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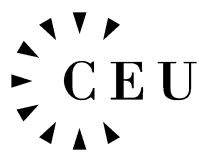

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Tree of Jesse. Alţâna (Alcina). Photograph by Anna Kónya.

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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 20 of our *Annual* presents a selection from what the Department of Medieval Studies accomplished in the Academic Year 2012-2013. Articles by our recently graduated MA students comprise the first section of the volume. These offerings show the wide range of subjects – chronologically, topically, and geographically – that our students typically address. The second section is a group of articles written by visiting scholars who were with us for varying lengths of time to conduct research in our medieval library (held jointly with Eötvös Loránd University), the Széchényi Library (the Hungarian national library) and others among the rich academic resources in Budapest. Coming from different regions, Nino Kavtaria was supported by the Higher Education Support Project on the Caucasus run by the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at CEU; Jenni Kuuliala by the Finnish Academy of Science; Marina Metelko by CEU's Doctoral Support Program; and Karolina Mroziewicz by the Foundation for Polish Science – International PhD Programme. Their papers show the diversity of interests among our visiting graduate and post-graduate researchers.

This year we celebrated the Department's twentieth anniversary, which included presentations by departmental faculty and visiting friends. Patrick Geary and Claudia Rapp gave a two-voice presentation which we have transcribed and share in this volume. Lively panel discussions on topics of current interest such as Space and Place, Material Culture and Social Context, Byzantine & Caucasian Studies, Early Modern Medievalisms, the Cult of Saints and Other Cults, Philosophy, Patristics and Eastern Christianities, as well as Images and Visual Culture were well attended by visiting alumni and current students. A large number of posters decorated the Octagon entry area in the Nádor 9 building, informing everyone about the continuing academic activities of our students long-graduated and new. Gábor Klaniczay organized the celebrations, ably supported by two of our PhD candidates, Eszter Konrád and Theodora Artimon. He reports on the festivities in the third section below.

Normally the *Annual* does not carry obituaries, but in this volume we make an exception. What we offer is more an homage than an obituary for Jacques Le Goff, the prominent French medievalist who presided the Department's first Advisory Board. His work has had over great impact on us both in terms of general approaches to medieval studies and personally for Gábor Klanczay, founder and former Head of the Department, who was a student and long-time colleague of Le Goff.

In the concluding section of this publication we rounded up the usual suspects, as the phrase from the movie "Casablanca" goes. We have assembled reports on the work of the department that include details about the jointly funded European Science Foundation and Hungarian Research Council project: "Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe, Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries" and the successful and well-attended two-part conference, organized by Marianne Saghy, on "Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence, New Approaches," which met in Rome, Budapest, and Pécs. Another report covers the joint German-Hungarian research project on "Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and the Diasporic Experience in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean from the Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Era" that included conferences and research visits by students and faculty between Heidelberg and Budapest, at which a good time was had by all.

The Head's Report by Katalin Szende, who stepped down as head after three years, covers the activities of the department during the year. This section also contains abstracts of all the MA theses and PhD dissertations defended during this year. These show the wide network of topics and chronological periods where our students situate themselves for future work.

In conclusion, we wish to thank everyone who helped in the preparation of this volume, particularly Annabella Pál, One-Year MA Coordinator, and PhD candidates András Kraft and Sandro Nikolaishvili. Also as usual, we salute the Archaeolingua Press for producing a handsome volume.

LIVING LIKE ANGELS IN THE NEAR EAST: MEN, WOMEN, AND "FAMILY" DOUBLE MONASTERIES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Andra Jugănaru

"τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε"[1]
(1 Peter 2:17)

> When our father Pachomius had found that [his sister's, Maria's] heart inclined to the good and right life, he immediately sent the brothers over to build a monastery for her in that village, a short distance from his own monastery … Later on, many heard about her and came to live with her. They practiced *ascesis* eagerly with her, and she was their mother and their worthy elder until her death. When… Pachomius saw that the number of [these women] was increasing…, he appointed an old man called Apa Peter, whose speech was seasoned with salt to be their father and to preach frequently to them on the Scriptures… [he] also wrote down the rules of the brothers and sent them through [Peter], so that they might learn them.[2]

This is how, according to his *Vita*, Pachomius, the father of cenobitic monasticism, established a new type of ascetic community, the "double monastery."[3] Parallel with the rise of cenobitism, "double monasteries," associations of men and women who exercised their ascetic vocation in the same monastic unit, mushroomed at the beginning of the fourth century in the Near East.[4] Closeness between men

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1 Love your brothers.

2 "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius," 27, in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, *The Life of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples*, trans. Armand Veilleux, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980), 49–50.

3 This article presents one part of my MA thesis, "Daily Life in Mixed and Double Monasteries in the Late Antique Near East" (Cenral European University, 2013) which was completed under the close guidance of my supervisors, Marianne Sághy and Volker Menze, and thanks to the suggestions offered by József Laszlovszky, to whom I would like to express my deepest gratitude. I am also grateful to Marianne Sághy for helping me turn the thesis into this article.

4 The topic of double monasticism has attracted little attention in scholarship. See Daniel F. Stramara, "Double Monasticism in the Greek East, Fourth through Eighth Centuries," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 2 (1998): 271–273, and Ewa Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^{e}–VIII^{e} siècles)* (Warsaw: Warsaw University, 2009).

and women dedicated to God has long intrigued observers, particularly because of the danger of fornication among them. Why, then, did men and women choose to live an ascetic life together and yet apart from one another?

This article presents three cases of fourth-century double communities that might make it possible to answer this question. The first such community, founded at the beginning of the fourth century by Pachomius at Tabennesi (Upper Egypt), started as a male monastery and a female convent built for his sister, Maria. Around the 350s, a wealthy and pious Greek family, Macrina and her brothers, Naucratius and Basil the Great, transformed their family estate in Annisa (Cappadocia) into a double community. In 386, Jerome and his brother Paulinianus, together with the former's faithful disciples, the Roman noblewoman Paula and her daughter, Eustochium, founded a double monastery in Bethlehem. Since these communities gave, in fact, an opportunity for members of the same family to live an ascetic life in proximity, one can start from the hypothesis that the family origin of these ascetic households must have been a significant factor in the making of double monasticism in this part of the Christian world.

From Earthly *familia* to a "Family of Angels"

These monasteries originated in the Classical Greek and Roman *familiae*. Family ties, blood relationships, however, were gradually transformed, parallel with their members' spiritual evolution and the growth of the communities. Pachomius, Macrina, and Paula started to live their ascetic lives accompanied by several relatives. However, with time, in each case the biological family was replaced by an ascetic brotherhood (ἀδελφότης), "relatives in spirit," who shared the same vocation of dedicating their lives to God. In spite of the detachment from the earthly family, the monastic community actually imitated its structure. Both the structure and the language used inside the monasteries replicated the Classical family model.[5] The spiritual father of each entire community transferred the role of the old earthly *paterfamilias* to this newly shaped spiritual family, having the greatest authority and, at the same time, responsibility for it:

> Here, as in the original family, the ascetics' sisters, mothers, wives, and daughters were provided and cared for, and supervised by brothers who replaced the original *paterfamilias*, while at the same time all natural

[5] Rebecca Krawiec, "'From the Womb of the Church:' Monastic Families," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 3 (2003): 283–307.

> family ties were effectively severed. The rules and regulations are a precise reflection of this process.[6]

Paradise on Earth: Cells in a Landscape

What role did architecture and the natural setting play in the monastic organization? The landscape must have been carefully chosen before an ascetic community was established. The way in which the buildings were arranged and used determined the proximity or, on the contrary, the segregation between brothers and sisters. The landscape provided ideal conditions for asceticism, since monasteries were sited in quiet and isolated sites. Pachomius chose a "deserted village" for the foundation of his Tabennesi.[7] Its location on the banks of the Nile gave access not only to fertile land, but also to large cities nearby.[8] The idyllic landscape of Annisa was a land belonging to the family of Macrina, a place perceived as a desert, uninhabited, ensuring the withdrawal of the ascetics from society:[9]

> There is a high mountain, covered with a thick forest, watered on its northerly side by cool and transparent streams. At its base is outstretched an evenly sloping plain…. A forest of many-coloured and multifarious trees… acts almost as a hedge to enclose it, so that even Kalypso's isle, which Homer seems to have admired above all others for its beauty, is insignificant as compared with this.[10]

Even though located in a town, the monastery of Paula and Jerome in Bethlehem acted as "an enclave;" Palestine was one of the most glamorous and popular places for ascetic retreat.[11]

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[6] Susanna Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 272.

[7] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius," 17, in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, 39. However, "ἐρῆμος" refers to the decline of the village's population rather than to its landscape. See James E. Goehring, "Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt," *The Harvard Theological Review* 89, no. 3 (1996): 275–277.

[8] Ibid., 273.

[9] Hendrik Dey, "Building Worlds Apart. Walls and the Construction of Communal Monasticism from Augustine through Benedict," *Antiquité tardive* 12 (2004): 357–371.

[10] Basil, "Letter 14," ed. E. H. Warmington, G. P. Goold, trans. Roy J. Deferrari, in Basil, *The Letters*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 106–107.

[11] William Harmless, *Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 432.

The sites of these monasteries have only been partially determined, based on the descriptions provided by written sources without archeological surveys.[12] Despite this deficiency, the building organization can be reconstructed due to the abundant written details preserved about them. The Pachomian monastery was unified in a sort of "ascetic village," surrounded by an enclosing wall. The community was connected with the outside world through a single gate.[13] The wall had a double function; it not only acted as a barrier against outside dangers, but it also prevented the monks and the nuns from being tempted to go outside easily.[14] The main church, the kitchen, the refectory, and the infirmary were sited in the middle of the monastery. The Nile separated the men's and the women's quarters, but it was not impossible to cross.[15] Each monk or nun lived in his or her own cell, where he or she was supposed to fulfill the canon regarding individual prayer.[16] The houses where the monks and nuns dwelled were built around the church. Both the men's monastery and the women's convent had: "fathers and stewards, weekly servers, ministers and a master of each house. A house has … forty brothers[17] who obey the master, and, according to the number of brothers, there are thirty or forty houses in one monastery, and three or four houses are federated into a tribe."[18]

The monastery in Annisa was a single monastic unit, referred to as ἡ ἀδελφότης, of men and women who consecrated their lives to Christ. As Anna M. Silvas has observed, this detail implied the continuous celibacy of its members.[19] The monastery distinguished a residential section dedicated to the nuns (ἡ γυναικωνῖτις or παρθενών) and a similar one for the brothers (ὁ ἀνδρών).

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[12] L. Th. Lefort, "Les premiers monastères pachômiens. Exploration topographique," *Le Muséon* 52 (1939): 393–397; Anna M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); eadem, "In Quest of Basil's Retreat: An Expedition to Ancient Pontus," *Antichthon* 41 (2007): 73–95; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 137, 156–157, *contra* Jerome Murphy-O'Conner, *The Holy Land. An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 232–233, 237.

[13] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 52, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, trans. Armand Veilleux, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 154.

[14] Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998): 113.

[15] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 52, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 154.

[16] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 19, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 148.

[17] Or sisters. Pachomius sent the nuns the same rules he had previously established for the monks.

[18] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Jer. Pref. 2, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 142.

[19] Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great*, 24.

These two parts were clearly separated by a strong natural obstacle which could have been either the Iris River or the mountain located nearby.[20] Apart from these buildings, written sources mention a single church (ἡ ἐκκλησία) and a ξενοδοκεῖον for receiving guests. However, guests might also have been invited to the brothers' or sisters' quarters, as appropriate.[21]

The monastery in Bethlehem borrowed some architectural features of the monastic buildings in Kellia. The men's section was placed near the tomb of King Archelaus[22] and, designated by Jerome by the term *cellulae*, an equivalent of the Greek *kellia*, had a church and a tower, as in Kellia. Paula's nuns dwelt near the Church of the Nativity, divided into three groups according to the social backgrounds of their members. Each group had its own distinct building (*monasterium*) where the sisters lived and worked. The nuns' section probably also had either one common church for all three groups or one separate church for each of them, since all the sisters united to sing the Psalms each day, but only on Sundays did they join the monks in the Church of the Nativity. In addition, a guesthouse was built by the wayside for receiving pilgrims and for recruitment.[23]

Whatever the border between monks and nuns was, its existence demonstrates that segregation was felt to be necessary between them. However, it did not obviate contact between the two ascetic groups, since in each community there were means for passing from one part to the other.[24] Moreover, both Pachomius' and Basil's Rules clearly established the conditions under which monks and nuns were supposed to meet and interact. The most frequent occasions were the common prayers in the single church of the monastery, but even in the church separation between monks and nuns was strictly maintained. Meals were taken at the same time, but in separate places.

[20] Although the written sources do not specify, the mountain is more likely to have functioned as the border between the two ascetic groups, since the river was impossible to cross, as Anna M. Silvas argues. See Silvas, ibid., 46–48.
[21] Ibid., 21.
[22] Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 42:10–14; Jerome, *Onomasticon* 43:18–45,5, ed. Klostermann, 45, http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/mad/sources/sources072.html (accessed Jan. 16, 2014).
[23] Pierre Nautin, "L'excommunication de Saint Jérôme," *École pratique des hautes études, 5e section, Sciences religieuses. Annuaire* 80–81, no. 2 (1971–1973): 10–11.
[24] Grégoire de Nazianze, "Lettre 5," in Grégoire de Nazianze, *Lettres*, vol. 1, trans. and ed. Paul Gallay (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), 6.

Relations between Ascetic Brothers and Sisters

What kind of relations between monks and nuns did physical closeness generate? Since a preoccupation with preserving the ascetic ideal dominated these communities, serious attempts were made to keep a certain distance between men and women. Most rules included limitations which transformed their relation into one of dependence, implying, consequently, obedience. However, sincere admiration and even friendship also developed between monks and nuns.

In double communities, female convents were connected to male monasteries.[25] One may even assume that a particular aspect of their daily existence implied a sort of dependence between them. Work was divided among the members of the community, but the results were always shared. Sources provide rich details concerning the activities of the men, which ensured the economy of the monasteries. In Tabennesi and Annisa, the leaders appointed certain monks to prepare the food, transact sales, make purchases, work in the shops,[26] weave linen or mats, to tailor, make wagons or shoes,[27] work in the fields,[28] build dwellings, and to hunt or to fish.[29] The sources provide numerous details about the different types of monks' work. Nuns, however, were only tasked with two charges: baking bread and weaving woolen cloth. This last detail was probably chosen on purpose, since the hagiographic image of a woman producing cloth signifies her ascetic devotion.[30] Ewa Wipszycka has explained the scarcity of details concerning women's activities through the fact that the male authors of these writings were neither fully aware of nor very interested in women's work.[31]

A constant issue in double monasteries was the concern about temptation that could arise due to the proximity in which monks and nuns lived. Therefore, the monastic rules, letters, and even hagiographies insisted that encounters between the two groups happen only on rare occasions. The various *Lives of*

[25] Wipszycka, "Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte," 578.
[26] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius" 26, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 48.
[27] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Jer. Pref. 6, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 143.
[28] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 24, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 149.
[29] Gregory of Nyssa, "Life of Macrina," 10, ed. and trans. Anna M. Silvas, in Anna M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger, Philosopher of God* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 118–119; *Anthologie grecque. Première partie. Anthologie palatine*, vol. 6 (Book 8. [*Épigrammes de Saint Grégoire le Théologien (Grégoire de Nazianze)*]), 156, 2nd ed, trans. and ed. Pierre Waltz (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960), 179.
[30] Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 41–44.
[31] Ibid., 571.

Pachomius refer to rare meetings between monks and nuns, always in the presence of the abbess. In addition, on every occasion when physical work was necessary in the nuns' dwellings, the monks were supervised by trustworthy old brothers. When a sister died, the funeral was organized by a small group of monks and during the entire ceremony encounters were avoided between the groups of nuns and monks:

> When one of the sisters died, they brought her to the oratory and first their mother covered her with a shroud. Hence the old man Apa Peter sent word to our father Pachomius who chose experienced brothers and sent them to the monastery with Apa Peter. They proceeded to the assembly room and stood in the entryway chanting psalms with gravity until the deceased was prepared for burial. Then she was placed on a bier and carried to the mountain. The virgin sisters followed behind the bier while their father walked after them and their mother before them. While the deceased was buried, they prayed for her and returned with great sorrow to their dwelling.[32]

In spite of the reserved attitude that the fourth-century Church had towards women, some clerics developed strong friendships with their female disciples.[33] Macrina's and Paula's relationships with their spiritual directors, who lived in the same double communities for a short while, furnish examples based on letters and dialogues between them that have been preserved. From the correspondence of Paula and Jerome, 22 letters and prefaces to biblical books have survived. Some are addressed only to Paula, others both to Paula and her daughter, Eustochium (*Fig. 1*). Because of her eagerness, for Jerome "no other matron in Rome could dominate my mind but one who mourned and fasted, who was squalid with dirt, almost blinded by weeping,"[34] as he confessed to Asella, another ascetic woman to whom he was a spiritual father. He constantly addressed his disciples in an admiring tone[35] and often declared his feelings for them. For example, after the death of Blesilla, Eustochium's sister, he sent a letter to Paula meant to soothe her, in which he shared his own sadness with her: "I confess my affections, this

[32] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius" 27, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 50–51.
[33] Elizabeth Ann Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends. Essays and Traslations* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1979).
[34] Jerome, *Letter XLV. To Asella*, 3, in *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, ed. G. P. Goold, trans. F. A. Wright (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991). 182–183.
[35] Jerome, *Praefatio in Librum Job*, *apud Medieval Women's Latin Letters*: Quapropter, o Paula et Eustochium, unicum nobilitatis et humilitatis exemplar,...spiritualia haec et mansura dona suscipite, http://epistolae.ccnmtl. columbia.edu/letter/262.html (accessed Jan. 16, 2014).

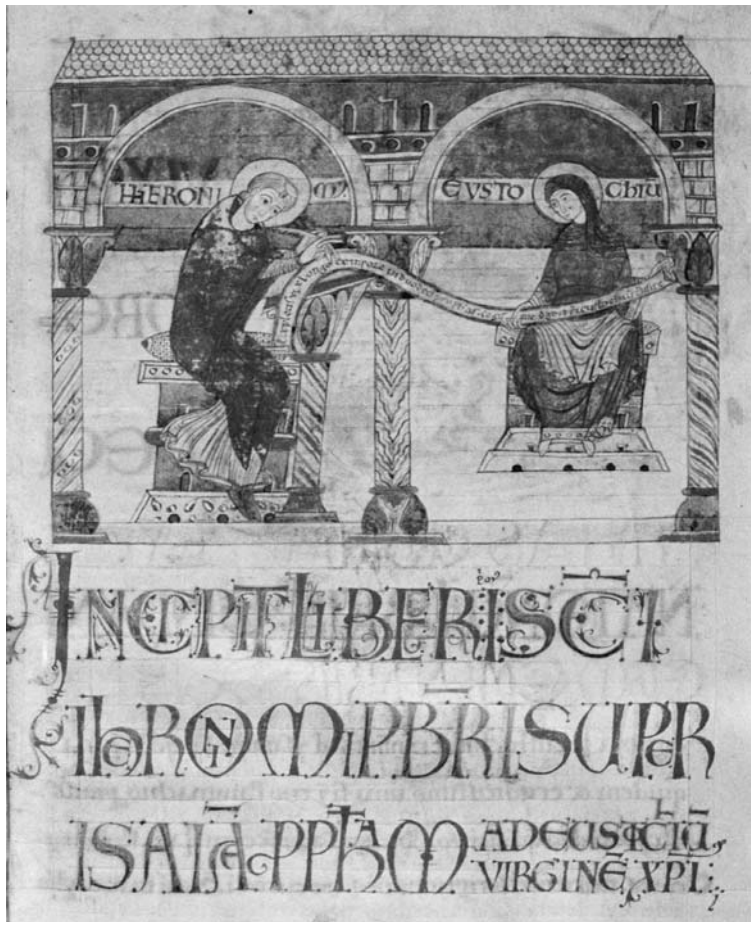

Fig. 1. Jerome writing to Eustochium. Illuminated manuscript originally from Jumièges. Oxford, Bodleian, MS *Bodl 717 fol-6r (end of eleventh century)*

whole book is written with tears."[36] In 404, when Paula died, he wrote a long and moving letter to Eustochium that ended with: "Farewell Paula and help the final old age of your cultor with your prayers."[37]

[36] Jérôme, "Lettre 39. À Paula," 2, in Jérôme, *Lettres,* vol. 2, trans. Jérôme Labourt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951), 73. My translation: *Confiteor affectus meos, totus hic liber fletibus scribitur.*

[37] See Jérôme, "Lettre 108. À Eustochium," in Jérôme, *Lettres*, vol. 5, trans. Jérôme Labourt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955), 200-201 for the Latin text and http://epistolae.

After the death of Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa visited Annisa, where he found Macrina on her deathbed. Affected by the loss of his brother, Gregory discussed the nature of the soul and the resurrection with his older sister in a deeply spiritual dialogue which he remembered one year after she died.[38] He referred to her as "my teacher," since he sought answers to all the intriguing interior questions about death that had arisen through the mixture of his philosophical education and religious belief:

> [As our sister and teacher still remained in this life], I went to her then with haste to share with her the calamity of our brother. … Alas, when we came before each other's eyes, the sight of the teacher only rekindled the passion, for she too was already in the grip of a mortal illness. She, like an expert equestrian, allowed me briefly to be carried away by the torrent of my grief. Then she endeavoured to bridle me with words and to steer with the bit of her own reasoning the disorder of my soul.[39]

Authority

Double monasteries required detailed regulations meant to keep untouched the ideal of ascetic perfection. How was authority legitimized, shaped, and manifested in these communities? One possible answer to the problem of legitimacy implies the formulation of monastic rules, emphasized and strengthened when their founders decided to put them in a written format and to send them to the ascetics. The economic and social context of the era also influenced the way authority was constructed.[40]

According to Alberto Camplani and Giovanni Filoramo, authority was "the institutionalized and legitimized form" of power[41] in Late Antique society, and it inherited the meaning of the ancient *auctoritas*.[42] In the words of Mohamed Kerrou, "authority is a modality of social influence … fundamentally of moral

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ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/446.html for the English translation (accessed Jan. 16, 2014).
[38] Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, trans. and ed. Anna M. Silvas, in Anna M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, 171–246.
[39] Ibid., 171.
[40] Alberto Camplani and Giovanni Filoramo, ed., *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late-Antique Monasticism: Proceedings of the International Seminar Turin, December 2–4, 2004* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2007), 12.
[41] Ibid., XI.
[42] Ibid., 5–6.

and psychological order."[43] Calling it "legitimate domination," Max Weber distinguished three types of authority: legal, expressed in laws and competences; tradition, founded on the "sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them;" and charismatic authority, applicable to Early Christianity and monasticism, derived from the "exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him."[44] Claudia Rapp has criticized the Weberian model of authority, suggesting instead an institutional, pragmatic, and ascetic authority.[45] I would argue that in double monasteries the types of authority belonging to both models accumulated and coexisted. Moreover, since ascetics were members of "brotherhoods" dedicated to God which imitated traditional ancient families, "family authority" was also manifested.

What kind of legitimacy and practice of all types of authority did the nature of double monasteries lead to? The legitimization of authority had a double source. Monks and nuns became charismatic figures in their lifetimes. By instructing Pachomius during his first years of zealous asceticism,[46] "the great monk" Palamon legitimized him to achieve his own charisma due to his virtues. Similarly to Pachomius, Macrina achieved charismatic authority, on the one hand, due to her alleged kinship with Saint Macrina the Elder, persecuted during the reigns of Galerius and Diocletian, and, on the other, through her personal example of devotion and renunciation. Jerome's influence on ascetics may be explained by the fame, which he sometimes stressed himself, that he had acquired during his lifetime.[47] Ewa Wipszycka's remark for the monastery in Tabennesi is valid for the other two communities as well; besides charismatic authority, the founders of the monasteries also had institutional authority, embodied in the terms by which they were referred to. The superiors of the Tabennesi monastery were addressed with the terms "father" and *hegoumen*.[48] In his translation of the Pachomian Rules,

[43] Mohamed Kerrou, *L'autorité des saints. Perspectives historiques et socio-anthropologiques en Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1998), 14.
[44] Max Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 215.
[45] Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
[46] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius," 10, in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, 29–33.
[47] J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome. His Life, Writings and Controversies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998).
[48] Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte,* 336.

Jerome kept the meanings of these words.[49] The term "father" had a variety of senses according to the ascetic context in which it was used. "Most frequently, it expresses the profound respect, the humility and the obedience that a son must testify to his father… The filial respect is also expressed through the honorific titles of *apa* and *abba*."[50] Sources also use formulas such as "the prince of the monastery," "the father of the monastery," "the man of the monastery," and, rarely, "head."[51] The *Historia Lausiaca* refers to Pachomius as *archimandrites*[52] to suggest his rank.[53] The Pachomian congregation had a tripartite structure with three echelons of power. The highest one was the *koinonia* (the congregation itself), ruled by "the head" (or archimandrite). It was followed by the monasteries (including Tabennesi) ruled by a superior, seconded by the abbot of the monks and the abbess of the nuns, and the houses, governed by housemasters, followed by their seconds.[54] The term *proestos* probably designated an elder monk whom the superior of the community consulted before making decisions.[55]

Charisma gave women both spiritual and institutional authority. Gregory of Nyssa calls Macrina "the greatest one,"[56] "the holy one,"[57] "the blessed one,"[58] or "my teacher."[59] He expresses the influence that his sister had on his existence in a deeply sensitive letter sent to a member of the Church administration:

> We had a sister who was for us a teacher of how to live, a mother in place of our mother. Such was her freedom towards God that she was for us a strong tower and a shield of favour as the Scripture says, and

[49] He called the superior of the monastery *pater* or "prince." See Adalbert de Vogüé, "Les appellations de la cellule dans les écrits Pachômiens traduits par Saint Jérôme," *Studia Monastica* 37, no. 2 (1995): 241.
[50] Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte*, 327.
[51] Ibid., 335–336.
[52] Palladius, *The Lausiac History*, 7, 6, trans. and ed. Edward Cuthbert Butler (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967).
[53] Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte*, 329.
[54] Ibid., 335–336.
[55] Ibid., 328.
[56] "ἡ μεγάλη". Grégoire de Nysse, *Vie de Sainte Macrine*, 10,1; 15, 28; 18,7; 19,39; 28,6; 31,3, ed. and trans. Pierre Maraval (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1971), 172, 192, 200, 204, 234, 242.
[57] "ἡ ἁγία". Ibid., 28,14; 29,6; 30,8; 31,6; 37,13; p. 234, 236, 240, 242, 258.
[58] "ἡ μακαρία". Ibid., 37,4; 37,19; p. 258, 260.
[59] Idem, "On the Soul and the Resurrection," in Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, passim.

> a fortified city and a name of utter assurance, through her freedom towards God that came of her way of life.[60]

The function of charismatic authority was to maintain the continuity and stability of the community, especially in critical moments such as the death of a leader.[61] For this purpose, Pachomius named a successor, Petronius, whom he legitimized to rule the monastery after his death, thus transferring his authority to him.[62]

Legitimization was also founded in the Holy Scriptures. The Rules of both Pachomius and Basil follow Biblical commandments. In addition, they were correlated with other ecclesiastical texts such as the *Apostolic Constitutions* and different conciliar canons.[63] Thus, the Rules had the necessary legitimacy for being enforced, together with punishments, the consequences of disobedience: "Those who spurn the precepts of the superiors and the rules of the monastery, which have been established by God's precept, and who make light of the counsels of the elders, shall be punished according to the established order."[64] In addition, failure to obey the rules, even due to weakness of the body, was sufficient reason for giving penance to a guilty monk:

> If someone has promised to observe the rules of the monastery and has begun to do so, but abandoned them, and later on returned and did penance, while putting forward the weakness of his body as the reason for his incapacity to fulfill what he had promised, he shall be made to stay with the sick and shall be fed among the idle until, having done penance, he fulfill his promise.[65]

The forms and means of authority were articulated in the monasteries over spiritual and practical life alike. Both the person and the actions of the monastery's *abba* (the father of the entire community) had the greatest authority not only over the members, but also over outsiders. His personal example of living an ideal ascetic life and the miracles that he performed guaranteed that God Himself

[60] Idem, "Letter 19," 6, in Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, ed. and trans. Anna M. Silvas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 176–177.
[61] James E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. Birger A. Pearson, James E. Goehring (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 241.
[62] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius," 121, in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, 176.
[63] Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte*, 325.
[64] "Jud. 8," in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2, 177.
[65] "Jud. 12," in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2, 178.

legitimized[66] and continuously confirmed his position. The authority of the Scriptures and the Apostles was added to his charismatic and monastic authority, which consequently enforced the reception of the monastic rules.

The strict division among the members of the community reveals the predominance of charismatic authority, legitimized through monastic rules. Because of the complexity of the organization, authority had to be distributed so that it could cover all aspects of material and spiritual life. After building a monastery close and associated to his own for his sister, Pachomius appointed a monk to organize and lead it:

> The Great Man's sister heard [about him] and came to see him… So a monastery of women was built in the village, short distance from the brothers. And as they grew in number little by little, she became their mother.
>
> He appointed a certain Peter, a man very religious and advanced in age. His speech was seasoned with salt and his eyes as well as his mind were full of dignity. He would often stand to preach to them the words of salvation from the divine Scriptures. Pachomius wrote down for them the rules of the brothers and sent them by the old man Peter, that they might govern themselves by keeping them.[67]

Until his death in September 378,[68] Basil had the most prominent influence on the monastery in Annisa. Macrina was the abbess of the nuns, but a deaconess, Lampadion, was in charge of the women's section under her. The men were led spiritually by Peter, Macrina's youngest brother, whom Basil ordained as a priest some time around 371.[69]

Legal authority covered the interior and exterior of the community. Inside the monastery, a monk punished for disobedience was removed from the "assembly of the brothers" and had the obligation to repent:

> If someone is prone to slander and to saying that which is not [true] and is caught in this sin, he shall be admonished twice. And if he is too

[66] Alberto Camplani, Giovanni Filoramo, ed., *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority*, 9–10.
[67] "The First Greek Life of Saint Pachomius," 32, in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, 318–319.
[68] The date of Basil's death, assumed until recently to have been January 1, 379, has been re-discussed. Anna M. Silvas has made an overview of all the recent attempts to establish an accurate chronology of "the four Cappadocians" in her introductory study to the edition of the Gregory of Nyssa's *Letters*. See Anna M. Silvas, "Biography," in Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 32–39.
[69] Silvas, ibid., 25.

> contemptuous to listen, he shall be separated from the assembly of the brothers seven days and shall receive only bread and water until he firmly promises to convert from that vice. Then he shall be forgiven.[70]

External authority was exercised over the community by the local bishops. The numerous features that authority had make it necessary to analyze it from various perspectives. In double monasteries, authority had a double aspect. On the one hand, it was exercised from outside the monastery through the conciliar canons and interventions of the bishop. On the other hand, the members of one community were subordinate to a many-branched internal authority. The "chain" of obedience(s) that an ordinary monk or nun owed to various superiors indicates the charisma of several members and also the distribution of authority among them. As for legal and institutionalized authority, the scriptural and apostolic origins which were perceived behind the monastic rules ensured the idea of God's intercession for their elaboration among the members of the monastery.

What sources do not fully reveal is how monks and nuns could influence authority inside the monastery. John W. Coakley's remark for a later period may also be valid for cases of double monasteries in the Late Antique Near East. In these communities, men "functioned as figures of power and control. But on the other hand, the men – often the very same men – also typically cast themselves as the women's admiring followers, pupils or friends."[71] In the examples here, one may assume at least that the monks admired the nuns whom they had to supervise, since many concrete references in this respect appear in the sources.[72] Therefore, one may question whether the exercise of authority was affected by this admiration.

Relations with "Outsiders"

The foundation of double monasteries, especially their enclosure, meant to separate them from the lay world, raise a number of questions concerning relations with persons that did not belong to them. Who was allowed to visit a monastic community, when, and where were visitors allowed to enter? Why did laymen want to visit a monastery? How did monks and nuns relate to their

[70] "Jud. 1," in *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2, 175.
[71] John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power. Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 2.
[72] Despite the unavoidable rhetoric of the sources, this admiration is well founded. See Kate Cooper, "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 150–164.

neighbors? Did a monastery have a role in the society around it? Were monks and nuns allowed to travel outside the monastery?

The most apparent characteristic of these monasteries concerning relations with their neighbors is philanthropy. *The Life of Macrina* describes many cases of the ascetics giving alms and hospitality. When famine broke out in Cappadocia in 367–369, the monastery in Annisa provided food to the hungry: "Crowds from all sides poured into the retreat where they lived, drawn by the report of their generosity. It was then that [Peter] supplied, through his prudence, such an abundance of food."[73] Naucratius used to hunt for the sake of the poor and the sick,[74] and Macrina took care of orphans whom she found wandering and starving.[75] After the famine, Basil introduced details in his Rules concerning the acceptance of children into the monastery: "Children bereft of parents we take in of our own accord, thus becoming fathers of orphans. But children who are under their parents' authority and are brought by them in person we receive before several witnesses, so as to give no pretext to those on the look-out for one."[76]

Philanthropy was not limited to charity during disasters. In general, the monks gave *eulogia*, blessed gifts, to visitors to the monasteries. Philanthropic actions were delivered equally inside and outside the monastery, a particularity of Late Antique monasteries in the Near East; later, in Byzantine monasteries, these actions could only take place outside the gates.[77]

Despite their hospitality, the communities tried to avoid monks and nuns encountering too many visitors who could distract them from their spiritual exercises, "so that the flock of the brothers may freely tend to its duty and no occasion for detraction be given to anybody."[78] The Pachomian and Basilian Rules clearly specify how foreigners, laymen, and clerics should be received inside the monasteries and the places where they should stay during their visits. Different rules were established for relatives. Guests were received in certain spaces within the monastery, "according to their rank"[79] and gender. Women received special attention:

> If seculars, or infirm people or weaker vessels – that is, women – come to the door, they shall be received in different places according to their

[73] Gregory of Nyssa, "The Life of Macrina," 14,6, in Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, 123–124.
[74] Ibid., 10,4, in Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, 119.
[75] Ibid., 28,5, in Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, 137.
[76] "LR 15," 4, in Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great*, 200.
[77] Talbot, "Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries," 115.
[78] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 52, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 154.
[79] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 1, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 144.

> calling and their gender. Above all, women shall be cared for with greater honor and diligence. They shall be given a place separated from all areas frequented by men, so there may be no occasion for slander.[80]

As previously shown, in Annisa, there was a ξενοδοκεῖον (guest house) for receiving guests and housing lodgers. Guests could be invited into the men's or the women's quarters, as appropriate.[81]

The most important guests of a monastery were certainly clerics, for whom the Rules established an entire ceremony on their arrival: "… they shall be received with greater honor if they are clerics or monks. Their feet shall be washed, according to the Gospel precept, and they shall be brought to the guesthouse and offered everything suitable to monks."[82] High clerics' visits to monasteries were not rare. For example, many bishops took part in Macrina's funeral,[83] and Athanasius of Alexandria and Sarapion of Nitentori spent some time in Tabennesi in 328.[84]

As for the members of the earthly families of the monks or nuns, since the purpose of withdrawal was to separate themselves from the world the ascetics received their relatives under the supervision of a trusted member of the community:

> If someone presents himself at the door of the monastery and says he would like to see his brother or his relative, the porter shall inform the father of the monastery, who will call the housemaster and ask him whether the man is in his house. Then, with the housemaster's permission, he shall be given a trustworthy companion and so shall be sent to see his brother or relative.[85]

The reasons for the visits of laymen were related to the fame of the monks and nuns who dwelled there. Pilgrims received spiritual or material gifts from the ascetics. In various places the sources mention Pachomius' healings and eulogia given to visitors both inside and outside the monastery.[86] In light of the permanent care for the stability of the communities, visitors could spend several days to learn

[80] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 52, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 154.
[81] Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great*, 21.
[82] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 51, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 153–154.
[83] Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, 36, in Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, 143.
[84] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius," 28, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 51.
[85] "The Rules of Saint Pachomius," Pr. 53, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 2, 154.
[86] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius," 41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 109, 110, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 64, 67–71, 161–162.

the ascetic life.[87] Those willing to become part of the community had to be tested for a long period of time.[88]

The risk of breaking the ascetic ideals could also arise during travels. Therefore, in general, the monastic rules and the clerics were not favorable to voyages, especially for nuns. In Pachomian monasteries, monks could leave a monastery under certain conditions, but the rules do not specify anything for nuns. For Annisa, the rules clearly state that no one could travel without a mandate from the superior.[89] Gregory of Nyssa expressed his opinion about the dangers that travel could have for a woman in a letter sent to three nuns from a Palestinian monastery.[90]

Without being as elaborated as the late medieval monastic networks, connections between double communities directed by the same spiritual father were gradually established. Pachomius created a *koinonia* of nine monasteries, which he supervised from Phbow.[91] Gregory of Nyssa and Basil the Great instructed several monasteries in Pontus.[92] Jerome and Paula maintained their relations with Melania, established in Rome at the beginning of their ascetic life, even after they retreated to the Holy Land where they founded different monasteries:

> Will the time never come when a breathless messenger shall bring the news that our dear Marcella has reached the shores of Palestine, and when every band of monks and every troop of virgins shall unite in a song of welcome? In our excitement we are already hurrying to meet you: without waiting for a vehicle, we hasten off at once on foot. We shall clasp you by the hand, we shall look upon your face; and when, after long waiting, we at last embrace you, we shall find it hard to tear ourselves away.[93]

Apart from spiritual concerns, practical aspects of social life were also part of the relations between monasteries and the local community. Economic activities were favored, as noted above, by the position of the monasteries. Tabennesi

[87] "The Shorter Responses," 97, in Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great*, 326.
[88] "The Longer Responses," 14–15, in Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great*, 198–204.
[89] "The Shorter Responses," 120, in Silvas, *The Asketikon of Saint Basil the Great*, 339.
[90] Gregory of Nyssa, "Letter 3," in Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 123–132.
[91] "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius" 49, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 71.
[92] Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 32.
[93] *Lettre 46. De Paule et Eustochie à Marcella*, 13, in Jérôme, *Lettres*, vol. 2, trans. Jérôme Labourt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951), 113.

was situated close to several markets where monks could sell their handiwork.[94] The Nile River offered a means of transportation to the monasteries included in the *koinonia*. Since the affiliated monasteries spread over 175 kilometers, communication would not have been possible, as James E. Goehring has pointed out, without easy transportation.[95] Relations outside the monastery were extended so that the community acquired land outside the walls, new markets for selling products, and the amount of travel increased, as did the distances covered during journeys.[96] Sources from 367–368 even report a brother paying taxes for agricultural land in the Hermopolite *nome* to the monastery in Tabennesi, which belonged to the Tentyrite *nome*.[97] James E. Goehring assumes that the older community in Tabennesi had legal responsibilities for the land worked by the younger community to which that monk belonged.[98]

In spite of their isolated appearance and seclusion from society, these monasteries were not separated from settlements. They were either situated inside localities or easily accessible from nearby villages. The monastery in Tabennesi was founded in a deserted village which later increased in population.[99] After 328, houses were built in close proximity to the monastery. Theodore's mother, when she came to Tabennesi with a letter from the bishop allowing her to visit her son, could only see him from the roof of a neighboring house.[100] The inhabitants of Annisa joined Macrina's funeral soon after her death,[101] a detail which shows that the village and the monastery were not too distant.

Conclusions

Even though monks and nuns broke the earthly relations with their relatives, they maintained the pattern of the ancient *familia*, building a new, spiritual family together. Once an ascetic left his earthly relatives, he entered the "heavenly Jerusalem" symbolized by the monastery and thus became part of the sacred family of brothers and sisters devoted to Christ.

94 "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius" 26, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 48–51.
95 Goehring, "Withdrawing from the Desert," 273.
96 Ibid., 273–274.
97 Ibid., 273; 283; Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," 250.
98 Goehring, "Withdrawing from the Desert," 283.
99 Ibid., 281–282.
100 "The Bohairic Life of Saint Pachomius" 37, in *Pachomian koinonia*, vol. 1, 60–61.
101 Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, 35, in Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*, 142.

Tabennesi, Annisa, and Bethlehem all embodied the idea of the essential unity of human beings, as Jerome, inspired by Origen, expressed it[102] plainly. The option of founding double communities devoted to asceticism was chosen by people willing to reproduce the angelic life of Paradise on earth and the best means of achieving this aim was to transform the earthly family into a spiritual one. The angelic family, however, did not survive the fourth century. Two causes compromised the future of this form of cenobitism. Their family nature opposed the idea of one's total break with earthly matters, a requirement that an ascetic had to meet before entering a monastery, since family still maintained an emotional connection with "the world."[103] But more importantly, the late fourth-century controversy that broke out around Origen's and Pelagius' theology ultimately ended by erasing the possibility of sinless proximity between the genders.

[102] Marianne Sághy, "The Master and Marcella: Saint Jerome Retells the Bible to Women," in *Retelling the Bible. Literary, Historical and Social Contexts*, ed. Lucie Dolezalová and Tamás Visi (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), 135–136.
[103] Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte*, 569.

THE CHORAL DANCE OF MIRIAM: CHANGING ICONOGRAPHY IN ELEVENTH- AND TWELFTH-CENTURY PSALTERS

Zsuzsanna D'Albini

For Anna Christidou

A new iconographic type of Miriam's dance appeared in Byzantine psalters in the second half of the eleventh century. Although written sources on Byzantine dance are scarce and usually describe dance and dancers in a derogatory sense, I propose that these representations probably refer to a contemporary circle dance.[1] This suggestion is not without problems.

Methodology

Maria Parani has dealt with the issue of how contemporary material objects were represented in religious iconography.[2] She points out that since Byzantine iconography traditionally reflects an ideal prototype, it follows standardized models.[3] At the same time, the inclusion of material objects in these representations allows the impression of an attempt at a more realistic approach that would make the scenes more recognizable to the viewers.[4] While these images cannot be regarded as accurate representations of everyday life, they cannot be entirely dismissed as sources of information on Byzantine culture. Of course, dance is not an object, but it can be treated similarly to material objects in terms of its representation in religious iconography.

I follow the methodology of Parani, who argues that pictorial deviations from standardized models can provide grounds to support the idea that distinct visual features were drawn from everyday life. In this light, if the same features are found in other contemporary images, one can assume that the artists actually reproduced contemporary objects. It is also necessary to consider the

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "Changing Iconography in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Psalters: Miriam's Dance as an Expression of Personal Devotion" (Central European University, 2013).

[2] Maria G. Parani, "Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography," in *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453)*, ed. Michael Grünbart and Ewald Kislinger (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 181–192.

[3] Parani, "Byzantine Material Culture," 181.

[4] Ibid., 181.

iconographic context, the quality and quantity of details in the rendering of the supposed *realia*.[5] This information can be viewed against written sources.

Images of Miriam's Dance

In Byzantine religious imagery, representations of dance appear in the illuminations of the Octateuch and the Psalters. Most frequently, dancers are depicted in illustrations of David's triumphal entry into Jerusalem and miniatures of the first ode of Moses, which was sung after their miraculous escape of the crossing of the Red Sea.[6] The hymn praises the victorious God who defeated the Egyptians and saved the sons of Israel.[7]

The first ode was associated with the triumphant dance of Miriam from the very beginning of Byzantine psalter illumination. This particular subject matter appears in ninth- and tenth-century psalters,[8] for example, the Khludov Psalter[9] (*Fig. 1*) and the Barberini Psalter.[10] Such images portray the solo dance of Miriam, who is depicted raising her hands above her head while holding small cymbals. After the middle of the eleventh century a new iconographic type of Miriam's dance appeared. This involves the choral dance[11] of Miriam and her companions clad in costumes featuring trumpet sleeves.[12]

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[5] The term *realia* refers to contemporary secular artefacts, see Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1.

[6] Thomas Steppan's article on middle and late Byzantine images of dance is essential regarding the iconography of dance. Idem, "Tanzdarstellungen der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst. Ursache, Entwicklung und Aussage eines Bildmotivs," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 45 (1997): 141–167. Further observations were made by Angeliki Liveri, "Der Tanz in der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst," *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik*, ed. Wolfram Hörandner and Johannes Koder (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 287–298.

[7] Exodus 15:1–19. The dance of Miriam is mentioned in Exodus 15:20–21, "With drums and dance they praised the Lord and sang the same hymn as the sons of Israel." Exodus 15:21 repeats the first two lines of the first ode of Moses (Exodus 15:1).

[8] My research would not have been possible without Anthony Cutler's catalogue of Byzantine Psalters, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris: Picard, 1984). For general information (date, size and the structure of the illuminative system) I usually rely on his publication.

[9] Moscow, Historical Museum, MS 129 D, fol. 148v.

[10] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, fol. 249r.

[11] I use the term "choral dance" in reference to a circle dance.

[12] There are later depictions of the same choral dance, for example, in the Hamilton Psalter (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, MS 78 A 9, fol. 243v; and in the Venetian Alexander

Fig. 1. Khludov Psalter, Moscow, Historical Museum, MS 129 D, fol. 148v. (University of Vienna, Photograph Collection of the Department of Art History, http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:188960)

The nine manuscripts that contain this particular image of dance are the following:

1. London, British Library, MS Add. 11836 (second half of the twelfth century) (*Fig. 2*)[13]
2. London, British Library, MS Add. 40753 (second half of the twelfth century)[14]
3. Mar Saba Psalter: London, British Library, MS Add. 36928 (ca. 1090)[15]
4. Mt. Athos, Megiste Lavra, MS B 24 (twelfth century)[16]

Romance (Venice, Hellenic Institute, MS 5, fol. 131r) from the fourteenth century. The connection between these two and the earlier representations is unclear; the issue would be worth further investigation.

[13] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 29, p. 46.
[14] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 31, p. 50.
[15] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 30, p. 48.
[16] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 10, p. 22.

5. Mt. Athos, Megiste Lavra, MS B 26 (second half of the twelfth century) (*Fig. 3*)[17]
6. Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MS Suppl. gr. 1335 (last quarter of the twelfth century) (*Fig. 4*)[18]
7. Psalter of Queen Costanza: Palermo, Fondo Museo, MS 4 (last quarter of the twelfth century)[19]
8. Topkapı Saray Manuscript: Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, MS gr. 13 (second half of the twelfth century)[20]
9. Vatican Psalter: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 752 (1058/59) (*Fig. 5*)[21]

Fig. 2. London, British Library, MS Add. 11836, fol. 298r. (Cutler, The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, fig. 162).*

Fig. 3. Athos, Megiste Lavra, MS B 26, fol. 262r. (Cutler, The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, fig. 52).*

[17] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 12, p. 24.
[18] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 41, p. 76.
[19] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 38, p. 62.
[20] Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 23, p. 39.
[21] The date is based on the Paschal tables running from 1059 until 1090, see Ioli Kalavrezou, Nicolette Trahoulia, and Shalom Sabar, "Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter gr. 752," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 197.

Fig. 4. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 327r. (Cutler, The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, fig. 272).*

Fig. 5. Vatican Psalter, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 752, fol 449v. (Helen C. Evans, and William D. Wixom, ed. The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine era, A.D. 843–1261 *(New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), Cat. no. 142).*

With the exception of the Vatican Psalter, eight of the nine psalters are frequently included among the so-called "aristocratic psalters."[22] The term has been subject to debate due to numerous deviations among the illuminations and its allusion to aristocratic patronage, which cannot be presumed for all the psalters

[22] This category was coined at the end of the nineteenth century and was later also used by other scholars. J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration in Mittelalter* (Helsinki, 1895), cited by Anthony Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters*, 8, and also by A. Springer, *Die Psalter-Illustration im frühen Mittelalter mit besonderer Rücksicht auf dem Utrecht Psalter* (Leipzig, 1880), cited by Georgi R. Parpulov, "Toward a History of the Byzantine Psalter" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2004), 2. For a general introduction to the use of the terminology see Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters*, 9.

in the group.[23] At the same time, aristocratic patronage is a feasible possibility for the eight psalters that I discuss. Annamarie Weyl Carr connects five of thsee nine psalters[24] to the manuscripts of the "Chicago group."[25] The manuscripts of this group are diverse in size, lineation, and illumination, yet they are related on various levels.[26] Despite the similarities, it is unlikely that they were products of a common workshop.[27]

The nine representations of Miriam's dance can be sorted into two groups based on their arrangement and functions. Six of the nine miniatures are included in a group based on headpieces.[28] A second group of three full-page miniatures comes from three manuscripts.[29] These miniatures are placed between the psalms and odes and functioned as markers between the two types of text, introducing the odes.

