratory, but as Quintilian refers to Aristotle, “in *deliberative* speeches we may often begin with a reference either to ourselves or to our opponent.”¹¹² Augustine does exactly that. Following Hesychius’ division between good and bad servants of God, he clarifies and (re)defines the meaning of these two groups as an interpretative framework for the whole letter.

The rhetorical genre of the text can help one discover the intention of the author. Augustine aims to give instruction about how a good servant of God should wait for the *adventus Domini* in the future. Good servants wait eagerly for the coming of Christ, says Augustine, but this does not mean that all of them think that this coming goes together with the soon-approaching end of the world. To support his point of view, Augustine uses different kinds of strategies (pointing out contradiction, using *biaion* and examples) to gain authority over his opponent. In deliberative speeches the orator must keep in mind the nature of the subject under discussion (*utile* or *inutile*) and also the natures of those who are engaged in the discussion.¹¹³ Augustine fulfills the requirements of deliberative speech when he critically comments on every point Hesychius makes.

¹⁰⁹ According to Aristotle and the Classical rhetors after him, there are three rhetorical genres: *genus demonstrativum*, *genus deliberativum*, and *genus iudiciale*.

¹¹⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 3.8.6, tr. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920-1922) http://penelope.uchicago.edu/thayer/e/roman/texts/quintilian/institutio_oratoria/home.html (accessed November 14, 2010).

¹¹¹ H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 33.

¹¹² Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 3.8.8.

¹¹³ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 3.8.15.

One notes, however, that Augustine not only argues against Hesychius in *Letter 199*. As I have pointed out, he sometimes uses Apollinarius of Laodicea's interpretation and calculation when he argues against Hesychius' approach. When he does so, his argument relies on *antiparastasis*¹¹⁴ (attributing views to the opponent which the author then refutes).¹¹⁵ Citing Paul,¹¹⁶ Augustine warns the bishop of Salona, and also his contemporaries, against waiting for the soon-approaching end because this can produce serious and harmful results. Recent scholarship has argued that the late fourth and early fifth centuries were characterized by a new emphasis on appealing to tradition and authority and a growing concern that ordinary believers should be protected from the complexities of theological discussion and the dangers of heresy.¹¹⁷ Augustine is known to have fought against false teachings and heresies. I think the use of deliberative rhetoric in *Letter 199*, which was also used in church councils,¹¹⁸ demonstrates that Augustine wanted to instruct Christian bishops in general how to interpret and teach biblical passages about the end of the world.

¹¹⁴ E. A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 62.

¹¹⁵ See, e.g., *Ep. 199*, 19.

¹¹⁶ "Do not be easily upset in your mind, as though the day of the Lord were upon us." (2 Thess. 2:2), cited in *Ep. 199*, 15.

¹¹⁷ L. Richard, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995)

¹¹⁸ J. Pelikan, *Divine Rhetoric: Sermon on the Mount as Message and as a Model in Augustine, Chrysostom and Luther* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press: Crestwood, 2001), 23–26.

SAINTS AND SINNERS: THE ROLE OF THE SAINTS IN THE LIFE OF THE LEPER BEFORE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Courtney Krolikoski 

And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: "Instruct the sons of Israel to cast out of the camp every leper, and those who have a flow of seed, and those who have been polluted because of the dead; cast out of the camp both male and female, lest they contaminate it while I am dwelling with you." And the sons of Israel did so, and they cast them out, beyond the camp, just as the Lord had spoken to Moses. Numbers 5:1–4¹

Lepers held an interesting position in medieval society.² While it is impossible to know for certain whether individuals diagnosed with leprosy were *actually* lepers, the social stigma attached to the label was real.³ In its early stages leprosy (also known as Hansen's disease) is relatively ambiguous when compared to other skin diseases. Since it is only in the later stages of the disease when an individual's appearance may become deformed and ulcerated, the process of diagnosis was difficult in the Middle Ages and relied heavily on the guidelines for handling the diagnosis of leprosy as set forth in the Old Testament book of Leviticus.

Because of this, before the late thirteenth century physicians played little or no role in the diagnosis or treatment of leprosy. Instead, as prescribed in the legal

¹ Numbers 5:1–4 as translated in: "Catholic Public Domain Version of the Sacred Bible," <http://www.sacredbible.org/catholic> (accessed 17 January 2011). I used this Bible because it is the most recent English translation of the Latin Vulgate. It uses the Douay-Rheims version as a guide for its translation and as such stays closer to the original meaning of the Vulgate than other modern versions of the Bible. All the following references are to this version.

² This article is based on my MA thesis, "Malady or Miracle? The Influence of St. Francis on the Perception of Leprosy in the High Middle Ages" (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011).

³ Interestingly, according to R. I. Moore, doctors in the twelfth century were cautious with the tests they made to determine if a person was to be diagnosed as a leper, suggesting an understanding of the severities associated with such a diagnosis. They "knew that leprosy could easily be confused with several less dangerous conditions, and some of the tests which they employed, such as the dropping of cold water on the suspected spot of skin to watch how it ran, were capable of contributing to an authentic diagnosis of Hansen's disease," R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 44.

ordinances of Leviticus, priests played the leading role in determining cases of leprosy.⁴ These Biblical references as well as others on the treatment of leprosy and the leprous spanned the Middle Ages, influencing both the Church and secular legislation as well as the lives of those under their jurisdiction.

The term *lepra* (as well as its other Latin derivatives) was highly charged in the Middle Ages. Interestingly, when the generic Hebrew term for skin diseases, *zarā'at*, was translated into Greek in the Septuagint it became *λεπροα*. From this Greek word the term *lepra* – explicitly meaning the disease of leprosy – was an easy selection for Jerome when he produced the Vulgate translation of the Bible.⁵ This shift in terminology, as well as the identification of the symptoms of the leprous, had immense repercussions for the perception of the disease throughout the Middle Ages.⁶ With the shift in term from the generic “skin disease” to the specific “leprosy” came a change in the moral understanding of the disease. At various times throughout the Middle Ages this term conjured up images of diseased and deformed faces, ideas of moral depravity or the special elect of God. The term *lepra* holds within it a microcosm of the importance and power of language. No matter what the contemporary image of the disease was, to be labeled *leprosus* meant an individual was stripped of his or her previous life and moved outside the boundaries of his or her former society.

At the forefront of this process was the Church, whose prescriptions and rituals created a persona of the leper which still exists to this day. Early medieval Church documents portrayed lepers as morally reprehensible individuals and highlighted the disease as a punishment from God. However, the presence of lepers in the New Testament complicated this Old Testament understanding of the disease. The stories in the Gospels of Jesus healing ten lepers and Lazarus being taken into the bosom of Abraham by angels after being ignored by a rich man provided templates for examples of expressing piety. These stories provided an alternate understanding of the disease – that of a disease given by God to be borne by people in this world to alleviate their suffering in the next.

Specific characterizations of leprosy depended on a number of factors in the Middle Ages. The Biblical foundations of the disease painted a dichotomous understanding of the disease; separate the leprous from the clean members of society, but remember the actions of Jesus and show them compassion. These two

⁴ Luke Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine: A Malady of the Whole Body* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁶ The language of the disease of leprosy is important as well as interesting. For a detailed history of the language of leprosy see: Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*.

views of leprosy coexisted throughout the Middle Ages, providing an often blurry understanding of how society was meant to deal with the “unclean” in their midst. Saints replicated the actions and teachings of Christ, but twelfth-century Church councils reminded the world that lepers were members of the Other and should be treated accordingly. Lepers, it seems, occupied an interesting position in society, neither explicitly good nor bad. This paper will explore the development of these two images from their Biblical roots until the turn of the thirteenth century with regard to the attitudes and actions of the saints. Although much research has been done in the past few decades on the social understanding of the leprous poor, the role of the saint has been largely ignored. This paper, therefore, will highlight the role of the saint in the development of the dichotomous social status of the leper in the medieval world before the turn of the thirteenth century.

Dealing with Lepers: The Old Testament

Much of the medieval understanding of how to deal with leprosy came from Leviticus. Leprosy, as a category of disease, existed as a mark of ritual impurity in Biblical texts long before the disease itself was widespread in Europe.⁷ Leviticus is primarily concerned the religious and moral significance of leprosy, but also eventually came to have influence over the social perceptions of the disease.⁸ In particular, chapters 13 and 14 of Leviticus had the greatest influence as they detail the medical and judicial regulations pertaining to the treatment of lepers.⁹ Because Old Testament law recognized the disease as a mark of being unclean, it became the basis of the Church’s understanding and handling of leprosy. Chapter 13 outlines the array of symptoms of a disease which it had come to call leprosy and what should be done if a person was suspected of being infected. It described leprosy as not only being repulsive and symbolic of the unclean, but contagious as well.¹⁰ While this description of what “leprosy” is according to Leviticus is

⁷ Catherine Peyroux, “The Leper’s Kiss,” in *Monks & Nuns, Saints & Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 176.

⁸ François-Olivier Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge: la lèpre, les lépreux et les léproseries dans la province ecclésiastique de Sens jusqu’au milieu du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: De Boeck & Larcier, 1998), 102.

⁹ However, as Luke Demaitre notes, “this influence was less visible in academic discussions than in official documents,” Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 77.

¹⁰ J. N. Hays explores how Christians may have differed from the Jews in their understanding of the nature of “cleanliness” and disease. “Hence the ‘scaly skin disease’ of the Hebrews, the mark of a ritual uncleanness, was equated by medieval Christians with leprosy, a

vague, it did have an influence on the medieval medical response to the disease.¹¹ According to Leviticus, lepers had ulcers and pustules, white hair where the skin had become infected, and the infected skin had sunk lower than the rest.¹²

Based on the laws in Leviticus, if a priest found a person to be leprous they were declared “unclean” and separated from society. In the tradition which came from Leviticus, lepers were to be separated from the clean part of society so as to not spread their unclean status. In order to keep the “clean” and the “unclean” separate, lepers were moved beyond the gates of the city and stripped of their previous lives. Not only were they physically removed from their communities, but they also showed the marks of their disease which would distinguish them as lepers.¹³ These injunctions determined the status and quality of the lives of the leprous in the Middle Ages. Moved “outside the camp” and made easily distinguishable by material marks of the disease, the leprous were constantly marked as being Others. It was not unique of Christianity to cast the leprous out of their cities,¹⁴ as other cultures often also removed the diseased from their midst. However, the evolving motives and rationale for the separation were distinctly Christian. Leprosy, according to the Christian church, was an external

disease that in ancient Greece and Rome (and in the world of medieval Islam) was known and had no such ritual associations. In addition, medieval Christianity placed different emphases, or perhaps even different meanings, on the concept of uncleanness,” J. N. Hays, *The Burdens of Disease: Epidemics and Human Response in Western History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 22.

¹¹ Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 77.

¹² “And the Lord spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying: The man in whose skin of flesh there will have arisen a diverse color, or a pustule, or something that seems to shine, which is the mark of leprosy, shall be brought to Aaron the priest, or to anyone you wish among his sons. And if he sees that leprosy is in his skin, and that the hair has turned a white color, and that the place where the leprosy appears is lower than the rest of the skin and the flesh, then it is the mark of leprosy, and at his judgment he shall be separated.” Leviticus 13:1–3.

¹³ “Therefore, whoever will have been spotted by leprosy, and who has been separated at the judgment of the priest, shall have his clothes unstitched, his head bare, his mouth covered with a cloth, and he himself shall cry out that he is contaminated and filthy. The entire time that he is a leper and unclean he shall live alone outside the camp.” Leviticus 14:44–6.

¹⁴ As Peter Lewis Allen notes, it is important to recognize that the treatment of lepers in the West was not necessarily the same as other areas of the medieval world. Where lepers in the medieval West were segregated from the rest of their society, things were different in the rest of the medieval world. For example, “...lepers were allowed to roam freely in Byzantium and in the Medieval Islamic world,” Peter Lewis Allen, *The Wages of Sin: Sex and Disease, Past and Present* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 2000), 26.

manifestation of a person's inner nature; a diseased soul was dangerous not only to the leper himself, but to the society around him.¹⁵ However, the New Testament provided a different picture of how lepers ought to be seen.

Dealing with Lepers: The New Testament

Where the Old Testament provided a bleak understanding of leprosy, giving details on how to recognize the disease and sending those infected outside of the cities, the New Testament cast the leprosy in another light. Much of the focus of the stories told in the Gospels of the New Testament is the power of Jesus to alleviate illness. While the healing of a leper only occurs in four Gospel stories, it nonetheless made a lasting impression on the medieval world. Three Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) tell of Jesus' miraculous healing of lepers, suggesting that the disease was one which was both given and taken away by the divine. From other stories in the Gospels a hybrid figure of a leper named Lazarus was created. This composite Lazarus, drawn from two separate Gospel stories, eventually became one of the most well-recognized and widely venerated saints of the Middle Ages. These Gospel stories provided an alternative perception of the leprosy from their portrayal in the Old Testament.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke tell the story of Jesus healing a single leper who approached Jesus in the street when he was about to enter the city. In Matthew this occurs moments after he had delivered his "Sermon on the Mount." Crowds gathered around Jesus after he had come down from the mountain, eager to approach him and be healed. The first individual to come forward to Jesus was a leper, who said, "Lord, if you are willing, you are able to cleanse me."¹⁶ Jesus reached out his hand, and with a single touch the leper was cleansed of his malady. This same event occurs in the Gospel of Mark¹⁷ after Jesus had gathered his disciples was traveling, "preaching in their synagogues and throughout Galilee, and casting out demons."¹⁸ In the Gospel of Luke this miracle¹⁹ also occurs after Jesus had gathered his disciples. A man who was here

¹⁵ Michael Goodich, ed., *The Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 11.

¹⁶ Matthew 8:2.

¹⁷ Mark 1:40.

¹⁸ Mark 1:39.

¹⁹ "And it happened that, while he was in a certain city, behold, there was a man full of leprosy who, upon seeing Jesus and falling to his face, petitioned him, saying: 'Lord, if you are willing, you are able to cleanse me.' And extending his hand, he touched him, saying: 'I am willing. Be cleansed.' And at once, the leprosy departed from him." Luke 5:12-3.

described as being “full of leprosy” fell to the ground before Jesus begging to be healed, which Jesus granted him.

Later in the Gospel of Luke, Jesus performs another healing of the leprosy, this time on a larger scale. In Chapter 17, Jesus, who is on his way to Jerusalem, comes upon ten lepers on the road. The lepers, while remaining at a safe distance from Jesus, ask him to take pity on them and heal them from their affliction. In response, just as he had done with the leper he had healed earlier, Jesus tells them to “Go, show yourselves to the priests.”²⁰ After they had departed for the priests they were cleansed of their leprosy. However, despite all ten of them having been cleansed by Jesus’ command, only one of the lepers – a Samaritan – returned to Jesus to thank him for what he had done. Surprised that only one returned to him, Jesus said: “Were not ten made clean? And so where are the nine? Was no one found who would return and give glory to God, except this foreigner?”²¹ Because he returned to thank Jesus, this leper is depicted as showing exemplary piety. His act was seen as one of great devotion and conversion.

One other figure of a leper emerged from the Gospels as an example of piety. This leper who came to be known as Lazarus was actually a composite of two stories in the gospels. The first was the story from the Gospel of John about Lazarus of Bethania, the brother of Martha and Mary, who had died while Jesus was traveling with his disciples.²² Upon his return, Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead after he had been buried for four days. The parable *Dives et Pauper*,²³ from the Gospel of Luke, provides the second story which factored into the figure of Lazarus. In this story a beggar named Lazarus, who was “covered with sores,”²⁴ was begging at the gate of a rich man’s home. The rich man constantly ignored the beggar, never giving him any food or showing him any other charity.²⁵ Eventually Lazarus died and “he was carried by the Angels into the bosom of Abraham.”²⁶ Shortly after, the rich man also died. However, because he had rejected helping Lazarus, he was sent to Hell. The rich man next tried to convince Abraham to let Lazarus help him out of the fires of Hell.²⁷ Abraham responded to him by saying, “Son, recall that you received good things in your life, and in comparison, Lazarus

²⁰ Luke 17:14.

²¹ Luke 17:17–8.

²² John 11:1–45.

²³ Luke 16:19–31.

²⁴ Luke 16:20.

²⁵ “Wanting to be filled with the crumbs which were falling from the wealthy man’s table. But no one gave it to him. And even the dogs came and licked his sores.” Luke 16:21.

²⁶ Luke 16:22.

²⁷ Luke 16:24.

received bad things. But now he is consoled, and truly you are tormented.”²⁸ His story dramatized the idea that the leper, outcast and desperate, could still be redeemed by God’s grace.²⁹ This figure of Lazarus became the ideal picture of the poor, leprous beggar who was favored by God as well as deserving of the charity of others.

These Gospel stories greatly impacted the perception of leprosy in the Middle Ages. These associations of the leper with being the elect of God helped to shape the perception of the disease across the Middle Ages, particularly because of the wide-reaching influence of the Bible.³⁰ The stories of Jesus healing the leper depicted leprosy as a disease which was only curable through miracles. Whereas the figure of Lazarus, who was both raised from the dead by Jesus and also carried into the bosom of Abraham by angels, presented the leper as people favored by God. Both of these images were important in the perception of the disease and, as such, had an immense impact on piety throughout the Middle Ages.

The Early Middle Ages: Living in *Imitatio Christi*

The Biblical understanding of leprosy provided the framework in which medieval society treated leprosy. A dichotomous view of the disease, the sinful and unclean leper contrasted with the favor shown them by Jesus and God, persisted and coexisted from Biblical times into the Middle Ages. At this time it was also believed that sainthood was bestowed upon those who lived an exemplary life, which is to say, a life in *imitatio Christi*. Living in this way was already considered a mark of supreme piety in the late antique Christian world.³¹ However, the practice declined in the early Middle Ages as new paths of sanctity developed.

The medieval understanding of sainthood was fluid and therefore adaptable.³² Saints were a key component of the Christian community in the Middle Ages; they were venerated both during their lives and after their deaths because of

²⁸ Luke 16:25.

²⁹ Peyroux, “The Leper’s Kiss,” 179.

³⁰ Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 84.

³¹ Peter Brown, “The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity,” *Representations* 2 (1983): 7.

³² According to Avaid M. Kleinberg, it was “personal, concrete, and of an ad hoc nature.” Kleinberg goes on to note that this meant sometimes “medieval communities venerated simultaneously very different individuals who belonged to the same external categories, indifferent to the logical contradictions such behavior entailed.” Avaid M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 5.

their privileged relationship with God.³³ In lay society, which was ambivalently dominated by the influence of the Church, an individual who was regarded as having a privileged relationship with God had the potential to serve as an important connection between the secular and sacred worlds. It was only after the turn of the eleventh century³⁴ that the practice of living in *imitatio Christi* was revived in reaction to a growing sense of spiritual crisis within the Church. The ultimate goal of *imitatio Christi*, then, was to mirror the perfect life of Christ. While it is impossible for man to live such a perfect life, saints were perceived as attempting, instead, to live as though they were Christ's apostles.

To live this *vita apostolica* a saint adhered both internally and externally to the words and actions of Christ as depicted in the Gospels.³⁵ This manifested itself in multiple ways in medieval hagiography, but of particular importance to this thesis is the appearance of lepers in the Gospels. Christ, as was discussed above, ministered to, loved, and healed the leprous. Starting in the fourth century the image of following in the way of Christ though touching the leprous appeared in stories that circulated widely.³⁶ This image of devotion given to outcasts presented a pattern for later generations of faithful to follow. In crossing the social boundaries to embrace or heal a leper, saints were following both the words and actions of Christ.

Two of the most notable saints who interacted with the leprous before Francis were Saint Martin of Tours and Saint Radegund. Their *vitae* provided a literary tradition which future saints' hagiographers – including those of Saint Francis – used as a template for recording their lives, emphasizing their sanctity and providing a glimpse of the underlying social commentary of their times. While Saint Martin and Saint Radegund are the two most notable saints to have

³³ Thomas Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001), xv. Head expands upon this by explaining that, for citizens of the medieval world, “[s]aints demonstrated their holiness through their actions, whether it be in the willingness to accept martyrdom, in the rigors of extreme asceticism, in the wise exercise of episcopal office, or in the heroic defense of their virginity...There could be no better advocate at the final judgment than someone who already belonged to the ‘fatherland’ of heaven.” Ibid., xiv.

³⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, “Legends as Life Strategies for Aspirant Saints in the Later Middle Ages,” *Journal of Folklore Research* 26, no 2. (1989): 152.

³⁵ Gábor Klaniczay, “Legends as Life Strategies,” 152. Klaniczay explains that living the *vita apostolica* “exemplified the individual’s emerging capacity to break out of the given social status through conversion to a ‘classical’ religious way of life. By choosing to follow the ‘original,’ apostolic model, a confrontation was forced between the secular and religious contemporary alternatives.” Ibid., 152–3.

³⁶ Peyroux, “The Leper’s Kiss,” 173.

episodes depicting their interactions with the lepers in their hagiographies, they are by no means the only ones. Other saints who interacted with the leprous include: Saint Amatus (d. 418), Saint Romanus of Condat (d. 463), Saint Benedict (d. 547), Saint Severin (d. 482), Saint Fursey (d. 650), Saint Frideswide (d.735), and Saint Julien the Hospitaller (seventh century).³⁷

Of perhaps greatest importance among these is Saint Martin of Tours,³⁸ who was born in 316. Martin was the first saint to be recorded as having physically engaged with a leper. The first, and most important, biography of Saint Martin written by Sulpicius Severus served as a model for many hagiographies throughout the Middle Ages. Martin was seen as being the first saint to fully embrace the *vita apostolica*. The episode of Martin healing the leper is one of the briefest miracle episodes in the *Vita Martini*³⁹ and it is also placed towards the end of a long list of miracles performed by the saint. Despite this, the image of Martin kissing a leper was one which was taken up as a mark of extreme piety and emerged as a new and enduring idea of sanctity.⁴⁰

While near the gates of Paris, Martin was surrounded by a large crowd who were eager to catch a glimpse of the holy man. While there, a leper approached Martin and grabbed his clothing. With the crowd gathered, “he [Martin] gave a kiss to a leper, of miserable appearance, while all shuddered at seeing him do so.”⁴¹ The reaction of the crowd towards both the leper and Saint Martin’s kiss was an expression of social disgust. Despite the horror of the crowd, Martin blessed the leper “with the result that he [the leper] was instantly cleansed from all his misery.”⁴² This short episode provided the reader of Martin’s life with three key

³⁷ Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge*.

³⁸ For a more complete discussion on the life of Saint Martin of Tours, the first saint to fully embrace the *vita apostolica*, see Régine Pernoud, *Martin of Tours: Soldier Bishop, and Saint*, trans. Michael J. Miller (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006); Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

³⁹ Michael Roberts, “St. Martin and the Leper: Narrative Variation in the Martin Poems of Venantius Fortunatus,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994): 84.

⁴⁰ Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2006), 144.

⁴¹ Sulpitius Severus, trans. Alexander Roberts “On the Life of St. Martin,” *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* 11 (1894), 11 (accessed 12 October 2006, <http://www.users.csbsju.edu/~eknuth/npnf2-11/sulpittiu/lifeofst.html>). *...leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit.* Sulpice Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 292.

⁴² Sulpitius Severus, “On the Life of St. Martin,” 11. *Statimque omni malo emundatus.* Sulpice Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, 292. Luke Demaitre explains that saints like Saint Martin, who healed leprosy, held a dramatic power which “stands in contrast with the invisibility of

elements to understanding leprosy in the fourth century: the leper's appearance ("miserable"), the crowd's reaction to the kiss ("all shuddered"), and the result of the kiss for the leper ("instantly cleansed"). With this episode, Severus made Martin's kiss a cure for the most horrific and dramatic disease of the time.

This kiss was both revolutionary because of its healing power and because Martin physically crossed the boundary between society and the leprous. The emotional responses of the crowd suggest an established relationship between society and the leprous which was greater than the precedent set in the Biblical treatment of the disease. The image of the disease presented in the Bible never hints at leprosy causing any social repulsion. Instead, it only provides an understanding of the process of diagnosis and ritual exclusion of the leprous and it also shows the desire of the leprous to be cleansed. The shuddering reaction of the crowd highlights the fourth-century social perception of the leprous as being disgusting and revolting. Martin showed no evidence of this revulsion when he crossed the social boundary to kiss the leper who had reached out to take hold of his cloak.

However, Martin's interaction with the leper was not an isolated incident in the early Middle Ages.⁴³ In the sixth century a Frankish princess went even further than Martin in breaking the taboo associated with the leprous. Saint Radegund was born in 520 to royalty in the German land of Thuringia. Though she was married, through family ties and political aspiration Radegund bore her husband no children and eventually rejected her royal marriage and founded a cloister in Poitiers. Radegund was well-known and respected for her charity and humility with the poor and the sick. The *Life of the Holy Radegund (Vita Sanctae Radegundis)*, written shortly after her death by Venantius Fortunatus, was written to highlight the magnitude of Radegund's ascetic qualities.⁴⁴ It also provides a detailed description of the attention Radegund paid to the leprous. One day when some lepers arrived at her cloister she sent an assistant to see how many there were. Once they had been welcomed inside, Radegund "seizing some of the leprous women in her embrace, her heart full of love, ... kissed their faces."⁴⁵

Unlike Martin before her, this kiss did not have the power to heal the leprous of their disease and misery. Radegund's kiss instead showed them kindness and offered them what charity she could; "while they were seated at table, she washed

medical practitioners in early stories of miraculous cures of leprosy," Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 1.

⁴³ Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge*, 88.

⁴⁴ McNamara, Halborg, and Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 63.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

their faces and hands with warm water and treated their sores with fresh unguents and fed each one.”⁴⁶ Radegund had humbled herself so much that she was able to care for the lepers without thought of the potential consequences of her actions. Later, when the lepers were departing, one of Radegund’s attendants asked her: “Most holy lady, when you have embraced lepers, who will kiss you?”⁴⁷ Replying to this, Radegund simply stated, “Really, if you won’t kiss me, it’s no concern of mine.”⁴⁸ With this sentiment, Radegund showed that a true mark of humility and devotion to God lay in caring for the lepers as Christ had centuries earlier.

The kisses which both Martin and Radegund gave to lepers were, indeed, a way to show how they were living their lives in *imitatio Christi*. The Gospel stories where Jesus healed the suffering of the leprous provided a model for them to be considered proper recipients of divine charity.⁴⁹ However, Jesus never kissed a leper in the Gospels; he either touched (*tangere*) the lepers with his hand or healed them from a distance. It was only in the hagiographic texts that the verb shifted to the action of kissing (*osculari*). This shift implies, according to Catherine Peyroux, “a different register of interaction for the moment in which the holy person turned his or her attention to the leprous.”⁵⁰ Indeed, the kiss was one of the oldest practices in Christian tradition; an everyday greeting between Christians as well as a significant moment in the communion liturgy. Therefore, the kiss between a saint and a leper was a gesture of extreme humility and one which incorporated an intimate moment of mutual Christian respect.⁵¹

While the image of kissing a leper was widely used in medieval hagiographic texts, it in no way became a cliché.⁵² The appearance of the kiss in a text as well

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Peyroux, “The Leper’s Kiss,” 180.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Craig Koslofsky, “The Kiss of Peace in the German Reformation,” in *The Kiss in History*, ed. Karen Harvey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 19. Koslofsky goes on to explain this role of the kiss in early Christian tradition; “Tertullian (c.145–c.220) attested to its importance in the liturgy, asking ‘What prayer is complete if divorced from the ‘holy kiss’?’ He then referred to ‘the kiss of peace’ as ‘the seal of prayer.’” Ibid.

⁵² This gesture has been linked to many other “kisses” in the medieval world. “A gesture that united the participants in a notional community: the ‘feudal’ kiss of the vassal and lord, the monk’s mystic vision of kissing Christ, the kiss of peace between the clergy and the faithful. In the successive iterations of a saint’s voluntary embrace of a leper, the narrators returned, fascinated, to explore their holy protagonists’ capacity to create that brief, impossible community through a kiss,” Peyroux, “The Leper’s Kiss,” 180. This idea can also be found in Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l’occident médiéval* (Paris:

as the specific message it was trying to present varied greatly. Both Martin and Radegund met the lepers outside the boundaries of a city, as prescribed in the Old Testament legislation – Martin met the leper outside the gates of Paris and Radegund received the wandering lepers in her cloister. For Martin,⁵³ the kiss was a way to show the virtues of living in the footsteps of Christ. For Radegund, the kiss was also a means to highlight her sanctity, but in a different manner than Martin. Radegund did not heal the lepers, but she did show the importance of humility to sanctity. Instead of monotonously highlighting the devotion of the saint, every time the kiss appears in a new text it provides an unspoken social commentary on how, at that moment, lepers were perceived in the medieval world.⁵⁴ In these ways, the kiss given by a saint to a leper retained an enduring reputation in the medieval world.⁵⁵

Conclusion

At the turn of the twelfth century the perception of leprosy stood at a crossroads between the Old and New Testament visions of leprosy. The dominant view of the disease during the Early Middle Ages was as vile and sinful. Lepers were seen as having incurred their disease as a punishment from God for their sins. Because of this, they had been deemed “unclean” and as such were no longer considered to be members of the community. Legally they were completely excluded from

Gallimard, 1990) and in Karen Harvey, ed., *The Kiss in History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁵⁴ As Peyroux explains, “in pondering tales of holy men and women who kissed lepers, it is the ‘unreliable’ narrators who hold our attention. These storytellers reveal not what certainly occurred, but what it was felt to be necessary to say when rendering the spectacular meeting between an exemplar of virtue and a figure of utterly abject misery and loss,” *Ibid.* It is important to remember that the hagiography of a saint may or may not depict accurate renderings of situations. However, the written text is what was distributed and read by many, and thus impacted the social understanding of the disease as well as the treatments given to the leprous. As such, narratives “are both mirrors and guides to their contemporaries’ perceptions about the relationship between power and poverty,” *Ibid.*, 174.

⁵⁵ Touati expands upon this idea of the kiss being an element which further shaped medieval tradition: “il n’est pas douteux que de telles images aient façonné, en même temps qu’elles l’accompagnaient, une proposition à se rapprocher des lépreux, à se soucier de leur place dans la société; on en verra plus loin les conséquences pratiques sur les communautés de malades: le baiser au lépreux est un acte fort de protection; il signe la parité reconnue de l’identité de l’autre, hautement significatif des liens féodaux,” Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge*, 88.

their former lives, reduced to the margins of the medieval landscape. They were to be “cast out of the camp” and were burdened with the social stigma that came along with their devastating and deforming disease.

Because they were excluded from their communities, lepers were entirely dependent on the charity of others. Prohibited from working, they were left to beg on the streets for money and food. The Biblical stories of Jesus’ actions towards the leprous provided an example for the medieval world to follow; in his eyes lepers were worthy of these acts of charity. Though this did not alter the dominant perception of leprosy in the Early Middle Ages, it did provide a precedent for the actions of some holy men and women looking to live in *imitatio Christi*. When saints like Martin and Radegund kissed and cared for the lepers, they were crossing the same social boundaries which Jesus had crossed centuries earlier. This can be seen similarly in the early roots of the foundations of leprosaria. To take in those whom society cast out and provide them with charity went against the social standards and perceptions of the time. Despite the approval for the actions of Martin and Radegund, who were both seen in their *vitae* as so holy that kissing lepers did not repulse them, lepers were still largely stigmatized at the turn of the thirteenth century.

This paper, in conclusion, has followed both the role and the impact of the saints in the dual perceptions of the leprous poor in Europe before the turn of the thirteenth century. Saints, as vital members of medieval society, therefore, were simultaneously a measure of how lepers were perceived and treated by their society and an exemplar of how Holy Men ought to treat these outcasts. It is no mystery that lepers were regarded in a dichotomous nature in the Middle Ages – a great bulk of historical research has focused on both sides of this dual nature of the lepers. This paper, however, has explored the role of the saint in regard to the social status of lepers. As shown, the role of saints in the Middle Ages perpetuated the Old Testament status of the leper while also highlighting the importance of living in *imitatio Christi* by following the New Testament example of Christ. Neither exclusively good nor exclusively evil, lepers were a widely ambiguous subgroup within medieval society.

EMOTIONS AND HEALTH: EVIDENCE FROM LATE MEDIEVAL GERMAN *REGIMINA SANITATIS*

Farida Mukazhanova 

On this account, the physicians have directed that concern and care should always be given to the movements of the psyche; these should be kept in balance in the state of health as well as in disease, and no other regimen should be given precedence in any wise. The physician should make every effort that the sick, and all the healthy, should be most cheerful of soul at all times, and that they should be relieved of the passions of the psyche that cause anxiety. Thereby the health of the healthy will persist.¹

The *Regimina Sanitatis* was a genre of medieval (and Early Modern) texts that, based on contemporary scientific knowledge, explained how to live a healthy life. Such books circulated widely in manuscript form and were among the first texts to be printed, after which they continued in popular use. In modern parlance they included information on lifestyle (diet) and emotional states.²

In his regimen written sometime between 1193 and 1198, Moses Maimonides (1135–1204) clearly states the importance of emotional well-being in health matters. This renowned physician speaks of passions of the psyche³ such as joy, which has a beneficial effect, in contrast to sadness or anxiety, which have negative

¹ “Moses Maimonides’ Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health: *Fi Tadbīr al-Sihhah* and *Maqālah fi Bayān Ba’d al-Ārād wa-al-Jawāb ‘anhā*,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* ns 54, no. 4 (1964): 25.

² This article is based on selections from my MA thesis, “Emotions and health: A Study of ‘Psychosomatic Patterns’ in German Medieval *Regimina sanitatis*” (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011).

³ As pointed out by the authors of the article and of the English translation, the passions of the soul (Arabic *al-īfa’alāt al-naḥsanīyyah*) connote more than emotional excitement or agitation. See *ibid.*, 23.

effects. *On the Regimen of Health*⁴ and *A Treatise in Elucidation of Some Accidents and the Response to It*,⁵ both written by Maimonides at the behest of Sultan Al-Malik Al-Afḍal, maintain that harmful passions should be removed to rectify the psyche (regain emotional equilibrium), which in turn will help restore physical health.

Similar to Moses Maimonides, authors of regimens of health written in other parts of the world and periods do not fail to underscore the role *accidentia animi* – or emotions – play in the preservation of health. *Regimina sanitatis* written in the German-speaking area of Europe in the Late Middle Ages were no exception to this rule. Nine *regimina* were selected as a sample from the fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century to examine the development of the genre. They display a variety of patterns, models where a certain emotion or state of mind was believed to result in disease or harm to health. Depending on the effect of the *accidentia animi* on bodily health, beneficial (having a positive effect on the body and health) and harmful (having a negative effect on the body and health) emotions can be differentiated.

The primary sources under scrutiny are the following:

1. Ortolf von Baierland, *Arzneibuch* (fourteenth century);⁶
2. Villingen manuscript (end of the fourteenth century);⁷
3. *Ordnung der Gesundheit* (ca. 1400);⁸
4. Meister Alexander, *Monatsregeln* (fifteenth century);⁹
5. *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein* (1460);¹⁰

⁴ Full title: *Fi Tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa* [The Treatise Sent to the King al-Afḍal, son of Saladin, concerning the Regimen of Health].

⁵ Full title: *Maqalah fi Bayān Ba'd Arāḍ wa-al-Jawāb 'anhā* [A Response to the Letter of al-Afḍal in which He Elucidated all those Accidents which have Befallen Him].

⁶ *Das Arzneibuch Ortolfs von Baierland nach der ältesten Handschrift (14. Jhd)* (Stadtarchiv Köln W 4° 24*), ed. James Follan (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1963).

⁷ Gerhard Eis, “Eine altdeutsche Sammelhandschrift aus Villingen,” in *Medizinische Fachprosa des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gerhard Eis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982);

⁸ Christa Hagenmeyer, “Die ‘Ordnung der Gesundheit’ für Rudolf von Hohenberg: Untersuchungen zur diätetischen Fachprosa des Spätmittelalters mit kritischer Textausgabe,” (PhD dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1972).

⁹ Meister Alexander, *Monatsregeln*, Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen 30 (Hannover: Horst Wellm Verlag, 1985).

¹⁰ *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein*. Facsimile aus der Handschrift D 692/XV 3 der Kirchenbibliothek zu Michelstadt um 1460, ed. Dietrich Kurze (Hürtgenwald: Guido Pressler, 1980), 25–117.

6. Erhard Knab, *Gichtregimen* (1469);¹¹
7. Heinrich Münsinger, *Regimen sanitatis in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus* (second half of the fifteenth century);¹²
8. *Die Gross-Schützüener Gesundheitslebre* (early sixteenth century);¹³
9. Paulus Kyr, *Sanitatis studium* (1551).¹⁴

This sample, dating to the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, are all in the German vernacular, with the exception of the Paulus Kyr's *Sanitatis studium*, which is in Latin. The texts are not homogenous; they vary in both form and treatment of the subject.

Ortolf von Baierland's *Arzneibuch* is one of the oldest medical works in German – dating to the second half of the thirteenth century¹⁵ – as well as the most widely copied and used. The phlebotomy regimen in the Villingen manuscript goes back to the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ This composite manuscript was compiled in the Benedictine monastery of St. Georg in Villingen (Schwarzwald).¹⁷ The *Ordnung der Gesundheit*, by an unknown author, was the first medical book to be printed in German¹⁸ and circulated widely in various forms in

¹¹ *Regimen editum contra arcticam siue podegram per Erhardum Knab, atrium et medicine doctorem. Incipit feliciter 1469*; see: Gerhard Eis, ed., “Erhard Knabs Gichtregimen,” in *Forschungen zur Fachprosa*, ausgewählte Geiträge (Bern: Francke Verlag: 1971), 91–100.

¹² *Regimen sanitatis editum pro Friderico palatino Rheni per doctorem Minsinger in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus*. See Gerhard Eis, ed., “Heinrich Münsinger's ‘Regimen sanitatis in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus,’” in *Forschungen zur Fachprosa. Ausgewählte Geiträge* (Bern: Francke Verlag: 1971), 81–90.

¹³ Gerhard Eis, *Die Gross-Schützüener Gesundheitslebre. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Kultur im Südosten* (Brno: R. M. Rohrer, 1943), 90–172.

¹⁴ *Sanitatis studium ad imitationem aphorismorum compositum. Item, Alimentorum vires breuiter et ordine Alphabetico positae. Autore Paulo Kyr medico. Impressum in Inchyta Transylvaniae Corona Anno 1551*. Here quoted from facsimile copy in Paulus Kyr, *Die Gesundheit ist ein Köstlich Ding*, ed. Robert Offner (Hermannstadt: Schiller Verlag, 2010), 43–126.

¹⁵ See Hartmut Broszinski and Gundolf Keil, “Ein niederdeutsches Ortolf-Exzerpt aus den Jahren um 1400,” in *Fachprosa-Studien. Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Wissenschafts- und Geistesgeschichte*, ed. Gundolf Keil (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1982), 291–304, esp. 291; Ortrun Riha, *Ortolf von Baierland und seine lateinische Quellen. Hochschulmedizin in der Volkssprache* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1992), 7.

¹⁶ There is a record on f. 242v with the date 1394. See Eis, “Eine altdeutsche Sammelhandschrift aus Villingen,” 5–6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁸ First printed April 23, 1472 in Augsburg. See Thomas E. Keys, “The Earliest Medical Books Printed with Movable Type: A Review,” *The Library Quarterly*, 10, no. 2 (1940): 220–230, esp. 225. Christa Hagenmeyer mentions it as the first German medical book to go into print, with as many as twelve printings between 1472 and 1495. See Hagenmeyer, “Die ‘Ordnung der Gesundheit,’” 10.

manuscripts, incunabula, and early prints. Meister Alexander's *Monatsregeln* is in the genre of *regimen duodecim mensium*. The German vernacular version is a translation from the Latin original, which was written sometime between the beginning of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century by a certain *magister Alexander Hispanus*.¹⁹ The *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein* comes from Codex Michelstadt D 692/ XV 3, from the town church library of Michelstadt in the Odenwald.²⁰ The composition, based on the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, contains 375 Latin and 699 German verses.²¹

Two of the sources, more properly called *consilia*, *Gichtregimen* and *Regimen sanitatis in fluxu catarrali ad pectus*, were produced in Heidelberg by learned physicians about whose personality and practice some facts are known. The first work was authored by Erhard Knab, who came from Zwiefalten (in modern Baden-Württemberg) and was educated in Bologna and Heidelberg.²² The addressee of the regimen (*consilium*) is not known; in all likelihood it was a high-ranking individual to whom *doctor atrium et medicine* Erhard Knab was personal physician.²³ Heinrich Münsinger was personal physician to Count Palatine Frederick II (1451–1476). His *consilium*, was designed to relieve the consequences of right-side bronchial catarrh.²⁴

Die Gross-Schützener Gesundheitslehre comes from a manuscript in the library of Count Charles Kollonitz in the castle Veľké Leváre (Gross-Schützen; near Bratislava); in 1937 it was acquired by Gerhard Eis, who provided a critical edition.²⁵ The name of the author is unknown; the dating of the manuscript, in accordance with the source analysis, is no earlier than 1520.²⁶ The *Sanitatis studium*, composed by Transylvanian physician Paulus Kyr, was intended for students of the Braşov (Kronstadt, Stephanopolis, Corona, Krunen, Brassó) Gymnasium and

¹⁹ Meister Alexander, *Monatsregeln*, 33.

²⁰ *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein*, 9.

²¹ Late Middle High German of the Swabian dialect. *Ibid.*, 9,13.

²² Eis, "Erhard Knabs Gichtregimen," 91.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Eis, "Heinrich Münsinger's "Regimen sanitatis in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus," 83.

²⁵ Described as Hs. 21 of Eis' personal collection. See Eis, *Die Gross-Schützener Gesundheitslehre*, 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

went into print in 1551.²⁷ The author, a physician educated in Vienna, Padua, and Ferrara,²⁸ was the town doctor (*physicus*) of Braşov.²⁹

Patterns of Emotion-body Interaction

The absolute champion among harmful emotions is anger; it is not only the most frequently mentioned emotion, but also the most elaborated upon. Several sources provide an explanation as to why anger is harmful for human health. The so-called *Monatsregeln* of *Meister Alexander*, which survives in a number of vernacular variants from the fifteenth century,³⁰ explains the way in which the body becomes heated by anger and thus loses strength:

“Vnd da von sol man sich auch dann huetten vor /
hicz der sunnen... vnd auch vor czorn, /
wann da von wird ain mensch auch erhiczet vnd /
wesward an seiner kraft.”

(And one should also protect oneself from the heat of the sun...
and also from anger,
because from them one becomes hot too and loses one's
strength.)

This work warns against getting angry in both hot and cold months, for example, in August³¹ and January,³² which testifies to the fact that the negative effect of this emotion was not thought to be restricted to the warm season.³³

²⁷ Robert Offner, “Kronstadt, der Stadtarzt Paulus Kyr und Ferrara,” in Paulus Kyr, *Die Gesundheit ist ein Köstlich Ding*, 19.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁰ *Monatsregeln*, ascribed to a certain Meister Alexander, is written in the form of a *regimen duodecim mensium* and goes back to the fifteenth century. This work represents an expanded vernacular translation of the Latin original.

³¹ Meister Alexander, *Monatsregeln*, 168. Here and below translation mine, unless otherwise noted; the emotions have been underlined.

³² “Der mensch huet sich / vor czorn, hertmuetikait” [“One protects oneself from anger and obstinacy”], *Ibid.* 157.

³³ For a brief overview of ancient and medieval views on anger, including its effect on the body, see Simon Kemp and K. T. Strongman, “Anger History and Management,” esp. 397–403. For a detailed discussion of anger and other emotions in ancient and medieval philosophy consult Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).

The month regimen section in the *Ordnung der Gesundheit*³⁴ from about 1450 also contains a warning against anger in May. Here, however, it is not the workings of the emotion that are discussed, but rather its consequence: gout/paralysis.³⁵ Anger as the emotion whose unhealthy nature is associated with gout is also mentioned in Ortolf's von Baiernland *Arzneibuch* from the fourteenth century:³⁶

Paralisis het dy gycht; dat kumt gerne van calden eder von czornne
eder ouerigeme etene vnde drynkende eder van unkuschet...

(Paralysis, also called gout, comes often from the cold or anger
or excessive eating and drinking or from unchastity...).

The special gout *consilium* (*Regimen editum contra arteticam sine podegram*) by Erhard Knab from 1469³⁷ warns against anger and a number of other harmful emotions and recommends joy:³⁸

Item ir sollent vch hutten vor zorn vnd wunder, vor trurigkeit, vor
kriegen,
besonder sollent ir suchen zimlich froude, wa mit die gesin mag;
die bringt vch besonder crafft vnd sterck.

(Besides, you have to protect yourself from anger and rage, from
sadness and from belligerence, especially you should seek enough
joy, which you enjoy with your mind,
this brings you particular strength and power).

More than one disease is ascribed to the effects of anger. For example, the case of *emotoyca passio*, or blood spitting (*Blutauswurf*), is considered in the

³⁴ The *Ordnung der Gesundheit* which has been used here was one of the most popular and widely circulating medical books, compiled into the earliest full version around 1450. As has been argued by Christa Hagenmeyer, the book was compiled around 1400 at the court of Count Rudolf VI of Hohenberg and bears a dedication to Rudolf and his consort, Margarete von Tierstein, see Hagenmeyer, "Die Ordnung der Gesundheit' für Rudolf von Hohenberg: Untersuchungen zur diätetischen Fachprosa des Spätmittelalters mit kritischer Textausgabe," PhD dissertation (University of Heidelberg, 1972), 281.

³⁵ "Man sol nit zurnen, wan da von den wirt gegycht" ["One should not be angry, as one gets gout/paralysis from that"]. Ibid., 285.

³⁶ In *Das Arzneibuch Ortolfs von Baiernland nach der ältesten Handschrift (14. Jhdt)* (*Stadtarchiv Köln W 4° 24**), ed. James Follan (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1963), 125. Ortolf von Baiernland's *Arzneibuch* is one of the oldest medical works in German, dating to the second half of the fourteenth century.

³⁷ As the title of the work reads: *Regimen editum contra arteticam sine podegram per Erhardum Knab, atrium et medicine doctorem. Incipit feliciter 1469*; this *consilium* was written by Erhard Knab in 1469. The addressee of the *consilium* is not known.

³⁸ In Eis, "Erhard Knabs Gichtregimen," 99.

Arzneibuch; the first measure of how to deal with/cure the disease is to protect oneself from anger.³⁹ Other unhealthy conditions were sometimes linked with anger. Thus, according to the Transylvanian physician, Paulus Kyr, author of *Sanitatis studium* (1551),⁴⁰ anger can lead to apoplexy or palsy or quivering of the whole body.⁴¹ Anger, just like excessive sadness, was also seen to be the cause of madness (*mania*, *vnsynicheyt*, *vnsynnicheyt*), as in the *Arzneibuch*:⁴²

Mania is in duscheme eyn vnsynicheyt vnde wert itwanne von boseme etende

... eder von torne, eder von ouerigher trorichet. Jtwanne kumt de suke van oberiger hitte

vnde van oueriger vuchtichet alse van deme blode,

so synt se allewege vrolich vnde vnderwylen trorich.

(Mania is called insanity in German and comes sometimes from bad food

... or from anger, or excessive sadness. Sometimes the disease comes from excessive heat

and from excessive wetness, and also from the blood,

this way the people are always joyful and from time to time sad).

Occasionally the specific nature of negative emotions is explained. A few compositions consider several emotions together and provide physiological explanations for their effect on the body. For instance, Heinrich Münsinger's⁴³

³⁹ “*Emotoyca passio* is eyn suke, daz deme menschen blot get vs deme munde Me sal eme also helfen: se sollen sich hutten vor torne, vor vasten ...” [“*Emotoyca passio* (Blood spitting) is a disease, when the blood comes out a person’s mouth ... One should help him like this: they should beware of anger, of fasting ...”]. In *Das Arzneibuch Ortolfs von Baierland*, 137, 138.

⁴⁰ The *Sanitatis studium* (full name *Sanitatis studium ad imitationem aphorismorum compositum. Item, Alimentorum vires breuiter et ordine Alphabetico posita. Autore Paulo Kyr medico. Impressum in Inchyta Transylvaniae Corona Anno 1551*).

⁴¹ *Ira denique, cui quanta uis est, uel inde palam fit, quod quosdam ira concitatos, quasi attonitos, ac extra se positos uidemus, inde sunt aliquando grauissimi morbi apoplexia, paralysis, articularum maxime, ac totius corporis tremor*. Paulus Kyr, *Die Gesundheit ist ein Köstlich Ding*, ed. Robert Offner (Hermannstadt: Schiller Verlag, 2010), 71–72.

⁴² In *Das Arzneibuch Ortolfs von Baierland*, 126.

⁴³ Heinrich Münsinger (Mynsinger, Minsinger; d. 1472), the author of *Regimen sanitatis editum pro Friderico palatino Rheni per doctorem Minsinger in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus Regimen*, worked as both a *physicus* and a surgeon. In his service as a personal physician to Count Palatine Frederick II (1451–1476) he composed this *consilium*. The work is written in prose and personalized.

regimen, which he wrote for Count Palatine Frederick II (1451–1476), offers a physiological account of anger, worry, sadness, and fear in common: “...Your Grace should avoid worry, sadness, fear and especially anger, as it moves the fluid and blood and vapor in the head and makes the fluid in the head to flow even more.”⁴⁴ Similarly, *Die Gross-Schützensener Gesundheitslehre* from after 1520 links the harm done by displeasure, anger, sadness, and excessive worry with perturbation of the blood and humors and changes in the natural complexion of a person.⁴⁵ According to the *Ordnung der Gesundheit*, anger and sadness, just like a lack of chastity and much work, increase the temperature of the body in an unhealthy way:⁴⁶

In den czu fallen ewers gemütes sölt ir euch hüten vor vnmüt,
czorn vnd traurigkeit vnd vor vil sorgfelligkeit,
wan die dingk seyn bewegen das blut vnd feuchtigkeit des leyben
vnd verandern die natürlichen complexion des menschen

(As for your mood, you should beware of displeasure,
anger and sadness and of much worry,
because these ailing things stir up/disturb the blood and the
moisture of the body
and change the natural complexion of the human).

The emotions mentioned in the *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein* from about 1460 are limited to anger, sadness, worry, and joy; however, they are discussed in three verses in different combinations but with the same idea in mind. Thus, the first verse suggests restraining oneself from harmful anger and worry and recommends being joyful:⁴⁷

⁴⁴ “...Vwer gnad sol vermyden sorgveltigkeyt, trurigkeit, forcht vnd besunder zorn bewegt die fluss vnd das geblytt vnd die dempff im hopt vnd macht den fluss im hopt noch mer fliesen.” In Gerhard Eis, “Heinrich Münsinger’s “Regimen sanitatis in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus,” in *Forschungen zur Fachprosa*. Ausgewählte Geiträge, ed. Gerhard Eis (Bern: Francke Verlag: 1971), 89.

⁴⁵ In Eis, *Die Gross-Schützensener Gesundheitslehre. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Kultur im Südsten* (Brno: R.M. Rohrer, 1943), 91.

⁴⁶ “Man sol sich hu“ten vor unkeusch, vor zoren und traurigkeit und vor grosser arbeit, wann sie den leichnam enzündent und schickent zu“ empfangnuß diß gepresten” [“One should protect himself from unchastity, from anger and sadness and a lot of work when they heat up the body and lead to this disease”]. In Hagenmeyer, *Die Ordnung der Gesundheit*, 335.

⁴⁷ *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein*. Facsimile aus der Handschrift D 692/XV 3 der Kirchenbibliothek zu Michelstadt um 1460, ed. Dietrich Kurze (Hürtgenwald: Guido Pressler, 1980), 25. Also, compare the corresponding Latin verse with the first lines of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, 46, which was used as its source.

So bis frolich vnd loß zorn hin gan, /
Auch grosses sorg soltu laussen anston.

(So be joyful and leave anger behind and do not worry a lot.)

In the next verse, the dangers of sadness and frequent anger are explained, not only do they affect the body, but they may even precipitate death:⁴⁸

Das betrubt hercz, stetter zoren /
Und das gemütt, das dy frad hot verloren, /
Dy drew ding verczerent den lib behendt, /
Das der mensch gewint ain kurz endt.

(A sorrowful heart, frequent anger and the mood which has lost its joy, these three things consume the body swiftly, so that the man meets a short end).

Finally, the positive effect of joy is contrasted with the negative effect of sadness:⁴⁹

Das betrubt hercz zwinget offt vn(d) vill /
Den menschen zu des todes zill; /
Aber frolicher mut zu aller stundt /
Wirkt offt, das das alter grünt.

(A sorrowful heart often brings people to the end, but the joyful mind always makes the life's age blossom).

Thus, the importance of emotions for the balance of health is strongly emphasized in this regimen. Obstinance appears in only one regimen – Meister Alexander's *Monatsregeln* – where it is mentioned together with the only other emotion noted, anger.⁵⁰ It is possible that these two emotions were associated in view of their effects, at least by the author of this work.

Not many positive/healthy emotions are discussed; only joy (with the related pleasure) appears in the sources. Nonetheless, the beneficial effect of joy is strongly affirmed by the authors and it stands in contrast to all the unhealthy and harmful emotions. Joyfulness is “prescribed” for the maintenance of health

⁴⁸ In *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein*, 25. Here, I have considered “das betrubt hercz” and “das gemütt, das dy frad hot verloren” synonymous with sadness.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ “Der mensch huet sich / vor czorn, hertmuetikait” [“One protects oneself from anger and obstinance”]. In Meister Alexander, *Monatsregeln*, 157.

and prophylaxis of illness.⁵¹ Oddly enough, in some sources joy is seen to have a negative, even lethal, effect. Thus, in Paulus Kyr's *Sanitatis studium* one reads: "Aristotle reports that as a result of unexpected joy one has exhaled one's life; besides Valerius Maximus tells that several fainthearted had died by reason of joy."⁵²

Generally, the *Sanitatis studium* differs from other *regimina sanitatis* in its account of the interactions of emotions and health. Not only does Kyr bring in the names of authorities such as Aristotle, Valerius Maximus, Hippocrates, and Pliny, incorporating material from various sources, but he also enumerates quite a good number of states and illnesses that can be caused by the *animi affectus*. Some of these patterns are original and have no parallels in the earlier material. The nine emotions discussed are: *gaudium* (joy), *timor* (fear), *maestitia* (sorrow), *cura* (worry), *animi angor* (distress), *cogitationes graviores* (grave thoughts, pensiveness), *terror* (great fear), *pudor* (shame), *ira* (anger); all of these have been underlined in the book by a careful reader.⁵³

⁵¹ "So bis frolich..." ["... So be joyful?"]; "...Aber frolicher mut zu aller stundt / Wirkt off, das das alter grünt" ["...A sorrowful heart often brings people to the end, but the joyful mind always makes the life's age blossom"]; in *Büchelin nye der mensch bewar das leben sein*, 25; "Darumb sölt ir frölichen seyn vnd nit betrüben yn ewrem gemüte, wollt ir euch ewer gesuntheit brauchen" ["That is why you should be joyful and not gloomy in your spirits, if you wish to enjoy good health"]; in Eis, *Die Gross-Schützensener Gesundheitslehre*, 91; "... sol man ... alle arbeits fliehen vnd allen kumber vnd sorg lan ligen ... vnd fro^{ud} vnd kurtzvil süchen. vnd sol ain mensch zü den lüten siczen vnd gan bi den er gern sitzet, von den sin gemüt mug erfrowet werden" ["... and one should ... escape all work and put away all worry and trouble ... and seek joy and pleasure. And one should spend time with the people one likes, from which one's mood may become joyful"]; in Eis, *Eine altdeutsche Sammelhandschrift aus Villingen*, 7; "...besonder sollent ir suchen zimlich froude, wa mit die gesin mag; die bringt vch besonder crafft vnd sterck" ["... especially you should seek enough joy, which you enjoy with your mind, this brings you particular strength and power"]; in Knab, *Gichtregimen*, 99; "Dar vmb soll úwer gnad süchen zimlich frod, wa sie mag" ["That is why Your Grace should seek enough joy, which You enjoy"]; in Münsinger, *Regimen sanitatis in fluxu catarrhali ad pectus*, 89; "Men sal en so helfen: sint se von troren vnde von trobenisze vnngesunt worden, so sal man se vrolich machen vnde sal en vyl geloben gutes dingez" ["One should help them like this: in case they became ill from sadness and gloom, then one should make them joyful and should promise them many good things"], in *Das Arzneibuch Ortolfs von Baierland*, 127.

⁵² *Gaudio subito allato animam expirasse refert Aristoteles, Valerius denique; maximus, præ gaudio non nulli admodum pusillanimes mortui sunt.* Ibid., 71.

⁵³ The facsimile copy in the edition used here comes from the book now kept in the archives of the Lutheran Church at Braşov (shelf mark: HB 510, old: 0941/3). See Robert Offner, "Vorwort," in Paulus Kyr, *Die Gesundheit ist ein Köstlich Ding*, 8.

With regard to anger, Paulus Kyr is in agreement with authors of other *regimina sanitatis* about the harm it can cause to human health; he mentions that it can lead to apoplexy or palsy or quivering of the whole body.⁵⁴ It is interesting to mention that according to the Transylvanian author, great fear is the possible cause of epilepsy, but it may be beneficial in some kinds of insanity.⁵⁵

Similarly, excessive shame⁵⁶ or sudden fear can be a reason for death.⁵⁷ In addition to this, fear – just as sadness – may lead to an excess of black bile.⁵⁸ The impact on the bodily health of such emotions and states as sorrow, worry, distress, and particularly pensiveness, is negative through other states that they produce: restlessness and sleeplessness.⁵⁹

The diversity of psychosomatic patterns in Paulus Kyr's *Sanitatis studium* might be explained by the fact that it was written at a much later date than most of the other *regimina* considered here: in the mid-sixteenth century. Kyr's book contains a few models which have no parallel in the other sources considered here and pictures some of the emotions as both harmful and beneficial in different situations.

Summing up, the ways in which emotions and psychological states were seen to relate to the body and health were numerous, as is demonstrated in the selected primary sources and comparative material. First and foremost, a number of emotions and states were seen to disturb the balance of health or cause certain diseases; these have been referred to as negative in the present study. The most frequently mentioned among these are anger, sadness, and worry. In contrast, the positive or salubrious emotions are few; however, practically every regimen of health which discusses *accidentia animi* underscores the beneficial effect of joy on human health.

⁵⁴ *Ira denique, cui quanta nis est, vel inde palam fit, quod quosdam ira concitatos, quasi attonitos, ac extra se positos uidemus, inde sunt aliquando grauissimi morbi apoplexia, paralysis, articularum maxime, ac totius corporis tremor.* Ibid., 71–72.

⁵⁵ *Terrore aliquibus animi deliquum ac morbum comitalme accidisse compertum habemus: sicut contra in quibusdam insaniam speciebus perterreret ac expauescere prodest.* Ibid., 71.

⁵⁶ *Pudore immenso nonnullos mortuos esse, Plinius auctor est.* Ibid.

⁵⁷ *Timore subitaneo nonnulli morte perierunt praesertim pusillanimes admodum.* Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Si autem timor et mastitia longo tempore habentes perseuerent Hippoc. autore, ex eo atra bilis significatur;* ibid.

⁵⁹ *Mastitia, cura, animi angor et cogitationes praesertim grauiiores non modicam uim corporibus faciunt: inducunt enim inquietudinem ac uigilias, unde sensuum lesio est, et totius corporis robur minuitur;* ibid.

THE LIFE OF SAINT ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY IN THE VERNACULAR¹

Eszter Konrád 

Elizabeth of Hungary was perhaps the most influential representative of the late medieval female saintly ideal whose life served as a model for a number of queens and princesses. Despite the great number of hagiographical accounts written about her life and miracles, it was *Legenda aurea*, the collection of abridged saints' lives by James of Varazze (Jacobus de Voragine)² which spread Elizabeth's holiness all over Europe. Her legend was transmitted both in Latin and in the vernacular, as a part of the legendary as well as independently in miscellaneous manuscripts, and also served as source of sermons. These vernacular versions, to differing degrees, reflect the changes in late medieval lay piety, social, and religious issues of the time when they were translated and adjusted to suit the needs of the audience.³ This study, apart from summing up briefly how four adaptations of the legend of St. Elizabeth of the *Legenda aurea* fared in the Italian, Czech and Hungarian vernaculars, deals especially with Osborn Bokenham's versified *vita* of Elizabeth in his *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* and seeks to highlight some points about how the Austin friar amended James of Varazze's legend of St. Elizabeth in order to make it up-to-date for a fifteenth-century English female public.

¹ This paper is based on my MA thesis "The Legend of St. Elizabeth of Hungary of the *Legenda aurea* and its Vernacular Adaptations" (Central European University, 2011). I thank my thesis supervisor, Gábor Klaniczay, for the helpful suggestions and corrections during my work.

² For the legend of Elizabeth (*De sancta Elizabeth*), see Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2 vols. (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), vol. 2, 1156–1179. The English translation, based on Graesse's edition, is in *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 302–318. On the four "modern" saints of the legendary, and on the authenticity of Elizabeth's *vita*, cf. André Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine et les saints du XIII^e siècle dans la *Légende Dorée*," in *Legenda aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1986), 27–56.

³ Currently a research project, "Saints, identités, cultures dans la France médiévale," is being conducted under the direction of Catherine Vincent, exploring, among other phenomena, the emergence of vernacular hagiographical production. Two recent studies in this field are: Françoise Laurent, *Plaire et édifier: les récits hagiographiques composés en Angleterre aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1998) and Dorothea Kullmann, *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009).

The Tradition of the *De Sancta Elizabeth* in the Italian, Czech, and Hungarian Vernaculars

The *Legenda aurea* has survived in more than 900 Latin manuscripts.⁴ It was so popular that the first vernacular versions appeared as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century and 150 years later translations or adaptations of the legendary had been made in all the major European languages: French, Spanish, Italian, Provençal, English, High and Low German, and Czech, sometimes in more than one version per language. The existence of the translations, however, does not necessarily mean that the vernacular versions of the legendary circulated as widely as the Latin copies, at least not until the sixteenth century. In Italy, for instance, most of the vernacular versions of the *vitae* of the legendary are reported in miscellaneous codices and in *florilegia* compiled for the lay people and members of the Third Orders.⁵ In accordance with this, on the basis of the *Biblioteca agiografica italiana*, in addition to the two *Legenda aurea* translations that contain the life of St. Elizabeth, there are at least two other types of vernacular adaptation of her legend that were transmitted independently from the legendary.⁶ The two Italian versions of the *De sancta Elizabeth* I examined⁷ are *volgarizzamenti*. One of them is the so-called “old Tuscan” *volgarizzamento*,⁸ preserved in a composite fourteenth-century codex, MS Magliabechiano XXXVIII. 74, ff. 9r–26v.⁹ In

⁴ For the Latin manuscript tradition of the legendary see Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischer Legenda aurea*, Subsidia hagiographica 72 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1991) and Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, *Ricerche sulla composizione e sulla trasmissione della ‘Legenda aurea,’* Biblioteca di “Medioevo latino” 8 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1995).

⁵ Paolo Mariani, “I codici italiani della *Legenda aurea*: committenza e fruizione di una raccolta agiografica,” 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, University of Florence, 1998), 794.

⁶ Only one *volgarizzamento* of the *Life* in the *Legenda aurea* is reported in the book (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1254, ff.273v–278v, which was probably the exemplar of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1986, ff. 49v–55v. See Jacques Dalarun, Lino Leonardi et al., ed., *Biblioteca agiografica italiana*, Repertorio di testi e manoscritti, secoli XIII–XV (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003), vol. 2., 217–218.

⁷ These two adaptations in the Italian vernacular are analyzed in detail in my MA thesis at the Italian Studies Department: “La *vita* di Santa Elisabetta d’Ungheria nella *Legenda aurea* ed i suoi volgarizzamenti,” MA Thesis, (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2009).

⁸ A slightly modernised version of the text was edited by Marc’Antonio Parenti, who called it “antico toscano,” see: *Volgarizzamento della vita di S. Elisabetta di Ungheria, Langravia di Turingia. Testo antico toscano, ora per la prima volta stampato* (Modena: Per gli eredi Soliani Tipografi, 1848).

⁹ Concerning the provenance of the manuscript, see *Biblioteca agiografica italiana*, vol.1, 89–90.

addition to several catechetical and devotional pieces, it contains two pseudo-Bernardine meditations on the Passion, a Bernardine lament on the sinful soul, a treatise of St. Caesarius of Arles on the human soul, and two legends of Saint Elizabeth and Barlaam and Josaphat. The contents of the manuscript show that it may have been used for private reading or meditation. The life of Elizabeth is a *volgarizzamento* par excellence: the text is full of minor omissions, explanatory additions and rewritings, but it basically follows the original Latin text and also reports all the miracles of the saint.

The other vernacular version of the life of Saint Elizabeth based on the *Legenda aurea* is preserved in a fifteenth-century composite paper codex, MS Ambrosiana I. 115 Inf., ff. 22v–35r.¹⁰ The content of the manuscript shows that it was made and used in a Franciscan environment. Since it contains mostly the vernacular legends of the saints and the blessed who belonged, at least according to tradition, to the Third Order of the Franciscans, one can assume that it was intended for public reading in a community of Tertiaries. In addition to the seven *vite*, that of Saint Louis of France, Saint Elzéar of Sabran, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint Yves of Brittany, Blessed Roberto Galeotto Malatesta of Rimini, Blessed Tommasuccio of Nocera, and Blessed Angela of Foligno, the manuscript contains hymns, prayers, papal bulls, and fragments of the Rule of the Third Order. The legend of Elizabeth is completed by the date of her feast and ends with a Latin prayer (fol. 35r): *Tuorum corda fidelium deus miserator illustra / et beate Helisabeth / precibus gloriosis fac nos / prospera mundi despiciere et celesti semper / consolatione gaudere per Christum.*¹¹ Her legend begins with the following: “Questa è la legenda de Santa Elisabeth del terzo ordine” (fol. 22v) and it ends in a similar way: “Finisce la legenda di sancta Helisabeth del terzo ordine” (fol. 35r). The Franciscan Third Order did not yet exist in Elizabeth’s lifetime and was officially founded only in 1289 through the submission of various communities of penitents under Franciscan control, but Elizabeth was regarded as a member and later as its patron

¹⁰ The manuscript was probably the exemplar of the incunabulum printed in Vicenza in 1499, based on IGI 5721; Heine 9999, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana of Venice, Rari 557. A reprint was issued by Lino Temperini entitled *Legenda de’ beati del terzo ordine de sancto Francisco* (Rome: Franciscanum, 1996). See *Biblioteca agiografica italiana*, vol. 2, 219.

¹¹ This prayer is one of the collect prayers written by Pope Gregory IX mentioned in the *Processus et ordo canonizationis beate Elyzabeth* in connection with her canonization celebration in Perugia on 27 May 1235. See Ottó Gecser, “Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231–c.1500” (PhD Dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2007), 63.

from the late thirteenth century on.¹² Nevertheless, the inclusion of Elizabeth's legend in a collection of the lives of Franciscan Tertiaries confirms that by the fifteenth century she had become perhaps the most important icon of the Third Order. Apart from these two insertions and some minor scribal errors, a number of lacunae, and the omission of two *post mortem* miracles, this translation is a rather faithful rendering of the original text.

The first Czech version of the *Legenda aurea* was the *Pasional*, a collection of 166 saints' lives made around 1357 at the request of Charles IV. The anonymous translator of the *Pasional* was in all likelihood a Dominican friar who belonged to the royal entourage¹³ and was one of the nine canons of the monastery of Saint George and could also have been entrusted with the leadership of the nunnery.¹⁴ The *Pasional* was primarily intended for the edification of those who were ignorant of Latin, especially the nuns of the monastery of Saint George.¹⁵ The original manuscript of the Old Czech *Pasional* is not extant, but all the later copies contain the life of Saint Elizabeth.¹⁶ It is remarkable, however, that while almost all the legends of the *Pasional* are based on the *Legenda aurea*, in Elizabeth's case the author relied on the *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum*,¹⁷ on Conrad of Marburg's *Summa vitae*,¹⁸ and on a third source that contains an account of Christ appearing at the deathbed of Elizabeth, similar to the episode that can be found

¹² Recently Gecser has examined the development of the perception of the Hungarian princess as a Franciscan Tertiary and a Franciscan saint in his "Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth," 58–63, 97–103, 141–145, 159–172, 184–186, 190–197 and in the "Lives of St. Elizabeth: Their Rewritings and Diffusion in the Thirteenth Century," *Analecta Bollandiana* 127 (2009): 49–107, on 63–66.

¹³ Helga Susanne Schmidtberger, *Die Verehrung der Heiligen Elisabeth in Böhmen und Mähren bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1992), 195.

¹⁴ Anežka Vidmanová, "Die Belletrisierung der Goldenen Legende im altschechischen Passional," in *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: Strutture, messaggi, fruizione*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Fasano da Brindisi: Schena, 1990), 49–64, on 54–55.

¹⁵ Vidmanová, "Die Belletrisierung," 54.

¹⁶ The Old Czech version of the *vita* was edited by Schmidtberger in her *Die Verehrung*, 195–200. For the surviving manuscripts of the *Pasional* see page 8.

¹⁷ Albert Huyskens, *Der sogenannte Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus* (Munich: Kempten, 1911), 9–80. On the accounts of the four maids as a source, see Raoul Manselli, *Fürstliche Heiligkeit und Alltagsleben bei Elisabeth von Thüringen. Das Zeugnis der Dienerinnen*, in *Elisabeth, der Deutsche Orden und ihre Kirche: Festschrift zur 700-jährigen Wiederkehr der Weibe der Elisabethkirche Marburg 1983*, ed. Udo Arnold and Heinz Liebing, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 18 (Marburg: Elwert, 1983), 9–26.

¹⁸ Albert Huyskens, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen* (Marburg, 1908), 155–160.

in Bartholomew of Trent's Elizabeth *Vita*.¹⁹ The Old Czech legend of Elizabeth narrates her life fairly concisely, but pays much attention (almost one third of the whole text) to her dying, when the saint had prophetic visions and contemplated the birth of Christ and the Last Judgement. This text is unique from the point of view that only this version presents an intimate and affectionate relationship between the saint and her confessor. Interestingly, not in the earliest surviving copy but in all the other *Pasional* manuscripts, Conrad of Marburg is referred to as a Dominican²⁰ although he did not belong to any religious order. That the Bohemian author concludes the legend by mentioning that God, with the mediation of Elizabeth, performed numerous miracles, resurrecting some dead and healing some ill people, may be ascribed to pre-Hussite influence.²¹

In Hungary, only a few Latin copies of the *Legenda aurea* and some fragments attest to its one-time popularity,²² but no full Hungarian translation of the legendary has come down to us. The only medieval codex that contains the life of St. Elizabeth in the Hungarian vernacular, based ultimately on the *Legenda aurea*, is the *Érdy Codex*, a collection of sermons and saints' lives was written in 1526–27 by an Anonymous Carthusian.²³ He says in the Latin *Preface* to the codex that he was urged to write in the vernacular by the just claim of lay brothers and nuns from various religious orders, including his sister, to provide them with pious

¹⁹ The *vita* is edited by Emore Paoli in his Bartolomeo da Trento, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum* (Edizione dei testi mediolatini 2) (Florence: SISMEI, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2001), 344–345.

²⁰ Schmidtberger, *Die Verehrung*, 196.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 200.

²² Edit Madas, “A *Legenda aurea* a középkori Magyarországon” [The *Legenda aurea* in Medieval Hungary], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 93–99, also published in French as “La Légende dorée – Historia Lombardica – en Hongrie,” in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura Italiana e Ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 53–61.

²³ The only full edition of the *Érdy Codex*, in two volumes, was made by György Volf in 1876, *Nyelvemléktár IV–V*, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1876); the sermon on St. Elizabeth is reported in vol. 2, 476–487. For a more recent but selected edition of the codex with an epilogue on the Anonymous Carthusian and his work, see Edit Madas, *A néma barát megszólal* [The mute friar starts to speak] (Budapest: Magvető, 1985), 528–542, and her *Az Érdy-kódex perikóparendszeréről és Gulliermus Parisiensis posztilláskönyve* [The pericope system of the Erdy Codex and the book of postillae of Gulliermus Parisiensis], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100 (1984): 99–105.

reading.²⁴ Accordingly, he speaks from time to time about the value, the use, and the rewards of monastic life.²⁵

Since St. Elizabeth was the only Hungarian saint whose *vita* was in the *Legenda aurea*, in her case the Anonymous Carthusian made use of the legendary directly as well as the sermons of the Hungarian Observant Franciscan Pelbárt of Temesvár (Pelbartus de Themeswar), where her three best-known miracles and the assumption of her having been a Franciscan Tertiary had already been reported.²⁶ There were three major areas where the Hungarian monk modified James of Varazze's legend, or at least made shifts in emphasis in so as to better suit the needs of people living in religious communities. In the prose sermon Elizabeth is presented as a model to follow for those who choose celibacy, emphasizing that if the princess could have done as she wished she would have remained a virgin²⁷ and with a heavy heart she obeyed her father's order to marry. While the *Legenda aurea* narrates several episodes that depict a loving relationship between the saint and her husband, the landgrave of Thuringia, in the Hungarian version it is pushed into the background; there is not a single word about her grief upon the landgrave's death; how she resisted when her relatives wanted her to get her married again is reported and that finally she entered the Third Order of the Franciscans. The three miracles, those of the rose, the leper, and the mantle²⁸ play a double role in the Anonymous Carthusian's sermon; on the one hand, these legendary episodes make Elizabeth's life more lively and captivating; on the other hand, they illustrate that God never let her down when she was threatened

²⁴ Madas, *A néma barát megszólal*, 9–12.

²⁵ Imre Bán, *A Karthausi Névtelen műveltsége* [The erudition of the Anonymous Carthusian] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1976), 30.

²⁶ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de Sanctis* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, pro Johanne Rynmann, 1499), *Sermo* XCVI, XCVII, XCVIII. The most recent books on Pelbárt of Temesvár are: *Emlékkönyv Temesvári Pelbárt halálának 500. Évfordulója alkalmából: 1504–2004* [Essays in honor of the 500th anniversary of the death of Pelbárt of Temesvár: 1504–2004], ed. Piusz Berhidai and Ilona Kedves (Esztergom: Temesvári Pelbárt Ferences Gimnázium, Kollégium és Szakközépiskola, 2006). The Hungarian translations of his selected works were edited by Sándor V. Kovács in *Temesvári Pelbárt válogatott írásai* [The selected works of Pelbárt of Temesvár] (Budapest: Helikon kiadó, 1982). Currently the *Sermones compilati* research group is working on the digital edition of the works of Pelbárt of Temesvár and his disciple Oswald of Laskó, who also composed two sermons on Elizabeth: <http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=index> (accessed: 20/05/2011).

²⁷ Her regret at having been compelled to get married and thus not be able to die a virgin was present already in the *Summa vitae*, in *Quellenstudien*, 156.

²⁸ The developments of these three miracles were summarized by Ottó Gecser, "Lives of St. Elizabeth," 76–80; 90; 94–97.

with embarrassment as a result of her charity or humble lifestyle. Besides, by the sixteenth century these miracles had become such widespread attributes in the iconography of Elizabeth that it was “required” to include them in her legend. The third characteristic of the Anonymous Carthusian’s version is that since he was writing a sermon on the life of a national saint, he makes numerous references to her Hungarian royal origin. He provides additional data on Elizabeth’s parents;²⁹ he situates the miracle of the roses at the Hungarian court and it is her father, King Andrew who stops her;³⁰ he refers to Elizabeth from time to time as royal offspring, accentuating both her descent from the Hungarian royal family and the contrast between her rank and chosen lifestyle.

The Middle English Hagiography of Saint Elizabeth

In England, the cult of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary was not as widespread as on the continent. In addition to the Anglo-Norman life of the saint composed by the Franciscan Nicholas Bozon,³¹ three Middle English versions of Elizabeth’s life are known, all based on James of Varazze’s legendary: the anonymous *Gilte Legende* dated to around 1438,³² Osbern Bokenham’s *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*,³³ and the *Golden Legend*, the first printed English translation of the *Legenda aurea* by William Caxton in 1483, which was a best-seller from the first issue in 1483 until the 1520s.³⁴ Elizabeth became celebrated as a mystic in England in the fifteenth century, when her alleged visions, the *Revelations of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, were

²⁹ Madas, *A néma barát megszólal*, 528.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 529.

³¹ Nicolas Bozon’s legend was edited in Louis Karl, “Vie de sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie par Nicolas Bozon,” *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 34 (1910): 295–314.

³² It contains 179 legends and survives in at least seven complete manuscripts. It was one of Caxton’s principal sources, especially for the *vitae* of native English saints that do not figure either in the *Legenda aurea* or in the *Légende dorée*. The *Gilte Legende* is a close translation, except for a few additions and omissions, of Jean de Vignay’s *Légende Dorée*, the French translation of the Latin legendary. The critical edition of the *Gilte Legende* has recently been published by Richard Hamer and Vida Russel: *Gilte Legende*, 2 vols. Early English Text Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). The Life of Saint Elizabeth is reported on 842–54.

³³ Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson, Early English Text Society, OS 206 (London: 1938).

³⁴ William Caxton, *The Golden Legend, or Lives of the Saints*, ed. Frederick Startridge Ellis, 7 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1900; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973).

translated into Middle English.³⁵ Around 1493, Wynkyn de Worde published the *Revelations*, together with the life of Saint Catherine of Siena, as texts which could be associated with the *Golden Legend*.³⁶ The *Revelationes* attributed to Elizabeth also had a great impact on Margery Kempe. Through Kempe's *Book*³⁷ as well as through numerous translations and adaptations of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and as a part of other spiritual writings, the *Revelationes* enjoyed great popularity.³⁸

The *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* and the *Lyf of S. Elyzabeth*

Osbern Bokenham adapted Elizabeth's legend into Middle English between 1443 and 1447.³⁹ An Austin friar, doctor of divinity at Stoke Clare (East Anglia), Bokenham led an active social life among the local gentry and nobility, as is shown by the commissioners he names in the vitae. The is a hagiographical collection of women saints written in verse form comprising thirteen lives: Margaret of Antioch, Anne, Christine, Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Faith of Conques, Agnes of Rome, Dorothy, Mary Magdalene, Catherine of Alexandria, Cecilia of Rome, Agatha of Syracuse, Lucy, and Elizabeth of Hungary. Three of the lives were commissioned by noble patrons and an unnamed friend, another

³⁵ Alexandra Barratt, "The Revelations of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary: Problems of Attribution," *The Library* 6th ser. 14 (1992): 1–11, on 4. For the Middle English versions, see Sarah McNamer, *The Two Middle English Translations of the Revelations of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. from Cambridge University Library MS Hb.i.11 and Wynkyn de Worde's Printed text of ?1493, Middle English Texts 28 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996). The most recent discussions of the topic are Dávid Falvay's studies: "Le rivelazioni di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria" in *Annuario 2002–2004: Conferenze e convegni* (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma – Istituto Storico "Fraknoi," 2005), 248–263 and "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature: Vitae, Miracles, Revelations and the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*," in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Context from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Marcell Sebők, and Katalin Szende (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011), 137–150.

³⁶ Norman Francis Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1991), 115.

³⁷ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).

³⁸ Alexandra Barratt, "Margery Kempe and the King's Daughter of Hungary," in *Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays*, ed. Sandra J. McEntire (New York: Garland, 1992), 189–201; McNamer, *The Two Middle English Translations*, 40–48.

³⁹ Originally the manuscript had no title, but it is generally referred to as *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, a title introduced by Mary S. Serjeantson, the first modern editor of the text. All quotations from Bokenham in the text are from Serjeantson's edition.

four by women patrons.⁴⁰ The Life of Elizabeth of Hungary was commissioned by Elizabeth de Vere, countess of Oxford. According to the colophon, the unique extant manuscript of the text was copied, thus doubtlessly completed, by a certain “Frere Thomas Burgh” in Cambridge in 1447, for a “holy place of nunnys that þei schulde haue mynd on hym & of hys systyr Dame Beatrice Burgh.”⁴¹ Although codicological evidence suggests that the organization of the legends had not been fully thought out before its execution,⁴² several scholars have based their interpretations of the legendary on the assumption that Bokenham himself arranged the lives. Sheila Delany has argued for the hypothesis that the Austin friar’s choice and order of texts are modelled on Chaucer’s *The Legend of Good Women* (1386).⁴³ Others, in turn, have argued that it was not Bokenham, but the scribe of the manuscript, Thomas Burgh, who arranged the author’s single pieces into a collection.⁴⁴ On the basis of textual data the only certainty is that Bokenham translated the lives of Margaret, Anne, Dorothy, Faith, Christine, Agnes, Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins and also began a life of Elizabeth, but he does not indicate any intention of compiling a collection dedicated entirely to female saints. Without excluding the plausibility of the former theory, on the basis of the layout of the single surviving manuscript, the latter hypothesis appears to me better-founded.

The *Legendys* is a not simple translation of the *Legenda aurea*, but a relatively free adaptation. Although the life of Saint Elizabeth, princess, wife, and mother may seem to be perfect material to present “mirrors of wives” to Bokenham’s lay female patron, the friar found it necessary to reshape the original legend in a subtle manner by adding, omitting or changing details of the Latin text to suit the taste

⁴⁰ Diane Watt, *Medieval Women’s Writing: Works by and for Women in England, 1100–1500* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 83.

⁴¹ Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, 289.

⁴² For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Edwards, “The Transmission and Audience,” 157–159.

⁴³ Sheila Delany, *A Legend of Holy Women: A Translation of Osbern Bokenham’s Legends of Holy Women* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), xxi–xxvi. The critical edition of Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The Legend of Good Women* is by Janet Cowen and Georg Kane, *Medieval Texts and Studies 16* (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1995). A similar collection, the *De mulieribus claris*, containing exclusively the biographies of historical and mythological women, was compiled by Giovanni Boccaccio around 1374. Giovanni Boccaccio, *De mulieribus claris*, ed. and trans. Vittorio Zaccaria, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, 2nd ed. (Milan: Mondadori, 1970 [1964]), 10.

⁴⁴ Mary Beth Long, “Corpora and Manuscripts, Authors and Audiences,” in *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. Sarah Salih (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 47–69, on 66.

of his audience. In the *Life of Saint Elizabeth*, he highlights the contrast between Elizabeth's ascetic lifestyle and charity in conflict with the social demands of her entourage. In the prologue Bokenham adds some information to her biography and extends it with notion of the three theological virtues – Faith, Hope, and Charity – the gifts of the Holy Spirit that he weaves into Elizabeth's life; faith was manifested in her refusal of worldly vanity, hope in her meek suffering of tribulation, and charity in her love and pity for God and her fellow human beings, rich or poor.⁴⁵ The practice of these virtues was relevant for Bokenham's audience, for whom the hagiographer highlights the qualities of the saint that matched the best features of late medieval piety.

One of Bokenham's two major additions to the Latin text is the scene in which Elizabeth persuades her husband, Louis of Thuringia, to go on a crusade to the Holy Land. The Austin friar elaborates the saint's arguments in favor of the crusade in great detail as well as her farewell to her husband.⁴⁶ After relating the landgravine's successful enterprise in convincing Louis, Bokenham, probably for the sake of a mainly female audience, inserts a long romantic valediction, with Elizabeth standing on the shore, surrounded by weeping lords, ladies, and commoners. The princess expresses her affection for her spouse, emphasizing the indissoluble tie that binds them together both in secular and spiritual dimensions:

Wyth what affeccyou & how enterely
I þe loue, dere spouse, & euyr haue do,
No man knowyth but god & þou & I,
Wych not oonly in fleshe bodyly, lo,
By þe knot of spousayle ioynyd hath us two,
But in spyryth eek thorgh hys cheryte
So to-gedyr confedryd hath so

⁴⁵ Bokenham, *Legendys*, 256, lines 9487–9508.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 274, lines 10076–10094. It should be noted, however, that among the numerous hagiographers of the Hungarian princess, James of Varazze was the first who wrote that it was Elizabeth's persuasion, not his personal conviction that made the landgrave leave for the holy war. Crusade was a political issue in the thirteenth century and Conrad of Marburg (the future confessor of Elizabeth) had more to do with it than the saint. In 1215, Conrad was appointed by Pope Innocent III to advertise the Fifth Crusade. Louis of Thuringia took the Cross from Conrad's hand in 1224. The landgrave's commitment to the crusade also guaranteed the consolidation of the territorial *status quo* to his benefit, placing his possessions under the protection of the papacy. Thus, it was not only religious conviction and his wife's plea that impelled Louis to go on a crusade, but strong political and financial motivations as well.