There are a number of similarities and differences among the nine representations. The illuminations portray women holding hands and forming a

[23] For example, several differences were shown by Sirarpie der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 167–177. The issue of the term was discussed by John Lowden, "Observations on Byzantine Illuminated Psalters," *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 2 (1988): 255–256.
[24] Lavra, MS B 26, London, BL, MS Add. 11836. London, BL, MS Add. 40753. Palermo, Museo, MS 4. Paris, Suppl. gr. 1335.
[25] These five manuscripts are also connected to the *Family 2400*. Their features were first described by Harold R. Willoughby, "The Codex 2400 and Its Miniatures," *Art Bulletin* 15 (1933): 3–74. The group was later discussed by Anthony Cutler and Annamarie Weyl Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3. An Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 34 (1976): 281–323. The discussion was further elaborated by Annamarie Weyl Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 39–81. For more details on the various sub-groups, see, Annamarie Weyl Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: A Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
[26] The varieties of relations were discussed in detail: Carr*, Byzantine Illumination,* 12–28.
[27] Ibid., 14. According to Carr, the origin of the manuscripts points to provincial manufacture. The place of production is suggested on the evidence of three manuscripts which were probably produced on Cyprus as implied by the inscriptions in them. Ibid., 20.
[28] Lavra, B 24, fol 203r (Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 10), Lavra, B 26, fol 262v, BL, Add. 11836, fol 298r, Paris, Suppl. gr. 1335, fol 327r, Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, MS gr. 13, fol 194v (Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 23). Although the pocket-sized Add. 40753 has full-page miniatures before each ode, I list it among the group of headpieces. This seemingly unusual arrangement can be explained by the small size (8.6 x 6.4 cm) of the manuscript. There was not enough space on one folio for both the text and the image. The function of these full-page miniatures in Add. 40753 is no different from the function of headpieces.
[29] The Mar Saba Psalter, the Vatican Psalter, and the Psalter of Queen Costanza.

circle. The images show different numbers of dancers: two, three, four, six, and fourteen dancers. Generally, the dancers wear long dresses with wide trumpet sleeves and wide collars. Their bent knees, the twisting poses of their bodies, and the waving arrangements of their arms allude to the dynamism of the dance, signifying movement. There is variety in the steps portrayed; some dancers make a cross-step, the others step sideways. The dancers hold their heads in a frontal position looking forward or they turn it to the left or right. The positions of the arms also show great variety; they hold hands at the height of the hips, shoulders or head. In some cases the arrangements of the arms compose a wave form. Even though the poses of the dancers vary, the general form of the depicted dances shows close similarity.

The circular choral form of the dance is depicted in all nine illuminations, although images portraying three dancers show the dancers in a slightly bent row.[30] It is likely that these images represent that phase of any circle dance when the dancers arrive (or leave) the space designated for their performance. Furthermore, the costumes depicted are also similar, with trumpet sleeves and wide collars (I discuss the costumes below).

A comparison of the representations suggests that they are sufficiently similar to refer to a common model. I argue that while they are similar enough to refer to the same dance, their visual affinity in not strong enough to substantiate a common iconographic source. Since they cannot be traced back to a common model, one should perhaps search for a model outside art, namely, in everyday life. In other words, the common model of these representations is not a pictorial schema but presumably the dance itself in its corporeality.

The portrayal of dance is a complex task for artists. They are not required to simply isolate a moment from a sequence of movements like a photographer does. A painted image uses "visual signifiers" that denote movement. By the term visual signifiers I refer to characteristic instances and postures that an artist should select and depict convincingly enough in order to render the dance recognizable in the image. Through these visual signifiers viewers can identify specific types of motion. This is made possible by recognizing, for instance, a characteristic step, such as the way of holding of a hand or a twist of a head. While looking at the image certain connotations or common knowledge come to the mind of the viewer. Thus, the real dance did not look exactly the same as in the images.[31] The postures depicted on images reflect only the most characteristic

[30] Paris, Suppl. gr. 1335 and Add. 40753 (Cutler, *Psalters*, Cat. no. 31).
[31] Tilman Seebass dealt with the issue of depicting dance. For a short introduction see idem,"Iconography and Dance Research," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 29 (1991): 33–51.

elements of this dance, evoking memories and connotations of this dance in the mind of the viewer. Although it is not possible to reconstruct a Byzantine dance based on these images, one cannot exclude the possibility that these referred to contemporary dance.

One of the most striking features of these images of dancers that clearly distinguishes them from the earlier examples is their costume with wide trumpet sleeves. This type of dress started appearing in images in the eleventh century. The costume could be adorned with collar bands and arm bands and be worn with or without a belt.[32] One of the earliest depictions of this garment survives in the Vatican Psalter. Not much later, a coin of Eudokia Makrembolitissa (1059–1071) from 1067 shows the empress in a wide-sleeved garment.[33] This type of dress was worn by all women of the imperial court in the following century[34] and spread across the empire among élite women.[35] The fabric and the adornments of the dress could have signaled the social standing of the women wearing these garments. Although the costumes do not reveal the exact social status of the figures portrayed, they do refer to women from the courtly milieu.

The ritual connotation of the ancient circle dance (*choros*) and its echoes in the constitution of a sacred place in Byzantium was discussed recently by Nicoletta Isar.[36] Choral or circle dance is among the most ancient dance forms which convey the idea of collectivity; it is a collective, organized, and circular movement. In ancient Greece the choral dance was a ritual sacred dance characterized by the motif of wrist-holding.[37] The unbroken chain of people in the *choros* constituted

[32] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images,* 73–74.
[33] The dress of the empress frequently depicted a shield-like element of the dress hanging from the waist. This feature appears in eleventh- and twelfth-century representations. Ibid., 25–26.
[34] Ibid., 25–26 and 73–75 and Timothy Dawson, "Propriety, Practicality and Pleasure: The Parameters of Women's Dress in Byzantium, A.D. 1000–1200," in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience AD 800–1200,* ed. Lynda Garland (London: Ashgate, 2006), 51.
[35] The term élite refers to both the social and economic situation of the members of the dominant class who held positions in the state and church. At the same time, the social élite cannot be seen as a homogenous class. It consisted of competing and allying families and individuals, each with a specific cultural and political background. John Haldon discusses the changing structure of the social élite in Byzantium in: Ibid., "Social Élites, Wealth, and Power," *The Social History of Byzantium,* ed. John Haldon (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 183.
[36] Nicoletta Isar, "Chorography (*Chôra, Chorós*) – A Performative Paradigm of Creation of Sacred Space in Byzantium," 59–90 and eadem**,** *ΧΟΡΟΣ: The Dance of Adam: The Making of Byzantine Chorography* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2011).
[37] Isar, *ΧΟΡΟΣ,* 52–54.

the sacred space (*chora*) of communication between humans and the divine.[38] It is probable that the images of the circle dance in psalters also evoked this ideal of sacred space, as Bissera V. Pentcheva has suggested.[39] Pentcheva argues that the image of Miriam's dance in the Vatican Psalter: "Is probably less concerned with the depiction of a new ritual or a contemporary aristocratic dance… than with the persistence of tradition."[40] I agree with her that the image reflects the ancient tradition of the *choros*, but I think that these two, the ancient tradition and the contemporary dance, do not disqualify each other. In other words, the allusion to a choral dance with its reference to ancient tradition does not exclude the possibility of portraying a contemporary dance form. I argue that all of these images refer to the same (or a similar) dances and they all highlight the ancient tradition of ritual dance.

Dance in Byzantine Rhetoric

The representation of profane subjects in a religious context can be problematic, even more so in images involving dancers. The most frequently cited passages on Byzantine dance underline the condemnation of dancers. John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople (398–404) and famous orator, criticized dancers and their audiences. He elaborated on the effect of the sight of stage performers or dancers; their movements and gestures remain in the viewer's mind and deceive the spectator's soul.[41] Several Acts of Church Councils attempted to restrict dancing during private and public festivals.[42] These prohibitions were probably not effective; the twelfth-century commentaries on the eighth-century Acts of the Council of Trullo reveal that dance was still part of private and public festivals.[43] These negative passages on the nature of dance in Byzantium reflect the official viewpoint of the church. However, they do not reflect the attitude

[38] Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 170.
[39] Ibid., 170.
[40] Ibid., 173.
[41] Ruth Webb, "Salome's Sisters," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium,* ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997), 133. She has discussed the social status of dancers extensively in eadem, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).
[42] Cyril Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31, no. 1 (1981): 349–351.
[43] Anthony Kaldellis, "The Kalends in Byzantium, 400–1200 AD: A New Interpretation," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 13 (2012): 192–194.

and experiences of Byzantine society. Byzantine rhetoric views dance from a more positive perspective. As Henry Maguire argues, subjects like nudity or dance were not good or bad in themselves. Their negative or positive connotations were dependent on the context in which the images appeared.[44] The condemnatory comments of the church fathers and the legislative acts of the church were against dances in a pagan context and judged the seductive elements of dance. Images of dance in psalters, however, do not seem to portray pagan dances. Rather, it appears that the dances depicted there formed part of joyful banquets and triumphal ceremonies.

The tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* sheds light on triumphal connotations of dance in the middle Byzantine period. The prescribed acclamations during imperial banquets emphasize that the dancers were joyfully celebrating the victorious emperor who rules the world by the will of God. While there are two more or less detailed descriptions of different dances in the *Book of Ceremonies*, dances were probably performed more often during imperial banquets.[45]

Chapter 65 describes in detail the dance performed at a banquet organized for the emperor in the ninth century.[46] The dance took place in the Hall of Justinian. The same choreography was danced twice, first by the Blues, then by the Greens (two factions at court). The rulers were reclining at the table when the *atriklines*[47] led in the dancers. Upon a signal, the dancers of the Blue faction

[44] Henry Maguire, "The Profane Aesthetic in Byzantine Art and Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 203.

[45] A few passages draw attention to the fact that on specific days dances were not part of the banquet, which suggests that on other days dancing was normally part of an official banquet. For example, dancing is mentioned at the reception of the Gold Hippodrome Festival on the Monday after Antipascha. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis,* Book I, ch. 65; trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall, *The Book of Ceremonies* (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), vol. 1, 293. Philotheos makes the same note in the *Kletorologion* (899) regarding the banquet that took place in the Hall of Justinian after Renewal Sunday, see Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis,* Book II, ch. 52; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol.2, 773.

[46] Chapter 65 is dated to the ninth century, to the reign of Michael III (842–847), see Michael McCormick, "*De Ceremoniis*," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 596. In Book II, chapter 35, it is recorded that before Michael III the Blues and Greens never danced on the birthday of the emperor. This can be interpreted to mean that the presentation of a dance was a new element on these occasions from the middle of the ninth century onward. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis,* Book II, ch. 35; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol. 2, 633.

[47] An official responsible for the hierarchical ranking and seating at banquets. Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Atriklines," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* vol. 1, 227.

circled around the imperial table three times. After the dancers made obeisance to the emperor, they started reciting about the world's delight in the ruling emperor. Finally, they offered a prayer, and the Green faction performed the dance in the same way.

Another dance described in detail took place during the so-called Gothic game. This was organized on the ninth day of Christmas during a supper in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches.[48] This part of the *Book of Ceremonies* probably draws on a fifth- or sixth-century record.[49] The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, dated to the end of the ninth century, does not mention that dancing was part of the banquet on this day, but describes how the male participants of the reception were led in a circle around the imperial table.[50] The "Gothic dance" was performed by the two factions, the Blues and Greens. On the left side, the Blue faction stood in attendance with musicians and two "Goths". The latter were not really "Goths" but were impersonated by actors or mimes. They wore furs and masks and carried shields in their left hands and staffs in their right. On the right side, the Green faction stood in the same manner. The dancers of both factions ran up to the emperor's table where they formed two concentric circles: an inner and an outer circle. After circling around the table three times, they opened up the circles and went back to their respective places: the Blues to the left, the Greens to the right. Standing in their places they chanted "Gothic chants". Although most of the words of this chant seem to make no sense, a few words are understandable. The chant was referring to the enslavement of enemies and praised the emperor as a savior and symbol of victory. After the recitation, the "Goths" formed circles again, enclosing the leaders of the two factions inside each circle. When they finished the dance, they opened up the circle and returned again to their respective places.

These performances were definitely not the same dance that is represented in the psalters. First of all, the dancers were men. However, there are parallels between the images of Miriam's dance and these performances. All of these dances are characterized by circular movements and all of them allude to victory.

[48] Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis,* Book I, ch. 83; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol. 1, 381–386; *Kletorologion*: Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis,* Book II, ch. 52; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol.2, 751.
[49] Michael McCormick, "*De Ceremoniis*", 596.
[50] Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis,* Book II, ch. 52; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol. 2, 751. It is possible that even if the Gothic dance was not performed at the end of the ninth century – when the *Kletorologion* was compiled – this circular arrangement was a distant echo of the fifth- and sixth-century ceremony.

The acclamations during the performance in the Hall of Justinian – the first dance described above – referred to the joy of the whole world for the emperor. The acclamations during the "Gothic dance" referred to the triumphant emperor, similarly to the first ode, which praises the victorious God who defeated the Egyptians and saved the sons of Israel.

The *Book of Ceremonies* indicates that the first ode was recited during triumphal celebrations. A triumphal celebration with the ritual humiliation of a captive Arab emir is described in the second book, chapter 19. This section was compiled between 957 and 959.[51] Early in the morning the emperor went in procession to the Palace of Daphne with the members of the senate wearing ceremonial costumes. There the *magistroi*,[52] patricians and officials, made obeisance to him and then proceeded to the Chapel of The Holy Well in Hagia Sophia.[53] After the liturgy they went to the Forum of Constantine, where captives and troops waited for the emperor and his retinue.[54] When the emperor arrived, the protonotary led the captives to the middle of the Forum and a singer started to sing the first ode of Moses.[55] After the hymn a delegation of leading officials led the emir to the emperor and placed the head of the emir under the emperor's feet, while the other prisoners prostrated themselves. The singers sang further triumphal songs[56] and finally the celebration was closed with acclamations.[57] It is questionable whether the chanting of the first ode was a regular element of triumphal ceremonies. At the same time, the account in the *Book of Ceremonies* suggests that the first ode could have been sung at triumphal celebrations.

The history of triumphal processions goes back to antiquity. Even though they went through serious modifications, several elements of the celebration remained constant. The decoration of houses and streets with garlands and draperies, the salutation of the emperor or the military commander with acclamations, banquets with dancing and music as part of the celebration probably never went out of fashion. The decoration of houses with draperies can be seen

[51] Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 161.
[52] *Magistros*: high-ranking dignity in the imperial court, Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Magistros," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, 1267.
[53] Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis*, Book II, ch. 19; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol. 2, 608.
[54] Ibid., 609.
[55] Ibid., 610.
[56] The Psalms 76 (77), 14, 15; McCormick, *Eternal Victory,* 162.
[57] Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis*, Book II, ch. 19; trans. Ann Moffatt, vol. 2, 611–612.

in the background in the illustration of the first ode in MS Add. 49753. This element underlines the festive, triumphal context of the dance in the image by showing decorated houses. An eleventh-century illumination in the Vatican Book of Kings[58] illustrates David's entry into Jerusalem. Eight figures with cymbals in their hands are dancing in a circle in front of the city walls. The dance is not the same as in the psalter illuminations, but it attests to the link between triumphal celebrations and dance.

The personal spiritual victory of the soul was also paralleled with the victory of the Lord over the Egyptians in the episode of the crossing of the Red Sea. The eleventh-century author Elias Ekdikos[59] interprets the dance of Miriam as the dance of virtues in his *Gnomic Anthology*.[60] In the fourth part of the *Gnomic Anthology* Ekdikos elaborates on spiritual practice and contemplation:

> In olden times, when Miriam, the sister of Moses, saw the fall of the enemy, she took up a timbrel and led the women who sang the victory songs (Ex. 15: 20-21). In our days, when the soul overcomes the passion, love – the highest of the virtues – rises up to praise it. As though taking up the lyre, it embarks upon the contemplation that long ago has been appointed for it as a hard-won addition to its beauty; and it ceaselessly glorifies God, rejoicing with sister-virtues.[61]

The dance of Miriam is paralleled with the victory of the soul, which overcame passions. Although it is a more "abstract" victory than a victory on the battlefield, it still shows that Miriam's dance was cited for its triumphal connotations in spiritual, devotional contexts.

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[58] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 333, fol. 24r.

[59] The name "Elias Ekdikos" is conventionally used to identify the author of the *Gnomic Anthology*. "Ekdikos" refers to his occupation as a judge at the ecclesiastical court of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. He lived at the turn of the eleventh century, see G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherard, and Kallistos Ware, *The Philokalia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), vol. 3, 32.

[60] Etele Kiss, "Új eredmények a Monomachos-korona kutatásában?" [New Results in Research on the Monomachos Crown?] *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 156.

[61] Ekdikos, *Gnomic Anthology,* 2:77: Πάλαι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Μωξέως Μαρίατῶν πολεμίων τὴν πτῶσιν θεασαμένη, τὸ τύμπανον ἀραμένη, ἐξῆρχε ταῖς ᾀδούσαις τὰ ἐπινίκια·νυνὶ δὲ εἰς εὐφημίαν τῆς νικησάσης τὰ πάθη ψυκῆς, ἡ κρείππων ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀγάπη διεγερθεῖσα, τὴν μετ' ᾠδῆς χιθάραν ὡς τινα θεωρίανμεταχειριζομένη ταύτῃ, πάλαι τὴν πονηθεῖσαν εἰς κάλλους περιουσίαν, οὐ παύεται σὺν ταίς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαλλιωμένη αἰνεῖν τὸν Θεόν. *Patrologia Greca* 27:1164; trans. Palmer, Sherard, and Ware, *The Philokalia,* vol. 3, 57.

Conclusion

The depiction of choral dance appeared as a novelty in the second half of the eleventh century. The relatively great number of depictions and the quality of details (for example, the varieties of poses) provide a basis for proposing that the dance depicted may have been inspired by a contemporary dance form. The text of the first ode of Moses refers to a triumphal dance. Passages from the *Book of Ceremonies* exemplify that dance played a role in triumphal celebrations in Byzantium. The images of choral dance could have evoked memories of triumphal celebrations in the mind of the viewer. In this way these images reveal the positive connotations of dance in Byzantium despite the condemnatory words and Acts of the Church.

SOCIAL POSITIONS IN THE *LIBER DE REGNO SICILIE*: USING STRUCTURAL EQUIVALENCES IN AN ATTEMPT TO ANALYZE THE NARRATIVE OF PSEUDO-FALCANDUS

Hervin Fernández-Aceves

> *Comites etiam aliique viri nobiles, quibus precipue Maionis erat suspecta potentia, consilio super hoc habito, sibi invicem iuravere, quod Maionis mortem totis viribus totoque posse perquirerent, neque parerent deinceps curie, aut ab ea societate discederent, nisi prius illum aut interfectum esse cognoscerent aut extra regnum fugisse.*[1]

This quotation is an example of the tangled social interactions attested in the *Liber de Regno Sicilie*: encounters, agreements, hostilities, plotting, and clashes between characters in and around the Sicilian royal court. The *Liber,* attributed to a Hugo Falcandus, provides a vivid and detailed account of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily under William I and the first years of William II (1154–1169).

The name Hugo Falcandus – whom I shall refer to henceforth as pseudo-Falcandus – appears for the first time in a printed edition published in Paris in 1550.[2] None of the surviving medieval manuscripts cite any authority by the name of Hugo Falcandus and no such person can be identified in the surviving twelfth-century charters. However, there seems to be general agreement in previous and current scholarship that, although ps.-Falcandus was not necessarily one of the main characters in the narrative, he was certainly a contemporary and probably

[1] *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola Ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando*, G. B. Siragusa, ed. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1904 [1897]) [henceforth: *Liber*], 29. "… and the counts and other noblemen who particularly disliked Maio's influence discussed the matter and swore an oath among themselves to strive for Maio's death with all the forces at their command and with all their might, and neither to obey the court any more nor to abandon their new coalition until they had heard either that he had been killed or that he had fled the realm," *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus,' 1154–1169*, ed. & trans. G. A. Loud and T. E. J. Wiedemann (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998) [henceforth: *The Tyrants*], 82.

[2] The editor, Martin Gervais of Tournai, explains that the binding of the manuscript which he used for this edition was perished and rotten, *Historia Hugonis Falcandi Siculi de rebus gestis in Siciliae regno,* ed. Martin Gervais de Tournai, (Paris: Apud Mathurinum Dupuys, 1550). The name 'Falcandus' almost certainly came from a misreading of the allegedly damaged title page, see G. A. Loud, "William the Bad or William the Unlucky? Kingship in Sicily 1154–1166," *Haskins Society Journal* 8 (1999): 99–113.

an eyewitness.[3] Nevertheless, the question of authorship is mostly a technical question of little relevance for the present study and probably impossible to solve.

My research project[4] sought an integrative approach that would allow me to comprehend the social process present in the textual narrative source. This study was based on the interactions among social actors, as narrated in the text, who were involved in the machinations reported. I assumed that a relational approach can contribute to an understanding of narrative sources. The two main questions that I expected to answer were, firstly, how can one extract relational data and construct networks that represent the information contained in a narrative source such as the *Liber*? And secondly, what do the networks thus constructed reveal about the significance and implications of the social space constructed by ps.-Falcandus?

Thus, the challenge of how to "read" the text became the main focus of my research. In order to concentrate on the information on social and political processes embedded in the text, I needed to transform ps.-Falcandus' rhetoricized reports so that the relations, not the individuals, were at the center of the study. The first requirement of such an attempt was to translate a textual structure into a sociological construct, namely, a socio-relational dataset. Rewriting the whole

[3] G. B. Siragusa, "Prefazione," in *Liber*, VIII–XLV; G. Gröber, *Übersicht über die lateinische Literatur von der Mitte des VI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: W. Fink, 1963 [1902]); Ferdinand Chalandon, *Domination normande en Italie et en Sicilie* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1907), lii–lxi; H. Hoffmann, "Hugo Falcandus und Romuald von Salerno," *DAEM* 23 (1967): 116–170; C. A. Garufi, "Roberto di San Giovanni, maestro notario e il "Liber de Regno Sicilie," *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia* 18 (1944): 33–128; E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily. His life and Work and the Authorship of the* Epistola ad Petrum *and the* Historia Hugonis Falcandi Siculi (London: Oxford University Press, 1957); G. M. Cantarella, "Ripensare Falcando," *Studi Medievali* [hereafter: *SM*] 3, no. 34 (1993): 823–840; G. E. Hood, "Falcandus and Fulcaudus, *Epistola ad Petrum*, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*. Literary Form and Author's Identity," *SM* 40 (1999): 1–41; E. D'Angelo, *Storiografi e Cronologi Latini del Mezzogiorno Normanno-Svevo* (Naples: Liguori Editori, 2003), 31–3, 70–81; A. Franke, "Zur Identität des 'Hugo Falcandus,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* [hereafter: *DAEM*] 64 (2008): 1–13; R. Köhn, "Noch einmal zur Identität des 'Hugo Falcandus'" *DAEM* 67 (2011): 499–541; and the expanded and still unpublished version of G. A. Loud's paper, "The Image of the Tyrant in the work of 'Hugo Falcandus,'" originally presented at a conference on Norman historiography organised at Cerisy-la-Salle, Normandy (October, 2009).

[4] This article is based on my MA thesis, "A Relational View of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and its Royal Court: The Social Space Constructed by 'Hugo Falcandus'," Budapest: Central European University, 2013.

Liber through Franzosi's Quantitative Narrative Analysis,[5] I constructed a dataset that provided a series of narrative sociomatrices ready to be parsed through network analytical tools. Of these, measuring structural equivalence and using so-called blockmodelling turned out to be a promising approach for understanding the entire text's social dimensions because the structurally equivalent positions strongly suggest the narrative roles the author used for constructing a social system. Although I am here only scratching the surface, the insights provided strongly suggest that blockmodelling, a relational approach, in narrative analysis is an entirely new field to experiment with and explore.

Representing Narratives as Social Networks

The central idea of this methodological attempt is that narrative analysis yields an understanding of social relations as embedded in a text and that the meaning of individuals and communities in a text is conditional on their position in a system of social interactions constructed by the author. One should not only recover facts from the narrative, but also find a manner of making sense of them. This is where a structural and relational analysis seems to offer a useful approach. The narrative analysis of ps.-Falcandus' *Liber* not only helps to reveal its linguistic properties – a task perhaps better left in the hands of the linguists – but also the considerable amount of sociological information present in the narrative.[6] In Laumann's words, the peculiar and distinctive feature of network analysis "is to explain, at least in part, the behavior of network elements – i.e., the social actors – and of the system as a whole by appeal to specific features of the interconnections among the elements."[7] In order to approach the author's perspective, I needed a method that would allow me to explain the social information it contains derived from the structure of the text, not just to gauge its ideological stand or linguistic resonances. Arising from the toolbox of structural analyses of narratives, the research tool that proved to be helpful for this endeavor was Quantitative Narrative Analysis – QNA.

QNA is a method designed by Roberto Franzosi to study the behavior of historical actors as reported by narrative sources.[8] This approach to historical

[5] R. Franzosi, "Narrative Analysis – or Why (and How) Sociologists Should Be Interested in Narrative," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 519–520.

[6] R. Franzosi, "Narrative Analysis."

[7] E. Laumann, "Network Analysis," in *Large Social Systems: Some Theoretical and Methodological Problems*, ed. P. W. Holland and S. Lenhardt (New York: Academic, 1979), 394.

[8] For extensive reference to Franzosi's approach, see *Quantitative Narrative Analysis* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 2009); "Grammatiche semantiche come strumenti di organizzazione e

narratives, taking advantage of the invariant structural linguistic properties of any narrative, allows historians and social scientists to study the actions and relations of actants.[9] QNA is founded on Halliday's action-verbal clause,[10] which is defined as a process that consists essentially of three components: 1) the process itself; 2) the participants in the process; and 3) the circumstances associated with the process, recorded as semantic triplets.[11] The action-verbal clause as the characteristic narrative process implies interactions among participants. The action-verbal clauses are thus the skeleton of the language of the narrative and the raw material for identifying the behaviors and interaction of the actants in a text.

The dataset constructed through rewriting the entire *Liber de Regno Sicilie* through QNA separates the social information embedded in the narrative into 420 events. The total number of attested social interactions, coded as semantic triplets, is 1174, together with 89 social relationships also explicitly attested in the narrative. Each interaction and relationship defines an edge that connects two characters. The total number of characters presented in the narrative as social actors is 214.

This dataset thus provides a list of social actors and a list of edges. The different social interactions present in the narrative were labelled in sixteen different categories. These were grouped into six general types of interaction:

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raccolta di dati narrative," *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* 47 (2006): 465–488; and *From Words to Numbers: Narrative, Data, and Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Franzosi's work has become one of the leading contemporary efforts to construct a strong framework for quantitative narrative analysis. See also P. DiMaggio, "Cultural Networks," in *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis,* ed. P. J. Carrington and J. Scott (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), 286–300.

[9] In narrative and sociological theory, "actant" is a term employed in order to speak neither of "actors" (who act) nor of "systems" (which behave). Halliday proposes the terminology "participant."

[10] A great deal of QNA's theoretical framework comes from M. A. K. Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Arnold, 1994). For Halliday, human beings experience their inner and outer worlds and represent these experiences linguistically as processes in the clause, with three primary types of processes – doing (or material processes, further divided into happening, creating/changing, and doing (to)/acting), sensing (or mental, further divided into seeing, feeling, and thinking), and being (or relational, further divided into symbolizing, having identity, and having attribute). See also R. Franzosi, "Sociology, Narrative and the Quality Versus Quantity Debate (Goethe versus Newton): Can Computer-assisted Plot Grammars Help Us Understand the Rise of Italian Fascism (1919–1922)?" *Theory and Society* 39 (2010): 593–629.

[11] Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 108–109.

Association; Influence; Endowment; Enmity; Communication, and Promise/Oath. Each type of interaction creates a different layer of an overlapping social network,[12] producing a system of multiple relations.

An additional layer is added to this: The social *relationships* that explicitly connect the characters independently of their interactions. While the social relationships are not embedded in the semantic triplets, they were nevertheless coded as attributes of the social actors. These relationships are categorized in three general classes: kin, friendship or legal/administrative. Although not originally captured as interactions between actors, these relationships indicate a connection sufficiently relevant to the narrative for the author to mention it explicitly. The relationships layer is important for detecting patterns of social positions and roles, since kinship, friendships, or legal/administrative linkages are the structural contexts that supply the relevant social environment in which the interaction takes place between characters.[13] For this reason, the stated and specific relationships must be studied as a relational layer together with the rest of the interactions. My hypothesis here is that the few explicit mentions of kinship, friendship, and legal/administrative linkages "pre-structured" the interactions of the social reality construed by the author.

The narrative's dataset is used to build up network data stored in seven separate adjacency matrices, one for each type of interaction and one for the underlying structure of relationships. This means that the list of nodes, interactions, and relationships needs to be transformed into sociomatrices, i.e., an adjacency matrix that offers the data representing interpersonal connections in a tabular format. The network data for the whole narrative can be constructed in seven sociomatrices. The network data is not dichotomized; it is given in links

[12] As in the case study of "A Monastery in Crisis," where Sampson presented a detailed account of social relations in an American monastery, classifying the relation in four types by a dual model that partitions a population while it identifies patterns of relations; see S. F. Sampson, "Crisis in a Cloister," PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1969. This study was used for exemplifying precisely the use of blockmodelling in the analysis of multiple social networks in the foundational work by H. C. White, S. A. Boorman, and R. L. Breiger, "Social Structure from Multiple Networks. I. Blockmodels of Roles and Positions," *American Journal of Sociology* 81 (1976): 749–754.

[13] For a comprehensive summary of the concept and role of social relationships in system and network theory, see S. P. Borgatti, A. Mehra, D. J. Brass, and G. Labianca, "Network Analysis in the Social Sciences," *Science* 323 (2009): 892–895 and H. C. White, *An Anatomy of Kinship: Mathematical Models for Structures of Cumulated Roles* (Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963). Cf. the systemic formalization of the notion of society in Niklas Luhmann's theory, especially *Soziologische Aufklärung: Aufsätze zur Theorie sozialer Systeme* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970), 155–178.

with values, namely, the links can bear a value greater than 1, depending on how many times each pair of characters interacted in each layer.

Blockmodelling: An Approach to Positional Analysis by Structural Equivalence

The notion of *position* refers to a group of social actors who are equivalently embedded in a system of relations.[14] Thus, a *position* in this case indicates a category of characters in ps.-Falcandus' history that are found in similar social processes with respect to actors in other positions in the same system; actors occupying the same structural position need not be in direct or indirect contact with one another. In contrast, the notion of role refers to the patterns of relation which operate between actors or between positions.

Positional and role analyses are well suited for understanding the narrative patterns in ps.-Falcandus. To begin with, positions and roles are usually based on a combination of multiple relations;[15] the most informative role or positional analyses require several types of ties. Secondly, by taking into consideration all the intricate and different types of interaction at the same time, I will be able to group all the characters into positions based on their multirelational equivalence as present in the narrative and describe the categories' social processes based on the author's cognitive descriptions. Similarity is defined here in terms of the equivalence of actors with respect to a structural property. In order to conduct both analyses based on structural equivalence, I constructed and interpreted *blockmodels*. Blockmodelling is the classic social network approach to positional and role analyses.[16]

A blockmodel consists of two elements: A partition of actors into positions and the identification of ties within or between the positions on each of the layers of relations – in the present context, layers of interactions.[17] A blockmodel is hence a hypothesis on how a multirelational network operates.

The structural property for detecting the positions in the case of ps.-Falcandus is the same as defined by H. C. White and F. Lorrain: Two actors are structurally equivalent by having identical ties to and from all the other actors

[14] S. Wasserman and K. Faust, *Social Network Analysis. Methods and Applications* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 348.
[15] H. C. White, *An Anatomy of Kinship*.
[16] C. Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory and Methodology* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2012), 193.
[17] Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, 395.

in the network.[18] Hence, when two nodes in a network are equivalent, "they are substitutable;"[19] in other words, combining structurally equivalent actors into a single position loses no structural information. This definition of equivalence applies naturally to multilayer networks; for a pair of characters to be equivalent they must have identical connections on all the layers. Structural equivalence is also suitable for the analysis of valued ties; two actors would be equivalent if they interacted frequently with exactly the same people and interacted infrequently with exactly the same others.[20] However, it is fundamental to note that in actual network data, as is the case of ps.-Falcandus' narrative, it is unlikely, if not impossible, that any actors will be exactly equivalent. Therefore a measure of equivalence is required in order to identify the subsets of actors who are approximately structurally equivalent.

The measure I have selected for conducting the positional analysis is the correlation coefficient.[21] This is the preferred method for measuring similarity in pattern. If two characters are perfectly structurally equivalent, then the correlation between them in the sociomatrix will be equal to 1.0. As each pair of characters becomes more dissimilar, the value of the correlation decreases.[22]

The next step is to represent the positions. I first partition the characters into subsets so that characters within each block are closer to being structurally equivalent than the characters in different blocks. These positions are precisely the building blocks with which blockmodels are constructed.

The collection of the positions of structural equivalence, together with the assignment of the characters to the positions of equivalence, constitutes the blockmodel for ps.-Falcandus' network data. Hence, several interpretations of the structure of relations contained in the text can be made based on these models. It should be remembered that a blockmodel is a hypothesis about the relational structure in a social system that refers to positions rather than to characters and then summarizes features of the entire structure. Among the various possible ways

[18] F. Lorrain and H. C. White, "Structural Equivalence of Individuals in Social Networks," *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1 (1971): 49–80.
[19] Lorrain and White, "Structural Equivalence," 63.
[20] Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, 360.
[21] The correlation between two nodes is the usual "Pearson product-moment" correlation coefficient, computed on both the rows and columns of all the layers of the sociomatrix, see Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, 368–369.
[22] These correlations were computed using S. P. Borgatti, M. G. Everett, and L. C. Freeman, *Ucinet for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis* (Harvard: Analytic Technologies, 2002).

of interpreting a blockmodel, I described and compared the relevant positions to the attributes reported by ps.-Falcandus.

Interpreting the Narrative's Blockmodels: The Characters' Attributes in ps.-Falcandus

This type of interpretation is based on the assumption that a correlation between character characteristics and the positions in the blockmodel is likely to indicate an association between such narrated characteristics and the structural arrangement of the text's social space. By observing these correlations I can assess the extent to which the attributes of the social actors are important determinants for defining the actors' roles in the narrative structure.

The social actors in the first identified relevant position share an outstanding feature: Most of them were officials in the royal administration. With the exception of the archbishop of Trani,[23] these structurally equivalent characters are presented by the author as palace servants with specific charges. Among them are the anonymous palace *gavarretus*,[24] negatively characterized as a *vir facilitatis*, *cupiditatis*[25] when the author is explaining the plot to release prisoners kept in the palace and to assault William I; another *gavarretus*, serving in the royal castle in Taormina, appears very late in the sequence of events;[26] the *stratigotus*[27] of

[23] An archdiocese in Apulia.

[24] Although the office of *gavarretus* was identified by the later medieval notary and chronicler Richard of San Germano as a *baiulus*, a royal bailiff (*Ryccardi di Sancto Germano Notarii Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, 2nd ed., (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1938), Loud and Wiedmann have pointed out that it is unlikely, as the latter was more an official in charge of royal property and revenues in defined territorial circumscriptions, whereas the two *gavarreti* mentioned by ps.-Falcandus are guards, both subordinate to a castellan; see *The Tyrants*, 106.

[25] *Liber*, 55; *The Tyrants*, 106.

[26] When the people of Messina are besieging the castle in Taormina in order to liberate Richard of Mandra, Count of Molise; *Liber,* 154–5; *The Tyrants*, 206–207.

[27] In this sense, the term *stratigotus* was employed in the Kingdom of Sicily to refer not to a general, but to a chief magistrate of a town appointed by the king to govern it, whose presence was rather frequent, at least the government of Messina; see L. R. Ménager, *Les Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina* (Palermo: Instituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neollenici, 1963), 27–42; see also H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily,* (New York: Brill, 1993), 75. The term *stratigotus* could vary depending on the region, being used interchangeably with the office of *catepanus* and *baiulus*, and in Apulia the latter were preferred; see J. M. Martin, *La Pouille du Vle au Xlle siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1993), 818–820; *The Tyrants,* 117.

Messina, Richard;[28] and Jacob, the *hostiarius*[29] sent to Messina by the royal court to prepare a fleet.[30] It is indeed striking that the two *gavarreti*, although far apart in the narrative's plot and not connected directly, are confirmed as similar social actors with equivalent roles. This social position goes even further to include the similar office of *hostiarius* and the other royal appointment of *stratigotus*. The second position thus may confirm, beyond the mere administrative titles, one of the administrative classes bound to the government of the royal court as represented in ps.-Falcandus' construct.

Turning to the second relevant block, half of its positional members bear a comital title: Hugh, count of Catanzaro;[31] Bertram, count of Andria; and his father, the more recurrent character, Gilbert, count of Gravina. The regional scope of these titles is restricted to the greater regions of Apulia and Calabria. Ps.-Falcandus explicitly groups the other three characters in this position together as part of a party condemned for conspiracy when the royal court moved to Messina.[32] It is noteworthy that one of these conspirators, John of Sinopoli, although otherwise unattested,[33] is referred to as coming from a town in Calabria, matching the regional scope of the counts in this structural position. There is no absolute unifying attribute except the fact all of them were individual social actors, but the model suggests a social position of nobles linked to the eastern and southern mainland.

The first feature to notice in the third position is the presence of important ecclesiastical figures: Stephen of Perche,[34] archbishop of Palermo;

[28] Richard of Aversa, attested as the *stratigotus* of Messina from March 1156 to January 1168, as documented by C. A. Garufi and L. R. Ménager; "Su la curia stratigoziale di Messina nel tempo normanno-svevo," *Archivio Storico Messinese* 5 (1904): 32–8; and Ménager, *Les Actes Latins*, 39–40.

[29] Anglicised as ostiary, often translated as doorman or porter, a *hostiarius* was a guard or an attendant in charge of the door and other domestic responsibilities; Loud and Wiedemann translate it as "usher;" *The Tyrants*, 204.

[30] *Liber,* 162; *The Tyrants*, 204.

[31] Gilbert was the queen's *consanguineus; Liber*, 29. According to ps.-Falcandus, he initially participated in the mainland rebellion against Maio, and, after his relative, the queen, became regent, he went to Palermo in order to attempt to influence the royal court in his favor against the influential Qa'id Peter and the Sicilian eunuchs; *Liber*, 87–90; *The Tyrants*, 144–149.

[32] Referring to the conspiracy led by the queen's brother, Count Henry, who unleashed a temporal turmoil in the city of Messina; *Liber*, 142; *The Tyrants*, 194–195.

[33] *The Tyrants*, 195.

[34] One of the sons of the count of Perche (Rotrou II), and blood-relative of Queen Margaret. For a more detailed genealogy of Stephen, see *The Tyrants,* especially 159–64. Cf. "Étienne du Perche," in *Le livre du royaume de Sicile. Intrigues et complots á la cour normande*

Roger, archbishop of Reggio; John, cardinal of Naples, and Gentile, bishop of Agrigento.[35] Except for John of Naples, all the characters in this position are introduced by the author late in the narrative; William of San Severino is mentioned first.[36] These structurally similar characters do not share an evidently common geographical or professional denominator. In this case it seems to be more relevant to focus on the most recurrent actors included in this position, as by sharing the same position they would have equivalent social roles within the story, although some of them – Stephen of Perche, Gentile of Agrigento, and Cardinal John – are more recurrent than the others.

The common characteristic among these actors is that they are all outsiders. John, although it could be argued that his native city of Naples fell under the dominion of the Hauteville kingdom, made his career as a cardinal at the Roman curia; Bishop Gentile was of Tuscan origin and had previously served the king of Hungary as chancellor.[37] Stephen of Perche, the protagonist and controversial Frenchman, arrived at the court following the invitation and appointment of his relative, Queen Margaret.[38] I thus infer that this position points to a societal group that ps.-Falcandus seems to have identified as powerful and influential foreigners.

The characters in the fourth relevant position are less numerous, but show greater similarity. To begin with, all of them seem to have stemmed from Palermo. The first common attribute of this position was that they were all palace officials except Philip Mansellus. His structural equivalence may be due to the fact that he was the *nepos*[39] of Chamberlain Atenulf; his only occurrence in the

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de Palerme (1154–1169) [*by "Hugo Falcandus"*], ed. and trans. E. Türk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011) [henceforth: *Le Livre*], 32–35, 253–257. For the contemporary county of Perche, including its boundaries and ruling class, see K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordships in Medieval France. The County of Perche. 1000–1226* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002).

[35] The bishop of Agrigento, throughout the whole text his papal anointment is never attested, always remaining – and referred to as such – "the elect." The bishop-elect is introduced by the author when reporting the state of the court and his officials after Queen Margaret took over as regent; *Liber*, 90–4; *The Tyrants*, 140–141.

[36] This during King William I's campaign on the mainland, after both Maio's and Matthew Bonellus' deaths; *Liber*, 75–81; *The Tyrants*, 129–133.

[37] As illustrated by Loud and Wiedmann, Gentile was described by the thirteenth-century *Libellus de Successione Pontificum Agrigenti* as "the Tuscan, who was chancellor of the King of Hungary and came as envoy to King William;" *The Tyrants*, 140. See also C. A. Garufi, *L'archivio capitolare di Girgenti nel tempo normanno-svevo ed il cartulario del secolo XIII*, *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 28 (1903): 123–156.

[38] *Liber*, 109–10; *The Tyrants*, 159–162.

[39] Translated here as "nephew"; Du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887), 587. This is also the translation offered by Loud and Wiedemann.

text is when he provokes Matthew Bonellus, his uncle's enemy.[40] The collective actors here indicate another major feature of this position – a correlation between the palace officials and the Muslim inhabitants. The Palermitan *multi sarraceni* are described by ps.-Falcandus[41] as following two key professions, merchant and, most importantly, collecting fiscal dues in the *duana* (*dīwān*),[42] which characterized them as part of the royal administration. This is congruent with their structural equivalence, which is shared with the royal chamberlain and the palace eunuchs; they formed part of an administrative societal group, which is indeed confirmed by the social construct of the *Liber*'s author.

The other collective and Muslim actor is the eunuchs of the palace. These palace servants not only recur often in the narrative, but are explicitly and negatively characterized by ps.-Falcandus as *nomine tantum habituque christianus,* but *animo sarracenus.*[43] These crypto-Muslims are not only mildly prominent central actors in the account of the Sicilian royal court – for example, in the *influence* layer they rank among the top fifteen – but also provide one of the possible rich testimonies that a Latin witness presents on the "palace Saracens."[44] This position may thus be one of the key societal classes in ps- Falcandus.

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[40] *Liber*, 44–6; *The Tyrants*, 103–104. Matthew became the leader of the successful rebellion against Maio of Bari, temporarily the protagonist of ps.-Falcandus' narrative, until his downfall by means of a palace conspiracy against him, led mainly by the notary Matthew; *Liber,* 31–44; *The Tyrants,* 86–98.

[41] The Palermitan Muslims as a collective character are introduced by ps.-Falcandus when, after the conspiracy of the nobles to overthrow William I and elevate his eldest son, Duke Roger, as king, the turmoil escalated up to the sack of the palace and an attack on the Muslim population. For a comprehensive treatment of this episode, see A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 184–188.

[42] The complete Arabic title of this office is *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, which literally means "the busy/well-served office," or as J. Johns more loosely but more accurately translates it, as "royal *dīwān,*" whereas the standard Greek term for this Arabic office, as attested in the bilingual confirmations and *jarida* to San Giorgio di Triocala of 1141, is τὸ ϛεκρέτον (*to sekreton*); following H. Takayama and J. Johns, one must be careful not to understand this office as a rigid organisational structure, but rather a part of a loose and changeable administrative and fiscal system specialized in the administration of the island. See H. Takayama, *The Administration*, 80–89; and especially J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily; The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 106–107, 193–211.

[43] *Liber* 25, *The Tyrants,* 78–79.

[44] For a study of the Siculo-Norman palace eunuchs, see especially Metcalfe, *The Muslims*, 193–207; H. Houben, "Religious Toleration in the South Italian Peninsula," in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 326–331; and Johns, *The Royal Dīwān*, 219–256. It is important to note that the notion of "palace Saracens" is

The palace eunuchs were not only referred to as a collective character, however; the author refers to specific figures, which interestingly enough are located structurally in a different position: the *qa'id*s. As illustrated by A. Metcalfe, most of the high-ranking palace eunuchs held the honorific Arabic title *qa'id* or "leader."[45] Ps.-Falcandus Latinised the title *qa'id* as *gaytus*, hence Anglicised as *caid* – as is attested in Loud and Wiedemann's translation. The *qa'id*s that belong to this fifth structural position are Peter, Martin, and Richard.[46] Of these eunuchs, ps.-Falcandus is more detailed in both the description and recurrence of *Qa'id* Peter,[47] not only characterising him as bearing the common feature of the palace eunuchs, being a crypto-Muslim, but also as a *proditor*.[48] This markedly negative noun creates an initial image of this highlighted eunuch as an evil figure, sharing the label of "traitor" along with Maio of Bari.

The author's tone toward *Qa'id* Peter changes, however, later in the narrative; after his appointment as supreme *familaris*, ps.-Falcandus describes him as *licet parum consulti pectoris et inconstantis esset animi, mansuetus tamen, benignus et affabilis erat et nullum in actibus suis ma[lignandi] preferens argumentum*.[49] This certainly reveals one of the contradictory stands of the author and a shift of mood; *Qa'id* Peter goes from being one among the crypto-Muslims and a traitor to a man who, although fickle, was "gentle, pleasant and likeable, and his actions gave no grounds for criticism." He is clearly differentiated from the rest of the palace eunuchs and this differentiation seems to be shared with the other two *qa'id*s by means of their position. Although the *qa'id*s Martin and Richard are not described like Peter, ps.-Falcandus notes that they held other important charges at the palace: Martin was left by William I in the city *ad custodiam civitatis ac palacii Panormi*;[50] and

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not employed by ps.-Falcandus for referring to the palace servants that he still accused of being "Saracens in spirit," only referring to them as "palace eunuchs."

[45] "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule," in Loud and Metcalfe, *The Society,* 303–305.

[46] These high-ranking eunuchs usually adopted Latin or Frankish baptismal names, by which they were referred, as ps.-Falcandus attests; see Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily," 304.

[47] Later in the narrative, ps.-Falcandus mentions he was appointed master chamberlain of the royal palace at the death of the other, less recurrent Qa'id, see Johar (recurrent in the context of narratology; I refer to how many times the character is used either as a subject or an object in an action process throughout the text); *Liber*, 83–84; *The Tyrants*, 133. *Qa'id* Peter was later granted supreme power over all the court affairs by the queen regent; *Liber* 89–90; *The Tyrants*, 139.

[48] *Liber*, 26.

[49] *Liber,* 90; *The Tyrants,* 139–140.

[50] *Liber*, 79; *The Tyrants,* 129.

Richard was also *magister camerarius palacii*.[51] Thus, the sixth position may indicate the author's social perspective on differentiating the classes and roles among both the Palermitan and palace "Saracens" and the high-ranking Muslims: the *qa'id*s. One of the most interesting characters appears in the seventh position: Robert of S. Giovanni.[52] This position contains many important characters, including one of the leading actors of the narrative, Matthew Bonellus. Beyond their diverse origins and interaction in the text, the striking similarity here is that most of the characters are described in positive terms. For example, Tancred and William, illegitimate sons of Duke Roger (the eldest son of Roger II), are presented as *nobilissima matre geniti*,[53] whereas William is described as an *adolescens pulcherrimus* who *cum fere .XXII. etatis annum ageret, neminem militum viribus sibi parem reppererat*,[54] Tancred is presented as an outstanding man for his *ingenium* and *industria*.[55] Another character in this position, Roger Sclavus,[56] is described as having *audacia* and *virtus*. In this same, supporting, way, William of Lesina is personified as *preclarus* and *nobilis*, as he is grouped among the people with such characteristics imprisoned by Maio.[57]

It is noteworthy that ps.-Falcandus employs the positive adjective *preclarus* several times when referring to the Sicilian people during the "better times" of Roger II and to the good men later imprisoned and exiled by William I and Maio. In the long description of Matthew Bonellus, one encounters a series of supporting characterisations, such as *genere nobilissimus integreque*, *apud omnes opinionis integer*, and *summe nobilis*.[58] It is no coincidence that Robert of S. Giovanni, although not connected or put together directly with all these characters, appears to be structurally equivalent to them in the narrative; ps.-Falcandus is remarkably

[51] *Liber*, 109; *The Tyrants,* 158.
[52] Robert of S. Giovanni, presented by the author as a canon of the church of Palermo; *Liber*, 66–67; *The Tyrants*, 118–119. C. A. Garufi has already suggested Robert of S. Giovanni as one of the possible identities for ps.-Falcandus, relying on the previous theories of C. H. Haskins and E. Besta, who identified the author of the *Liber* as a royal notary. However, this theory has been heavily contested. Garufi, "Roberto di San Giovanni, maestro notario e il 'Liber de Regno Sicilie,'" *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia* 18 (1944): 121–122; Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 262–263;
[53] *Liber,* 23. *The Tyrants*, 76.
[54] *Liber*, 51; *The Tyrants*, 105
[55] *Liber*, 50–51; *The Tyrants*, 104–105.
[56] An illegitimate son of Count Simon of Policastro. See Garufi, "Gli Aleramici," 59, 76–82.
[57] *Liber*, 22–3; *The Tyrants*, 75–76.
[58] *Liber*, 31–2; *The Tyrants*, 86–87.

explicit in characterizing Robert, describing him as *vir preclari nominis et examinate fidei*, who: *nulla coniuratorum unquam societas], nulla* [*persecutio*]*nis procella, cum totum sepe regnum concuteret.*[59] This position, explicitly supported and structurally an important and delimited class, thus likely represents a societal group of noble and illustrious men who the author identifies, despite their own contradictions and not so frequent recurrence in the story itself, as marginalised by the ruling court.