That impossyble ys undo þe knot to be.
 But why y now shuld wepe in ony wyse
 Reasonable cause kan I noon se,
 Syth I se þe goon to doon hym seruyse
 Whom I loue in most souereyn degre.
 Sumtyme I sorwyd whan thou wentyst for me,
 But now neythyr sorwyn ne wepyn I may,
 Be so þat cryst thorgh hys benygnyte
 The grace yiue to seruyn hym to hys pay.⁴⁷

Elizabeth's farewell also shows that with this act Louis lives up to her own commitment to dedicate her life to the service of God, and thus becomes her companion in strife for choosing the "better part" instead of the worldly duties imposed on them by the expectations of the Thuringia court. Bokenham also stresses the heroism of the landgrave, calling him the knight of Christ who, armed in virtue and charity, goes to Jerusalem and, after fighting heroically, dies.⁴⁸ Elizabeth's love for her husband is accentuated also when Louis' bones were brought from beyond the sea and buried with due ceremony: Elizabeth says plainly to her uncle that as her lord has returned to her, she will never marry again.⁴⁹

Bokenham noticeably tones down two aspects of Elizabeth's life that are strongly present in James of Varazze's original: the controversial relationship with her confessor Conrad of Marburg and the *sponsa Christi* motif. Elizabeth's relationship with Conrad of Marburg with was typical in the sense that it contended with that of Louis, assuming a husband's traditional power over his wife, especially after the death of the landgrave when he gained control over Elizabeth's legacy.⁵⁰ The confessor's personality was in sharp contrast to a courtly lifestyle and he expected absolute obedience from the landgravine, even when his orders went against her secular obligations. As Christopher Manion has pointed out, Conrad plays a central role in Bokenham's version, too, but he softens some episodes relating to him, conceivably because he was aware of the danger that his audience would not digest the saint's obedience to such an extent. The English hagiographer thus omits that Conrad had been the priest to whom Elizabeth promised a vow of continence in widowhood; instead, he mentions an anonymous

⁴⁷ Ibid., 275, lines 10113–10125.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 275, lines 10129–10136.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 279, lines 10255–10256

⁵⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 284.

“maystrys.”⁵¹ He also passes over an episode related to the confessor, when, after her husband’s death, Elizabeth took the grey habit and wanted to live as a beggar, but Conrad did not allow her to do so.⁵² When the Austin friar reports the most infamous incident between the Elizabeth and Conrad of Marburg, who beat the princess and her maids because they ignored an invitation to his sermon because of the visit of the markgravine of Meissen,⁵³ he makes his other most noteworthy interjection into the original Latin version, praising Elizabeth’s obedience and at the same time reproaching all those living a cloistered life for their stubbornness and complaining about the decline of religious discipline in the absence of due corrections.⁵⁴ In my opinion, this interpolation is also significant from the point of view that, assuming that it was the scribe Thomas Burgh who organized the layout of the *Legendys*, maybe it is not unintentional that the *vita* of Saint Elizabeth in which there is such an explicit allusion to nuns, priests, and monks, is placed just before the dedication to the nun’s convent.

While all of Elizabeth’s visions in the *Legenda aurea* are described by Bokenham as well, he remains silent about what James of Varazze reports in his collection: “When her husband was away she passed the whole night in prayer with her heavenly spouse.”⁵⁵ This bridal imagery was fairly popular in Western Europe between the twelfth and the fourteenth century in diverse literary genres such as devotional writings, saints’ lives, *Schwesternbücher*, and canonization-process testimonies and was accompanied by a series of similar visions from Hadewijch of Brabant to Catherine of Siena.⁵⁶ Even if in Bokenham Christ does not figure explicitly as the Bridegroom of the saint, perhaps it is not by chance

⁵¹ Bokenham, *Legendys*, 263, line 9685. Christopher Edward Manion, “Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England,” PhD dissertation (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 2005), 146. Available at: http://etd.ohiolink.edu/view.cgi?acc_num=osu1133188098 (last accessed: 13/01/2012), 158.

⁵² Conrad of Marburg himself writes in the *Summa vitae* that Elizabeth’s desire was to live *hostiatim mendicare*. See Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 157. Her confessor, however, certainly knew that only in exceptional cases did the Church authorize a woman to beg for alms. In a case of extreme necessity women in pairs could go begging, but it never became a regular practice. André Vauchez, “Carità e povertà in santa Elisabetta di Turingia in base agli atti del processo di canonizzazione,” in idem, *Esperienze religiose nel Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2003), 125–136, on 131.

⁵³ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 1160.

⁵⁴ Bokenham, *Legendys*, 267, lines 9833–9848.

⁵⁵ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 1160.

⁵⁶ Gábor Klaniczay, “Learned Systems and Popular Narratives of Vision and Bewitchment,” in *Witchcraft Mythologies and Persecutions*, ed. Éva Pócs and Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: CEU Press, 2008), 50–82, on 53. Although many of these female mystics were married women

that the hagiographer reports the first vision that evokes bridal imagery only after Elizabeth has reached the state of widowhood,⁵⁷ since virgins were traditionally the primary candidates for Brides of Christ, not married women. The Austin friar disregards the second appearance of Christ, this time on Elizabeth's deathbed, who, according to the *Legenda aurea*, addresses her: "Come my beloved, to the eternal dwelling prepared for you!"⁵⁸

Except for the eventual additions and omissions, Osbern Bokenham follows almost all the events of the *Legenda aurea* faithfully, until the episode in which Elizabeth, with the help of a miracle, converts a worldly young man who then enters the Franciscan Order. At this point the English hagiographer interrupts the legend and moves swiftly to the discussion of Elizabeth's death, without mentioning the exceptional veneration immediately after her death, as well as all her nineteen *post mortem* miracles described in detail by James of Varazze.⁵⁹ The somewhat hasty ending of the *Lyf of S. Elyzabeth* is counterbalanced by Bokenham's commendable prayer for the saint's intercession for him and for the commissioner, Lady Elizabeth de Vere.⁶⁰ His request also attests that the reason for composing a verse legend of St. Elizabeth in the vernacular was the noble lady's own devotion to her namesake, as Ottó Gecser has noted, rather than the wide veneration of the Hungarian saint's cult in England.⁶¹

Conclusions

In the *Legenda aurea*, James of Varazze tried to represent all the characteristics of Elizabeth's saintly image: she was the daughter of the Hungarian king but led a humble life in the Thuringian court; she was a wife and mother but after the death of her husband took a vow of continence; she was active in charity but frequently engaged in contemplation and had several celestial visions, and she had strong connections to the Franciscan Order. The transmission of vernacular adaptations of the *Legenda aurea* and the *De sancta Elizabeth* were not always intertwined; while the latter circulated also on its own, the former often did not contain her *vita* or, as in the case of the Old Czech *Pasional*, reported another version of her legend. The vernacular versions I examined show that depending on the audience for

(Bridget of Sweden, Angela of Foligno, and Dorothea of Montau), usually they became brides of Christ only after their husbands died.

⁵⁷ Bokenham, *Legendys*, 284, lines 10441–10464.

⁵⁸ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 1171.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1171–1172 and 1173–1179.

⁶⁰ Bokenham, *Legendys*, 288, lines 10599–10617.

⁶¹ Gecser, "Lives of St. Elizabeth," 102.

whom her legend was intended, different aspects of her life were emphasized, overshadowed or completely omitted. The transformation of her *vita* is the most perceptible in Osbern Bokenham's work, depicting Elizabeth as a model to be followed by aristocratic lay women whose social and marital status were quite similar to that of the princess, underlying the possible but often difficult compatibility in fulfilling both secular duties and spiritual aspirations. As a result of emphasizing the loving relationship between Louis and Elizabeth as well as her crucial role in persuading the landgrave to participate in a crusade, combined with the toning down or omission of troublesome details of her life and the excessive number of miracles, Bokenham provides a lifelike image of Elizabeth rather than an inaccessible saintly ideal. The curiosity of his collection is that even though the single legends were all commissioned by noble laypeople and were written with a lay audience in mind, the only extant copy of his work was made for a nunnery, which indicates that his adaptation of Saint Elizabeth's life was considered suitable reading for a community of nuns.

In the course of time the vernacular adaptations of the Hungarian princess were enriched with some new elements. The issue of Elizabeth's supposedly having been a tertiary also turns up in the fifteenth-century Ambrosian *volgarizzamento* as well as in the sermon of the Anonymous Carthusian, showing that by the late Middle Ages she had become one of the most important symbolic figures of the Third Order. In addition, from the late thirteenth century three wondrous episodes which had not been reported in Elizabeth's earliest biographies became the part of her hagiographic *dossier* – the miracle of the rose, the miracle of the leper, and the miracle of the mantle – and were also incorporated in the only medieval sermon on the saint composed in the Hungarian vernacular. Her *post mortem* miracles are reported only in the two *volgarizzamenti*. While their omission from the Hungarian prose sermon is clearly due to the characteristics of the genre, in the cases of Old Czech and the Middle English versions of Elizabeth's life one can only seek other plausible motifs.

**THE SLAVE TRADE IN TANA:
MARKETING MANPOWER FROM THE BLACK SEA TO
THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE 1430s**

Ievgen A. Khvalkov 

Tana, a settlement situated on the Azov Sea coast (today Russia) was a Venetian and Genoese trading station in the Middle Ages and one of the centers of the slave trade in the Eastern Mediterranean basin.¹ Proximity to the areas that provided slaves (Russia, the Golden Horde, the Caucasus)² made Tana the headquarters of the slave trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea area after 1366, when Venetian authorities permitted their citizens to purchase slaves at this station.³ A slave, briefly, is a person with no rights; the slave trade treated people as commodities and the operation of the system followed the rules of economics. The price of a slave varied depending on age and gender and prices were better close to the sources of supply. Slaves, who were fairly well-treated, were a good investment because they could easily be sold and converted into cash and in fact were often allowed to buy their own freedom. Some scholars have argued that the slave trade constituted the basis of the economy of Tana,⁴ but this seems an

¹ This article is based on a section of my MA thesis, “Tana, a Venetian and Genoese Black Sea Trading Station in the 1430s: A Social and Economic History” (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011).

² Charles Verlinden, “La colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traite des esclaves au XIVe et au début du XVe siècle,” in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzato* (Milan: S.I., 1950), Vol. 2, 1–25; Idem, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*, vol. 2: *Italie. Colonies italiennes du Levant latin. Empire Byzantin* (Ghent: De Tempel, 1977), 954–955. Local nobility and the Crimean Tatars managed the slave supply; piracy, local wars, penalties, and debts also led to slavery and poor families sometimes sold their children as slaves.

³ Freddy Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Roumanie*, Vol. 2, 38. Caffa and Tana were the main areas providing slaves for Europe at that time. The demand for slaves in Mameluk Egypt was also high. By the late fourteenth century more than 500 slaves lived permanently in Caffa and more than 4000 in Pera. The figures must have been high for Tana as well, see Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*, Vol. 2, 1–25; Nina Prokofieva, “Акты венецианского нотариуса в Тане Донато а Мано (1413–1419)” [Acts of Venetian notaries in Tana Donato a Mano (1413–1419)], *Prichernomor’je v srednie veka* [The Black Sea in the Middle Ages] 4 (2000): 42–43 (hereafter: *PSV*).

⁴ *Барбаро и Контарини о России. К истории итало-русских связей в XV в.* [Barbaro and Contarini on Russia. On the history of Italo-Russian relations in the fifteenth century], ed. E. Ch. Skrzhinskaja (Leningrad: Nauka Publishers, 1971), 53–54.

exaggeration even though the scale of the slave trade there was quite large in the 1430s.

Sources

This study examines the deeds of two fifteenth-century Venetian notaries working in Tana between 1430 and 1440 to distill information about slavery in the Black Sea region. My main source is a set of notarial deeds produced in Tana by two Venetian notaries, Nicolò de Varsis and Benedetto de Smeritis.⁵ These sources have not been published previously and have never been the subject of intensive study. These two notaries drew up *imbreviaturae* (summaries) of deeds in Tana between 1430 and 1440 (with some exceptions). They are stored in the State Archives in Venice⁶ (*Notarili Testamenti* and *Cancelleria Inferior*, *Notai* collections). Three sets of the deeds originated from Tana:

- 1) *Busta* 917, comprising one cartulary of Benedetto de Smeritis (*imbreviaturae*, wills drawn up in Tana from July 22, 1432 to April 6, 1436, followed by wills drawn up in Constantinople and Alexandria).
- 2) *Busta* 231, comprising one mixed cartulary of Nicolò de Varsis containing *imbreviaturae* of various documents written by him in Tana (May 2, 1436 to October 9, 1436), an *imbreviatura* of one document drawn up earlier in Constantinople (March 25, 1435), and also a parchment *instrumentum* (dated August 17, 1445).
- 3) *Busta* 750, comprising testaments drawn up by Nicolò de Varsis (not in chronological order). The documents date back to different times (from August 19, 1428 to October 7, 1439).

These notarial testaments are only a sample of documents and clearly fail to reflect fully the scale and main directions of the slave trade.⁷ A comparison of the deeds with tax records shows that only about 3 to 5% of the total slave trade

⁵ Nicolò de Varsis (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancelleria Inferior, 231, Nicolaus de Varsis (hereafter: ASV. CI. 231); Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarili Testamenti, 750, Nicolaus de Varsis (hereafter: ASV. NT. 750); and Benedetto de Smeritis (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarili Testamenti, 917, Benedictus Smeritis (hereafter: ASV. NT. 917).

⁶ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter: ASV).

⁷ The deeds mention, in fact, only the cases when either the vendor or a purchaser was Italian (or another person belonging to the “written” legal culture) who intended to formulate the transactions in the form of documents and was familiar with the notariate. I would suggest (though it might seem too bold) that the deeds were mostly made in cases when both individuals were of such a culture.

was recorded in notarial acts.⁸ Moreover, manumissions and indirect mentions of slaves are more common than deeds arranging a sale. Why are the transactions of slaves so scarce in these sets of deeds? I will address this problem further, but for now it is important to remember that the masters of galleys and other Italians bought slaves from non-Italian suppliers (Tatars, Russians, Caucasians) and therefore they did not use the services of a notary. Tatars were always at the disposal of Italian slave traders. Thus, Barbaro mentions that his *kunack* (a man connected to another man by mutual obligations of hospitality, assistance, and close friendship), Edelmugh, brought him eight Russian slaves as a gift.⁹ The scale of this unregulated and undocumented trade was huge, but since it was conducted without the participation of a notary it did not leave a written record. Nevertheless, the set of documents under discussion provides valuable data that may offer new insights into the economic and social history of the Black Sea region.

The Fourteenth Century: Crisis and Recovery

Slavery has been a ubiquitous human institution, existing in many places in the course of history.¹⁰ The slave trade was a widespread phenomenon in the Late Middle Ages. The main source of supply of slaves for Europe was the Black Sea basin.¹¹ The scale of this trade in the Black Sea region in the pre-Ottoman period has often been exaggerated, but it is clear that it was an important part of Italian commercial activity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The emergence of an intensive slave trade on the shores of the Black Sea was determined by a number of factors, mainly the penetration of Italian merchants into the region and the increasing demand for slaves on the markets of Italy, Spain, and Mameluk Egypt. These factors made Tana a point of primary importance for exporting slaves.¹²

⁸ Sergej Karpov, “Работорговля в Южном Причерноморье в первой половине XV в. (преимущественно по данным массарий Каффы)” [The slave trade on the Southern Black Sea coast in the first half of the fifteenth century, mainly according to the Massarias of Caffa], *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 46 (1986): 139.

⁹ *I Viaggi in Persia degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1973), 82.

¹⁰ Stanley Engerman, “Slavery at Different Times and Places,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 480.

¹¹ Hereafter, when saying “Black Sea” I include the Azov Sea and its region.

¹² Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*, 954–955; Idem, “La colonie vénitienne,” 1–25.

Some slaves were kept in Tana as house servants, workers in workshops, and female slaves (especially young Russian and Tatar women) often became concubines or temporary wives of Italians.¹³ However, most slaves were exported to the markets of Italy, Constantinople, Asia Minor, the Near East, North Africa, and Spain. The papacy prohibited buying or selling Christians and there were other legal limitations on the slave trade, but merchants were probably tolerated (or even encouraged) by the Italian authorities of Caffa and Tana, since the tolls brought income to the treasury of the consuls. In 1434, in response to papal queries, Genoa answered that in order not to sell Christian slaves there were special restrictions on transporting slaves out of the Black Sea region; they could only come from Caffa, only on Genoese vessels, and only under the control of a bishop and the clergy.

However, this law only limited the export of Christian slaves from Tana, Phasis, and Trebizond to Egypt.¹⁴ Moreover, it did not affect Venetians and they largely ignored it in Tana. Most of the slaves destined for the Egyptian market were nomad Tatars because they were considered better warriors. The term “Christian” might have been understood in different ways – it may, or may not, have included the Orthodox and the Armenians. The legal limits imposed by the Genoese were by no means a result of pious motivations. Genoa simply intended to monopolize the slave trade, concentrating it in Caffa; they themselves often exported slaves from Tana directly to Sinope.¹⁵ The final aim of these impositions was to strengthen the positions of Genoese Caffa and the Genoese slave trade on the Black Sea in general.¹⁶

¹³ Inter-marriage between slaves and the free was also known in other societies as well, Igor Kopytoff, “Slavery,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982): 210.

¹⁴ Карпов, “Работоторговля” [The slave trade], 142.

¹⁵ Michele Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*, Vol. 1 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), 132. As late as 1441, the Office of Gazaria enforced stronger restrictions on the export of slaves on galleys. The rules pertained to the export of slaves west to Chios; only one slave per merchant was allowed. The patrons of *naves* and *coscae* could transport 30 to 60 slaves, depending on their vessels; see Карпов, “Работоторговля” [The slave trade], 142. These restrictions strengthened the Genoese monopoly of the Caffa slave trade (Ibid. 142).

¹⁶ Карпов, “Работоторговля” [The slave trade], 142.

In 1362, slaves were sold for 17.5 to 32.5 *perpers* each.¹⁷ Female slaves were more common than males; they were mostly aged 11 to 30 years,¹⁸ with those aged 11 to 16 years bringing the highest prices.¹⁹ They were mainly Tatar, Slav, and Caucasian in origin.²⁰ In the 1370s and 1380s, the export decreased;²¹ Karpov has demonstrated²² the dynamics of the prices in the second half of the fourteenth century. In Italy, slaves cost much more than in Tana and women were more expensive than men. Most Tatar slaves were exported from Tana. Among the *instrumenta* of the Venetian notarial deeds is an act confirming the sale of Uljana,

¹⁷ Initially, the *hyperpyron* (Greek: νόμισμα ὑπέροπυρον, “super-refined”) was a Byzantine coin in use in the later Middle Ages, replacing the *solidus* as the empire’s gold coinage. However, the last *hyperpyra*, and thus the last Byzantine gold coins, were struck by John VI Kantakouzenos. The name remained in use thereafter solely as a money of account. Further, this name was adopted by the Italians (*perpero*) designating various coins, usually silver, as well as monies of account. See: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 964–965. The prices I analyzed for 1362 are as follows: 500 aspers of Tana (32.5 *perpers*), 10 ducats (17.5 p.), 400 (26.25 p.), 620 (41.25 p.), 600 (39 p.), 400 (26.25 p.), and 500 aspers of Tana (32.5 p.). See: *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris: 1987), 94, 101. These prices do not differ much from those in Constantinople; therefore, either the expenses of transportation were not high or (most likely) the supply on the markets of Constantinople was so high that it kept prices low. Interestingly, all 25 Genoese of Tana mentioned by notary Benedetto Bianco are vendors of slaves, and none of them a purchaser; see Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVIe siècle)*, Vol. 1, 300. The deliberations of the Senate also show that the Genoese were quite active in this sphere, see M. Berindei, G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq de la présence italienne à l’emprise ottomane:” 140. The source data of Barbaro and Badoer report the same.

¹⁸ Карпов, “Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в.” [Documents on the history of Venetian factories Tana in the second half of fourteenth century]. *Причерноморье в Средние Века*, hereafter *PSV* 1 (1991): 193.

¹⁹ Idem, “Венецианская Тана по актам канцлера Бенедетто Бьянко (1359–60 гг.)” [Venetian Tana according to the deeds of chancellor Benedetto Bianco (1359–1360)] *PSV* 5 (2001): 22.

²⁰ Tatar female slaves were especially popular as household servants. One of them (in the fourteenth century), a Tatar, Karaza, received the name Nastasija in an Orthodox baptism. Perhaps this is evidence of the activity of Russian or Greek slave traders. As Heyd and Verlinden note, the medieval traffic in slaves was overwhelmingly traffic in women. See: Susan Mosher Stuard, “Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery,” *Past & Present* 149 (1995): 3.

²¹ Карпов, “Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в.” [Documents on the history of the Venetian trading station in Tana in the second half of the fourteenth century], *PSV* 1 (1991):193.

²² Ibid.

a 24-year old Tatar slave woman; like most of the Tatars in the region, she was an Orthodox Christian. There is a similar case in another deed – a female Tatar slave with the Turkic name Karaza and the Orthodox Christian name Nastasja.

During the fourteenth century, the supply of slaves from the Black Sea region diminished considerably owing to the crisis of trade, the Black Death, and the war of Chioggia (1378–1381), which did not favor the conditions of trade.²³ By the end of the century the situation had improved slightly, but Tamerlane's devastation of Tana was followed by another drop in supply, an increase in prices, and a decrease in exporting slaves from the Black Sea region.²⁴

Ethnic Groups: Changes in Distribution

By 1400, around 80.7% of all the slaves in Genoa originated from the Black Sea region; in this group Tatars comprised 79.3%, Circassians – 8.9%, Abkhaz – 1.5%, Alans – 0.3%, Mingrels – 0.2%, and Russians – 6.7%.²⁵ Slaves became more expensive in the early fifteenth century, probably because the export of Tatar slaves from the Black Sea region decreased.²⁶ However, Michele Balard, who compiled this account, considered Genoese sources only for the period of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

Slaves from the Black Sea region prevailed in Venice between about 1400 and 1450 (136 deeds for the years 1401 to 1456 are known),²⁷ including those from the Caucasus, but there were considerably fewer Caucasians than in the previous period. Verlinden found only 89 sales of Circassian slaves in total for the whole period of 1375 to 1469, 13 sales of Abkhazian slaves for 1423 to 1445, and only 4 mentions of female Mingrelian slaves for 1422 to 1456.²⁸ Russian slaves, in contrast, were present in greater numbers (36 deeds for 1406 to 1420, 141 deeds for 1420 to 1455²⁹).

²³ Карпов, “Документы по истории” [Documents on history], 193.

²⁴ Карпов, *Итальянские морские республики и Южное Причерноморье в XIII–XV вв.: проблемы торговли* [The Italian maritime republic and the southern Black Sea coast in thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: The problems of trade] (Moscow: Moscow State University Press, 1990), 167.

²⁵ Карпов, *Итальянские морские республики* [The Italian Maritime Republics], 167.

²⁶ Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*, Vol. 2, 790–801, and table 54.

²⁷ Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, Vol. 2, 566–603.

²⁸ In addition, most of them were probably exported from the shores of the Caucasus and not via Tana.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 603–642.

Moretto Bon, a Venetian notary in Tana from 1407 to 1408, recorded that the average age of slaves was 12 to 22 years; the average price was 289 bezants each, one quarter of the slaves were men and three quarters were women. The ethnic distribution was roughly the following: Tatars 40%, Circassians 40%, Zikhs 10%, and Russians 10%.³⁰ In the deeds of Donato a Mano, drawn up in Tana from 1413 to 1419, half of the slaves are Russians (mainly women) and Circassians are also numerous.³¹ This tendency went on increasing; during the first half of the fifteenth century the percentages of the Russian and Tatar slaves increased, while the figures for slaves originating from the north Caucasus went down compared to the previous century.

For the 1430s, scarce documentation records sales of slaves. However, this can by no means be taken as a sign of a crisis in the slave trade. Attempts to impose limits on the trade, seen in indirect evidence, suggest that it was flourishing. For instance, if in a particular year the galleys' patrons were forbidden to buy slaves, this means that they had often done it before, and, most likely, continued to do it notwithstanding the limitation. I have addressed above the problem of the sources and the lack of the data on transactions involving slaves for the 1430s. The working hypothesis was as follows: The Italian population of Tana was renewable; it is unlikely that many slave traders of Italian origin lived in the trading station over the long run. The galleys' patrons and other Italians could buy slaves from the Tatars (if these slaves were brought from raids); otherwise, they could buy Zikh and Circassian children from their parents. Neither of these two options implies the necessity of a notarial legal framework, which would be expected if both parties had belonged to the same literate culture. But why are there more notarial deeds for the previous periods? A possible explanation may be that in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the role of intermediaries (whether local Greeks, Armenians, Tatars, or locally domiciled Italians) was higher, while in the 1430s the galleys' patrons and other people transporting slaves to Europe began buying more slaves directly from the local population.

Based on the deeds of the 1430s, the ethnic distribution of 18 slaves (including freedmen³²) was: 4 Russians, 4 Tatars, 1 Zikh, 1 Circassian, 2 with names

³⁰ Moretto Bon, *notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403–1408)*, ed. de'Colli (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1950), 33–48. Prot. 2, doc. 21, 23, 24, 30–34, 36, 38–40.

³¹ Prokofieva, *Акты* [The Acts], 43.

³² Commonly, only baptized slaves could be manumitted. Manumission was rarely done *pro remedio anime* and without special conditions. Commonly, a slave had to serve for some years more (2 to 6 in my deeds); sometimes there was a hidden buyout. Manumission often

of Eastern origin, 6 with Christian names; 7 persons were males, 11 persons were females; nothing else can be stated for sure.³³ Comparing this data with the data from previous decades, one can infer that the number of Russian and Tatar slaves increased and the number of slaves from the Caucasus decreased.³⁴ I daresay that it was a general tendency of the 1430s and maybe of the whole fifteenth century; the story narrated by Barbaro (the killing and capturing of about 40 Circassians) does not change anything,³⁵ one is not sure that these captives were sold as slaves. Technically, slaves from Russia brought by the Tatars from their raids were more available and easier to get compared to the inhabitants of the Caucasus. Data about prices in the 1430s is scarce. One can mention that Giovanni Nigro sold his female Russian slave, Maria, aged 22, to *ser* Luciano for 450 bezants of Tana.³⁶ It is known for sure that the traders preferred to buy slaves aged around 12 to 16 years. Tatar female slaves brought higher prices; at least, only these girls are mentioned in wills as objects of inheritance and not in connection with their manumission.³⁷

Russian slaves were sold in the market of Tana from the fourteenth century onwards.³⁸ The deeds of the 1430s mention several Russian slaves (Ivan, Martin, Stefan, Maria, Anna). However, what kind of Russians were they? They are always

equaled receiving Venetian citizenship. I have not traced a single case when a freedman received the *cognomen* of his master in the deeds of Varsis and Smeritis. Female slaves often received a dowry when they were freed.

³³ Such a correlation derives from the fact that both in Tana (for internal consumption) and in Italy the demand for female slaves was higher – they were used as servants and concubines, while the males were mostly sold to Egypt for military purposes. This explains the difference between the correlations of genders at the place where slaves were bought and in the European and Egyptian markets.

³⁴ The Genoese often bought slaves from the Caucasus directly from their parents; local nobility also participated in the slave trade, see Y. Uzlov, “К вопросу об итальянской колонизации Северо-Западного Кавказа в XIII–XV вв.” [On the Italian colonization of the northwest Caucasus in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries] *Black Sea, Crimea, Russia in History and Culture. Sudak Materials of the 2nd international conference (12–16 September 2004). Part II* (Kiev – Sudak: Academperiodika, 2004): 214.

³⁵ *I viaggi in Persia*, 82.

³⁶ ASV, CI. 231. f. 3v.

³⁷ Besides some cases like that of a Russian female slave, ASV, NT. 750. f. 28r–f. 28v.

³⁸ N. Bogdanova, “Херсон в X–XV вв. Проблемы истории византийского города,” [Cherson in the Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries. Problems of the History of a Byzantine city] *PSV* 1 (1991): 61. A certain *Ugolìn de Rossia* had a slave bazaar in Tana. He was probably an Italian (which does not deny that there were Russian slave traders nor that someone born Russian could have an Italian name); however, he operated in Russia, which was his source of procurement.

marked as *russii* and never as *rutheni* or *rubei*.³⁹ Is this connected with their ethnic or geographical origin? For now, I cannot answer this question. Moreover, sometimes one faces striking surprises regarding identity. The earlier documents from Tana (those drawn by Donato a Mano) mention a “Russian” female slave Tovalat⁴⁰ and a “Russian” slave Khotolub⁴¹ (strikingly, these names are not Russian or Slavic at all). These Russians probably converted to Islam and changed their names in Tatar captivity. Most likely, the slaves originated from southern Russia, close to Tana. I have tried to research the Russian and Eastern chronicles⁴² to make up the data lacking; this showed that northeastern Russia suffered from Tatar raids; at the same time, few large-scale raids into southern Russia are mentioned in the sources (1429,⁴³ 1430,⁴⁴ 1438,⁴⁵ 1445,⁴⁶ and 1452⁴⁷). Nevertheless, I am convinced that the *russii* of the deeds originated from southern and southwestern Russia. The reasons are as follows:

³⁹ The notaries distinguished these two ethnonyms; thus, a deed drafted by Pietro Pellacan 4.09.1450 mentions *Nicolaus butarius ruthenus* and *uxor Romani rutheni* (ASV, NT. b. 826, № 12); however, in the same document one finds several mentions of *russius*.

⁴⁰ Prokofieva, Акты [The Acts], 173.

⁴¹ Prokofieva, Акты [The Acts], document no. 69.

⁴² I studied Russian chronicles and the available Eastern sources for a bit broader period, namely, the years 6928 to 6963 (1420 to 1455).

⁴³ “Хроника Литовская и Жмойтская” [Chronicle of Lithuania and Zhemoitia], *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisej*, (hereafter *PSRL*) 32 (1975), 125–127. The Tatars failed in their siege of the citadel, but plundered and burnt the city.

⁴⁴ “Софийская вторая летопись” [The second “Sophian” Chronicle] *PSRL* 6 (1853): 144; “Вологодско-Пермская летопись” [The Chronicle of Vologda and Perm] *PSRL* 26 (1959) 186; “Львовская летопись” [The Chronicle of L’vov] *PSRL* 20, No. 1) (1910): 234; “Никаноровская летопись” [The Chronicle of Nikanor], *PSRL* 27 (1962): 102, “Летописный свод 1497 г.” [Chronicle of 1497], *PSRL* 28 (1963): 98. According to other chronicles, Aidar did not reach Kiev because the distance was not 15 miles but rather 80 Russian *verstys* (“Ермолинская летопись” [Ermolinskaja Chronicle], *PSRL* 23 (1910): 147; “Устюжская летопись” [The Chronicle of Ustjugh] *PSRL* 37 (1982): 41.

⁴⁵ “Патриаршая, или Никоновская летопись” [Patriarchal Chronicle], *PSRL* 12 (1901): 25–26. The chronicler asserts that the Tatars left with many captives; it may have been just after this invasion that Edelmugh brought eight slaves to Barbaro.

⁴⁶ “Слуцкая летопись” [Chronicle of Słuczka], *PSRL* 35 (1980): 78. See also: “Ольшевский список. Wielkiego xięstwa Litewskiego i żmodskiego kronika” [The Chronicle of Olscha], *PSRL* 17 (1907): 466–467. The chronicler clearly made a mistake and ascribed the events of 1445 to the year 1452.

⁴⁷ “Уваровский список (Летописец вел. князей Литовских)” [The Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania], *PSRL* 17 (1907): 401.

The Russian chronicles and Eastern sources mention only Edigej, Borackhan, Mazovsha, and Kerim-berdi (who were the leading figures on steppes in this period), which means that they mention *only* large-scale raids. Consequently, there were many smaller-scale raids headed by other, smaller-scale, leaders and minor Tatar raiding chiefs. Thus, the sources reflect only a part of the reality.

- 1) There is evidence that the Muscovites organized their defense more effectively than the Lithuanians; the Muscovites resisted raids and retook captives far more often.⁴⁸ The Tatars succeeded in all the raids to southwestern Russia mentioned and failed in half of their expeditions to northeastern Russia.
- 2) The *polon* of northeastern Russian chronicles (lit.: “captivity,” meaning the captive ones) does not seem to have been really a means of capturing people for sale, but rather a sort of racketeering. The fact that the *polon* was often successfully recaptured by the Muscovites meant that the Tatars most likely did not hurry to come back home to sell the slaves, expecting them rather to be ransomed. I found direct evidence several times that a Tatar troop captured a number of people in the northeastern lands and then stopped nearby, expecting to collect ransom.⁴⁹ However, in the same chronicles there is no evidence that the Tatars behaved in this way with the Lithuanians.
- 3) Transporting the captives from the northeastern lands was not an easy task. Moreover, even if Tatars captured Muscovites, they probably did not sell them in the Black Sea region (which would have been inconvenient). In one of the few cases when the Muscovites failed either to liberate or to ransom captives, they were taken away on ships along the Volga,⁵⁰ and not along the Don or across the steppe.
- 4) Surely Western Russian chronicles reflect only large-scale raids to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Kiev; there were also a large number of Tatar minor bandit troops operating on the steppe. Clearly, it was mainly these small bands permanently plundering the countryside that brought in booty,

⁴⁸ Even though some chroniclers tend to report the victories of Russians rather than their defeats.

⁴⁹ “Патриаршая, или Никоновская летопись” [The Patriarchal Chronicle], *PSRL* 12 (1901): 61.

⁵⁰ “Софийская вторая летопись” [The second “Sophian” Chronicle], *PSRL* 6 (1853): 143; “Ермолинская летопись” [The Ermolinskaja Chronicle], *PSRL* 23 (1910): 146; “Львовская летопись” [The Chronicle of L’vov], *PSRL* 20, No. 1 (1910): 233. The “Патриаршая летопись” adds to the others: “They invaded Kostroma, Plesno, and Lukh” (Патриаршая, или Никоновская летопись [The Patriarchal Chronicle], *PSRL*, Vol. 12 (St. Petersburg: 1901), 8; Устюжская летопись [The Chronicle of Ustjugh], *PSRL*, Vol. 37 (Leningrad: 1982), 41.

especially slaves. The chroniclers either were not informed of their raids or regarded them as inconsiderable or just preferred to omit mentioning them.

- 5) As for the large-scale Tatar raids, they not only plundered but also permanently exploited the northeastern lands; devastating their tribute territories (including Muscovy) did not make much sense. Northeastern Russia supplied the Horde with handicraft products and paid tribute. Population numbers were low, so devastation would have led to a decrease in the incomes of the khans. At the same time, the southwestern lands, more populated and not subordinate to the Horde, were the most obvious choice for extracting a levy of slaves.⁵¹ To conclude, most likely the large-scale Tatar invasions of the Muscovite principality (which became a commonplace in historiography) could have been aimed at capturing slaves only as late as the sixteenth century, while in the same period most Russian slaves were brought from southwestern Russian lands.

A Profitable Business

Coming back to the question of the intensity of the slave trade in Tana in the 1430s, one can say that the demand was high. A slave of Antonina, wife of Domenico Balotto, had to be sold in order to redeem pledged items,⁵² and Fabiano Desdiegna, asked to pay his debts, sold a slave on the spot.⁵³ Hence, slaves were a very liquid asset in the trading station. At the same time, the Venetians preferred to send slaves to the Italian markets,⁵⁴ where the prices were higher. Slaves were break-even manpower, available even to craftsmen. Thus, Antonio de Marcuola (a modest *ballistarius*), asked to buy two Tatar boys, each aged 10 years, and to send them to Venice, one to the caulker Christoforo Stronzuolo, the other to the barber Simone.⁵⁵ Slaves were often bequeathed to people who were not the closest relative of the testator,⁵⁶ which again stresses their availability on the market.

⁵¹ Provided that one assumes that those regions could have had demographic pressure, the levy could even have benefitted their economy.

⁵² ASV, NT. 750. 8.

⁵³ ASV, NT. 750. f. 28r–f. 28v.

⁵⁴ ASV, NT. 750. 2.

⁵⁵ ASV, NT. 750. 27r. One can infer from this case that the male Tatar slaves were not always destined for the Egyptian markets as future Mameluck fighters, but may also have become house servants or artisans in the factories of Italy, România, and Tana.

⁵⁶ ASV, NT. 750. f. 20r–f. 20v.

Some inhabitants of Tana were actively involved in the slave trade. Surely the testaments cannot reflect the scale, but some mentions are available. Thus, Giovanni Nigro sold his Russian slave, Maria (22 years old), to *ser* Luciano from the parish of St. Pietro de Castello in Venice for 450 bezants of Tana.⁵⁷ Another slave-trader was Baldassare, son of the late Marco from the same parish, who possibly worked in tandem with the merchant Bartolommeo Rosso.⁵⁸ Baldassare ordered, for instance, buying a female slave aged fourteen years at his expense and sending her to a certain Maria Sarazena.⁵⁹ This age was typical – the preferred goods were young slaves. Probably the Tatar female slaves were valued more than others; at least, the testaments mention only them as objects of inheritance and not exclusively as those who should be liberated by the will of the testator.

Liberating Slaves: For Piety or Practical Reasons?

The manumission of slaves was a large-scale “pious” practice; however, as in many other societies, freedom via manumission still often implied obligations to former masters and the end of legal enslavement did not always mean unrestricted freedom in the most meaningful sense of the word.⁶⁰ In *CI*, Cart. 231, there are special acts of manumission; however, most often the legal basis was the mere will of a testator mentioned in his testament (although this manumission was almost never unconditional and the slaves had to serve the heir of the testator for a certain number of additional years). Thus, Antonio Crescono from Naples, son of the deceased Musculus, instructed that his slave Anna, her son, Gregorio, and another slave, Agnetta, be manumitted.⁶¹ A Tatar slave, Achmelicha, was manumitted under the condition that she had to serve her masters for 3 more years.⁶² A slave, Tanigbird, was freed under the condition that he serve his masters 4 years more.⁶³ Francesco, son of the late Unuano from the district of San Rafael, *ballistarius* of Tana, instructed that his slave, Catherina, be sent by Biagio Albergeno to serve his brother, Andrea, in Venice, and then to be liberated and given 8 ducats.⁶⁴ A Genoese, Barnabò de Boiasco, instructed that his

⁵⁷ ASV, CI, 231. f. 3v.

⁵⁸ ASV, NT. 750. 23r.

⁵⁹ ASV, NT. 750. 23r.

⁶⁰ Stanley Engerman, “Slavery at Different Times and Places,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 481.

⁶¹ ASV, NT. 917. 1.

⁶² ASV, NT. 750. 8.

⁶³ ASV, NT. 750. 8.

⁶⁴ ASV, NT. 917. 1.

Russian slave, Martin, be liberated.⁶⁵ A German, Heinrich Stangelin, son of the late Conrad, liberated his Russian slave, Stefan (who was only 20 years old, which is an exceptional case), under the condition that he serve him 2 years more.⁶⁶ A Russian, Mikhail, liberated his Russian slave, Ivan, (30 years old) under the same condition.⁶⁷ Thus, the duration of this service was around 3 to 5 years; in one case a female Circassian slave, apparently young, was to be liberated after seven years, but apparently the master hoped to survive and enjoy her services in a different respect for a longer time.⁶⁸

There could be other conditions of manumission. Giorgio de Damiano gave instructions to liberate his slave, Kaimet, provided she paid his debts [sic] and converted to Christianity.⁶⁹ Fabiano Desdiegna's care for his slave, Margarita, is of particular interest, for he insisted that upon having been manumitted she should go to Venice instead of staying in dangerous Tana. Probably in this case, however, it was not about her personal safety; Margarita was in pledge and had to pay her master's debts [sic] if his own funds did not suffice and this was a condition of her freedom.⁷⁰ The deeds often mention freedmen and former slaves.⁷¹ Occasionally, slaves could become almost members of the family. Female slaves had often been wet-nurses for the testators⁷² and this may explain some of the goodwill and friendliness towards them. Most often slaves were not treated cruelly. Michele de Mattheo de Suazio bequeathed his Tatar slave to his nephew, Andrea Petenario, under the condition that he treated her well; otherwise, the *fideicommissari* would take her away from him.⁷³

As noted above, the liberated ones often received a dowry or gift. Thus, a noble, *ser* Christoforo de Colombo, son of the late Giorgio, a Genoese domiciled in the Genoese quarters of Tana, liberated his Zikh slave, Magdalena, with her children (see below).⁷⁴ In the next deed (his will) he bequeathed to her clothes and

⁶⁵ ASV, CI. 231. f. 2r, 2v, 3r.

⁶⁶ ASV, CI. 231. f. 3r–f. 3v. This must have been a very particular case of a master's benevolence; commonly, slaves were liberated when they were older and no longer of interest to the owner.

⁶⁷ ASV, CI. 231. f. 5r–f. 5v.

⁶⁸ ASV, NT. 750. f. 21v–f. 22r.

⁶⁹ ASV, NT. 750. f. 30r–f. 30v.

⁷⁰ ASV, NT. 750. f. 28r–f. 28v.

⁷¹ ASV, NT. 750. f. 20r–20v.

⁷² ASV, NT. 750. f. 26r–26v.

⁷³ ASV, NT. 750. f. 23r.

⁷⁴ ASV, CI. 231. f. 5v–f. 6r. What is more interesting, a possible relative of the discoverer of the Americas drafted a special deed for that [sic], while others found it suitable just to

all her belongings and gave her a dowry. In case she died without legitimate heirs, her property was to be transmitted to the *fideicommissari*. Antonello Crescono gave his slave, Magdalena, daughter of the late Basani, 12 bezants and some land as a dowry in addition to freedom.⁷⁵ In some cases, slaves received considerable sums of money. Thus, Baldassare, son of the late Marco from the parish of St. Pietro de Castella, gave 200 ducats to his liberated slave, Sirina (presumably a Tatar or at least Muslim; her name is of Persian origin and means “sweet”), 25 ducats to his liberated slave, Spertus, and bequeathed all the money stored at Maria Sarazena’s house⁷⁶ to his adolescent slave, Pietro.⁷⁷ His companion, Bartolomeo Rosso, liberated his slave, Giovanni, and gave him 100 ducats, clothes, and a bed, and gave his Russian slave, Marina, besides freedom, a dowry of the same 100 ducats and license to retain her clothes.⁷⁸

Most often the masters did not manumit slaves because of issues of humanity and piety. They had a different motivation. The societies of Venice, Genoa, and Tana were money-oriented, and profit was the main concern of slave owners. The benefits that the slaves enjoyed were explicitly mentioned above: license to work for themselves elsewhere; license to own property; the prospect of freedom; a dowry or other gifts; Venetian citizenship; and moderately early liberation. However, the source evidence clearly shows that all these conditions of slavery were aimed at increasing labor productivity (when one does not expect to be a slave for the whole of his life, he would most likely be a better worker). Slaves owning property could be profitable for a master (especially if he had problems with his own funds, which was often the case; see above on the situations when the master wanted the slave to pay his debts). The age of most of the liberated slaves also shows that they received their freedom shortly before their masters would have lost interest in them as concubines and before they became a burden on the master.⁷⁹ Venetian society was already too modern to be paternalistic in an old-fashioned way and to maintain the old servants of the family. Finally, a hidden

mention the case of manumission in their wills. Christoforo even demanded that a notary give him an *instrumentum* (original deed)!

⁷⁵ ASV, CI. 231. f. 8v, 9r, 9v.

⁷⁶ ASV, NT. 750. 23v–24r.

⁷⁷ Who lived in Venice and, apparently, was a house servant.

⁷⁸ ASV, NT. 750. f. 44v–f. 45r.

⁷⁹ Not to forget the fact that in most cases slaves were only liberated after the testator’s death according to his will; it is widely known that Venetians cared about testaments from a young age and regardless of whether or not their lives were in danger. Therefore, when a young person promised freedom to his slave, this meant that the slave would attain it only after the master’s death plus a conditional term of posthumous service.

buyout was present in most cases. This means that slavery in this society was a market-oriented capitalistic use of manpower subject to the theories of classical economics.

In conclusion, one can say that the scale of the slave trade in Tana in the 1430s was large and intensive. Prices were variable and moderate. Slaves constituted “liquid,” marketable, and self-repayable goods. Their treatment was relatively humane. The prices in Tana and in Europe differed a great deal, so the Italians sought to buy slaves on the spot in order to cut expenses, notwithstanding the administrative control and the dangers and rigors of transportation. Slaves were allowed to work and to own considerable property. They often put together enough money to pay their masters’ debts in order to buy their freedom. Upon being liberated, women received money for a dowry. In the absence of the high social mobility that characterizes modern societies, the slave trade compensated for an imbalance in the labor distribution in different regions. Slavery did have some positive aspects. It was, for example, a way to Venetian citizenship; slaves could become full members of Venetian society, acquiring rights otherwise utterly unavailable to foreigners. The reasons for liberating slaves were practical. Slavery in fifteenth-century Italy was a capitalist venture.

The Southern Caucasus and Its Neighbors:
Education and Communication



THE SOUTHERN CAUCASUS AND MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

Niels Gaul 

From its inception, Medieval Studies at CEU – privileged by the university’s “deep regional roots”¹ in East Central Europe – has been keen on ever-expanding its intellectual framework of comparative medieval studies towards both “east” and “west.” Thus the arrival, before too long, of “the Caucasus” – an integral part, of CEU’s founding mission – on the department’s doorstep was almost a logical consequence. Its ambassadors, students from the region enrolling in the department’s degree programs, soon opened the rich worlds of late antique and medieval Armenia and Georgia to the community of CEU medievalists. As all such encounters, they cannot but widen the horizon of all parties involved, not least as the various medieval Armenian and Kartvelian (Georgian) polities themselves were located at the crossroads of competing empires and conquerors – be they Roman, Persian, Byzantine, Muslim, Mongol, or crusader, to name but a few –, religions, and ideologies. This Caucasian component has rapidly become one of the core strengths of, and adds a valuable element of comparison to, interdisciplinary medieval studies at CEU; CEU alumni/ae have become an intellectual force to reckon with.²

To a considerable degree, this attention to matters Caucasian has been a grassroots development; without the significant number of tremendously gifted students from Armenia and Georgia finding their way to CEU’s Department of Medieval Studies it would have been much slower in coming about – if it ever did. “Grass seeds,” however (to continue the gardening metaphor), need constant watering and fertilizing to grow into a flourishing “intellectual meadow,” which is the singular achievement of departmental senior Byzantinist and Eastern Christian expert, István Perczel. With characteristic enthusiasm, determination, and patience, Professor Perczel immersed himself in the field of Caucasian studies (then new to him as well), whose enormous potential he easily recognized; several recent important monographs began as doctoral dissertations written under his

¹ *Central European University, 2011 Annual Report*, p. 1.

² Departmental alumni/ae Natia Gabrichidze (MA ’05), Levan Gigineishvili (MA ’95, PhD ’00), Irma Karaulashvili (MA ’96, PhD ’04), and Giga Zedania (MA ’00, PhD (Bochum) are all teaching at Ilia State University (“iliauni”) in Tbilisi. Especially in the fields of Islamic and Ottoman studies, the Department of Medieval Studies is pleased to host a growing number of students from Armenia in recent years.

supervision.³ In 1997, together with the great Hungarian Armenian scholar, the late Prof. Edmund Schütz, he organized the Caucasus section, with seventy-three participants, of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies.⁴ Having thus successfully integrated the Caucasus into the departmental curriculum it comes as no surprise that his next project led him even further east, to the wealth and cultural heritage of Syriac manuscripts preserved among the Christian communities in Kerala, India.

Keen on intensifying existing ties, Perczel, György Geréby, and colleagues in CEU's Center for Hellenic Traditions (CHT) – founded in 2004, again with an emphasis on the eastern interface of ancient and medieval Hellenism – organized a joint Master's program in late antique and medieval philosophy at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (2005–2007, with Prof. Lela Alexidze being in charge at TSU) – which in many regards can be considered the forerunner of present activities. In 2004 (and more recently in 2011), Zaza Alexidze, the doyen of Caucasian Albanian studies, captivated CEU audiences with his detective story of deciphering the Caucasian Albanian alphabet. Equally, the European Science Foundation-funded workshop on “Hellenism: Alien or Germane Wisdom?” convened at CEU in November 2007, with twenty-seven participants from Europe, Israel, the United States, and Japan, and the 12th General Congress of the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes, hosted by CEU in October 2011 and attracting over eighty participants from around the globe, became milestones foreshadowing further cooperation.⁵

With such firm foundations and an already well-established network in place, upon the initiative of István Perczel and with much support from the then head of the Department of Medieval Studies, György Geréby, CEU's Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies⁶ embarked upon a three-year international project

³ Levan Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007); Gigineishvili is an associate professor at Ilia State University, Tbilisi. Zaroui Pogossian (MA '99, PhD '04), *The Letter of Love and Concord: A Revised Diplomatic Edition with Historical and Textual Comments and an English Translation*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Pogossian is an adjunct professor of history at John Cabot University, Rome.

⁴ A selection of papers presented on this occasion was published in the *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 6 (2000): 209–248.

⁵ Cf. *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 14 (2008): 153–192.

⁶ In light of the growing expertise in Syriac, Islamic, and Ottoman studies across the Departments of Medieval Studies and History, the Center for Hellenic Traditions transformed itself into the current Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS) at the beginning of academic year 2010/11.

on “The Southern Caucasus and Its Neighbors, c.300–c.1600” in late 2010. With core participants from Armenia, Georgia, Turkey, and CEU, generously funded by the Open Society Foundation’s Higher Education Support Program (HESP), the project – by the time of writing (June 2012) completing its midcourse – aims to develop a set of innovative and comprehensive “model syllabi” covering the thematic field(s) of the Caucasus, Byzantium, and neighboring Islamic cultures from late antiquity into the early Ottoman period. The syllabi will be applicable not only to university curricula in the participating countries – Armenia, Georgia, and, increasingly and promisingly, Azerbaijan – or at CEU, but attractive also – and most importantly – for a wide range of Western universities currently offering courses either in medieval, Byzantine or Islamic/Ottoman history, or, generally, in the history of philosophy, art, and literature, which may be interested in expanding their areas of teaching if appropriate guidance were available. Drawing on the advice of distinguished international experts, core participants – including both former and present CEU students⁷ – in the project are currently involved in creating seven state-of-the-art syllabi, on political history (by means of background); ideologies of power; literary, and theological exchanges; Caucasian contributions to the development of philosophy; comparative manuscript cultures; and material culture (art and architecture at the crossroads of cultures). Careful division into thematic units (“modules”) allows for partial, targeted use of the material, or for various combinations among the syllabi (all seven sub-project groups are in constant discussion with each other in order to foster multidisciplinary and to ensure that modules from a syllabus can be easily combined to the instructor’s liking). In many regards, then, this is a “selfish” project, drawing on the expertise of so many colleagues from the Caucasus, İstanbul, and Western and Eastern universities, that Caucasian expertise in CEU’s Department of Medieval Studies cannot but grow.

Following a kick-off workshop at CEU in November 2010, twenty-one participants from Armenia, Turkey, CEU, and Western universities attended the first annual workshop at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University in early September 2011, joining the ten local members of our project, and other interested Georgian colleagues. The second of altogether three annual workshops is scheduled for Yerevan this coming September (2012), while the third and final one is going to be held in İstanbul in September 2013.

⁷ Especially Nikoloz Aleksidze (MA ’09; DPhil [Oxford] ’12) and Sandro Nikolaishvili (MA ’11, doctoral student as of academic year 2012/13) in addition to those mentioned above.

With these annual workshops providing the ideal framework for jointly discussing the progress of the emerging syllabi among all the project members, a second exciting “leg” of the project is its commendably active mobility scheme, from which CEU in particular is profiting greatly. In the fall term 2011, CEMS hosted no fewer than eleven professorial and post-doctoral fellows from the southern Caucasus, who spent between two and twelve weeks in Budapest and filled the center’s present lodgings in the “Nádor 13” building with bustling activity and cheerful life. Professorial fellows Levon Chookaszian (Yerevan) and Zaza Skhirtladze (Tbilisi) joined forces with Etele Kiss (Hungarian National Museum) to teach an interdisciplinary class on Caucasian art history, while Levon Gigineishvili (Tbilisi) co-taught a course on the monotheist reception of Proclus’ *Elements of Theology* with István Perczel. Professorial fellows Levon Chookaszian, Bejan Javakhia (the mastermind of Tbilisi State University’s recently introduced Master’s degree in medieval studies), Levon Gigineishvili, and post-doctoral fellows Anahit Avagyan (Yerevan/Halle) and Farah Huseyn (Baku) offered public lectures at CEU, in addition to the one by Zaza Alexidze mentioned previously, CEU professors György Geréby and Judith Rasson taught courses in Yerevan and Tbilisi respectively. International advisors Werner Seibt (Vienna) and Sara Nur Yıldız (İstanbul) offered well-attended public lectures in Tbilisi, as did Oya Pancaroglu (İstanbul) in Yerevan. Three CEU doctoral candidates (Florin Leonte and Wojciech Kozłowski, both Department of Medieval Studies; Viktor Ilievski, Department of Philosophy, with another three to follow in the academic year 2012/13) had the opportunity to offer classes at Tbilisi and Yerevan State Universities. Two pre-doctoral fellows, Nino Mgebrishvili and Gohar Sargsyan, in return added classes in the Georgian and Armenian languages, respectively, to the offer of CEU’s recently founded Source Language Teaching Group.

In all these activities the project was so fortunate as to benefit from the full and generous support of the present head of the Department of Medieval Studies, Katalin Szende, the director of the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Volker Menze, and the incredibly efficient and energetic coordination provided by departmental doctoral candidate Cristian-Nicolae Daniel.⁸

The following three papers highlight both the thorough bibliographical expertise informing the “Southern Caucasus” project and the comparative work conducted by students in the department. The articles by Tina Dolidze (Tbilisi), whom CEMS and the department look forward to hosting in Budapest

⁸ In addition to the colleagues mentioned, Daniel Ziemann (Medieval Studies) and Matthias Riedl (History) have actively been lending their support to the project; Aziz Al-Azmeh and Nadia Al-Bagdadi (History) will be joining as of this year.

this coming fall term, 2012, and Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev (SOAS) were originally presented at the 2010 kick-off workshop at CEU and provide pathways into important fields of scholarship not easily accessed: Dolidze's magisterial survey of the founding giants of Kartvelian and Byzantine scholarship in twentieth-century Georgia serves as an excellent *instrumentum studiorum* providing valuable contexts for names such as Kornelie Kekelidze, the towering figure of Kartvelian manuscript studies, and Konstantin Tsereteli, whose work on Greek palaeography is still unsurpassed in many respects; it finds a worthy companion in Dorfmann-Lazarev's equally insightful account of twentieth-century scholarship on the early centuries of Christian Armenia (down to the end of iconoclasm) to the present day, both in Armenia itself and in international scholarship.

Finally, Sandro Nikolaishvili's "Byzantine Imperial Ideology as the Chief Inspiration for a New Kingship under King David IV the Builder (r. 1089–1125)" offers a summary of his 2011 Master's thesis defended before a committee with Alice-Mary Talbot (Dumbarton Oaks) in the chair; it innovatively examines the potential impact of Byzantine eleventh-century and Komnenian imperial ideology on the refashioning of Georgian kingship under the decisive rule of David IV – a near-contemporary of Byzantine "reform emperor" Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) – who, far from imitating Alexios' harsh treatment of the philosopher John Italos, in all likelihood became the princely sponsor of Italos's probable pupil, the Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi.

FOUNDATION OF KARTVELIAN–BYZANTINE STUDIES IN GEORGIA¹

Tina Dolidze 

Kartvelology as a systematic study goes back to the first half of the nineteenth century. Prominent scholars in this earliest period of research into Georgian history, literature, language, original sources, and archeology were: Ioane Batonishvili (1768–1830),² Teimuraz Bagrationi (1782–1846),³ David Chubinashvili (1814–1891),⁴ and Dimitri Bakradze (1826–1890).⁵ The comprehensive style of research carried out by each of these scholars was continued and developed by equally renowned Kartvelologists, philologists, and historians of a later generation, who were active at the turn of the nineteenth century: Alexander Tsagareli (1844–1929),⁶ Mose Janashvili (1855–1934),⁷ Ekvtime Takaishvili (1863–1953),⁸ Thedo Zhordania (1854–1916),⁹ Michael

¹ It is a duty and pleasure to mention the help I have received from Prof. Judith Rasson, who has commented on my work during its preparation.

² Scientist, writer, polymath, author of the encyclopedic treatise *Kalmasoba*, *Brief Information on Georgian Writers* and a juridical work, *Proposal*.

³ Author of the books *History of Iveria, that is of whole Georgia from the Very Beginning and Explanation of the Poem “Knight in the Panther’s Skin.”* Together with Marie Brosset (who founded Kartvelian Studies in Europe) he founded the Center of Kartvelian Studies in St. Petersburg.

⁴ Excellent lexicographer, specialist in Old Georgian literature, in particular Shota Rustaveli’s poem: *Knight in the Panther’s Skin*.

⁵ Historian, archaeologist, ethnographer; he initiated the foundation and was head of the Society of Caucasian History and Archaeology (1881–86). He translated the *Collection of Laws* by Vachtang VI (1675–1737) into Russian, edited Vachushti Bagrationi’s (1696–1757) *History of Georgia* and himself wrote a *History of Georgia* from ancient times to the tenth century.

⁶ A. Tsagareli published the results of his visit to Georgian cultural centres in Palestine, Athos, and Sinai in three parts, entitled: *Proceedings of Georgian Scholarship: Documents* (1880–94, in Russian).

⁷ An author of many investigations into Georgian history, linguistics, and ethnography. His *History of Georgia* (1894, 1906), based on extensive research into primary sources, was preceded by the first manual of Georgian history: *A Short History of Georgia* (1884).

⁸ The main works are: *Archaeological Excursions* (5 vols, 1905–15), *Description of Manuscripts* (4 vols, 1902–12), *Ancient Georgia* (4 vols, 1909–15), and *Georgian Antiquities* (3 vols, 1899–1915).

⁹ Author of the monumental work *Chronicles and Other Documents of Georgian History and Literature* (vols. 1–1892, 2–1897, 3–1967).

Tamarashvili (1858–1911),¹⁰ and Alexander Khakhanashvili (1864–1912).¹¹ Niko Marr (1864–1934), linguist, philologist, specialist in Georgian, Armenian, and Oriental studies, historian, and archaeologist, was active in the same period.¹² He gave high priority to publishing Old Georgian translations of Byzantine Church literature such as the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* by Hyppolitus of Rome, (*Teksti i roziskania po Armyano-Gruzinskoi filologii* [Texts and research on Armenian-Georgian philology], vol. 3 [St. Petersburg, 1901]), *Physiologus* (called *A Word on Animal Species* in the Georgian translation) (*Teksti i roziskania po Armyano-Gruzinskoi filologii*, vol. 6 [Petersburg, 1904]), both translations going back to the earliest period of Georgian literature, and the Old Georgian translation of the Arabic text of *The Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614 by the Persians* by Antiochos Strategos (1909). His publication of *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, a Georgian original text with an introduction, commentaries, a lexicon, and a Russian translation (1896) was the first significant study on the fifth-century Georgian bishop of Maiuma. Marr was also the first to acquaint the broader readership with Ioane Petritsi, a pre-eminent Georgian philosopher probably active in the second half of the eleventh and first quarter of the twelfth century. Marr and Ivane Javakhishvili traveled to Sinai in 1902, where they discovered numerous Georgian manuscripts, identified them, and published descriptions of them.

Ivane Javakhishvili played an indispensable role in investigating Old Georgian history and culture. His career covered the end of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century (1876–1940). Javakhishvili's activity was augmented by dealing with various aspects of the Georgian history in the most comprehensive way and creating fundamental works in all fields of Kartvelian Studies. In his monumental work, *The Purpose of History, Its Sources and Methods Before and Nowadays*

¹⁰ He was a Catholic clergyman, who, living in France and Italy, discovered many Old Georgian historical documents there. Of special resonance are his books: M. Tamarashvili, *History of Catholicism among Georgians* (Tbilisi, 1902) and M. Tamarati, *L'Église Géorgienne* (Paris, 1910).

¹¹ A renowned orientalist of his time, he authored works on literature and history in Georgian, Russian, French, and German. His *Studies in the History of Georgian Literature* (4 vols, 1895–1907) was the first systematic research on Georgian Literature from ancient times to the nineteenth century (in Russian). He also introduced history of Georgia for French readers in: *Histoire de Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1900).

¹² He was the founder of several significant series. Among them: *Teksti i roziskania po Armyano-Gruzinskoi filologii* [Texts and research on Armenian-Georgian philology], (1900–13), *Christianskii Vostok, Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica* [The Christian East, the Armenian-Georgian library], and *Monumenta hagiographica Georgica*. Author of a great deal of research in medieval Georgian literature, a researcher of Rustaveli and his epoch, author of *History of Georgia* (1906, in Russian), etc.

(4 volumes, 1916–25), he comprised Georgian historiography, economics, numismatics, palaeography, and Sphragistics. Javakhishvili authored landmark studies on Old Georgian law, economics, diplomacy, the history of palaeography, geography, music, and drama. Proceeding from and developing the studies of his predecessors in investigating the Old Georgian Chronicle, *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (*The Life of Kartli*), Javakhishvili provided a new thorough critical analysis of this historical corpus, scrupulously dealing with sources and estimating their scholarly value. In the field of palaeographic studies he revealed the so-called Khanmeti texts of the fifth to the seventh centuries on the oldest palimpsests which reflect the earliest stage of the Georgian literary language. Javakhishvili is known to a wide audience through his voluminous work: *History of the Georgian Nation* (5 volumes, 1908–1914), done with painstaking scholarly accuracy. It relies on an innovative investigation of political, social, juridical, cultural, ideological, ecclesiological, and other issues in the history of Georgia from the earliest times to the nineteenth century.¹³

A new stage of Kartvelian Studies in respect to Old Georgian literature began with Korneli Kekelidze (1879–1962). He was an excellent interpreter and editor of Old Georgian literary texts and wrote dozens of investigations into this subject. Hundreds of articles and other minor works written by Kekelidze were collected in his 13-volume: *Etudes in the History of Georgian Literature* (Tbilisi, 1945–74). Out of his research and text publications, I have to restrict myself to indicating some highlights that reflect Byzantine-Georgian literary relationships and the significance of Georgian sources for Byzantine Studies. First, two volumes of initial versions (*keimena*) of Byzantine hagiographic works in Old Georgian translations must be mentioned.¹⁴ The second volume includes mainly translations of hagiographic works of which the originals have been lost. His works, *Georgian Liturgical Documents in the National Libraries and their Scholarly Significance* (Tbilisi, 1908, in Russian), *Jerusalem Lectionary of the 7th Century* (Tbilisi, 1912, in Russian), and *Old Georgian Archieratikon* (Tbilisi, 1912, in Russian) were valuable input to researching the history of the Orthodox liturgy. Kekelidze made an important contribution to Byzantine studies by establishing the time of the compilation and the content of Symeon Metaphrastes' collection (*Symeon Metaphrastes according to Georgian Sources*, in Russian, *Etudes*, vol. 5, [Tbilisi, 1957], 212–226). A publication linked with the previous one, entitled: *John Xiphilinos – Continuator of Symeon Metaphrastes* (*Etudes*,

¹³ More detail in: S. Jorbenadze, *Life and Activity of Ivane Javakhishvili* (Tbilisi, 1984).

¹⁴ KEIMENA. *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, introduction, research, and redaction K. Kekelidze, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1918); *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, vol. 2, part 1 (Tbilisi, 1946).

vol. 5 [Tbilisi, 1957], 227–247) found wide resonance. Through this work it was ascertained that Symeon’s work was continued by the Byzantine philosopher and writer John Xiphilinos and that his work, not preserved in Greek, is almost fully extant in Georgian. His comprehensive book-length study, *History of Georgian Literature* (vol. 1 [Tbilisi, 1923]; vol. 2 [Tbilisi, 1924], both volumes re-published many times) is a standard work in the history of Old Georgian literature. The first volume reviews the Church literature of the fifth through the eighteenth century, and the second volume deals with secular literature from the Middle Ages down to the nineteenth century. Kekelidze made a substantial contribution to collecting and describing manuscripts. From 1948 to 1954 Kekelidze edited the description of the *State Museum Manuscripts*, published in several volumes. So that the interested reader might form an idea of translated literature in the Georgian manuscript tradition, Kekelidze compiled two bibliographical works, *Georgian Translated Hagiography* and *Foreign Authors in Georgian Literature* (for both publications: *Etudes*, vol. 5 [Tbilisi, 1957]).¹⁵

Akaki Shanidze’s (1887–1987) name is connected with investigations into the structure and history of the Georgian language, epigraphy, the textual history of the Georgian Bible, Old Georgian literature in general, the textual history and language of Rustaveli’s poem, *The Knight in the Panther’s Skin*. He is one of the scholars who laid the foundation for Albanian Studies in Georgia.¹⁶ Another prominent linguist of that time, Giorgi Akhvlediani (1887–1973), dealt with experimental phonetics and comparative linguistics, including studies in Georgian, Indo-European languages (in particular Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Persian), and Caucasian linguistics.¹⁷

Not only Georgian philology and history, but also art history and philosophy were founded in the nineteenth century or at the turn of the twentieth century. The patriarch of Georgian art history, Giorgi Chubinashvili (1885–1973), after his student years in Russia and Germany, founded the Academy of Art (1922) in Tbilisi, serving as the first rector, and the Department of Art History (1923) at Tbilisi State University. Chubinashvili focused his research mainly on Georgian medieval architecture, and metalwork. He studied and identified the periods of development of Old Georgian architecture, determined the characteristic features of each period, specified various architectural schools working in Georgia through the Middle Ages, and investigated Georgian medieval stone-, copper-, and gold-working techniques. Based on comparative stylistic analyses, Chubinashvili

¹⁵ For further references, see: *Korneli Kekelidze, Biobibliography* (Tbilisi, 1979).

¹⁶ See *Akaki Shanidze, Biobibliography* (Tbilisi, 1977).

¹⁷ For bibliography see: Sh. Dzidziguri, *Giorgi Akhvlediani* (Tbilisi, 1967).

estimated the specific characters of Old Georgian and Armenian architecture and the distinctive features of each.¹⁸

The Georgian philosopher and philologist, Shalva Nutsubidze (1888–1969), authored the fundamental work in the history of Georgian philosophy (two volumes [Tbilisi 1956–58]), translated Old Georgian secular literature into Russian (such poems as: *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, *Tamariani*, *Abdulmesiani*), was a historian of Georgian literature, documented especially in his book *Rustaveli and the Eastern Renaissance* (Tbilisi, 1947), and identified Peter the Iberian as the presumed author of the *Corpus Areopagiticum*.¹⁹ Returning to Georgia after a long stay in Russia and Germany, Nutsubidze became one of the founders of Tbilisi State University, and served as a brilliant lecturer there.

The generation of Georgian scholars who were active in the nineteenth century were mostly educated in Russia, where they remained to live and work, mainly as professors at St. Petersburg University; they tutored students in Kartvelology and simultaneously established various scientific circles supporting Kartvelian Studies in Russia. After World War I the historical reality changed for the later generation of Georgian scholars; after being postgraduates at various universities in Europe they returned to the newly founded Tbilisi State University (1918) in a sovereign Georgia (1918–21) to establish the main branches of the sciences and academic disciplines. Contemporaneously with these scholars, a number of Georgian specialists who could not return to Georgia during the Soviet regime served Kartvelian studies away from their country and made valuable contributions. Among other scholars of repute, the Catholic priest Mikhael Tarkhnishvili (1897–1958),²⁰ Archimandrite Grigol Peradze (1899–

¹⁸ For bibliographical data see: *Giorgi Chubinashvili. Biobibliography* (Tbilisi, 1977).

¹⁹ Sh. Nutsubidze, *The Secret of Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite* (in Russian) (Tbilisi, 1942). This hypothesis was also proposed independently by a Belgian scholar, Ernest Honigmann, which is why it is known as the Nutsubidze-Honigmann theory in the specialist literature. For further bibliographical references: Sh. Khidasheli, *Shalva Nutsubidze* (Tbilisi, 1969).

²⁰ M. Tarkhnishvili has written works on theology, liturgy, hymnography (lectionaries), the history of monasticism, epigraphy, history, and published manuscript documents. Some of his works are: *Byzantine Liturgy as the Realization of Unity and History Connection in the Dogma* (1939), *New Georgian Epigraphic and Literary Discoveries* (1950), and *Old Georgian Liturgies* (1950). He edited the Old Georgian text of the Typicon of the Petritsoni Georgian Monastery (i.e., Bachkovo in Bulgaria), with a Latin translation (1954) and *The Great Lectionary of the Jerusalem Church*, a Georgian text with a Latin translation (1959). M. Tarkhnishvili translated Kekelidze's *History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 1 (1955) into German, rearranging some materials and adding his points to a number of scholarly issues. He regarded Euthymios the Athonite (tenth-eleventh century) as the translator

1945),²¹ Mikhael Tsereteli (1878–1965),²² researcher into Rustaveli’s poem, Viktor Nozadze (1893–1975),²³ and Georgian art historian Vakhtang Jobadze (1917–2007)²⁴ should be noted here.

Among the first cohort of university professors were Grigol Tsereteli (1870–1938) and Simon Khaukhchishvili (1895–1981). Their scholarly activities deserve special emphasis. At the time he was invited by Ivane Javakhishvili, rector of the university, to promote and lead Classical philology at Tbilisi University (1920), Tsereteli was already known worldwide as a papyrologist, paleographer, specialist in ancient Greek and Roman literature, and excellent translator of ancient languages. He also devoted a great deal of effort to Byzantine Studies. His highly praised MA thesis in paleography was: *Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts According Mainly to the Dated Manuscripts of Petersburg and Moscow* (1904, in Russian), which his professor, Hermann Diels, recommended to students as a manual in paleography at the University of Berlin. Tsereteli was one of the masters of papyrology and founder of this field of science as an academic discipline at the University of St. Petersburg. Still studying under U. Wilken’s tutorship in Berlin, his professor trusted him to prepare the papyri of the Berlin Museum for publication, included later in the *Berliner griechische Urkunden* (1900: vols. 3, 5; 1904:

of the medieval Barlaam novel (in Georgian, *Balavariani*) from Georgian into Greek. Tarkhnishvili lived and worked in France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy.

²¹ The holy martyr Grigol Peradze was a theologian, historian, and source researcher. The main area of his scientific activity was the history of the Georgian Church, monasticism, liturgy, patristic studies, the history of Georgian literature (original and in translation); see: *Old Christian Literature in Georgian Translation, Towards the Georgian Translation of the Bible, On the Issues of Pre-Byzantine Georgian Literature, The Problem of Old Church Literature*, etc. Peradze revealed numerous manuscripts of Georgian Christian culture in book and manuscript depositories of Europe. Among them were Georgian manuscripts of the Typicon of the Petritsoni Monastery, the so-called Tischendorf manuscripts of the Apagae of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, and others. Peradze’s works are written in Georgian, German, French, English, Polish and Arabic.

²² Field of research Kartvelology, Sumerian Studies: *Sumerian and Georgian: A Study in Comparative Philology* (a monograph), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913 (in English); Rustvelology: Shota Rustaveli, *Der Mann im Tigerfell*, trans. M. Tsereteli (Munich, 1955); and sociology.

²³ His main monographs are: *The Colour Symbolism of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’* (1953); *Asteriology of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’* (1957); *Solariology of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’* (1959); *The Sociology of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’* (1959); *Theology of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’* (1975) and *The Doctrine of Love in ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’* (1975).

²⁴ V. Jobadze has written numerous works on medieval Georgian art. He has investigated monuments of medieval Georgian architecture and the remains of Georgian cultural centres on the territory of historical Georgia in Turkey as well as in Syria and on Cyprus.

vol. 2). His other capital works in papyrology were: *Über die Nationaltypen in der Schrift der griechischen Papyri* (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, vol. 1, 1900) and his last work in this field, the voluminous *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*, edited in collaboration with German papyrologists in five volumes (Tbilisi, 1925–1935). This work was followed by a thorough paleographical investigation of the widely known Korideti Greek Gospel (ninth century), preserved in Tbilisi (*Der Koridethi-Kodex und seine griechische Beischriften*, [Tbilisi, 1937]). Together with S. Sobolevski, Tsereteli edited: *Exempla codicum graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum*, vol. 1, *Codices Mosquenses* (1911); vol. 2, *Codices Petropolitani* (1913) and *Exempla codicum graecorum litteris uncialibus scriptorum* (1913). While working on his MA thesis in the libraries of Venice, Rome, and Munich, Tsereteli started to gather manuscript materials for the first edition of the philosophical legacy of John Italos, two volumes of which he finished and published while living in Tbilisi (*Ioannis Itali opuscula selecta*, (fasc. I [Tbilisi, 1926]; fasc. II [Tbilisi, 1924]). The third part of the text he had prepared for publication was only issued much later, after his death.²⁵ This philologist, known worldwide, was one of the victims most severely punished during the Stalin-Beria repression. He was imprisoned in 1937 as a contra-revolution-minded person, put on the rack, and condemned to death in 1938.

Grigol Tsereteli's pupil and junior colleague, Simon Kaukhchishvili, began systematic and scrupulous research into Byzantine sources, references to Georgian translations of Greek originals, and investigations of the Byzantine-Georgian cultural relationship in its most complete form. Like his professor, Tsereteli, Kaukhchishvili was educated in St. Petersburg. After graduating from the Classical Philology Department in the history and philology faculty of St. Petersburg University and simultaneously the faculty of Oriental languages in the department of Armenian and Georgian Studies, Kaukhchishvili returned to Georgia and was soon (1918) invited by his former professor, Ivane Javakhishvili, to serve at the newly formed Tbilisi University. Javakhishvili suggested that he prepare for a professorship in the field of Greek and Byzantine philology, and with this aim in mind that he upgrade his knowledge in Byzantinology, Greek epigraphy, and paleography in Athens and Berlin (1920–1921). At Berlin University, Kaukhchishvili worked under the supervision of U. Wilamovitz von Moellendorf, H. Diels, Ed. Meyer, U. Wilken, A. Schulze, and others. In 1923, after he returned to Tbilisi University, he gave various courses in Classical philology and Byzantine Studies in the department of Classical Philology, headed by G. Tsereteli. In 1920, Kaukhchishvili published his first major study – the text of the Old Georgian

²⁵ *Joannis Itali opera, textum graecum secundum collectionem a Gr. Cereteli confectam*, ed and introduction N. Kechakmadze (Tbilisi, 1966).

translation of George Hamartolos' *Chronography* (part I). In 1926 he finished his study of this text and published the second part of the work with an extensive commentary which he presented as his doctoral dissertation in 1927. In this same year, already under Soviet censorship, he set up and headed a department of Byzantine Studies at Tbilisi University, which unfortunately only survived until 1938, when, during Stalin's repression, it was closed and Kaukhchishvili was imprisoned like G. Tsereteli and many other suspect professors of the university. In 1940, when Kaukhchishvili was permitted to return to Tbilisi University, he revived and headed the department of Classical Philology (1940–1954). At the same time, Kaukhchishvili kept up the intensive development of Byzantine Studies as a scholarly and academic discipline in Georgia. In 1945, at his initiative, a Department of Philology was opened at the I. Javakhishvili Institute of History (Academy of Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Georgia), which was transferred to the Institute of Oriental Studies (Academy of Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Georgia) and renamed the Department of Byzantinology in 1960.

Kaukhchishvili made invaluable contributions to the study of Georgian-Byzantine historical sources. It is enough to note his eight-volume monograph, *Georgica. The Evidence of Byzantine Authors about Georgia* (Tbilisi, 1934–1970); by publishing three monumental volumes (vols. 1, 2, 4) of the collection of official medieval Georgian chronicles, *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, he acquainted those interested in Byzantine history with historical events that are preserved only in this most significant representation of medieval Georgian historical thought and national ideology. The Georgian historical corpus was published several times before Kaukhchishvili, but the significance of his edition consists in providing a critical text, a brilliant source study, extended glossaries, and indices. The volumes of *Georgica* include Byzantine literary sources of the fifth through the fifteenth centuries, not only about medieval Georgia but also the whole Caucasian region, presented as parallel original (with variant readings) and translated texts, supplied with source analysis and detailed historical-philological commentaries. In 1974 Kaukhchishvili founded a new series *Evidence of Old Georgian Sources about Byzantium*, represented only by the first volume, which was also translated into Russian (1974). The edition of Ioane Petritsi's work, *Explanations of Proclus Diadochus and on Platonic Philosophy* (vol. 2, ed. and introduction Sh. Nutsubidze and S. Kaukhchishvili [Tbilisi, 1937]) should be classed among the most significant text editions, which introduced the original philosophical thought of the greatest representative of medieval Georgian philosophy to a wide circle of readers for the first time. The first volume, *Ioane Petritsi. The Elementatio of Proclus Diadochus the*

Platonic Philosopher, Old Georgian translation by Ioane Petritsi with a commentary and glossary by Kaukhchishvili, was published in 1940. Kaukhchishvili was the first in the former Soviet scholarship to compile a history of Byzantine literature. In this manual Kaukhchishvili gives a history of literary forms and separate genres, a periodization of Byzantine literature characterizing separate periods and their peculiarities, and adduces the data of the Old Georgian literary tradition, discussing many facts of primary significance for Byzantine and Georgian literature. He devoted special scholarly interest to the issues of education in Old Georgia. Thus, he identified the activity of the Phasis rhetorical school (third to fourth centuries), as well as such significant civil educational centers in Georgia as the Gelati and Ikhalto Academies (eleventh and twelfth centuries). He made a valuable contribution to research into the Petritsoni monastery in Bulgaria (eleventh century), one of the leading Georgian monastic centers in Byzantium, by the *editio princeps* of the Greek version of its typicon with a modern Georgian translation and analysis. Like many other Georgian scholars (A. Khakhanashvili, E. Takaishvili, I. Javakhishvili, K. Kekelidze, M. Tarkhishvili), Kaukhchishvili held the view that the Byzantine novel, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, goes back to the story *The Wisdom of Balavar (Balavariani)*, the Georgian version of the oldest story, written between the seventh and tenth centuries and translated into Greek by Euthymios the Athonite.

The founder of the Georgian school of Byzantinology is the author of over two hundred works in Byzantine, Classical, and Kartvelian studies, including research in history, literature, language, Greek and Roman linguistics, Greek and Roman lexicography, palaeography, and epigraphy. For a long time he was a member of the editorial board of the Russian journal *Visantiiskii vremennik*, and many journals and series in Georgia.²⁶

The professional capacity and depth in the research carried out by the above scholars in their individual work and investigations resulted in the foundation of schools in various branches of the Byzantine-Kartvelian relationship. The principal method adopted and employed by the wide range of subsequent specialists in this area of study can in general be characterized as comparative analysis. In philology it is represented by the comparative study of translations with their Greek originals, establishing texts (the critical or oldest versions), and complex textual and philological analyses. Before the fall of communism, however, this kind of textual research could not imply an evaluation of the conceptual content of a theological treatise, but this difficult time for religious thinking proved to

²⁶ For more about Kaukhchishvili's activity see: N. Lomouri, *S. Kaukhchishvili, Biobibliography* (Tbilisi: Nakaduli, 1989).

be fruitful for the development of philological research. Major achievements in this respect should be attributed to the Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, named for K. Kekelidze. The manuscript collections which entered the institute, now renamed the National Center for Manuscripts (further NCM), were created as early as the turn of the nineteenth century. The center preserves more than 9000 Georgian manuscripts, about 4000 Georgian palimpsest sheets, more than 40 000 Georgian historical documents, 34 Greek manuscripts, and about 300 Greek and Latin papyri. Its repository also preserves about 150 private archival collections and collections of various organisations, about 5000 non-Georgian manuscripts and about 5000 non-Georgian historical documents (Armenian, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Latin, Mongolian, Russian, German, French, English, Italian, Polish, Czech), old printed books, rare editions, etc. The NCM was not the first such depository of old manuscripts and other old documents. Much earlier, in 1920, during the existence of the independent Georgian Republic, a Georgian National Archive was founded. It, too, has quite impressive holdings. Especially interesting here is the Department of Old Documents, which preserves 786 Georgian manuscripts from the ninth to the beginning of the twentieth century, around 15 000 historical documents (with juridical documents of paramount importance) and more than 1900 foreign (Persian, Turkish, Arabic) documents. However, there is a principal difference between two depositories; from the very beginning the Georgian National Archive has been subject to the Ministry of Justice. It has never been an independent research center. Thus, by the middle of the twentieth century an urgent need already existed to establish an institution where advanced philological study could be accommodated.

The former K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts was founded in 1958 (under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Georgia) at the initiative of distinguished scholars, specialists in Kartvelian and Armenian studies, Ilia Abuladze (1901–1968)²⁷ and Isidore Dolidze (1915–1982), historian

²⁷ Abuladze was the first director of the institute and headed it until his death. As a scholar he was equally interested in the publication of original Georgian literature as well as translations and made a number of critical editions of Old Georgian literary texts. His significant philological research included: *The Georgian-Armenian Literary Relationship in the 9th–10th cc.* (Tbilisi, 1944); *The Old Armenian Translation of the "Life of Kartli"* (Tbilisi, 1953); *Old Redactions of the Lives of the Syriac Fathers* (Tbilisi, 1955); *Georgian Redactions of Balavahriani* (Tbilisi, 1957); *Samples of Georgian Scripture. A Palaeographic Album* (Tbilisi, 1973); *An Old Georgian Language Dictionary* (Tbilisi, 1973), etc. His name is also associated with discovery of the Caucasian Albanian alphabet. For more about Abuladze, see: A. Gamkhrelidze, *Professor Ilia Abuladze*, in: *Mranvaltavi. Philological-Historical Researches* vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1971).

of Georgian law.²⁸ Textological studies that started there at the end of the 1950s based on the manuscript collections encompass a broad spectrum of research. NCM became a leading institution of Kartvelology as a rich core of primary sources and its main priority of scholarly research.

Much more remains to be said about the complexities of historical studies in Georgia. This short essay covers merely the tip of the iceberg.

²⁸ Dolidze studied fundamental problems of the history of Georgian legal institutions and their sources; he was the first to publish the whole corpus of Georgian juridical documents in a large-scale series (8 volumes), entitled *Monuments of Georgian Law* (1963–1985). This prodigious work contains texts, studies, commentaries, and a glossary for around 4000 documents of Georgian law from the ninth to the nineteenth century, which reveals a broad picture of the Georgian national legal system covering more than a thousand years. I. Dolidze carried out a parallel investigation of Georgian and European legal culture. The works he left behind in this field are: *Monuments of Early Feudal Law* (vol. 1) containing sixth to ninth-century monuments of German law, in a Georgian translation, supplied with comments (Tbilisi, 1950); *Old Georgian Law* (Tbilisi, 1953), *The Law of Giorgi Brtskivale* (the Splendid) (Tbilisi, 1957), *Common Law in Georgia* (Tbilisi, 1960); *Medieval Law*, a sequel to the previous investigation into European law (vol. 2), contains French, English, and German legal documents from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, translated into Georgian with commentaries (Tbilisi, 1962); *The Code of Vakhtang VI* (Tbilisi, 1981), and *Niko Khizanashvili. Selected Writings on Law* (Tbilisi, 1982). For a further list of works, see: Isidore Dolidze, *Bibliography* (Tbilisi, 1986).

STUDIES OF ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN TRADITION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev 

The exploration of Armenia and its civilisation has a long history, but the foundations for systematic scholarship in the fields of Armenian archaeology, language, historiography, and culture were laid only in the nineteenth century. This happened in different parts of the world almost at the same time: in Armenia itself, in the Armenian monastic academies of Venice, Vienna, and Jerusalem, in Constantinople, in Germany, in France, and in Russia. Nevertheless, only during the twentieth century were the studies of Armenia and the Caucasus elevated to the status of an internationally recognised discipline, whilst the past forty years have seen a particular growth in these fields in the Caucasus, Russia, Europe, and the USA.

We shall survey here several key developments that took place in the study of Armenian Christianity during the twentieth century, limiting ourselves to the formative period, i.e., from the establishment of the first Christian centres on the territory of the Armenian kingdom in the third century to the stabilisation of the Armenian Church's doctrine and canonical practices at the beginning of the eighth century, i.e., in the aftermath of the Islamic conquest. The past century saw a number of radical changes in Armenian geography; many eminent scholars were born at the beginning of the twentieth century in Western Armenia, a country which disappeared after the First World War. Whilst before that war the architecture, archaeology, literature, and ethnology of Western Armenia had been widely studied, the relics of Armenian civilisation on this territory were almost inaccessible in the aftermath of the war, and they remained hardly attainable even until recent times. As for Eastern Armenia, the study of Christianity there was seriously hindered during the Soviet rule. The history of scholarship in this field is therefore intrinsically linked to the biographies of Armenologists.

In spite of these difficulties, the early Christian tradition of Armenia was one of the most studied pages of Armenology during the twentieth century. Thanks to these studies, we are now able to speak of two phases in the process of the Christianisation of Armenia. In the course of the second and the third centuries AD, Christianity was introduced into the southern Armenian provinces, situated between the Upper Tigris and the Arsianias, by Aramaic-speaking missionaries from neighbouring Mesopotamia. In reference to this, mediaeval Armenian ecclesiastical writers defined their land as the "Northern country,"

whilst in some texts all the Christian nations of the Caucasus – Armenia, Georgia and Aluania (Caucasian Albania) – are defined for the same reason as “Northern countries.” The influence of the Syriac tradition of Edessa left a lasting stamp on the Armenian language, liturgy, and Church discipline, and many terms of Syriac origin are still amongst the current words of daily life in Armenian. N. Marr, P. Peeters, E. Tēr-Minaseanc’ and, in the later part of the twentieth century, G. Winkler, investigated different aspects of Syriac–Armenian relations.