The notary Matthew[60] appears in the sixth relevant position, together with other central and prestigious characters: Bishop-elect Richard,[61] Romuald of Salerno,[62] *Qa'id* Richard (being thus differentiated from the rest of the *qa'id*s), Richard of Mandra, and the queen's brother, Richard. Grouping counts and important ecclesiastical figures, this position reveals an important group in ps.-Falcandus' societal system. From a sequential point of view, the vast majority of the characters in this position are introduced later in the narrative, after the ascension of Margaret to the regency.[63] Richard of Mandra[64] and the notary Matthew, however, are introduced earlier. These two persons are thus characterized as actors who manage not only to survive the time of William I, but also to be incorporated in a higher social position of authority around the court. More importantly, this prominent position validates Matthew's successful career, as can be attested outside ps.-Falcandus' narrative. Also, here one can find the tutor of

[59] *Liber,* 66; *The Tyrants*, 118–119.
[60] Originally from Salerno, Matthew was the notary who wrote the Treaty of Benevento in July 1156, and who is recorded as vice-chancellor in December 1169. He was a *familiaris* of the royal court throughout the reign of William II, a time posterior to ps.-Falcandus' narrative, and upgraded as chancellor under King Tancred, the same Tancred attested in the *Liber*. The notary Matthew is also referred to in historiography as Matthew of Ajello; H. Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1971), 158–60; *The Tyrants*, 81–90; cf. "Mathieu de Salerne," *Le livre*, 28–30.
[61] Richard, the bishop-elect of Syracuse, *The History*, 115; cf. "Richard, élu de Syracuse," *Le livre*, 30–32.
[62] Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, and the author of the contemporary *Chronicon sive Annales*; see H. Hoffmann, "Hugo Falcandus und Romuald von Salerno," *DAEM* 23 (1967): 116–170, and M. Zabbia, "La cultura storiografica dell'Italia normanna nel Chronicon di Romualdo Salernitano," in *IV Settimana di studi medievali (Roma, 28-30 maggio 2009*) (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2009), 4–16.
[63] Margaret of Navarre; see "Marguerite de Navarre," in *Le livre,* 22–4. It is noteworthy that the Hispanic queen, as pointed out by G. A. Loud, was one of the granddaughters of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, "El Cid Campeador;" *The Tyrants*, 156.
[64] The once *comestabulus* of the rebel Count Robert of Loritello; *Liber,* 24, 56; *The Tyrants*, 77, 109.

the young King William, Walter.[65] At the very end of the story, his career started to skyrocket, passing from being a deacon of Agrigento and archdeacon of Cefalú to "seizing"[66] the grand title of archbishop of Palermo. The seventh structural position represents one of the most powerful circles consolidated during the regency of Queen Margaret around the royal court as seen by ps.-Falcandus.

The eighth relevant position contains both Queen Margaret and the under-age King William II. This fact is not particularly informative, for a structural equivalence between them can be expected from the fact that Margaret as regent had to act in the place of the young king. Additionally, one can see that the recurrence of the queen regent in the narrative is reduced considerably after the expulsion of Stephen of Perche, and how, at the same time, the still technically under-age king becomes the subject and object of the interactions at the end of the story.[67] It is important to note that despite the queen's centrality and prestige and her structural equivalence to characters described by the author in detail, i.e., Odo Quarrel,[68] William II,[69] Bohemond of Manopello,[70] and Abu-'l-Qasim,[71]

[65] As pointed out by Loud and Wiedemann, he witnessed a series of charters as archdeacon of Cefalù: a charter of Adelicia of Adernó (*Documenti inediti,* 77), and an agreement between the archbishop of Messina and the bishop-elect of Cefalù (*I Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 23). Also, Walter was not, as claimed earlier, an Englishman; L. J. A. Loewenthal, "For the Biography of Walter Ophamil, Archbishop of Palermo," *English Historical Review* 87 (1972): 75–82; *The Tyrants*, 111. For his career, see N. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien: Prosopographische Grundlegung I; Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs 1194–1266* (Munich: W. Flink, 1982), 1112–1119.

[66] Literally, … *Gualterius decanus Agrigentinus conducta plebis multitudine, metuque compulsis canonicis, consentiente curia, non tam electus quam violenter intrusus Panormitane regimen suscepit ecclesie*; notice here the implications of *quam violenter intrusus*; *Liber*, 163; *The Tyrants*, 215.

[67] *Liber*, 153–165; *The Tyrants*, 196–218.

[68] *non litterarum exornaret scientia neque prudentie secula]ris utilitas commendaret tante nichilominus cupiditatis erat … in conci]liandis [amicitiis virtutis fi]deique ratione posthabita solam quantitatem munerum sequeretur*; *Liber*, 112; *The Tyrants*, 162–163.

[69] *pulcherrimus … pulcrior apparens et augustiorem quamdam in vultu preferens venustatem*; *Liber,* 89; *The Tyrants*, 138–139. William II is also described as *nomina sortiti fuerat*, a reference characterising William I's eldest sons which can be read as literal praise of the young Roger – or any prince named Roger – as he describes the previous people with the same name, both King Roger II and his eldest son, Duke Roger, in positive terms; however, this characterization can equally be read as a veiled criticism of William II, for his father is presented in negative terms. For insight into this passage, see Hoffman, "Hugo Falcandus," 130–136; and *The Tyrants*, 39–40.

[70] *vir prudens et facundus*; *Liber*, 125; *The Tyrants,* 176.

[71] *Nec minus Bulcassem inter Sarracenos Sicilie nobilissimus ac prepotens multam illi Sarracenorum conflarat invidiam, cum eum ab initio plurimum dilexissent; Liber*, 119; *The Tyrants,* 170. See also Johns, *The Royal Diwan*, 234–242.

she is never described. Regardless of an absence of explicit characterization, Queen Margaret is similar in the text's constructed social space to people whom the author describes negatively. This social position of conflicting but powerful actors may reveal a perspective on the queen hidden between the lines: an actor ps.-Falcandus disproves of and perhaps even opposes.

The ninth position appears to be relevant for distinguishing two characters: the eunuch Andrew and *Qa'id* Johar. In spite of being a *qa'id* and also referred to as a *magister camerarius palatii*,[72] Johar is not identified in the same societal group as the other *qa'id*s. As was the case with *Qa'id* Richard, Johar is not grouped together with the others of his kind. These two cases thus indicate that a social role in ps.-Falcandus' perspective was not assigned simply by means of an attribute, i.e., being a eunuch, a chamberlain, or a *qa'id*, but by a position in the social space he constructed. The author, although seemingly categorical about the palace eunuchs, is in fact depicting them as social actors with characteristic and contrasting roles at the court. This could be taken as an indicator of ps.-Falcandus' discerning perspective and knowledge of how these people operated behind the façade of ideal models suggested by titles and other attributes.

These examples demonstrate that the textual attributes of the characters differ among their structural positions in the blockmodel; the cognitive classifications of the author do not match their position in his own constructed social space. The model thus makes it possible to identify similarities beyond the heterogeneity of the attributes and, hence, provides a better understanding of the implications of the social space ps.-Falcandus builds when reporting the social actors and their societal groups.

Concluding Discussion

After conducting this experiment on narrative, several points should be made. This attempt explored a few of the possible analytical tools that can be used to interpret the social relational data contained in a narrative structure. Blockmodelling, a widely used technique in social network analysis, provides a diverse and large number of tools for examining narrative data; experimenting with structural equivalences in this case yielded several insights into the source's social space. The inherent complexity of the narrative allows the consideration of a vast selection of approaches, as long as the selected tools are adequate to the characteristics and limitations of the network data obtained. As illustrated in my research, blockmodelling is a promising approach for understanding the

[72] *Liber*, 77; *The Tyrants*, 128.

entire text's image of social positions. This can further be the first step in a larger enterprise of modelling multiple social constructions, to either construct a multi-voiced perspective on a specific social reality or to integrate this social reality into a larger historical picture.

The overall results of network analysis offer a valuable additional perspective on the source and are particularly useful for providing more nuanced images of the text. King William I, *Qa'id* Peter or any other protagonist in a historiographical account is not the center around which the narrative makes sense, but a simple nodal point embedded in a social system that involved many other characters. Their actions play on different layers through which the narrative unfolds, offering more information than the form, layout, and attributional information may suggest. In the short run, at the event level, actors appear as the makers of relations; but in the long term, at the level of the entire narrative structure, the relations and their equivalence are what indeed determine and make the actors in the text. The narrative is then revealed as a repository of social relations built up by narration across time.

Networks are not only phenomenological realities, but, as pointed out by H. White, are also "measurement constructs."[73] Thus, narrative analysis, also concerned with the social space constructed by the narration, can benefit by taking networks as an object of study. Through a relational approach, one can bridge the gap between cognitive and structural standpoints and advance towards an understanding of the social images that lie between the lines.

I am convinced that if one intends to use ps.-Falcandus' *Liber* as a source, one should consider, as one already considers other features such as intertextuality and style, the implications and significance of the social space that the author himself is constructing though narration. Restricting a vision of narrative sources to just the explicit content and its formal features is being partially blind – as it would also be the other way around – to the complexity of the narrative that one can grasp and access from a number of points of view.

[73] H. White, *Identity and Control. How Social Formations Emerge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 36.

QUOD DEUS NON POTEST. THE LIMITS OF GOD'S POWER IN THE THOUGHT OF THOMAS AQUINAS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE 1277 CONDEMNATION

Paul Cristian Bujor

Changing ideas about God's Power

The discussion of God's omnipotence – present in Christian thought already from the Council of Nicaea – was influenced in the thirteenth century by the reception of Greco-Arabic philosophical ideas. The theological tensions produced by their reception made Pope John XXI initiate an inquiry in a letter to Étienne Tempier, the bishop of Paris, on January 18, 1277. Going beyond the request of the pope, Tempier issued a condemnation of 219 philosophical propositions on March 7, 1277, forbidding their use at the University of Paris.[1]

My analysis[2] focuses on the propositions which explicitly condemned various limitations of God's power and which were associated with Thomas Aquinas in the existing literature.[3] The analysis of these propositions will help me discover if Aquinas was being condemned in 1277. Aquinas can be associated with twenty of

[1] In the presentation of the condemned propositions I have used both their original version, given in H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, ed., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, (Paris: Delalain, 1889), 543–558, and their more systematic presentation in Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIIIe siècle* (Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1911), vol. 2, 175–191. The first number designates the condemned proposition in the edition of H. Denifle and E. Châtelain while the second is the number that can be found in Mandonnet's systematization. Mandonnet's systematic presentation of the propositions was also adopted by Roland Hissette in his *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1977).

[2] This article is based on my MA thesis "*Quod Deus non potest*. The Limits of God's Power in the Thought of Thomas Aquines and their Relation to the 1277 Condemnation" (Central European University, 2013).

[3] Pierre Mandonnet considers that the promulgation of the condemnation exactly three years after Aquinas death is not a simple coincidence: "Si quelque chose peut mettre en évidence les sentiments des auteurs de la condamnation de 1277, c'est le fait qu'ils la promulguèrent à la date du 7 mars, anniversaire de la mort de Thomas d'Aquin. C'était une réponse de leur façon au panégyrique que les maîtres de la faculté des arts avaient fait du docteur dominicain, lorsqu'après sa mort, ils avaient réclamé pour l'Université de Paris l'honneur de posséder ses cendres près d'elle." See Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et*

the 219 condemned propositions, even if his name is not mentioned explicitly in Tempier's prologue. Even if he was a theologian and not a teacher at the Faculty of Arts, he maintained some of the condemned ideas throughout his work.

This problematic situation has produced many scholarly debates, which, by combining historical sources with philosophical analysis, have tried to decide to what extent Aquinas was condemned in 1277. Because the condemnation banned propositions rather than directly naming people who were condemned, various disputes related to Aquinas' involvement began immediately after the condemnation.

Since Aquinas' condemnation, like the 1277 condemnation itself, remained local, there were many voices – like John of Naples, Giles of Rome and Godfrey of Fontaines – who contested it, defending some of the condemned propositions.[4] Some even implied that the new bishops were actually sinning by not correcting a condemnation which affected such an important theologian like Aquinas while it should have condemned only a few masters of the Faculty of Arts.[5]

The Franciscans and the Dominicans had different perspectives on Aquinas' condemnation.[6] While the Franciscans were more disposed to accept it, the majority of the Dominicans, believing in the validity of Aquinas' writings, fought for their propagation, wanting to impose his solutions as the only acceptable ones for the questions that he treated.[7] From as early as 1278–1279, the Franciscans forbade the use of Aquinas' condemned propositions, accepting them only when accompanied by the corrections William de la Mare made in *Correctorium fratris Thomae*.[8]

This situation produced a reaction from the Dominicans trying to defend Aquinas and demonstrate that William's corrections were wrong. The Dominican reaction was materialized in five *correctoria* written after 1280 by young Dominicans

l'averroïsme latin au XIIIe siècle (Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1911), 231.

4 See Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du Monde* (Paris: Hermann, 1958), vol. 6, 70.

5 Ibidem, vol. 6, 75.

6 According to Étienne Gilson "the list of Thomistic propositions involved in the condemnation is longer or shorter, according as it is compiled by a Franciscan or by a Dominican." See Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1955), 728.

7 See Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, vol.6, 78.

8 In *Correctorium fratris Thomae* (1278) William selected 118 passages of Aquinas' work, especially from *Summa Theologica* [hereafter: *ST*], Ia, criticizing and considering them non-orthodox. See John F. Wippel, "Thomas Aquinas and the Condemnation of 1277," *The Modern Schoolman* 72 (1995): 241.

from Oxford and Paris. They tried to underline the importance and the truth of Aquinas' accomplishments in metaphysics, seeing them in opposition to the Augustinian tendency of the Franciscans.

Among all these tensions and disputes an important event took place on February 14, 1325: Aquinas was canonized and the condemned propositions related to him were nullified by the bishop of Paris.[9] Due to this measure, no one professing Aquinas' ideas was to be excommunicated from then on. Despite this, the condemned propositions were not approved and accepted individually, since no one had designated exactly which of them were directed at Thomas Aquinas.

The idea that God cannot do something is present in many of the propositions condemned in 1277.[10] However, among these 219 propositions not all of those associated with Aquinas have something to say about God's power. Among the twenty condemned propositions that can be associated with him and which condemn various other issues, I will focus only on the ones explicitly formulated as limitations of God's power. These propositions are the following: Proposition 34/27 which condemns the idea that God is considered unable to make more than one world;[11] proposition 96/42 which condemns the idea that God cannot multiply individuals of the same species without matter;[12] proposition 81/43 which condemns the idea that God cannot make several intelligences of the same species because intelligences do not have matter;[13] and propositions 96/42 and 81/43 which originated in the idea condemned by proposition 191/110 that the forms are not divided except through matter.[14]

Tempier's condemnation of the propositions which limit God's power and Aquinas' ideas which were interpreted in the same way meet in the idea of the existence of some acts considered to be impossible for God. The tension that lies at the basis of the condemnation is constituted by the opposition between *potentia*

[9] For the text of Aquinas' canonization, see H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, ed., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 2, 280–81.

[10] See propositions 25/214, 27/115, 34/27, 35/195, 43/68, 48/22, 49/66, 50/23, 54/67, 55/30, 60/95, 63/69, 81/43, 96/42, 141/197, 147/17.

[11] *Quod prima causa non potest plures mundos facere*. See proposition 34/27 in H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, ed., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 545; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 178.

[12] *Quod Deus non potest multiplicare individua sub una specie sine materia*. See proposition 96/42 in *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 549; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 179.

[13] *Quod, quia intelligentie non habent materiam, Deus non posset facere plures eiusdem speciei*. See proposition 81/43 in Ibidem, 548; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 179.

[14] *Quod formae non recipiunt divisionem, nisi per materiam. – Error, nisi intelligatur de formis eductis depotentia materiae*. See the proposition 191/110 in *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 554; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 184.

dei absoluta and *potentia dei ordinata*. The analysis of this distinction in Aquinas and comparison with the position implied by condemnation will help me develop the possible associations of the two positions. This will enable a better understanding of Aquinas' possible involvement in the 1277 condemnation.

Aquinas on the Limits of God's Power

Aquinas determined some limits on God's power based on the fact that God cannot make something against his pre-ordained will, against the ordained manifestation of his power. These limits are neither determined by the nature of God nor due to the fact that the impossible things contain a repugnancy. They are the product of a tension between God's absolute power and wisdom and their actual materialization in the present order of things.

Based on a rational plan, the will of God produces an order of things which ordains God's power. At the same time, however, God's absolute power and wisdom exceed the order of things created, since God has the hypothetical ability to do everything, short of a logical contradiction. God's actual doing is subject to foreknowledge and pre-ordination but his power is not.[15] Even if God's absolute power does not suffer the limitation of his foreknowledge and pre-ordination, it remains impossible, based on the necessity of supposition, that God would do anything which he had not foreknown or preordained he would do within a created order.[16]

Hence, even if God can do things by his absolute power beyond what he has foreknown and pre-ordained within a pre-ordained created order, it is impossible that He should do anything which He had not foreknown or preordained that He would do. God's will makes possible the suppositional limitation of his power, in relation to an order of creation. His inability to do something is not absolute since the limits of his power are only suppositional, manifested in the fact that if the existence of an action is supposed then its opposite cannot be realized because the previous condition prevails.[17]

By producing something contrary to the pre-ordained order of creation, God would enter into a contradiction with himself. Hence, within a created order of things God cannot perform actions which do not share the essential characteristics which were foreknown and preordained for that order, since this

[15] See *ST* (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1969), Ia, q. 25, a. 5.
[16] Ibidem, Ia, q. 25, a. 5.
[17] *De Potentia* (Turin: Marietti, 1953). Available at http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/qdp1.html. Accessed: Jan. 2014), q. I, a. 3.

would destroy the harmonious features proper to it. Based on his absolute power, God can make another, better universe, but he cannot change the created order essentially since once a substantial difference were added to the definition of things, the harmony proper to that order would be destroyed and things would cease to be what they are.[18]

The necessity of supposition is based on the fact that the will of God is not mutable; once God has willed something, that thing has to be fulfilled. However, once the supposition of what God did, *de potentia ordinata*, is admitted, God's power cannot extend to a contrary, incompatible, possibility.[19] God cannot do the contrary of a certain state of things proper to a necessarily willed order as long as the supposition stands, either because he does not wish to or because he foresaw that he would not do otherwise.[20]

Within the universe of this suppositional necessity God can neither abstain from doing what he has foreseen and preordained that he will do, nor do what he did not foresee and preordain, since this would change the essential features of the order of things. In consequence, the fact that God cannot do some things is accepted since once the suppositional necessity is admitted God cannot do a contrary state of things; at the same time, God can do anything that is possible – which has the nature of being – since his power remains absolute in itself.[21] In consequence, Aquinas maintains both an absolute and an ordained aspect of God's power; while God's power remains, in a certain sense, absolute, at the same time it is limited.

The balance between God's absolute and ordained power, essential to Aquinas' theory of God's power, is not to be found in Tempier's condemnation. The condemnation emphasizes God's power in its absolute aspects, but makes no mention of any ordained aspects of it. Based on this difference, some of Aquinas' ideas could have been condemned if they were interpreted as limitations of God's power; however, these limits are not the ones which Aquinas himself admitted as limitations of God's power.

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[18] *ST*, Ia, 25, a. 6.
[19] See Aquinas, *De potentia*, q. I, a. 5; *ST*, Ia, q. 25, a.3, and *Summa Contra Gentiles* [hereafter: *SCG*] (Rome: Leonine Edition, 1918–1930, vol. 13–15), I, c. 84.
[20] See *De potentia*, q. I, a.5. See also *SCG*, II, c. 25.
[21] SCG, II, c. 25.

Aquinas' Ideas that Could Have Been Condemned in 1277

From the point of view of this research, the most interesting propositions among those which can be associated with Aquinas are the ones which explicitly limit God's power. Proposition 34/27, which condemned the fact that God is considered to be unable to make more than one world, will be treated on its own;[22] proposition 96/42, which condemns the idea that God cannot multiply the individuals of the same species without matter;[23] proposition 81/43, directed against those who affirm that God cannot make several intelligences of the same species because intelligences do not have matter,[24] and proposition 191/110 which condemns the idea that the forms are not divided except through matter,[25] will be treated together since all of them contributed to the condemnation of the impossibility of a plurality of intelligences of the same species.

That the first cause cannot make more than one world (Proposition 34/27)

Condemning the thesis that God could not have created more than one world, Tempier refused the Aristotelian conception of the universe, considering that God can create a plurality or an infinite number of worlds due to his absolute power. Aquinas invoked arguments which made this act of God unfeasible, limiting God to the creation of a single world.[26] His arguments are mainly based on the conception of a unique order in which the things are arranged, an order which has one aim due to the existence of a guiding wisdom. Aquinas contrasts this view to that of chance, which refuses any ordaining wisdom, implying a plurality, a lack of limit, a tendency toward infinity which cannot constitute an end in itself.

His limitation of God's power to one perfect world is mainly due to God's guiding wisdom since a multiplicity of simultaneously existing worlds, even if not contradictory in itself, would be unsuitable for it. Divine wisdom is present in

[22] *Quod prima causa non potest plures mundos facere.* See condemned proposition 34/27 in H. Denifle and Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 545; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 178.
[23] *Quod Deus non potest multiplicare individua sub una specie sine materia.* See proposition 96/42 in Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 549; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 179.
[24] *Quod, quia intelligentie non habent materiam, Deus non posset facere plures eiusdem speciei.* See condemned proposition 81/43 in Ibidem, 548; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 179.
[25] *Quod formae non recipiunt divisionem, nisi per materiam. – Error, nisi intelligatur de formis eductis depotentia materiae.* See proposition 191/110 in ibidem, 554; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 184.
[26] See Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars, Orbs. The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152.

God's providential design and in the unity of the created world, directing every action of his will. Due to God's wisdom it is better to make one unique, perfect, and good world than many which are imperfect.[27]

Against the conclusion of the uniqueness of the world, Tempier's condemnation implies that God's absolute power cannot be limited to the creation of only one universe, implying the existence of a supernatural intervention of God which could have created a plurality of worlds. As far as Aquinas accepted the uniqueness of the world, he came under the ban of the condemnation.

What one has to note, nevertheless, is the different manner in which the two positions are formulated. Aquinas accepted the fact that due to his absolute power God can make a plurality of worlds and he does not develop his arguments about the uniqueness of the world based on a direct limitation of God's power. He admits that God has infinite power and that he could have created a plurality of words, but only by mentioning that God would not have created them.[28]

Aquinas explicitly rejects the opinion of those who try to demonstrate the possibility of a plurality of worlds using the idea of God's infinite power. According to him, the existence of multiple worlds would have no meaning and it would not serve the noble ends of God. For Aquinas the uniqueness of this world remains a consequence of its perfection, a perfection which comprehends everything, having no need to be multiplied. He claims that more power is necessary to make one individual perfect world than several imperfect ones. The multiplication of the world would only imply the division of its perfection, of its containing all the natures of sensible bodies, and of its goodness, which would be distributed between many worlds.

That God could not make several intelligences of the same species because intelligences do not have matter (Proposition 96/42)

The second type of condemned proposition that can be associated with Aquinas conveys the idea that, alongside existence and form, matter is the principle of the individuation of things and the multiplication of individuals within a species is only possible based on it.[29] In consequence, a multiplicity of intelligences within the same species becomes impossible since they are pure forms, having no matter to be divided so as to form many individuals within the same species. Each

[27] See *ST*, Ia, q. 47, a.3.
[28] *ST*, Ia, q.47, a.3.
[29] For Aquinas on matter as the principle of individuation, see *Scriptum super Sententis* (Parma: Fiaccadori, 1856–1858, vol. 6–7. Available at http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/snp0000.html. Accessed: Jan., 2014), d. 23, q.1, a.1.

separate substance, in its formal uniqueness, is identical with its own species, identifying all its specific features in one individual.

Maintained by Aquinas throughout his work, this idea was also present in Tempier's condemnation, where it was condemned as a limitation of God's power. It was condemned in propositions 81/43 and 96/42, which affirm that God could not make several intelligences of the same species because intelligences do not have matter,[30] and, respectively, that God cannot multiply individuals of the same species without matter.[31] Proposition 191/110 can also be associated, condemning the idea that forms are not divided except through matter, considering it "erroneous unless one is speaking of forms educed from the potency of matter."[32]

In Aquinas' view, intelligences are incorporeal, immaterial, and subsistent creatures not dependent on matter. Every angel forms its own species, preserving its specific nature in one incorruptible individual who possesses the power to fulfill the aim of its species on its own.[33] Since their status has nothing to do with considerations of matter or quantity, being pure forms, there cannot be more than one in a species because: "the principle of diversity among individuals of the same species is the division of matter according to quantity."[34]

Tempier condemned these theses since he considered them limitations of God's power, and implied that, due to his absolute power, God could have created more intelligences within the same species. The theologians who formulated the condemnation thought that it was possible for two or more intelligences of the same species to exist. Were this not so it would have been a direct limitation of God's absolute power, not a characteristic proper to the order of creation based on philosophical principles.

Maintaining these conclusions throughout his work, Aquinas did not consider them limitations of God's power. He rather saw them as situations of things involving contradiction, which did not limit God's power since they

[30] See proposition 81/43: *Quod, quia intelligentie non habent materiam, Deus non posset facere plures eiusdem speciei*, in Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis,* vol. 1, 548; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 179.
[31] See proposition 96/42 condemned: *Quod Deus non potest multiplicare individua sub una specie sine* material, in Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 549; see also Mandonnet, *Siger*, 179.
[32] See proposition 191/110: *Quod formae non recipiunt divisionem, nisi per materiam. – Error, nisi intelligatur de formis eductis de potentia materiae*, in Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 549; see also Mandonnet, *Siger*, 184.
[33] SCG, II, 55.
[34] Ibidem, c. 49.

were impossible in themselves, a situation which made the question of whether God can or cannot do them superfluous. In the text of the condemnation, this thesis was transposed from a philosophical context of metaphysics and natural philosophy – developed within the universe of suppositional necessity proper to the *potentia ordinata* – to a theological context, being seen as a direct limitation of God's absolute power and, accordingly, condemned.[35]

Thomas Aquinas and Étienne Tempier on God's Power

The most appropriate perspective for viewing the two positions on God's power is the relation between God and the order of creation. In Aquinas' conception, the self-limitation of God's power was a product of the tension between God's will, which implied the restriction of his powers to the present order of creation, and God's power considered in itself, which was absolute.

Aquinas' ideas which could have been condemned are not to be found at the level of God's power in itself – where Tempier considered them to be – but at the level of God's relation with the order of creation, their source lying in the opposition between *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata*. But Aquinas could have been seen by those who formulated the condemnation as concluding from natural philosophy and metaphysics that something was theologically impossible, a fact which formed the core of Tempier's condemnation.

However, in the places where he discusses ideas that correspond to the condemned theses associated with him, Aquinas does not see his conclusions as direct limitations of God's power in itself. Within the universe of suppositional necessity that God's ordained power implies, Aquinas used contradiction, due to impossibility *per naturam* or *secundum philosophiam*, to describe situations of things impossible in the present order of creation, saving God from a direct limitation of his absolute power.

In consequence, one also has to take into consideration the specific manner in which the people who formulated the condemnation interpreted the propositions that they condemned. At this level, a basic misunderstanding seems to have been present between the two parties. While Aquinas maintained the impossibility of a situation of things within the present order of creation, the

[35] In his *Correctorium* directed against William de la Mare's *Correctorium fratris Thomae*, Richard Knapwell maintained exactly this: that Aquinas' position does not detract from faith and that it is not directed against God's power, see Wippel, "Thomas Aquinas and the Condemnation of 1277," *Modern Schoolman* 72 (1995): 243.

theologians who enacted the condemnation stressed the fact that the necessity proper to this created order makes these things impossible for God.

If God has absolute power, as the theologians who formulated the condemnation wanted to maintain, than nothing would be really impossible for him since nothing could limit his direct intervention in the created realm. They accepted an impossible *simpliciter* represented by the fact that God cannot make what is logically contradictory, a round square, for example, but they refused all tendencies which went beyond this impossible *simpliciter* toward one *per naturam*, denying any possible equivalence between the first and an impossible *secundum philosophiam*.[36]

That is why Aquinas might have been directly condemned for ideas that he did not maintain exactly in the form in which they were condemned if his position were interpreted in such a way. For the conservative theologians who formulated the condemnation, such as the Augustinian Henry of Ghent, the laws of creation were direct exercises of divine power with no autonomy or independence; any impossibility present in the order of creation was directly imputable to its creator, implying that God could not have done it.

Aquinas developed God's *potentia ordinata* implying the existence of some impossibility inherent in the order of creation. While for Aquinas God could not make two intelligences of the same species since this was contradictory, being impossible in itself, for the theologians who enacted the condemnation this implied a direct limitation of God's power by the use of an impossible *per naturam*.

Tempier seems not to have admitted the existence of any necessity which would have been due to the physical or metaphysical principles of the created order. The position implied by the condemnation emphasized God's absolute power, maintaining that there could be no necessary situation in the order of creation whose contrary could not be realized based on God's absolute power. The same position also implies the contingency of the created order, since a regular and consistent order would limit God's power due to the necessities it presupposes.

Aquinas' description of God's omnipotence turns in a certain sense against God Himself: being created by God, the world keeps something of the necessity of divine decisions. Under these conditions, if God were to transform it essentially, he would enter into a contradiction with his previous actions manifested in the created order. Tempier contrasted a unique idea – that God's power cannot be

[36] *Quod possibile vel impossibile simpliciter, id est, omnibus modis, est possibile vel impossibile secundum philosophiam*. See condemned proposition146/184 in Ibidem, 552; Mandonnet, *Siger*, 184.

limited – to any necessity *per naturam* which would characterize the order of creation, which he considered a direct limitation of God's power.

In proposition 147/17 this thesis appears in its purest form, since it condemns the fact that God is considered unable to do what is absolutely impossible as long as this absolute impossible is understood as an *impossibile per naturam*.[37] According to Tempier's condemnation, within the universe formed by what is not logically contradictory, things which would be impossible for God – brought under an *impossibile simpliciter* – should be understood neither as impossible *per naturam* nor as impossible *secundum philosophiam*. He refuses any impossibility present in the order of creation which God could not have made otherwise.

Aquinas accepts a new dimension of things, since he would also have admitted the existence of some impossibility *per naturam*. However, he would have accepted this type of impossibility only as an implication of God's *potentia ordinata*, within the universe of suppositional necessity implied by it, and not as something directed against God's absolute power.[38]

Hence, the limitation of God's power that Tempier condemned is not developed within the same universe of understanding as Aquinas' position regarding it. Aquinas would never have considered the suppositional necessity implied by God's *potentia ordinata* a limit of God's power, since this suppositional necessity was actually the product of the decrees of God's will. God himself chose to ordain – and to limit his power indirectly – by producing an order of creation with definite features which cannot be changed essentially after their realization without involving God contradicting himself.

Aquinas, however, does not see the existence of God's power as limited by these considerations since it remains absolute in God himself.[39] According to him, absolutely speaking, nothing can limit God's power. But God's absolute power is always to be found only in God himself and not in any order of creation. Once an order of things is created based on God's decision, God's power will always be ordained over it.

In consequence, Aquinas limits God's power only indirectly, based on God's own decision about an order of creation, a situation which implies a related supposition of necessity and a self-limitation of God in relation to it. The suppositional necessity involved in this action works out to be the difference

[37] See proposition 147/17: *Quod impossibile simpliciter non potest fieri a Deo, vel ab agente alio. – Error, si de impossibili secundum naturam intelligatur*, in H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, ed., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, 552; see Mandonnet, *Siger*, 178.
[38] See *SCG*, II, c. 25.
[39] Ibidem, II, c. 25.

between Aquinas' position and that implied by Tempier's condemnation, a difference which could have led to Aquinas' condemnation in 1277.

Tempier brings God's absolute power closer to the world, within the order of creation, questioning everything considered to be regular and necessary, part of God's *potentia ordinata* – *secundum philosophiam* – dissolving the natural consistency of the created order. Unlike Tempier, Aquinas keeps God's absolute power out of the order of creation, at the level of the divine essence.

God has absolute power, but this power is always ordained within a created order of things once God chooses it, implying the existence of suppositional necessity. God's miraculous interventions in the world, accepted by Aquinas, do not change its main features essentially because they were established by God himself. God can make things better and God can even make other things and other orders of things, but within this order of creation they cannot be changed in essence without destroying the proportion of order proper to it.[40]

In these conditions, Aquinas' acceptance of God's absolute power does not involve the contingency of creation directly, as Tempier's condemnation implied, since the essential features of the created order are maintained. Aquinas' idea of suppositional necessity makes it possible to accept general and necessary features of the world as things that God cannot do otherwise within the created order which are not considered direct limitations of God's power. Within the universe of suppositional necessity that he accepts, Aquinas directs the decrees of God's will against the understanding of God's power as absolute, without any qualification, which he considers absurd.[41]

[40] *ST*, Ia, q. 25, a. 6.
[41] See SCG, II, c. 30.

MEDIEVAL BIRD-SHAPED BROOCHES

Mária Vargha

This article deals with bird-shaped brooches, rather rare artifacts, which are nevertheless known from different parts of Europe. The starting point of this research was the annular bird-shaped brooch that was discovered in the Árpádian Age (twelfth- to thirteenth-century) village of Kána, located in the southwestern area of today's Budapest.[1]

Only six such brooches are known besides the piece that was found in the context of a pit at Kána (*Fig. 1.1*). Two finds are from excavations in urban contexts: Lüneburg (*Fig. 1.2*)[2] and Leicester (*Fig. 1.5*),[3] both of them stray finds. The remaining three pieces were all found through metal detection in eastern England at Lympne (*Fig. 1.4*),[4] Aslacton (*Fig. 1.6*),[5] and Greetwell (*Fig. 1.3*).[6] Because the presence of such rare pieces can be identified in diverse areas of Europe, they should be discussed in a broader context. Because of the recovery circumstances, their chronology is not exact; only the piece from Kána can be dated without doubt. All the other finds were dated by more distant parallels and should rather be dated according to the one from Kána by their decoration and style. The situation of Kána village and the context of the bird-shaped brooch can help clarify the chronological issues.

Diverse open-frame ring brooches constituted a dominant part of thirteenth-century fashion. Researchers have examined the emergence and spread of this artifact in Europe, and, using graves dated with coins, have shown that it appeared

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[1] Mária Vargha, "Dress Accessories and Jewellery from Twelfth- and Thirteenth-century Hungary. Typochronology and Social-economic Interpretation based on Finds from Kana Village" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2013).

[2] Jan Stammler and Ines Wullschläger, "Petschaft und Fürspan. Ein Einblick in die frühe Geschichte der Hansestadt Lüneburg," in *Denkmalpflege in Lüneburg 2010*, ed. Edgar Ring (Lüneburg: Lüneburger Stadtarchäologie, 2010): 7–12. I would like to thank Ines Wullschläger for providing me details about the piece and Gyöngyvér Bíró for calling my attention to it.

[3] http://www.le.ac.uk/ulas/services/small_finds.html. Last accessed: 12. 2013. I would like to thank László Ferenczi for calling my attention to this artifact, and Nicholas J. Cooper and Hilary E. M. Cool for providing me detailed information about it.

[4] http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/392099. Last accessed: 12. 2013.

[5] http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/220759. Last accessed: 12. 2013.

[6] http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/ukdfddata/showrecords.php?product=32621. Last accessed: 12. 2013.

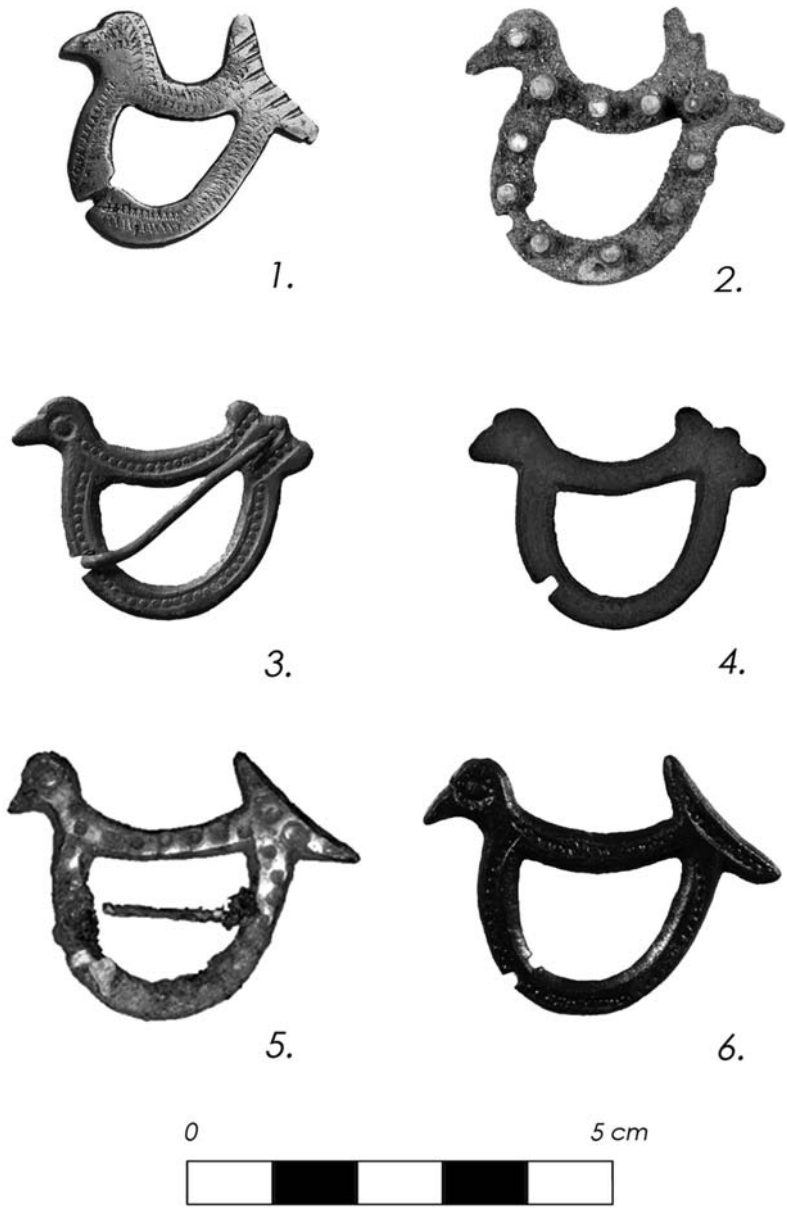

Fig. 1. Open-Frame Bird-shaped Brooches
1. Kána, 2. Lüneburg, 3. Greetwell, 4. Lympne, 5. Leicester, 6. Aslacton

as early as the end of the twelfth century, but only became widespread in the first half of the thirteenth century, when they were made in many different shapes. The most popular was the simple circular form, but other fairly common types are also known, for example, rhombus or drop-shaped pieces.[7]

Besides these general types, a few individual forms also appear, such as a special group that were shaped like birds. The main features are similar: the head, tail, the D-shaped body, and even the raw material: copper alloy. The main difference is their decoration.

Kána Village and the Chronology of Open-Frame Bird-shaped Brooches

According to present knowledge Kána is the largest, or rather the most completely excavated, Árpádian-age village in the Carpathian basin.[8] There are, however, many partially excavated and published settlements from this period since Hungarian medieval archaeological research has focused on Árpádian-age villages from the very beginning.[9]

György Terei directed the excavation of Kána, in the 11th district of Budapest, between 2003 and 2005. It was a rescue operation before the construction of a new housing estate. In the framework of this project, the whole settlement was excavated: 200 houses, 4 large storage pits, a large number of different archaeological features, the church, and the churchyard of the village, with nearly 1100 burials. This is an exceptional situation, as no other previously excavated site offered the opportunity for a complete investigation of an entire village. Another advantage is the relatively short existence of the settlement. A coin of Béla II (1131–1141) dates the foundation level of the church to the second third of the

[7] Stefan Krabath, "Die metallenen Trachtbestandteile und Rohmaterialen aus dem Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof," in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kühtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004), 250.

[8] György Terei, "Előzetes jelentés a Kőérberek-Tóváros-lakópark lelőhelyen folyó Árpád-kori falu feltárásáról – Preliminary Report on the Excavation of a Village from the Árpádian Period on the Territory of the Kőérberek-Tóváros Residential District," *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon – Archaeological Investigations in Hungary* 2004 (2005): 37–39; see also György Terei, "Az Árpád-kori Kána falu" [The Árpádian age Kána village], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon* [The archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age in Hungary], ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 81.

[9] For a short summary of the research see Marianna Bálint, József Laszlovszky, Beatrix Romhányi, Miklós Takács, "Medieval Villages and Their Fields," in *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Budapest: Ministry of National Heritage, Teleki László Foundation, 2003), 383–388.

twelfth century.[10] The foundation of the church may have taken place together with the foundation of the village, as within the area of the churchyard, even in a narrow zone around it, there are no settlement features from the medieval period. The end of the use of the cemetery (and the settlement) cannot be determined as precisely as the time of the foundation. Coins dated after the Mongol invasion were not recovered and the material culture of the settlement can only be dated to roughly the twelfth or thirteenth century, with some sporadic appearance of fourteenth-century finds. An argument for this dating is the lack of material and coins from the fourteenth century. The latest finds from the cemetery, such as belts from the latest graves, can be dated roughly to the turn of the thirteenth century. These pieces show continuity after the Mongol invasion, despite coins which were minted in an earlier period. The settlement was probably deserted, together with the church and churchyard, some time in the second half or end of the thirteenth century.[11]

The brooch was found in a storage pit which was later used as a rubbish pit, situated on the northwestern edge of the village, near houses, pits, and ovens. The chronology of this piece is supported by finds that were unearthed in association with it: a whetstone, a bone whistle, and most importantly, several pottery sherds that can be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.[12] This ceramic material, together with the general dating of the village, is the key factor in dating this type of brooch, since according to these results the brooch can be dated to a relatively short period, probably to the mid-thirteenth century, but definitely no later than the end of that century.

This chronology is important, because lacking a precise archaeological context, the other finds of this group of brooches were dated mostly by the style of their decorations, mainly by distant parallels. However, comparison of these artifacts shows that their embellishment is rather similar. The pieces from England bear similar decoration: punched dots in rows all along the body of the bird and one dot which depicts the eye. The shape of the tail shows two different forms, one elaborate and one simple. Two pieces, the ones from Lympne and Greetwell, are so similar in both shape and decoration that they may have been made in the same workshop. The decoration of the piece from Kána is a little

[10] I would like to thank Márton Kálnoky-Gyöngyössy, Péter Schmidt, and Tamás Csanádi for the identification of the coins.
[11] Terei, *Kána falu*, 108.
[12] For a detailed description of the associated pottery, see György Terei and Mária Vargha, "Madár alakú bronzcsat az Árpád-kori Kána faluból" [Bird-shaped brooch from the Arpadian age Kána village], *Budapest Régiségei* 46 (2013), 111–113.

different from those from England; it is also punched, but with chevron forms (< >), not dots, which structure two lines along the body of the bird. Both dots and chevrons can be associated with the thirteenth century, as diverse punched decorations were in use at that time.

The piece from Lüneburg, however, is a bit different as it has inset glass beads instead of punched decoration. The researcher of that piece states that this kind of decoration appears mostly on fourteenth-century brooches and therefore this piece should have a similar date.[13] The later dates of the brooches given on the English webpages are questionable since all of them were metal detector finds without context, dated by non-specialists based on distant parallels. Regarding the similarity with the piece from Kána, a dating to the thirteenth or, at most beginning of the fourteenth century, would be more acceptable as it is the only one from all the enumerated brooches which has a context that dates it to the first half of the thirteenth century.

Medieval Bird-shaped Brooches before the Fashion of Open-Frame Brooches

Although the bird shape is quite unusual among the brooches of the period, it was more common in the previous centuries in certain areas. Anne Pedersen collected bird-shaped brooches of the tenth to twelfth centuries, and she states that these artifacts were widespread in Scandinavia, mainly in the area of Denmark.[14] She differentiates three stylistic groups which also had a chronological reference. The first group consists of two styles: Ringerike and Urnes. These are both characterized by their wriggling appearance. The Ringerike style (*Fig. 2.2–3*) emerged in the late tenth century, and was soon followed by the Urnes style (*Fig. 2.1*), which emerged in the mid-eleventh century. The second group is distinguished by the naturalistic features on the birds: beaks, feathers, and sometimes even claws (*Fig. 2.4–7*). According to Scandinavian finds, this group can be dated to the eleventh and

[13] Stammler–Wullschläger, *Fürspan*, 12. Without questioning the dating of this piece it has to be noted that brooches decorated with inset stones appear as early as hoards from the period of the Mongol invasion, such as Bajót and Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszt. See Nándor Parádi, "Pénzekkel keltezett XIII. századi ékszerek. A Nyáregyháza-pusztapótharaszti kincslelet" [Thirteenth-century jewellery dated by coins. The hoard from Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszt], *Folia Archaeologica* 26 (1975): 124, 132.

[14] Anne Pedersen, "Rovfugle eller duer. Fugleformede fibler fra den tidlige middelalder – Birds of prey or doves. Early medieval bird-shaped brooches," *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* 1999 (2001): 65. I would like to thank Katalin Szende for providing literature about Scandinavian finds and helping me translate it.

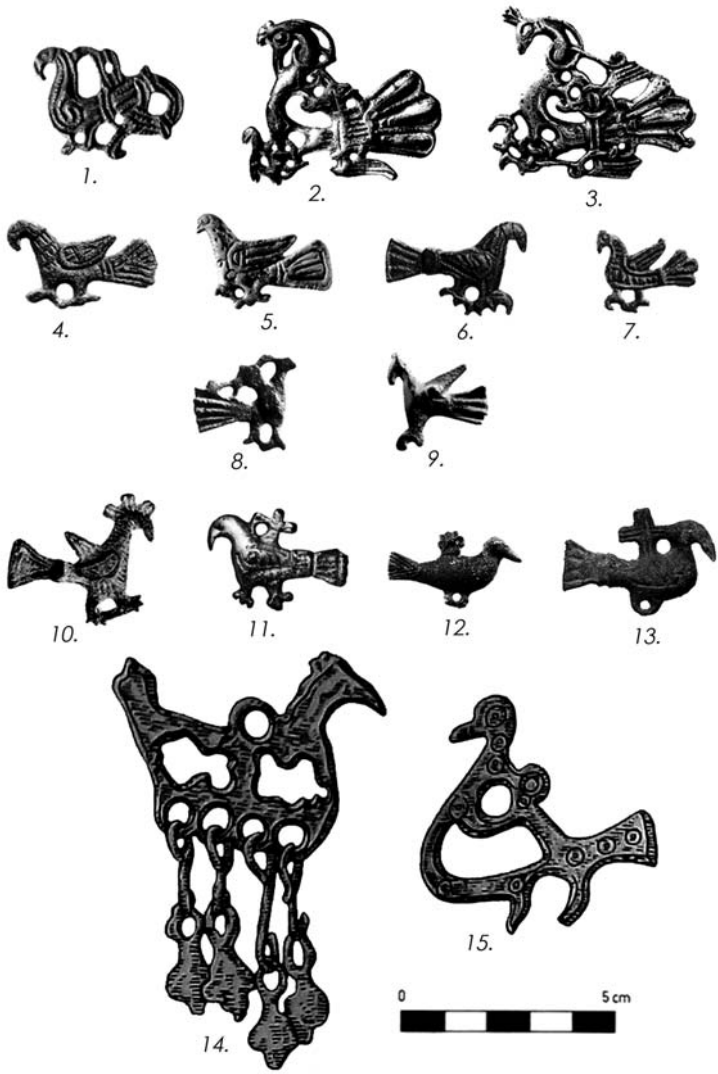

Fig. 2. Bird-shaped Jewellery from Northern Europe (after Anne Pedersen, "Rovfugle eller duer. Fugleformede fibler fra den tidlige middelalder – Birds of prey or doves. Early medieval bird-shaped brooches," Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie *1999 (2001) and [Boris Aleksandrović Kolchin] Борис Александрович Колчин and [Tatijana Ivanovna Makarova] Татьяна Ивановна Макарова,* Древняя Русь. Быт и культура – *[Drevniaia* Rus'*: Byt i kul'tura – Ancient Russia. The way of life and culture] (Moscow: Nauka, 1997).*

beginning of the twelfth century. The last and latest set of bird brooches are those where the bird is only stylised (*Fig. 2.8–9*). These appeared in the second half of the eleventh century and continued in use in the first half of the twelfth.[15]

Although the presence of bird-shaped brooches was most common in the area of Denmark, they appeared elsewhere, too. Their occurrence, however, (both the time of production and the time of use) was not as continuous and long as in the Denmark. In the area of Norway their distribution is restricted to the shorter period from c. 1050 to 1100.[16] A few other examples are known from Sweden and England, mainly dated to the eleventh century.[17]

Another area where bird-shaped brooches were spread was present-day Russia and Ukraine. (*Fig. 2.14–15*). However, these brooches have a different shape and meaning than the ones mentioned above, and also come from a different tradition. The tradition of zoomorphic amulets dates back to prehistoric times, depicting diverse creatures, usually those which were hunters' prey. Many amulets depicting animals and birds in the form of duck-shaped pendants or amulets appeared first around the sixth century in the areas neighbouring Finno-Ugric territories, such as in the area of Oka and Mokai. They spread from these places in later centuries; in the tenth century they were already widespread along the Ladoga River and after that in the area of Novgorod. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries many variations existed and besides the duck-shaped forms a new, chicken-ish form appeared in the area of Smolensk, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. Such pendants were in fashion until the fourteenth century.[18] Although this area had close connections with Scandinavia in this period, researchers of Scandinavian finds have argued that the different way bird brooches/pendants were used implies that the two kinds of jewellery had no connection with each other.[19] Even if a similar symbolic background of bird-shaped jewellery in these

[15] Pedersen, *Rovfugle*, 62–63.
[16] Ingunn Marit Rastad, "En fremmed fugl: 'Danske' smykker og forbindelser på Østlandet i overgangen mellom vikingtid og middelalder – A Strange 'Bird': Danish Brooches and Affiliations in Eastern Norway in the Viking and Medieval Ages," *Viking. Norsk arkeologisk årbok* 75 (2012): 204.
[17] Pedersen, *Rovfugle*, 64.
[18] [Boris Aleksandrović Kolchin] Борис Александрович Колчин and [Tatijana Ivanovna Makarova] Татьяна Ивановна Макарова, *Древняя Русь. Быт и культура* – [Drevniaia Rus': Byt i kul'tura – Ancient Russia. The way of life and culture] (Moscow: Nauka, 1997): 156–159. I would like to thank Maxim Mordovin for providing literature about Russian and Ukrainian finds and helping me translate it.
[19] Pedersen, "Rovfugle," 65.

two areas is unlikely, the form and the use of bird-shaped jewellery itself could have had an impact on Scandinavian fashion.

Possible Interpretations of Bird-shaped Brooches

Pedersen examined the possible meaning of bird shaped brooches. She discovered that after the ninth century bird-shaped brooches can be found in Western and Central Europe, many of them in undoubtedly Christian contexts, in graves in churchyards of cathedrals in Germany, and, furthermore, many of these birds were formed together with a cross (*Fig. 2.10–13*). Not all of the birds on these brooches are similar; they may have depicted different species with different meanings. They have been interpreted as eagles, peacocks or doves, of which the first and last are important Christian symbols. Pedersen points out that among these interpretations the weakest is the peacock; although some peacock bones are known from contemporary Scandinavia, they were definitely not widespread, and they were mostly associated with the elite. These brooches were more common objects. Most of them were made of copper alloy, and when their social context was identifiable, they were not connected to the elite layer of society. This weakens the theory that these artifacts should be interpreted as depictions of falconry and hunting.[20] In contrast, the idea of Christian symbolism is supported by another type of contemporary objects; coins of Danish rulers show similar birds depicted on one side of the coin, together with the depiction of *Agnus Dei* on the other side. Although there is no clear evidence for the interpretation of bird brooches, they may not have been only decorative elements of a garment, but also carried symbolic meaning of some kind. Although different interpretations are possible, birds definitely play a role in Christian symbolism. In Scandinavia circumstantial evidence supports this interpretation; the spread of Christianity coincided with the appearance of bird-shaped brooches.[21]

Although none of the Scandinavian brooches are exact parallels for the bird brooches enumerated above, they do not differ much from the ones in the naturalistic style. The most important features – the head, beak, tail – are all carefully formed (in similar ways). The only exception is the lack of clawed feet, which indicates that these birds were not likely meant to be birds of prey. Despite the differences, the continuity of the form in time and sometimes in space indicates a possible continuity in the symbolic meaning of these objects. Although these artifacts were rare, making it difficult to define a clear distribution,

[20] Ibid., 65.
[21] Ibid., 65–66.

with the exception of the piece from Kána all of them were found in Northwest Europe, where the tradition of such a brooch form was stronger.

For a better understanding of the symbolic and chronological aspects of these artifacts, it is best to examine contemporary brooches. The six bird brooches in question undoubtedly belong to the group of ring or open-frame brooches, of which the simplest and most common circular ones came into use at the beginning of the thirteenth century and became widespread from the Pyrenees to Transylvania and from Scandinavia to Italy.[22] Besides this basic form, more diverse shapes developed locally as early as the thirteenth century, such as rhomboid, drop-shaped, star-shaped, octagonal, and other forms, together with more unique pieces like a heart-shaped brooch[23] or pieces where the brooch had additional molded decoration. Regarding the dating, the time when these forms appeared, together with evidence from Kána, suggests that these bird-shaped brooches were already in use in the thirteenth century.

Interpreting the meaning or the agency of these brooches is much more difficult. If one investigates all the brooches of the period, the most apparent group is the pieces with inscriptions. However, although most such pieces bear liturgical inscriptions, but there are also pieces with secular inscriptions.[24] Thus, the inscriptions lead to no direct interpretation, as they make possible either a worldly or religious understanding.

Another research possibility is examining those which illustrate something, such as brooches depicting a handshake, praying hands,[25] or the unique piece which depicts a couple.[26] The interpretation of the praying hands is doubtful, and although it seems obvious, so is a worldly explanation of the couple. The handshake motif is difficult to understand. Usually they are interpreted as hands of loyalty, which could have been many kinds of loyalty. In some cases there is direct evidence; one piece also carries the inscription OMNIA AMOR VINCIT.[27]

[22] Krabath, *Fuchsenhof*, 236.
[23] Parádi, "Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek," 124.
[24] Ottó Fogas, "A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése" [The spread of gothic brooches with incriptions in Europe], in *'Kun-kép' A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka* ["Cuman picture:" The remains of the Cumans of Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta (Kiskunfélegyháza: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezete, 2009): 147–148.
[25] Krabath, "Fuchsenhof," 245–246.
[26] Imre Szatmári, "A békéscsabai későromán kori arany melltű" [The late Romanesque golden brooch from Békéscsaba], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 130 (2005): 195.
[27] Krabath, "Fuchsenhof," 246.

Conclusion

Summarising these objects, many variations of open-frame brooches were already widespread in the thirteenth century. Some of them can surely be connected with religious thought, but some of them – even the same type of brooches – may have been associated with worldly love. Bird-shaped brooches can be easily interpreted in both ways; they can be understood both as doves – a depiction of Holy Ghost – or as lovebirds (doves).

Therefore, although the spread of bird brooches in earlier centuries may indicate continuity in the symbolic Christian meaning of these artifacts, the interpretation of worldly love cannot be excluded from other themes of the brooches of the thirteenth century. For me, the most apparent explanation is that the original meaning could have had religious roots, but the way that people interpreted it and used them may have differed. Since no information comes from the archaeological contexts of these artifacts, the only thing that can be stated is that however people interpreted birds, they seem to have been popular motifs, as they were used continuously for centuries as brooches. These artifacts had a wide distribution and long history in which the meaning(s) and cultural context(s) may have changed.

THE VIRGIN MARY, THE HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE, AND THE TREE OF JESSE: THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM OF THE WALL PAINTINGS OF THE PARISH CHURCH IN ALȚÂNA (ALZEN, ALCINA)

Anna Kónya

The wall paintings that are the focus of this study were discovered accidentally in 2007 during the repainting of the sanctuary of the Lutheran church in Alţâna. While this case is not at all unique in Transylvania, where many such discoveries have been made recently, the wall paintings from Alţâna deserve attention for several reasons. The completed recovery and conservation works have made available an extensive and coherent ensemble, once extending to the surface of the whole sanctuary. This ensemble of wall paintings, in spite of the fragmentary survival of some parts, provides a good opportunity to study a coherent iconographic program that includes a Mariological cycle, the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, the Tree of Jesse, and saints. In addition, the exclusiveness of some of the representations and their careful arrangement in the space of the sanctuary are also worthy of attention.

This study[1] briefly presents the historical and architectural context and the wall paintings; it looks at the selection of the iconographic themes, their meanings and connotations, and at how the different thematic units are interrelated in the context of their placement within the sanctuary. An exploration of Central European analogies helps the interpretation; for a better understanding of the program as a whole the liturgical function of the sanctuary and the possible context of the commission of the wall paintings are also considered. This case study provides insight not only into the artistic development, but also into the culture and standards of education in fourteenth-century Transylvania.

The village of Alţâna lies thirty-one kilometers northeast of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) in the southern part of Transylvania, on royal land the Saxons inhabited by privilege during the Middle Ages. Administratively it

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "The Virgin Mary, the Apocalyptic Horsemen, and the Tree of Jesse: The Wall paintings of the Parish Church in Alţâna (Alzen, Alcina)," Central European University, Budapest, 2013.

belonged to the seat of Nocrich (Leschkirch, Újegyház).[2] Written sources bear witness to a rivalry between Alţâna and Nocrich for the title of the center of the seat from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards.[3] Several members of the local family of *gräfs* are known from the sources, partly connected with their ambitions to accede to the function of the royal judge of the seat.[4] Two mid-fourteenth-century sources mention the parish priest, a certain *dominus Johannes plebanus de Alczina*.[5]

The church was built as a three-aisled Romanesque basilica, probably in the first half of the thirteenth century. In the middle of the fourteenth century, the sanctuary was reconstructed in Gothic style: The chancel was extended and refurbished with a polygonal apse and rib vault. In the third medieval building phase, after 1490, the nave was covered with Late Gothic brick rib vaulting.

The painted decoration in the sanctuary was discovered in the autumn of 2007. In the following years, the wall paintings were completely cleaned and conserved.[6] All of the decoration originates from one period; it was executed shortly after the fourteenth-century reconstruction of the sanctuary.[7] The survival of the decoration was determined by the different techniques used. In the eastern, Gothic, part of the sanctuary the decoration executed with the *al fresco* technique survives almost completely; in the western, Romanesque, part, where the *al secco*

[2] Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen*, vols. 1–2 (Hermannstadt – Heidelberg: Monumenta Verlag – Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1999, 2002), 17.

[3] The seat was first named after Alţâna in a charter from 1361. Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt-Bucharest: Ausschuss des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde – Editura Academiei Române, 1892–1991), vol. 2, 192. During the following two and a half centuries the rivalry continued and the dispute was only settled for good in 1620, to the benefit of Nocrich. See Friedrich Schuller, "Beiträge zur äußern Geschichte der Erbgrafen der sieben Stühle. Die Erbgrafen von Thalmesch, Heltau, Kleinpold, Rothberg, Burgberg, Leschkirch und Alzen," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 21, no. 2 (1887): 313–366, 345.

[4] Ibid., 334–335.

[5] In 1349 and 1351. *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 2, 58–59 and 81–83.

[6] Lóránd Kiss, Péter Pál, "Proiect pentru conservarea picturilor murale din absida bisericii evanghelice Alţâna" [Project for the Conservation of the Wall Paintings from the Sanctuary of the Lutheran Church in Alţâna], (Târgu Mureş, unpublished manuscript prepared at the behest of the Ministry of Culture and Cults, Directory of Historic Monuments, Commission of Artistic Components, 2008), 11. I wish to thank the authors of this report for sharing it with me.

[7] With the exception of a painted aedicule on the northern wall which is from an earlier period. Lóránd Kiss, personal communication, 5 September 2012.

technique was used, most of the painted surfaces have been lost and the surviving parts are fragmentary with less detail preserved.[8]

The Gothic wall paintings show the influence of the linear Gothic, a style widespread in the regions north of the Alps. While parallels for several motifs and stylistic features can be found in German and Austrian art from around 1330, the provincial artistic quality of the wall paintings, analogies with medieval Hungary, and consideration of the architectural context point to a later dating, after 1350.

The Iconographic System

The iconographic program covers the whole surface of the sanctuary and the triumphal arch; the figurative elements are set in a framework of geometric and vegetal ornamental motifs. Inscriptions were written below each scene and figure, although most of them are fragmentary or have been completely lost.

The northern and southern walls are divided in three registers. Above two tiers with continuous narrative scenes, the decoration in the uppermost register is organized in lunette-shaped frames which coincide with the lunettes of the earlier Gothic vaulting (*Fig. 1*). The Mariological cycle contains twelve identifiable scenes[9] relating events from Mary's childhood (The Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, the Annunciation to Joachim, the Birth of Mary, the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, Prayer for the Flowering of the Twigs); the childhood of Jesus (the Annunciation, Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, the Twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple); and finally the Death of Mary.[10] The scenes follow from left to right, first in the upper tier of the northern and southern walls, then continuing in the lower tiers. In the four lunettes above, figures of riders appear, who, based on their traits and attributes, can be identified as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (*Fig. 4*).

This system of continuous narrative bands and lunettes is broken by a monumental Tree of Jesse composition on the northern wall covering all three registers (*Fig. 2*). Here, forty ancestors of Christ appear on a large tree growing out of the body of the sleeping Jesse; a pelican is depicted on the top as a symbol

[8] Kiss, Pál, "Project," 15–16.
[9] The fragmentary survival in some parts makes the identification of certain scenes difficult. In these cases, considering the accompanying inscriptions or the sequence of the narrative scenes helped in addition to the iconographic analysis.
[10] Three further fragments can be tentatively identified as The Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, The Flight into Egypt, and Pentecost.

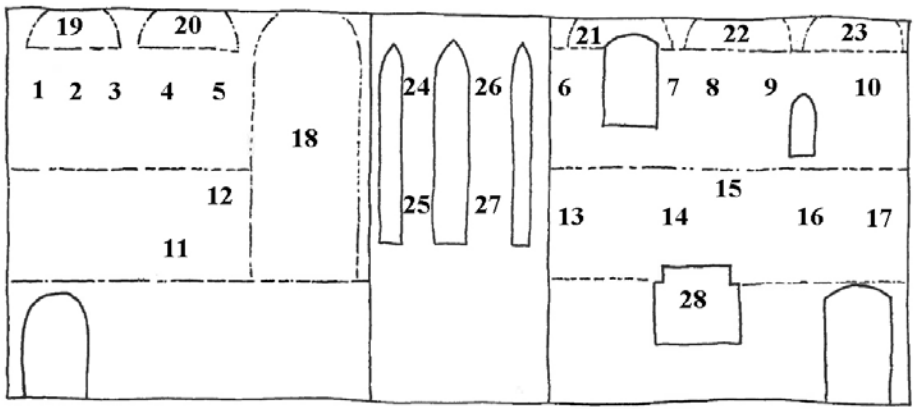

Fig. 1. Alțâna (Alcina), parish church. The iconographic scheme (illustration by the author) 1. The Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple; 2. Annunciation to Joachim; 3. Fragment (Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate?); 4. Birth of Mary; 5. Presentation of Mary in the Temple; 6. Prayer for the Flowering of the Twigs; 7. Annunciation; 8. Nativity; 9. Annunciation to the Shepherds; 10. Adoration of the Magi; 11. Fragment – Tabernacle; 12. Fragment (Flight into Egypt?); 13. Rest on the Flight into Egypt; 14. The Twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple; 15. Fragment (Pentecost?); 16. Death of the Virgin (?); 17. Fragment (Coronation of the Virgin?); 18. Tree of Jesse; 19. First Apocalyptic Horseman; 20. Second Apocalyptic Horseman; 21. Fragment; 22. Third Apocalyptic Horseman; 23. Fourth Apocalyptic Horseman; 24. Saint Anthony the Great; 25. Saint Eligius; 26. Saint Valentine; 27. Saint Erasmus; 28. Priest.

of Christ.[11] On the eastern wall, four standing figures of saints appear in the fields between the three windows: Saint Anthony the Great, Saint Eligius, Saint Valentine, and Saint Erasmus. In the sitting niche on the southern wall, a seated priest is depicted in a frontal position. Further fragmentary figurative scenes appear on the eastern side and the inside of the chancel arch, which are in too poor condition to allow iconographic identification.

The compositions are usually simple, reduced to the essential elements, with the minimum number of persons present. The compositional patterns follow the

[11] The upper part of the composition is much damaged. The bird-like figure with its head bowed down, reaching towards its own breast is identified as a pelican, supported by analogies like the one from Flensburg, Germany, "Wurzel Jesse," Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, image no. mi04650g03. http://www.bildindex.de. Last accessed January 2014.

Fig. 2. Alţâna (Alcina), parish church. Tree of Jesse (photograph by the author).

Fig. 3. Alţâna (Alcina), parish church. Priest (photograph by the author).

iconographic tradition characteristic for the regions north of the Alps, with most parallels referring to the German and Austrian territories.

The Interpretation of the Iconographic Program

For a better understanding of this iconographic program it is most useful to look closely at the constituting elements, how they are interrelated with each other and with their placement in the sanctuary. Several layers of meanings can be distinguished in the program. The scenes and figures can be grouped into thematic units of Mariological, Apocalyptic, and Eucharistic representations and figures of saints.

In the center of the program stand the scenes from the life of Mary, extending to two tiers on both the northern and the southern walls. After 1300, narrative cycles presenting the life of Mary based on the apocrypha became increasingly popular across the whole of Europe.[12] In Italy, Mariological scenes were most often represented in the form of fresco cycles, frequently in the sanctuaries of churches.[13] However, in the region north of the Alps, wall paintings were only relatively rarely dedicated to this subject, which appeared there more often on stained glass, textiles or in book illumination.[14] In the territory of medieval Hungary, only one Mariological fresco cycle that includes scenes from the childhood of the Virgin has been preserved besides the one from Alţâna, in the sanctuary of the Franciscan church in Keszthely.[15]

The Apocalyptic theme is also emphasized through the placement of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse in the lunettes above the two tiers that show scenes from the life of Mary. Compared to the other parts of the Bible, the Book of Revelation was rarely represented in monumental art.[16] Because of this, a particular interest in the Apocalypse is usually assumed behind the commissioning of an Apocalyptic cycle, for which its very exclusivity may have been a major appeal.[17] Although it was primarily in book illuminations that Apocalyptic cycles evolved and appeared most frequently, the subject was also present in wall paintings, usually in an abbreviated form.[18] In the fourteenth century it was mostly in Italy that the Apocalypse was represented in fresco cycles;[19] the only surviving

[12] Engelbert Kirschbaum and Günter Bandmann, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 3 (Rome: Herder, 1971), 217 (hereafter: LCI); Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1980–1991), vol. 4.2, 46.
[13] LCI, vol. 3, 221–222, Schiller, *Ikonographie*, vol. 4.2, 47.
[14] Ibid., 46–47. For an extensive list of Mariological cycles north of the Alps see Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, vol. 1 (Brussels: L'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, 1965), 35–49.
[15] This cycle follows the Italian tradition, thus differing from the wall paintings in Alţâna in both style and compositional patterns. See Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Fresco Cycle of the Holy Virgin in the Franciscan Church of Keszthely," *Ikon* 3 (2010): 261–270.
[16] Not considering such more common, non-narrative images inspired by the Book of Revelation as Christ in Majesty, see Meg Gay, "Monumental Apocalypse Cycles of the Fourteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation (University of York, 1999), 7, 9, 142.
[17] Ibid., 78, 168.
[18] Schiller, *Ikonographie,* vol. 5.1, 118.
[19] Ibid., 279–294.

example from Central Europe is the Apocalyptic cycle at Karlštejn Castle in Prague.[20]

The association of the Apocalyptic theme with the Mariological cycle might be seen as dissonant, as the Four Horsemen, a reminder and exhortation in the light of the coming Last Judgment, seem to convey another type of message than the glorification of Mary. However, investigations into fourteenth-century monumental Apocalypses have shown that they could take on various connotations depending on the function of the space where they were placed or on other images they were associated with, among others also meanings related to the Eucharist and the cult of Mary.[21]

The Book of Revelation contains several references to the heavenly liturgy performed around the altar which could be set in parallel with the earthly rituals practiced in the church.[22] Accordingly, several representations of the Apocalypse designed for liturgical spaces emphasize the Eucharistic theme.[23] In the baptistery of the cathedral in Padua the fresco cycle of the Apocalypse decorating the sanctuary is directly related to the altar.[24]

The frescoes in the Chapel of the Virgin in Karlštejn provide an example of an Apocalypse in the context of Marian devotion. Here the Apocalyptic iconography is closely linked to the Virgin Mary based on the reading of the Book of Revelation, which identifies her with the woman clothed with the sun.[25] The visually most emphatic scene of the cycle is a woman pursued by a dragon, where she is presented according to the iconography of Mary. The cycle ends with a devotional image that combines the traditional representation of the Madonna with child and the attributes of the vision of the Apocalypse.[26]

These uses of Apocalyptic imagery help in understanding how the Apocalypse theme at Alţâna fits into the iconographic program of the sanctuary. However, it should be pointed out that here there is no iconographic reference that would link the Apocalyptic representations either to the Eucharist or to the

[20] Peter K. Klein, "Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 193.
[21] Gay, "Apocalypse Cycles," 218.
[22] Ibid., 197.
[23] For example, the east window at York Minster or the Apocalypse altarpiece from Master Bertram's workshop, both from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Ibid., 198–202, 203–204.
[24] Schiller, *Ikonographie*, vol. 5.1, 291.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

Virgin Mary except for their spatial position above the Mariological cycle. Parts of the decoration that are no longer extant could have provided further hints for the interpretation of the Apocalypse cycle.[27]

A further group of representations is associated with the Eucharist, in accordance with the function of the sanctuary. Related to this, the iconography of the three extant keystones (probably the only ones) is consistent, all of them bearing references to the sacrifice of Christ. While the original arrangement and sequence of these keystones is no longer known, they once formed an integral part of the iconographic program. The Man of Sorrows appears on the keystone found in a secondary position on the southern wall, an image invoking the Passion through the wounds of Christ and the repetition of the Passion in the sacrifice of the Mass.[28] One of the two other keystones preserved in the Museum of History in Sibiu represents the face of Christ, and the other the Lamb of God with a flag and a cruciform halo, a symbol of Christ as a sacrificed lamb, at the same time also referring to his victory and glory.[29] In addition, the vine-leaf motif with bunches of grapes filling the splays of the three eastern windows of the sanctuary might also be an allusion to the Eucharist, although at the same time it clearly had a decorative function.

One element of the program seems to function as a link among the various layers of meanings. Just as it overarches the three tiers of decoration, the Tree of Jesse connects the Mariological, Eucharistic, and eschatological components of the program. The connections between the Tree of Jesse and the Virgin Mary were often evidenced in theological writings. A writer as early as Tertullian drew an association between the rod figuring in the prophecy of Isaiah[30] and the Virgin based on the similarity of the words *virga* and *virgo*, while Christ was seen as the blossom of the tree emerging from this rod.[31] Bernard of Clairvaux further

[27] The representation of the first lunette on the southern wall, probably a related scene, is too fragmentary to allow an interpretation. Besides, if the original Gothic vaulting was decorated with wall paintings it may have contained further Apocalyptic representations about which no evidence has survived.
[28] LCI, vol. 4, 87–88.
[29] Ibid., vol. 3, 7–14.
[30] "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord" (Isaiah 11:1–2).
[31] Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934), 3–4.

developed the Mariological aspect of the Tree of Jesse by associating it with the supernatural conception and virgin birth.[32]

This connection is also present on pictorial representations. Mary often appears in Tree of Jesse compositions, in some cases presented literally as the trunk of the Tree.[33] In works deploying typological representations such as the *Speculum humanae salvationis,* the Tree of Jesse is coupled with the Birth of the Virgin in many cases.[34]

The Tree of Jesse is also represented in the context of Mariological cycles, often as the introductory scene.[35] On the territory of medieval Hungary, the Tree of Jesse appears on altars presenting scenes from the life of the Virgin, such as the altar from Spišské Podhradie, (Szepesváralja, Slovakia) around 1490 or Sebeş (Mühlbach, Szászsebes) around 1524.[36]

References to the Tree of Jesse also appear on individual scenes from the life of Mary. When relating the episode of the Choosing of Joseph as the husband of Mary, the *Legenda Aurea* refers to the prophecy of Isaiah, suggesting a parallel between the Tree of Jesse and the blossoming rod of Joseph, as the dove of the Holy Spirit rests on both.[37] In the cycle at Alţâna this subtle connection is emphasized by the placement of the Prayer for the Flowering of the Twigs opposite the Tree of Jesse composition (*Fig. 5*). Thus, while the monumental Tree of Jesse composition creates a visual break in the continuity of the Mariological cycle, it can also be seen as part of this cycle based on the multiple connections between the symbolism of the Tree of Jesse and the Virgin.

The Eucharistic connotation of the Tree of Jesse is evidenced through its depiction just above the stone tabernacle on the northern wall of the sanctuary. In both religious literature and art the Tree of Jesse was an image through which the

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[32] Schiller, *Ikonographie*, vol. 1, 26.

[33] Ibid., 27.

[34] For example, in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscript in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, dated to the 1330s, "Wurzel Jesse," REALonline images no. 007165A. http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/ realonline. Last accessedJan. 2014.

[35] For example "Zell bei Oberstaufen," Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, image no. 731.915, http://www.bildindex.de. Last accessed January 2014.

[36] Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel paintings in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 430–431, 450.

[37] "Each unmarried but marriageable man of the house of David is to bring a branch to the altar. One of these branches will bloom and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove will perch upon its tip, according to the prophecy of Isaiah. The man to whom this branch belongs is, beyond all doubt, the one who is to be the virgin's spouse." See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, tr. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol 2, 153. Schiller, *Ikonographie,* vol. 4.2, 43.

Fig. 4. Alţâna (Alcina), parish church. Apocalyptic Horseman (photograph by Lóránd Kiss).

Incarnation and the Passion could be connected. Presenting the earthly ancestry of Christ, it was a visual demonstration of the doctrine of the Incarnation and of the human nature of Christ – essential conditions of the sacrifice of Christ and the transubstantiation of his body and blood in the Eucharist.[38] An analogy between the Tree of Jesse and the Tree of the Cross was explicitly drawn in texts and images as well.[39]

Accordingly, the Tree of Jesse is often represented in a Eucharistic context. It appears on tabernacles, as in the Saint Martin Church in Hettingen, around 1500,[40] on altar predellas (the best-known example being the altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin in the St. Mary's Church in Cracow), while in later periods it was represented on monstrances.[41]

[38] Michael D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1980/1981): 143–144.
[39] Watson, *Tree of Jesse,* 52–54.
[40] "Sakramentshaus," Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, image no. mi05757g08, http://www.bildindex.de. Last accessed January 2014.
[41] Schiller, *Ikonographie*, vol 4.2, 32.

In some cases, the Eucharistic connotation of the Tree of Jesse was further emphasized by specific iconography. Based on the analogy between the Tree of Jesse and the Tree of the Cross, the Crucifixion was inserted in the composition in many cases.[42] On the representation from Alţâna, the pelican on the top of the tree makes evident the association with the Eucharist. The bird feeding her brood with her own blood is a symbol of the crucified Christ, a motif often appearing on Crucifixion scenes or on objects related to the Eucharist.[43]

The Tree of Jesse can also appear in the context of eschatological representations as an antecedent leading to the fulfillment of salvation history. On the Portico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela (end of the twelfth century) the Tree of Jesse appears on the lower part of the trumeau supporting the tympanon in which an Apocalyptic vision is presented with Christ in Majesty surrounded by the evangelists, angels, the blessed, and the twenty-four elders.[44] The east window of Selby Abbey from around 1330 provides another example for a link between the Tree of Jesse and the end of times. Above the monumental Tree of Jesse composition crowned by an image of the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment fills the upper part of the window.[45]

A fourth element of the iconographic program is the representation of saints. The cult of each saint represented is traceable among the Transylvanian Saxons during the Middle Ages.[46] A common distinctive feature of the saints is their important ecclesiastical position; except for Saint Anthony, an essential figure

[42] Carol Falvo Heffernan, *The Phoenix at the Fountain: Images of Woman and Eternity in Lactantius' Carmen De Ave Phoenice and the Old English Phoenix* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 118.
[43] LCI, vol. 4, 390–392.
[44] Watson, *Tree of Jesse,* 106–109.
[45] Elisabeth Reddish, "The Fourteenth Century Tree of Jesse in the Nave of York Minster," *York Medieval Yearbook* 2 (2003). http://www.york.ac.uk/teaching/history/pjpg/jesse.pdf. Last accessed January 2014.
[46] For the cults of the four saints in medieval Hungary and representations see Tamás Grynaeus, "Remete Szent Antal a hazai képzőművészetben" [Saint Anthony the Great in the art of Hungary], *Ars Hungarica* 25 (1997): 181. On Antonite monasteries in Hungary, see also idem, *Szent Antal tüze* [St. Anthony's fire] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2002), 57–72; István Petrovics, "Szent Eligius magyarországi és angliai tisztelete a középkorban" [The medieval cult of Saint Eligius in Hungary and in England], in *A VIII. Numizmatika és a Társtudományok Konferencia* [The eighth conference of numismatics and related disciplines] (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat, Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 2011), 169; Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium. A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából* [Calendar of feast days. From the Hungarian and Central European traditions of the feasts of Mary and other feasts] (Budapest: Neumann,

in the history of monasticism, all the saints were bishops, although Valentine is not represented as such. In addition, their cult tended to have a German aspect or origin,[47] although not exclusively. At the same time, due to the lack of evidence regarding the circumstances of the commissioning of the wall paintings, the question of the reasons behind the selection of saints remains open.

A further element of the iconographic program that deserves attention is the representation of the sitting niche on the southern wall, where a praying priest without a halo is depicted in a frontal, seated position (*Fig. 3*). When sitting niches in churches preserve figural representations, they are generally depictions of saints.[48] In cases where priests are represented as donors in wall paintings, they usually appear in profile, kneeling and turning towards a saintly figure to whom they address their prayer, often visualized in the form of a scroll they are holding. Examples of such depictions include the representation of *Erasmus plebanus* beside a row of apostles at Martjanci (Mártonhely, Slovenia) around 1400[49] or a priest turning towards Mary in a Crucifixion scene in the sacristy of the Saint Francis church at Poniky (Pónik, Slovakia) around 1415.[50] A closer parallel to the representation at Alţâna, also from the same region and a similar time period, can be found at Cisnădie (Heltau, Nagydisznód).[51] In a window splay on the eastern wall of the sanctuary a priest without a halo is depicted in a similar frontal, symmetrical, (although standing) position, his hands put together in prayer before his chest. An inscription above him identifies him as *Petrus plebanus*. He is directing his prayer to the patron saint of the church, *Walpurgis virgo,* represented on the opposite side of the window splay. Although at Alţâna it is no longer clear whom the priest was addressing with his prayer, he might have been turned towards the altar.

2004), "Január 17," "Február 14," "Június 2," and "December 1" online edition: http://mek.oszk.hu/04600/04656/html/. Last accessed Jan. 2014.

[47] Especially in the case of Valentine and Erasmus, partly in the case of Eligius.

[48] For example, at Siklós castle chapel (around 1430–1450), Ernő Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [The art of Hungary around 1300–1470], vol. 1, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1987), 704, image no. 36.

[49] Ibid., vol. 1. 483; vol. 2, image no. 721.

[50] Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei: die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2002), 168–170, 331, image no. 122. There is also a figure of a praying Franciscan on the northern wall of the sanctuary, ibid., 165–166, 327, image no. 116.

[51] "Evangélikus templom, Nagydisznód," *Monumenta Transsylvaniae*, www.monumenta.ro. Accessed April 2013; the document was not present when accessed Jan. 2014.

Fig. 5. Alţâna (Alcina), parish church. Prayer for the Flowering of the Twigs (photograph by the author).

Conclusion

This discussion shows that the iconographic program of the sanctuary at Alţâna is complex and elaborate. The selection of representations and their arrangement in the space of the sanctuary, the various references and interconnections, and the exclusiveness of some of the iconographic themes imply careful planning and a learned background. However, there seems to be a contrast between the sophistication of the iconographic program and its realization. The artistic quality of the images and the simple, sparing treatment of the compositions reduced to the essentials bespeak local standards.

Several aspects of this decorative program deserve attention. The program is centered on the Virgin Mary, whose life is presented in a large narrative cycle

comprising more than fifteen scenes which fill most of the decorated space. As pointed out above, the life of Mary was a relatively rare subject in fresco cycles north of the Alps. A dedication of the church to the Virgin Mary may have provided a motivation to decorate the sanctuary walls with scenes of her life, as in the case of the Franciscan church at Keszthely. Still, there is no further evidence to support this suggestion.

Other representations underscore the theme of the glorification of the Virgin, allude to the Eucharistic presence in the sanctuary or are concerned with the eschatology and veneration of saints. Among these, the complex use of the Tree of Jesse is noteworthy, as it bears multiple connections to the Virgin Mary and the Eucharistic sacrifice and also links several moments of salvation history through its placement and specific iconography. Also worthy of attention is the presence of the Apocalypse representations at Alţâna, due to their rarity in monumental art. As a theme mainly accessible to the educated, it was probably chosen precisely for its exclusivity. Regarding the commissioning of the wall paintings, no written document or inscription survives. Viewed in the context of the architectural history of the church, the decoration of the sanctuary was part of the rebuilding campaign around the middle of the fourteenth century. The reconstruction of the sanctuary and the commissioning of this complex decorative program extending to all the wall surfaces, which involved considerable cost, reveal an ambitious purpose. In this context the long-term rivalry between Alţâna and the nearby Nochrich for juridical and administrative rights as the center of the seat deserves attention. This rivalry, documented from 1361 onwards, could also have provided an incentive to demonstrate precedence through representative architecture.

The identity of the commissioner and the learned inventor of the program remain unknown. The emphatic representation of the priest figure in the sitting niche on the southern wall suggests that the parish priest – possibly the *Johannes plebanus de Alczina* mentioned in 1349 and 1351 – may have played a role in it.

The wall paintings in Alţâna provide a rare example of coherent and extensive sanctuary decoration in Transylvania from the second half of the fourteenth century. Their examination enriches the fragmentary picture of the artistic development of this region in this period. At the same time, the wall paintings can also be viewed as a source revealing the culture and standards of education in fourteenth-century Transylvania, demonstrating how the means of expression of provincial art could be coupled with erudite ideas and an elaborate conception.

MODELS OF SEDUCTION: THE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN TEMPTING SAINTS (FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)

Andrea Nechita

The topos of woman as seductress has a long textual history and is already found as an archetype in the bible and biblical apocrypha. The collections of stories of the Desert Fathers, monks and hermits who lived in solitude or small groups in the Egyptian desert, contain numerous examples of temptresses. Later saints' lives and legends also continued to use this topos of woman as seductress. These saints' lives and legends were popular throughout the medieval period and into the early Renaissance. Not only did these texts make up a large part of the reading material available during these times, but they also influenced the arts heavily. Artists, especially in the sixteenth century, often depicted the moment of a saint's temptation. In particular, the temptation of Saint Anthony the Great was a subject frequently depicted by German, Flemish, and Dutch artists due to the artistic freedom it allowed in representation.

Literature is scarce about temptresses and saints concerning their representation in the visual arts. The temptations and hardships of Saint Anthony the Great and other hermit saints became especially popular with artists in the sixteenth century. A volume by Michael Phillip presents around eighty visual sources of the temptation of Saint Anthony in various media from the Middle Ages to contemporary times.[1] Sandra Uhrig explores medieval depictions of Saint Anthony and discusses how changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led artists to explore new approaches to the saint's representation, focusing especially on Hieronymus Bosch and other Northern artists.[2] In art historical scholarship, not much has been written on the visual sources of the temptations of Saint Anthony (and other saints) produced by German, Flemish, and Dutch artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To the best of my knowledge, the temptresses themselves and their visual depictions have been discussed even less.

[1] Michael Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008* (Munich: Hirmer, 2008).

[2] Sandra Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius: Eine Vision des ausgehenden Mittelalters," Ph.D. dissertation (Munich: Ludwig Maximilian University, 1998).

The seductresses of saints and their specific visual representations appear to have been generally passed over by art historians until now.

In this article[3] I will explore the various ways in which the seducing woman was visually represented in saints' temptation scenes in German, Flemish, and Dutch art in the late fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century. By analyzing and comparing the seductresses in the visual sources, the goal of my research is to reveal the variety of models used and the frequency with which each occurs. Variations in the seducing women should become apparent after close examination of the attributes of each seductress. The patterns of the representations of the seducing woman will be also examined over time, which will illuminate the changing interests of the artists and patrons.

The visual sources used in this study were gathered from major online image databases, such as the Real Online image server,[4] museum collection databases,[5] search engines, and printed publications.[6] In total, 105 images were collected from a variety of media, including: manuscript illuminations, paintings, drawings, etchings, engravings, woodblock prints, stained glass, sculpture, and tapestry. Most of the visual materials found for this study were produced in the sixteenth century and the majority fall into the categories of paintings or paper media. A significantly smaller number of sources come from stained glass, sculpture, and tapestry. Manuscript illuminations which contain temptation scenes of saints with seductresses date to the fifteenth century.

Research Problem and Methodology

This study explores the visual representations of a saint's temptation, and specifically, examines the depiction of women as seducers of saints and other religious persons.[7] Due to the large number of visual sources that make up

[3] This article is based on my MA thesis, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth: The Visual Representation of Women Tempting Saints (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)," (Central European University, Budapest, 2013) (hereafter: Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth").

[4] Institute of Material Culture, Krems, Austria. http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/index.html

[5] Notable ones include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University's Art Gallery, and the British Museum.

[6] Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius," and Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust*.

[7] The initial research into this topic revealed a number of questions regarding not only the types of representations of the seducers themselves, but also pertaining to the reception of such works. For a detailed exploration of the topic and how the space of the beholder

the basis for this study I will not be able to discuss each work in detail. I have categorized each source based on the attributes of the seductresses.[8] The sample of images shows some variability. A larger number of works were created by Flemish and Dutch artists, with a smaller number coming from Germany and another small group of works from Austria and today's Slovakia. All the manuscript illuminations come from France, but show Netherlandish influences.

An initial inspection of the visual sources reveals differing versions of the seducing female which, however, show consistent patterns. I have divided them into four models of seduction. Each seductress fits into one or more of these models based on the attributes present. One model of seduction is represented by a richly dressed woman. In this type, the woman attempts to provoke a desire for the material riches of this world in the holy man. Specific identifying traits for the rich woman model include high quality dress, jewelry, a headdress (sometimes including a veil), and associated luxury vessels. These traits may appear all together or in some cases the woman may only be depicted with one or two of these items.

The second model of temptation is more clearly based on biological function as the goal of the woman is to provoke sexual desire and lust in the male figure. This category encompasses attempted temptations through representations of nudity as well as beauty, virginity, and youth. In a large number of the visual sources dealing with the Saint Anthony theme, the woman approaches Anthony in a state of undress, either fully nude or baring one or both breasts.[9] Nude does not always mean fully nude, and thus the nude category for this study includes any and all states of undress.

The third seducing model has been labeled the "everyday woman." In such depictions the temptress wears a simple dress. She shows no attributes of wealth nor is she nude in any way. Attributes of the devil (see immediately below) may or may not be present. In the cases where there are no devil traits she is represented simply as a woman, but, of course, no less dangerous than any of the other forms when she is tempting the saint or religious man.

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affects the visual representation of the seductress see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth."

[8] I created a coded catalog of all the visual sources using Extensible Markup Language (XML). Each seducer's attributes and the corresponding model were identified and recorded. The coded catalog was then exported into Excel where I was able to observe the patterns of the seducing models in relation to chronology, medium, and region.

[9] Sometimes the seductress wears thin transparent material. They also belong in this category.

Depictions of the fourth model, the "devil-woman," were, in the case of Anthony, influenced directly by Athanasius' legend, in which the devil came to him in the guise of a woman.[10] Specific attributes which identify the devil woman include the presence of at least one of these indicators: clawed feet and/or hands, cloven hooves, and horns. Sometimes the claws or horns are difficult to spot, especially when they are not portrayed clearly. For example, some artists included clawed feet on the seductress, but they are mostly hidden by the skirt of her dress.

In this study, in order to keep categories as simple as possible, seductresses fitting into more than one seduction pattern have been placed in multiple models corresponding to the presence of the main identifying traits associated with each. This method provides the clearest grouping as many seductresses have the attributes of two or more models. The fourth model, woman as a devil, the devil in disguise, or "devil-woman," is unique in that it cannot stand on its own. It must be paired with one of the other three forms. The sources have been grouped and arranged by region, date, and seduction model. Grouping the works according to the model of seduction shown allows for a broad presentation of the patterns *(Table 1)*. The visual sources which I have deemed to be the best representatives of each model are presented in the separate sections and discussed in detail.

Seduction Model	**Without Devil**		**With Devil**	
	Before 1500	**After 1500**	**Before 1500**	**After 1500**
Rich	12	44	12	20
Rich and Nude/Semi-Nude	1	24	-	6
Nude/Semi-Nude	3	40	-	1
Everyday	4	4	1	-
Everyday and Semi-Nude	1	-	-	-
Total	21	112	13	27

Table 1. Summary of the individual seductresses and the occurrence of the seductress patterns

Seducing and Being Seduced

Women are creatures of their sex. According to the teachings in the biblical and patristic traditions, women are ruled by emotion and carnal appetites.[11] Biblical

[10] David Brakke, trans., "Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 9.

[11] For a detailed and concise overview of the nature of women focusing on the medieval period, see Claude Thomasset, "The Nature of Woman," in *A History of Women in the*

commentaries added to the negative views of women, especially those works which interpreted the story of the Temptation in Genesis 3. In this tradition, Eve was the first temptress of man and was seen to carry a greater share of the blame for the fall of humankind.[12] Although she is not named as a temptress in the narrative, Christian theologians were convinced that Adam committed the first sin due to Eve's temptation. She was blamed repeatedly as the sole cause for the fall of humanity, while Adam was simply seen as the unfortunate one who was wickedly tricked into sharing this sin. Some writers even compared Eve to the serpent itself, calling them one and the same.

The serpent tempted Eve and won. Thus, Eve ended up taking over the serpent's evil qualities and became the tempter herself. Interestingly, this taking over of the other's qualities went both ways. In some medieval depictions of the Temptation scene, the serpent was portrayed with the face of a beautiful virgin.[13] The idea behind the serpent taking on the face of a beautiful virgin revolves around the notion that every being loves what is similar to itself and thus Eve was more easily deceived by seeing this face.[14] The serpent and Eve became one with their tempting and seducing natures and this image became the standard for all women. Although women could take up this role of seducer, they were seen to be especially susceptible to being seduced themselves, as Eve was by the serpent. Due to their weaker natures, it was thought that women could be more easily fooled and manipulated by the devil, and thus used by him to do his bidding.

In many saints' stories the devil would either send demons disguised as women or would himself take up this role in order to seduce those trying to live a chaste life.[15] Examples of various temptresses can be found in the collections

West, vol. 2, *Silences of the Middle Ages,* ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 43–69.

[12] For a more thorough discussion of women in relation to the Fall, see Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997). For more on the later clerical reception and notion of woman, see Jaques Dalarun, "The Clerical Gaze," in *A History of Women in the West,* vol. 2*, Silences of the Middle Ages*, 15–42.

[13] Gerhard Jaritz, "*Draconcopedes*, or, the Faces of Devilish Virgins," in *Animals and Otherness in the Middle Ages: Perspectives across Disciplines,* ed. Francisco de Asís García García, Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo, and María Victoria Chico Picaza (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 85–93.

[14] In some cases, the depiction of the serpent's human head developed further and female breasts or entire female torsos ending in a snake's tail were added. For a short commentary and visual examples of this, refer to Jaritz, "*Draconcopedes.*"

[15] For a discussion of men's and women's chastity in the medieval period refer to Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2000).

of stories of the Desert Fathers. Brakke states that: "the female body provided a compelling image with which to render visible an unseen drama of temptation, followed by seduction or resistance."[16] The monastic writers used women, either as real women or as the devil in disguise, as a way to visualize the demonic conflict which surrounded a monk.[17] Later saints' legends contained stories in which the saints themselves, their disciples or other religious persons also faced temptations of the flesh. The sources of these temptations varied. Some temptations come from the saints themselves as they begin to reminisce about a member of the opposite sex, while other temptations are external and come from the devil's urging, from overly zealous admirers, or from family members.

Notable examples which include one or more of these motifs include, in particular, the legends of St. Anthony the Great, St. Benedict of Nursia, Saint Chrysanthus, St. Vitus, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Francis, St. Agnes of Rome, St. Margaret (Pelagius), and St. Justina.[18] The first literary source about Saint Anthony is his *Vita*, written by Athanasius of Alexandria around 360 C.E.[19] In this *Vita,* the devil first came to Anthony disguised as a woman to try and lead him into temptation.[20] In the legend of Saint Bernard, the young Bernard faced temptation and attempts at seduction multiple times. The first incident describes how he was "gazing rather fixedly at a woman until suddenly, blushing at what he was doing, he rose as a stern avenger against himself and jumped into a pool of ice-cold water."[21] Although many of the temptation stories revolve around men being the objects of seduction, women were also susceptible.

Female saints and their legends served as models for women at all levels of society.[22] Although the saints' lives tend to emphasize the unique and sometimes extreme circumstances and exceptional piety of the female saints, these stories

[16] David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7.
[17] Ibidem.
[18] These legends can be found in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* vol. 1, tr. William G. Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
[19] For a critical edition of the Greek text (with a French translation), see G. J. M. Bartelink, ed. *Athanasius: Vie d'Antoine*, Sources chrétiennes 400 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994).
[20] After failing to persuade Anthony with the first disguise, the devil appeared to him as a little black boy. For a thorough discussion and compelling insight into the phenomenon of black demons refer to Brakke's article "Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, no. 3 and 4 (2001): 501–535.
[21] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 99.
[22] For more on women reading saints' legends, see: Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Saints' Lives and the Female Reader," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 27, no. 4 (1991): 314–332.

nonetheless helped mold ideas about the roles of lay women. In female saints' lives, the protection of their virginity was of the utmost importance. Sexual temptations in female saints' lives take on a more central position than in male saints' legends. In men's legends the defeat of carnal temptation is just one challenge in a long line of temptations and obstacles. In contrast, in women's legends the sole mission for these women is to keep their virginities intact. In the sources in this study, the visual depictions of male saints being tempted by seducers greatly outnumber the depictions of attempted seductions of female saints.

The Four Models of Seduction

Riches and Superbia

Examination of the visual sources assembled in this study reveals that the most frequently occurring model type is the rich seducer. The rich model type is present in three quarters of the collected visual sources, in every medium (paintings, ink drawings, manuscript illuminations, sculpture, stained glass, woodcuts, etchings, engravings, and tapestry), and across all the regions covered in this study. Women were used regularly as mediators of riches, such as in the Old Testament (Isaiah 3:16). Negative characteristics were associated with the possession of wealth, namely, *superbia* (pride and haughtiness), and thus the rich woman could be seen as a potential seducer not only due to her wealth, but more importantly, due to the sinful vices that accompanied it. Wealth and luxury are mentioned repeatedly with strong negative connotations in Athanasius' legend of Saint Anthony. One of the focuses of the legend is Anthony's dismissal of all worldly pleasures and luxuries. At the beginning of the life, Anthony is described as never possessing a love for the finer things in life, even as a boy, "although as a boy he lived in moderate wealth, he did not trouble his parents for diverse and expensive foods, nor did he seek such pleasures. He was happy merely with whatever he found and asked for nothing more."[23]

Of the ten manuscript illuminations with Anthony as the object of the temptation, in all but two of them the women have the characteristic attributes associated with wealth, namely, expensive dress, headdresses, and luxury items. The sources with the least number of richly dressed seducers tempting Anthony are woodcuts, engravings, etchings, and drawings. Less than half of these sources focus solely on the rich seductress model, while roughly the other half pair one or two

[23] Brakke, trans., "Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt," 8.

attributes of wealth (most often a headdress and/or vessel) with the nude model, and the remaining two works focus on the nude model only. Earlier woodcuts, from the fifteenth century, do not focus on the rich seductress, portraying her as well off, but do not include attributes such as jewelry or luxury vessels. Among the paintings, almost three quarters contain one or more attributes associated with the rich seductress model tempting Anthony. A particularly nice example of the rich model type in painting is a work by Jan Wellens de Cock from ca. 1520 *(Fig. 1)*.