The second phase of the Christianisation of Armenia was linked to the evangelising activity of Gregory the Illuminator at the beginning of the fourth century. Gregory was ordained bishop at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and his activity opened northern Armenia, especially the Araxes Valley, to the influence of the Microasiatic Christian tradition. The Greek element gradually prevailed over the Syriac in shaping the ecclesiastical culture of the Armenian kingdom. In Germany, Joseph Marquart¹ (1864–1930), an exceptional polyglot and a polyvalent scholar, studied the origins of the first Armenian bishoprics and made a major contribution to our knowledge of the historical geography of the Armenian Church. The *Life* of St Gregory, the primary source about the conversion of the Armenian kingdom at the beginning of the fourth century, has been studied by G. Tēr-Mkrtčean, P. Peeters, L. Mariès, Gérard Garitte² (1914–1990), P. Ananean, M. van Esbroeck, Guy Lafontaine (1938–2004), and R. Thomson.

Although Aramaic and Greek were used in Armenia for many centuries, the knowledge of these languages there was limited, and the Christian religion had to be interpreted orally by trained preachers. It could not have taken root in the country had the Bible, the liturgy, the exegetic and homiletic literature not been translated into the native speech of the inhabitants of Armenia. The invention of the Armenian alphabet by Maštoc’ towards 405 laid the foundation for a national literary tradition which initially drew on both Syriac and Greek sources, but soon produced original works. Many illustrious scholars have investigated the sources of Maštoc’'s life and contributed to reconstructing the circumstances in which the Armenian alphabet was invented; the origins of the Georgian and the Aluanian alphabets, which, according to Maštoc’'s pupil and biographer Koriwn (433), had also been invented by his teacher, have also been investigated. Our knowledge about the relations between the South Caucasian Churches in the fourth and the fifth centuries, the primacy they accorded to the see of Gregory the Illuminator, and a series of formal affinities among the three alphabets lend support to

¹ *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [Historico-Philological Review] (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences of Armenia) 2 (1965): 149–156.

² *Le Muséon* 100 (1987): XI–XV; *ibid.*: 103 (1990): 201–204.

Koriwn's words; no historical source challenges his claim. Amongst the scholars who investigated Maštoc's work the following names should be mentioned especially: J. Marquart, P. Peeters, N. Adontz, E. Tēr-Minaseanc', N. Akinean, P. Ananean, G. Winkler, and J.-P. Mahé.

At the council convened at the patriarchal see of Duin in 553, the Armenian Church confirmed its rejection of the "Definition" of the Council of Chalcedon (451), thus detaching itself from the succeeding Byzantine theological elaborations. Thereby, Armenia set off on an independent ecclesiastical history and, consequently, a door was opened to new Christological queries characteristic of the non-Chalcedonian Churches,³ as well as to independent liturgical developments, which also allowed local customs to take root within the ecclesiastical discipline. The particularism of Armenia was further accentuated at the end of the seventh century, when the caliphate established direct political control over the country, whereby Armenia was cut off from the political body of Christendom. Many studies have contributed to our better knowledge of the way in which an autonomous doctrinal tradition was shaped in Armenia after the Chalcedonian schism, notably those by H.-F. Tournebize (1856–1926), Galust Tēr-Mkrtč'ean, K. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean, E. Tēr-Minaseanc', V. Hac'uni, N. Akinean, V. Inglisian, B. Talatinian, P. Ananian, N. Garsoïan, M. Van Esbroeck, J.-P. Mahé, and Peter Cowe.

Two achievements facilitated significant development in the study of the Armenian religious tradition over the twentieth century: first, the cataloguing and the description of manuscripts; second, the editing of thitherto unknown texts. During the previous two centuries this work had already been carried out by the monks of the Armenian Mekhitarist congregation in Venice and Vienna, which saw the editing of ancient Armenian texts as one of its primary tasks; many generations of Armenologists were also educated in the Mekhitarist schools. Travelling around Western Armenia, the Middle East, and beyond, Mekhitarist monks assembled two of the most important collections of Armenian manuscripts in Venice and Vienna, and, thanks to their efforts, ancient Armenian literature also came to the attention of European scholars.

Amongst the editors of unpublished texts who were active in Armenia at the turn of the century, Galust Tēr-Mkrtč'ean⁴ (Tēr-Sargsean, 1860–1918) may be

³ I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, "Chiese non-calcedonesi," in: *Dizionario del sapere storico-religioso del Novecento*, ed. A. Melloni (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010), 515–534.

⁴ *K'ristonya Hayastan. Hanragitaran* [Christian Armenia: Encyclopaedic Dictionary], ed. K. Khudaverdian, M. Hasratian, and Sh. Adjemian (Yerevan: Armenian Encyclopaedia, 2002), 1008–1010.

singled out. He was born in a village in the Axalc'xa region (southern Georgia), received primary education in the Karapetean school in the town of Axalc'xa, which was followed by studies at the Gēworgean Seminary of Valaršapat (Ējmiacin) and the *École libre des sciences politiques* in Paris. In 1888, as a result of illness, his feet were paralysed and he was unable to walk for the rest of his life. Amongst the writers whom he edited are: Abraham the Confessor, Lazar P'arpec'i (in collaboration with S. Malxasean), Agat'angelos (in collaboration with S. Kanayean), and Eznik of Kolb (in collaboration with H. Ačārean). Many of his articles which touch on various aspects of Armenian religious literature and the theology of the Armenian Church were published in the Ējmiacin periodical *Ararat*, some signed with the penname 'Miaban' (i.e., friar).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Armenian studies had already been conceived of as an integral part of the studies of the Christian East. In France, a further step towards the editing of Armenian texts was taken by René Graffin⁵ (1858–1941) and his collaborators. In 1894 in Paris, Graffin founded the series *Patrologia syriaca*, initially designed to publish Syriac texts accompanied by translations. This collection was subsequently extended to become the *Patrologia Orientalis*, which was also intended to edit texts written in other languages of the Christian East. Unlike his compatriot, Jacques-Paul Migne (1800–1875), the founder of the *Patrologia latina* and the *Patrologia graeca*, who could rely on existing editions of Greek and Latin texts, Graffin, two generations after Migne, had to deal with manuscripts which had never been published. In order to copy these manuscripts, scattered around the world, he adopted, for the first time, the method of photography with the “prism with total internal reflection.” This procedure was suggested to him by his cousin, Henry Le Châtelier, a professor of physics at the Collège de France, who had applied this method to microscopic metallography. This technique, duly adopted by Graffin, was subsequently demonstrated by him at the Universal Exhibition of 1900 in Paris and was then employed by various libraries around the world. In order to print the texts, Graffin himself designed the letters for Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavic, and even directed their casting. At the Institute of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, Graffin gathered a group of collaborators, each specialising in a particular language. The editing of the Armenian texts was entrusted to Louis Mariès⁶ (1876–1958), who subsequently published many works of original research on the history of the

⁵ *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 30, no. 3–4 (1946): 225–230; *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 67 (2001): 155–178.

⁶ M. Martirosyan, *Hayagēt Lui Mariès* [Armenologist Louis Mariès] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1992).

Armenian Church; he also taught at the *Institut Catholique* of Paris, where a number of renowned scholars were trained under his guidance. Amongst them was Charles Mercier⁷ (1904–1978), who had been initiated into the study of the Christian East at the Benedictine monastery of Chèvotogne in Belgium and then studied in the pontifical academies in Rome, the *École Biblique* in Jerusalem, and the Catholic University of Leuven. Mercier published numerous studies on Armenian patristic texts, particularly those concerned with exegesis. Following in G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean's and Adontz's footsteps, Mariès and Mercier dedicated their attention to the fifth-century Eznik of Kolb, the author of the first Armenian philosophical-doctrinal treatise (438). For ten years, Mercier collaborated with his teacher with a view to preparing a collation of the manuscripts of Eznik's "Confutation of Heresies," which he only published after Mariès' death.

In 1903 in Paris, nine years after Graffin had commenced his enterprise, Jean-Baptiste Chabot⁸ (1860–1948) founded another collection of oriental texts with translations, the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (CSCO)*. A methodological disagreement caused Chabot to part from Graffin and initiate an independent project; whilst Graffin believed that an editor could identify copyists' errors and thus, by collating manuscripts, reconstruct a text very close to the original, Chabot was convinced that the editors had to choose the best text amongst those preserved and then provide scholars with that document in the form in which it has reached us. This debate has not yet ended amongst the editors of ancient texts. Like Graffin, Chabot directed his collection until his death, acting as the general editor of the first seventy volumes. In these collections the Armenian Patristic texts acquired the rights of full citizenship and thus were included in the study of ancient Christian civilisations.

Armenian studies also developed in England, Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare⁹ (1856–1924) studied at Oxford, where his tutor in Armenian was D. S. Margoliouth (1858–1940); he edited various Armenian Biblical, apocryphal and patristic texts, liturgical books and the catalogues of manuscripts of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library; he also published a number of studies on the history of the Armenian Church and its rites. Following K. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean, Conybeare studied the dualist sect of the Paulicians, which was established in Western Armenia during the eighth and ninth centuries. The Paulicians and their offshoot, the Thondrakites, both representing one of the most intriguing cases

⁷ *Oriens Christianus* 63 (1979): 203–204.

⁸ *Le Muséon* 59, no. 1–2 (1948): 141–152.

⁹ *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 6 (1926): 185–332; *Handes Amsoreay [Monthly Review]* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Congregation) 58 (1944): 193–216.

of religious nihilism –, to use Hans Jonas' and Gershom Scholem's definition – rejected all established ecclesiastical and political institutions and were persecuted first in Armenia then in Byzantium. The canonical interdictions of communication with the Paulicians both in Byzantium and Armenia inhibited their contemporaries from close acquaintance with this movement's doctrines. Their possible relation to the rise of the Bogomils in the Balkans and, finally, of the Cathars and Albigensians in Southern France is still debated; their late branches were attested in Armenia in the nineteenth century. During the second half of the twentieth century, several scholars, such as Nina Garsoïan in the USA, Hrač' Bart'ikyan in Armenia, and Vrej Nersessian in England, have pursued the study of these enigmatic religious movements.

The beginning of the twentieth century marked the onset of the systematic exploration of Armenian ecclesiastical and monastic architecture. In 1900, the monk Xaç'ik Dadean commenced the excavation of the ruined Cathedral of the Vigilant Powers (*Zuart'noc'*), dated to the middle of the seventh century, near the patriarchal see of Ējmiacin. The excavation was continued in 1907 by T'. T'oramanean and A. Loris-K'alant'ar. T'oros T'oramanean¹⁰ (1864–1934), who was born in Şebin-Karahisar in Western Armenia, studied at the Institute of Arts in Istanbul. Having graduated with a diploma in architecture, he designed many houses, first in Istanbul, and in Bulgaria and Romania after the massacres of Armenians in 1896. Afterwards he travelled around historical Armenia for over thirty years and was able to collect detailed documentation on most of the surviving Armenian architectural monuments, many of which no longer exist. T'oramanean was the first to propose a systematic classification and periodisation of Armenian architecture.¹¹

At the beginning of the twentieth century, different scholars raised the question of possible ties among the cultures of the Christian East. In Vienna, Josef Strzygowski¹² (1862–1941) explored the interaction between the architectural and artistic traditions of different Christian traditions: Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic. Strzygowski led several expeditions to Armenia, where he was assisted by T'oramanean, Loris-K'alant'ar, the ethnographer Step'an Lisic'ean and other local scholars who were intimately familiar with the terrain and helped him to collect new photographic and graphic material. On the eve of the First

¹⁰ *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* 4 (1984): 66–76; V. Harut'yunyan, *T'oros T'oramanyan* (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences Press 1984).

¹¹ *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopaedia], vol. 4 (Yerevan, 1978), 204–205.

¹² *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 28 (2001–2002): 287–307.

World War, at Strzygowski's request, T'oramanean sent him his own drawings, measurements and attempted reconstructions in view of a joint scientific project. The outbreak of the war hindered the communications between Russia and Austria, and Strzygowski published the two volumes of his famous *Architecture of the Armenians and Europe*, largely based on the results of T'oramanean's fieldwork, without consulting his colleague; nevertheless, he duly acknowledged T'oramanean's authorship. Strzygowski's writings opened a never-ending historical debate on the Oriental, notably Armenian, elements in the development of Byzantine and, later, Western European, architecture. After the war, whilst Eastern Turkey remained closed to foreigners for several decades, important fieldwork was pursued in Soviet Armenia, notably by Varazdat Harut'yunyan, Nikolaj Tokarskij, Aleksandra Eremyan, Karo Łafadaryan, Aleksandr Sahinyan, Armen Xaç'atryan, Anatolij Jakobson, Step'an Mnač'akanyan, Hovhannes Xalp'axč'yan and Murad Hasrat'yan.¹³

One of Strzygowski's collaborators during his sojourns in the Caucasus was the philologist and archaeologist Nikolazi (Nikolaj) Marr¹⁴ (1865–1934). Marr was born in 1864 in Kutaisi, western Georgia, and studied Armenian philology at the University of St. Petersburg under the guidance of the famous writer K'erovbē Patkanean. He played an active role in a series of archaeological excavations and personally guided the protracted excavations of Ani (1904–1917), the capital of the Armenian Bagratid kings, in which T'oramanean and Loris-K'alant'ar were also involved. The excavations of Ani also continued during the First World War, and only the Turkish army's invasion of Armenia in 1918 compelled Marr to abandon the site. Although he managed to rescue some objects of the newly created archaeological museum of Ani before leaving, many finds were destroyed after the occupation; during the revolutionary years, many of the rescued finds were also lost.

One of Marr's pupils at the Petersburg University was Ašxarhbek Loris-K'alant'ar (1884–1942?), a native of Ardui in northern Armenia, who tried to reconstruct the genesis and the evolution of the earliest Christian architecture in Armenia in his research. After the war, Loris-K'alant'ar was one of the founders of Yerevan University. In 1938, because of his interest in Christian buildings and his opposition to the demolition of two medieval churches in Yerevan by the Soviet

¹³ Annegret Plontke-Lüning, *Frühchristliche Architektur in Kaukasien: die Entwicklung des christlichen Sakralbaus in Lazika, Iberien, Armenien, Albanien und den Grenzregionen vom 4. bis zum 7. Jh.* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 73–76.

¹⁴ *Handes Amsōreay* 49 (1935): 139–162.

authorities, he was imprisoned, together with a group of university lecturers, as an “enemy of the people,” and he died in a labour camp near Čeljabinsk in uncertain circumstances.¹⁵

Marr was also an excellent philologist who mastered numerous languages of the region and dedicated great effort to an attentive study of various collections of Armenian manuscripts, although sometimes he advanced tendentious linguistic theories (his later scholarly activity was partially compromised because of his cooperation with the Soviet regime). He published studies dedicated to Armenian-Syriac and Armenian-Byzantine exchanges. Like his contemporaries, G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and J. Marquart, Marr was attracted to the enigmatic Armenian historian, Moses of Xoren, who most plausibly lived in the eighth century. Combining his vast antiquarian and geographical erudition with an imagination worthy of a brilliant novelist, Moses integrated ancient legends and traditions narrating the remote past of Armenians and their land, as well as the writings of the earliest Armenian writers in his *History of the Armenians*. All these were incorporated into the world history known to him from Josephus Flavius' *History of the Jewish Wars*, Eusebius of Caesarea's works (particularly his *Chronicle*), Socrates Scholasticus' *Church History* and the Armenian, Anania of Širak's *Geography*, as well as the Bible. Marr found several archaeological confirmations of what had been written by Moses, and his work stimulated further enquiries into Moses' personality and book, and the debates on dating Moses' writing have never ceased: Robert Thomson in the USA and England, J.-P. Mahé in France, Gagik Sargsyan and Aram T'op'č'yan in Armenia, Giusto Traina in Italy, and other philologists, historians, and archaeologists, have all endeavoured repeatedly to assess his work from different perspectives. Most recently, the Italian-German specialist in Urartian studies Mirjo Salvini, reasserted, on the basis of the results of the archaeological excavations in Van, the Urartian capital, that Moses of Xoren's account provides us with a precise description of the castle and royal palace which had been built some sixteen centuries before him. One of the Urartian irrigation canals was still used in the medieval Armenian Van, which represents an astonishing example of continuity between the Urartian and Armenian cultures.¹⁶ Moses is also one of our few sources for the Armenian pre-Christian myths narrating the origins of the Armenians, and these records continue to intrigue linguists and historians of the ancient Near East because no definitive answer has been found so far for the

¹⁵ *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopaedia], vol. 12 (Yerevan, 1986), 382.

¹⁶ M. Salvini, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 120–121.

appearance of the Armenian language, and its isolated position on the Armenian plateau still remains an enigma.

In St. Petersburg, Marr founded three important periodical series dedicated to Caucasian studies. One of these, *Xristianskij Vostok* (The Christian Orient), was suppressed under Soviet rule, but has recently been re-founded in Moscow. Marr was a professor at Petersburg University, where one of his students was Nikolaj Adontz¹⁷ (1875–1942), native of a tiny village in the district of Zangezour (southeast of Lake Sevan). After the Russian conquest of 1916, Adontz participated in the excavations at Muš, Karin (Erzurum) and the Urartian capital, Van, which were led by Marr and Y. Orbeli, and in which T'oramanean and K'alant'ar also took an active part. Adontz investigated the survival of Urartian elements in the culture of Christian Armenia, as did his disciple, Cyril Toumanoff, later, in the West; a number of art historians were also interested in the question of a possible Urartian heritage transmitted by Armenian architectural techniques and forms.

Adontz became one of the most polyvalent and influential scholars in the field of Armenian studies. In 1920 he left Soviet Russia, and for ten years conducted research activity in economically precarious conditions in London and Paris. In 1930 he was invited to head the Department of Armenian Studies at the *Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* in Brussels, but after the German occupation and the ensuing closure of the university, whose lecturers refused to collaborate with the invaders, he died in desperate conditions. One of Adontz's most eminent pupils was Cyril Toumanoff¹⁸ (1913–1997). Toumanoff was born in St. Petersburg; he lost his mother at the age of four when she was shot in front of his eyes by Bolsheviks, and was then hidden for several years by his grandparents in Astrakhan. In 1928, he was able to join his father in the USA thanks to the intercession of M. Gorky's wife. He was a professor at the Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., until 1970, when he decided to retire and return to the old continent and settled in Rome.

Urartu was but one of the factors that conditioned the formation of the earliest Armenian civilisation. After Urartu fell to the Medes at the beginning of the sixth century, the Iranian world stretching east of the Armenian plateau exercised a prevailing influence on the shaping of Armenian civilisation. Iran maintained its cultural influence on Armenia throughout ancient and medieval history, and only in 1828 did the Russians definitively oust the Persians from the plateau. Adontz and Toumanoff studied the development of Iranian elements in the social, religious and political institutions of Armenia and Georgia, Armenia's

¹⁷ *Handes Amsoreay* 61 (1947): 311–318 ; *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* 4 (1962): 115–128.

¹⁸ *Bazmavep* (Venice: Mekhitarist Congregation) 155 (1997): 355–360.

northern neighbour, and also in the Armenian historiographical tradition. Later they were followed by N. Garsoïan and her pupil, James Russell, in the USA. Garsoïan has notably shown that Iranian influence is perceptible in the hereditary priesthood in the Armenian Church and that Iranian royal concepts influenced Armenian hagiography.

The Aramaic-speaking world was the southern neighbour of Armenia from the inception of the Armenian civilization (up until 1915, when the Armenian and Syriac presence in eastern Anatolia were suppressed). The early history of relations between Syriac Christianity and Armenia and the genesis of early Armenian hagiography were investigated by Paul Peeters¹⁹ (1870–1950) and the articles published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*. A polyglot who learnt Armenian without a teacher, Peeters was able to reconstruct cultural and linguistic ties between the Near Eastern Churches during Late Antiquity and to show the role of Armenia therein.

Karapet Tēr-Mkrtč'ean (Ter-Mekerttschian; 1866–1915) was born in a village near the monastery of Clnay in the province of Golt'n (in the territory of today's Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan). He studied in the Gēworgean Seminary of Valaršapat (Ējmiacin) and at the universities of Leipzig, Halle, Berlin, Marburg and Paris. During the years 1907 to 1912, whilst acting as the head of the Armenian diocese of Atrpatakan in Iran, he succeeded in collecting numerous dispersed manuscripts which were then brought together in the patriarchal library of Ējmiacin (the collection that later constituted the main holdings of the Matenadaran library of Yerevan). K. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean discovered two Armenian translations of works whose Greek originals have been lost: Irenaeus of Lyons's "Demonstration of Apostolic Teaching" (in association with E. Tēr-Minaseanc') and Timothy Aeluros' main work, "Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon." Timothy Aeluros (d. 477) organised resistance to the council of Chalcedon in Egypt and his work was also decisive in determining the Armenian Church's doctrinal orientation. His reception in Armenia was also studied by Galust Tēr-Mkrtč'ean. Karapet Tēr-Mkrtč'ean's third discovery was the collection of doctrinal texts called the "Seal of Faith," edited in Armenian c. 614. These texts were published by K. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean in association with E. Tēr-Minaseanc'. K. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean also published a number of studies on Armenian doctrinal writers of the fifth to the eighth centuries and the first volume of an unfinished *History of the Armenian Church*.²⁰

¹⁹ *Analecta Bollandiana* 119 (1951): I–LIX.

²⁰ S. Stephan, *Karapet Episkopos Ter-Mkerttschjan* [Karapet Bishop Ter-Mkrttschjan] (Halle: University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1983).

A number of studies have been dedicated to the Armenian Church's relations with its neighbours: the Aluanian, Georgian, Byzantine, and Western Syriac Churches, as well as the Church of the East. Eruand Tēr-Minaseanc' (Erwand Ter-Minassiantz; 1879–1974)²¹ is the author of the only monograph on the relations between the Armenian and the Syriac Churches. He dedicated a number of studies to the shaping of the Armenian Church's doctrine and the history of Armenian synods. Tēr-Minaseanc' was born in ancient Hafič (east of Ani) and educated at the Gēworgean Seminary of Valaršapat (Ējmiacin) and at the universities of Leipzig and Berlin (where he was A. von Harnack's pupil). He spent the rest of his long life almost entirely in Armenia, first as a teacher at the Seminary of the Patriarchate in Ējmiacin and then in Yerevan, where he died at the age of ninety-five. The Soviet regime inhibited studies of theology and two generations after Tēr-Minaseanc' Kim Muradyan (1938–1991), who first studied at Yerevan University and then specialised in Armenian-Syriac literary relations in Petersburg (then Leningrad) under N. V. Pigulevskaja's guidance, was the first Armenian philologist of the Soviet era to dare to focus his research on religious literature. He published monographs on the reception of the works of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory the Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa in Armenia, as well as on Eznik of Kolb.

One of the finest Armenian philologists was Nersēs Akinean²² (1883–1963). He was born in 1883 in Artvin (Western Armenia), and after having been trained by the Mekhitarists of Vienna, studied at Vienna University, where he was Strzygowski's student. He published several monographs and about four hundred articles on different aspects of Armenian Christianity. Akinean investigated Timothy Aeluros' importance for the articulation of Armenian Church's teaching, as well as the relations between the Armenian and the Georgian churches in the seventh century and the history of the schism between them. Before the First World War, he was able to make many journeys to Western Armenia and to the Armenian churches spread over Anatolia to collect dispersed manuscripts; he described collections of Armenian manuscripts in Cyprus, Poland, and Ukraine. In 1928, during his work in Armenia, he was arrested and spent nine months in different Soviet prisons, which damaged his health irreversibly. He was set free in February 1929, thanks to the intervention of the minister of culture, A. Lunačarskij, several weeks before Lunačarskij resigned from his post, finding himself in sharp disagreement with Soviet cultural politics.

²¹ *Ējmiacin* 2–3 (1980): 115–118.

²² *Handes Amsōreay* 68 (1954): 353–414; *ibid.* 77 (1963): 449–468.

Amongst Akinian's disciples at the Mekhitarist monastery of Vienna was Hamazasp Oskean²³ (1895–1968), a native of the region of Karin (Erzurum in Turkey). Oskean studied at the University of Vienna and for several decades worked on a monumental series devoted to the study of Armenian monasteries and their traditions. Each of the ten volumes that he produced is dedicated to one particular region of historical Armenia, from Sebastia in the west to Artsakh (or Karabagh) in the northeast; other volumes remained unpublished. Another of Akinian's illustrious pupils was Vahan Inglisian²⁴ (1897–1968), a native of Artvin like Akinian himself. In 1912, during one of his visits home, Akinian aroused interest in the fifteen-year old boy in studying Armenian antiquity and took him to Vienna. Inglisian thus left his homeland three years before the Genocide and was never to see it again. He first studied under Akinian's direction and then at the University of Vienna. During National Socialism, when a number of monasteries were closed, he managed to obtain a writ of protection for his congregation by invoking its scientific importance; within the walls of the monastery he offered refuge to a number of displaced persons. Inglisian made the first systematic analysis of the Christological conceptions of the major figures responsible for stabilising the Armenian Church's doctrine after the Arab conquest: Theodore K'rt'enantawor, John of Öjun and Xosrovik the Translator.

In the second half of the century, a number of studies contributed to better understanding of the stages in the long process of separation between the Armenian Church and the Church of the empire, as well as of the ensuing split between the Armenian and the Georgian Churches. Pōlos (Anton) Ananean²⁵ (1922–1998), who was born in Constantinople and educated at the Mekhitarist academy in Venice and at the Gregorian University in Rome, published important studies on the circumstances of the Christianisation of Armenia, the history of Armenian Church councils and the Armenian Church's relations with the Church of the empire in the Venice Mekhitarist periodical *Bazmavep* (Erudite). N. Garsoïan dedicated a long study to the transformation of the Armenian Church between the third and the sixth centuries and the history of the schism between the Armenian and the Byzantine Churches. Jean-Pierre Mahé investigated the Armenian Church's relations with the Georgian and the Aluanian Churches and the role of religious confession in the formation of national identity in Armenia during the early Middle Ages.

²³ *Handes Amsoreay* 82 (1968): 21–48.

²⁴ *Handes Amsoreay* 82 (1968): 1–20.

²⁵ *Bazmavep* 156 (1998): 317–321.

The publication of the Armenian *anaphoras* by Y. Gat'rancean and Y. Tašean in 1897 was followed by other studies of liturgical texts: Vardan Hac'uni²⁶ (1879–1944), who was born in the region of Nikomedia (Izmit in today's Turkey) and who studied at the Mekhitarist academy in Venice, investigated the eucharistic liturgy and rites of the election and enthronement of the *catholicos*; Karapet Amatuni (1900–1984), another Mekhitarist from Venice, studied Armenian monastic institutions; Yovhannēs (Jean) Mécérian²⁷ (1888–1965) published fundamental studies on the history of the institutions of the Armenian Church, on canon law and the liturgy. Mécérian was a native of the region of Sebastia (Sivas in today's Turkey); he finished his studies in the Jesuit academies of France and spent most of his later life in the Middle East, where he was also involved in archaeological excavations. In the second half of the century, Charles Athanase Renoux published numerous studies dedicated to various aspects of the Armenian liturgy in different periodicals.

With the growing number of edited texts in the twentieth century, we observe a growing specialisation and fragmentation of the studies of the Christian East. In the USSR, despite its internationalist programmes, Soviet rule failed to create conditions for collaboration between the Armenian and Georgian academies and nationalistic tendencies grew even stronger. There has been, however, a limited number of scholars of almost universal erudition who were able to overcome this compartmentalisation and to appraise the interaction between different traditions. In Germany, during the first half of the twentieth century, amongst such erudites we may single out Carl Anton Baumstark²⁸ (1872–1948), who introduced new methods into the study of liturgical rites and ceremonies (the fact that, in spite of his erudition, he was able to become Hitler's enduring adherent is also part of the history of scholarship). Baumstark elaborated a methodology for the comparative study of liturgies, conceiving of them as changing languages, and formulated several laws for the development of rites. Most of the contemporary scholars of Oriental liturgies, such as Robert Taft, and Gabriele Winkler, who has studied the survival of ancient Syriac elements in the Armenian liturgy in particular, have applied and developed Baumstark's methods in their work. In the second half

²⁶ *Handēs Amsōreay* 61 (1947): 245–247.

²⁷ *Handēs Amsōreay* 79 (1965): 495–502.

²⁸ *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 63, no. 2 (1949): 185–207; *Oriens Christianus* 82 (1998): 1–52; E. Lanne, “Les dix leçons de liturgie comparée,” in *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*: Acts of the International Congress, Rome, 25–29 September 1998, *Orientalia Christiana analecta* 265 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 145–161.

of the twentieth century, Michel Van Esbroeck²⁹ (1934–2003) was amongst such polyvalent philologists; he studied at the University of Leuven. In his confrere Peeters' footsteps, Van Esbroeck analysed hagiographic and doctrinal Armenian texts in the context of Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopian, Georgian, and Greek sources, all accessible to him in the original. Hundreds of his articles are scattered in various periodicals.

The cataloguing and description of manuscripts offered new opportunities to art historians. One of the most remarkable scholars of Armenian miniature painting was Sirarpie Der-Nersessian³⁰ (1896–1989). She was born in 1896 in Constantinople, where she was orphaned at an early age and then brought up by her uncle, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Malak'ea Örmanean, a famous Church historian and author of a classic, *National History*. In 1915, during the Genocide, she found refuge in Europe, where she studied at the University of Geneva and the Sorbonne. She subsequently worked in France and the USA and prepared a dozen volumes of studies concerned with the history of Armenian and Byzantine art. From 1981 until her death she was the director of the periodical *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, the chief reference in the field of Armenian Studies.

For many decades after the Genocide, the former Western Armenia remained closed to researchers and the conditions of numerous monuments described on the eve of the First World War deteriorated rapidly; no restoration was ever undertaken, some semi-ruined buildings were dismantled and the stones reused by local populations, whereas other monuments were demolished by the authorities. Amongst the historians of Armenian ecclesiastic and monastic architecture who undertook to explore the Armenian heritage of Eastern Turkey during the later part of the twentieth century, often exposing themselves to personal risk, two names should be singled out. Jean-Michel Thierry (1916–2011), a physician, conducted many expeditions to historical Armenia from the 1950s until the 1990s. His works were published in the *Revue des Études Arméniennes* from 1965 onwards. Paolo Cuneo³¹ (1936–1995), an architect, nourished an interest in the arts of the Near East from 1965. His numerous archaeological expeditions to historical Armenia, Anatolia, and Cilicia enabled him to prepare scholarly descriptions of hundreds of monuments, some of which had never been described before. He subsequently directed the preparation of a comprehensive

²⁹ *Oriens Christianus* 88 (2004): 257–261.

³⁰ J. Stanojevich Allen, "Sirarpie Der Nersessian: Educator and Scholar in Byzantine and Armenian Art," in: *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts (1829–1979)*, ed. C. Richter Sherman and A. M. Holcomb (West Port: Greenwood Press, 1981), 329–355.

³¹ *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 25 (1994–95): 500–501.

catalogue of Armenian ecclesiastical architecture, in which 461 monuments are described, 134 of them pre-dating the Arab period. Thomas F. Mathews has made a major contribution to liturgical contextualization and exegetical interpretation of Armenian architectural and artistic forms.³²

The work of textual editors and art historians has depended upon the work of the authors of catalogues who described unknown manuscripts. We should at least mention two figures, one from Western and the other from Eastern Armenia. Norayr Polarean (Covakan; Vanatur; 1914–1996)³³ was born in 1914 in Antep (Gaziantep in today's Turkey), where he also studied at the Vardanean seminary. He pursued his theological education at the seminary of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, and after studies at King's College and the Universities of London and Manchester, he spent most of his long life in the convent of St. James of Jerusalem, the most ancient community of the Armenian Diaspora. For several decades he worked on the eleven volumes of a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts preserved at his monastery, one of the richest collections of Armenian manuscripts. Furthermore, he prepared valuable studies on Armenian ecclesiastical culture.

After the Second World War, several collections of Armenian manuscripts were assembled at *Matenadaran*, the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan, which thus became the richest collection of Armenian manuscripts in the world. This created unique conditions for scholarly work in different branches of Armenian studies. Levon Xaç'ikyan (1918–1982),³⁴ born in Yerevan, was the key figure in establishing and directing the *Matenadaran*. During Stalin's rule he was able to use his position to save many of his colleagues from persecution. In the words of N. Garsoïan, who came to know him personally during her research sojourns in Armenia, "the only mediaeval church in Erevan still stands, although damaged, as a testimonial to his opposition to the general order to dynamite all religious buildings."³⁵ Xaç'ikyan's colleague, Artašēs Mat'evosyan (1922–2004), worked uninterruptedly for 45 years at the *Matenadaran*, where he described thousands of manuscripts and on this basis was able to reconstruct the history of various scriptoria in medieval Armenia.

One of the peculiarities of Armenian manuscripts is the extensive colophons, the marginal notes made by the mediaeval copyists. These notes often represent

³² Plontke-Lüning, *Frühchristliche Architektur in Kaukasien*, 77–79.

³³ *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 18 (1984): 9–22; *Sion [Zion]* (Jerusalem: Patriarchate of St. James) NS 71 (1997): 263–377.

³⁴ *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* 1 (1982): 233–234; *Oriens Christianus* 66 (1982): 233.

³⁵ Nina Garsoïan, *De vita sua* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Pub, 2011), 137–138.

unique sources for historical events, written directly by eye-witnesses. In company with his colleagues, L. Xaç'ikyan published a long series of unedited sources and, notably, a collection of colophons of the Armenian manuscripts preserved in the Matenadaran. He elaborated theoretical principles for the editing of colophons. This and other collections of Armenian colophons represent a priceless resource. To give an example: recently, the Italian Institute of Geophysics³⁶ published a history of earthquakes in the Mediterranean area reconstructed on the basis of ancient witnesses, in which references to Armenian colophons appear frequently. This valuable data may enable us to foresee future seismic events. The study of the heritage of Christian Armenia thus also contributes to the reconstruction of the physical history of the Near East.

³⁶ *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, ed. E. Guidoboni et al., (Bologna: Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica, 1994); *Catalogue of Earthquakes and Tsunamis in the Mediterranean Area from the 11th to the 15th Century*, ed. E. Guidoboni and A. Comastri (Bologna: Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica, 2005).

BYZANTINE IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AS THE CHIEF INSPIRATION FOR A NEW KINGSHIP UNDER KING DAVID IV THE BUILDER (R. 1089–1125)

Sandro Nikolaishvili 

The reign of David IV the Builder (r. 1089–1125) was a period of great challenges in medieval Georgia. David has been considered a successful ruler who reunified the Georgian territorial entities, a process initiated by King Bagrat III (r. 978–1014), and managed to establish the medieval kingdom of Georgia as the predominant political and military power in the Caucasus.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that David IV is a well-studied figure in Georgian historiography and the subject of substantial research. However, some elements are worth revising. Apart from his military and political successes, David IV's reign was characterized by the appearance of a new kingship ideology. This ideology introduced the concept of the ideal ruler, who possessed all the royal virtues and was inspired and directed by divine wisdom. These new ideas are reflected in extant images, numismatic materials, and written testimonies, contemporary with David IV.

My aim in this article is to analyze the ways in which the various tools of royal propaganda were used to construct a new concept of kingship and how they imposed the characteristics of an ideal ruler.¹ Equally, in order to understand more clearly how the Byzantine imperial idea influenced the process of power consolidation in the medieval kingdom of Georgia, I will put Georgian kingship in the context of the renewed Byzantine imperial image in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The reign of David IV is well documented in contrast to the previous period, which provides an excellent opportunity to conduct research based on various written and material sources. Particular emphasis will be given to the three main written testimonies: *The Acts of the Ruis-Urbnisi Synod*, the *Hymns of Repentance*, and the Anonymous' *Life of the King of Kings David*. The *Life of the King of Kings David*, covering the entire reign of David IV from 1089 to 1125, is the most important primary source for this article.

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis, "Construction of Power and Kingship Ideology under King David IV the Builder (r. 1089–1125): With Special Attention to the Byzantine Model?" (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 2011). I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Niels Gaul, for his advice and support.

My research methodology relies on comparative studies of the various Georgian and non-Georgian, particularly Byzantine, sources. I shall scrutinize the sources with regard to the phrases and epithets ascribed to the ideal ruler that reflect a concept of the king's main virtues such as courage, justice, philanthropy, piety, and wisdom. I will also interpret the specific terms related to the title of a ruler. The patterns in the Georgian sources will be compared with Byzantine counterparts in order to see to what kind of borrowings were made.

Creating the Image of an Ideal Ruler

The initial indicators of a transformed kingship ideology were the changes that occurred in twelfth-century Georgian historical writing, particularly in the Anonymus' *Life of the King of Kings David*. In the historical writings created from the ascension to power of the Bagrationis (c. 813–1810) but prior to the period this article discusses – the *Life and Tales of the Bagrationis*, by Sumbat Davitisdze and the *Chronicle of Kartli* – the focal point of the historical narrative was to establish a chronological order of events. Anonymus' *Life of the King of Kings David* represents a turning point because for the first time the author focused on the hero and styled him as the main actor in the narrative. From this time onwards, a strong concept of a Christian ruler, who enjoyed the obvious favor of God and was anointed by him, started to infiltrate medieval Georgian historical writing.

The anonymous author introduced a propaganda of legitimization, drawn mostly from Byzantine/Christian rhetoric, which had been absent from earlier historical sources. This propaganda served to create a model of kingship and power different from the one that had existed before David IV.² The chief

² There was a different notion of a Persian-like kingship before the Bagrationis came to the power (c. 813). It led to remodeling the Persian concept of kingship into a more Byzantine and Christian-inspired form. In Georgian historical sources (around c. 800) from the pre-Bagrationis period, the ruler was styled as a Sasanian/Persian hero-king. The king was modeled as a giant (*goliat*), possessing supernatural strength and divine favor. In the pre-Bagrationis period, the ideal ruler was supposed to be *bumberazji*, a “champion duelist” and the most powerful man, who would engage in skirmishes with other heroes from an enemy camp before battle. In this way, the king would demonstrate his martial skills and encourage his soldiers. For this see Stephen H. Rapp, Jr., “From *Bumberazji* to *Basileus*: Writing Cultural Synthesis and Dynastic Change in Medieval Georgia (Kartli),” in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Ashgate: Variorum, 1994), 101–116; and idem., “Imagining History at the Crossroads: Persia, Byzantium, and the Architects of the Written Georgian Past,” PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 1997).

inspiration for this new kingship was the Byzantine imperial idea of a Christian ruler and his main imperial virtues, such as courage, wisdom, piety, philanthropy, and justice. Anonymus' encomiastic strategy was to show David's individual attributes, heroic deeds, magnificent achievements and virtues around which the whole story developed.³ David was eulogized as an ideal Christian ruler, God's representative on earth, and compared with the biblical figures of David and Solomon and with the idealized Christian emperor, Constantine the Great.⁴ Apart from the scriptural allusions, one can detect a significant number of allusions to Classical models.⁵

Anonymus' rich political vocabulary and the epithets he used can be sorted into three groups. First are the figures of the Old Testament: David, Solomon, and Moses, whose kingship, virtues, and judgment played a crucial part in the process of legitimating the king.⁶ The second group comprises Classical models, mainly Alexander, and Homeric heroes: Achilles, Agamemnon, Priam, Hector, Odysseus, and Orestes. They are examples of military prowess and cleverness with which David was equated.⁷ The last, third, group is that of post-biblical Christian figures: Constantine the Great, the Apostle Paul, Basil the Great, and St. Anthony.⁸ As in the case of the Byzantine Empire, for Anonymus' discourse David, Solomon, and Alexander the Great were the favorite propagandistic models of kingship.⁹ Thus, *The Life of the King of Kings David*, introduced a different language into historical discourse and emphasized divine ordination and biblical as well as Classical models as the basis of David's image.

In the following paragraphs I am going to discuss the five main virtues of King David IV: courage, wisdom, piety, philanthropy, and justice. Among these virtues, courage and military skills were significant for the ideal ruler and a crucial

³ For the rhetorical tradition see Donald A. Russell and Nigel G. Wilson, ed., *Menander Rhetor: A Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

⁴ [The Life of the King of Kings David] ცხოვრებაი მეფეთ-მეფისა დავითისი, ed. Mzeqala Shanidze (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1992), 171, 209; Robert W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles, Original Georgian Text and the Armenian Adaptation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 319, 345.

⁵ Some of the literary sources used by Anonymus have already been identified. When the author compared King David with Alexander the Great he relied on pseudo-Callisthenes' *Deeds of Alexander* and Aristobulus' *History and Chorography*.

⁶ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 208; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 343.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 192–193; 334.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 208; 343.

⁹ For the Byzantine dimension see Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 79.

part in Anonymus' power-building discourse. David was viewed as a dedicated warrior, an experienced general (*umsgavso spaspeti*) and tactician who would endure any hardship for his subjects. In Byzantine imperial ideology, the military prowess of the emperor was one of the main imperial virtues. "The emphasis on military virtues echoed Menander's suggestions that the orator must describe the emperor's armor and the moment of his engagement with the enemy during the battle."¹⁰

The fact that David himself led the army, fought on the battlefield, and provided an example of courage (*simxne*) and fearlessness (*ushishi*) underlined his military prowess. Anonymus often compared David to Alexander the Great and even claimed him to be superior. David IV's military skills, speed of attack and marching were more impressive and marvelous than Alexander's.¹¹ If Alexander was superior to all his contemporaries so was David.

... our crowned (king) and *new Alexander* [emphasis mine], though he was later in time, none the less was not less in deeds, or counsel, or valour (*simxne*). In those very deeds for which Alexander is called conqueror, the latter was not inferior, but I think him superior for their number.¹²

In Anonymus' propaganda, David IV's fight on the battlefield overshadowed the story of the "Trojans and Achilles."¹³ In order to highlight his hero's military prowess, Anonymus stated that Achilles' achievements were less impressive than David IV's. Achilles was one of the comparative figures which Menander advised panegyrists to liken the emperor to.¹⁴ David's image was largely based on Anonymus' representation of him as a skilful warrior and general who trained the soldiers and led the campaigns himself. It highlighted the militaristic image of rulership which started to be a dominant aspect of tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine imperial ideology.

In late tenth-century Byzantium an epic image began to infiltrate the traditional view of the ideal emperor through emphasizing the emperor's martial

¹⁰ Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium*, 82. On the importance of the military virtues for the emperor see: Russell and Wilson, ed., *Menander Rhetor*, 85.

¹¹ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 186; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 329.

¹² *Ibid.*, 186; 329: ... ჩუენი ეს გვირგვინოსანი და ახალი ალექსანდრე, დაღათუ ჟამითა შემდგომ, არამედ არა საქმითა, არცა განზრახვითა, არცა სიმხნითა უმცირე: და თვით მათ საქმეთა შინა, რომელთა მძლედ ითქუმის ალექსანდრე, არა უმდაბლე, არამედ მრავლითა უმაღლეს მგონიეს ესე;

¹³ *Ibid.*, 192–193; 334.