This work is also a great example of the popular layout of the Anthony temptation scene in Dutch and Flemish art. Saint Anthony is shown seated and a richly dressed woman carrying a golden vessel approaches him from the right. In the background one can see gentle rolling hills, trees, bushes, part of a waterscape, and a burning town. A number of strange creatures surround the two figures, undoubtedly influenced by the works of Hieronymus Bosch.

Fig. 1. Jans Wellens de Cock, The Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1522. National Museum, Warsaw, Poland. Photo: Piotr Ligier

Overall, the works created in the sixteenth century and earlier frequently used the rich model type. Often in Anthony's temptation scenes the rich seductress approaches the hermit and offers him luxury items. In these cases she is clearly depicted as a mediator of wealth. In other cases, the rich seductress is not offering an item but is still obviously wealthy. These works may be using the notion of *superbia*, which was thought to come with owning riches. Thus, the woman's wealth gives her confidence and makes her haughty, causing her to become a dangerous seductress. In the early sixteenth century there appears to have been an increasing tendency to introduce aspects of the nude model while still maintaining the rich model. In a number of examples from the early to mid-sixteenth century the rich model was no longer the main type used. Instead, the nude is used as the main model with only one or two attributes of the rich model added as a sort of decoration on the seductress, for instance, jewelry, vessels, and/or a headdress.

The Body: Beauty, Nudity, Virginity, and Youth

The representation of bodies, especially in the nude, is a subject that has a massive discourse in the art historical canon. The nude encompassed a wide range of roles and meanings in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.[24] Representations of nudity in the Middle Ages and the periods following it have a wide range of possible meanings. They encompass multiple notions about the "nature of sexuality, spirituality, sin, virtue, humanity, [and] gender,"[25] and are highly context specific. Nudity, in relation to saints, carries multiple meanings. Some saints' lives include a moment when the saints themselves disrobe and are described as being nude. This nudity serves a specific function, namely, that of showing humility and self-discipline. In the legend of Saint Francis, after he finds himself aroused by a temptation of the flesh, he removes his clothes in order to rub his body with a coarse rope, and when that is not enough, he jumps nude into deep snow.[26] For the saints themselves who have episodes of nudity, their own nudity is not sexual, but instead they use it as a means to an end because their reasons for it revolve around discipline and sacrifice.

[24] For an insightful collection of essays on the variety of approaches to exploring the meanings of male and female nudity in European painting, manuscripts, and sculpture to the fifteenth century see Sherry C.M. Lindquist, ed., *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
[25] Sherry C.M. Lindquist, "The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art: An Introduction," in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, 30.
[26] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 223.

In regards to the seductresses, their nudity is certainly not connected with spirituality, but is instead a visual representation of sin and unrestrained sexuality. It is not surprising, then, to find that the second most frequently occurring seduction model is connected to the body, most often the feminine body. My examination focused on works containing all temptresses falling into the category of sexual temptation. In this model the seductress uses her youth, beauty, and nude body in an attempt to arouse a desire for carnal love in the saint. Some seducers falling into this category are completely nude, while others are depicted only partially nude. Over three-quarters of the visual sources, especially paintings, clearly depict beautiful young seducing women. A small number of works digress from this trend and do not focus on making the tempting woman beautiful and young.[27]

The nude model is found in half of the visual sources and is present in every medium with the exception of sculpture. Around one quarter of all the sources have at least one seducer that fits into the nude seduction model and has no attributes associated with the other model types. None of the ten manuscript illuminations with Anthony as the object of the temptation has a seducer that tempts him directly with her body. Half of the sources in the medium of paper (woodcuts, engravings, etchings, and drawings) dated to after 1500 with a temptation of the Saint Anthony scene include a seducer fitting the nude model. All but two of these sources pair one or two rich attributes with the nude model (most often a headdress and/or vessel). The remaining two works, both by Albrecht Dürer, focus on the nude model only.[28] Woodcuts dating to the fifteenth century have no examples of nudity; they follow one of the other three models – rich and/or devil woman or "everyday" woman. The earliest woodcut

[27] Examples: Anthony Abbot the Great: Scene, Assailed by Demons, ca. 1430, manuscript illumination, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, United States. Book of hours (MS M.64), folio 131r. From: http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=246769 (see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth," Catalogue no. 94); Jan Wellens de Cock, The Temptation of Saint Anthony (recto); Fantastic Landscape (verso), ca. 1510–1520, ink on green paper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1972.118.276 (see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth," Catalogue no. 30).

[28] Albrecht Dürer, "The Temptation of Saint Anthony," 1515, ink on paper, Albertina, Vienna, Austria. From: http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/default.aspx?lng=englishno.70d1304a-42d9-46bc-bbb2-3f86a23eea4e-- (see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth," Catalogue no. 8). Albrecht Dürer, "The Temptation of Saint Anthony," 1521, graphite on paper, Albertina, Vienna, Austria. From: http://sammlungenonline. albertina.at/default.aspx?lng=englishno.f716639e-4858-4281-b221-4499fc2ce345 (see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth," Catalogue no. 9).

Fig. 2. Jost de Negker, Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1500–1520. British Museum, London, England. From: British Museum Image Database, reproduced with permission.

example found to use the nude temptation model with Anthony is a work by Jost de Negker dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century *(Fig. 2)*.

This scene follows the iconography of other temptation scenes showing Saint Anthony. He is shown seated, with his staff on the ground in front of him and a pig (his attribute) with a bell beside him. Two completely nude women stand in front of him, both offering expensive vessels. One woman looks at Anthony and the other looks at the first, raising her hand, casually pointing towards the holy man as if speaking about him. The one staring at Anthony wears a headband, while the other has a hat with horns on her head, indicating links to the devil. Squatting on the ground between the nude women is the devil, or a demon, who tries to squeeze between them in order to offer a bowl to the saint. Both women have small round breasts and the woman closest to the viewer has a swollen belly typical of the ideal Northern nude. In this image the representation of sexual temptation is in its strongest form as the two women are completely nude. But

the rich seducer model is also present in the vessels they hold. Thus, although the image uses the nude model, this work simultaneously also uses characteristics of the other two models, the rich woman and the devil woman.

A number of German, Dutch, and Flemish paintings dating from 1490 to around 1510 use some sort of nude seductress model, but these women are small in size and often shown in the distance.[29] It appears that it was perhaps more acceptable to depict nude seductresses in the early sixteenth century if they were of a small size. As Italian artistic influences filtered their way into Northern art, especially classical Italian art, interest in the female nude form increased. When looking at prints and drawings of the same subject, the sources in this study point to an exploration of the nude form even before 1520. In painting, after around 1520 the small nude temptress figures seem to disappear in favor of depictions similar to those of early sixteenth-century drawings and prints like the woodcut by Jost de Negker discussed earlier. The seductresses are no longer depicted in small sizes, but instead are brought to the foreground and increase in size as they are placed near the tempted saint.[30] After around 1515 the number of visual sources to depict the seducing woman in the nude form rose, but attributes of the rich model in many of the cases still remained present.

Everyday Woman – All Women, Woman as Herself

Most of the visual sources identified in this study focus on wealthy seducers and beautiful seducers who tempt men with their bodies. The seducing woman was thought of in terms of a harlot who cannot contain her desires or as a guise of the devil. The seducing woman is not always under the devil's control, however, and she is not always a beautiful rich woman of fantasy. The seductress may be any woman. All women themselves were seen as the incarnation of temptation and since a woman's sex was thought to embody the weakness of the flesh, every woman had equal potential to be a seductress.[31] It seems that the images could also concentrate on this opinion. I have called this seducing type the "everyday" woman model. The main attribute of the everyday model includes a dress that a woman might wear on an every-day basis. For the seducer to fall into this

[29] For examples of these small-sized nude seductresses in paintings, see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth," Catalogue no. 14, 35, 73-76.
[30] For examples of large-sized seductresses in the foreground of paintings, see Nechita, "Offering Body, Pleasure, and Wealth," Catalogue no. 36, 43, 50, 51.
[31] Chiara Frugoni, "The Imagined Woman," in *A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages*, tr. Clarissa Botsford, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 358.

category there must be an absence of attributes connected to the rich model, most importantly, an absence of jewelry, fancy dress, and luxury items. In some examples the everyday woman is used by the devil as a guise to trick saints or monks, but shows no attributes associated with the devil woman model that indicate that the devil is present.

In my collection of visual sources, the everyday model is present in only eight works and is the least used model for temptation scenes. Five of these sources are woodcuts from Germany dating to the fifteenth century. One German woodcut from the late fifteenth century comes out of a *Vitae Patrum* and depicts a woman trying to enter a house in order to seduce the friar inside. She is shown actively grabbing the handle of the door. The image is titled "The Devil Coming to a Friar in the Form of a Woman," but the artist has not included any attributes of the devil. The seductress simply appears to be an ordinary woman. Another German woodcut from around 1450 also serves as an example of the everyday-type woman tempting Saint Anthony *(Fig. 3)*.

The seductress has no attributes of wealth and instead wears a simple dress. Her hair is long and loose and flows down her back. The depiction of women with long loose hair, especially in saints' temptation scenes, could represent the sins of pride and vanity as well as the dangers posed to men attracted to beautiful locks. The woman is shown with her hands raised in front of her and a scroll above her representing her actively talking to Anthony. In this example the artist depicted the woman in everyday dress and also gave her cloven hooves, thus mixing the everyday model with the devil model.

Fig. 3. German woodcutter, The Temptation of Saint Anthony, ca. 1460. From Sandra Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius," Figure 17.

Looking at the everyday model in the visual sources collected here, it appears not to have been a popular model used by artists. Reasons for this may have been due to the increased interest in the nude form. Other reasons may have included the artists' desire to show off their skills by painting more elaborate dress, luxury items, or the female body. Customer demand might also have had a role to play, especially if wealthy patrons wanted lavish and/or racy paintings for their private collections.

The Devil-Woman

As mentioned above, the topos of the devil dressing up as a young woman to test the virtue of a saint is an essential part of many saints' biographies.[32] In the visual depictions, when the devil is in the guise of a woman the artist sometimes added attributes to the woman in order to show that she was not who she appeared to be. This not only made it easier for the saint to recognize who he or she was communicating with, but was certainly also more easily recognizable for the beholders of the images. Most often the devil's attributes come in the form of clawed hands and/or feet, cloven hooves, or horns. The devil woman model is the only model that does not stand on its own. It is always paired with another of the other three seducing models: rich, nude, or everyday. One third of the visual sources contain devil attributes, which occur on every one of these models, with the majority of the works pairing it with the rich model.

Of the ten manuscript illuminations with Anthony as the object of the temptation, six of them contain seductresses with at least one devil attribute. Four of the seductresses are depicted with horns, two with clawed feet, and one with horns as well as a black clawed hand. An illumination by Simon Marimon from ca. 1480 represents a nice example of the devil model combined with the rich model *(Fig. 4)*. Anthony is shown seated with an open book in his lap. He is approached by a beautiful young woman wearing a pointed headdress and an elaborate peach-colored dress with a train. She offers a golden vessel to Anthony who has his hand raised. Looking closely at the bottom of the seductress' dress one can see three dark clawed toes sticking out.

Less than one third of these paintings use the devil model with the rich model, and only eight of them pair it with the nude model. It appears that the devil woman topos may have been left behind in later works. A possible reason for this trend may have been due to the increased focus on the nude form in this period.

[32] Ibid., 349.

Fig. 4. Simon Marimon, The Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1480. British Museum, London, England. Huth Hours. © British Library Board Additional 38126, f. 133v

Conclusion

The outcome of this study shows that the seducing woman could take a number of forms. She could be depicted as a rich woman, an overly lustful woman, as the devil in disguise, or simply as a woman. The earlier representations of the seducing woman focused on the haughty rich woman or the lustful woman, often adding attributes of the devil such as clawed feet or horns. The rich seductress was especially popular in works from the fifteenth century and continued to be used throughout the sixteenth century, but was increasingly added as a second model to complement the newly popular nude seductress. The rich seducing model is

the seducing-model type that occurs most frequently; its attributes can be seen in three quarters of the visual sources examined here. The possession of wealth is seen to bring pride and haughtiness, characteristics that were viewed as sinful vices. The rich seductress is not just a lustful woman whose insatiable desires force her to tempt men. She is also a mediator of riches in the saints' legends and is seen as the embodiment of *superbia*.

The second most frequently used seduction model is the nude. Half of the visual sources include the seductress attempting to ignite lust in the saint through showing either a part of her body or all of it. Looking at the theme of woman as seductress in art, it is important to keep in mind that, biologically speaking, a man's response to a woman's body is involuntary. Attraction to bodies and their evolutionarily set sexual signals is natural. Early Christian doctrine moved away from biological function and instead concentrated on mystifying and glorifying celibacy in order not to be distracted from God. Looking at sexual encounters from this point of view, they were therefore seen in terms of seeking pleasure, loss of discipline and control, and feeding the desires of the flesh instead of those of the soul.

Early sixteenth-century German, Flemish, and Dutch paintings depicting the temptation of Saint Anthony show seductresses that follow the nude model, but their presence appears to have been somewhat regulated. It appears that the nude model was permitted to be used if the depiction of the seductresses was limited to small sizes set far into the background. But, apparently as influences from Italy made their way northward, Northern artists also became increasingly interested in the depiction of the nude form. The sources in this study point to an exploration of the nude form by artists even before 1520 in prints and drawings of this subject. This may have been due to the benefits the medium of paper gave these artists for experimentation, in contrast to other media like canvas and paint. In the material examined here, after around 1520 the previously small seductresses in paintings began to be depicted in larger sizes and are moved increasingly to the foreground of the works. Out of all the visual sources which use the nude model, almost half of them include at least one seductress who is depicted solely using the nude model. The other half pair the nude model with attributes from one or more of the other forms. Although the nude seduction model began to be used more frequently after 1520, many of the attributes of the rich model remained present in the form of jewelry, headdresses, and vessels.

The third model of seduction, the everyday woman, is the least used model for saints' temptation scenes. Although all women had equal potential to be seductresses, an everyday woman wearing simple dress appears not to have

been a popular choice for artists to depict. A possible explanation lies with the audience for such works. Many of the sixteenth-century paintings in this study were not religiously commissioned. Therefore the artist may have been meeting the demands of his patrons by depicting young beautiful women.

Attributes of the last seduction model, the devil woman, appear in one third of the visual sources. This is the only model that does not stand on its own. The devil woman attributes are paired with each type of seduction model, but most often with the rich model. One of the reasons for adding an attribute of the devil to the seducing woman may have been to make it clearer to the beholder that the woman is either not who she appears to be (the devil in disguise) or that she has evil intent.

Among all the tempted saints, Saint Anthony was the most popular to be tempted by women in visual representations. A possible explanation for this could have been that the Athanasius legend of Saint Anthony was written in such a way that it allowed the imaginations of German, Flemish, and Dutch artists freer rein than other saints' legends. Saint Anthony overcame numerous temptations and tortures that were thrown at him by demons and the devil. His legend served as a lesson as it taught to always remain calm in the face of hard times, to never give up faith, and not to let lust, greed, and pride run one's life.

To the best of my knowledge, research on the seductresses of saints in the visual arts has been scarce, especially from the medieval and Renaissance periods. This study has tried to contribute to this area of art history and to open doors on a subject that may be examined further through multiple disciplines. Further research into the depiction of seducers and seductresses in art, not only in relation to saints but also to lay people, would open up interesting possibilities regarding questions of representation, dissemination, and perception. Expanding the area of study as well as the time frame would allow for a more thorough study of seduction models.

THE GREAT LINEN REGISTER OF BARDEJOV (BÁRTFA)

Sándor Gyarmati

The medieval linen industry of Bardejov (today Slovakia, formerly Bártfa in Upper Hungary, Bartfeld in German) is remarkable in medieval Hungarian economic history[1] because the local urban administration established a centralized network of textile producers and managed the market distribution of the final product.[2] By the mid-fifteenth century, the aggregate output of the town was large enough to play a dominant role in the regional markets of northeastern Hungary that even extended to Buda, the capital of the kingdom. Due to its uniqueness in Hungarian economic development, almost every comprehensive study about preindustrial Hungarian craftsmanship notes the linen production of Bártfa.[3]

A relatively high number of registers, in various formats, remain from Bardejov from the fifteenth century. The linen registers from the 1420s have been transcribed and published previously.[4] The registers merit study in the original because copies in the archives[5] are unreliable; pages were not in the correct order, vital for keeping associated entries together.

In Bardejov, one cannot speak of a sophisticated arithmetic-based method of administering the linen production and wholesale trade. Only certain parts of

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[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "The Linen Weavers of Bardejov. An Institutional Interpretation of an Urban Industrial Branch in the Mid-fifteenth Century," CEU, Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest, 2013.

[2] This was not a local initiative. The sector was based on a monopoly privilege issued by King Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437), see Wolfgang von Stromer, *Die Gründung der Baumwollindustrie in Mitteleuropa. Wirtschaftspolitik im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978), 101–113.

[3] E.g., János Szulovszky, ed. *The History of Handicraft in Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2012), 74.

[4] László Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei* [Old account books of Hungarian towns] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1885), 194–207; 254–263; 280–286. Each of them has a separate reference number in the National Archives of Hungary (HMNL OL DF 212789, HMNL OL DF 212867, and HMNL OL DF 212868, respectively), and in the archive of Bardejov, Slovakia (Štátny archív Ministerstva vnútra Slovenskej Republiky v Prešove, Pobočka Bardejov [National Archives of Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic in Prešov, Office of Bardejov – ŠA PO, pob. Bard.] Magistrát Mesta Bardejov Knihy [Municipality of Bardejov – MMBK] 1504, 1505 and 1506, respectively).

[5] Available in the photo collection of medieval documents Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény, DF) of the Hungarian National Archives: MNL OL DF 218495.

the workflow were documented – those that were considered financially important by the urban administration. There is a lack of sources at both ends of the production process; one cannot find any mention of harvesting and processing the flax and the trail of the finished linen product at the distant markets of Buda (Budapest, Hungary), Oradea (Várad, Romania), and other regional market centers.[6] Unlike any other preserved Hungarian account books, the linen registers kept in Bártfa include primarily production-related, that is, intra-organization data regarding only the linen sector. This alone would be somewhat ordinary, since keeping sub-accounts separate from general urban account books was a common practice in this period.[7] However, while these particular accounts were considered auxiliary documents of one stage of the commodity flow, the linen registers can be considered as the documents of a detached economic activity or a separate business circle independent of the urban financial registry.

The data structure of the linen registers varied over time. Besides three registers from the 1420s, additional registers remain in which figures of the annual linen production were recorded. The building blocks of these registers are entries that include the name of the producer, the amount of cloth, and the date of delivery.

During the first half of the fifteenth century a clear sophistication took place in the way the local scribes recorded the deliveries. The first known linen register, from 1424, contains entries of both the linen delivered and where

[6] The production of unbleached textile from raw flax presumably happened in peasant households with additional thread imported from the direction of Poland, and fine-product linen was destined for local retailers. Walter Endrei, *Patyolat és posztó* [Cambric and cloth] (Budapest: Magvető, 1989), 54; István Tringli, "Vásártér és vásári jog a középkori Magyarországon" [Market space and market regulation in medieval Hungary] *Századok* 144 (2010), 1281.

[7] The archive of Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia) provides a good example. Besides the general town books that summarized the particular revenues and expenditures of the town, there were also sub-accounts for tax levies, wine storage, etc. For the latest research on the Pozsony town books see Attila Tózsa-Rigó, "Pozsony város költségvetése a 16. század második negyedében" [The budget of Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia) in the second quarter of the sixteenth century] *Történelmi Szemle* 53 (2011): 39–62. Ferenc Kováts elaborated on the sub-accounts of Pozsony, see Ferenc Kováts, Kováts, *Városi adózás a középkorban. Pozsony szabad királyi város levéltárának anyaga nyomán* [Urban taxation in the Middle Ages. Based on the sources of the archives of the free royal town of Pozsony] (Pozsony: Angermayer, 1900), 9–13. Also in Bártfa sub-accounts remained, like wine registers and wages of urban employees like herdsmen and mercenaries. Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára I. (1319–1500)* [Archive of the free royal town Bardejov] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 59, no. 314–316.

it was stored. Information is also entered about the disbursement of the revenues received after the linen was sold. These different types of information were recorded mixed together, apparently as the scribe updated the register chronologically (*Fig. 1*). This layout must have made the subsequent use of the

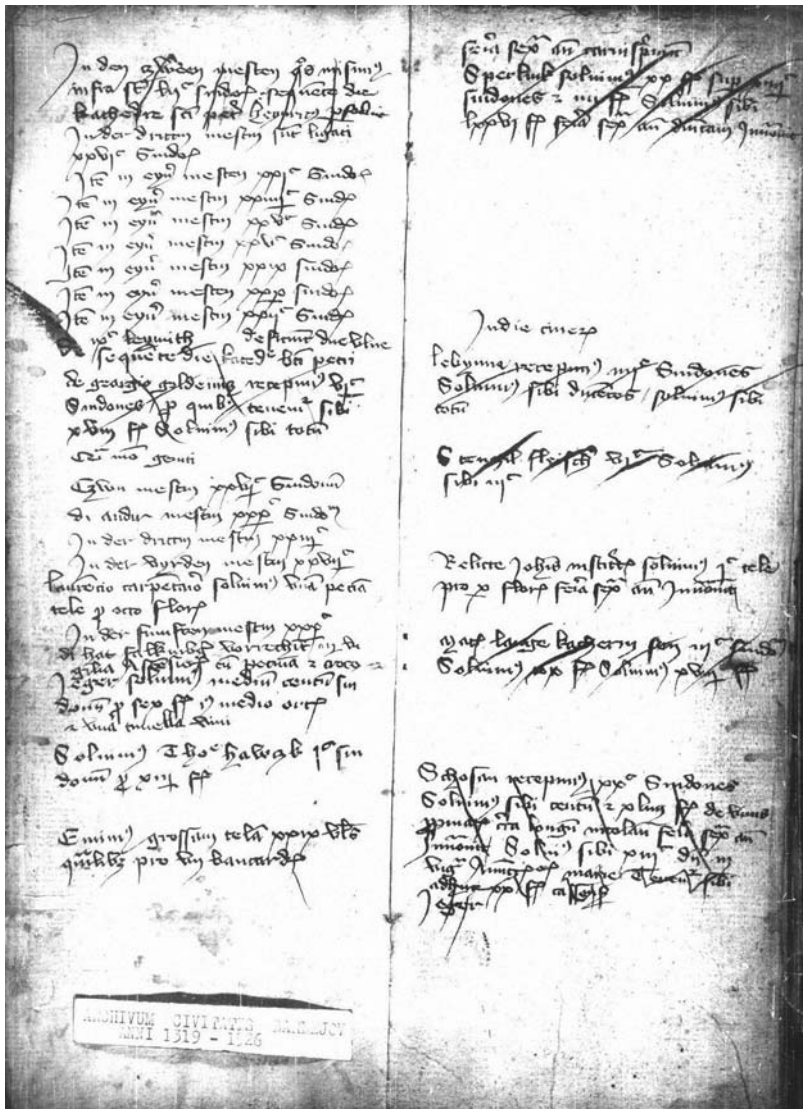

Fig. 1. A linen register from 1424 (MNL DF 212 789)

document quite difficult and that was probably the reason why later registers used different recording methods. From 1427 onward the chronological structure gave way to an alphabetical division of the register; each page was marked with one letter of the Latin alphabet and entries for the deliveries of individual weavers' entries were recorded according to their names. The result of this method was an easily searchable register that, despite small inconsistencies, facilitated both the registration and the after-reckoning.[8] Registers from the latter half of the century tended to group weavers by their streets.[9]

In order to re-evaluate the position of this remarkable corpus of data in socio-economic history, I transcribed and analyzed one linen register that provides both a larger quantity of statistical data about weaving and, due to its more detailed structure, a better understanding of the organization. Here I introduce the physical features and the structure of the Great Linen Register of Bártfa, which contains numerical data about local linen weaving between 1447 and 1457.[10]

The Structure of the Great Linen Register

Compared to the smaller registers, the Great Linen Register is notable because it contains a huge number of financial records between the years 1447 and 1457. The parchment-covered register, 144 folios thick, deserves attention not only because of the huge quantity of numerical data that it includes, but also for the detailed editing and clear layout.

The Register was bound into book form, 150 millimeters wide, 415 millimeters long, and 35 millimeters thick. It consists of thirteen quires; each quire has six vertically folded paper leaves, that is, twelve folios. The quires were sewn together with five threads of double-lacing, as is visible on the spine of the book. The distance between the sewing stations is 95 millimeters on average, leaving 8.8 millimeters remaining beyond the two outer ones. The cover of the

[8] Fejérpataky preserved the division by the initial. By inconsistencies I mean that it was incidental whether the scribe alphabetized the weaver by his or her surname or given name. Occasionally a person could have been positioned either by the initial of an attribution, like "Antiqua Czecherin," or by profession, like the "Judex de Czirla," Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei* [Old account books of Hungarian towns] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1885), 254, 258.

[9] Alžbeta Gácsová, *Spoločenská štruktúra Bardejova v 15. storočí a v prvej polovici 16. storočia* [The structure of society in Bardejov in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century] (Košice: Východnoslovenské Vydavateľstvo, 1972), 119–120.

[10] MNL OL DF 218.495. The original version is ŠA PO, pob. Bard. MMBK 1510.

book is a piece of parchment made of two equal-sized pieces sewn together with five-millimeter-wide vellum tape and tanned semi-hard. The size of this stitched and tanned vellum seems to have originally been about 335 × 415 millimeters, which covered the first and last pages and one edge of the book. On the Register's spine the five threads of the quires were passed through the semi-hard brown parchment and sewn into a leather thong, actually an exposed tab liner, that is dark brown, hard-tanned, three millimeters thick, and measuring 35 × 415 millimeters.

The appearance of this book in itself suggests the prominent role it must have had; none of the other registers have such extraordinary parameters, and only the register of 1424 has a somewhat similar parchment folding; the other documents with similar contents consist of plain folded paper.[11] Essentially, while earlier registers seem more like gross memos, the formularization and layout of the pages in the Great Linen Register suggest that it probably had a more public role than the previous ones. Also, the use of red ink on calligraphic gothic letters suggests that it also played a representative role, since this was not used in any other register besides the one from 1424. The one-time use of red ink may have been incidental because it has no apparent function in this exceptional case.

In terms of content, the Register had different functional subdivisions following the stages of the workflow. The scribe separated information on the production and payment of the weavers, a list of revenues from linen sold, the storage of the cloth in the town, and related costs. The Register also contains auxiliary parts such as an index of names at the beginning of the book and a calculation manual. Further subdivisions of linen quality were made within these functional units; the Great Register distinguishes middle and fine quality linen (*sindo* and *tela*).[12]

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[11] Measurements and basic information of the earlier registers: MMBK 1504: *Registrum sindonum civitatis Barthpha 1424*, 120 × 335 mm, book format, consists of 7 paper sheets folded in half vertically and sewn at two points to a hard-tanned vellum cover.
MMB Kníhy 1505: *Registrum sindonum 1427*, 120 × 335 mm, book format, consists of 12 paper sheets folded in half vertically, and sewn together at one point.
MMB Kníhy 1506: *Registrum sindonum 1428*, 115 × 325 mm, book format, consists of 6 paper sheets folded in half vertically and sewn together at one point.
MMB Kníhy 1507: 115 × 320 mm, book format, consists of 5 paper sheets folded in half vertically and sewn together at one point.
MMB Kníhy 1508: 115 × 315 mm, 3 separate paper sheets folded in half together vertically.

[12] A separate subdivision was made in the register for the years 1449 and 1450 that includes only stock data about the fine-quality linen, ŠA PO, pob. Bard. MMBK 1510. 25–29. Unlike the earlier registers, where entries frequently included material of inferior

The largest part of the Register deals with the individual weavers who produced the linen. The logical structure consists of several smaller units that can be understood as personal accounts. This section takes up 64 folios, almost half of the 145 folios of the book. Four parts have the express indication *Percepta syndonum* for the years 1447, 1449, 1450, and 1451.[13] Additional parts of the Register with the indication *Anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo Syndones exeuntes et percepti primum* must have had the same function.[14]

Each weaver in the town was enrolled in this section of the book by his name in calligraphic gothic letters with a dual registration below it. The scribe recorded the amount of middle-quality linen the person delivered in the first part and payments in the second section. The financial reckoning is clearly separated from the output registration with an indication *Solutio*, paid in cash or impounded for other debts of the individual such as urban taxes or duties. These personal accounts have a uniform and transparent layout: On each page there are two to five personal accounts that include entries in rows with enough space on the margin for incidental corrections and further data. This way, the flow of money was recorded parallel to the flow of raw material (*Fig. 2*).

The first half of each personal account that recorded the delivery of linen consists of rows that give the day and the number of ells of linen delivered. The day was indicated by the traditional Christian feast or the psalms of the closest Sunday. Each year had a given set of days on which the raw material was accepted into the storage facility. In 1447 these days were the day before the feast of St. John the Baptist (*In vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptiste*), 23 June, and the eve of All Saints' Day (*In vigilia omnium sanctorum*), 31 October. The number of ells submitted was written on the same line after the dates given in this way. The scribe used Roman numerals and a superscript C to indicate quantities of hundreds of ells, with the use of half marks; the minimum delivery was 50 ells. This was due to the technological background of weaving; the standard quantity of cloth a craftsman working at home was able to produce was one roll, that is, 50 ells.[15] Sometimes the product proved to be short in length, which required supplementary notations; in

quality (*grossa tela*), there is no mention of low-grade linen in the Great Register, see, e.g., Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok*, 194, 205, 222.

[13] ŠA PO, pob. Bard. MMBK 1510. Instead of referring to folio numbers of the original source, from now on I will use the pagination of my transcript of the Great Linen Register, which I added to my thesis as an appendix. Great Linen Register [hereafter GLR] 5–23, 29–46, 47–63, 66–78.

[14] Ibid. 79–91.

[15] Jenő Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* [Towns and craftsmanship in Hungary in the fifteenth century] (Budapest: Művelt Nép, 1955), 231.

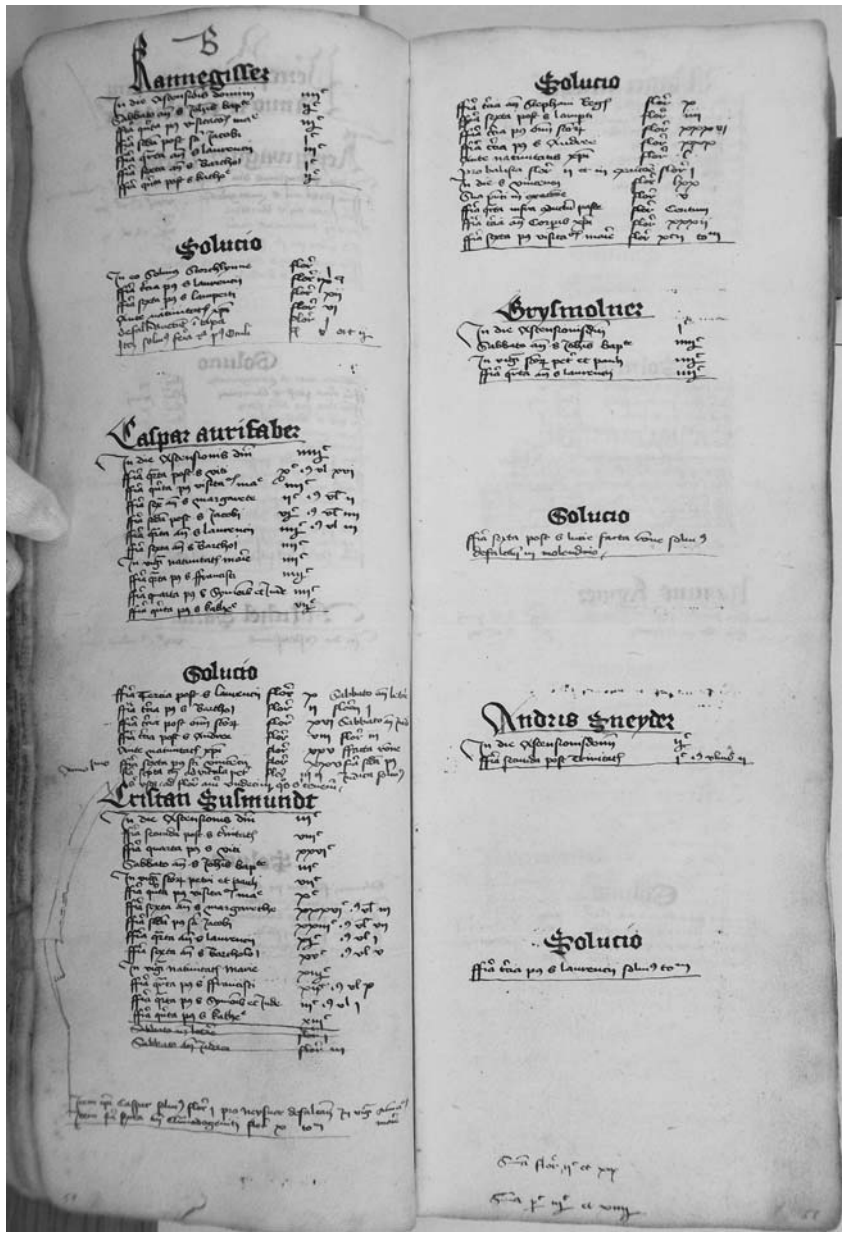

Fig. 2. The Great Linen Register of Bardejov, 1447–1457.
(MMB Knihy 1510 fols. 28v-29r)

such a case the scribe put the number of missing ells at the end of the line. One entry is thus: *feria sexta ante Sancte Margarethe* [date: 14 July] *XVII*^{c} *minus ulnas XV* [amount: 1685 ells].[16]

After these entries the financial section follows, listing money paid to the weaver. Three kinds of lines are included in this part, all similar to the line explained above. In the simplest case, the amount of money paid out was listed, such as: *feria secunda post Sancti Vincentii* [24 January] *flor X* [10 florins]. However, an item of public debt might be described, with the amount the person owes, for instance, *Reychwagner* [the person is usually listed in the dative case] *defalcaverunt in taxa* [that is, the town took cloth worth 5 florins for tax debt] *flor V*.[17] In a third type of entry, another person received the payout, usually someone who had assumed the debt of the person who had delivered the linen. Sometimes they were connected by kinship ties, as in the case of *Thomas fleyschers zon* who paid a tax liability of his father, but sometimes the relation is not so clear.[18]

The linen deliveries and the payments were independent of each other in the sense that the submission of linen and receipt of payment did not happen simultaneously. Nor were they simple deferred payments, because the numbers of entry lines, that is, the frequency of deliveries and payments, are almost never identical. Another characteristic of the financial section is that it does not fit as strictly into the framework of the year as the previous section about raw material turnover does. Despite the fact that the turn of the year is easily traceable due to the chronological sequence of the entries, the scribe put a remark (in the register of 1449, *Anno etc L*^{o}) on the margin of almost all the financial sections to indicate that the transaction in question was deferred to the next year.[19] According to the

[16] Identifying dates is easier because the entries that belong under one name are arranged in chronological order, which is useful in differentiating between, e.g., the several feasts of St. Margaret. For identifying the dates I used the basic handbook of Hungarian chronology: Imre Szentpétery, *A kronológia kézikönyve* [Handbook of chronology], ed. István Gazda (Budapest: Könyvértékesítő Vállalat, 1985).

[17] GLR 29.

[18] For the son of Thomas the butcher see GLR 90. There are many unclear transactions, such as the example of Niclas Reychwagner in 1449, whose activity shows a great variety of loans to people who clearly were not his kin, such as Niclas Dresler and Paul *sutor*. Although that Niclas Drescher was another member of the town council, just like Reichwagner himself, this is only one entry from the several other unknown cases. The purpose of lending money for Paul *sutor* to pay his tax debt is unclear, see GLR 29, 47.

[19] The exact date of the new "business year" was supposed to be January 6. According to the German tradition this was the usual date until which the mandate of the officials lasted. The register confirms this, as the mark of the next year was not put next to the *nativitatis Christi* feast nor *Sancti Silvestri*, but next to the often-used day *Sancti Vincentii*,

sophisticated structure described here, it is easy to see that monitoring the sector's production side was meticulously elaborated.

On the first four folios of the Great Register there are name indexes that facilitated finding the personal accounts of weavers for the years: 1447, 1449, 1450, and 1451[20] (*Fig. 3*). The scribe divided these pages into two columns with a vertical line. The contributors of the year are listed in alphabetical order; next to each name the scribe wrote the letter of the page on which the person's transactions appear. The presence of such indexes could have been necessary because of the need for rapid utilization at either the time of delivery or of the accounting, which would support the idea that this was a working tool. In contrast, the document richly decorated with red ink could have had another purpose besides visually assisting the search. During this period (1447–1456), the neighboring Prešov (Eperjes) temporarily also received the privilege of bleaching textiles. With such competition, the governing elite of Bártfa may have decided to produce a document that proved the long tradition of the industry in their town.[21] The lack of indexes is understandable in the later registers, since they were written in alphabetical order. However, in the Great Register folios 4v–5v remain blank, maybe for the purposes of an eventual index.

The other large logical unit, recorded between folios 107r and 116r, including data about the wholesale prices of linen, begins with the indication *Ductiones Syndonum et venditiones pro Anno domini M[illesim]o CCCC° XLVII°*.[22] Here the town clerk recorded the market turnover chronologically between the years 1447 and 1452, as the town kept transporting bales of linen to the markets of towns such as Košice (Kassa), Várad, Buda, Hatvan, or Fehérvár (Székesfehérvár). At this point, a town servant was charged with the task of delivering the textile to a faraway market and there a representative of Bártfa sold the cloth to local distributors. It must have taken some time for the money to arrive in Bártfa.

Here the scribe also recorded deliveries and deferred payments, similarly to the previous section. However, there is no sign of the transparent layout of the weavers' accounts in this part of the book. The scribe kept recording the notes of

which was January 22. The absence of entries between January 1 and 22 confirms this notion because the council's election and accession to office was usually the reason for a break in payments.

[20] GLR 1–4.

[21] Ádám Novák, "Adalékok egy 15. századi tárnokmester tevékenységéhez" [The political activities of a fifteenth-century *magister tavarnicorum*], unpublished manuscript, on file: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2012.

[22] GLR 106.

deliveries with current text in a pattern like *Circa dominum Nicolaum Longum suberte quinque in quibus continentur 9800* [ells of linen] and left some lines free below to

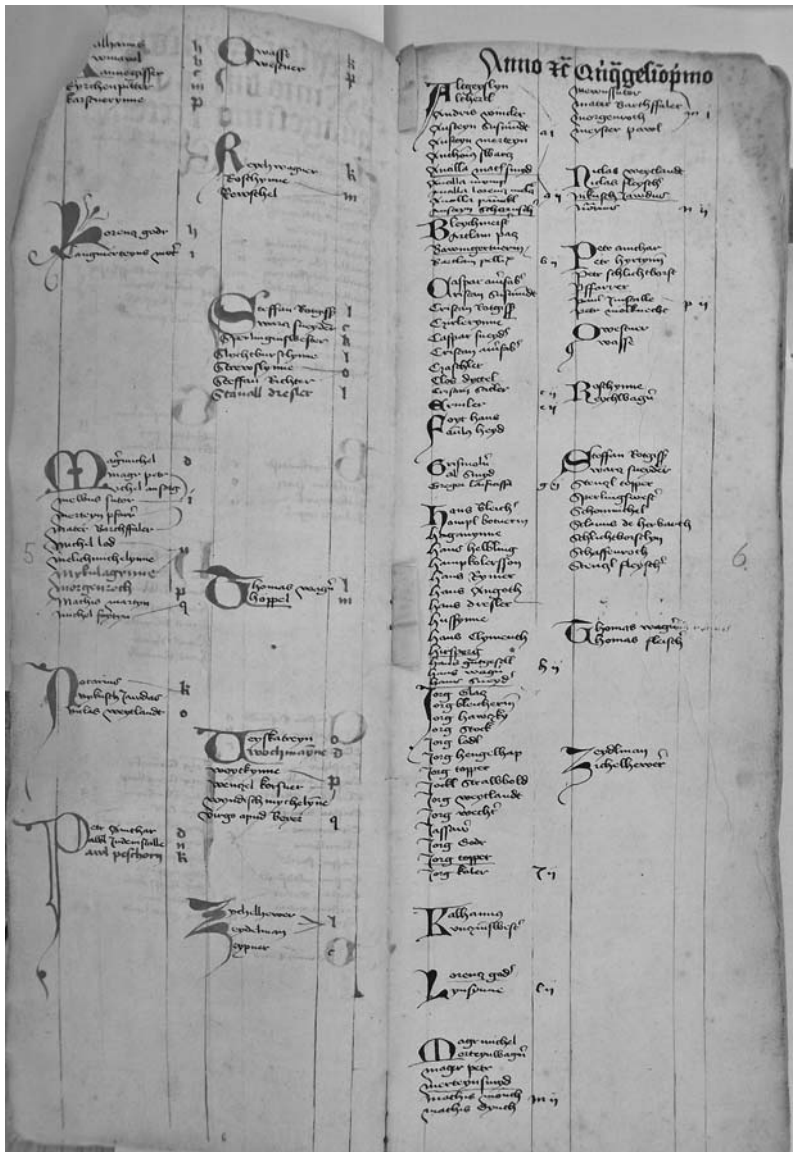

Fig. 3. The Great Linen Register of Bardejov, 1447–1457. (MMB Knihy 1510 fols. 3v-4v)

record the related revenues later.[23] The recording principle changed almost every year. In the 1447 and 1449, entries of the market distribution were registered in chronological order. The following years may have brought specialization among the town employees because in the years 1451–52, the scribe sorted the deliveries by the name of the carter or merchant.[24] In subsequent years the destination seems to have been more important because the scribe recorded deliveries to Buda and Várad separately.[25]

Besides these large functional units, there are also smaller records in the Great Linen Register that are connected to the linen sector in some way. The most significant of them is a half-page-long regulation issued in 1450. Apparently it served a dual purpose – on one hand it defined the expected quality for the weavers of the linen sector, on the other it declared the monopoly of the town and imposed sanctions on those who would have tried to compete with this on an individual basis[26] (*Fig. 4*). Under the title *Impositiones et impensa super golcz pro anno etc 47* there is a crude cost accounting on fol. 117r.[27] This includes the cost of covering materials used for packaging the linen bales and the travel costs of the town carters. Although it only takes up one page in the book, the presence of cost reckoning has theoretical importance. The notion that the administrators realized the need for this different account category is modern; cost-accounting is a special sector in the field of financial accounting even today. Unfortunately, no accrual accounting (recording incomes and expenses when they are incurred, not necessarily when cash changes hands) was made. Another remarkable part of the Register is a table with the inscription *Summa compoti sindonum* that helped calculate the amount of money to be paid for a certain quantity of linen that was delivered by one of the local weavers.[28] This small quarter-of-a-page tool raises more questions than it answers because its very presence makes it almost certain that the Register was not only used as an account book, but as an assisting tool as well. However, it raises more questions that can only be answered with the

[23] GLR 108.
[24] GLR 114–115; 119–120.
[25] GLR 123–124.
[26] This section has been quoted several times as a central source for the reconstruction of the organization and the work stages, Emma Lederer, "Bártfa város vászonszövő üzeme a 15. században" [Linen industry of the town Bardejov in the fifteenth century], *A Gróf Klebelsberg Kunó Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve* [Bulletin of the Kunó Klebelsberg Historical Institute] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934), 150–158, here: 155; Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség*, 223.
[27] GLR 116.
[28] GLR, 140.

involvement of other lists: Was this price rate used at the receipt of the linen into the storehouse or at the release, when the commodity set off on the road to

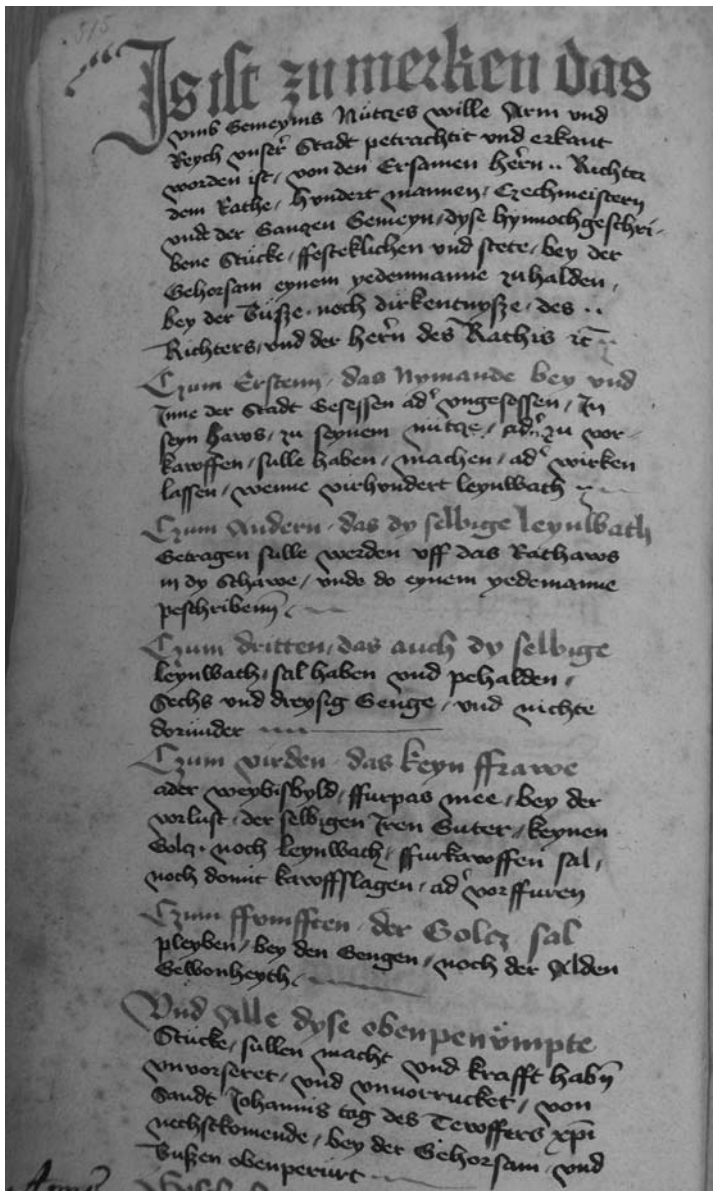

Fig. 4. The Great Linen Register of Bardejov, 1447–1457. (MMB Knihy 1510 fol. 46v)

market? Was it used constantly during the period or does it cover only a certain period? If the first statement is true, how could it be that they did not include monetary changes? If the latter, why are there no further tables?

There are several additional entries that have no connection with the linen industry or can be considered as only random notes. A good example is the financial accounts of the costs of building a mill in 1456.[29] This may have been part of this book for several reasons, such as the identity of the reporting persons, Laurentius Godr and Johannes Zichelhewer, who were also the appointed employees for the distribution of textiles in foreign markets. Their function was probably not limited to the mere delivery of linen, as they were members of the outer council in 1444.[30] Another possible explanation is that the construction costs were accounted against the revenues originating from the cloth sold.

Some other micro-elements of the Register also deserve further attention. The scribe sometimes faced problems during the editing. First, the notary had to calculate the necessary space on each page for the data in both the linen and financial sections, which was often unsuccessful as additional entries in the margin show the lack of space.[31] The way the scribe planned the layout of the page is visible on fol. 64r, where vertical red lines show the designed-but-never-finished drafts of the entries. In addition, the draft names on the same page reveal that that recording happened before the ornamental Gothic script was added.[32]

Several additional characteristics helped the user of the book find information or navigate quickly among the pages. In the case of the annual registers of 1447, 1449, and 1450, the pages were marked with letters along the top edges to serve as page markers. Also, the amounts of linen and money were summarized at the bottom of the pages for the years 1447 and 1449; the number of ells received was summarized in a similar way: *Summa sindonum* and the number of ells. Next to this entry, on each page, the register of 1449 gives the sums of money paid.

Studies of Accountancy History

During the late Middle Ages the simple keeping track of goods and commodities evolved into a particular system of techniques and practices for comprehending,

[29] GLR, 139.
[30] Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*, 616–617.
[31] GLR 40, 56. A serious interfusion of records and a lack of space are typical of the later registers of 1451 and 1452; GLR, 89.
[32] GLR, 63.

measuring and communicating compound commercial operations.[33] There is a vast literature on medieval account books, particularly from the first half of the twentieth century. Although historical statistics were "reincarnated" in the 1970s due to the revolution of computers and the involvement of economists, the preliminary studies that determined the discourse about economic history and serial sources were elaborated much earlier.[34]

However, this research is one-sided in the sense that scholars focused much more on commercial units (that is, firms and entrepreneurs connected by kinship) using advanced accounting techniques than on more rudimentary accounting systems such as the administrative tools of an entire town. There is a huge literature on urban finances, especially concerning North Italy and towns of the Holy Roman Empire, but the emphasis has been on the financial activities of the town, not on the techniques and circumstances of the accounting.[35] The reasons why more attention was always paid to the merchants' accountancy have to be seen in the wider research history. This trajectory of economic history became dominant partly because the initial aim of economic historians was to find early traces of a "capitalist spirit" and partly because of a new way of accounting, the double-entry method elaborated by Luca Pacioli (1445–1517),[36] although the significance of his work has been re-evaluated.[37]

[33] Basil S. Yamey, "Bookkeeping and Accounts, 1200–1800," in *L'Impresa Industria Commercio Banca secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1991); Markus A. Denzel, "Handelspraktiken als wirtschaftshistorische Quellengattung vom Mittelalter bis in das frühe 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Einführung," in *Merchant's Books and Mercantile "Pratiche" from the Late Middle Ages to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, ed. Markus A. Denzel, Jean Claude Hocquet, and Harald Witthöft (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), 11–13.

[34] See Erik Fügedi, "Középkori várostörténetünk statisztikai forrásai" [Statistical sources of medieval urban history], *Történeti Statisztikai Közlemények* 1, no. 1 (1957): 43–85. here: 43–45; Richard A. Goldthwaite, "Raymond de Roover on Late Medieval and Early Modern Economic History," *Business, Banking, and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Julius Kirschner (Chicago: UCP, 1974), 4.

[35] See the latest synthetic article: Marc Boone, Karel Davids, Paul Janssens, "Urban Public Debts from the 14th to the 18th Century. A New Approach," in *Urban Public Debts*, ed. Marc Boone, Karel Davids, Paul Janssens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 3–12.

[36] In *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalità* (Venice, 1494).

[37] Peter Ramsey brings arguments against the importance of researching double-entry bookkeeping, Peter H. Ramsey, "The Unimportance of Double-Entry Bookkeeping: Did Luca Pacioli Really Matter?" in *L'Impresa Industria Commercio Banca secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1991), 189–196.

The proportion of urban administrative documents among these sources remained relatively small until the end of the twentieth century and the focus was much more on sources issued by the ecclesiastical and royal central administration, not by urban authorities.[38] Some works that pay special attention to the sources from the fifteenth century include a survey on the *tricesima* customs book of Pozsony and an analysis of the so-called Hyppolite codex of the archbishopric of Esztergom.

Much-cited earlier studies are by Emma Lederer[39] from 1934 and Jenő Szűcs[40] from 1955. Both of them relied heavily on late nineteenth-century views about socio-economic development.[41] In Lederer's initial works her interest was in highlighting the early capitalistic features of the organization. To reinforce his views, Szűcs embedded the case study of Bártfa in his book about the late medieval social development of towns in the Hungarian Kingdom. The studies of these two authors, however, have a number of both quantitative and qualitative problems. Quantitatively, they extrapolated chronological samples from a limited range of three almost-contiguous years (1424, 1427, and 1428) to much longer time periods. Besides this, Lederer and Szűcs applied a general model of socio-economic development that was based mainly on Marxist theory and they strove to adjust the sources to their preconceptions.[42] They relied on using general analogies in order to fill in the gaps because the sources only provided scant clues about the process and social background of production.

Although the number of research projects on late medieval and early modern Hungarian economic activities that use quantitative and serial sources is considerable, only one scholar, Erik Fügedi, attempted to elaborate methodological

[38] Ferenc Kováts, *Nyugatmagyarország árúforgalma a XV. században a pozsonyi harmincadkönyv alapján* [Commodity turnover of West Hungary in the fifteenth century based on the *tricesima* custom registers] (Budapest: Politzer, 1902); Erik Fügedi, "Az esztergomi érsekség gazdálkodása a XV. század végén" [The household economy of the archbishopric of Esztergom at the end of the fifteenth century], *Századok* 94 (1960): 82–124., 505–555.

[39] Lederer, "Bártfa város vászonszövő üzeme," 150–158.

[40] Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség*, 221–240.

[41] Gustav Schmoller, *Die Strassburger Tucher und Weberzunft. Urkunden und Darstellung nebst Regesten und Glossar: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Weberei und des deutschen Gewerbrechts, vom XIII–XVII Jahrhundert* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1897).

[42] In the preface of her first book, see Emma Lederer, *A középkori pénzügyletek története Magyarországon 1000–1458* [A history of medieval monetary affairs in Hungary, 1000–1458] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1932), 8–12. Szűcs embedded the case study of Bártfa in his book to reinforce his views about the late medieval social development of the towns in the Hungarian Kingdom. See Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség*, 220–239.

guidelines along which such texts can be analyzed from several viewpoints. He limited his sources to the group of tax lists, however, and his aim was exclusively social history.[43] The general attitude of Hungarian historians toward tax lists, account books, and custom registers has been to gain information about particular questions, thus they only occasionally provide descriptions of the source material. One of the rare exceptions is the work of Ferenc Kováts,[44] who devotes several pages to a visual and structural description of an excerpt from a tax book and considers the circumstances of creation important to understanding its functions. A more contemporary example is a linguistic analysis of the butchers' guild book of Buda.[45] An appendix at the end of a monograph about Kassa's social history can be counted as another introduction to statistical sources on medieval towns.[46]

Potentials of Working with the Great Linen Register

The potential for new research is great. The role and nature of medieval merchants' business can be charted over time in detail. One can follow the market distribution of the linen, and how the individual participants, whether they appeared in the linen records as registered actors on the linen sector or not received their money. Szűcs only discussed this question in passing; he did not have the opportunity to match the revenues received from the market and the output in a consolidated way. This deficiency came from the structure of the registers in the 1420s, which differed from the Great Register and did not include the payouts to persons. It has become apparent that disregarding the social background and diachronic activity of contributors and classifying them solely based on the quantities of linen they submitted results in a one-sided picture.

By introducing frequency as a new point of reference in the analysis, it becomes possible to distinguish between professional household craft weavers and entrepreneurs. The cooperation and role of merchants, local artisans, and

[43] Fügedi, "Középkori várostörténetünk."
[44] Ferenc Kováts, *Városi adózás a középkorban.*
[45] János Németh, "A budai mészároscéh céhkönyvének és okleveleinek nyelve" [The language of the butcher guild's book and charters], in *A budai mészárosok középkori céhkönyve és kiváltságlevelei* [Medieval guild book and the privileges of the butchers in Buda], ed. István Kenyeres, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára – Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008), 73–74.
[46] György Granasztói, *A városi élet keretei a feudális kori Magyarországon. Kassa társadalma a 16. század derekán* [Frameworks of urban life in feudal Hungary. The society of Kassa in the mid-sixteenth century] (Budapest: Korall, 2012), 229–240.

the town's marginal population better fits the questions discussed in current historiography regarding social stratification in late medieval Hungarian towns.

Despite the research tradition that linen weaving in Bardejov was an isolated trajectory in the development of medieval Hungarian urban economies, detailed investigation of the way the inhabitants of Bardejov arranged a successful industrial organization can provide a basis for comparing urban economic structures among towns in the later Middle Ages in Hungary and abroad. Recent historiography discusses townscapes, urban material culture, and the regional hierarchy of settlements. The economic operation of towns and their cooperation or competition in the flow of commodities and production factors would provide a new perspective on medieval urban history.

In my work along these lines, I relied on the methodological principles of the institutional concept of economic practices. The transaction cost, even if it was not articulated, constituted the very basis of the survey. Local office-holders had a clear view of the features and potentials of the urban society that made it possible for them to play a crucial role in the efficient organization of the workflow. Besides informational constraints regarding labor, the merchants with a local base provided a solution to overcoming market uncertainties by distributing the output to markets on a large scale. Although the presence of the merchants in medieval town councils was general in the late Middle Ages, no other case has been revealed in medieval Hungary where their private business was so strongly intertwined with that of the town as here.[47]

Besides the transaction cost, the question of enforcement is important in discussing the town's traditional tax system and the contracts among participants in the linen-weaving sector. Every weaver in the town had to meet a certain quality requirement and they were not allowed to arrange independent market distribution. These measures can easily seem, even today, like an attempt of the economic elite to reap most of the profit. However, this strategy had other advantages which Lederer and Szűcs did not consider. One was the reduction of average cost deriving from the bleaching, storage, and transport of linen. Another advantage was that centralized market distribution made the catchment area of

[47] Košice had the same opportunities to establish such a network, but according to the questionable interpretation of Jenő Szűcs, the town did not take advantage of the situation, Szűcs, *Városok és kézműveség*, 216. The organization is considered similar to that of Bardejov in the literature, but in case of Košice further investigations into the fustian industry are required, see Gusztáv Wenzel, *Kassa város parketkészítése a 15. század kezdetén* [Fustian production in Košice at the beginning of the fifteenth century] (Pest: Eggenberger, 1871), 10.

the town much wider; Buda and Oradea represented the most distant edges of the target markets in Hungary.[48]

This work has raised more questions than answers. A local question is the sources of thread, whether it came mainly from surrounding villages besides imports from Poland. A detailed survey of the town and its hinterland can be made based on the account books of the town.[49] Also, the social structure and dynamics of urban labor in Hungarian free royal towns have not been explored sufficiently. Long-term surveys concerning the following period of Bardejov's history could serve as a model of urban labor markets and economic organization and also contribute to understanding regional development trajectories in medieval Hungary. Finally, the account books enable research on the cash flow and liquidity of the town, which has huge lacunae as a general research problem in Hungarian historiography. The financing of the administrative apparatus and the concept of financial governance still remain unexplored questions to be discussed for both individual burghers and the urban government.[50] To properly determine the economic role of linen weaving in this town, the entire economic life of Bardejov and the degree of social interdependence among several kinds of craftsmanship in production and social background has to be mapped. Including the townscape in the survey using the tax levy method would provide an additional dimension on administrative office-holders of the town.[51]

[48] Although the range of markets that was mentioned in the Great Linen Register consists of five or six market towns, the spread of the linen must have been much wider due to the central role of these towns in their own market regions. In case of Oradea, this area was huge; due to its position on the Great Plain, the radius of the town's direct area was 100 km, and the distribution of commodities was permanent due to the many annual fairs held there; see András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és Alföld szélén* [Urban development and the market network on the medieval Great Plain of Hungary, and its edges] (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 148. See also Boglárka Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori Magyar Királyságban* [Markets and staples in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2012), 71–72.

[49] Town hinterland market factors are researched by collecting data on prices, commodity flow, and the degree of control exerted by the town. For an overview see Bas J. P. van Bavel, "Markets for Land, Labor, and Capital in Northern Italy and the Low Countries, Twelfth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 4 (2011): 503–531. For an overall European interpretation of the same question see Tom Scott, *The City State in Europe 1000–1600. Hinterland – Territory – Region* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 234–239.

[50] One of Emma Lederer's books is the last comprehensive work on these questions, see Lederer, *A középkori magyar*, 127–171, 201–228.

[51] Tax lists mirror the topographical sequence of the inhabitants, see Gácsová, *Spoločenská štruktúra*, 16.

A number of questions can be elaborated in a regional framework. Two questions concern limitations in the source material, especially that the clerks keeping the accounts were not interested in processes that seemed marginal to them, i.e., distant markets and commodity markets. The commercial connections between the different Polish regions and Hungary have been largely ignored and there is likewise no detailed analysis of markets that were influenced by the interregional flow of commodities.[52] While current Hungarian historiography has elaborated the basic features of the development and institutional framework of Hungarian markets, this picture still does not include individuals' strategies and contributions to market use, commodity flow, the price system, and other considerations. Although this shortcoming of Hungarian historiography may be regarded as the result of the lack of required sources in general, the statistical analysis of some particular sources such as urban account books would partly compensate for this deficiency in the case of Bardejov. This inquiry could be compared with the social specifications of other European towns – especially those of comparable size.

The abundance of sources allows detailed inquiry into the town's finances in a broader regional context. It is also necessary to discuss the role of the Town Alliance of Upper Hungary. Although the operation of this political structure became conspicuous during later centuries due to the political transformation following the Habsburg reign, early economic activity among the towns of the alliance of the five towns in Northeastern Hungary, the *Pentapolitana* has remained unmapped.[53] Finally, the linen industry as a pillar of the regional economic network provides a basis for comparing such regional economic processes as wine production in Tokaj, which was also considered an investment for the burghers of the Upper Hungarian towns.[54]

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[52] Sroka concentrates on the geopolitical environment of commerce and the type of goods traded, see Stanislaw A. Sroka, *Średniowieczny Bardiów i jego kontakty z Małopolską* [Medieval Bardejov, and its contacts with Lesser Poland] (Cracow: Towarzystwo Vistulana, 2010), 86–97. See also Ondrej Halaga, *Košice – Balt. Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom, 1275–1526* [Košice – the Baltic. Production and trade relations with the cities of Prussia, 1275–1526] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975).

[53] István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon. A felső-magyarországi városszövetség.* vol. 1–2. [Urban and economic policy of the Hungarian Kingdom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The City League of Upper Hungary] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2004).

[54] The practice of owning vineyards within the boundaries of other communities was general in almost every town of Hungary in the period. See for the case of Košice: Granasztói, *A városi élet,* 212–214.

Besides such questions regarding the regional frameworks of this industrial sector, its embeddedness in the Hungarian Kingdom's economy still requires further investigation. Surveying the involvement of Bardejov burghers in the Hungarian and Polish traffic of goods could shed new light on the towns on the northeastern border of the Hungarian Kingdom. Finally, the abundance of surviving sources makes it feasible to compare the town with other European regions that organized similar linen (or fustian) industries. In this matter, first of all, the adjacent Polish area should be investigated, and also the South German towns which served as analogies for the elaboration of the production in the cases of Gácsová and Lederer.[55]

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It is easy to see now that the structure of account books and continuous registers can serve as a starting point in research on the economy. The more detailed inspection of account books that covers codicological examination, structural analysis of data recording, and the semiotics of contemporary economic thought can thus contribute greatly to the reconstruction of the theoretical background of economic dynamics.

[55] In this respect, the characteristics of St. Gallen can be included as another center that produced linen on a large scale, see Hans Konrad Peyer, *Leinwandgewerbe und Fernhandel der Stadt St. Gallen von den Anfängen bis 1520*, vol. 1–2 (St. Gallen., 1959–1960). Further possibilities such as Augsburg, Ulm, Konstanz, and Basel are mentioned by von Stromer, *Die Gründung der Baumwollindustrie*, 29–61.

MIRACLES AND THE DISABLED BODY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

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Introduction

Medieval discourses on the human body are wide and varying, arising from different targets and backgrounds.[1] During the past decades, corporeality, especially in relation to gender and sexuality, has been analysed[2] regularly in addition to its relationship with religious practices and sanctity.[3] The body, however, is relevant for other fields of study as well, one of them the study of disability in the Middle Ages. Research in this area has concentrated especially on mentalities but included learned discussion regarding physical difference.[4] In recent years also the everyday

[1] The article is related to a research project which I initiated while working as a visiting research fellow (funded by the Academy of Finland) at the Department of Medieval Studies in autumn 2013. It concerns corporality and the representations and rhetorics of an infirm body in medieval hagiographic writings, asking how bodily difference, physical pain, and the in/ability to fulfill one's social roles was connected with sanctity and the religious discourses related to it.

[2] A wide selection of viewpoints appears in Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits. Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages. Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, ed., *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Sarah Miller, *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[3] See, e.g., Caroline Walker Bynum *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Sarah Coakley, ed., *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ronald C. Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion. Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in *Mirrors of Mortality. Studies of the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachin Walley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 40-60; Elizabeth Robertson, "The Corporeality of Female Sanctity in the Life of St Margaret," *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 268–287.

[4] The first study concentrating on disability in the Middle Ages is Irina Metzler's *Disability in Medieval Europe. Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, c.1100–1400* (London: Routledge, 2006). Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind. Medieval Constructions of a Disability* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010) and Joshua Eyler,

lives and experiences of impaired or chronically ill people have started to receive more attention.[5]

In medieval disability studies, the emphasis has been on the disabling consequences of bodily conditions and the attitudes towards bodily difference, not on the body and the experience of body itself. This derives partly from modern disability theories, of which the most influential one has been the "social model of disability." According to it, "impairment" is a factual physical state which exists regardless of the society and its norms and conceptions, whereas "disability" is the creation of a given society and its conceptions and restrictive practices.[6]

While using this theory for medieval studies has been useful in analysing the disabling structures in medieval society,[7] it also has its problems. Joshua R. Eyler suggests that the term "impairment" should be removed from the discussion and "disability" used instead, thinking of it in the Middle Ages as "something that is constructed by both bodily difference and social perception at the same time."[8] Eyler has a point, because the social model of disability has been criticized for making too strict a distinction between impairment and disability, largely ignoring the fact that "impairment" is also a culturally constructed term.[9]

In the study of medieval disability, the questions arising from the social model have been one reason why the body itself – or corporeality – has largely been ignored. As is seen in Eyler's criticism, the body can never be wholly

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ed., *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010) continue the discussion of a theoretical framework of medieval disability, focusing on medieval mentalities as represented especially in literature. In article compilations Cordula Nolte, ed., *Homo debilis. Behinderte – Kranke – Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Korb: Didymos-Verlag, 2009) and Wendy J. Turner and Tory Vandeventer Pearman, ed., *The Treatment of Disabled Persons in Medieval Europe. Examining Disability in the Historical, Legal, Literary, Medical, and Religious Discourses of the Middle Ages* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010) give more attention to everyday situations.

[5] See Cordula Nolte, ed., *Phänomene der "Behinderung" im Alltag. Bausteine zu einer Disability History der Vormoderne* (Korb: Didymos-Verlag, 2014); Irina Metzler, *A Social History of Disability. Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[6] See, e.g., Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability. Knowledge and Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 11–12.

[7] Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 2.

[8] Joshua R. Eyler, "Introduction. Breaking Boundaries, Building Bridges," in *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, ed. Joshua R. Eyler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 1–15, on 8.

[9] Perhaps the most prominent critique of the model, also arousing several counter-arguments and objections, has been proposed by Tom Shakespeare in his book *Disability Rights and Wrongs* (London: Routledge 2006), esp. 29–33.

separated; it is also built into the study of the disabling practices of medieval society. The same naturally holds true for the texts or objects used for the study of disability, although in them the body itself is rarely the central point, either.

When wishing to examine especially the non-educated laity's views of the disabled body, the main problem arises from the sources. Before the fifteenth century, any personal letters, autobiographies or diaries that would touch the topic are extremely sparse.[10] The one type of source in which the views of a body can be seen to a certain extent, however, are miracle narratives, and among them especially miracle testimonies in canonization processes. Although strongly shaped by the practicalities of the process, the preferences of the commissioners and the culturally internalised ideas and narrative patterns about the miraculous, it has been concluded that the voice of the witness is audible in the written depositions even if the language in them belongs to notaries writing for other civil servants.[11]

Having their examples in the Bible, healing miracles were a fundamental miracle type from Late Antiquity onwards.[12] Although the later medieval period saw an increase in the numbers of other types of miracles being recorded,[13] they still appeared as the archetype of a miracle, similar cures being recorded from century to century, from process to process. Thus, they played an essential role not only in the interaction with saints, but also in the creation of sainthood. As a result, the human body was an indispensable element in the way sainthood was

[10] For a study of late medieval and early modern autobiographic writings from German-speaking areas, see Bianca Frohne, *Leben mit "kranckhait". Der gebrechliche Körper in der häuslichen Überlieferung des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Überlegungen zu einer Disability History der Vormoderne* (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2014 [forthcoming]).

[11] See, e.g., Michael Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*. Social History and Medieval Miracles," *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of Church*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 135–156; Laura A. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–54," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–454, on 430–433. On the narrative structure of miracle accounts, see Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 225–257; Gábor Klaniczay, "Miracoli di punizione e maleficia," *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica (Rome: Viella, 2000), 109–136.

[12] On Biblical miracles as the model for medieval ideas about the miraculous, see, e.g., Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 49–50; Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 8–12.

[13] André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1988), 547.

understood, especially by the laity, and a saint's powers could be seen in a touchable manner.[14] Moreover, saints also acted as tools in the fight against blasphemy, disbelief,[15] and heresies.[16] Miracles in which the saint punishes someone guilty of either blasphemy or heresy by making them disabled show the body as a tool to educate people about the orthodoxy of faith.

In this essay, I will discuss the way the body was portrayed in miracle testimonies (from ca. 1200 to 1400), concentrating especially on cures of what would nowadays be defined as (physical) disability, primarily crippling conditions. The main question is what aspects of the experience of a body – first ill or disabled, then cured – were most highlighted and how these re-tellings emphasized and created sainthood.

An Impaired Body

When defining and proving a condition to be miraculously cured, medieval hagiographic texts concentrate primarily on symptoms instead of diagnosis or the aetiology of the condition, punishment miracles excluded.[17] This is typical for the early and high medieval miracle collections as well as for the canonization testimonies. According to Pierre-André Sigal, the attitude of earlier hagiographers was to some extent caused by a lack of medical knowledge,[18] which undoubtedly also pertains to later medieval canonization hearings, even though in them the

[14] Many theologians in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were sceptical about miracles, but for common people miracles remained the most essential aspect of sainthood. This does not mean, however, that there were not voices of doubt or even disbelief among the laity. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 43–68.

[15] On punishment miracles, see, e.g., Klaniczay, "Miracoli di punizione e *maleficia*," 115–116; Laura A. Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: The Inquest into the Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)," *Viator* 28 (1997): 355–356.

[16] On saints and the fight against heresies see Michael Goodich, "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century. Lay and Mendicant Saints," in *Saints and Their Cults. Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 169–188; Carole Lansing, *Power & Purity. Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 23–42; Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor. The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (†1252)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), passim.

[17] See Andrić, *Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 236; Jenni Kuuliala, "Disability and Social Integration. Constructions of Childhood Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-century Canonisation Processes," (PhD dissertation, University of Tampere, 2013), 72–93.

[18] Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e – XII^e siècle)* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985), 248.

role of medical professionals started to become more important in proving the illness or impairment incurable.[19] In canonization testimonies, conformity to established rhetorical formulas, however, added to the credibility of the miracle and thus both witnesses and notaries aimed to formulate the narrative according to the existing patterns.[20] All in all, instead of a wavering diagnosis or aetiology, the disabling symptoms of a condition were provable if witnessed by many.[21]

The miracle narratives of physically disabling conditions thus seem to put the body in the background while concentrating primarily on the functional consequences. However, taking a closer look at the testimonies, these two usually went hand in hand. In other words, a problem in functional abilities was often connected with anomalies of the body.

For example, a woman named Dulcesa, her husband, and two other women testified in the canonization hearing of St. Louis of Toulouse from 1308. They related how, as a result of the abortion of a dead foetus, Dulcesa became severely disabled.[22] In addition to describing how she could not get up and how she had to drag the bedclothes with her teeth, the testimonies give rather tangible information on her bodily state. Dulcesa's own testimony especially highlights this. First she relates how she carried the dead foetus in her womb for four days, and then how she had to do all her "necessities" in bed, and how worms created in the filth gnawed her flesh and caused large fistulas to appear. The pain and anguish lasted for two years and were caused by a small piece of bone that had remained inside her. After a vow to St. Louis, the piece was extracted from Dulcesa's body and she showed it to her husband.[23]

Dulcesa's case is particular in its details. It is more common in the testimonies that the corporeal side of mobility impairment, especially, was illustrated by concentrating on the malformations and anomalies in the body. There are differences between processes in how elaborate these descriptions are, but they serve the same purpose; they highlight the severity and particularity of the condition and, in consequence, the marvel of the miraculous cure.

[19] See Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine* 12 (1997): 191–225.
[20] Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 4–5; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 25, 54.
[21] Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 81–82.
[22] The testimonies are in *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. Analecta Franciscana, Tom. VII* (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1951), 165–169.
[23] Ibid., 165–167.

For example, Katherina, the wife of Johannes le Gaven, as well as four other witnesses for her cure, testified at St. Yves of Tréguier's hearing (1330) that she kept her arms involuntarily on top of one another, hands closed, tibias joined and feet on top of one another in the form of a cross.[24] Similar statements were given about the conditions of the other *miraculés* in the process as well.[25] In general, the descriptions witnesses gave of bodily malformations varied depending on the type of impairment, but detailed descriptions of the body were given most often in the case of the conditions affecting the legs.[26]

Perhaps the most detailed descriptions of disabled bodies are included in the canonization hearing of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1235). Many of the beneficiaries had humps and unnaturally twisted limbs or were described as withered, boneless or lacking flesh.[27] For example, a man called Fridericus de Geilenhausen reported that his twelve-year-old son had a broken back with a hump, his neck was contorted towards the hump, and his ankles were turned towards the soles of his feet. His hands were crippled and he carried food in his mouth, his shins appeared to have grown together with his posterior, and his knees were attached to his stomach. One of his eyes was pulled up while the other one was pushed down, and parts of his mouth were misshapen in a horrifying way. On top of that, he had fistulas in his feet, thighs, and shins, so that the illness appeared in thirty-four places. The father also compared his son's appearance to that of a monster.[28] Thus, the deposition puts the boy and his body onto the margins of the bodily order, and the (rare) reference to monsters adds to the description of the "unnatural."

In addition to the descriptions of wounds and bodily malformations, physical pain is the other corporeal aspect of illness and impairment in miracle testimonies. Pain is not entirely corporeal in nature, however, it is strongly affected by personal

[24] *Processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis. Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, ed. A. de La Borderie et al. (Saint-Brieuc: Imprimerie L. Prud'homme, 1887), 236–243.
[25] Ibid., 229–230, 230–231, 247–250.
[26] E.g., *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1984), 356, *habebat plura apostemata in utroque bracchio et utroque humero et utraque tibia, et erant apostemata predicta, precipue que erant in humeris, fracta, ita quod ossa videbantur nuda; Actes anciens et documents concernant le Bienheureux Urbain V pape*, ed. Joseph Hyacinthe Albanès and Ulysses Chevalier (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), 301–302, *invenit se contractum et inpotentem penitus de tibiis, de genibus, de pedibus, habens dicta membra curva, plicata et retroversa, in juncturis ossium tibiarum et pedum, in maxima difformitate.*
[27] *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen*, ed. Albert Huyskens (Marburg: Elwert, 1908), passim.
[28] Ibid., 222–223.

and cultural characteristics.[29] In the Middle Ages, pain was generally accepted as an inevitable part of human existence. At the same time, suffering was considered to be a divine gift, making it possible to expiate one's misdeeds already in this life. Suffering also made it possible to imitate the passion of Christ.[30]

Yet, in miracles, the role of pain is primarily to highlight the bodily suffering of the *miraculé*. The reports of pain mention them lying in bed in great anguish or weeping and wailing day and night because of the stabbing pain they felt. For example, a *rector* from Hautes-Alpes named Iacobus de Albasania stated that he could not calm down and that once when he lay in great pain he came to think of St. Louis of Toulouse and made a vow.[31] A Breton woman, Adelicia Alani Thome, stated that *gutta* burdened her day and night so that she could hardly sleep nor could those near her because of her cries.[32] In testimonies like Adelicia's, pain is indeed manifested via the miracle beneficiary's rather extreme behavior, which, on the one hand, shows how integrated bodily aspects of impairment were with functions and functional abilities, and, on the other hand, how the behavior served precisely as proof of the physical, corporeal suffering. Such cries and wailings are more common in the accounts of pilgrims entering a shrine, making the saint's powers visible.[33]

A Cured Body

When discussing the body as something in which a saint's power was seen, the appearance of a miraculously cured body is equally important. The miracle can be seen as the event which abolished or neutralised the unwanted physical condition,

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[29] Arthur Kleinman et al., "Pain as Human Experience: An Introduction," in *Pain as Human Experience. An Anthropological Perspective*, ed. idem. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 1–28.

[30] Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream. Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 28; Scott Pincikowski, *Bodies of Pain. Suffering in the Works of Hartmann von Aue* (London: Routledge, 2002), 15–16.

[31] *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae*, 194. See also ibid., 374, *habuit morbum in tibiis suis et genibus usque ad cavillas, qui totas tibias suas occupaverat, et affigebat et vexabat eam et de nocte et de die.*

[32] *Processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis*, 245. For other similar remarks, see, e.g., *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae*, 190, *et dum durabat illa afflicio ipse clamabat fortiter; Acta sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bollandus and others (Antwerp: Societé des Bollandistes, 1643–)Oct IX, 803, *Marcus, campanarius, habitator ejusdem contratae, juravit et sacramento dixit quod dicta puella valde infirma erat …Dicens quod tota nocte clamabat ita quod tum testem prohibebat dormire.*

[33] See Cohen, *The Modulated Scream*, 134–135.

while the cured body serves as the counterpoint of the (previously) impaired one. Occasionally this was highlighted when the actual action of the healing could be seen or even heard. A ten-year-old boy, Ceptus Sperançe de Montefalco, who had had twisted feet since birth, was placed on top of Clare of Montefalco's grave by his mother. One of the witnesses, Petrus *filius* Andree, reported some ten years after the events that a great noise arose and people were saying that one of the boy's feet was cured. He then approached the boy and saw that one of his feet indeed was "straight and restored to the position and order appropriate of men who have healthy forms." After that the boy was taken down from the grave so that those present could see the healed foot "and the miracle that God showed in him." Later, people put the boy back on top of the grave so that God would show another miracle in the other foot through the merits of St. Claire.[34]

At such spectacular moments, the human body thus became literally a field for the work of God and the saints, who nullified the condition afflicting the miracle beneficiary. Following the descriptions of the original condition, these depositions also often include the return of the functional abilities of the *miraculé*. For example, a woman called Methildis de Berstat reported in St. Elizabeth of Hungary's hearing that during the cure her son, Henricus, who had a crippled arm and leg which he could not use, as well as a struma (an enlarged thyroid gland) in his chest, started to stretch his arm and was eventually returned to proper health in his legs and arms and recovered from the struma.[35] Another woman, Iohanna Deodata, stated in Louis of Toulouse's hearing that her son Iacobus', legs were straightened to the form of erect or upright legs.[36] In another type of a cure, after a pilgrimage to St. Thomas Cantilupe's shrine, a mute boy, Philippus, reportedly received a tongue which had the form people's tongues usually have.[37]

As these examples show, the saint thus not only reversed the condition but returned the body of the *miraculé* to its "natural" state or to the state of other people's healthy bodies. However, what was considered "natural" or "unnatural" in the medieval context is far from being straightforward. Miraculous cures were themselves seen as contrary to nature, something that no earthly power could have

[34] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 308–309.
[35] *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth*, 203, *reversus ad propria sanatus est a cruris et brachii egritudine et a struma.*
[36] *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae*, 177, *qui fuerunt ad rectitudinem deducti secundum formam et similitudinem pedum erectorum.*
[37] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 90v.

induced, as God acted above and beyond nature.[38] This was sometimes referred to by the witnesses as well. A *miles* who reported that the above-mentioned Iacobus Deodatus's feet were restored back to their natural form also stated that, given the previous deformity, it was a great wonder, just like things that are impossible according to nature.[39] At the same time, impairment in a body could be seen as either "contrary to nature" or "caused by nature." Although such phrases seem to be more common in earlier miracle collections, they nevertheless demonstrate the ambiguity surrounding what is natural in the medieval discourse of disability and the body.[40] In the miracle collection of St. Louis IX of France, written by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus around 1303 based on the now mainly lost canonization dossiers,[41] two miracles are reported in which this is visible. There are also two women in the collection, "limping" (*boiteuse*) since birth, whose conditions got worse when they were already adults, and who, as a result of the miracle, were returned to their "natural," limping state.[42] Thus, they received a full cure and were considered healthy when they were back to the state they had been born in.

This ambivalence of the "impaired" and "cured" or "healthy" body is further highlighted in the narratives about partial cures, after which the *miraculé* retained some of the symptoms of the preceding condition. The most extreme one of these I have found is in the process of St. Nicholas of Tolentino (1325). The witness accounts narrate the case of a youth called Mathiolis Angeli who was completely unable to walk for two years. Once he was in the house of a local man and said that he wished the saint would give him the great grace that he could walk on crutches. The other men vowed him to St. Nicholas and his wish was fulfilled.[43] When the commissioners at Nicholas' hearing interrogated a witness about the stability of the cure, they asked how long Mathiolis had been healthy

[38] Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 26–28; Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural," 333–304, on 333.
[39] *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae*, 181.
[40] See Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 154–155.
[41] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's compilation contains lengthy and detailed summaries of 65 miracles. The comparisons between the fragments of the process and Guillaume's work, as well as his own description of the writing process, show that he followed the original documents rather faithfully. See M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 36–40.
[42] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, ed. Percival B. Fay (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931), 97–98, 101–104.
[43] *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. Nicola Occhioni (Rome: École française de Rome, 1984), 215.

(*sanus*), even though he was walking on crutches.[44] Moreover, his sister stated that her brother walked well or healthily (*optime*) on his own, although on crutches.[45] In this case a cured body was thus defined primarily by the action of the saint: Mathiolis did not get more than he or those vowing him had asked, but the saint fulfilled his wish.

Another important viewpoint in the discussion about a cured or healthy body in the Middle Ages was its functionality, which again shows how ambivalent the terminology of "impairment" or "disability" can be in the medieval context. The miracle collection of St. Louis IX especially includes several cases in which the beneficiary retained some traces of his or her impairment. For example, a teenage boy, Guillot le Potencier, had been unable to use one of his legs for a long time. After a pilgrimage to Louis' shrine, he walked with a cane for about four months because of feebleness and later he could walk without the cane if he wanted, but a slight limp remained.[46]

David Gentilcore has written that, in early modern thinking, what was meant by "healthy" was having a functional body,[47] which supports Miri Rubin's notion of the weakness of using binary classifications such as health – sickness or sanity – madness when discussing medieval bodies.[48] The cases from Louis IX's hearing cited above are examples of this kind of thinking. Guillot le Potencier and many other beneficiaries of partial cures were able to return to their earlier tasks after the miracle, again fulfilling their social roles. The narratives about Mathiolus Angeli's miracle tell that while moving on a cart he had to ask for alms. What his original profession was or whether he was able to return to it after the miracle is not stated. However, as Ronald C. Finucane writes, "even slight recovery must have been – subjectively – a tremendous relief."[49] Partial cures are relatively rare in the canonization hearings,[50] but presumably in everyday life they were much

[44] Ibid., 246.
[45] Ibid., 271.
[46] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 26. See also ibid., 37, 133–134, 189.
[47] David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 185–186.
[48] Miri Rubin, "The Person in the Form: Medieval Challenges to Bodily 'Order'," in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 100–122, on 115.
[49] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 75.
[50] See, e.g., Maria Wittmer-Butsch and Constanze Rendtel, Miracula. *Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter. Eine historisch-psychologische Annäherung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 66.

more common and a full recovery was not even necessarily the main wish or expectation of a sick or disabled person.[51]

Even if the partial nature of a cure left a person with some physical symptoms or even functional abilities, those precise symptoms could also have positive after-effects; partially cured persons carried the signs of the saint's power in their bodies for the rest of their lives. There is a fine line in what counts as a partial cure and what was only a mark of the cure and if these can even be separated. For example, Adelicia Alani Thome had been severely crippled, but after the miracle she had lumps in her body and her head remained inclined.[52] The commissioners of Yves of Tréguier's hearing clarified that she had not had them before the condition, thus recording them as signs of the cured impairment. A similar remark was made in Urban V's hearing about a nobleman, Johannes de la Garda, who had been severely disabled and unable to get out of bed. According to the document, after the cure his right index finger remained curved and deformed as a sign of his *inpotentia*.[53] Yet a small functional disability could act as a concrete sign of the saint's power as well. A man called Johannes Guilloti had been paralysed for two years. The commissioners recorded him walking healthily and by himself, but his limbs were weak because of the recently cured infirmity.[54]

Miracle narratives, of course, formulated the cures in a way suitable for their purposes. They do not reveal how often alleviation of a disabling condition in real life was interpreted as help from a saint or how often bodies in general were thus seen as carrying the marks of a saint's power. Nevertheless, they show that a disabled body could, in the end, be a cured body and act as tangible proof of a saint's – and God's – benevolence.

Conclusions

In this essay it has been my purpose to demonstrate what kinds of meanings a physically impaired body could have in the miracle testimonies and how the discourses on bodily malformations and disabling symptoms are intertwined. The witnesses in miracle accounts adapted their experiences and views of bodily impairment into the culturally established miracle pattern, showing the later cured

[51] See Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*, 186.
[52] *Processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis*, 246.
[53] *Actes Anciens*, 288–289, *in signum sue inpotentie remansit digitus suus manus dextra curvus, plicatus et difformis.*
[54] *Processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis*, 247–248, *membra tamen habebat debilia et tenua, propter quam infirmitatem de novo preteritam.*

conditions as fields where saints could demonstrate their power and benevolence. I have purposefully left out further discussion of punishment miracles, which form a specific sub-group of miracle narratives; sufficient to say that while in them making a body impaired was a tool, in a majority of miracle depositions that role was given to the act of healing.

For many lay people the changes in an impaired body during a miraculous cure were a spectacular manifestation of saints' powers – naturally in addition to other spectacular miracles such as resurrections or calming a sea. This was the clearest in the case of cures at shrines, but the *fama* and hearsay about miracles that had occurred in the domestic sphere served the same purpose.

Although most miraculous cures were, or were portrayed as, full recoveries, in a significant number of them the *miraculé* was left with some marks of the preceding condition. The mildest ones were scars, humps and other signs which did not have an effect on the person's functional abilities. Occasionally some disability remained, though, and these cases especially illustrate well the ambivalence of what constituted a healthy body and a miraculously cured body, as a body was not separate from its functional abilities and a person's social roles, but it both governed these aspects and could be suppressed by them. At the same time, a person living with a partially cured body carried clear marks of being both "impaired" and "cured" at the same time by saintly benevolence.

A GEORGIAN-GREEK MANUSCRIPT (F.956, РАЗНОЯЗ.0.I.58): ARTISTIC TRADITION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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A Georgian-Greek manuscript (разноя3.0.I. 58) preserved at the National Library of Russia is a unique example of fifteenth-century Georgian artistic thinking and Christian literature in general. The composition and form reveal inherited literary and artistic tendencies to a certain extent, which retained a high professional level despite the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the difficult condition of Georgia at that time. This bilingual (Georgian-Greek) liturgical collection is an interesting example of Greek–Georgian cultural relations, in which the creative experience of previous brilliant centuries was manifested clearly, conceptualized from the viewpoint of that period as well as contemporary artistic trends. Two pages of the manuscript are held at the Kutaisi Museum in Georgia, although the path by which they arrived there and were added to the decoration of the Gulani manuscript is unknown.[2] An album with the miniatures of the manuscript and a facsimile edition of the codex have been published recently.[3]

The text of the collection includes readings from the Gospel, selected troparia (hymns), supplication prayers, a full *menologion* (calendar), and an apocryphal story of the correspondence between the Savior and King Abgar, accompanied by miniatures. The main text is compiled in Georgian, whereas the *troparia*, supplication prayers, and separate readings are in Greek; the inscriptions on the miniatures vary likewise. No colophon is attached to the manuscript to indicate the time and place of copying. The manuscript is quite small in size (12.4 × 8.2 cm) and consists of 146 paper pages. Of these, 88 pages are devoted to miniatures (the manuscript includes about 190 multi-figure and up to 700 single-figure compositions). Apparently, in the seventeenth century the edges of

[1] The author, head of the Art History Department at the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, spent one month in residence at the CEU Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies in 2013 as a Senior Fellow in the framework of the CEU Higher Education Support Project entitled: "The Caucasus: 300–1600."

[2] Pages (ff.155r-v, 157r-v) are included in the manuscript *Gulani* (K-115) preserved at the Kutaisi Museum.

[3] Eka Dugashvili and Nino Kavtaria, *The Story of a Manuscript, Facsimile Edition of the Georgian-Greek Manuscript from the National Library of Russia* (Tbilisi: National Centre of Manuscripts and Saint Petersburg: Indrik, 2012).

the pages were cut off, the manuscript was bound, and a new pagination was introduced. The silver case of the manuscript also dates to a later period.

The inscription in *asomtavruli* script (the Georgian alphabet) at the end of the manuscript reveals the presumed initiator of this renewal: "You that are written and depicted, assist Iakob of Sameba." It can be assumed that this person was the seventeenth-century religious figure Bishop Iakob (Cholokashvili) of Sameba-Katsareti, about whom few details are known. His name is mentioned in many historical documents and sources of that period. Support for this assumption also comes from the fact that the manuscript was restored in the seventeenth century and it is quite likely that the owner was Bishop Iakob of Sameba.

The original provenance of the manuscript is unknown. The iconographic and stylistic peculiarities of the book reveal different artistic sources, both Georgian and Byzantine. The main content and illumination of this Greek-Georgian manuscript was probably based on the artistic-literary legacy of the Greek and Georgian painters of the Kakhetian churches (Katsareti Sameba, Alvani, Nekresi, Akhali Shuamta, Gremi).[4] Presumably they were based on old manuals or illustrated copies of earlier manuscripts, possibly brought from Mount Athos, which were used as models and some of them were bound together on the initiative of the bishop of Sameba-Katsareti according to a certain artistic or theological program in the seventeenth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century researchers noted only a few of the miniatures in the manuscript; P. Mourier published them in a work devoted to the art of Caucasia and dated them to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] This Greek-Georgian Codex became known to a narrow circle of the public in 1911, when the owner (incognito) asked N. Marr to identify the essence of the manuscript. In the opinion of Marr and F. Beneshevich (who examined the paleography of the Greek text), both the Greek and Georgian texts dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. In 1912, N. Okunev published brief information on the manuscript.[6] According to the iconographic peculiarities, style, and painterly

[4] [Marina Vachnadze] Марина Вачнадзе, "Некоторые особенности и хронологическая последовательность группы кахетинских росписей XVI века" [Some peculiarities and chronological sequence of the Kakhetian murals of the sixteenth century], *II^e Symposium International sur l'Art Géorgien* (Tbilisi, 1977), 1–15; idem, "Кахетинская школа живописи XVI века и её связь с афонской живописью" [The Kakhetian school of painting of the sixteenth century and its connection with the Mount Athos school of painting], *IV Symposium International sur l'Art Géorgien* (Tbilisi, 1983), 1–13.

[5] Jules Mourier, *L'art au Caucase* (Brussels, 1912), 65

[6] [Nikolai Okunev] Николай Окунев, "О грузино-греческой рукописи с минатюрами" [About a Georgian-Greek manuscript with miniatures], *Христианский Восток* 1 (1912): 43–44.

technique, he dated the manuscript to the fourteenth century, which is consistent with the paleographic description of the text offered by Marr and Beneshevich.[7] According to Okunev, the manuscript was known to Prince Gagarin, vice-president of the Academy of Arts of Russia, who worked in Caucasia for a long time. The graphic copies made by Gagarin were published in Rohault de Fleury's work, *La Messa*, volumes 2 and 6. Rohault de Fleur dated the manuscript to the eleventh century and considered it a manual of iconography. He also indicated that in its time the manuscript had belonged to the house of the Dadiani, rulers of the Principality of Odishi (Samegrelo, West Georgia), first mentioned in historical sources in the eleventh century. The Dadiani family became powerful rulers in the thirteenth century.[8] In 1913 the manuscript was purchased by the Public Library of Russia and its essence was identified as a religious collection of the Late Palaeologan period.[9]

Sh. Amiranashvili made the first scholarly study of the manuscript. He dated the manuscript to the fifteenth century and linked it with the artistic school of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos. In his view:

> along with the world saints, saints especially worshipped by the Georgian Church: St. Nino, Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites, Ioane of Zedazeni, Hilarion the Georgian and others are also depicted in this manuscript. The images of the Georgian saints bear inscriptions in Greek, and the Orthodox saints – in the Georgian language.
>
> Representation of the Georgian and the Orthodox saints in one manuscript, which contains Greek and Georgian texts, indicates that it is compiled for a certain purpose: to underline the equality of rights of Georgian saints. This idea, undoubtedly, originated and was implemented on Mount Athos, in the famous Iviron Monastery, which disseminated these ideas both in literature and art from the day of its foundation. It was necessary to prove to the Greeks that the Georgians had their own national saints, the Greeks could have been familiarized with the iconographic type of these saints according to the given miniatures. At the same time, it was necessary for the Georgians to be

[7] Ibid., 43.

[8] Rohault de Fleury Ch., *La Messe, études Archéologiques sur les monuments*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1883), f.101, 102, 116; Ibid, vol. 6 (Paris,1886), f.489.

[9] [Dmitrii Abramovich] Дмитрий Абрамович, "Сведения о приобретении отдельных рукописей 1913 года" [Notes on the purchase of single manuscripts in 1913], *Сборник Российской Публичной библиотеки* 1 (1920): 21

familiarized with the iconographic types of the saints worshipped by the church worldwide.[10]

Based on a comparison of the two illustrated pages (ff.155r-v, 157r-v) included in the Gulani volume (K-115) preserved at the Kutaisi Museum, L. Shervashidze advanced a hypothesis that originally they had belonged to the manuscript kept in Saint Petersburg.[11]

The next stage in the study of the manuscript began in the 1970s. According to F. Likhachova's research, the manuscript was executed on Mount Athos at the end of the fourteenth century. She discussed the numerous and diverse iconographic and stylistic sources of the miniatures.[12]

The prominent researcher of *menologia*, P. Miiovich, has offered the opinion that this manuscript contains the old iconographic experience of other incompletely surviving *menologia* and liturgical illustrations, which shows the tremendous importance of this codex; he placed this manuscript in the "B" list of *menologia* he compiled.[13]

L. Evseeva devoted fundamental long-term research to the manuscript, the results of which were published in a monograph. She considers the collection a manual of icon painting created at the end of the fifteenth century on Mount Athos and attempts to substantiate her opinion based on numerous examples and a comparative artistic analysis.[14]

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[10] [Shalva Amiranashvili] Шалва Амиранашвили, *Грузинская миниатюра* [The Georgian miniature] (Moscow, 1966), 34.

[11] Leonide Shervashidze, "Miniatiurebi kutaisis khelnatserisa N115 da leningradis khelnarserisa O.I.58" [Miniatures of Kutaisi Manuscript N115 and Leningrad manuscript O.I.58], *Sakartvelos Metsnierebata Akademiis Moambe* 14, no. 1(1953): 55–62.

[12] [Vera Likhachova] Вера Лихачёва, "Отношение к образцам грузинских миниатюристов XIV века," [The attitude of Georgian miniaturists of the fourteenth century towards models], *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 38 (1977): 136–140; eadem, "Художественное оформление менология грузинскими художниками XIV столетия" [Artistic decoration of menologia by Georgian painters in the fourteenth century], *II^e Symposium International sur l'art Georgien* (Tbilisi, 1977), 1–8.

[13] [Pavle Miiovich] Павле Мийович, "Грузинские менологии с XI по XIV век" [Georgian Menologa of the eleventh to fourteenth century], *Зограф* 8 (1977): 17–29.

[14] [Lilia Evseeva] Лилия Евсеева, "Греко-грузинская рукопись из собрания гос. публичной библиотеки им. М. Е. Салтикова-Щедрина" [A Greek-Georgian manuscript from the collection of the State Library Saltikov-Shedrin], *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo* 3 (1983):342–366; eadem, *Афонская книга образцов* XV *века* [A fifteenth-century Mount Athos Book of Specimens] (Moscow: Indrik, 1998); a full bibliography about manuscript can be found here.

The Greek-Georgian texts in the manuscript have never been an object of special study. The texts used by Evseeva are based on oral consultations with E. Metreveli and B. Fonkich. Using paleographic evidence, these scholars dated the manuscript to the fifteenth or sixteenth century and regarded the Iviron Monastery of Mount Athos as the place of its execution.[15]

The artistic ensemble of this Greek-Georgian manuscript is made up of six cycles of complex structure. It is a unique example of an illustrated version of Gospel readings, selected *troparia* and hymns, a *menologion*, and an apocryphal story.