¹⁴ Russell and Wilson, ed., *Menander Rhetor*, 87.

skills.¹⁵ Leo the Deacon's literary portrayals of Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) and John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976) paved the way for an innovation in Byzantine imperial ideology by developing the discourse of a *basileus* possessing the martial skills of an outstanding warrior. These tendencies finally became a dominant aspect of the imperial image under Alexios I Komnenos which complemented a new vision of the emperor as the archetypal warrior.¹⁶

Equally, wisdom became a strong ideological element of the ideal ruler in twelfth-century Georgia. Wisdom highlighted the concept of a divinely appointed ruler with responsibilities towards his subjects. The model of the wise king was represented in detail by David IV himself in *Hymns of Repentance*, which was dedicated to the Theotokos (the Mother of God).¹⁷ The figure of Emperor Leo VI the Wise (r. 886–912), the author of homilies and hymns on religious issues, might have served for King David IV's image. I will turn to the Byzantine perspective of the wise ruler in the following paragraph before the immediately following comparison with the Georgian example.

In the Macedonian era, the notion of the wise ruler was well presented in the example of Leo VI the Wise. No Byzantine emperor before or after him was ascribed such wisdom.¹⁸ Leo VI's insight was modeled after the Old Testament King Solomon's wisdom, whose wisdom was a gift from God. Wisdom was expressed through his capacity as a judge, temple builder, and writer of psalms and proverbs. Solomon's wisdom indicated his prophetic and priestly role, and his reign was seen as a Golden Age of the Jewish kingdom.¹⁹ Emperor Leo VI the Wise was recognized as the Byzantine Solomon. Patriarch of Constantinople Nicholas stressed that the emperor's wisdom was as a gift from God, just as Solomon's had been.²⁰ It seems that the concept of a wise ruler acquired significant importance in tenth-century Byzantium and became one of the predominant elements for the imperial image.

¹⁵ Aleksandr Kazhdan and Annabel W. Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 112.

¹⁶ Kazhdan and Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 110; *Alexiad*, IV, vi; VII, ix–x; XII, I; XV, iii.

¹⁷ Most scholars believe that *The Hymns of Repentance* were composed by King David IV himself around 1120.

¹⁸ Shaun F. Tougher, "The Wisdom of Leo VI," in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Ashgate: Variorum, 1994), 171–179.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

Returning to the Georgian example, the main theme of David IV's *Hymns of Repentance* is the king who repents and shows himself as a great sinner. He, like the biblical David, expresses his religiosity and demonstrates piety and devotion to the faith.²¹ The *Hymns* are modeled on the Psalms of the biblical David, as they are believed to be based on the motifs of Psalm 50.²² In this way King David IV was competing with the old David, to whom he was often compared both in *The Acts of the Ruis-Urbnisi Synod* and in Anonymus' *Life of the King of Kings David*.

According to the Christian apologetic tradition, repentance was the beginning of a substantial transformation of a man. Each act of repentance signified the “death of the old” and the “birth of the new,” thus providing firm ground for “a new man.”²³ Gilbert Dagron notes that humility and repentance can easily be understood as Christian virtues and the image of a repentant emperor should not come as a surprise. This was a “truly imperial” act which the emperor could make “imperially.”²⁴

Religious writings demonstrated the monarch's theological interest and aspiration to knowledge. The late twelfth-century poet, Ioane Shavteli, compared David IV to Maximus the Confessor because of the king's thorough theological implications of the dogmatic issues related to the Theotokos.²⁵ Besides the religious theme, some phrases in *The Hymns of Repentance* have strong political implications and refer to the new concept of kingship elaborated during David IV's reign. David IV claimed that in order to govern a new realm and his people: “Apart from the purple which I possessed by nature, you entrusted me with the *sharavandedi* (halo) of kingship.”²⁶ The purple in *The Hymns* referred to the Bagrationis' alleged biblical origin and to the legacy of David and Solomon's kingship, which David IV claimed to have received from God. Furthermore, David IV showed himself as the conqueror and subjugator of various lands and political entities.

²¹ [Laura Grigolashvili] ლაურა გრიგოლაშვილი, დავით აღმაშენებლის “გალობანი სინანულისანი” [Hymns of Repentance of David the Builder] (Tbilisi: Tbilisi University Press, 2005), 145.

²² *Ibid.*, 146.

²³ *Ibid.*, 119.

²⁴ Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: the Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 120.

²⁵ Grigolashvili, *Hymns of Repentance of David the Builder*, 84.

²⁶ [David the Builder] დავით აღმაშენებელი, გალობანი სინანულისანი [Hymns of Repentance], ed. Guram Tevzadze (Tbilisi: Tbilisi University Press, 1989), 20. ბუნებთსა რაისა პორფირსა თვითმფლობელობასა თანა მეფობისაგა შარავანდედი მარწმუნენ.

The notion of a wise ruler was also well adopted in Anonymus' *Life of King of Kings David*, where David is described as possessing divine wisdom: "... King David, given wisdom by God ..." Divine wisdom (*gmrtit-ganbrdz'nobili*) played an important role in Anonymus' discourse and was of paramount importance in constructing the king's authority. Divine wisdom was a significant part of the Byzantine imperial ideology. In court ceremonies and acclamations, Byzantine emperors were often compared to Moses, David, Solomon, and Constantine. The wisdom by which they governed was praised.²⁷

As Anonymus presents, David IV's wisdom (*sibrdz'ne*) was directly connected with his "fear of God" because this was the source and beginning of wisdom: "... He found the fear of the Lord to be the mother of wisdom..."²⁸ The concept of God's fear as the source of wisdom was part of Christian political philosophy. It was elaborated in the works of Agapetus, who, in his *Advice to the Emperor* Justinian I (r. 527–565) viewed the "the fear of the Lord" as the beginning of wisdom.²⁹ In the passage above, Anonymus' emphasis on David IV's wisdom might imply both concepts together – the image of a God-fearing Christian monarch and a philosopher-ruler. Moreover, the ruler's theological knowledge and Orthodoxy were ways to present him as "the chosen one" for the throne. Like Leo VI in his *Homilies*, David IV in his *Hymns of Repentance* tried to combine the elements of the two Old Testament kings and equate himself with them. David and Solomon had been models for the Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great; thus, the rulers of the Macedonian dynasty were preoccupied with identifying themselves with these kings. I argue that by considering the Old Testament, particularly the biblical David as his predecessor, David IV tried to highlight his inheritance of the biblical king's role as mediator between God and His people. This was a common practice in Byzantine imperial ideology.³⁰

David IV's other virtue, piety, manifested in the imitation of God and constant fasting and vigils, is presented by Anonymus in high rhetorical style. This important Christian notion strengthened David's authority and introduced a new concept of the pious king. "I know for the truth that for ten whole years he received with a pure mouth and chaste mind incorruptible mysteries of Christ, with corroborating conscience and not unwilling consent – to which the witness

²⁷ Zaga Gavrilović, "Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology," *Zograf* 11 (1980): 44.

²⁸ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 200–201; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 339.

²⁹ Peter N. Bell, *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

is the Faithful One in heaven.”³¹ Anonymus claimed that his hero’s piety found favor in the eyes of God and because of this the king won victories over his foes. Besides, he maintained the piety of the army, and forbade “devilish songs, music and festival, and insults, which offend God.” The king’s stoic and moral behavior showed that he was a good and God-fearing Christian ruler who continually cared for his subjects. Thus, his purity (*siwminde*), superior to all the other virtues (*satnoeba*), is demonstrated as greater than that of St. Anthony.³²

Philanthropy is another of a king’s virtues and plays a significant role in the rhetorical description in Anonymus’ *Life of King of Kings David*. Among the king’s many tasks, compassion and care for the poor remained an integral part of David’s image. As Anonymus states, the king made an act of charity every day and dispensed money which was not taken from the treasury, but earned by David himself. This story is narrated as follows:

For he had a little bag; he would fill it with money daily by his own hand, and in the evening would bring it back empty with joyful heart and countenance. Sometimes he would dispense a half of it, and sometimes no one would be found; then he would put it aside full for the morrow and say with a sigh: ‘Today I gave nothing to Christ through fault of my sins.’ Now he did not make the offerings from the taxes of his officials, nor from his stores, but from the profit of his own hands.³³

The concept of philanthropy had a long history in Byzantine political and social thought and was an integral element of Byzantine imperial ideology. In his rhetorical handbook Menander considered philanthropy as an integral part of justice and advised panegyrics to praise an emperor’s philanthropy.³⁴ The late antique orator Themistius regarded philanthropy as among the most important imperial virtues.³⁵

³¹ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 207; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 343.

³² *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 207; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 343.

³³ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 208–209; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 344: რამეთუ იყო მისა კისაკი მცირე, რომელსა აღავსებდის რაი დრაჰკნითა დღე სარწმუნოდ თვისითა ხელითა, სამწუხროდ ცალიერი მოაქუნდის იგი მხიარულსა სულითა და პირითა; და ოდესმე ნახევარი წარავის მისი, და ოდესმე არავინ ეპოვნის და ეგრეთ სავსე მისცეს დამარხვად ხვალისა და სულთქუმიტა თქვას: ‘დღეს ვერა მივეც ქრისტესა მარცხებითა ჩემთა ცოდვათაითა.’ და ამას იქმოდის არათუ ხელოსანთა მორთმეულისაგან, ანუ საჭუჭლით, არამედ ხელთა თვისთა ნადირებულთა,

³⁴ Russell and Wilson, ed., *Menander Rhetor. A Commentary*, 89–91.

³⁵ Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium*, 112.

Among David's other virtues, his justice towards his flock is narrated by Anonymus in an elaborate manner. The king is represented as the supreme judge and guarantor of the peace and tranquility between "rival nations." On his entrance into Ossetia, David IV easily united the Ossetians and Kipchaks (Cumans), who had been in hostile relationships for a long time. He made friendship and peace among them like brothers.³⁶ In his judgment, King David IV is even compared to God, who never bends "the balance of the scales."³⁷

Courage, wisdom, piety, philanthropy, and justice were among the most important virtues of the ruler. The frequent emphasis on these virtues and the constant use of epithets and comparative figures in written sources contemporary to David reveal the way the authors of these narratives exploited the political vocabulary that had long been established in Byzantine imperial panegyrics and historical writings.³⁸

The King as the Guardian of Orthodoxy

David IV's ecclesiastical policy, in my opinion, offers interesting conclusions about the king's role in relation to the Church and ecclesiastical powers. Additionally, it demonstrates the role ascribed to the king as a defender and guardian of the faith. The king's authority and his demonstrated care for the well-being of the Church are attested in *The Acts of the Ruis-Urbnisi Synod* as well as in Anonymus' *Life of the King of Kings David*. In both sources, David's personal role in the 1104 Ruis-Urbnisi synod is highly praised and viewed as one of his greatest achievements, which finally brought peace to and restored stability in the Church. In order to imitate the Byzantine emperors, whose authority to convoke ecumenical councils was long established in the empire, David IV convoked the first attested Georgian Church council in 1104 by seizing the prerogative of a Byzantine emperor.³⁹

The ecclesiastical council summoned by David IV was truly significant as it aimed to increase the royal authority in the Church and to get rid of the strong opposition not loyal to the king among those who occupied ecclesiastical

³⁶ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 183–184; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 328.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 207; 343.

³⁸ Two historical narratives from the Bagrationis period, *The Life and Tales of Bagrationis* by Sumbat Davitis-dze and *The Chronicle of Kartli*, earlier in date than the Anonymus' *Life of the King of Kings David*, are not focused on kingship. They do not elaborate the concept of the ruler and pay no attention to the king's virtues. The king's martial abilities are seldom mentioned in the sources; they are merely summarized briefly.

³⁹ Rapp, Jr., "Imagining History at the Crossroads," 642.

positions uncanonically.⁴⁰ Because of convoking the ecclesiastical council, David IV was compared to Constantine the Great. In Anonymus' words, "King David accomplished this in imitation of Constantine the Great."⁴¹ As Dagron states, "the notion of Constantinian legitimacy extended to the whole lineage of Orthodox sovereigns."⁴² By comparing King David IV with Constantine the Great, the sources – both *The Life of the King of Kings David* and *The Acts of the Ruis-Urbnisi Synod* – introduced the Constantinian model⁴³ as a possible source for emulation.

The royal imagery contemporary with David IV is of the utmost importance. It demonstrates the way power and authority were presented and what challenges they faced. An image preserved in the Bochorma church⁴⁴ bears witness to the appearance of Constantine as an important figure in royal imagery. In the lowest register conch of Bochorma, David IV is depicted as standing next to the image of Constantine and Helena, which is the earliest surviving image of these imperial saints in Georgia.⁴⁵ Depicting David IV with the figures of Constantine and Helena was a crucial component in constructing an image of him as an ideal ruler. It aimed to impress the king's subjects and sent the strong message that David IV was a successor to Constantine the Great.⁴⁶

In order to better understand the possible adoption of Byzantine political concepts, one should observe the role Constantine played in Byzantine imperial ideology. The concept of *basileus* in the Byzantine Empire was based on the model of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great. Christianized imperial ideology during the reign of Constantine viewed the emperor as God's representative on the earth. The emperor received special favor from God and

⁴⁰ [Roin Metreveli], როინ მეტრეველი, დავით აღმაშენებელი; თამარ მეფე [David the Builder; Queen Tamar] (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University Press, 2002), 138.

⁴¹ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 171–172; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 319.

⁴² Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 201.

⁴³ For the Constantinian model in the Byzantine Empire see: Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 127–157.

⁴⁴ The Bochorma church is located in Kaxeti, nowadays the easternmost province of Georgia. It was built in the eleventh century and highly decorated, possibly in the early twelfth.

⁴⁵ The walls of Bochorma church are much damaged, but Asmat Okropiridze still managed to identify David IV's figure. See [Asmat Okropiridze] ასმათ ოკროპირიძე, ეტიტორის გამოსახულება ბოჭორმის წმინდა გიორგის სახელობის ეკლესიაში [The Image of the Donor in the Church of St. George at Bochorma] *Literature and Art* 1 (1990): 235–251.

⁴⁶ Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (State College: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 67.

through the Divine *Logos* was in a special relationship with him.⁴⁷ In order to reflect the divine monarchy, Constantine the Great established himself as sole ruler. “It was the emperor’s, Constantine’s, responsibility to recall the human race to the knowledge of God by announcing the laws of truth which guided all men.”⁴⁸

From the tenth century onwards the figure of Constantine became an important element in the imperial image of the “Macedonian” dynasty. Emperor Basil I’s (r. 867–886) grandson, Constantine VII (r. 913–959), initiated a revival of Constantinian ideology for the sake of dynastic propaganda and added Basil’s descent from Constantine through his mother to the “Macedonian” genealogy.⁴⁹ The relics of Constantine – a cross and shield – were kept in the Nea Ekklesia signifying the importance and exploitation of the Constantinian legitimacy.⁵⁰

No single piece of medieval Georgian historical writing prior to *The Life of the King of Kings* ever emphasized the king’s crucial role in faith and the conversion of “pagans;” the king was never represented as the main actor who attempted to explain their mistake to heretics and return them to the true faith. David IV is depicted as the champion of Orthodoxy, who converted “many pagan peoples”⁵¹ and “led them to become sons of holy baptism and receive Christ.”⁵² Because of such great deeds, David was said to have had the grace of the Apostle Paul and Constantine the Great bestowed upon him.

In Byzantine imperial ideology dating back to Constantine’s time, the conversion of pagans was considered an integral element of the Christian *basileus*’ responsibilities. By ascribing to David IV care for the “conversion of pagans,”

⁴⁷ Claudia Rapp, “Old Testament Models for Emperors in Early Byzantium,” in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 176.

⁴⁸ Donald M. Nicol, “Byzantine Political Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–1450*, ed. James H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 52.

⁴⁹ According to tradition, Basil I was descended from the old Armenian Arsacid dynasty on his father’s side, see: Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 201.

⁵⁰ Paul Magdalino, “Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I,” in *Studies in the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Ashgate: Variorum, 2007): 51–61.

⁵¹ It is likely that by “pagans” Anonymous referred to the Kipchaks (Cumans) whom David IV resettled from the northern Caucasus and included in his army as mercenaries. Apart from the Kipchaks, the conversion of “pagans” might also be related to the growth of influence of the Georgian kingdom in the northern Caucasus leading to the Christianization of the indigenous people.

⁵² *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 209; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 345.

Anonymus aimed to present him as a true Christian ruler fulfilling one of his main obligations.

After establishing a strong Caucasian kingdom and incorporating Armenian political entities in it, the religious issue with the Armenians took on increasing importance. According to *The Life of the King of Kings David*, as in the case of the Ruis-Urbnisi synod, the Church council against the non-Chalcedonian Armenians was summoned in the presence of the king. As Anonymus presents, the Armenians requested a council to be based on debates in order to inquire into religious issues. If the Armenians were defeated by the Georgians they would accept religious unity and anathematize their faith, but if the Armenians proved their faith correct and defeated the Georgians, they could not be called heretics and anathematized. David summoned the *katolikos* of Kartli, John, and Arsen Iqaltoeli,⁵³ “the translator who knew both the Greek and Georgian languages and who illuminated all the Churches.” The mutual debates and inquiry lasted a whole day with no outcome and conclusion; the king, irritated, intervened and proposed:

Fathers, you have tackled certain divine and incomprehensible questions like philosophers. We, like unlearned men and complete rustics, have not been able to understand anything. This is known to you, that I am far from learning and knowledge, as one raised among campaigns. Therefore I shall propose to you words (understandable) by the unlearned, simple, and common people.⁵⁴

As Anonymus presents, in his speech David provided such irrefutable arguments that he drowned the Armenians as “Moses did the Egyptians.” “As great Basil in Athens,” David closed their mouths and made them completely speechless and unable to answer.⁵⁵ In the words of Anonymus, the Armenians

⁵³ Arsen Iqaltoeli (Arsen of Iqalto) was a Georgian theologian and philosopher. He was educated in the Byzantine Empire and a student of Michael Psellos. See Roin Metreveli, *The Golden Age: Georgia from the Eleventh to the First Quarter of the Thirteenth Century* (Tbilisi: Artanuji Publishers, 2009), 182.

⁵⁴ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 213–214; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 347: შეეწყინა ესე მეფესა და ჰრქუა მათ: „თქუნ, მამანო, სიღრმეთა სადამე შესრულ ხართ და უცნაურთა ჰხედავთ, ვითარცა ფილოსოფოსნი. და ჩუენ ვერარას უძლებთ ცნობად, ვითარცა უსწავლელნი და ყოვლად მსოფლელნი; და ასე საცნაურ არს თქუნდა, რამეთუ მე შორს ვარ სწავლულულებისა და მეცნიერებისაგან, ვითარცა მხედრობათა შინა აღზრდილი; ამისთვისცა უსწავლელთა და ლიტონთა და მარტივთა მიერ სიტყუათა გეზრახო თქუნ.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 214; 348.

were so terrified that they remained unable to refute the king's arguments and had to recognize their defeat and David's victory. "O King, we thought you a disciple of your teachers; but, as we see, you are certainly the teacher of teachers, whose claw these superposed teachers of yours cannot attain."⁵⁶

According to the Byzantine imperial idea, the Eusebian model, the Christian emperor was the teacher (*didaskalos*) who knew the divine mysteries by virtue of his role as the "icon" of God on earth and was responsible together with the Creator for His "flock."⁵⁷ By being shown to lead theological discussions, David IV was meant to be represented as a Christian monarch, a true defender of the faith and champion of Orthodoxy. The king's knowledge and wisdom not only saved the council, but also forced the "totally wicked Armenians, who imagined that they themselves had attained to the summit of learning and science"⁵⁸ to recognize their defeat through his wise and irrefutable arguments. These aspects are not surprising if one takes into account the appearance of the Constantinian model in the written as well as visual sources that aimed to equate David IV with the first Christian emperor. This also meant ascribing competency to him to intervene in ecclesiastical as well as dogmatic affairs.

David IV's actions related to Church could have been borrowed from the contemporary Byzantine Empire. One can see that the king's clear attempt to usurp the Church's authority and impose the leadership of a ruler in ecclesiastical affairs strikingly resembles the revived Byzantine imperial ideology under Alexios I, whose actions toward the Church show a striking similarity with David IV's. The attempt to model the emperor as a supreme judge and theologian who was the only authority to direct and decide heretical and other religious matters was adopted from Alexios I Komnenos.⁵⁹ Alexios attempted to implement the

⁵⁶ Ibid., 215; 348: ჩუენ მოწაფე გუეგონე ამათ მოძღუართა თქუენთაი, გარნა, ვითარ ვხედავთ, შენ სამე ხარ მოძღუარი მოძღუართაი, რომლისა ბრჭალსა ვერ მოძჭუდარ არიან ეგე მოძღუარ-საგონებელნი თქუენნი.

⁵⁷ Bell, *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian*, 73.

⁵⁸ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 213; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 346.

⁵⁹ For Alexios I's ecclesiastical policy see: Paul Magdalino, "Innovations in Government," in *Alexios I Komnenos: Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996): 146–166; Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Margaret Mullett, "The Imperial Vocabulary of Alexios I Komnenos," in eadem., *Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium*, (Ashgate: Variorum 2007): 359–397; Michael Angold, "Belle Epoque or Crisis?" in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c 500–1492*, ed. Jonathan Shephard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 583–626.

“Constantine ideology.” This is clear in the way the emperor promoted his image in the religious sphere which was closely associated with Constantine’s alleged deeds. Alexios’ trial of Italos (the teaching of Italos was summarized under eleven headings and sent to the emperor) and the Bogomils is similar to David IV’s successful debate with the Armenians. Both rulers decided on what a heretical issue was and they were both key figures in the ecclesiastical debates. Moreover, both rulers were modeled as guardians of the faith.⁶⁰

Conclusion

David IV’s reign was truly conspicuous in terms of conducting the power-building process and introducing a new kingship ideology. His reign was a renewal; it presented the end of an old and the beginning of a new era.

The religious poetry the king himself composed is one of the indicators of the kingship ideology in transformation. The wisdom which King David was believed to acquire through divine inspiration was expressed in his writings dedicated to the Theotokos and intended to promote acts of religiosity and piety. It also placed the king on the level of a wise philosopher-ruler. Above all, these religious writings had a strong political message that stressed the king’s adoption of Old Testament kingship and a divine ordination. By producing religious writings, David IV aimed to equate himself with the biblical David and Solomon. This idea of a wise ruler was manifested in the tenth-century Byzantine Empire in the case of Leo VI the Wise. I argue that medieval Georgia was influenced from neighboring Byzantium in this notion.

Another intricate aspect of David IV’s reign was the generic changes that occurred in Georgian historiography, manifested in the Anonymus’ highly rhetorical work, *The Life of the King of Kings David*. This historiographic piece, with biblical as well as Classical allusions, aimed to introduce the new concept of the monarch as divinely inspired, anointed and chosen by God to save his people and manifest the celebration of the true faith. Because of the divine inspiration, which was a crucial element and determinant of the king’s wisdom and special relationship to God, David IV was depicted as a wise and good ruler, full of all virtues: courage, piety, philanthropy and justice.

The appearance of the Constantinian model in medieval Georgia and the likening of David IV to the first Christian emperor is another aspect of the

⁶⁰ Margaret Mullett, “The Imperial Vocabulary of Alexios I Komnenos,” 395; *Alexiad*, XV, viii; *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 214–215; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 348.

kingship ideology. It aimed to ascribe to the Georgian king the same functions that were ascribed to Constantine by late Classical Christian/encomiastic history writers. According to Anonymus, all of the king's actions were divinely directed because he was guided by "the heavenly father." The king's sole duty was to correct the faith and to be a spiritual instructor and a teacher of his people. Like a new Constantine, David IV led non-Christians to Christianity, fulfilling in this way his obligation as a true Christian monarch.

It is likely that David IV's kingship was much inspired by Byzantine political and imperial ideology. It was also influenced by the imperial ideas that the emperors, Leo VI the Wise and Alexios I Komnenos, were propagating in the Byzantine Empire. These two Byzantine emperors themselves borrowed heavily from the elements of the "Constantine ideology."⁶¹

The Constantinian model started to be imported into the medieval Georgia under David IV and became part of a new kinship ideology. David's image united Leo VI's religiosity and wisdom, reflected in religious writings, together with Alexios' ecclesiastical policy, manifested in increased imperial intervention in the Church. Alexios' image of the emperor as a teacher and defender of Orthodoxy was thus transferred to David.

The appropriation of Byzantine political culture during the reign of David IV will not come as a surprise if one takes into the account medieval Georgia's cultural ties with the Byzantine Empire. Inspired by the educational policy of Constantine IX Monomachos and by the law school at St. George of Mangana, David IV followed the Byzantine example and established a school at the Gelati monastery in 1106, also known as the Gelati Academy.⁶² In order to render it high status and authority, under David's auspices and supervision Georgian theologians and philosophers who taught in Constantinople and other schools of the Byzantine Empire were invited to the Gelati Academy, among them Arsen Iqaltoeli (Arsen of Iqalto) and Ioane Petritsi. The latter was a Neoplatonic philosopher and first appointed head of the Gelati Academy. Arsen Iqaltoeli was a theologian and the author of several dogmatic treaties, some of which he translated from Greek into Georgian. On top of this he was a student of Michael Psellos and John Xiphilinos.

⁶¹ Anna Komnene likened her father to the thirteenth apostle and Constantine the Great. See *Alexiad*, XIV, viii.

⁶² The Gelati monastery was founded by King David IV in 1106. For a long time it functioned as the cultural and intellectual center of the medieval kingdom of Georgia. It remained the burial and coronation place for the members of the royal family until the disintegration of the united Georgian kingdom in the second half of the fifteenth century. See Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, 59.

Arsen Iqaltoeli and Ioane Petritsi were closely associated with the king. They, with other invited Georgian scholars, could have been some of the architects of David IV's glorious image. It is possible that Georgian scholars played a crucial role in introducing the Byzantine imperial ideology and political thinking more thoroughly in medieval Georgia. Besides, some members of the Bagrationis family visited Constantinople and spent time at the imperial court. This gave them an excellent opportunity to familiarize themselves with Byzantine imperial ideology, court culture and ceremony. For instance, David IV's grandfather, King Bagrat IV (r. 1027–1072), spent six years in Constantinople. He was a hostage at Emperor Basil II's court (1022–1027) for three years during Byzantine-Georgian negotiations. Later, when Bagrat IV was elevated to the throne, he had to travel to Constantinople, where he was held for three years (1050–1053) in order to negotiate with the emperor and seek imperial support in the civil war against the Baguashi family.

PART II
Report of the Year



REPORT OF THE YEAR

Katalin Szende

The 2010–2011 Academic Year was special in CEU’s history: our mother institution celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its founding in 1991. The Department of Medieval Studies, established two years later, started its eighteenth year of work with good prospects for an intensive and demanding, but also fruitful and rewarding, work together. The recent introduction of the two-year MA program and the arrival of several new colleagues during the last few years have considerably extended the agenda and the constituency of the department. As we formulated in our Mission Statement, our goal is to provide “intellectually challenging comparative and multi-disciplinary postgraduate education on all aspects of the history and culture of the period between c.300 and c.1600.” Our diverse and well-balanced student body indeed made sure that all aspects of the faculty’s potential to cover Central and Western Europe as well as the Byzantine, Slavic, Jewish, Arab and Ottoman worlds in teaching and supervision was fully utilized.

Indeed, this year saw the most varied student group in the Department’s history concerning the country of origin, now comprising four continents around the globe. The research topics, as one can see from the titles of the defended theses listed in this volume, ranged in geographical terms from Iceland to Iran and from Britain to the Black Sea; in thematic focus from apocalyptic traditions to love stories, and from a great Georgian king to landscapes of Ethiopian monasticism. But let us not jump so far forward in time to the defenses but start our story, as it was, with the arrival of the new students on a hot Monday in late August. The group of 11 incoming one-year and four two-year students was complemented by the relatively high number of nine continuing two-year students, plus seven students just starting their studies on the doctoral level. The Medieval Studies Doctoral Program started the year with a new Program Director, Niels Gaul, who initiated an extensive revision of the curriculum and the pertaining regulations.

Many of the PhD students joined the “fresher” MA group on our traditional fall field trip, where the new two-year MA students from the History Department also participated. To accommodate the interests in a multiplicity of periods, the

itinerary reached back as far as the Bronze and Iron Ages (a reconstructed village run by the Matrica Museum in Szazhalombatta), and included Roman (Intercisa, modern Dunaújváros), medieval (the Serbian Orthodox Church at Ráckeve and the Benedictine Abbey at Tihany), and modern sites (the palace of Dég and the Socialist town center of Dunaújváros) alike. By the end of the three-week pre-session everyone had acquired the basic survival skills for life in Budapest and also in the more adventurous field of academic Latin, through a new introductory course devised by our resident Latin instructor, Cristian Gașpar. It was an honor for our department to have one of the student speakers, Andor Kelenhegyi, at the university opening ceremony of the year selected from among our new MAs.

This year offered a nice combination of courses from our traditional strengths, such as the “Cult of Saints as an Expression of Local, Regional, and National Identity,” the “History of Material Culture,” “Renaissance and Reformation,” and “Medieval Philosophy and Theology,” to name a just few; and many opportunities to study aspects of late Antique, Byzantine, and Ottoman history and culture. An attractive innovation was an overarching course, “Byzantium – Constantinople – Istanbul: A Medieval Metropolis, 330–c.1600,” taught by three experts on the three major phases of this imperial center – all the more popular since it included a five-day excursion to Istanbul at the end of the Academic Year. A 2-week-student excursion to Lebanon complemented the course “The Levant in Antiquity” taught by Volker Menze, arranged in co-operation with Rubina Raja (Aarhus University, Denmark) and Achim Lichtenberger (Ruhr University Bochum, Germany).

Our participation in student exchange programs, especially the EU ERASMUS program, made valuable contributions to our teaching activity: visiting students from Croatia joined our courses and for the first time an alumnus from our very first teaching year, Pawel Kras (MA’93), joined us as a visiting faculty member. Now professor of Medieval History and Head of the History Department at the Catholic University of Lublin, he co-taught a course on “Heretics, Saints, Witches – Inquisition in the Middle Ages” with Gábor Klaniczay, his former professor and supervisor. Another ERASMUS guest was Johannes Hahn, WWU-Münster, who delivered a lecture on “The Christianization of the Late Roman City” and taught a seminar on “Gaza and its Hinterland in Late Antiquity: Dynamics of Geography, Economy and Religion in Southern Palestine.”

From this year onwards the teaching of source languages entered a new phase with the establishment of the Source Language Teaching Group under the competent and forward-looking direction of our Ottomanist colleague, Tijana Krstić. In the first year of its three-year pilot project phase, this new interdepartmental unit offered courses for any student of CEU in languages that

are necessary to be able to read sources in their field of research. For the students of our department, besides Latin and Greek, which have a long-established tradition in our curriculum, Arabic, Hebrew, and Turkish (all offered at beginner and intermediate level) were the most relevant languages, complemented by, as a special offer on demand, Persian and Syriac. We hope that this new wealth of opportunities will make our teaching more efficient and make CEU a unique place for studying inter-cultural connections on a well-founded basis.

A strong emphasis on the presentation of different research methodologies and the acquisition of the pertinent practical skills characterized other aspects of the curriculum: Latin palaeography and codicology as well as advanced source reading courses in Latin, Greek, and Ottoman were also available; furthermore, interdisciplinary source analysis (combining texts, images, and objects), historical anthropology and microhistory were offered. A course for doctoral students on “Memory and Oblivion,” taught by Daniel Ziemann and Marcell Sebők, served as preparation for organizing an interdisciplinary workshop on this theme in the next Academic Year.

The most extensive, and for many of us the most enjoyable, way of engaging with the practical aspects of medieval life and culture is the yearly spring field trip where one can have first-hand experiences and often learn more in a single day than in a whole semester. This year the choice fell on Serbia, a country of great importance for all periods of interest to us, but not easily accessible and explored by cultural tourism so far. Over six days we followed the heritage of the Roman Empire (Sirmium, Viminacium), the formation of the medieval Serbian state and its interactions with Byzantium, the Ottoman advance on the Balkans and the remains of the defense system built to halt it (the Kalemegdan fortress in Belgrade and the castles at Smederevo and Golubac).

Perhaps the longest-lasting memory of the trip will be to recall the intense presence of religious traditions; we visited the monasteries of Žiča, Studenica, Djurdjevi Stupovi, and Sopočani, each of them still housing a religious community, and we often met the same groups of pilgrims as we moved from one site to the next. We saw working mosques in Belgrade and Novi Pazar, and a Franciscan friary revived after the end of the Ottoman period in Bač, where a mihrab was discovered during recent architectural research. As has become usual in course of our trips, we met many friends and alumni on our way, this time in Novi Sad, Požarevac, and especially in Belgrade, where Dejan Vemič gave a presentation on special grave monuments, the *stečci*, and Smilja Marjanović-Dušanič and her colleagues and students joined us for the farewell dinner in Skadarlija, the historic heart of the old town.

As befits a research-intensive university, there were several projects ongoing throughout the year. In fact, we started in the pre-session with a survey of continuing individual and group projects and we were surprised ourselves by the variety of subjects, the historical sources, and not least, the resources mobilized for them. Judith Rasson's *Researching the History of Transhumance in Macedonia* is based largely on ethnoarchaeological fieldwork conducted with CEU funding; Ottó Gecser's *Plague Epidemics in the Late Middle Ages: Religious and Medical Responses* focuses on sermons and legends, supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA); Anna Somfai's *Visual Thinking and Diagrammatic Images in Medieval Manuscripts: Cognitive Science Meets Medieval Studies* is financed by another Hungarian funding agency, the NKTH (see her interim report in the previous *Annual*). Among the collaborative enterprises, the *Medieval Animal Data-Network (MAD)* coordinated by Alice Choyke and Gerhard Jaritz, as well as the *Central European Records of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary*, also led by Gerhard, have benefitted from CEU's support in the previous years. Gábor Klaniczay directs an extensive collaborative research program entitled *Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe*, which includes post-doctoral fellowships for two of our alumni working on the cult of saints, Ildikó Csepregi and Stanislava Kuzmová (see a short report on the project in this volume). This project is supported by OTKA, just like the *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns*, coordinated by Katalin Szende, which connects us to the universities of Miskolc, Pécs, and Szeged, as well as the Municipal Archives of Budapest.

This year saw the successful completion of collaborative research with the University of Göttingen and the Germania Sacra on *Medieval Monastic Regions in Central Europe. The Spiritual and Physical Landscape Setting of Monastic Orders and Religious Houses*. This comparative work was initiated by József Laszlovszky (CEU) and Hedwig Röckelein (Göttingen) and involved the exchange of doctoral students from both institutions (see the report in the previous volume of the *Annual*). We found this framework, provided by the co-operation of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Hungarian Scholarship Board (MÖB), so useful for the students and the faculty alike that we prepared and submitted a new one in June 2011, this time with the Transcultural Studies program of the University of Heidelberg, entitled: *Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and Diasporic Experience in Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras*. We were pleased to find a topic that is relevant for both institutions, and that connects the two main regional foci of our expertise. The plans were forged to a great extent during a visit by Georg Christ (Heidelberg) to Budapest in March, when he also gave a guest lecture called: "Tracking

Transcultural Exchange Between Venice and Cairo (1419–1420),” which gave a fine taste of possible themes and qualitative and quantitative approaches. As this report is being written we have been notified that our proposal has been accepted and we are looking forward to the workshops and other collaborative activities.

As mentioned above, this year was CEU’s 20th Anniversary Year, and the university marked it by launching several initiatives, one of them a call for post-doctoral fellowships on innovative inter-disciplinary themes. As was expected, the call raised remarkable interest and we regard it a great success that our departmental proposal, entitled: *To Make Dead Bodies Talk: Bio-archaeological Heritage – Historical Human Remains and their Academic, Social and Religious Context*, submitted in collaboration with the CEU Center for Ethics and Law in Biomedicine (CELAB) directed by Judit Sándor, won one of the five fiercely competed spots. This project aims at acknowledging different attitudes towards human remains in different countries in Europe and around the Mediterranean Sea chosen as sample areas. The particular goal will be to understand how four main aspects interact in shaping different attitudes towards skeletal data: 1) culture and religion, 2) secularization and legal systems, 3) science and academia, and 4) cultural heritage. The research fellow who started work on this project in September 2011 is Irene Barbiera, archaeologist and expert in physical anthropology, who earned her PhD degree with us in 2003. Several faculty members have expressed interest in participating in the lecture series planned for the next year. We were also pleased to learn that the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS), a CEU unit with close personal and academic ties to our department also won such a fellowship, for which they selected Anna Christidou, an art historian with special interest in art on the territory of Albania in the Byzantine period.

We hosted two junior post-doctoral research fellows: Etleva Lala (University of Elbasan, Albania) as a Special and Extension Project (SEP) fellow, who worked on *The Holy Penitentiary and the Albanian Territories in the Late Middle Ages*, as well as Dušan Zupka (Comenius University, Bratislava), who received a Hungarian state grant to finish his book on rituals and symbolic communication in medieval Central Europe, a sample of which he presented in a public lecture entitled “Rituals, and Politics in the Middle Ages: The Use of Rituals in Árpáadian Hungary.”

This theme is closely related to the person of János M. Bak, our ever-young Professor Emeritus, whose research served as a strong inspiration for Dušan’s work. It was a special event, almost like a family feast, when János’ volume of collected essays – edited for the Varioum series to celebrate his 80th birthday by Gábor Klaniczay and Balázs Nagy, with the title *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond* – was presented by one of his close colleagues,

Martyn Rady (University College, London) and one of his best students at CEU, Zsolt Hunyadi (University of Szeged). To prove how much age can be an optical illusion, at least in János' case, at the same time we launched his new volume in the Central European Medieval Texts series on *Anonymus and Master Roger*, presented by Péter Dávidházi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and József Laszlovszky.

Co-operation with other CEU units – some of which we have had little contact with before – was fostered by hosting the Sixth Conference of the International Research Network “Gender Differences in the History of European Legal Cultures” in March 2011 on the initiative of Gerhard Jaritz, a founding member of this research network. The title of the conference, *East Meets West: A Gendered View of Legal Tradition*, reflected well on the relevance of CEU as a host and co-organizer of this event. The network has its roots in the current flowering, of often gendered research in European legal history in several countries. The organizers of the conference are especially committed to bringing together both young and established scholars from all areas of Europe. The three departments at CEU who joined us in organizing the conference were Gender Studies, History, and Legal Studies, which also participated as presenters of papers and panels, including Anna Loutfi's inspiring contribution on: “The Struggle for Gender Order in Nineteenth-Century Europe” and the presentation of the first results of the analysis: “Gender Aspects of a Transitional Justice Database,” led by Andrea Pető. An integral part of the program was the screening of the moving Romanian film *4 Months, 3 Weeks, 2 Days* (2007), directed by Cristian Mungiu, with Constantin Iordachi's sobering comments.

Our contacts with institutions and colleagues outside CEU were strengthened, just as in previous years, through inviting renowned scholars as guest lecturers. Many of them, from the US or the UK, were conducting research fieldwork or collaborative projects in Central Europe, partly in contact with our alumni, and thus reckoned it a good opportunity to present their findings or work in progress to a critical audience – often more critical than what they had experienced at other places where they had lectured. Our prominent guests included Christopher Faraone (University of Chicago) lecturing on “The Amuletic Design of the Mithraic Bull-Wounding Scene”; Matthew Kempshall (University of Oxford) offering a talk on “Rhetoric and the Writing of History c. 400–c. 1500”; Robert Bartlett (University of St Andrews) giving a magisterial survey of “Saint-Making in the Middle Ages”, and Richard Kieckhefer (Northwestern University) presenting his new research on “The Mystical Presence of Christ”.

This year's by-now-traditional Natalie Zemon Davis lecture series in early November was given by William A. Christian, Jr. (Universitat Autònoma de

Barcelona). In the lecture series, entitled: “The Divine Presence in Spain and in Western Europe”, he addressed the relations of people to divine beings in contemporary and historical communities. The role of the modern art of photography was of special interest was in transposing medieval and early modern representations of the relations between humans and the divine. On the occasion of this series Natalie Zemon Davis also came to Budapest. She gave a lecture entitled: “De-centering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World”, in which she addressed the most current concerns in writing history today and held a special session with doctoral students where she gave much-appreciated feedback on their individual work.

CEU was also approached by the director of the Czech Center in Budapest, Michal Czerny, to arrange common programs. We suggested that he invite our alumnus, Antonín Kalous (Palacky University, Olomouc), whose book on Matthias Corvinus has recently been published and won wide acclaim in the Czech Republic. The lecture on the great king’s controversially evaluated Bohemian royal aspirations and activity, “Matthias Corvinus: King of Bohemia and National Enemy”, indeed attracted a full house in the Czech Center. We hope that we can continue to co-organize such events with this institution in the future.

Another, much further-reaching collaborative enterprise, *The Southern Caucasus and its Neighbors, c. 300–1600: A Teaching Manual*, addressing higher education in the Caucasus, especially Armenia and Georgia, aims at “developing a set of model curricula covering the thematic field of the Caucasus and Byzantium from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages.” The project is coordinated by the CEMS, with the financial support of the Higher Education Support Program. A description of the project by Niels Gaul and two of the papers (by Igor Dorfmann and Tina Dolidze), presented at the kick-off conference in November, appear in this volume of the *Annual*. Our department also benefited from the presence of the research fellows invited to Budapest by the project and several of our faculty members visited and offered courses in the Caucasian countries.

Among the achievements of the year a report in the *Annual* must not omit mentioning the improved availability of our own journal through a full-text digitized searchable option at <http://www.library.ceu.hu/ams/>, courtesy of Vít Lukaš from CEU Library. Back issues out of print for a long time have become accessible again.

During the intensive thesis defense period twenty-four students convincingly defended their scholarly output, chaired in the usual strict but supportive manner by our quality controllers, Marianna Birnbaum, Patrick Geary, Yossef Schwarz, Piroska Nagy, and and Alice Mary Talbot. Four doctoral students have also

earned their degrees this year. The abstracts of all these works appear on the pages following this report. We are proud that Péter Bokody's dissertation, on "Pictorial and Iconographic Reflexivity: Images-within-Images in Italian Painting (1278–1348)," defended last year, won third prize in the CEU Best Dissertation Award competition.

As usual, work did not stop during the summer, only took on a different form: in the framework of CEU's Summer University Anna Somfai organized a intensive and successful Latin and Greek palaeography course with the participation of 25 highly motivated international students. Her report on the course is included in this volume. Faculty members of the Department of Medieval Studies also participated in a wide range of conferences in the summer, including the International Medieval Congress in Leeds and the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Sofia. The most exotic summer event was certainly the conference in *The Edges of the Medieval World* series organized by Gerhard Jaritz, this time on one of the "inland edges," in the Albanian Alps, with the theme "Flight and Migration." Soon after this event the faculty returned from the "edges" to the center, that is, Budapest, to meet the new challenges of the next academic year.