The First Series

The list of miniatures in the first series follows the Gospel readings (ff.1r-29r) and includes spot miniatures of the Christological cycle (ff.30r-43v). It develops the theme of the earthly life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Resurrection in chronological order:

"Annunciation" – f.30r
"Nativity" – f.30v
"Presentation at the Temple"– f.31r
"Baptism" – f.31v
"Entry into Jerusalem" – f.32r
"Divine Liturgy – Procession of the Angels" – f.32v
"Divine Liturgy – Procession of the Angels and the Tetramorphs" – f.33r
"Divine Liturgy" – f.33v
"Procession of the Apostles" – f.34r
"Communion of the Apostles" – f.34v
"Procession of the Apostles" – f.35r
"Last Supper" – f.35v
"Washing the Feet" – f.36r
"Agony in the Garden" – f.36v
"Kiss of Judas, with the miracle of Malchus, Christ before Caiaphas" – f.37r
"Denial of Peter, Christ before Pilate" – f.37v
"Derision of Christ, Christ before Herod, Jesus Carrying the Cross" – f.38r
"Way to Golgotha, Raising up the Cross" – f.38v
"Putting off Christ's Clothes" – f.39r
"Ascent of the Cross" – f.39v

[15] Evseeva, Греко-грузинская, 342; Evseeva, *Афонская,* 39–42.

"Crucifixion" – f.40r (*Fig. 1*)
"Crucifixion" – f.40v
"Deposition" – f.41r
"Lamentation" – f.41v
"Entombment" – f.42r
"Descent into Hell/Anastasis" – 42v.

The illustrated pages of the manuscript in the Kutaisi Museum show: the "Transfiguration" and "Raising of Lazarus," presumably part of this same series. The last two miniatures are also part of the same cycle: "Return of the Apostles to Jerusalem" (f.43r), "The Apostles in Jerusalem" (f.43v). Most of the miniatures of this series follow the text of the Gospel; only "Raising the Cross" (f.38v), "Putting off Christ's Clothes" (f.39r), "Ascent of the Cross" (f.39v.), and

Fig. 1. Nativity – F.956, разноя.0.I.58, f.30v, reproduced with permission

"Descent into Hell/Anastasis" (f.42v) are taken from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

With the exception of the "Resurrection" composition, these scenes do not occur at all in Eastern Christian book art; they are a quite widespread theme in wall painting, however. The *Dodecaorton* Feasts alternate with scenes from the Passion cycle. This series of miniatures in the Greek-Georgian manuscript also reflects themes that are alien to book art; thus, scenes of the "Divine Liturgy" (ff.32v–33r-v) and "Communion of the Apostles" (ff.34r-v–35r), arranged on three pages, impart a liturgical character to the manuscript content and demonstrate how it could have functioned in a different context.

The principle of the full illustration of the Gospel texts, developed in the eleventh century, implied not only the spot miniatures taken from the text of the Four Gospels, but also scenes selected from the Gospel Lectionary (the "Descent into Hell" and "Communion of the Apostles" found their way into the illustration in this manner).

The "Divine Liturgy" is an uncommon theme for manuscript illumination; the symbolic composition corresponds with the ritual of the Great Entrance and demonstrates the idea of the Second Coming, the glory of Christ, and the Eucharistic sacrifice. This idea became common in wall painting from the fourteenth century and, it is assumed, appeared for the first time on liturgical rolls. The frieze-like character of the three compositions included in this manuscript must be, to some extent, due to the manner of representation of this scene in wall painting. The same is true of the three-page miniature of the "Communion of the Apostles." The saints depicted here symbolically form the third row of apse paintings. By representing these two themes one after the other in a frieze-like manner, the artist apparently tried to retain the principle of painting typical for the altar apse.

It is also noteworthy that some scenes of the Passion cycle (ff.37r-v–38) are characterized by the use of undivided compositions, uniting several themes and crowded with figures and dramatic images. The iconographic and artistic solution of miniatures in this series is closely connected to the monumental tradition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The stress on multiple figures, picture areas over-filled with architecture and landscapes, the poses and gestures of figures echo monuments of the Palaeologan style of monumental ensembles in the same period in Mistra, Thessaloniki, and Mount Athos.[16] The arrangement

[16] Suzy Dufrenne, *Les Programmes iconograhiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris: Edition Klincksieck, 1970); Μαιρη Ασπρα-Βαρδαβακη and Μελιτα Εμμανυηλ, *Η Μονης της Παντανασσα στον Μυστρα* (Athens: Εμπορικη Τραπεζατης Ελλαδος 2005); Panagiotis

of all the miniatures after the text offers an opportunity for their continuous perception, presumably resembling the perception a viewer has at the time of seeing a monumental ensemble.

This cycle is the work of two painters, both Georgian. The work of the first artist is distinguished by a free manner of painting, expressive images, the depiction of exact movements, and the folds of complex voluminous garments. It may be assumed that he was educated on Mount Athos and in the Balkans; by his work he is close to the Athonite-Macedonian school of art. The second artist (his works are miniatures from the "Derision of Christ") came from a provincial school; his style is distinguished by colorful nuances, monotonous images, rough drawing and compositional schemes.

The researcher of the manuscript, Evseeva, believes that this series of the manuscript represents a book of Palaeologan models intended for monumentalists and thereby explains the similarities of the book painters to the Palaeologan iconography and artistic language. She attributes the inclusion of the scenes of the "Divine Liturgy" and the "Communion of the Apostles" in the illumination of the manuscript to the same factors.[17]

The Second Series

In the second series the Greek-Georgian texts of the troparia are accompanied by two spot miniatures of the Old Testament Trinity (f.44r), scenes depicting separate feasts of the Virgin and the Savior, and images of certain saints. A typical feature of this cycle of miniatures is a peculiar division of the picture area into three horizontal and vertical fields. The Twelve Great Feasts are represented fully here if one considers the two additional illuminated pages ("Annunciation," "Nativity," and "Presentation at the Temple") from the Kutaisi manuscript as a part of the Greek-Georgian manuscript under study here.

The "Nativity of the Virgin" (f.44v) (*Fig. 2*) and the "Dormition" (f.48r) are shown from the cycle of the Virgin Mary. It should be noted that the scenes of the Old Testament "Meeting of the Angels with Abraham," the "Hospitality of Abraham" (f.44r), and the "Trinity" occur rarely in manuscript illumination and the iconography derives from sources taken from other monuments. The importance of the Passion cycle is intensified further by the representation of the

Vocotopoulos, "Monumental Painting on Mount Athos, 11th –19th Century," in *Treasures of Mount Athos* [exhibition catalog], ed. Athanasios A. Karakatsanis (Thessaloniki: Organization for the Cultural Capital of Europe, 1997), 33–47.

[17] Evseeva, *Афонская,* 52.

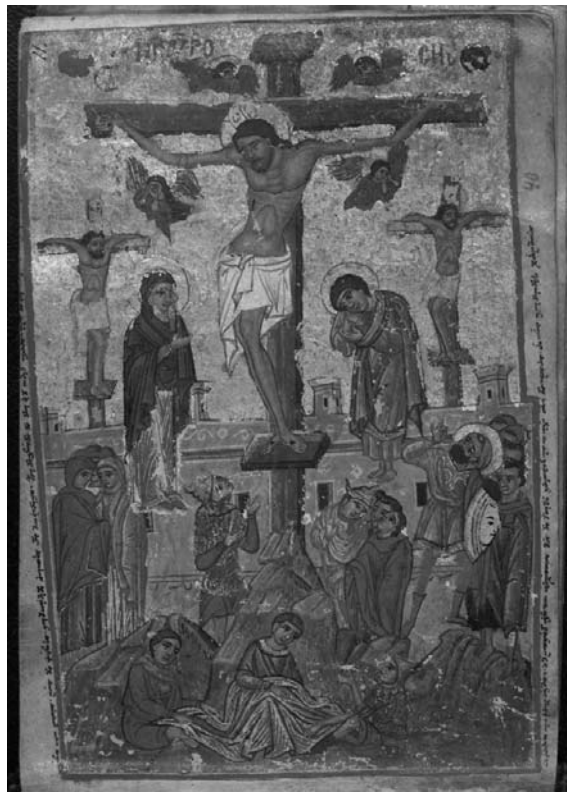

Fig. 2. Crucifixion – F.956, разноя.0.I.58, f.40r, reproduced with permission

"Man of Sorrows," (*Fig. 3*) the symbol of sacrifice and salvation in this cycle of miniatures, with the accompanying ninth *Hirmos* Great Saturday Canon and Great Saturday *troparion* of the Righteous Joseph.

The image of the Theotokos reflects the artistic characteristics of Gothic art and is close to the icon of the Cretan origin kept in the collection of the monastery on the island of Patmos.[18] This composition also differs from other scenes in having a bluish background and thereby it echoes the liturgical fabrics of the "Lamentation." Such a composition of the cycle – the illustration of the

[18] Manolis Chatsidakis, *Icons of Patmos* (Athens: National Bank of Greece, 1985), 28–32; idem, *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976), 206–211, 335–337, pl. IV, 1.

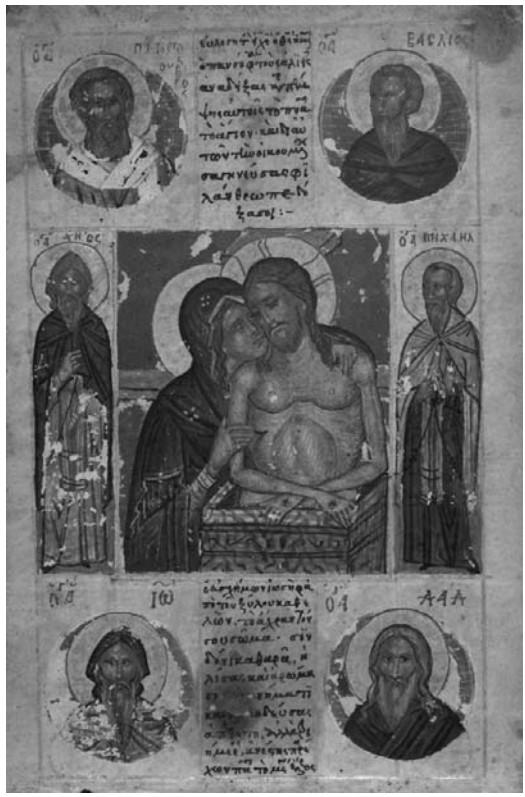

Fig. 3. Man of Sorrows – F.956, разнояз.0.I.58, f.47v, reproduced with permission

major feasts of the year – indicates their link with the Divine Service which is established by the texts of the accompanying *stichera* (verses) and *troparia*.

It is supposed that miniatures of the second cycle show a connection with specimens of Palaeologan painting of the theme of the Twelve Great Feasts (e.g., the fourteenth-century mosaic diptych from the Duomo Museum of Florence,[19] the Hermitage diptych,[20] and the fourteenth-century polyptych from Mount Sinai[21]). A certain tradition of depicting the cycle of the Twelve Great Feasts,

[19] Παναγιωτης Βοκοτοπουλος, *Βυζαντινες Εικονες* (Athens: Εκδοτικη Αθηνων, 1995), 106–107.
[20] Yuri Piatnitsky, Oriana Baddeley, Earleen Brunner, and Marlia Mundell Mango, ed., *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia* (St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Museum, 2000), 155–156.
[21] Βοκοτοπουλος, *Βυζαντινες*, 126–129.

deriving from iconography, existed from the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The source of the miniatures of Bright Week is also found in the icons used during Bright Week and the *Pentecostarion* service.

The orderly compositions of the Georgian-Greek manuscript, the iconographic peculiarities, and the repetition of Palaeologan specimens indicate the Greek origin of the painter. The pure coloring, light, delicate drawing, plastic resolution of figures, and refined manner of representation of images show features common with Thessaloniki Late Palaeologan painting.

Scenes depicting various spot miniatures are found next to images of the saints. In the row of saints all the significant figures of the Orthodox world are represented. The painter did not forget to include Georgian saints, and along with founders of anchoretic and monastic life – St. Antony the Great, Macarius of Egypt, St. Onophrius, Sabba the Sanctified, and Symeon the Stylite – he depicts St. Euthimius the Athonite (f.47r), Hilarion the Georgian (f.47r), Peter the Iberian (f.48v), and St. George of Iberia (f.59v).

The Third Series

The row of the saints represented in the third series can be divided into two parts: 1) Saints and personifications of the respective months (ff.48v–52r), and 2) half-length representations of saints inserted in medallions arranged in two rows (ff.52v–59v) with relevant *troparia*. The saints' images and month, personifications are attached to texts of Nicolas Kalikle's epigrams and prayers; attention in them is focused on the influence of weather on human beings and the positive and negative qualities of fruits and vegetables. The figures of the months are depicted engaged in seasonal activities: September is a hunter with a sparrow-hawk, October is catching birds, November is loosening soil with a mattock, December is hunting hares, January is tasting wine, February is warming himself at a fire, March is a warrior, April is a shepherd with a lamb in his hands, May is picking flowers, June is mowing, July is reaping, and August is planting.

Such allegorical figures found their way into Byzantine art from Hellenism and became widespread in the twelfth century. The Vani Gospel (A-1351) is of the same period; the decoration of its canon tables contains allegoric images of months.[22] In the Greek-Georgian manuscript the influence of the folk trend

[22] Elene Machavariani, "Vanis otkhtavis dekoratsiuli mortuloba" [Decorative adornment of the Vani Gospel], *Sakartvelos Metsnierebata Akademiis Khelnatserta Institutis Moambe* 2 (1960): 135–144; eadem, XII saukunis khelnatseri (A-1335) [A manuscript from the twelfth century (A-1335)], *Sabtchota Khelovneba* 11 (1960): 81–83.

Fig. 4. Prophets – F.956, разноя.0.I.58, f.49r, reproduced with permission

of Western European art is clear in the figures of the months, especially in their clothes. Apparently the painter used a ready model widespread in the Late Palaeologan period. In this case, the months' figures indicate the liturgical year and two series of saints are identifiable; half a year from September is devoted to prophets and the second half, from March, to martyrs. The row of prophets (*Fig. 4*) does not begin with half-figures of the Biblical kings David and Solomon as is traditional, but with portraits of the parents of St. John the Baptist – Zacharias and Elizabeth.

In the second part, the saints represent almost all the significant figures of the Orthodox church. In total, this chapter includes half-figures of 12 apostles, 24 bishops, 30 saints, 29 prophets, 6 biblical fathers, 113 martyrs, 5 physicians who accepted no payment for their services, and 24 holy mothers. St. Nino (f. 58r) is represented, but her image conforms largely to Western European artistic trends

Fig. 5. Saints with St. Nino – F.956, разноя.0.I.58, f.58r, reproduced with permission

(*Fig. 5*). It is noteworthy that the artist depicts all the Minor Prophets and only the most significant Major Prophets. The same can be said about the row of martyrs and saints. In the manuscript the hierarchical levels established in the Liturgy are altered and do not follow the accepted rule. L. Evseeva's observation is that the miniatures of this cycle, similar to the images of the first series, were a manual for painters.[23]

[23] Evseeva, *Афонская,* 66–67.

The portrait miniatures of this cycle are distinguished by emotional images, a free manner of painting, and expressiveness. Thin calligraphic drawing outlines the faces and changes their contours; the coloring of the clothes is based on contrasts. Although this is not a work from the capital school, it should be noted that a mood typical of the capital is observable in it. In the manner of execution it resembles fifteenth-century Thessaloniki icons and specimens of Cretan iconography less known on Mount Athos.

The Fourth Series

The fourth series is unique in its composition. The first miniature depicts St. John the Baptist as the Angel of Desert, with his severed head on a charger before him (f.59v) (*Fig. 6*). Such an image finds analogies with Cretan icon painting.

Fig. 6. St. John the Baptist – F.956, разноз.0.I.58, f.59v, reproduced with permission

The significance of this cycle is also stressed by the images of the Georgian saints included in it; the spot miniatures of saint warriors are replaced by the representation of St. Mamas riding the lion. "Spinning St. George over a Carriage Wheel" (f.61r), "Saint Demetrius," and "The Elevation of the Cross" (f.63r) derive from the Byzantine tradition. Here, too, the hand of the painter of the second and third cycles is visible. His painting is close to the work of the Cretan artist Angelos Akotantos.[24] "St. Theodore Teron slaying the Dragon" (f. 61r) is derived according to the iconography of Western art. It is believed that such an image of the dragon found its way into Akotantos' work from the paintings of Paolo Uccello.[25] This series of the miniatures is finished by the scene of the "Deesis," which is distinguished by a depiction of the Savior on the entire page, a representation of the half-figures of the Theotokos and St. John the Baptist, and full-length figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Such a mixed redaction did not occur earlier, as Evseeva states; this composition is a specimen made by a painter of both full-length and half-length figures in iconography.[26]

The Fifth Series

The fifth series covers the illustrated cycle of the menology arranged in chronological order (ff. 76r–126r). The row of saints (*Fig. 7*) is arranged according to the sequence of the liturgical year; movable and immovable feasts form the largest part of the Greek-Georgian manuscript and its composition is close to the eleventh-century *synaxarion* of Zacharia of Valashkerti.[27] The *menologion* is not accompanied by the respective texts of the menology or *synaxarion* and thereby it resembles icons of the liturgical year (e.g., the eleventh- and twelfth-century Mount Sinai *menologion* icons).[28] Another close analogy seems to be the *menologion* created

[24] Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund Direction of Publications, 1998), 112–113; Maria Vassilaki, "The Art of Angelos," in *The Hand of Angelos: An Icon Painter in Venetian Crete* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2010), 114–123; Nano Chatzidakis, "The Legacy of Angelos," in *The Hand of Angelos*, 124–133.

[25] *From Byzantium to El Greco* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 167–168.

[26] Evseeva, *Афонская,* 70.

[27] [Gaiane Alibegashvili] Гаяне Алибегашвили, *Художественный принцип иллюстрирования грузинской рукописной книги XI – начала XIII веков* [Artistic principles of the decoration of Georgian manuscripts from the eleventh to the beginning of the thirteenth century], (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1973).

[28] G. et M. Sotirou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1956), 126–152, vol. 2 (Athens, 1958), 115–132; Βοκοτοπουλος, *Βυζαντινες,* 42–44,74; Zaza Skhirtladze, "Sinas mtis satselitsado khatis shedgenilobisatvis" [About the structure of the Calendar Icon from

Fig. 7. Row of the Saints – F.956, разноз.0.I.58, f.117v, reproduced with permission

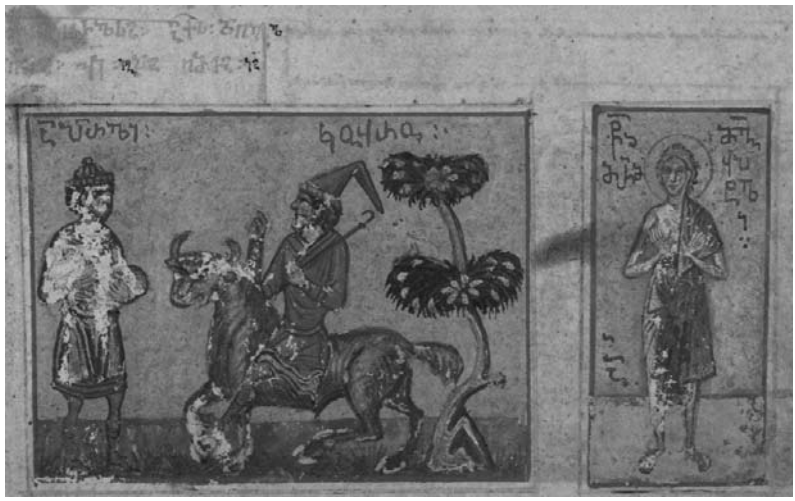

Fig. 8. Beginning of the Month April – F.956, разноз.0.I.58, f.108r, reproduced with permission

Sinia], *Collected Papers of the Department of Art History and Theory of Tbilisi I. Javakhishvili State University* 1 (2000): 197–221; Robert Nelson and Kristen Collins, ed., *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground. Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 194–199.

for Demetrios Palaeologos (fourteenth century).[29] Similar to the Greek-Georgian manuscript, it has neither a text nor a *synaxarion*. According to the typological classification of the menology cycles, the manuscript falls into the group "B" proposed by P. Miiovich. It does not contain scenes of saints' martyrdoms. Such a typological division is equally acceptable for Byzantine and post-Byzantine works, as well as Georgian, Bulgarian, and Serbian *menologia*.[30] A characteristic feature of the manuscript is the personification of the months, with their zodiac signs depicted at the beginning of each month (*Fig. 8*). The iconographic and stylistic characteristics of the menology echo the artistic work of the Comnenian period.

The Sixth Series

The sixth series unites fourteen scenes of healings and miracles (ff. 132r–135r) collected from various Gospels. The sequence of subjects does not follow the chronology of the Gospel events: "Christ and the Samaritan Woman," "Healing of the Man Born Blind," "Healing of the Man with Dropsy," "Healing of the Leper," "Healing of the Man with a Withered Hand," "Healing of the Paralytic," "Healing of the Paralytic in Bethesda," "Saving Apostle Peter," "Christ and the Adulteress," "Healing of a Man Possessed by a Devil," "Raising of the Daughter of Jairus," "Raising of the Only Son of the Widow in Nain," "Appearance on the Road to Emmaus," "The Appearance of Christ at the Sea of Tiberias." All the miniatures are separated from one another with text from the Gospel according to John. Separation of readings based on the Gospel according to John is characteristic of the *Pentecostarion*. The *Pentecostarion* is a liturgical collection of hymns performed during Holy Week. The text readings cover the period from "Easter" to the "Descent of the Holy Spirit" and unite the hymns of the Great Feasts – Easter and Pentecost. However, *Pentecostarion* illustrations differ from those of this liturgical book. It is of mixed character, contains narrative scenes, and has parallels with Palaeologan wall painting.

This cycle of the manuscript was painted by the Georgian artist who painted the second part of the first cycle. The Greek-Georgian manuscript was illuminated by four painters who used different sources as models. General characteristics of fine art are manifested in book painting; a certain eclecticism (fusion of post-Byzantine and Western features), multi-figure miniature compositions, scenes overburdened with symbols, an abundance of full-length and half-length figures

[29] Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der Byzantinischen miniaturenhandschriften, Oxford Bodleian Library*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1978), 1–33, 89–114.
[30] Мийович, Грузинские, 18

of saints inserted in medallions – are nuances which appeared in the fourteenth century and reached the summit of their development in the sixteenth century. Although most previous researchers have considered this manuscript as a manual for icon painting, in my view, the manuscript is a liturgical collection created for individual and private use because of the manuscript's small size, the selection of bilingual texts and miniatures, the commissioner's colophon inserted at the end of the codex, and the silver book case, ordered especially for this manuscript.

The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Georgian book painting in this Greek-Georgian manuscript is close to manuscript specimens of the scriptorium (A-351, K-375, Q-920, Q-921) of the Atabag court.[31] The composition and artistic side of the manuscript reveal the existence of different iconographic and stylistic sources; the influence of Mount Athos and the artistic circle linked with Mount Athos (Thessaloniki) is also clear. The slight touch of Cretan and Western art is only a light trace of the prototype. I emphasize the influence of the specimens from the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. The illumination of the Georgian-Greek manuscript demonstrates clearly the artistic taste of Christendom in that period, loyalty to traditions, iconographic and stylistic peculiarities, and searches that gave impetus to the further development of literary and artistic creation.

[31] Zaza Skhirtladze, *Iveriis Gmrtismshoblis khatis motchediloba* [The cladding of the Portaitissa Icon of Iviron], (Tbilisi: Lita, 1994), 20–26; Nino Kavtaria, "The Atabag Court and Georgian Miniature Painting of the 15th–16th centuries," in *Le Symposium International Le Livre. La Romanie. L"Europe* (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureştiler, 2012), 178–190; Darejan Kldiashvili, "The Commemorative Chronicles of the Atabags of Samtskhe from Kutaisi Museum," in *Materials of the International Conference "Tao-Klarjeti,"* (Tbilisi: National Center of Manuscripts, 2010), 216–233.

BOOKS AT THE CROSSROADS: THE BOOK CULTURE OF ZAGREB IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

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In the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, the urban area of Zagreb, the future Croatian capital, consisted of the bishop's town on one hill and the royal town of Gradec on the opposite hill, forming an administrative and economic urban nucleus. It radiated influence over quite an expansive surrounding region where the interests of ecclesiastical and local landowning elites intersected with royal policies in complex ways throughout the medieval period. Situated at a crossroads of paths leading from the Hungarian kingdom and southern regions of the German lands to the Adriatic coast, the urban area of Zagreb was a dynamic place of economic and cultural exchange throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At that time, when the Zagreb region and the entire Hungarian kingdom anticipated the intensification of Ottoman expansion westward, Europe was undergoing one of its most profound and far-reaching socio-cultural revolutions – the arrival and dissemination of the book printed by moveable type as a new medium of written communication.

The first printed books commissioned to be used specifically in the Zagreb region offer a fascinating glimpse into the local adaptations and variations of the pan-European socio-cultural phenomenon of the printed book. They did not appear in an intellectual and cultural vacuum. In 1484, when the first book printed specifically for use in the area of the diocese of Zagreb was completed in the Venice shop of Erhard Radtolt of Augsburg, the cathedral library of the Zagreb chapter already had an impressive collection of handwritten books covering the main spheres of knowledge necessary for the education of canons and priests: theology, natural philosophy, medicine, and law. Furthermore, the liturgical books had to be prepared in accordance with the local Zagreb rite, providing a convenient starting point for inquiries into local written culture. Shedding light on an aspect of the medieval history of this region that has frequently been overshadowed by the attention given to the political and economic turbulence accompanying the disintegrating world of the late medieval Hungarian kingdom, the process of reconstructing the late medieval book culture of Zagreb is also a process of resurrecting a world of socio-cultural exchange connecting the Zagreb region with the great late medieval urban centers of crafts and trade in Northern and Southern Europe.

The Cathedral Library

The period starting with the energetic office of Bishop Oswald Thuz (1466–1499) and ending with the defeat of the royal army at Mohács in 1526 was also a time when some of the most interesting documents of Croatian book heritage appeared, under the patronage of Zagreb ecclesiastical elites: the luxuriously illuminated missals of "George of Topusko," the great antiphonary of Bishop Thuz, the first printed Zagreb breviary in 1484, and the first printed Zagreb missal in 1511. The lively interplay between manuscript and print culture, a European-wide phenomenon that was also visible on the pages of these books, discloses a network of dynamic socio-cultural exchange running vigorously between the Zagreb region and its closer and further environs, sometimes beating in time and sometimes against the pulse of pressing political anxieties. Considering all the proposed answers and questions still left open about how books were made and used in the Zagreb region in this period, I have tried to outline the contours of a book culture whose extant body of sources is considerably smaller than it must have been in late medieval times. Its development was significantly redirected by the more pressing business of waging war with the Ottoman armies that marked all of the sixteenth century in this part of Europe. Each book is a fascinating window into various aspects of the socio-cultural history of a region where influences from various sides of Europe intersected in what Christopher de Hamel has recently defined as a "joyful and utterly beguiling mix of cultures and artistic enterprise ... characteristic of the making of manuscripts for use in medieval Croatia."[1]

Throughout the medieval period, the cathedral library was the central repository of books that arrived steadily in the Zagreb chapter area. The book lists in the extant cathedral inventories give excellent insight into the dynamics of book collecting as well as the nature and scope of the collection as it grew steadily in size. Bearing in mind that one of the main goals of the cathedral library was to further the education of Zagreb canons, the book lists found in inventories from the end of the fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century are also a valuable source for examining the local intellectual culture. Edit Madas has recently written about an emphasis on natural sciences and theology in Zagreb, evident from a comparison with another two extant early fifteenth-century book lists of Hungarian medieval cathedral chapters, those of the libraries in Pozsony (now Bratislava) and Veszprém, concluding that:

[1] Christopher de Hamel, "Illuminated Manuscripts in Croatia," in *Croatia: Aspects of Art, Architecture and Cultural Heritage* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2009), 75.

> In this respect, the Zagreb library was richer and more sophisticated than the others: it housed theological *treatises* and *quaestiones*, as well as six copies of Peter Lombard's *Libri IV Sententiarum* and separate commentaries to this work, which were otherwise part of a regular university curriculum.[2]

The oldest extant cathedral inventory, dating from 1394,[3] contains a book list of 109 items written on both paper and parchment, including works on canon law, scholastic authors, biblical literature, astronomy, and the liturgy, attesting that a lively book culture was flourishing in the area of the Zagreb chapter. Just two years after the composition of this inventory, on December 16, 1396, Zagreb Bishop Ivan II Alben notes that in one of the frequent skirmishes between Gradec and Kaptol (the king's and the bishop's towns), the citizens of Gradec invaded the main Kaptol square and broke into the homes of canons, stealing and taking with them "all kinds of clerical books which our brothers kept for their studies, … and also missals, breviaries and other books of great value."[4] A new inventory was composed, as requested by Bishop Ivan Alben, some time between 1421 and 1425, featuring 89 new books that had not been a part of the 1394 book list.[5] The inventory of 1502, listing "an unbound and uncompleted missal with wooden covers, bequeathed by *dominus* George the suffragan of the church" was composed especially hastily, as the church treasures were placed in various drawers and chests and catalogued for fear of a sudden Ottoman attack.[6]

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[2] Edit Madas, "The Late-mediaeval Book Culture in Hungary from the 1430s to the Late 1470s," in *A Star in the Raven's Shadow: János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary* (Budapest: National Széchényi Library, 2008), 12, and "Les bibliothèques des chapitres de Veszprém, de Presbourg et de Zagreb d'après leurs inventaires," *Formation intellectuelle et culture du clergé dans les territoires Angevins (milieu du XIIIe-fin du XV siècle)*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome: École française de Rome 2005), 221–230.

[3] Dragutin Kniewald, "Najstariji inventari zagrebačke katedrale" [The oldest inventories of the Zagreb cathedral], *Starine* 43 (1951): 49–83 and Andrija Lukinović, "Najstariji sačuvani imovnik zagrebačke katedrale 1394" [The oldest preserved inventory of the Zagreb cathedral 1394], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 9 (1982): 66–89.

[4] Antun Markov, "Metropolitanska knjižnica" [The Metropolitan library], *Kulturno-poviestni zbornik zagrebačke nadbiskupije: u spomen 850. godišnjice osnutka* [The cultural-historical journal of the Zagreb archdiocese: Commemorating the 850th anniversary] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko izdavalački bibliografski zavod 1944), 494.

[5] Markov, "Metropolitanska knjižnica," 494.

[6] Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavonie* XI [hereafter: MCZ] (Zagreb: K. Albrecht, 1905), Appendix, Document IV, 187.

Over the course of centuries, the medieval library of Zagreb cathedral became the Metropolitana library of the Zagreb archdiocese (now the Knjižnica Metropolitana), one of the largest and most impressive collections of the Croatian historic book heritage. However, at the present time there is no complete contemporary concordance of medieval catalogues with the most recent modern one. The catalogue presently used for the extant medieval codices of the Metropolitana dates from 1944 and was composed by Antun Markov, who was the chief librarian at the time. Markov lists 151 codices from the medieval period, extending from the twelfth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The majority of the Metropolitana's medieval codices come from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a period marked by a proliferation of missals and breviaries written in accordance with the Zagreb liturgical rite. This substantial body of sources for the late medieval book culture of Zagreb still awaits more detailed paleographic and codicological analysis, which would allow interpretations and discussions of the specific features of local scriptoria that existed in and around Zagreb and permit more accurate dating for codices where the scribe left none.

The Zagreb Breviary of 1484

The first book printed to be used in the territory of the Zagreb diocese, *Breviarium secundum usum ecclesie Zagrabiensis*, was commissioned by the Zagreb Bishop Oswald Thuz and edited by two Zagreb canons. One was Blasius of Moravče, a doctor of law and archdeacon of Kalnik, whose copious lecture notes from his legal studies in Padua remain in three fifteenth-century Metropolitana codices, and the other was George of Ivanić, the archdeacon of Bekšin.[7] The breviary was an important project marking the office of Oswald Thuz (1466–1499), a great patron of books whose ambitious cultural policy was distinguished by substantial work done on the Zagreb cathedral and the cathedral area. With the aim of managing the territorially expansive diocese more efficiently following a thirty-year period of misrule, Thuz successfully led the struggle to restore the bishop's tithe. The idea behind using the new technology of print to put a carefully composed breviary into circulation (*optime emendarentur, et emendata imprimerentur*) was a desire for a homogenization of the diocese on the level of pastoral care. As stated in the

[7] Stjepan Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz de Szentlászló vescovo di Zagrabia, 1466–1499* (Rome: Pontificia' Universita' Gregoriana, Faculta' di Storia Ecclesiastica, 1995), 154. The large medieval diocese of Zagreb was divided into 14 archdeaconries encompassing most of modern-day northwestern Croatia and extending into modern-day Bosnia around the town of Dubica.

prologue, the new breviary was to satisfy "a great need for amended breviaries" (*cum in diocesi Zagrabiensi esset magna penuria emendatorum breviariorum*) and bring order among the current confusion of inadequate breviaries in use while being "of use to the clergy of his whole diocese" (*in utilitatem cleri totius diocesis sue*).[8] The only two extant examples of the first 1484 edition are held outside of Croatia today. One is kept in the Széchényi National Library in Budapest and the other in the Vatican Apostolic library.

The Budapest copy is a fine octavo printed on parchment with delicate hand-painted floral decorations in the margins.[9] Its text, the purpose of which was to standardize the organization of religious activities throughout the year, provides valuable insight into the relationship between the clergy and their parishioners. The rubrics offer, for instance, instructions on how to organize everyday activities at times of church feasts, such as selling meat, and how to harvest crops expediently when threatened by sudden inclement weather. The Vatican copy lists the old Croatian names for the months in the Kajkavian dialect, the language of the northwest Croatian region.[10] None of this has yet been considered as source material for the late medieval social history of the Zagreb region and is certainly worth exploring in more depth.

The Zagreb Missal of 1511

The first printed Zagreb missal, *Missale secundum chorum almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis ecclesie*, is a folio-size book completed in 1511 in the Venice workshop of Peter Liechtenstein from Cologne. Luka from Szeged (Lukács Szegedi),[11] bishop of Zagreb (1500–1510), initiated and approved the project, which was financed by

[8] Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz*, Appendix II, "Il Breviario zagabriense del 1484," 793–820.
[9] Ibid., 793–798 and Milan Pelc, "Tiskane liturgijske knjige" [Printed liturgical books], in *Sveti trag: devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije: 1094–1994: Vodič po izložbi 10.9.–31.12* [The sacred token: nine centuries of art from the archdiocese of Zagreb; Guide to the exhibition 10.9–31.12] (Zagreb: Muzej Mimara, 1994), 479.
[10] Stjepan Razum has transcribed the text of the rubrics and the calendar in *Osvaldo Thuz,* Appendix II, 798–846.
[11] Andrija Lukinović, "Luka Baratin (1500–1510)" in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbisukpi* [Zagreb bishops and archbishops] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1995), 223–227, mentions that his birthplace was Szeged, that the office he held prior to Zagreb was Csanád, and that he was also known in the documents as "Lucas Szegedi" or "Lucas from Szeged." Árpad Mikó rejects the last name "Baratin" as a product of an early error transferred through several sources and calls him simply Lukács Szegedi, see Árpad Mikó, "All'antica djela i njihovi stvaraoci u Budimu i Zagrebu za Matije Korvina i Jagelovića (1480–1526)" [*All'antica* works and their creators in Buda and Zagreb during the reign of Mathias Corvinus and

a German citizen of Zagreb who made his business enterprise known in the colophon as *iussu et impensis ac sumptibus providi atque egregii viri Johannis Müer civis Zagrabiensis*. This colophon is an interesting testimony to the enterprising activity of Germans in late medieval Zagreb; it also provides the explicit information that Johannes Müer was of German origin from the town of *Koppfstain*.[12] Archival documents for another German citizen of Zagreb mention him variously as *Johannes pictor*, *Hans pictor*, and *Hans pictor Almanus*. The first mention of *Hans pictor Almanus* comes from a report of payments made in the period 1491 to 1513 compiled by the Zagreb canon *Lucas de Dombro* (Luke from Dubrava). The expenses mostly concern carpentry work done on the churches and homes of the canons, but also include payments made to ensure the smooth running of other Zagreb chapter activities. Four florins were paid to *Hans pictor Almanus* on the feast of St. Margaret in 1503 for "a panel and clock hands of the blessed king" (*pro tabula et indice horarum beati regis*).[13] The formulation "blessed king" was most likely a short form for "the church of the blessed King Stephen," mentioned several times earlier in the document as *ecclesia beati regis Stephani* and *ecclesia cathedrali beati regis Stephani*, which makes it probable that Hans' work was intended for the Zagreb cathedral. The magistrate of the royal town of Gradec presented him with a plot of land in 1504.[14] This *Johannes* or *Hans* has been suggested as the most likely candidate for the late Gothic illuminator of the "George of Topusko" missals, although the current archival information does not allow more decisive arguments for or against this possibility.

The 1511 Zagreb missal is an elegant book, harmoniously and skillfully executed in print with an abundance of woodcut illustrations. Marginal notes in various extant copies give some idea of the modes and extent of its circulation in the territory of the medieval diocese of Zagreb. Confirming that it also circulated outside the territory of the medieval diocese of Zagreb are extant copies found in the sixteenth-century libraries of Hungarian prelates Miklós Oláh, János

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the Jagiellons] in *Hrvatska/Mađarska, stoljetne književne i likovno-umjetničke veze* [Croatia/Hungary, literary and art historical ties through the centuries] (Zagreb: Most 1995), 56–57

[12] The official site of the Zagreb archdiocese, reporting on the 2011 visit of Pope Benedict XVI to Zagreb when he was presented with a copy of the 1511 Zagreb missal, proposes that *Koppfstain*, the name of the town thus worded in the colophon of the 1511 missal is the modern day town of *Kufstein* on the Inn River in the Austrian province of Tyrol, close to German Bavaria. "Darovi kardinala Bozanića papi Benediktu XVI" [The gifts of Cardinal Bozanić to Pope Benedict XVI] (accessed Dec. 2013).

[13] Tkalčić, MCZ XI, 304: *Item in profesto beate Margarethe virginis et martiris 1503 dedi pro tabula et indice horarum beati regis, quam fecit Hans pictor Alemanus…flor IIII*.

[14] Tkalčić, MCZ III, 25, Document 25.

Chereődy, János Kuthassy, and András Monoszló.[15] Five copies displaying some variation are kept in the Metropolitana library, one of them bearing an inscription from 1516 when it was presented as a votive offering to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish of Resnik by a certain John of Resnik.[16] The copy preserved in the library of the Greek Catholic Eparchy in Križevci has the early sixteenth-century signature of the owner, Paulus, a Zagreb canon and archdeacon of Dubica, in several places in red and black ink.[17] The interior of the missal is a treasure trove of all kinds of socio-cultural data, from local liturgical and hagiographical distinctions to health instructions for each month and local practices of computing time.

The photograph of the Annuciation page reproduced in this article (*Fig. 1*) comes from a copy kept in the National and University Library in Zagreb.[18] The rubric and responsorial are framed by full-page woodcut illustrations. Gabriel and the Virgin are represented in the top left and right medallions. Below the presiding figure of Christ flanked by angels, the figures of Old Testament minor prophets Zachary, Amos, and Baruch are shown on the left and Sophonias, Abdias, and Malachias on the right. Figures of kings David and Solomon follow the text of the rubric while the figures of the major prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah frame the lower margin with scenes of the Visitation. Two additional copies exist in the library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (R-905 *a* and *b*) with R-905*b* bearing the 1512 donation notes of its first owner, the Zagreb canon Andreas Planckner.[19] Further analysis of all the marginalia in the copies preserved in Croatia and abroad will provide insight into patterns of its circulation and use.

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[15] Árpad Mikó, "All'antica djela i njihovi stvaraoci u Budimu i Zagrebu," 58.

[16] Vladimir Magić, *Katalog knjiga XVI stoljeća u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici u Zagrebu* [Catalogue of the sixteenth-century books in the Metropolitan library of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2005), 450–451; Pelc "Tiskane liturgijske knjige," 472–480.

[17] Željko Vegh, *Inkunabule i knjige XVI stoljeća u knjižnici Grkokatoličke biskupije u Križevcima: katalog izložbe* [Incunabula and sixteenth-century books in the library of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Križevci: A catalogue of the exhibition] (Križevci: The Convent of the Sisters of St. Basil, 2007), 84. The frontispiece inscription in this catalogue was imprecisely read as *Liber Pauli medwessij Canonici codie Zagrabien 1530*. The year 1530 is actually found at the end of a similar signature much further in the book.

[18] RIIF-4o-91, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection, National and University Library in Zagreb.

[19] *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis ecclesie*, Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Online catalog: http://katalog.hazu.hr (accessed Dec. 2013).

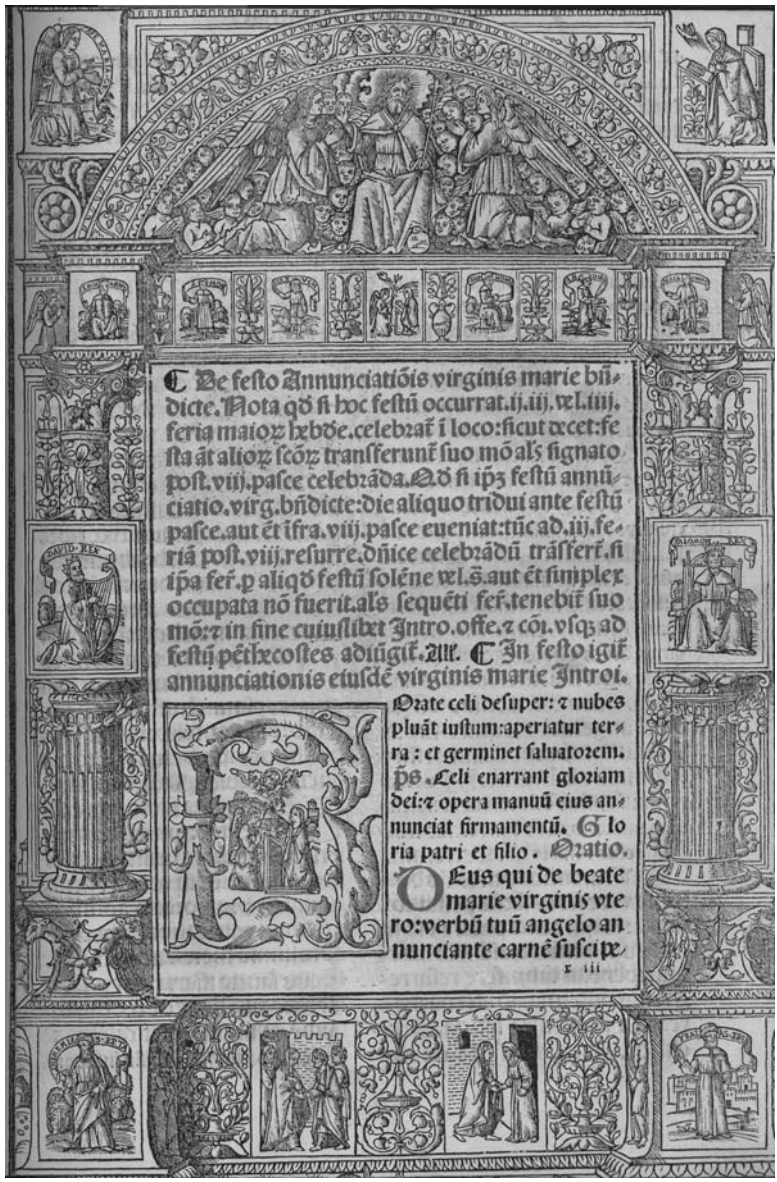

Fig. 1. Missale Zagrabiense *of 1511, the Feast of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The scene of the Annunciation is featured in the historiated initial below the text of the rubric. Reproduced courtesy of the National and University Library in Zagreb, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection RIIF-4o-91.*

Canons with Bombards and the Identity of "George of Topusko"

The most opulently illuminated codex written in accordance with the Zagreb liturgical rite, today kept in the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral is commonly known as *Missale Georgii de Topusko* No 354 (K2). Like *Missale Georgii de Topusko*, MR 170, deposited in the Metropolitana library of the Zagreb archdiocese, it is believed to have been commissioned initially by George, a local nobleman and church dignitary who was a suffragan to the Zagreb bishop, Oswald Thuz, some time in the last decades of the fifteenth century. While the Metropolitana missal MR 170 was completely written, signed by the scribe, Matheus de Milethnicz, and dated to the year 1495,[20] the treasury missal was never completely written out and illuminated. Edith Hoffmann was the first to connect these volumes to the figure of a single patron, George, suffragan to the Zagreb bishop. On the page of the treasury missal featuring a full-page illumination of St. George, she noted the inscription in the ribbon above the head of St. George spelling out D[omi]NI G[eorgii] EPI[scopi] ROSONE[nsis].[21] Connecting this piece of information with the inscription on the inside of the original wooden front cover of the library missal MR 170, read as: *1518. Missale Kalendinii Beate Marie virginis assignatum per executorem quondam Reverendi Domini Georgii de Topwsko ipsis dominis preben[darii] Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis*,[22] she concluded that the patron of the treasury missal was a George who was the titular bishop of the Rosonian diocese[23]

[20] Dragutin Kniewald, "Misal čazmanskog prepošta Jurja de Topusko i zagrebačkog biskupa Šimuna Erdődy" [The missal of the provost of Čazma, George de Topusko, and the Zagreb Bishop Simeon Erdődy], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 268 (1940): 48.

[21] Edith Hoffman, "Kőzepkori kőnyvkultúránk néhány fontos emlékéről [Some important monuments of our medieval book culture]," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1–4 (1925): 26–51 and eadem, "A Nemzeti Múzeum Széchényi-Könyvtárának Magyarországon illuminált kéziratai" [Illuminated manuscripts in Hungary in the National Museum Széchényi Library], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1–2 (1927): 31, as quoted by Kniewald, "Misal," 81.

[22] Kniewald, "Misal," 48.

[23] See the record in Conradus Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi: sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 ad annum 1605 perducta* II (Regensburg: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1914), 224–226 and 285. Eubel mentions a "George provost of the church of Čazma in the diocese of Zagreb" among four men who held the titular office of a diocese cited as *Russoniensis* or *Ruskoi* in *Thracia* in the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Eubel, it was a suffragan to a province of the eastern patriarchate of Constantinople variously cited as *Varoniensis* or *Verisiensis*: *In patriarchatus Constantinopolitani parte orientali hae sunt provinciae: ... Verisien. , cum suffr.: Russionen., Apr(on)en. seu Napronen., (Kypsalen.)* This province is believed to have been in the north central part

(*episcopus rosonensis*) and the same *Georgius de Topwsko* whose executor presented the library missal MR 170 to the association or *calendinum* of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a gathering of Zagreb prebendaries. Re-examination of the inscription on the wooden covers makes it clear that *Topwsko* was misread. The letters spell out something much closer to *Thopwska*, a variant of *Toplica* or *Toplice*, the medieval location of a Cistercian abbey. The name is a common Croatian toponym denoting "natural thermal springs." The modern town of Topusko, situated some 60 km south of Zagreb, developed around the site of the medieval Cistercian abbey and still uses the benefits of thermal springs for tourism. In the medieval archival records, Suffragan George appears variously as *Georgius suffraganeus de Thopolczka* (the cathedral inventory of 1502),[24] *dominus Georgius gubernator abbacie de Topolzka* (legal proceedings between nobles and Zagreb merchants of 1481),[25] and most completely in a 1496 document confirming his consecration of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Zagreb cathedral, as *Ego Georgius rosonensis, commendatarius abbatie toplicensis, prepositus chasmensis, suffraganeus huius ecclesie zagrabiensis*,[26] confirming the modern toponym *Topusko* as a linguistic variation of the medieval one.

One of the more interesting documents serving as a turning point for some disagreement concerning the identity of the patron is a list of handheld bombards, *pyxides sive bombardae manuales*, distributed among Zagreb canons on August 17, 1473, confirming the fear of an Ottoman incursion into the area like the one that took place in 1469 and was stopped short by the surging waters of the Sava River. *Dominus Georgius suffraganeus*, *Georgius de Miletincz*, and *Georgius de Ztenichnak* appear at the end of the list of Zagreb canons.[27] This dispels the possibility that the patron of the missal was a brother or a relative of the scribe, *Matheus de Milethnicz*, who wrote the library missal.[28] It affirms the series, established in Conrad Eubel's *Hierarchia catholica medii aevii*, of two Georges in a row bearing the title of *episcopus rosonensis* and filling the office of the bishop's suffragan – one coming to the Zagreb office from the diocese of Pécs (1465–1488) and the other a local nobleman already bearing the title of provost of

of present-day Turkey, but more research is needed to localize the area of the suffragan *Russoniensis* with greater precision.

[24] Tkalčić, MCZ, Appendix IV, 183.

[25] Ibid., MCZ II, (Zagreb: K. Albrecht, 1894) 405–408 Document 324.

[26] Ibid., MCZ II, 507 Doc. 383.