THE CULTSYMBOLS PROJECT – OTKA SAINTS PROJECT

Stanislava Kuzmová

A group of researchers based at the Department of Medieval Studies under the leadership of Gábor Klaniczay is working on the research project “Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe, Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries” supported by OTKA, the Hungarian Research Council (hereafter referred to as the *OTKA Saints Project*). The Budapest team is an associated partner in a collaborative research project – “Symbols that Bind and Break Communities. Saints’ Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities” (CULTSYMBOLS project, www.cultsymbols.net). The joint project was established on 1 September 2010 under the EuroCORECODE (which stands for: European Comparisons in Regional Cohesion, Dynamics and Expressions) program of the European Science Foundation with focuses on the topic of the region and its dynamics as studied by various disciplines of the humanities. The large ESF project, with Nils Holger Petersen from the University of Copenhagen as the project leader, involves altogether five teams with their sub-projects from the University of Copenhagen (Denmark), Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Krems (Austria), the University of Tallinn (Estonia), the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Trondheim, Norway), and the Central European University in Budapest.

This project studies regional identity through the prism of saints’ cults, which affected all aspects of medieval and early modern life. The collaborative project investigates the significance of the cults in the interactive context of regional and trans-regional identities, pointing to important ways in which various forms of identity were being negotiated in different groups of societies and contexts. Sainly figures were subjected to appropriations that attached them to (or detached them from) communities of various spatial entities, for which they functioned as symbols of identity. Five self-contained but interrelated sub-projects focus on different European regions during overlapping but different periods, altogether spanning the Middle Ages, the Early Modern and Modern periods.

The Budapest team is composed mainly of faculty members, postdoctoral researchers, students, and alumni associated with the Department of Medieval Studies. Our research focuses on the Central European region, including specific studies of the cults of saints in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia. In line with the larger project, we treat the cults of medieval saints and their modern

appropriations as a vehicle for studying changing cultural values related to social cohesion and identity, to the interactions between center and periphery, between medieval Latin culture and regional interests, political, and cultural agendas. Thus, the project will give a systematic overview of the contribution of saints' cults to the constitution of local, regional, and national identities in East Central Europe. Some specific cults, important in the region, are being studied by the team members: the cults of Saint Adalbert and Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia (and of Hungary), Saint Margaret of Hungary, Saint Stanislaus of Cracow, Saint Ladislav, and Dalmatian urban cults. These cults bridge local, territorial, national, and European scales, and are claimed by rival communities, including monastic and mendicant orders.

The *OTKA Saints Project* treats the cults of medieval saints by drawing on various media: hagiography, healing miracles, sermons, visual images, and public ceremonies. The most important tool of defining the identity of the saint and the content of his/her commemoration was hagiography – more or less comprehensive narratives of the saints' life, which formed the basis of their liturgical celebration and their presentation in other media (chronicles, sermons, offices, folk legends, images, liturgical chants etc.). By preparing a bilingual edition with commentary for a representative selection of the legends of Central European medieval saints, the project will not only make these sources accessible in English, but will also contribute to re-evaluating the large body of already existing scholarship on hagiography from the point of view of religious institution-bound, local, regional, dynastic, and national identities. Related methodological issues here include the examination of full, long-term hagiographic dossiers, the dissemination and the rewriting of legends, the birth of vernacular versions of legends, and the adaptation of hagiographic profiles to different religious and regional settings.

Two important cults in this region, that of Saint Adalbert, patron saint of both Poland and Bohemia and to a certain extent also Hungary, and that of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (and Thuringia) provide excellent material for a renewed consideration of this problem. Both cults operated on local, territorial, national, and European scales, were claimed by rival communities, including monastic and mendicant orders, bound them and divided them in various manners. Two researchers on our team (Cristian Gașpar and Ottó Gecser) are working on this subject. An additional aspect of this same problem is how dynastic cults related to the Árpád, Přemysl, Piast, Angevin, Luxemburg, Jagiellonian, and Habsburg dynasties were used in the constitution of composite kingdoms and empires in this region, binding matrimonial strategies with a combination and appropriation of dynasty-related cults, in fact becoming an important factor in the formation of

the larger historical region of East Central Europe and the various nations within it – a subject researched and considered by Gábor Klaniczay.

Besides hagiography, four further interrelated domains connected to the publicizing of these cults are examined in greater detail: healing miracles, sermons, images, and public ceremonies. Healing miracles were one of the most important manifestations of saintly patronage for both large and small communities. This is best documented in late medieval canonization processes, such as that arranged for Saint Margaret of Hungary in 1276 (a topic studied in detail by Gábor Klaniczay), which is being translated, re-edited and re-examined by Ildikó Csepregi, a postdoctoral researcher who has worked on the hagiography of healing miracles and the formation of stories that report illnesses and miraculous cures. In relation to this we examine the local and regional attraction of healing shrines, the ritual of healing, the phenomena and the dissemination of *ex-voto* gifts, as well as the process of pilgrimages and the medical aspects of the records.

As for sermons, manuscript libraries still hold a large mass of unexploited sources, even more so in the region of East Central Europe. The sermons can shed new light on the social and communal functions of saints' cults. In our research group there are three related ongoing enquiries. Three researchers continue their work on sermons on saints of the region: the PhD dissertation defended by Ottó Gecser in 2007 unearthed and analyzed 103 Elizabeth sermons and the PhD defended by Stanislava Kuzmová in 2010 edits and analyzes 80 Stanislaus sermons. A further example of this will be contributed by our research partner, Edit Madas, who has recently edited the medieval sermons on Saint Ladislav, a dynastic saint transformed into a national patron saint. In addition, up-to-date digital methodologies allow a new kind of electronic edition of these texts. The researchers are in contact with an international group of scholars convened by Nicole Bériou, who, on the one hand, have devised a format for editing sermons in the web which is adapted to the specificities of this genre and, on the other hand, intend to create a virtual meeting point for all students of medieval preaching (see www.sermones.net). Our aim is to make an internet-based digital edition of a sample of the sermons on the saints, thus creating a resource that can also be exploited further and serve as an example for other related cults.

The third field related to the communication of these cults, the images (with a related enquiry by the Austrian Academy of Sciences Institute for Daily Life part of the project) relies mainly on the work on the Hungarian Angevin Legendary by Béla Zsolt Szakács, who is preparing an updated English edition of his monograph.

Finally, the examination of public ceremonies, processions, and communal rituals especially related to urban and mendicant cults of saints complements all this. The feasts of saints, especially bishop-saints, the most frequent urban patrons, provided a special opportunity for shaping local urban and larger regional communities – iconographic, liturgical and textual documentation of these rituals can provide an insight into the formation of historical communities. Two Dalmatian cities, Zadar and Dubrovnik, are currently being studied by PhD candidate Trpimir Vedriš, while another Croatian PhD candidate, Ana Marinković, contributes to this enquiry with her research on the cult of Saint John of Trogir. Further examples related to the symbolic power of saints' cults that shaped communities will be also addressed from various sites in Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

In the framework of the project we are preparing several publications: two bilingual volumes of medieval Central European legends at the CEU Press (edited by Gábor Klaniczay, parts translated by Cristian Gașpar), a bilingual version of the oldest legend and the canonization process of Saint Margaret of Hungary (co-edited by Gábor Klaniczay and Ildikó Csepregi), an updated English edition of the monograph on the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Béla Zsolt Szakács), publication of the dissertations and sermon texts on St. Elizabeth of Hungary by Ottó Gecser and on St. Stanislaus of Cracow by Stanislava Kuzmová, and an electronic edition of a sample of sermons on saints. We are also cooperating on the publication of the collected volume from the Third Hagiotheca International Conference in Poreč, May 2010. In addition, the research of the members of the project team on various aspects of saints' cults as expressions of regional and national identity, especially from the area of Central Europe, has resulted and will result in publications and papers at various conferences.

The project members took part in the International Medieval Congress in Leeds on 10–14 July 2011. Several researchers presented their papers in the sessions organized by the Budapest team, “Saints’ Cults and Symbolic Identities: Central European Cults of Saints – Local, Regional, National, ‘International’.” Two further sessions were organized by colleagues from other teams of the ESF project: “Medieval Saints and Post-Reformation Identities,” and “Saints and the Music of History: Communicative and Socio-Historical Perspectives on Plainchant for the Cult of Saints.” The Leeds Congress was a successful event for the project: we presented our project to the academic public, disseminated the partial results of our work, and used the opportunity for the pleasant and fruitful meeting of the project members.

We held a project planning meeting with the representatives of the other teams on the occasion of the EuroCORECODE workshop in Budapest on Monday, 28 November 2011. The EuroCORECODE workshop *Distant Regions – Equal Patterns?*, organized by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Daily Live team (from Krems) in cooperation with Central European University, was one of the Cross-CRP activities supported by the ESF where the three projects under the framework of the EuroCORECODE scheme met: CULTSYMBOLS project, CURE (Cuius Regio Project), and the UNFAMILIARITY project. Next year's project meeting will take place in connection with the conference of the Croatian Hagiography Society in Dubrovnik in October 2012 under the title: *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio. Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion,*" co-organized with Hagiotheca (Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš from the University of Zagreb) and CEU, (Budapest).

We have organized an *OTKA Saints Colloquia Series*, so far mostly as collegial working meetings, where the project members present their work in progress, followed by lively discussion with colleagues and PhD students of the department who deal with related topics. These meetings also serve as a platform for planning meetings and roundtable discussions in preparation for conferences and public presentations related to the project. During this year we are opening up the colloquia for a broader public in the form of public lectures by project members and guests.

The three-year *OTKA Saints Project* will soon reach the mid-point. We intend to continue in the work we have started and publish more results of our research in the upcoming period. Besides the publications, we will go on with organizing the project colloquia, take part in the activities organized together with other project teams, and present our work both individually and collectively at international congresses.

**SUMMER SCHOOL IN MEDIEVAL CODICOLOGY AND
PALAEOGRAPHY, CEU SUMMER UNIVERSITY, 2011**

Anna Somfai

Course director:

Anna Somfai (Codicology, Latin book hand), Central European University,
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Faculty:

Anna Adamska (Diplomatics, Latin diplomatic hand) University of Utrecht,
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Niels Gaul (Greek book hand), Central European University, Budapest,
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Marco Mostert (Codicology, Latin book hand), University of Utrecht, the
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Inmaculada Pérez Martín (Greek book hand), Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas
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Anna Somfai (Codicology, Latin book hand), Central European University,
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Katalin Szende (Diplomatics, Latin diplomatic hand) Central European
University, Budapest, Hungary

Course coordinator:

Ivana Dobcheva (PhD candidate, Department of Medieval Studies, Central
European University)

For details on the course see: <http://www.summer.ceu.hu/node/160>.

The first Summer School in Medieval Codicology and Palaeography at CEU took place on 18–23 July 2011 as part of CEU's Summer University. The aim of the Summer School was to provide practical training in Latin and Greek palaeography at an intermediate level combined with lectures and a workshop involving a new approach toward manuscripts based on the latest trends in research. The Summer School attracted 51 applicants from 25 countries; 26 students of 18 nationalities were selected from the pool. Six faculty members of six nationalities

and three home institutions provided instruction in Latin and Greek codicology and palaeography.

The number of applicants was high given the strict application requirements (beyond the general Summer University entrance requirements these included knowledge of Latin and/or Greek and basic knowledge of Latin and/or Greek palaeography with proof provided) and testified to the need for such a summer school. The large number of fee-payers also showed worldwide interest. The high quality of applicants facilitated a scholarly milieu in which both students and faculty benefited from the intensive and close work atmosphere.

Based on the experience of the faculty and the feedback from students, the summer school was a great success, not only in academic terms but also in terms of social interaction and opportunities to build networks. To this success both the academic level of the course and its varied structure contributed with a balance of intensive seminars, broad thematic lectures, manuscript library visits, a workshop, and official and unofficial social events.

The school catered for both Latin and Greek palaeography for students at an intermediate to advanced level. The Latin option was divided into book hand (manuscripts) and diplomatic hand (documents). About half the course was made up of practical palaeography seminars that focused on reading Latin and Greek hands and discussed the features of scripts. These seminars enabled students to make great advances in the basic skill of reading medieval manuscripts.

The lectures, spread across the week, were delivered by faculty to help students deepen their knowledge in codicology and diplomatics. These lectures provided a broad context and background for the more specific practical assignments. Uniting students and faculty from both the Latin and the Greek options for these lectures meant that students (and faculty) received up-to-date information on the main questions of research in both cultural contexts. This structure led to interesting cross-cultural discussions that benefited not only students but faculty as well.

The same structure was used with the same benefits in the framework of the one-day workshop. At the heart of the workshop was the manuscript folio (page) layout. Students appreciated the fact that they were introduced to the importance of folio layout and its various cognitive, intellectual, artistic, and material attributes. Based on student interest, three sessions were set with faculty introducing each session and students contributing by presenting case studies from their own research. The three thematic sessions included "Philosophy and Science," "Literature and Translation," and "Monasticism and Liturgy." In order for the workshop to run smoothly, a longer discussion concerning its aim and details took place on the e-learning site prior to the Summer School. It was

interesting to observe how students reacted to the challenge posed by the novel theme of the workshop. Once the workshop took place and also as a result of listening to and discussing lectures throughout the week, students developed insights into the main points and specifically remarked on how their view of manuscripts had changed as a consequence. A somewhat unexpected and positive outcome of the student contributions was that, as it came to light, for several students this was their first opportunity to make a presentation in front of such a large audience (ca. 30 people).

Visits to the three main manuscript-holding libraries in Budapest (the National Library, the Hungarian Academy of Science Library, and the University Library), arranged evenly throughout the week, were quite successful. Students greatly appreciated the opportunity to look at medieval manuscripts in the original and in larger quantity, to have a chance to handle them and to be given a chance to ask questions about the material in situ. The opportunity to look at fragments in the National Library was a treat for faculty as well since the research group there is one of only a few in the world dedicated to this type of research. Involving local staff in the introductions to libraries and their material in addition to faculty presentations broadened the spectrum of experts the students could consult. Beyond the immediate academic gain these visits helped to build good relationships with the libraries that now offered the Course Director to host future visits by CEU student groups.

The practical palaeography exam was a useful exercise both for students and faculty, serving as an indication of achievement on both sides. The closing Roundtable consisted of student presentations of small-scale visual projects to test the knowledge acquired in codicology. Students showed to have improved their presentation skills compared with their earlier workshop presentations, which was an additional outcome not expected when setting the task.

The social events comprised a Welcome reception, a visit to medieval ruins with an indoor picnic, a closing dinner, a certificate-awarding ceremony, and an informal walk and dinner to close the Summer School. The Welcome Reception took place at the end of the first day and was turned into an informal dinner in the Japanese Garden at CEU. Due to the library visits, lunch breaks were shortened and since budget allowed it, the Summer School provided sandwich lunches to students and faculty, which turned out to be a nice informal opportunity for consultations. On Wednesday evening, students and faculty visited the medieval ruins of Margit Island with the expert guidance of archaeologist József Laszlovszky and enjoyed a picnic forced indoors by the weather conditions. On Friday evening (the penultimate day) a Closing Dinner took place at a nearby

restaurant followed by an informal outing. On Saturday evening the certificate-awarding ceremony closed the Summer School officially, was followed by an unofficial walk to visit some of the notable places of Pest, and ended with dinner. The unofficial social events involved most students and faculty, thus affording opportunities for unofficial consultations and adding to the good atmosphere and group dynamics of the Summer School.

Class attendance was excellent with full attendance most of the time, which shows great motivation on the students' part. The Summer School was a nice occasion with a good student body (both in academic terms and in terms of coherence as a group), intensive classes and many opportunities for consultations. With good student competence in English, the discussions could be held at a high level not only in academic terms but linguistically as well. The exams proved what a difference a week could make to students' academic development. The Summer School also provided an interesting insight into how students from different regions and backgrounds could quickly form a group.

The e-learning site was useful for posting material prior to the course, for discussing issues during the course, and was used as a notice board, posting photos afterwards. The summer school was greatly facilitated by the SUN administrative staff, which made various steps easy along the way, both prior to and during the school. CEU facilities and equipments were well organised and served the Summer School's needs well. The course coordinator's work during the course was of great help.

The Summer School course brought students from several countries to CEU, introducing them to the department and to CEU. It also counted as 4 credits within the Medieval Manuscript Studies Specialisation in the MA program and hence was part of the official CEU curriculum. Due to the success of the summer school and the continued need for such a course, the Course Director plans to organise the Codicology and Palaeography Summer School again in the summer of 2013. This will ensure that the Summer School becomes an established institution on the European scholarly scene for the study of Latin and Greek codicology and palaeography, attracting students from Europe and North America. It will also help to make CEU a regional centre for medieval manuscript studies.

The Summer School in Medieval Codicology and Palaeography was organised as part of its Director's effort to form an international centre for manuscript studies at CEU, which also included the launching of a Medieval Manuscript Studies Specialisation at the Department (2010/2011) and the organising of the *Medieval manuscripts: Visual Layout and Cognitive Content in Cross-cultural Perspective*, a two-day international workshop (30–31 March 2012).

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2011

Old Age in the Sagas

Orsolya Csákváry (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor(s): Katalin Szende, Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Else Mundal (University of Bergen)

The sagas, medieval Icelandic prose works, are rich sources for researching old age. Old age is not an extensively examined field in cultural history studies; however, there are numerous references, both positive and negative, to this life stage in the sagas. Six sagas were selected as material for close reading (the *Bandamanna saga*, the *Brennu-Njáls saga*, the *Droplaugarsona saga*, the *Egil saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, the *Hrafnkel saga freysgoda*, and the *Laxdæla saga*). I concentrated on three main questions: physical descriptions of elderly people, old people's personal attitudes to their age and status, and the attitude of the surrounding society to them. I show, in accordance with previous research, that old age, when a person was losing physical strength and mental acuity, was not a desired state. Ability, however, was important. An old woman (Unnr) shows that dying with dignity was something to be admired. The example of Ófeigr, from the *Bandamanna saga*, shows how a person can make use of society's prejudices towards old age for his own purposes.

Thomas of Hereford's Miracles

Ștefan Drăgulescu (Romania)

Supervisors: István Perczel, Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Alain Boureau (L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales)

In this thesis I look at how tension between Augustine and the Augustinian understanding of miracles, on the one hand, and the thirteenth-century Aristotelians' views, on the other, can shed light on a Curial manuscript involved in the canonization of Thomas of Hereford and the miracles attributed to him. The main question I address is whether the tension between these two views on

miracles (one centred on wonder, on the “subjective” side; the other centred on causes, on the “objective” side) can shed light on a certain conceptual inconsistency that has been noted in this manuscript. I suggest that it does and that the very crux of the text – the alternation of passages portraying a stern, critical, “empirically minded” evaluation of miracles, with passages in which miracles are accepted at face value, appealing to quotations from Augustine and early medieval thinkers and to precedents in the lives of previous saints can thus be plausibly explained.

Augustine of Hippo on Biblical Apocalypticism

Krisztina Lilla Földy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby

External Reader: Gábor Kendeffy (Károli Gáspár University)

This thesis deals with how, towards the end of his life, Augustine of Hippo struggled with the idea of the end of the world and how he communicated what he had learnt about it. Scholars agree that Augustine took an agnostic position on apocalypticism, stressing a spiritual interpretation even though he accepted the biblical apocalyptic prophecy as revealing future events. This thesis was motivated by the tension behind this statement in modern scholarship.

This thesis shows that Augustine expected the factual end of the world, preceded by a three-and-a-half-year-long reign of the Antichrist; however, he always emphasized that the time of the end cannot be known by humans. Augustine adopted a twofold strategy in interpreting prophetic passages about the end of times. First, he searched for the contemporary significance of the prophetic predictions, while at the same time he interpreted future events based on contemporary experience. Augustine interpreted apocalyptic biblical verses cautiously, always emphasizing the limits of human intellect.

After reviewing expectations about the end of the world at the turn of the fourth and fifth century, I analyze the debate between Augustine and Hesychius of Salona as preserved in their correspondence between 418 and 420. The unreflecting stance of the bishop of Salona motivated Augustine to elaborate his own interpretation of the apocalyptic biblical passages. In 425/427 he further elaborated his eschatology when he faced the task of formulating his own views about the Last Days in Book 20 of *De Civitate Dei*. Comparing the interpretations about the end of the world in the sources of this period, one can see how much Augustine struggled with obscure and ambiguous passages in order to hammer out a scripturally correct and theologically acceptable solution. The bishop of

Hippo, however, never got tired of discovering new aspects of bible passages, not least because of his emphasis on human limits in understanding the Scriptures.

When Augustine composed his texts he kept to his specific aim and with a target audience in his mind he chose his rhetorical devices appropriately. He synthesized late antique rhetorical culture and the hermeneutics of apocalyptic biblical passages. I think the long-lasting authority of Augustine's teaching about the end of the world owes to this synthesis and his sophisticated use of rhetorical devices.

**Taking Sides: Croatian and Slavonian Nobility in the Transitional Period
from the Árpád to the Anjou Dynasty**

Sanja Fritzić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende and Daniel Zeimann

External Reader: Martyn Rady (School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University College London)

Although a large number of works deal with the histories of individual noble kindreds, their relations with royal power are quite unexplored. The goal of most noble kindreds was to increase their holdings of landed property granted by the king or conquered militarily. Based on an analysis of the chronology and distribution of donation charters, this study deals with the Babonić, Kőszeg, Šubić, and Frankapan kindreds in Croatia and Slavonia and their relations with the Árpád and Anjou dynasties at the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth century. The primary focus here is directed towards the complex reasons why some noble kindreds were loyal to the Árpád dynasty and others to the Anjou dynasty. The kindreds in Croatia, whose property was closer to the possessions of the Anjou dynasty and whose lands had access to the sea, sided with the Anjous in part due to fear of Venetian power. The Slavonian kindreds, whose properties were land-bound, tended to side with the Árpád dynasty. The ruling dynasties made and rewarded alliances to secure support for their political power. The nobles seemingly made and broke alliances depending on their assessments of the economic utility of the relationships.

Anti-Christian Polemics of Ibn Taymiyyah: Corruption of the Scriptures

Sona Grigoryan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Aziz Al-Azmeh

External Reader: Walid Saleh (Toronto University)

This thesis deals with the anti-Christian polemics of Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328), taking them as the crystallization of Muslim anti-Christian polemics, a tradition which originated as early as the eighth century. The specific focus here is an old polemical theme, namely, *tabrif* – accusing Jews and Christians of deliberate or unintended corruption of the Bible. This polemical *topos*, which originated from the Qur'an, has been the centre of attention of any Muslim author who wrote on Christianity. Ibn Taymiyyah, however, treated the issue in the most detailed manner, putting all the existing arguments into a comprehensive logical system and eventually drawing his own unique conclusion. This thesis shows that Ibn Taymiyyah neither accepted the Gospels as historical sources, as some previous Muslim authors did, nor did he deprive the Gospels of scriptural value, as did Ibn Ḥazm, d. 1064. I argue that Ibn Taymiyyah did not reject the Gospels, but only reduced their status to secondary sources of knowledge through making a parity between them and the *Sunnah*, a secondary yet important source of knowledge even if it contains erroneous materials. Ibn Taymiyyah suggests that Christians must follow the Gospels in the way Muslims follow the *Sunnah*. I also discuss other anti-Christian polemical themes such as the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, which Ibn Taymiyyah saw as outcomes of *tabrif*.

So wil ich mit dir laufen:

The Image of Women in Sixteenth-century Landsknecht Prints

Kelly Hydrick (United States)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Readers: Keith Moxey (Barnard College, Columbia University);

Alison G. Stewart (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)

The purpose of this study is to investigate the ways in which women who were in some respect connected to Early Modern armies were depicted visually in contemporary printed images. The study focused on sixteenth-century German woodcut prints with military subject matter. Close examination of the images was undertaken in order to glean information about how women were depicted

visually. In addition, early-modern German texts which accompanied some of the images were translated into English and analyzed.

To provide context for the thesis, a brief history of camp-followers, paid mercenary soldiers, and stereotyping was included. Print sources themselves provided background information on early modern print culture. A sample of prints which contained early modern German text in addition to images; image and text were both discussed in detail. How women with early modern armies were represented in terms of the work they performed was discussed. While it was found that women connected with early modern armies were represented in stereotypical ways, these stereotypes were not used exclusively for women with armies; sixteenth-century town and peasant women were represented in similar ways. These representations were both positive and negative, and often in the case of women with armies, they were not depicted as wholly positive or wholly negative. Women depicted in a military context were often represented with both positive and negative attributes and were generally depicted in a rather realistic manner.

**Prayer for the Dead from Ambrose to Gregory the Great
(Theology and Liturgy)**

László Illés Kaulics (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby

External Reader: Géza Xeravits (Sapientia College of Theology of Religious Orders,
Budapest)

The first attestations of Christian prayers for the dead come from the turn of the third century; however, the practice became more important in the tolerant age after 313. Ambrose and Gregory the Great constituted the beginning and end of an important period of transition in the theology of supplications. Ambrose was the first in Latin-speaking Christendom to write on the issue after the Constantinian turn; he believed that the prayers, a Eucharistic offering, and the tears of the living could help deceased souls. Augustine was probably the first person who presented a systematic picture of supplications for the dead. He professed that besides prayers and the Eucharist, almsgiving was the third way to help the deceased. Moreover, he added that baptism and merits which had to be obtained prior to death are the two indispensable preconditions for supplications. Pope Gregory introduced the novel notion of the double judgement, which essentially changed the purpose of these prayers. Thus, besides forgiveness of

sins and entrance into heaven, stopping a person's sufferings in purgatory became one of the most important aims of the prayers.

The first records of prayers for the departed also date back to this period, although the first extant instructions on the Roman funeral rite are later compositions, from the eighth century, which nevertheless constitute a good basis for comparison with Gregory's theology. While scholars have focused on either the patristic or the liturgical sources of the period, this paper compares the contents of the two. While the teachings of the fourth- and fifth-century authors and the contents of the sixth-century prayers agree on most points, the novel ideas of Gregory the Great and the presumably pseudonymous author of the *Dialogues* still had not appeared in eighth-century sources.

**Different Love Stories in Different Cultures:
A Comparative Analysis of Medieval Persian and
French Chivalric Romances**

Sara Kazemi Manesh (Iran)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, György Szónyi

External Reader: Jocelyn Sharlet (University of California Davis)

This thesis compares aspects of medieval French and Persian chivalric romances composed in the high Middle Ages, considering mainly gender and power issues. The formation of this study is based on the connections between certain characters and themes in the works of two authors – Abul-Qasim Ferdowsi and Chrétien de Troyes – who expressed their social and cultural concerns through writing. Although the intentions of these authors (e.g., documenting certain realities or depicting comprehensive images of their societies) may differ, the outcomes of their works sometimes come close in nature so that an academic dialogue between them becomes possible.

By comparing such themes as the meeting and parting of lovers, the joys and suffering of love and such elements as gender and power, the aim of this study is to draw attention to the less probed aspects of *The Shahnameh* by Ferdowsi by finding corresponding themes in Chrétien's romances, such as *Perceval, or the Story of the Grail*, and showing that by surpassing the presuppositions about a certain literary masterpiece, the possibility of discovering and developing new ideas about it increases. This comparison of medieval French and Persian romances will familiarize the reader who is only aware of the global highlights of *The Shahnameh* with other novel aspects of it.

**Commentaries on the Song of Songs –
A Possible Jewish-Christian Polemics**

Andor Kelenbegyi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Carsten Wilke, György Geréby, István Perczel

External Reader: Mark Edwards (University of Oxford)

The *Song of Songs* is a canonical book in both the Jewish and the Christian traditions. While its canonicity was clearly established as early as the second century CE, the dubious identity of the male and female characters of the text, however, perplexed readers for centuries, and, therefore, induced the production of a great number of interpretations over the first millennium CE. The most significant Jewish tradition in the first millennium understood the *Song of Songs* as speaking about the relationship between God and his chosen nation, Israel, while a similarly widespread tradition among Christian interpreters understood the text as recounting the relationship between Christ and the Church. Despite the apparent similarity between these understandings, scholars have long argued whether these traditions were interrelated in their development or merely share a common origin. I compare Jewish and Christian commentaries from the fifth to the eighth century CE which reveal these understandings. I believe that due to the institutionalization of the Christian Church at the beginning of this period, its role, and, consequently, its self-perception changed. I claim that this change is, in turn, reflected in the development of Christian, and thus, as a reaction to it, Jewish commentaries. Comparing Christian commentaries from the fifth to eighth century to approximately contemporary Jewish commentary compilations, I try to outline the relationship between the two traditions. I try to show that structural similarities between the Jewish and Christian interpretations imbued with significantly contradictory conclusions of the meaning of the text proper point to a bilateral endeavour of charging the interpretation of the Song of Songs with polemical arguments. I claim that this polemical edge can be direct, accusing the respective other of ignorance of theological truth or God's will, or indirect, reassuring the reader of the theological notions of the interpreter's own community and, by implication, denying the interpretation of the respective other.

**Tana, a Venetian and Genoese Black Sea Trading Station in the 1430s:
Social and Economic History**

Ievgen Alexandrovitch Khvalkov (Ukraine)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Lorenzo Pubblici (Sarah Lawrence College)

The Italian trading stations at Tana on the Sea of Azov were important in the system of long-distance trade of the Italian maritime republics. The deeds of two Venetian notaries reveal some aspects of the life of Italian and Greek trading diasporas there during the 1430s. During the 1430s, the trade in the region recovered from an earlier crisis. Although some scholars see a regionalization of trade in the fifteenth century, the evidence challenges this interpretation. Silk from the East remained important; Westerners began to export Italian, Flemish, and English textiles to the Eastern markets and local goods (fish, caviar) were widely exported to Europe (even to the markets of Flanders). Finally, the slave trade was intensive. The East provided slaves for the European markets and the prices were moderate; the percentage of Russian and Tatar slaves increased.

The ethnic structure in Tana was diverse (Italians, Germans, Greeks, and others). The 1430s were an epoch of hidden tension between Venice and Genoa, but this hardly ever extended to commercial relations. The Genoese often used the services of Venetian notaries; Venetians preferred to donate to Genoese priests and to be buried in the Genoese church rather than in the Venetian one. Greek merchants were numerous, active, and wealthy, contrary to the claim that Italians destroyed the system of Greek trade. Greeks were rather their junior partners; they probably constituted the majority of the permanent population of the settlement, where they owned two churches. Even more interesting, almost all the Tatar inhabitants of the settlement were Christians. Russians and people from the Caucasus mainly seem to have been slaves. Summarizing, one can claim that the Italian and the Greek diasporas to the trading station at Tana constituted a money-oriented, prosperous society that was diverse in terms of ethnicity and tolerant in terms of religion.

The Medieval Cemetery on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád

Judit Kodolányi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Reader: Ágnes Ritoók (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest)

The topic of this thesis is the interpretation of two medieval cemeteries on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád. The settlement of Visegrád, situated above the Danube Bend in northern Hungary, was important during the Middle Ages. In the Árpáadian Period (1000–1301), an administrative center here included a fortification, churches, a settlement, and other institutions. This study deals with material from cemeteries excavated in the twentieth century. The description of the cemetery offers a first evaluation of the features, providing information on: depth, orientation, position, sex and age, burial customs, and grave goods. The cemetery reflects a transitional period from row cemeteries to churchyards. It had two main parts; one of them surrounded two superimposed churches. The study was able to assign most of the graves' associated with each church. A tomb inside the second church, several transposed graves, and the abandonment of the church after a few decades made the picture more complex. Particular grave goods (a chalice, a paten, and a penitential belt) indicate that higher-ranking ecclesiastics were buried in the cemetery, for which there are parallels in European practice. This implies that the second church had a relatively high status in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, although its exact function has not yet been clarified.

Patterns were established for the cemetery from three main points of view: dating, function, and topography. The site had two major periods of use from the beginning of the eleventh century to the first half of the twelfth century. The center on Sibrik Hill was prosperous in the second half of the eleventh century, the period for which written sources also suggest the importance of the place. Cohesive groups can be identified among graves, indicating the structure of the community using it. The results support the idea of the development and decline of the early center of Visegrád, but do not answer the question of the status of the center and the churches.

**The Legend of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the *Legenda Aurea*
and its Vernacular Adaptations**

Eszter Konrád (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Nicole Bériou (Université Lumière Lyon 2)

St. Elizabeth of Hungary was the only thirteenth-century female saint whose *vita* was included in the *Legenda Aurea*, the most widespread legendary of the Dominican *legendae novae*, written by James of Varazze. Originally the collection was written in Latin and intended primarily for the preachers of the mendicant orders as an ancillary source for sermons, but due to the rapidly growing number of laypeople who sought to engage in an active devotional life, these legends were soon translated in the vernacular, thus hagiography came into direct contact with people from all social groups.

The *Life* of Elizabeth in the *Legenda aurea* was translated, adapted, and reworked in different parts of Europe at different times. This thesis presents an in-depth study of how her Latin legend was reshaped in five different vernacular adaptations by examining, comparing, and putting them into the context of their reception. Two Italian *volgarizzamenti* of her *vita* were transmitted independently from the legendary, and in the later version, dated to the fifteenth century, Elizabeth is regarded as a member of the Third Order of the Franciscans. Osbern Bokenham composed the versified *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary* in Middle English at the request of a noblewoman. He made subtle but significant changes and interpolations in the original legend to better suit the needs of primarily a lay female audience. The Hungarian sermon on Elizabeth is centred on the three stages of her life and the saint is presented as a model to follow for those who chose to live in celibacy. The peculiarity of her legend in Old Czech, reported in the vernacular version of the *Legenda Aurea*, the *Pasional*, is that it is not based on James of Varazze's text but on the two earliest biographical accounts of the saint, composed in the first half of the 1230s.

**The Last Roman Emperor *topos*
in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition**

András Kraft (Germany)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Volker Menze

External Reader: Peter Van Deun (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

In the late seventh century Christian apocalyptic sentiments produced the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, a Syriac composition which proposed the immediate downfall of the Arab dominion at the hands of a last Roman emperor. This notion of the Last Roman Emperor who – after defeating the Arabs – would usher in a time of prosperity, face the eschatological people of the North, and ultimately abdicate to God at the end of times, developed into an apocalyptic motif of ubiquitous influence. From its long-standing and wide-ranging tradition I deal with the very beginning and the immediate afterlife of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor motif, tracing its sources and evaluating the developments of its subsequent use in the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition down to the eve of the Crusades.

By means of conceptual comparison I map the use and adaptations of this literary *topos*, thereby showing how this motif was accommodated to the Byzantine audience and how it became one of the most prominent motifs in Byzantine apocalyptic thought. My source material comprises the original Syriac *Apocalypse*, two Syriac apocalypses that are closely related to it, its first Greek redaction, five apocalypses from the *Visions of Daniel* group, and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*. Among other things, I conclude that these apocalyptic texts show a tendency to fragment the Last Roman Emperor motif and delay the ultimate end of the world by prolonging the eschatological decline of the Roman Empire.

**Malady or Miracle? The Influence of St. Francis
on the Perception of Leprosy in the High Middle Ages**

Courtney Krolikoski (United States)

Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

External reader: Luke Demaitre (University of Virginia)

Two understandings of leprosy prevailed at the turn of the thirteenth century. The dominant perception of leprosy since pre-Christian times was as a disease of the vile and sinful. The view that lepers were in fact the blessed of God

began to gain ground in the late twelfth century. This thesis considers one of the key factors in this change, namely, the influence of charismatic religious figures. Previous scholarship on the history of leprosy in the High Middle Ages has not sufficiently considered the role played by such figures in reforming, or at least offering an alternative to, the reigning popular perception. This thesis presents the case of Saint Francis of Assisi, highlighting the role that one man may have played in the evolving religious and social understandings of medieval leprosy after the turn of the thirteenth century.

Saint Francis's interactions with lepers constituted unprecedented transgressions of social boundaries and taboos. While Francis's *vitae* followed in a long tradition of saints interacting with lepers to highlight their piety, his actions were not merely a hagiographic *topos*. The kiss Francis bestowed upon a leper in the plains below Assisi came at a decisive moment in the Middle Ages, when society was at a crossroads between the two societal perceptions of the disease. By examining changes in the care of the leprous after the turn of the thirteenth century, the rise in the number of saints who cared for lepers, and changes in the attitudes of the Church towards the leprous, this thesis argues that Francis' effect on the social perception of leprosy is undeniable.

**A Late Byzantine Swan Song:
Maximos Neamonites and His Letters**

Mihail Mitrea (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: Niels Gaul

External readers: Michael Grünbart (University of Münster); Inmaculada Pérez Martín (Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterránea y Oriente Próximo, Madrid)

This thesis examines the life and activity of the hitherto little-known figure of Maximos Neamonites, a *pepaideumenos* seemingly active in the first decades of fourteenth-century Palaiologan Byzantium. The only bits and pieces of data about his life and activity are scattered throughout fourteen hitherto unpublished letters, extant in the fourteenth-century *codex unicus Vaticanus Chisianus* R. IV. 12 (gr. 12), ff. 166–172, a miscellaneous Greek manuscript preserved in the Vatican Library. Maximos Neamonites' *epistulae* depict their author as a schoolmaster of primary education active in the second and the third decades of fourteenth-century Constantinople (fl. 1315–1325), true to generic conventions (and the realities of life), eking out a meager income by teaching activities, and occasionally lifting his pen to communicate on behalf of others. Heavily reliant on this type of income,

the letters portray Neamonites in a constant struggle to either retain his students or attract more. Moreover, he is seen to pursue his intellectual interests by taking part in the book transmission economy of the age. Apart from all the details concerning his activity as a schoolmaster, the letters, an *eikōn* of Neamonites' soul, also speak of his poor health and the wretchedness of his existence, that, like a swan, is drawing near its twilight. This research represents a first step in giving the swan a voice once more.

**Emotions and Health: A Study of “Psychosomatic” Patterns
in German Medieval *Regimina Sanitatis***

Farida Mukazhanova (Kazakhstan)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz.

External Reader: Melitta Weiss Adamson (University of Western Ontario)

Emotions (*accidentia animi*) were an important feature of medieval medical discourse. This thesis argues that emotions deserve to be explored in more detail in this literature and identifies models in which certain emotions and psychological states were seen to lead to certain diseases/unhealthy states (“psychosomatic” patterns) based on selected primary sources (eight German *regimina sanitatis* from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century) and comparative material. Joy, anger, anxiety, fear, sadness, and shame are the emotions most frequently mentioned in the selected works of the *regimen sanitatis* genre. The thesis identifies which emotions were deemed to be beneficial (mostly joy) and which were thought to be harmful (anger, sadness, worry, belligerence, obstinacy, fear, surprise, displeasure), as well as other patterns of emotion-health interaction.

**Construction of Power and Kingship Ideology under King David IV
the Builder (r. 1089–1125) with Special Attention to the Byzantine Model**

Sandro Nikolaishvili (Georgia)

Thesis supervisor: Niels Gaul

External Readers: Stephen H. Rapp, Jr. (University of Bern); Werner Seibt
(University of Vienna)

The aim of the thesis is to examine how the process of constructing power was carried out under King David IV the Builder in medieval Georgia. It further

seeks to demonstrate how Byzantine imperial ideology and political concepts were adopted in medieval Georgia. The reign of David IV was characterized as truly significant by the way this king was seen by contemporaries. David IV was modeled as a providential savior, a ruler who possessed all the royal virtues, who was inspired and directed by divine wisdom. This thesis analyzes the ways in which various tools of royal propaganda were applied to construct the concept of kingship and an image of an ideal ruler. In order to detect the influence of the Byzantine imperial idea on the emerging Georgian kingship ideology, this thesis contextualizes Georgian kingship in the renewed Byzantine imperial image of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The thesis demonstrates the influence of the Byzantine imperial ideology on Georgian kingship and shows particularly the way David IV's image united the images of the two Byzantine emperors, Leo VI "the Wise" and Alexios I Komnenos.

**Nikon of Jerusalem's Slavonic Reception of Isaac the Syrian's
Teaching on Prayer**

Oleg Soldat (Bosnia and Hercegovina)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Daniel Ziemann.

External Reader: Sebastian Brock (University of Oxford)

This thesis deals with a small part of an unedited medieval Serbian manuscript called the *Anthology of Gorica*, composed in 1441/3 by a Serbian monk, Nikon of Jerusalem, which includes Isaac the Syrian's teaching on prayer; I discuss the basic lines of the Slavonic reception of Isaac's work. First, I address the basic principles of composition that might have governed Nikon in editing the so-called *Homily on Prayer*; second, I incorporate these principles into the broader framework of the whole manuscript and Serbian medieval literature. This homily was indeed by Isaac the Syrian, and the basic principles of its composition fall into the following categories: thematic, anagogic, eschatological, spiritual, confessional, and epistemological. The conclusion of the thesis concerns the role of both this particular homily and the teaching on prayer in general. I try to demonstrate that the homily on prayer served as a quality check for the rest of the homily in unstable socio-political times and as an anchor of the traditional patristic spirit.

**The Voices of Narrators in Early Religious Drama:
Officium Stellae, Sponsus and *Ludus de Antichristo***

Mădălina Țoca (Romania)

Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External reader: Philip Butterworth (University of Leeds)

Growing out of and to some extent remaining within the service of the church, liturgical drama probably began around the beginning of the tenth century with the sacrificial Mass, but as a continuation of the ritual of the church itself. The narrator's voice is a central aspect of medieval dramatic production; this study is explicitly about the occurrences and the voices of the narrator, their intermingling or assisting in the transmission of meaning, which led towards further interpretative possibilities. More explicitly, my research concerns narrators of various kinds in early medieval drama, either embedded as characters in narratives or standing outside.

The first part of this study contextualizes three plays (*Officium Stellae, Sponsus* and *Ludus de Antichristo*) within the "canon" of medieval drama with information about the conventions of their composition and staging. The second part examines the narrators in the economy of the play. At this point, the analysis focuses on the overlapping of the plans, secondary to both, of the play script and the performance. Subsequently, by means of these narratorial agencies acting simultaneously in two dimensions (at the level of the play script and at the level of the performance), the study is moved forward towards a hermeneutical approach. The last part discusses the undertones of these religious plays, showing the religious, eschatological, and political meaning they bear and the aspects of didactics and parody they hide.

**Images of a Seated Ruler in the Cappella Palatina –
A Comparative Perspective on Art in Islam and Christianity**

Tanja Tolar (Slovenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Aziz Al-Azmeh

External Reader: William Tronzo (University of California San Diego)

This research focuses on selected imagery, the iconographical element of a seated ruler, in the wooden ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, Sicily. I argue that the image of a seated ruler in the Cappella Palatina has political connotations,

which I explore through an examination of widespread iconography of a “princely cycle” and the sacred kingship as an institution of power. The main scope of the thesis covers a selection of images of seated men with a goblet, where I deal with issues of portraiture in the Islamic painterly tradition, bringing into the discussion seating positions, dress, and facial specifics of the selected ceiling imagery, focusing on the reception of the ceiling and on cross-cultural transmissions of its iconography. The conclusions are that Roger II was seeking all possible visual means to support his power and legitimacy to be the ruler of Sicily, his newly established kingdom. Reception and the gaze were the main tools he used to get this message across. The image of a seated ruler, which had played a central position in Islamic art for centuries, found a modified connotation in a Christian setting and became a tool for portraying political power.

A Royal Centre in Eleventh-Century Visegrád, Hungary

Katalin Tolnai (Hungary)

Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External reader: Thomas Kühtreiber (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

One of the earliest charters of St. Stephan, the founder of the Kingdom of Hungary, mentions Visegrád County in the early Árpáadian period. Scholars have located the centre of the county at the ruins of the Roman *Pone Navata*, a fortification on Sibrik Hill at Visegrád. This thesis presents the extent of the re-use of the Roman fortification in the early Árpáadian period including its architectural and functional elements. Stratigraphic and spatial analyses of the features confirm a two-phase reconstruction of an existing tower and stone buildings. The thesis argues that the Roman and medieval periods saw a functional change in the castle, a transformation from an administrative and defensive unit to a residential site, and illustrate a continuous re-habitation of the castle area in the early Árpáadian period. The thesis argues that the Roman structures remained in good condition and that with a small amount of restoration they could have been re-used in their original state.

Late Medieval Tombstones (Stećci) in the Area of Žabljak, Montenegro
Dejan Vemić (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Readers: John Fine (University of Michigan); Emina Zecević (National Museum of Belgrade)

Stećak (sing.) or *stećci* (pl.) are late medieval tombstones found in the western Balkans. The term *stećak* itself literally means “standing tombstone.” Scholarly research on *stećci* has already addressed general questions related to their number, dating, shapes, and motifs. Several books published recently offer a complex picture of these monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. The region of Montenegro has remained mainly unexplored and, until now, omitted from any serious investigation of *stećci*. The late medieval cemeteries of Novakovići and Bare Žugića are situated in northern Montenegro, both of them in the vicinity of the town of Žabljak. This thesis presents relevant archaeological data from these two late medieval cemeteries and discusses these *stećci* monuments in their regional context. Two other *stećci* from this region (the site of Bijeli Mramor), monuments which have not been discussed in the scholarly literature until now, are also presented here. These monuments are particularly interesting because of their shape and decorative motifs. The general attitude in scholarly literature is that all the influences on *stećci* shapes and motifs have to be found in neighbouring areas. That opinion was tested in this paper and shown to be erroneous, since these examples revealed direct influence between two distant areas, Croatia and Montenegro.

Marinus Unveiled: a Transvestite Saint in Western Art and Literature

Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Gábor Klaniczay, Cristian Gaşpar

External Reader: Wendy Larson-Harris (Roanoke College, Virginia)

The use of transvestitism by women for various purposes has been a debated topic, especially since the first half of the twentieth century. Although the issue of transvestitism has been investigated from different approaches (psychological, literary), the analysis of their visual representation is lacking. Saint Marina the Monk is one of the transvestite saints whose visual representations had been investigated superficially. Accordingly, this study focuses on a comparative

approach of the visual and textual representations of Saint Marina according to time, region, and audience. Her cult has existed since the Middle Ages both in the East and the West; besides Italy, she was worshiped in several other Western regions such as France. The continuity of Saint Marina's cult facilitated the existence, change, and development of various visual and textual representations of her which are investigated here.

PHD DEFENSES DURING
THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2010–2011

Floods and Long-term Water-level Changes in Medieval Hungary

Andrea Kiss (Hungary)

The examination Committee at the public defense on August 11, 2011 consisted of: György Endre Szőnyi (Department of History, CEU) chair; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Karl Brunner, (University of Vienna, Austria); Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Lajos Rácz (Department of History, CEU); László Veszprémy (Museum of Military History, Budapest). The external readers were: Karl Brunner (University of Vienna, Austria) and István Tringli (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest).

This dissertation is a basic, first attempt to provide a concise database and an analysis of medieval flood events in the Carpathian Basin, based primarily on documentary evidence. Among other (short-term) natural phenomena, a flood is one of the most frequently mentioned dynamic natural phenomenon in medieval Hungary. Moreover, changing flood frequencies and flood extremes can be treated as indicators and show strong connections to climate variability and change. Thus, even if the main type of source for climate reconstruction, namely, domestic narratives, is almost completely missing in medieval Hungary, flood reconstruction has good potential due to a unique source type, namely, charters.

The database and analysis here are mainly restricted to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries even though some flood events can be traced in previous centuries through contemporary source evidence. The last two centuries of the Middle Ages can be seen as a transitional period after the Medieval Climate Anomaly (MCA) and part of the so-called Little Ice Age (LIA), thus, the great amount of information on the changing frequencies, magnitude, and impacts of flood events can provide significant improvement in better understanding – in a climatic sense – the rather special late medieval period.

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. Additionally, an extensive catalogue and analyses of individual flood events also form an integrated part

of the work. Chapter one is an overview of the main aims and questions of the investigation. The first part of Chapter two is an overview of historical flood-related scientific literature on a millennial European scale. Large parts of Central Europe have been involved in European research and hold strong positions in historical flood research. The second part of this chapter gives a general background on the basic hydrological characteristics of the main rivers and catchment areas of the Carpathian Basin, emphasizing the present-day as well as the historical flood characteristics of the rivers and waterflows mentioned in medieval documentation.

The third part of Chapter two deals with general socio-economic, landscape, and environmental changes, the level and significance of human impact in medieval Hungary. Previous investigations suggest that intensive human impact and transformation of the landscape and environment occurred throughout the late medieval period, including the last century(s) of the high medieval period. Even if these changes and intensive human impacts on landscape and hydrology had a strong effect on water regimes prone to flood events, climate variability was primarily responsible for periods with high(er) flood frequencies and great magnitude flood events.

Since an adequate analysis of floods cannot be provided without the understanding of long-term hydrological processes, results of archaeological, historical and natural scientific investigations discussing the possible variability and changes in the water levels of lakes and other water bodies also have fundamental importance. These investigations, mainly carried out by historians, archaeologists, and natural scientists on a multi-centennial and multi-decadal level are discussed in chapter three.

Based on the temporal resolution of the available reconstructions, one can distinguish among four levels of information. Multi-centennial, documentary-based information suggests that lakes were probably in their wet phase in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Other, mainly archaeology-based, investigations show a slow, long-term, constant (average) water-level rise in the case of high- and late-medieval Lake Balaton and the late-medieval Danube. At hundred-year resolution, palaeoenvironmental research on Lakes Baláta and Nádas provide evidence that a dry period occurred from 1000 to 1300. A reconstruction of wetness based on stalagmites, measured in decades, concluded that there was a short wet-warm period from around 1000 to 1150/1200 and a long transitional period of mixed dry and wet periods until 1500/1550.

After an overview of long-term hydrological changes based on the results of the multidisciplinary research in Chapter three, the first part of chapter four

concentrates on the types and nature of documentary evidence which are the basis of the flood analyses in Chapter five. The main sources of flood-related information are (domestic) charters; in most cases this means perambulation charters. In addition, economic evidence and (foreign) narratives are also important, but some additional source types, such as the documentation from canonization trials or poems, are also considered. The second part of Chapter four is dedicated to methodological issues. In this chapter medieval flood terminology is discussed. West and Central European methodologies can only be partly applied due to the nature of Hungarian medieval documentary evidence, thus, a new classification and (3-scale) indices for flood magnitudes were developed.

Based on the individual case studies in the Catalogue (attached at the end of the dissertation) carried out on flood records, the analyses presented in Chapter five are concentrated around eight important topics. After discussing issues of flood frequency, seasonality, and magnitude over the last 300 years of the Middle Ages in Hungary in general, analyses of the floods of the great rivers and the most significant periods of high flood frequencies are presented in more detail.

Based on the sometimes rather detailed documentation on the circumstances of individual flood events, in some cases it is possible to detect or reconstruct the types or main causes of flood events with high probability. As such, several cases are listed of presumable ice floods, floods caused by snowmelt, flash floods, and/or torrential waters as well as floods resulting from prolonged (summer) rainfall. On the one hand, the detection of flood types and their main causes provides essential help in better understanding flood events and related circumstances. On the other hand, important weather-related information can be gathered while investigating flood records which, especially for winter and partly for summer floods, make it possible to utilize flood evidence in further climate reconstruction.

Since information on previous flood events as well as long-term changes is also available, it is possible to reach some conclusions on flood frequencies over the annual and/or multi-decadal level. Another important group of topics concentrates on the short-, medium-, and long-term impacts of flood events or series of flood events. Based on robust flood frequency and magnitude issues, two main flood peaks and high-flood frequency periods, namely, the 1330s to the 1350s and the 1390s to the 1430s, can be detected. Whereas the first flood period appears to have been more characteristic for the Tisza catchment, with a clear peak in the 1340s, especially in years 1342 and 1343, the floods of the Danube were more pronounced in the second main period, although Tisza catchment flood events still occurred. In the first main flood peak, spring and winter floods dominated and few summer floods were

recorded, but in the second main flood peak summer floods of the Danube were also significant.

Additionally, traces of a third high-flood frequency period, already well-known from the areas west of the Carpathian Basin, can be also detected in the last decade(s) of the fifteenth century (continuing into the early sixteenth century). The same important periods are highlighted in the undated (only *terminus ante quem* dates are known) or multi-annual information on past flood events, the reported hydromorphological impacts such as riverbed change or intensified sedimentation, together most of the damage to the human environment.

The latter finding leads to the response of human society: not merely the impact of floods on the physical, but also on the human environment and society comprised an important part of the analysis. Thus, flood damage in the human environment, the short-, medium- and long-term practical (administrative, economic, legal) reactions as well as flood symbolism in literary works are discussed.

Although less than other areas, medieval Hungarian documentation also reflects the main types of flood damage in Central Europe. This damage could mean destruction for short- or long-term reasons and/or consequences for the built environment, such as damage to buildings or equipment. In the long term, however, the impacts of floods could be better detected in the non-built environment, especially agricultural land and roads.

Nevertheless, probably the largest number of impact-related documents refers to cases when flood obstructed actual, ongoing human activities such as travel or the completion (and thus, delay or cancellation) of a legal process. An important long-term consequence, often combined with other reasons, was administrative changes; during high-flood frequency periods, county boundaries changed and new parishes emerged. Based on the available flood-related evidence, short-term impacts of climate variability could be detected only in a few cases, even if hydrological changes over the long term were important in general.

Flood events do not merely appear in the documentation when a legal process is obstructed, but may also act as symbol; floods frequently appeared in metaphors of medieval religious documentation and literary works. A flood as a natural phenomenon, but also as a divine manifestation, a heavenly sign, appear in late thirteenth-century canonization trials and later legends. In the late fifteenth century humanistic literature of Antonio Bonfini floods appear as a conscious “action” of a living river; in the poetry of Janus Pannonius floods are signs and the chief reason for an “environmental crisis/catastrophe domino effect” leading towards an approaching apocalypse.

As an overall conclusion, I can say that the long-term statistical results based on frequency, magnitude, and impact-related issues for the main peaks of flooding in the Carpathian Basin coincide with the results available for other, more westerly, parts of Central Europe (e.g., the Czech Lands, Austria, and German areas). An important difference, however, is that the mid-fourteenth-century flood peak does not appear to have been so pronounced in Austria and the Czech areas as in the Carpathian Basin. Another important general point is the comparison with the results of medium- or high-resolution natural scientific research carried out in the Carpathian Basin. Based on the frequencies of hundred-year floods, the Danube pattern coincided somewhat with the high water-level conditions of Nádas Lake (and probably other lakes) in the fifteenth century.

On a decadal resolution, connections can be traced with the moisture/wetness reconstruction based on stalagmite records; overlaps can be detected in the late medieval period, namely, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and the late fifteenth-century flood peaks. Despite weak documentation, some coincidence between stalagmite-based moisture reconstruction and documentary-based flood evidence can even be traced for the mid-thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century flood peaks. It is, nevertheless, a rather interesting fact that the mid-fourteenth-century flood peak – although appearing rather pronounced in documentary evidence – is entirely missing from the stalagmite record.

Even though I have made significant efforts to provide a concise medieval flood database, it has to be stressed that, due to temporal limits and technical possibilities (e.g., lack of available information on many original charters and the vast amount of unpublished contemporary economic evidence) the catalogue and analyses here are not based on all the medieval documentary evidence preserved in the Carpathian Basin. Therefore, even if most of the medieval flood evidence is (hopefully) already included in the investigation, further flood-related data may modify the picture presented in this dissertation.

Therefore, an important further aim is to continue data collection; further systematic investigations on medieval charters (at present with unknown content) as well as on economic evidence should be carried out in the future. Moreover, this research can and should be followed by the systematic analysis of the medieval climate in the Carpathian Basin.

Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: Her Life and Memory

Katherine Keene (United States of America)

The examination Committee at the public defense on January 11, 2011 consisted of: László Kontler (Department of History, CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen); Robert Bartlett (University of St Andrews); Niels Gaul (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen) and Robert Bartlett (University of St Andrews).

This dissertation is a study of the life and early cult of Margaret, an eleventh-century queen of the Scots (c. 1045/6-1093) and saint. Her father was an Anglo-Saxon prince, Edward the Exile, who had been exiled to Hungary as an infant, where he married and had three children. In 1057, her father returned to England with his family as the acknowledged heir to the Anglo-Saxon throne of the childless Edward the Confessor. However, he died within days of landing in England, and any hope that his son, Margaret's brother, would inherit the throne was firmly quashed by the Norman conquest of England in 1066. Margaret and her family fled to the kingdom of the Scots, where she married King Malcolm III. She had eight children, three of whom became kings of Scotland in succession, and was noted for her reform of the Church and her personal piety. She died in 1093, and was buried at the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, where a cult developed around her tomb. In the mid-thirteenth century she was the subject of a canonization process conducted by Pope Innocent IV. While she is often used as an illustrative example in studies on queenship, sanctity, religion, and Scottish history, she has never been the subject of a full critical analysis. This study proposes to fill that gap through a comparative and contextual analysis. The points of reference and models of behavior that were available to Margaret as well as her own actions are assessed within the context of her time. A comparison of the sources allows for calibration of their veracity and the identification of inconsistencies and gaps which warrant further study. A similar approach is used to isolate and evaluate the forces – royal, papal, monastic, and popular – that were engaged in forming the evolving perception of her sanctity. The objective is to arrive at a more informed understanding of Margaret, her life, and her sanctity.

Part 1 orients Margaret in the broad background of her early years. Margaret's heritage is the focus of Chapter 1 because many of the roles and expectations placed on Margaret were defined by her status at birth. Her father was not only

heir to the Anglo-Saxon legacy, but also subject to the Scando-slavic influence of his years in exile in the kingdoms of Sweden and Kievan Rus. Her mother was a kinswoman of the German emperor, Henry III, but her relative obscurity suggests that contemporaries did not consider her to be dynastically relevant. Chapter 2 contextualizes Margaret's early years in the kingdom of Hungary. In addition to the pervasive influence of Benedictine monasticism, which is often credited with Margaret's later piety, Hungary boasted a rich array of religious expression: the Irish monastic influence of St Gall, Greek monasticism, and eremitic practices according to the Eastern and New Hermit models. The language and culture of elite society in the kingdom of Hungary was also diverse, consisting of German, Venetian, and Russian influences and languages. The Anglo-Saxon court studied in Chapter 3 was likewise culturally and linguistically diverse, although the Church remained organized around the ideals of Benedictine monasticism. Both kingdoms also drew on a tradition of queenship which evaluated past queens in terms of their Christianizing influences and imposed expectations on current ones. In England, Margaret, as a member of the royal family, likely benefited from formal instruction at Wilton Abbey, which was centered on the legendary example of St Edith and the contemporary one of Queen Edith.

Part 2 of the dissertation considers Margaret's life once she begins to enter the historical record as the queen of the Scots, wife of Malcolm III. Chapter 1 considers the family's circumstances surrounding the marriage, concluding that their arrival in the kingdom of the Scots was more intentional than providential, contrary to the assertion of later chroniclers and historians. Likewise, the suppositions that Margaret had intended to take the veil and that the death of Malcolm's first wife rather than her repudiation made the marriage possible are later re-interpretations. Chapter 2 evaluates Margaret's actions as queen, shorn as much as possible of hagiographic interpretations. She was active in attending to the affairs of the kingdom: managing the court, dispensing patronage with practical purpose, and taking care to ensure the well-being of her family. Her efforts to reform the Church reflected pragmatic interests more than the religious zeal which later accounts ascribe to her. Chapter 3 explores the nature of her personal piety as described by her hagiographer, concluding that it was probably modeled on the practices of the new hermits who were beginning to spread across Europe. Accordingly, she focused on such ascetic practices as fasting, strenuous prayer, and private nocturnal vigils in conjunction with public works of charity, almsgiving, and hospitality. In part, these might be a reflection of her hagiographer's own piety, but the fact that she chose him to be her confidante

and that he wrote soon after her death, within living memory of her, makes it less likely that his treatment of her is simply hagiolatrous invention.

Part 3 studies the evolution of Margaret's cult, from her death in 1093 to her canonization in 1249, beginning in Chapter 1 with a detailed analysis of the first step in the evolution of her cult, the composition of her *Vita* between 1100 and 1107 by the Benedictine monk, Turgot. The two manuscript versions relevant to this study are the Cotton Tiberius Diii, written in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and a version contained in what is known as the Dunfermline manuscript, which is estimated to have been compiled between the mid-twelfth and late-thirteenth centuries. The appendix to this work includes the first transcription and translation of the version included in the Dunfermline manuscript alongside a comparison with the more familiar text of the Cotton manuscript. An analysis of a hypothetical "original" text common to both these manuscripts leads to the conclusion that Turgot's primary sources were the Bible and Bede. Turgot, forced to reconcile Margaret's sanctity with her royal authority, opted to portray her as an ideal Bedan abbot. He might have viewed himself as heir to the apostolic mission of Gregory the Great so admired by Bede. The analysis then progresses to a more detailed study of the *Vita* contained in the Dunfermline manuscript. A comparison of textual analogues leads to the conclusion that nothing in the text of the Dunfermline *Vita* places the exemplar after the twelfth century, which does not contradict the current opinion of scholars that the *terminus ante quem* for the *Vita* as it exists in the Dunfermline manuscript is 1285. A *terminus post quem* for the exemplar is suggested by its clear analogues with the works of Aelred of Rievaulx, but further scrutiny is warranted before asserting direct borrowing. A comparison between the Dunfermline and the Cotton Tiberius Diii manuscript versions of the *Vita* traces the development of Margaret's cult. The Cotton manuscript stressed an Anglo-Norman genealogy, restricted Malcolm's role to that of a doting spouse, and retained Turgot's focus on Margaret's piety and charitable good works. The Dunfermline *Vita*, on the other hand, dwelled exclusively on Margaret's detailed Anglo-Saxon genealogy, included lengthy passages dedicated to highlighting Malcolm's character, and portrayed Malcolm and Margaret more as royal partners in governing the realm.

The final three chapters of Part 3 assess the evolution of Margaret's cult chronologically. Chapter 2 details how Margaret's children were the driving force behind the preservation of her memory in the half century following her death; Edith/Matilda commissioned the *Vita* and David transformed Margaret's foundation at Dunfermline into an abbey that was structured, literally and metaphorically, around her tomb. Most importantly, each of her children became

a living memorial to their mother by emulating her example. Chapter 3 considers Margaret's cult within the context of the late-twelfth century as saints' cults were employed to bolster or counteract political power. On the one hand, the translation of Margaret's remains in 1180 might have been an attempt to redress the diminished standing of Scotland after the surrender of William I to the English at Falaise. On the other hand, William embraced the cult of Thomas Becket as a check on the authority of the English monarchy. Additionally, Margaret's name begins to permeate the Scottish royal family tree. Chapter 4 begins by addressing the controversy over whether or not Margaret was canonized. Although the absence of a papal bull makes it difficult to reach a definitive conclusion, an explanation can be found to counter each argument against her canonization. Her case for canonization benefited from the brief coincidence of Scottish, English, and papal interests. Here the study of Margaret has come full circle. Margaret was subject to the influence of the models and expectations which she encountered. With papal recognition of her sanctity, she became a model for others.

**Panoplia Dogmatike – A Study on the Antiheretical Anthology of
Euthymios Zygadenos in the Post-Byzantine Period**

(With a history of its first publication in Greek in 1710
and an edition of fragments with scholia on Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite
and Gregory of Nazianzus from MS Iviron graec. 281)

Nadejda Miladinova (Bulgaria)

This dissertation was completed under a co-tutelle agreement between Central European University and the Catholic University of Leuven. The examination was held in Leuven, Belgium, on December 13, 2010. The examination committee consisted of: Willy Clarrisé (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), chair; Peter Van Deun (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) and István Perczel (Central European University, Budapest), dissertation supervisors; Jan Scharpé (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven); Caroline Macé (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), and Niels Gaul (Central European University, Budapest).

This dissertation deals with the *Panoplia Dogmatike*, an anthology of patristic texts compiled at the beginning of the twelfth century by the renowned Constantinopolitan theologian Euthymios Zygadenos. The creation of the anthology was initiated by Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118) and was related to the religious politics of the Byzantine Empire. In the history of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, this anthology remained an important contribution in the

systematization of the legacy of the Church Fathers and the canon of texts which were used in theological debates. The text gained considerable popularity with more than 150 Greek manuscripts and translations into Old Slavonic and Latin.

The *Panoplia* consists of 28 chapters. Each of the initial seven chapters is dedicated to an important orthodox belief, while each of the following chapters refutes a major heresy in the history of the Church from early Christian times until the twelfth century. The text is well known to the scholars dealing with Byzantium, but has remained largely unexplored because of its length and monumental tradition. This thesis discusses two episodes (loosely connected) in the transmission history of the anthology -- the first section is independent and original research on the *Panoplia* in a new historical setting and the second section presents unpublished commentaries from an unstudied manuscript.

The first section situates the *Panoplia* in the context of early modern Europe with a publication history of the first printed edition in Greek, which took place in Wallachia in 1710. The dissertation demonstrates that this edition was initiated by the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in response to the proselytizing activities of Catholics and Protestants. The inner conflicts among Orthodox Christians necessitated the edition and the publication was connected with the coeval eucharistic debates, which originated in Western Europe but were interiorized on Orthodox soil.

The second part treats one single manuscript – MS *Ivion grec* 281 – which shows significant differences from the Wallachian edition and the other *Panoplia* manuscripts which I was able to consult. Compared to the edition, the Iviron MS omits many of the patristic texts, but adds *scholia* to the fragments of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and the orations of Gregory the Theologian (*Orationes* 28, 29, 30, 31, 38). This study gives a sample of these *scholia*: it treats the fragments of Gregory of Nazianus' *De Theologia*, *Oratio* 30, *In Theophania*, *Oratio* 38 and five short *scholia* to the Pseudo-Dionysian fragments. The sources of the *scholia* to the text of the Areopagite lead to *Ambigua ad Thomam* of Maximus the Confessor. For the rest of the *scholia*, I was able to identify most of them as fragments authored by Nicetas Heracleensis and Elias Cretensis, two among the most prominent commentators on the Theologian. These commentaries have remained unpublished until now.

Radicals and Heretics: Rethinking the Dresden School in Prague

Petra Mutlová (Czech Republic)

The examination committee at the public defense on January 18, 2011, consisted of: András Kovács (Department of History, CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Anne Hudson (University of Oxford); László Veszprémy (Institute of Military History, Budapest); Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); and Daniel Ziemann (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU). The external readers were: Anne Hudson (University of Oxford); František Šmahel (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague).

The subject of this dissertation is the history of the so-called Dresden School, named for its alleged place of origin and active in Prague at the beginning of the fifteenth century. During the early and formative years of the Hussite movement in Bohemia, a group of Germans from Dresden who are assumed to have run a “School” located at the Black Rose House in Prague played an important role in the scholarly disputes of the time. The activity of the School proved to be a stimulating element in religious developments in Prague up until the year 1417 and maintained a strong influence on the radical Hussite parties thereafter. Nevertheless, what can be understood under the concept of this particular School remains unclear. The aim of this dissertation is to clarify the contradictory statements that appeared profusely in previous scholarly literature and to determine the extent to which these numerous references are justified. A thorough examination of these problems aims at facilitating a better understanding of the phenomenon of the Dresden School, which has puzzled many generations of historians up to this date.

I have sought to examine all possible direct and indirect written sources from the period contemporary with the supposed existence of the Dresden School related both to the alleged members of the School and the School itself. I have scrutinized the information that these sources contain in order to find out whether the Dresden School existed as a clearly defined group in terms of being a teaching institution or whether any of the other activities of its members attest to the existence of the School. In the second part of the dissertation I scrutinize the “afterlife” of the Dresden School and consider its existence through the prism of its possible sphere(s) of influence. I have examined and analyzed several manuscripts and made some of my findings accessible in the appendices. These contain critical editions of two treatises by the members of the Dresden

School (one case is a text inspired by a member of the Dresden School), as well as the transcription of selected parts of a treatise similarly important for this investigation. The list of treatises by Peter and Nicholas of Dresden, in which I sum up older information and supplement it with my own findings, can serve as a basic orientation tool for anyone interested in the works of these two influential men.

In the first part of the dissertation, I survey a number of historiographical sources from the fifteenth century that refer in one way or another to the Dresden School or its members. The information contained in these sources is to a large extent contradictory. The only positive evidence derived from them is that there were some Germans who were expelled from Dresden after 1411 and settled in Prague after this date. Enea Silvio Piccolomini's information that these men were previously in Prague and left the town as a consequence of the Kutná Hora decree in 1409 is not corroborated by any other source; moreover, a comparison of the sources which Piccolomini exploited suggests that this piece of information is in all likelihood his own addition to the story. Only a later interpolation to an otherwise reliable source – the chronicle of Laurence of Březová – states that Peter of Dresden alone lived in Prague at some point, left, and eventually returned. The assumption that a group of Germans originally studied at Prague University and made a full circle by coming back to support the Reform movement in Bohemia cannot therefore be supported. Based solely on the historiographical sources, the teaching activity of the people connected to the Dresden School as an institutional body also lacks firm evidence. Moreover, critical assessment of the sources revealed that the only name that can be undoubtedly connected with the Dresden phase of the School is that of Peter of Dresden. The majority of these sources were concerned with the question of the introduction of the lay chalice and perceived this as the main reason behind the expulsion of the School from Dresden. Without exception it was Peter of Dresden who was mentioned in connection with this practice. The chronology of the beginnings of Hussite Utraquism, as determined by modern scholarship, however, has refuted Peter's role in this. Other tenets held by the members of the School point to its anti-papal character, but in only one case were these beliefs labelled Waldensian in contemporary writing. All the sources agree that once these Germans settled in Prague they promptly associated themselves with the Bohemian representatives of the Reform movement and that some of the men played a significant role in religious developments in Prague before the outbreak of the wars. Yet the picture gleaned from the narrative sources is rather fuzzy and certainly does not provide

grounds for considering the German masters as a determinate group or a school in terms of an institutional body of scholars.

The next step in disentangling the riddle of the Dresden School was to combine the information extracted from historiographical sources with the available biographical data of the pertinent people. In other words, I attempted to picture the story of the Dresden School through the prism of the people involved. I analyzed the biographical portraits of each of the eight men in chapter II.B. The biographical data of the people considered to be members of the Dresden School do not justify the supposition that the School existed and operated as a group. First of all, there is no evidence that the group was connected to Prague University before 1409 and moved to Germany as a consequence of the Kutná Hora Decree of 1409. Some of the men might have studied at Prague University before this date, but even if this is so, they did not flee from there together. As far as the Dresden phase of the group is concerned, only Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge as teachers and John Drändorf as a student can be traced at the *Kreuzschule*, yet even they did not move to Prague together after their expulsion from Dresden in 1411. Moreover, a large gap remains in our knowledge: identifying Peter of Dresden as the rector of the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden and the author of the treatises that survive and are ascribed to him. In all likelihood these are works by more than one person. The most influential member of the Dresden School, Nicholas of Dresden, can only be unequivocally linked with the activity of the School in Prague. The same holds true for Bartholomew Rautenstock and Conrad Stoecklin. John Drändorf studied both in Dresden and in Prague and can be linked with two other students of the School on the following occasions: 1. Together with Bartholomew Rautenstock they can be traced among the radicals who were ordained at Lipnice in 1417, and 2. Drändorf, together with Peter Turnau, took part in the travelling and exhorting enterprise in Germany. Yet during his interrogation Turnau refused to admit to having anything in common with the German masters either in Dresden or in Prague. Peter Payne cannot be directly connected to the Dresden School in either place, although he might have been in touch with the German masters or their students in Prague after 1414, that is, when the two leading figures of the bursa in Prague – Peter and Nicholas – were probably no longer active there. Therefore there is also a dearth of positive evidence for accepting the activity of the Dresden School in Prague on institutional grounds.

As a next step, I tried to survey indirect evidence that might point to the existence of the School. I analyzed three topics: the teaching activities of the Dresden School, the doctrine its members might have shared, and the possible

activities of its disciples. The situation at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden showed that the circulation of nonconformist ideas under Peter of Dresden as rector was the single-handed activity of this one man. Even though Peter's activity inspired two members of the *Kreuzschule* to follow him to Prague, this does not prove the hypothesis that the Dresden School was transferred to Prague on institutional grounds. The situation in Prague was rather different. A number of sources attest to the fact that Peter and Nicholas ran a bursa at the Black Rose House where many topical issues of the time were discussed. Yet the attractive flow of ideas spreading from this bursa, which found vivid echos in the life of pre-Hussite Prague, was entirely different from those that appear in the treatises that can be connected to the teaching activities of Peter of Dresden, Nicholas or Peter Payne. In any case, the two phases of the School, in Dresden and in Prague, cannot be connected and the institutional character of the Dresden School – insofar as its staff and the ideas that were promoted by its alleged members are concerned – must therefore be rejected.

Closely connected is the issue of the doctrines shared by the alleged members of the School. In my opinion it is precisely here that the case constructed against the German masters connected to the Dresden School starts; the accusation that they were involved in spreading Waldensian ideas is probably the first instance when they were treated as a group. The problem is twofold: on the one hand, the narrative sources do not show sufficient evidence of the members' Waldensianism; on the other hand, only in the treatises of Nicholas of Dresden do grounds exist for an analysis of his Waldensian persuasion. The results of previous scholarship dealing with the doctrinal impact of the School were based exclusively on the teachings of Nicholas of Dresden and are largely contradictory. From the point of view of the present analysis such results are at any rate less important; as long as the Dresden School cannot be identified as a distinct group it is not possible to speak of its doctrinal impact. This ambivalence was also illustrated by a couple of further particulars that emerged during the course of my examination. I concluded that as far as the available comparative material allows us to see, the circle of the individuals connected to the Dresden School did not represent an ideologically definable group.

A slightly different picture emerged from the analysis of the disciples of the Dresden School, that is, of the activities that the sources suggest the members of the group took part in. Close scrutiny of the text tradition of a treatise by Nicholas of Dresden, the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*, written around 1412, and wooden boards with antithetical illuminations from this very treatise carried by the supporters of the Hussites during the street riots in Prague in 1412 and

1414 indicate that the School must have had followers of some kind. It must be emphasized that this supposition is tied solely to the Prague period of the School. It is, however, the first actual glimpse of the influence exerted by the Dresdener circle. Another activity shared by some members of the Dresden School was their itinerant preaching and travelling enterprises. A survey of the travels of the pertinent individuals, however, showed that they did not have much in common. With the exception of John Drändorf and Peter Turnau's efforts in Germany (and even this was above all the initiative of Drändorf alone), the hypothesis that people from the Dresden School propagated certain Hussite ideas in Germany and that their travels indicate a common intention cannot be accepted. Therefore, the travelling enterprises and the missionary vocation cannot be considered a characteristic trait of the members of the Dresden School. The examination of the possible bonds of the group based on their teaching activities, doctrinal persuasion, and the promotional performances of their disciples revealed a few hints that can be classified as indirect evidence of the influence exerted by this group: namely, the actual existence of its disciples.

This outcome was subsequently placed in the focus of my further investigations and coeval evidence of the existence of the Dresden School has therefore been supplied with information coming from a later period. A distinct sign of the existence of a school is the existence of collected works by the masters of the school. In the case of the treatises of Nicholas of Dresden, such conscious attempts have indeed been carried out. However, this evidence relates only to Nicholas of Dresden, a fact that creates an obstacle to making the assumption that these collected editions can be regarded as a sign of the activity of the followers of the Dresden School, and not of Nicholas alone. Nevertheless, the investigation into one particular example of how Nicholas' works reverberated in the Hussite setting showed that there is more to this problem. The existence of an index to Nicholas' treatise *Apologia* made it possible to connect – even if only circumstantially – the circle of the Bohemian compilers of indexes to Wycliff's works, including Peter Payne, with the indexing attempt made for the *Apologia*. In other words, the connection between Peter Payne and Nicholas of Dresden through the indexing tool indicates the possible existence of a larger number of people who can be regarded as followers of the Dresden School.

Such a highly speculative idea naturally needed further substantiation. To a certain extent, this is provided by the evidence from the fifteenth-century manuscript sources that were examined in the next step of the research, as I took up and elaborated upon Howard Kaminsky's suggestion that after 1415 there was "intellectual activity promoting Nicholas' program." This hypothesis was based

on the existence of two treatises dealing with similar heresies that were very much in the line of argumentation of Nicholas of Dresden's works, and in one case, even directly connected to it. Scrutiny of unedited manuscript material resulted in a critical assessment of the textual tradition of these two texts and a critical edition of the *Confessio* as well as a transcription of selected parts of the lengthy *Collecta et excerpta*. The *Confessio*, a parody of a confession that a heretic might have made to an inquisitor, written around 1418, criticizes Catholic confessional practice. Interestingly, in some manuscripts, the parody was copied in such a way as to serve as an example of Waldensian or Wycliffite tenets. The case of the other analyzed treatise, the *Collecta et excerpta*, is much more complex. This refutation of a number of heretical ideas by a Catholic author seems to comprise two parts which are to a certain extent independent, with the second part directly opposing a tract by Nicholas of Dresden. Both parts are amply preserved and a critical appraisal of the extant copies revealed that they must have been part of a longer tract, directly linked to the refutation of Nicholas' *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*. Moreover, the contents of these two sources clearly show that they were aimed against the Hussites, as the refutation of infant communion, a very distinct Hussite novelty, proved. Both the *Confessio* and the *Collecta et excerpta* address similar heretical ideas and refute them, which permits the following conjecture: Because the opinions that appear in both of these treatises cannot be identified with one distinct heretical system but show remarkable congruence, they may therefore have represented an outline of particular ideas. As there is a direct link between the *Collecta et excerpta* and a treatise by Nicholas of Dresden, it can be concluded that Nicholas' ideas were indeed promoted on a theoretical level as Kaminsky originally suggested. Unfortunately for the matter at hand, it brings us back to the very beginning – this evidence points again only to the dissemination of the works and opinions of Nicholas of Dresden alone and not of a Dresden School.

To conclude: None of the sources analyzed above, either from the period contemporary with the activities of the Dresden School or from the period that followed immediately, contain evidence that the Dresden School actually ever existed. Certainly the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden and the bursa at the Black Rose House in Prague did not have much in common, although there were a few people who were active in both places. The circle of the people connected to the bursa in Prague, however, exerted some influence on the representatives of the Reform movement, although this pertains chiefly to Nicholas of Dresden. On the other hand, the direct evidence that there were people interested in the ideas and works of Nicholas of Dresden can be indirectly connected with the activities of

the circle of reformers around Peter Payne. Taking this speculation a bit further, one might interpret these hints as if there were people who could be regarded as sympathizers or disciples of the bursa in Prague. The existence of the followers of the Dresden School might consequently point to the actual existence of the School, at least at this level. Nevertheless, because this indirect evidence comes from a later period it seems that the whole idea of the Dresden School is also a later construct.

The conclusion of this dissertation is that the Dresden School did not exist during the lifetime of its alleged members and their immediate followers. Yet, in one sense the School definitely existed (and exists today): as an historical construct. The question emerges as to when and why this construct came into being, and, in a broader context, how its history is connected to this dissertation. I analyzed only the contemporary phases of the alleged existence of the Dresden School and not later material – however, there are hints that it may have been as early as the late fifteenth century that fabrication of the concept of the Dresden School began. The history of the Dresden School as a construct is therefore apparently long and complicated. It would be interesting to find out where and when exactly the name “Dresden School” appeared for the first time, how its usage spread, and whom it comprised in various periods. However, this would be beyond the scope of this present study – for one thing it moves into a time beyond the medieval period and for another, the topic in itself is vast enough to provide material for another dissertation.

Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir

Rožana Vojvoda (Croatia)

The examination Committee at the public defense on June 9, 2011, consisted of: László Kontler (Department of History, CEU) chair; Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Anna Boreczky (Hungarian Academy of Sciences); and Tünde Wehli (Hungarian Academy of Sciences). The external readers were: Richard Francis Gyug (Fordham University, New York); and Neven Budak (University of Zagreb).

This dissertation is conceived of as an art historical and paleographical study of Dalmatian manuscripts and fragments written in Beneventan script from

the Dalmatian towns of Zadar, Dubrovnik, and Trogir. I have pursued the goal of shedding more light on the Benedictine context of manuscripts written in Beneventan script in Dalmatia and have tried to define a Dalmatian variant of decoration accompanying the Beneventan script.

The Beneventan script, a minuscule handwriting that developed towards the middle of the eighth century in the Duchy of Benevento, was used exclusively in Southern Italy and Dalmatia. It was primarily a Benedictine script, firmly bound to the history of the first Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino and later Benedictine monasteries in the region.

Although the Beneventan script was also used in other Dalmatian towns such as Split, Kotor, Rab, and Osor, stress is put on Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik because the quality and quantity of preserved manuscripts and fragments that originated in these towns permit specific research questions to be answered. Consequently, the thesis, apart from the introduction and conclusion, comprises three analytical chapters for each of these towns, a hand list of all the items written in Beneventan script and related to Dalmatia, and an extensive catalogue of the fragments discussed. The manuscripts from Trogir are still preserved mainly in Dalmatia; the other manuscripts are scattered around the world in the libraries of Oxford, Budapest, Berlin, and elsewhere.

The main concern in the chapter on the eleventh-century manuscripts from Zadar written in Beneventan script was to detect the transmission of motifs from Italy, that is, to establish a precise repertoire of the initials and their origin with regard to Monte Cassino and Apulia. The methodology comprised the classification, description, and comparison of the initials. The Zadar material exhibited traits that I had not expected at the beginning of my research. I was trying to deepen information already gathered by scholars concerning the affiliation of Dalmatian and Apulian production, visible both in the “round” or Bari type of Beneventan script and in the distinct type of decorated initials. However, during the research I found a great number of prototypes of Zadar initials in illuminated manuscripts from Monte Cassino. Therefore, I started to think about the possibility that the illumination work in Zadar in the late eleventh century was conservative and that once certain prototypes were acquired from Monte Cassino in the tenth/early eleventh century they enjoyed a long life in the Zadar workshop, probably the workshop of the Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus. The strong affiliation to late eleventh-century Apulian production, however, shows that influences from Apulia gradually came to be dominant in the Zadar workshop. I have also suggested that the interdependence of certain motifs in Zadar manuscripts can be interpreted as resulting from copying “local”

prototypes. Based on the preserved codices, therefore, I have concluded that it is not possible to interpret the Zadar illumination solely in terms of influences from Apulia. By discovering older Cassinese, Capuan, and Benevento prototypes it is possible to confirm two things: conservatism in the illuminators' work that meant that they continued to use old patterns and the selective reception of various influences. I think that this free and selective handling of various influences in creating what eventually became a local school defines the illumination of Zadar manuscripts written in Beneventan script.

The chapter on Dubrovnik, the richest town in Dalmatia as far as the fragments written in Beneventan script are concerned, focuses on the development of the Beneventan script from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and the argument for the existence of a Benedictine scriptorium of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum. As illumination is rather rare in Dubrovnik material, this turned out to be mostly a paleographic study (which included eight new fragments that I found in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik during my research), combined with historical research.

A group of Dalmatian documents, the so-called "Lokrum forgeries," receives special attention. As these forgeries imply local interest and the expansion of the territory of the Lokrum Benedictines, the Lokrum monastery is likely to be the place where they came from and thus they were an additional argument for the existence of a Lokrum scriptorium.

I have concluded that the Beneventan script reached Dubrovnik through the mediation of the Benedictine order and connections with Apulia. It evolved from the round type of script in the late eleventh/early twelfth century to the distinct "angular" Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century, sometimes interchangeably with the Gothic script. Based on paleography and comparison with dated manuscripts and fragments I have also concluded that the evidence is strong for a scriptorium at the Lokrum Monastery of St. Mary.

In the chapter on late thirteenth-century codices written in Beneventan script and preserved in Trogir, the analysis shows that illumination was conservative to such an extent that, for example, the late thirteenth-century luxurious Evangelistary was thought by the first researchers to be an eleventh-century product. As far as the typology of the decorated initials is concerned, the illuminator copied eleventh-century Dalmatian codices close to the Apulian style of illumination, eleventh-century manuscripts written in Beneventan script where the Monte Cassino influence was visible, and possibly some manuscripts written in a non-Beneventan script. In my opinion, this conservatism and imitation of the decoration of eleventh-century manuscripts as seen in the Evangelistary was

planned and deliberate. The analysis also showed that other thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century manuscripts preserved in Trogir and the thirteenth-century Dalmatian comparative material display an apparent conservatism in the typology of the initials used in them as well as in other features (such as in the execution of the silver covers of the Epistolary). Based on the comparison with eleventh century Benedictine codices that were copied, as well as other Benedictine parallels, I have decided that the Benedictine context explains this clear conservatism.

The result of research on Zadar, Trogir, and Dubrovnik manuscripts and fragments has by no means completely resolved the questions surrounding the transmission of the script, the development of the Beneventan script in Dalmatia, Benedictine workshops, nor has it offered a precise definition of the Dalmatian variant of illumination in manuscripts written in Beneventan script. I believe, however, that this work has contributed to these topics and opened up paths for new research. I think that future research will show that the label “Dalmatian” can only be used conditionally because I am convinced that further art historical and historical, paleographical, musicological, and liturgical studies will contribute to a more precise definition of Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, and other Benedictine scriptoria in Dalmatia where manuscripts written in Beneventan script were produced. I also strongly believe that Beneventan fragments and possibly manuscripts will continue to emerge in Dalmatia and contribute to our knowledge of this essentially Mediterranean script and illumination.

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