[27] Ibid., MCZ II, 360 Doc. 290.

[28] This was proposed by Kniewald, "Misal," 49–50.

Čazma (1488–1498).[29] Furthermore, additional archival evidence suggests that the family name or identity of the second Suffragan Bishop George, the patron of the missal, could be connected to the old and important estate of Steničnjak which bordered the lands of the Cistercian abbey of Toplice.[30] This explains why, in 1481, *dominus Georgius gubernator abbacie de Topolzka* appears in a source documenting legal proceedings initiated before the royal palatine against himself and a whole group of Croatian nobles, including members of the Frankapan, Zrinski, and Kurjaković families, on behalf of the merchants of the royal town of Gradec for illegally collecting taxes from merchants in return for passage through their lands.[31] Suffragan Bishop George, whose coat of arms graces the pages of both missals, thus emerges as an ambitious and wealthy member of both the ecclesiastical elite and the local landowning nobility. The extent to which he played a part in shaping this expensive illuminated liturgical book he commissioned is not known, but it was clearly important as both a status symbol and a medium that must appropriately fulfill its ceremonial liturgical purpose.

The interior world of the "George of Topusko" missals, with illuminations done in the late Gothic style and bearing strong relationships to German copperplate print culture,[32] reveals vibrant late medieval poetics of vice and virtue. Coming alive in the margins around the sacred text are griffons and vultures, owls and monkeys, demons and dragons small and large, fierce lions and gorgeously painted peacocks, all pregnant with Christian symbolism,[33] as well as characters from everyday life (musicians, wives beating their husbands, hunters) coexisting with dignified biblical figures dressed in the attire of fifteenth-century lords and ladies. The relationship to German copperplate prints of the fifteenth century opened the door to a fluid world of cross-cultural and inter-media exchange

[29] Eubel, *Hierarchia*…, 224–226. Čazma, today a town about 60 km east of Zagreb, was a collegiate chapter of the diocese of Zagreb as well as an alternate place of residence for Zagreb bishops in the medieval period. Bishop Oswald Thuz sent correspondence from Čazma and died there in 1499.

[30] Razum, "Giorgio, vescovo rosonense" and "Giorgio de Steničnjak (de Zthenichnak), detto 'de Topusko' vescovo rosonense," *Osvaldo Thuz*, 392–409.

[31] Tkalčić, MCZ II, 405–408. Doc. 324.

[32] Kniewald, "Misal," 54–66 and 81–82. The influences connected with this missal quite early on were the fifteenth-century German and Netherlandish copperplate engravers and painters such as Israhel von Meckenem, Master of the Berlin passion, Master ES, and Master of the Playing Cards.

[33] Antun Ivandija, "Marginalije uz misal naslovnog rozonskog biskupa i čazmanskog prepošta 'Jurja de Topusko'," [Some notes regarding the Missal of the titular Rosonian bishop and provost of Čazma "George of Topusko"], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 10 (1982): 9–17

in the early days of manuscript and print culture interaction. Among fifteenth-century German copperplate engravers noted as influences for the illuminations of the Gothic part of the Zagreb missal is a so-called Master of the Playing Cards, whose whimsical, widely circulated motifs of animals, plants, and human figures found their way into the pages of this illuminated Zagreb liturgical book. I noticed, for instance, that the upper margin on the first illuminated page of the treasury missal, featuring dense foliage and climbing naked male figures encircling the central presentation of the Virgin Mary as the titular patron saint of Zagreb cathedral, is in fact a copy of the upper margin of the frontispiece of a fifteenth-century bestseller, Bernard von Breydenbach's travel narrative *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, illustrated in woodcuts and first printed in Mainz in 1486. Diminishing barriers between high and low, secular and religious cultures in the world of the late fifteenth-century print and its accelerating rate of interaction with local book cultures as it traveled across Europe in various forms (books, flyers, leaflets, model blocks) with travelling artists and entrepreneurs, is a sociocultural phenomenon that is fascinating to observe come alive on the pages of this highly ceremonial liturgical codex belonging to a local ecclesiastical book culture such as that of Zagreb.[34]

A Missal for the Royal Wedding?

Neither of the "George of Topusko" missals was completed in the way their patron probably envisioned them in the late fifteenth century. Although the library missal was completely written, late Gothic illuminated folios are scarcer than in the treasury missal, with an amateur hand of a much later time adding illustrations in the blank margins. Work on the treasury missal was resumed, however, not long after the death of George of Topusko, probably in 1498,[35] in an equally magnificent mode, but this time in the style of the Italian Renaissance. It shows the coat of arms of the Zagreb bishop, Simon Bakócz Erdődy (1518–1534), and features a profusion of delicately and skillfully executed nature scenes and portraits of castles and fortresses in the marginal medallions. This has prompted many previous Croatian scholars of this codex to attribute the Renaissance

[34] For a fully rounded and well researched survey of the art of the print in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe and its socio-cultural framework, see David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). A reproduction of the *Peregrinatio* frontispiece accompanied by a discussion of Erhard Reuwich, woodcut artist, can also be found here.

[35] Stjepan Razum, "Giorgio de Steničnjak (de Ztenichnak), detto 'de Topusko', vescovo rosonense," *Thuz*, 399–409.

illuminations to the young Giulio Clovio, a famous sixteenth-century miniaturist of Croatian origin who spent some time at the Buda court and participated in the battle of Mohács.[36] Although the identity of this artist remains an unsolved puzzle, Hungarian scholars have rejected the possibility of Gulio Clovio as the illuminator for lack of comparative material from this early stage of Clovio's career, preferring to refer to the artist as "the Bakócz monogrammist," a term coined by Edith Hoffman.[37] The same monogram which initially led Croatian scholars to attribute it to young Gulio Clovio also appears in the monumental, two-volume *Bakócz Gradual* of Esztergom, bearing the same Bakócz-Erdődy coat of arms that graces the Renaissance pages of the Zagreb missal, and has also been noted in two grants of arms issued by Louis II. The fact that two styles of illumination – late Gothic and Italian Renaissance – coexist on the pages of the Zagreb missal and were probably painted within a relatively short interval of time from each other is one of the distinguishing and wonderfully heterogeneous features of Central European book art and book culture at this time, bearing witness to a dynamic cultural exchange and mobility of artists.[38]

What is interesting from the point of view of the socio-cultural context of the second part of the treasury missal is an astute observation made by the late Zagreb cathedral treasury custodian, Antun Ivandija, regarding the *benedictio nubentium* portion of the text. Ivandija drew attention to the fact that the name of the future young Hungarian ruler who later wed Mary of Habsburg and died at Mohács, King Louis II Jagiellon, *Ludovicus* in Latin, is explicitly mentioned in the text of the missal usually reserved for an impersonal form of a wedding blessing. Indeed, the text of the second column on folio 283v begins with a rubric *Ordo benedictionis nubencium* that goes on to explain which words to use in the case of a

[36] See Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Jure Glović prozvan Julijo Klovio: hrvatski sitnoslikar…" [Jure Glović known as Julijo Klovio: a Croatian miniaturist…] (Zagreb 1878), 7; Dragutin Kniewald, "Misal," 68–73, and Antun Ivandija, "Marginalije..:" 20–24. For a more recent opinion on this issue see Milan Pelc, "Iluminirani kodeksi između gotike i renesanse" [Illuminated codices between the Gothic art and the Renaissance] in his *Renesansa* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak , 2007), 547–8, referring to the research of Árpad Mikó, "Illuminated Grants of Arms of King Louis II: Art Historical Questions Linked to a Specific Form of Heraldic Representation in the Hungary of the Late Jagiellon Period," in *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531* [exhibition catalog] (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 81–95 and idem., "All'antica ....," 53–60.

[37] Árpad Mikó, "All'antica ...., " 59, referring to Edith Hoffman and Tünde Wehli, *Régi magyar bibliofilek* [Old Hungarian bibliophiles] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 1992).

[38] See Anna Boreczky, "Book painting in Hungary in the Age of János Vitéz," in *A Star in the Raven's Shadow*…(Budapest: National Széchény Library 1994), 25–45

royal wedding: *Et presertim si inter principes conubium celebretur. Tunc primum interogatio facienda est ad regem sic: Serenissime rex...*[39] The text continues on the next folio, 284r, specifically mentioning the name of King Louis : ...*diligit maiestas vestra serenissimam dominam N. hinc astantem affectione coniugali…Tandem interogatio ad reginam: Serenisima domina N. diligit serenitas vestra serenissimum dominum Ludovicum regem hic astantem affectione coniugali: at sic maiestatem suam in coniugem accepit.*[40] The cathedral inventory of 1502 mentions "an unbound and uncompleted missal with covers, bequeathed by late master George the suffragan of the Church."[41] The treasury missal today bears a heavy ornate Baroque silver binding and gilded silver medallions with the coat of arms of late seventeenth-century Zagreb Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić.[42] Whether bound or not before the time of Bishop Mikulić, the fact that it was intended for the royal wedding ceremony[43] provides a probable *terminus ante* and *post quem non* for the work on the Renaissance pages,[44] and opens up new modes of interpreting this liturgical codex as a socio-historical document.

Conclusion

The book culture of the Zagreb region in the last decades of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century was a culture at the crossroads. The extant books reveal intersections of print and manuscript culture, intersections of

[39] "And especially if a wedding is to be celebrated amongst royalty. In that case, the question should first be addressed to the king: Oh the most serene king…"

[40] "...does your Majesty hold Her Most Serene Highness present here in matrimonial affection? ...Then a question for the queen: Does Her most serene highness hold your Serenity, the most serene Lord Louis the king here present in matrimonial affection and thus accept His Majesty as a spouse?"

[41] Tkalčić, MCZ XI Appendix IV, 187, *Item unum Missale in asseribus non ligatum at non completum per condam dominum Georgium suffraganeum ecclesie legatum.*

[42] Kniewald, "Misal," 45.

[43] See Orsolya Réthelyi, "Mary of Hungary in the Court Context (1521–1531), " PhD dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2010), 24,72,79, 120,177, 197–198. The ceremony of 1515 was a double wedding in which two Jagiellon siblings were betrothed to two siblings of the Habsburg family; Anne Jagiello's hand was given to Ferdinand, while Louis Jagiello was wed to Mary Habsburg, with Cardinal Tamas Bakócz conducting the ceremony. It is quite possible that the cardinal, as Ivandija suggests, may have seen the lavishly illuminated Zagreb missal and decided to have it completed with the intention of using it for this occasion.

[44] Ivandija, "Marginalije…", 18 The author suggests the *terminus ante quem non* as June 4, 1508, the date when Louis II was crowned king of Hungary while still a child, and the *terminus post quem non* as July 28, 1515, when the very young king was wed to Mary, granddaughter of the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian in Vienna.

artistic styles of the Northern and Southern regions of Europe, intersections of high and low, secular and religious culture of late fifteenth-century Europe – all finding their place in the medium of liturgical books, forming a local book culture whose patrons were the ecclesiastical elite. The transition from the fifteenth to sixteenth century saw a wide variety of local book cultures across Europe, each responding to the great cultural revolution of the printed book with its own specific socio-cultural dynamics in a process comparable to the coexistence of print and electronic cultures of written information in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries.

The ambition to develop the Zagreb cathedral chapter in an intellectual and cultural sense as a center of the large medieval diocese of Zagreb started with the foundation and growth of the cathedral chapter library, one of the more extensive ones in scope and content in the territory of the medieval Hungarian kingdom. It continued through the fifteenth century to include the new medium of the printed book and came up against the unwanted political and economic turbulence of the intensifying battles against the invading Ottoman armies. Nevertheless, the Zagreb region experienced the horizons of the late medieval world merging with the new intellectual and cultural trends of early modern Europe at its own local pace and dynamic. The surviving body of sources for late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century book culture of the diocese of Zagreb offer rich material for exploring various aspects of the intersections between two different media of written communication, intersections which perhaps never before reverberated so sympathetically with our own time.

THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY IN THE ILLUSTRATED SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LIVES OF SAINTS[1]

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(University of Warsaw)

Saints were prominent characters in historical narratives from the earliest times of Christendom, as the first examples of church histories show, with lives of saints as the most important part. After the Council of Trent (1545–1563) numerous late Classical and medieval lives and church histories were released in print and incorporated into wide-ranging hagiographical projects.[2] They played a variety of polemical, apologetic, didactic, dogmatic and identity-building functions in the Catholic Church, on both the interconfessional and intraconfessional levels.[3] The example of the illustrated lives of Hungarian saints provides evidence that the interest of Catholic authors in local saints could have filled similar needs. Their works operated at the intersection of *historia sacra* and *historia politica* and, through visual and verbal means, narrated Hungarian history anew with holy figures as its main protagonists. The focal question of this paper is, therefore: What were the main components that constituted the new vision of the Hungarian past in the illustrated lives of saints from the seventeenth century? How was the past constructed and what consequences could such a vision of the past have had for the seventeenth-century cultural politics involving Hungarian aristocrats,

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[2] Simon Ditchfield, "What Was Sacred History? Mostly Roman Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent," in *Sacred History Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 82, 84; Jan Marco Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert: zum Werk der Bollandisten; ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch*, Frühe Neuzeit: Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009).

[3] Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Ditchfield, "What Was Sacred History?," 73; Matthias Pohlig, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung: lutherische Kirchen- und Universalgeschichtsschreibung 1546–1617*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation: Texte und Untersuchungen (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

the Habsburg apparatus, and Jesuit authors? The subsequent observation that the medieval past was privileged in these sources leads me to the final question: What was the role of the Middle Ages in the Hungarian ecclesiastical and political histories of the seventeenth century?

Illustrated Lives of Hungarian Saints

The illustrated seventeenth-century lives of Hungarian saints are limited in number, but significant in their cultural resonance. Two particular works discussed below were ambitious collaborative projects that proved to be highly influential, as one can judge from the number of editions and their impact on other visual and textual media throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[4]

The first is the often-reprinted *Proofs of Hungarian Sanctity* (*Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, *Fig. 1*) written by the prolific Jesuit author Gábor Hevenesi (1656–1715), published in Nagyszombat (today's Trnava) in 1692. The first edition, dedicated to Ferenc Klobusiczky (ca 1650–1714), baron of Zétény, royal representative and advisor of Leopold I, was followed by three other editions – two in Latin (1737, 1750), and one in Hungarian (1695).[5] Only the Latin editions of 1692 and 1737

[4] On the reception of these lives see two catalogue entries by Terézia Kerny: "Hevenesi Gábor: Magyar szentség" [Gábor Hevenesi: Hungarian sanctity], in *Történelem-kép: szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon* [History and image. Relation between art and the past in Hungary], ed. Árpád Mikó, Katalin Sinkó, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványai (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 334; "Tarnóczi István Szent László-életrajza" [Life of St Ladislas by István Tarnóczi], in *Történelem – kép…,* 335–336. Both include bibliographical references to the scholarship.

[5] First edition of the work: *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia, sive brevis quinquaginta sanctorum et beatorum memoria iconibus expressa.* Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis: excusa per Joh. Adam. Friedl, [1692] is the basis for the examination. I used the copy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, shelfmark: 304.984-A. Two later Latin editions were: *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia, sive…quinquaginta quinque sanctorum, beatorum ac venerabilium memoria iconibues expressa*…. Tyrnaviae: Typ. Acad. per Leopoldum Berger, 1737; *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia, sive ... quinquaginta...quinque sanctorum, beatorum ... memoria iconibus expressa...* Jaurini: Typ. Streibig, 1750. Both were expanded by five *vitae* of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century holy figures: four Jesuits – St. Francis Borgia and Sts Mark, Stephen, and Melchior (Jesuits martyred in Kassa, today's Košice), and one from the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit, Georg Csepelényi. The seventeenth-century Hungarian edition was: *Regi Magyar Szentseg, Avagy: Magyar-Ország bóldog emlekezetű ötven Szenteinek, és Bóldoginak le-képzett élete...* Nagy-Szombatban [Trnava]: Hoermann János, 1695. Also, two twentieth-century Hungarian editions of Hevenesi's work, based on translation from the Latin text of 1737 by Ferenc Sinkó, are available: *Régi magyar szentség avagy, Ötvenöt magyar szent és boldog valamint tiszteletreméltó ...* (Budapest: Új Ember Kiadó, 1988, 1999).

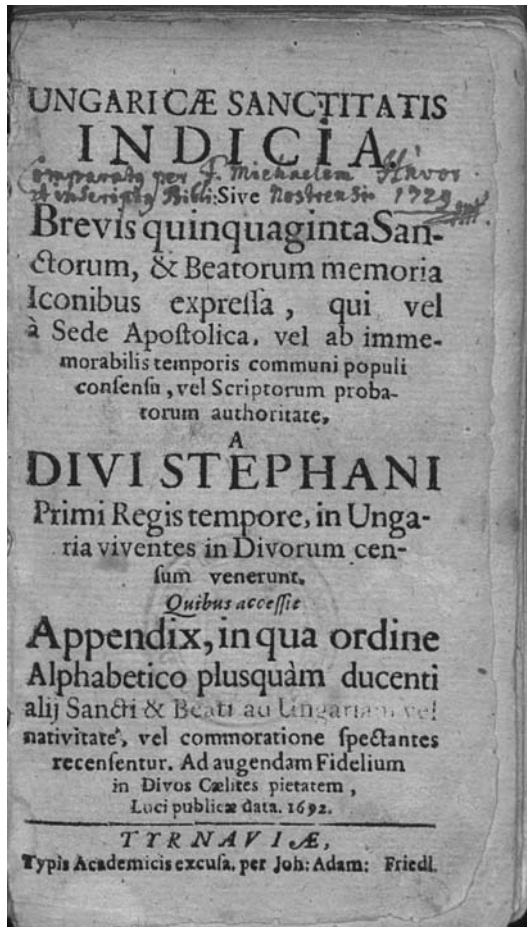
UNGARICÆ SANCTITATIS
INDICIA,
Brevis quinquaginta Sanctorum, & Beatorum memoria Iconibus expressa, qui vel à Sede Apostolica, vel ab immemorabilis temporis communi populi consensu, vel Scriptorum probatorum authoritate,
A
DIVI STEPHANI
Primi Regis tempore, in Ungaria viventes in Divorum censum venerunt.
Quibus accessit
Appendix, in qua ordine Alphabetico plusquàm ducenti alij Sancti & Beati au Ungaria vel nativitate, vel commoratione spectantes recensentur. Ad augendam Fidelium in Divos Cœlites pietatem, Loci publicæ data. 1692.
TYRNAVIÆ,
Typis Academicis excusa. per Joh: Adam: Friedl.

Fig. 1. Title page of Gábor Hevenesi's Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia. – *Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis: excusa per Joh. Adam. Friedl, [1692]. Source: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár RMK II. 355. fol. [A1r].*

were accompanied by the series of fifty engravings (or fifty-five in the case of the edition of 1737), signed by Johann S. Schott and Johann Jacob Hoffmann.

Proofs of Hungarian Sanctity is the most comprehensive overview of Hungarian saints and as such constitutes the main basis of this analysis. The book consists of brief biographical entries about fifty saints and beatified persons who were either born or venerated in Hungary, presented along with their images, which correspond closely to the text. The arrangement of the lives is subordinated to

the sociopolitical hierarchy of pre-modern polities – holy women and men who were kin of the royal families are given first, followed by saints and the beatified of more humble origins and dignities. Each description is preceded by a heading giving a name, the distinction of the holy person, and her or his connection to Hungary, often understood as family ties with the house of Árpád. A similar structure characterizes the more detailed inscription on the full-page image of a holy figure that is inserted after the text in the edition of 1692.

The structure of each *vita* corresponds to the traditional hagiographic schema: First, detailed genealogical information is given, followed by the saint's accomplishments as proof of his or her Christian virtues and devotion. It closes with a description of the circumstances, date, and place of death and often miracles performed posthumously. At the end of each entry there is a short list of references. Apart from lives of saints (such as the often-quoted *Acta Sanctorum*), church histories (mainly Menyhért Inchofer's *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariae)* and other works of numerous Hungarian and foreign Jesuits, earlier chronicles were also referred to, most significantly historiographic works from the times of Matthias Corvinus – Antonio Bonfini's (1427/34–1502) *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* and János Thuróczy's (ca. 1435 to ca. 1489) *Chronica Hungarorum*.

The selection of *vitae* included in Hevenesi's work indicates a focus on the times of St. Stephen. The book opens with the entry on the first Hungarian king and finishes with the life of Matthew Eskandély, a hermit and martyr who supposedly lived during his reign. Almost one third of all the saints and beatified presented in the compendium were contemporaries of St. Stephen. A large group among them were the first missionaries and friars involved in Christianization or the establishment of Churches. Another large group consists of saints from the house of Árpád, with numerous holy women related to the royal dynasty through birth or marriage. Among fifty Hungarian saints and the beatified there are no sixteenth- or seventeenth-century figures.[6] The most contemporary ones were beatified and saints of the fifteenth century: John, Dominican of the Hungarian

6 The omission of the Jesuit martyrs of 1619 is meaningful; Sts Mark, Stephen and Melchior were tortured to death in Kassa (Košice) because of their Catholic faith during the uprising of the *princeps haereticus*, Gábor Bethlen. Their lives were included in the editions of 1737 and 1750 as well as in Matthias Tanner's *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans, in Europa, Africa, Asia et America*…, Pragae: Typ. Universitatis, 1675. They were officially canonized in 1995.

province and bishop of Bosnia (d. 1418), St. Casimir of the Jagiellons (d. 1484), St. John Capistran (1386–1456), and his follower, Blessed Jacob.[7]

Proofs of Hungarian Sanctity concludes with an appendix with an alphabetic list of other saints who pertained to Hungary (*Appendix, in qua reliqui sancti ad Ungariam spectantes recensentur*). It enumerates more than two hundred holy figures. Among them is a large group of saints who happened to cross Hungary-to-be in the fourth century; "St. Ursula with eleven thousand virgins killed by Attila in 383;"[8] Charlemagne, who "fought for a long time in Hungary and founded a church in Győr and Buda;"[9] and St. Francis Borgia (1510–1572), a Jesuit who was believed to be a descendant of a Hungarian military family fighting in Catalonia. In each case, Hevenesi refers to the sources which elaborate on the given person. The selection of references is generally analogous to that accompanying the fifty main entries of *Proofs*.

Hevenesi's compendium of saints mentions several episodes from Hungarian history, among which the Christianization of Hungary takes a primary position, with the active participation of numerous apostles of the eleventh-century Church and establishment of ecclesiastical structures. The offering of the Hungarian crown to Mary (and Marian devotion of Hungarian saints stressed throughout the book) along with references to the battles against the Ottomans, preceded by "numerous wars waged with the barbarian enemy through so many centuries," frame the content of the book, which aims to highlight that "no other kingdom is better known because of its domestic sanctity than Hungary."[10]

The life of St. Ladislas by the Jesuit István Tarnóczy (1626–1689), entitled *Admirable King, or the Historico-Political Life of St. Ladislas Illustrated for the Christian Erudition by Theological-political Eulogies* (*Rex admirabilis, sive vita S. Ladislai Regis Hungariae historico-politica, ad christianam eruditionem elogijs theo-politicis illustrata*, *Fig. 2*) offers a look into a single *vita*. It is the most richly illustrated book devoted to one particular Hungarian saint.[11] The work was dedicated to Sylvester Joanelli and

[7] The date of official canonization or beatification does not seem not to have played a role in the selection. St. John Capistran was not beatified before 1694 and canonized only in 1724.

[8] *S. Ursula cum undecim millibus virginum ab Attila interfecta* an. 383. 21. Octob.: Gábor Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, fol. M8v.

[9] *S. Carolus Magnus pluribus annis in Ungaria pugnavit, Deiparae honori Jaurini et Budae templa erexit*: Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, fol. L6v.

[10] See note 27.

[11] Some copies of the edition of 1681, however, lack the illustrations; cf. *Rex admirabilis*… from the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, shelfmark 43.N.92.

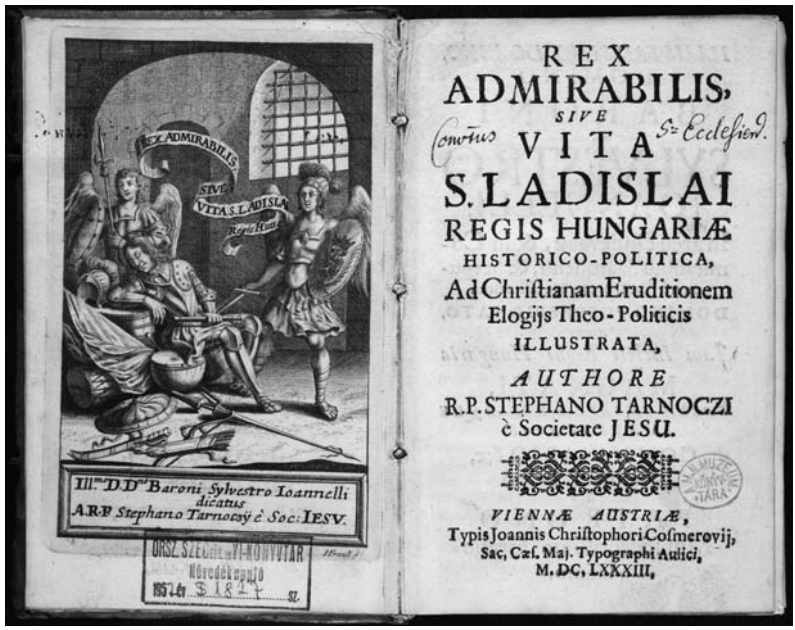

Fig. 2. Frontispiece and the title page of István Tarnóczy's Rex admirabilis sive vita S. Ladislai regis Hungariae historico-politica ad Christianam eruditionem elogiis theo-politicis illustrata. *Viennae Austriae: typis Ioannis Christophori Cosmerovii ..., [1683]. Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, RMK 3239/1, first unnumbered fol.v, fol. [(1)r].*

printed twice in Vienna in a two-year time span: in 1681, re-issued in 1683 by the same printer, Johann Christoph Cosmerovius.[12]

Tarnóczy's work opens with an engraved frontispiece and continues with fifty eulogies, each preceded by a scene depicting a pertinent episode from the saint's life, signed by the Venetian engraver Domenico Rossetti (1650–1736)

[12] *Rex admirabilis sive vita S. Ladislai regis Hungariae historico-politica ad Christianam eruditionem elogiis theo-politicis illustrata. Authore r. p. Stephano Tarnoczy e Societate Iesu* Viennae Austriae: typis Ioannis Christophori Cosmerovii ..., 1681; *Rex admirabilis sive vita S. Ladislai regis Hungariae historico-politica ad Christianam eruditionem elogiis theo-politicis illustrata authore r. p. Stephano Tarnoczi e Societate Iesu.* Viennae Austriae: typis Ioannis Christophori Cosmerovii ..., 1683. I base the following analysis on the edition of 1683 (in which minor errors in the order of illustrations from the edition of 1681 were fixed) and the copy from the Hungarian National Library in Budapest (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), shelfmark: RMK III. 3239/1.

and a certain Frank. Tarnóczy also wrote lives of two other Hungarian saints, St. Stephen and St. Emeric, in a similar literary form. Even though these three works might be thought of as a triptych,[13] the lack of visual narratives, and their subsequent narrower reception in the Hungarian iconosphere, excludes them from the sources studied here.

The life of the "admirable king" is presented in chronological order – it begins with a description of the saint's ancestors and his birth (*Ortus S. Ladislai*). This is followed by the presentation of St. Ladislas' pious life and praiseworthy reign up to his death and posthumous miracles. The exposition of the saint's life, in both the eulogies and the engravings preceding them, connects the hagiographical information with events from Hungarian history. The most important among them are the military successes of St. Ladislas, his fights with the Cumans, and the extension of the borders to the neighboring Croatia and Slavonia (and numerous other kingdoms). The successful attempts to have Stephen canonized by the pope and the establishment of a Hungarian bishopric in Zagreb are recorded amid deeds proving St. Ladislas' profound devotion and piety.

The historical reality contemporary to Tarnóczy comes to the fore mainly in the references to the wars with the Ottomans, which are mentioned explicitly in the dedication to the work and implicitly in the eulogies. Furthermore, in the *Admirable King* new episodes of St. Ladislas' life and miracles appear, absent in the medieval tradition.[14] They focus mostly on charity, piety, Marian devotion, and miracles performed posthumously. On the level of visual narrative, the Hungarian contemporary dress and pictorial scenes mark the seventeenth-century reality of the author and the engravers.

[13] Cf. László Szörényi, "Tarnóczy István Szent István-életrajza, a 'lapidáris stílus' remekműve" [Life of St Stephen by István Tarnóczy as a masterpiece of lapidary style], in *Philologica Hungarolatina: tanulmányok a magyarországi neolatin irodalomról* [Studies on Hungarian neo-Latin literature] (Budapest: Kortárs, 2002), 101–110, which also gives important information about St. Ladislas.

[14] Cf. Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIII. századtól a XVII. századig" [The cult and iconography of the Hungarian holy kings from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century], in *Az ezeréves ifjú. Tanulmányok Szent Imre herceg 1000 évéről* [The thousand-year-old youth. Studies on Saint Prince Emeric's millennium], ed. Tamás Lőrincz (Székesfehérvár: Szt. Imre Templomig., 2007), 78–124; Ernő Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als Ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14–15. Jh," *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987): 211–256.

Hungarian History in Lives: The Main Protagonists and Events

The lives of saints narrated by verbal and visual means were set in the medieval past of the Hungarian Kingdom, predominantly in the realm of the Árpáds. Holy kings along with their royal successors – heirs of their sanctity, founders of monasteries, and missionaries involved in consolidating Christianity – were presented as the main protagonists of Hungarian history. They were depicted as the agents of Christianization, establishing the ecclesiastical structure (the foundation of bishoprics, churches, monasteries, and religious orders), offering the Hungarian crown to the Virgin Mary and establishing her veneration, finally cultivating fidelity to the Apostolic See. All these threads of Hungarian medieval history presented on the pages of these books suggest the antiquity of Hungarian Christianity, its special apostolic status granted by the pope, and loyalty to the Catholic church. They are closely intertwined with the actions *pro bono patriae* – strengthening and defending the kingdom as well as expanding its borders – mentioned in the lives of the pious rulers of Hungary.

Hevenesi's catalogue favored the times of St. Stephen with its numerous missionaries and hermits. The exposition of the first Hungarian king, "alpha of kings and of Hungarian sanctity"[15] opens the *Proofs*. According to Hevenesi, St. Adalbert baptized and taught him. Then he entrusted Hungary to Rome and soon received the crown, apostolic cross, and title from the pope. At the end of his life, St. Stephen chose the Mother of God as the queen of Hungary and proclaimed it her heir.[16] This scene was selected as the main theme of the saint's image following his life (*Fig. 3*).

The corresponding image (*Fig. 4*) closes the life of St. Ladislas. The engraving shows the saint offering Mary his shield and sword encircled by a rosary.[17]

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[15] *Ut regum, ita et sanctitatis Ungaricae alpha Divus Stephanus*: Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, 1.

[16] Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, 1–2. This motif, common among seventeenth-century Catholic polities (Cf. Klaus Schreiner, "Schutzherrin und Schirmfrau Maria. Marienverehrung als Quelle politischer Identitätsbildung in Städten und Ländern des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit," in *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Gabriele Signori [Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007], 253–308), appears relatively early in Hungary. Its beginnings can be traced back to the twelfth-century legend of St. Stephen by Bishop Hartvic, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, 1st ed., Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 140–143, which offers an interpretation of the early existence of this motif in Hungarian sources.

[17] Cf. Terézia Kerny, *S. Ladislaus Rex Ungariae rosario ensi obvoluto pugnare* (A fölajánlás téma és a rózsafüzér attribútum Szent László barokk ikonográfiájában) [Offering the crown

Fig. 3. Representation of St Stephen in Gábor Hevenesi's Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia.– *Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis: excusa per Joh. Adam. Friedl, [1692]. Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár RMK II, 355., fol. B1r [=p. 3].*

St. Ladislas, traditionally embodying the *athleta patriae* type of saint, here takes the role of *athletae Mariae*. The text, however, follows the medieval tradition about the holy ruler and presents him as a constantly victorious defender of the kingdom and successful extender of the borders. Following medieval legend, Hevenesi mentions that St. Ladislas was appointed leader of an expedition to the Holy Land, but died during the preparation for the campaign.[18]

and rosary in the baroque iconography of St. Ladislas]," in *A domonkos rend Magyarországon* [The Dominican order in Hungary], ed. Attila Illés Pál and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, vol. 3, Művelődéstörténeti műhely, rendtörténeti konferenciák (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség-METEM, 2007), 331–352.

[18] Cf. László Veszprémy, "*Dux et Praeceptor Hierosolimitanorum*: König Ladislaus (László) von Ungarn Als Imaginärer Kreuzritter," in *The Man of Many Devices Who Wandered Full*

Fig. 4. Representation of St Ladislas in Gábor Hevenesi's Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia. *Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis: excusa per Joh. Adam. Friedl, [1692]. Source: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem [ELTE] Egyetemi Könyvtár RMK II, 355. fol. [C3v] [=p. 24].*

The Virgin Mary with the Child patronizes only the depiction of these two saints. The privileged status of the two holy rulers and their distinguished piety emanates to the whole dynasty, which inherits their sanctity, becoming, as sources call them, "the family of the holy kings."[19] The majority of the first twenty-two saints and beatfied in *Proofs* are cognates of St. Stephen; twelve of them are holy women. These are mainly female saints who link the Árpáds with numerous famous foreign royal houses (to mention only the Ottonian dynasty, the house of Aragon, the Polish Piasts and Jagiellons).

Many Ways..., ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 470–477. The same episode is also present in Tarnóczy's *Rex admirabilis*.

[19] János M. Bak, *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, 1000–1301:* Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae, The Laws of Hungary Series, Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Idylwild, CA: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1999), xxxv.

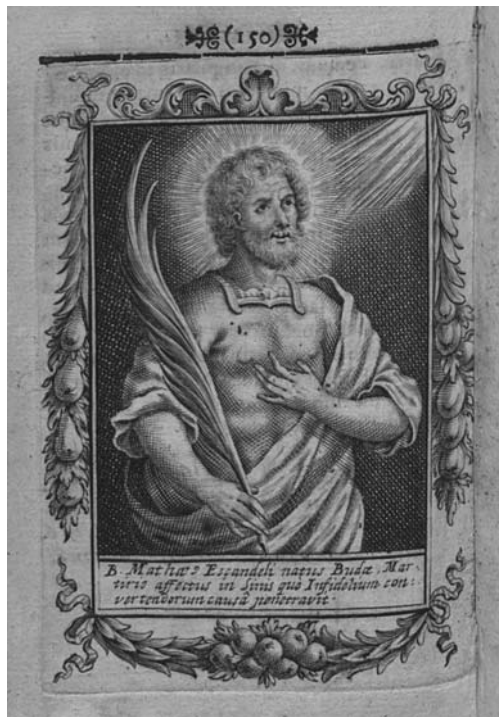

Fig. 5. Representation of Matthew Eskandély in Gábor Hevenesi's Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia. *Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis: excusa per Joh. Adam. Friedl, [1692]. Source: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár RMK II, 355. fol. [L2v] [=p. 150].*

After the saints with royal blood, the lives of the most pious archbishops, bishops, abbots, hermits, friars, nuns, and missionaries of the first four centuries of Hungarian Christianity are presented. The three last *vitae* belong to St. John Capistran, his follower Blessed Jacob, and Matthew Eskandély.

As *Proofs* opens with the life of St. Stephen, it closes with the *vita* of Blessed Matthew Eskandély, an enigmatic hermit and martyr who originated from Buda (*Fig. 5*).[20] Driven by evangelic zeal kindled by St. Stephen – as Hevenesi describes

[20] On the discussion about the dates of Eskandély's life see the article by Krisztina Ilkó, "Eskandély Máté. Egy középkori magyarországi remete Kínában?" [Matthew Eskandély. A medieval Hungarian hermit in China?], in *"Közel, s távol" II.: az Eötvös Collegium Orientalisztika Műhely éves konferenciájának előadásaiból, 2012* ["Nearby and far away" II. Papers from the annual conference of Oriental Studies at the Eötvös Collegium], ed.

– he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his way back from Mount Zion Matthew suddenly decided to start an anchoretic life in a cave. After some time he determined to set out to Christianize India, but after a long journey he finally passed India and Siam (*Sianis Regnum*) and ended up in China. He converted many people there and "did not teach the pagans about anything else than about his fatherland, in which he was born, about devotion to the Mother of God, bringing together her praise and her special status as the immaculate Virgin."[21]

Eskandély's (among others) evangelization of the Far East, first described in detail in Inchofer's *Annales*,[22] closely resembles the first sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuit missions there. The question that arises is: Could this story be read as a reflection of contemporary Jesuit activities? Inchofer and Hevenesi found it important to expand and popularize the saint's life. One may wonder if their works emphasizing, on the one hand, the numerous connections with the Catholic Church and Jesuit activities of the time, and, on the other, the activities of Hungarian holy men which anticipated their own pursuits, served as one of the arguments for acknowledging the "distinctiveness" of the Jesuit province in Hungary. The Hungarian Jesuit province, despite the efforts of the local friars, was part of the Austrian province until the twentieth century.

The problem of the connection between seventeenth-century matters and those of the previous centuries could also be tackled from the perspective of the military conflicts with the Ottomans mentioned by Hevenesi. Two lives preceding the deeds of Matthew Eskandély tell of the leaders of the crusade against the Ottoman army in the mid-fifteenth century. St. John Capistran, a preacher of the Franciscan Observance, was a saint popular in Hungary not only because of his fervent sermons and the numerous miracles he performed,[23] but also because of his leadership against the Ottomans and participation in the victorious battle of Belgrade (1456), which he is believed to have commanded together with

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Ferenc Takó (Budapest: Eötvös Collegium, 2012), 243–253. He died in China as a martyr, according to tradition in 1399, but Hevenesi does not follow this tradition.

[21] *Nunquam ad gentiles verba fecit, quin pro Patria, unde ortus erat, pietate in Deiparam, aliquid laudum aut praerogativarum immaculatae Virginis immiscuisset*: Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, 148–149.

[22] Menyhért Inchofer, *Annales ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae* … Romae: typis Ludovici Grigniani ..., 1644, 291–293. Inchoffer refers to two Jesuit works: Pierre du Jarric's *Histoire des choses plus mémorables advenues tant ez Indes orientales,* … A Bourdeaus: par S. Millanges, 1608–1614 and Juan de Lucena's, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizerão na India os mais religiosos da Companhia de Iesu*… Lisboa: impr. por P. Crasbeeck, 1600. Both books only mention Eskandély briefly. Lucena and Jarric are also listed by Hevenesi.

[23] Cf. Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000).

János Hunyadi (ca. 1407–1456). Having Capistran canonized was a priority of Matthias Corvinus' (r. 1458–1490) politics, who took an anti-Ottoman line and aimed to strengthen the dynastic claims of the Hunyadis. Capistran's beatification only succeeded in Hevenesi's time, when anti-Ottoman issues were widely discussed and closely connected to the zealous cult of Capistran in Hungary.[24] In Capistran's life, Hevenesi describes the defence of the city in detail:

> Capistran with [János] Corvin arrived when the Ottomans were shaking the fortifications of Belgrade. He embraced the crucifix and exhorted the comrades against the enemy of the name of a Christian. Saying the first prayer to God, he roused his hand towards the navy of the insolent enemy and, what a wonder! the most powerful enemy fled and scattered. After the twenty four-hour battle, the enemy, cast down and thrown out of the camps, was driven to flight from the city and fortifications which he had previously occupied.[25]

The life of St. Jacob, a companion of John Capistran in the "holy war to defend Hungary,"[26] does not add any details about the Ottoman issues presented in *Proofs*. The opening remarks presented by Hevenesi in the introduction to the book suggest, however, that it was the military invasion of the Ottoman Empire that had left Hungary despoiled and broken the cultural continuity:

> Yet, such is the misfortune of such frequent wars waged against the barbarian enemy through centuries, that no other kingdom is more experienced in domestic sanctity than Hungary. It should not be surprising that after destruction of the old monuments through such conflagrations and devastations hardly anything else than conjecture and the historiographies of the neighboring kingdoms enables … gathering traces of the predecessors.[27]

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[24] Zoltán Szilárdfy, "A török háborúk emléke barokk szentképeken" [Memory of the Turkish wars on baroque holy images], in *Történelem - kép*…, 349.

[25] *Mahometi Belgradi moenia tormentis quatienti cum Corvino Capistranus occurrit; hic Cruxifixum complexus, sociis contra Christiani nominis hostem inflammatis, praemissa Numinis invocatione longe inferiori manu superbi hostis classem adoritur et mirum! potentissimus hostis fugatur, funditurque et post 24 horarum praelium urbe ac moenibus, quae occupaverat, excussus, castris exutus, in fugam compellitur*, Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, 142–143

[26] [*I*]*n expeditione belli sacri pro Ungaria defendenda*, Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, 145.

[27] *Et tamen, quae tam frequentium bellorum cum barbaro hoste tot per saecula ductorum calamitas est, nullum forte Regnum domesticae sanctitatis Ungaria magis est ignarum: nec id quidem mirum admodum esse debet, cum per tot incendia, et vastationes abolitis veterorum monumentis vix nisi aut conjectura, aut mendicato e vicinorum Regnorum historiographis lumine, dubio passu praedecessorum legi possint vestigia*, Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia,* A4v–A5r.

According to Hevenesi, this could be blamed for the severe hiatus in Hungarian cultural history and the discontinuity between the seventeenth century and the medieval past that could only be reconstructed on the basis of scattered pieces. Hevenesi, in his scholarly attempts, collected dispersed sources in order to restore the glorious Hungarian past.[28] In doing so, he was far less interested in contemporary holy figures and martyrs of the time of confessional dissent (such as the three martyrs of Kassa and Georg Csepelényi, whose lives were added to the eighteenth-century editions), rather he concentrated on the heroic age of Christianity in Hungary, on the epoch before the profusion of denominations, when the Church was both strong and unified.

Proofs had an important pragmatic aim. It was meant to be a guidebook through piety, personal devotion, and early modern patriotism. Readers were to emulate the collected lives and repeat their acts of sanctity in future generations. The didactic goals of the book brought the medieval reality closer to contemporary realms, depriving it somewhat of the status of the distant past.

A Seventeenth-century Medieval Era?

In the lives of these saints the medieval past is viewed through the seventeenth-century lens of Catholic scholars. Motifs contemporary to the authors are introduced in both the visual and the verbal layers. The most striking anachronism in the vision of the Middle Ages presented by Hevenesi and Tarnóczy is the Marian devotion shown in a clearly post-Tridentine manner closely connected to the propagation of the seventeenth-century concept of Hungary as *Regnum Marianum*. Similarly, the proliferation of miracles, especially those proving a saint's sanctity through curing, was an aftermath of the new canonization practices introduced by Urban VIII (1623–1644). Finally, the contemporary settings and costumes depicted in the engravings presented the Middle Ages in seventeenth-century Hungarian garb. Actualization of the lives is presented on two levels; the first could be called universal Catholic and the second local Hungarian (or more precisely, Habsburg-Hungarian).

Both perspectives are present in the *Admirable King*, where St. Ladislas is accompanied by Hungarian noblemen dressed in the national costumes of the time in the illustration of the first eulogy (*Fig. 6*). The saint holds not only his traditional attribute – an axe – but also a shield embellished with the representation of *patrona Hungariae*. The image of Mary in the type *Mulier amicta sole* had great

[28] It was also the main aim of his ambitious project that led to a collection of 140 volumes of documents about Hungarian history.

Fig. 6. Depiction of St Ladislas' origins in István Tarnóczy's Rex admirabilis sive vita S. Ladislai regis Hungariae historico-politica ad Christianam eruditionem elogiis theo-politicis illustrata. *Viennae Austriae: typis Ioannis Christophori Cosmerovii ..., [1683]. Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, RMK 3239/1, fol. [(4)v], plate I.*

popularity in the late Middle Ages throughout Europe. During the reign of Matthias Corvinus this iconographic variant, with the inscription *patrona Hungariae*, gained great popularity in Hungary and was used on the coins minted by Matthias Corvinus.[29] In the sixteenth century the Marian cult was strongly contested by Lutheran and Calvinist theologians. The reaction of the post-Tridentine Church was to ardently support numerous forms of individual and collective venerations

[29] Gábor Tüskés, Éva Knapp, "Marianische Landespatrone in Europa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Ungarns," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 24 (2002): 85. The authors date the Hungarian-language version of the term back to 1508, when it was used for the first time in the context of the struggles with the Ottomans: ibid., 86.

of the Virgin Mary such as processions and pilgrimages,[30] which often went to Marian shrines that were believed to have been founded in the Middle Ages and remained untouched by Protestant iconoclasm.[31]

In such a religious milieu Inchofer revived the idea of Marian tutelage over Hungary and called the kingdom *regnum Marianum* and *regnum apostolicum*. The image of Hungary as a Catholic land of Mary, enjoying special papal privileges from the eleventh century onwards, went hand in hand with the religious politics of both the Habsburgs and the Jesuits. Tarnóczy and Hevenesi did their best to meld these two lines. Following Inchofer, they refer to the legend about St. Stephen bestowing the crown on the Virgin Mary and to the alleged bull of Sylvester II which gave apostolic rights to St. Stephen and at the same time granted the Habsburgs a pretext for claiming the title "apostolic king of Hungary."[32]

Marian tutelage was especially significant in the context of the wars with the Ottomans, infidels, and dissidents. Hevenesi's popular *Calendarium Marianum e victoriis contra gentiles, Turcas, haereticos et alios iniusti belli authores* (1685).[33] Attributes one military victory to every day of the year, ensured by Mary over pagans, Ottomans, heretics or other unjust aggressors. The message of the text, as well as of the engraving opening it (*Fig. 7*), is that throughout the whole year Marian piety (*Pietas Mariana*) is a remedy for every military conflict; it serves to help Christians (*auxilium Christianorum*) as a victorious sign that guarantees triumph over the enemy (*in hoc signo vinces*). In Hevenesi's calendar, the Virgin Mary brought a victory to the Argonauts, helped Constantine in the battle of the Milvian Bridge, supported Matthias Corvinus in overcoming the Hussites, assisted St. Ladislas in battles with the Cumans, aided Andrew II during the crusade, and favored many other kings and

[30] Cf. Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007); Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).
[31] Robert John Weston Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 257.
[32] On the political meaning of this concept see Sándor Bene, "A Szilveszter-bulla nyomában (Pázmány Péter és a Szent István-hagyomány 17. századi fordulópontja)" [On the track of the Sylvester bull (Péter Pázmány and the St. Stephen tradition at the turn of the seventeenth century)], in *"Hol vagy István király?" A Szent István-hagyomány évszázadai* ['Where are you, King Stephen?' Centuries of the St. Stephen tradition], ed. Sándor Bene (Budapest: Gondolat, 2006), 84–124. On Habsburg attempts to use title of "apostolic kings of Hungary," see Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 256; Paul Shore, *Narratives of Adversity: Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2012), 213.
[33] The calendar had at least six editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (in 1685, 1689, 1730, 1742, 1745 and 1769).

Fig. 7. Frontispiece of Gábor Hevenesi's Calendarium Marianum e victoriis contra gentiles, Turcas, haereticos et alios injusti belli authores. Ope sanctissimae Dei Genitricis obtentis, nunc primum in singulos anni dies ad pie recolendum digestis, concinnatum, ac Almae Sodalitatis Majoris Immaculatae Virginis ab angelo salutatae, in Academico Societatis Jesu Collegio Græcii erectae, ac confirmatae DD. Sodalibus ... *Graecii: apud Haeredes Widmanstadii: 1685. Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, RMK III 3346, first unnumbered fol.r.*

military leaders in their struggles against the Ottomans (Louis the Great, Wladislas I in 1443, János Hunyadi, Maximilian I at the battle of Vienna in 1683).

Marian devotion also characterizes the militant life of St. Ladislas in the *Admirable King*. In Tarnóczy's book, the holy king founds a basilica dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Nagyvárad (today's Oradea), levitates in the air in a halo of light while engaged in prayer in front of a Marian altar (*Fig. 8*), and, as the first king, mints a golden coin bearing the image of the Virgin Mary.

Tarnóczy amplifies the episodes from St. Ladislas' life. He makes the king aspire to the priesthood, pray and fast for people's sins, receive the eucharist

Fig. 8. Depiction of St Ladislas levitating during prayer in front of a Marian altar in István Tarnóczy's Rex admirabilis sive vita S. Ladislai regis Hungariae historico-politica ad Christianam eruditionem elogiis theo-politicis illustrata. *Viennae Austriae: typis Ioannis Christophori Cosmerovii ..., [1683]. Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, RMK 3239/1, fol. [O3r], plate XXIIII.*

and keep all-night prayer vigils. The seventeenth-century "admirable king" is also much devoted to charity and helps widows, orphans, and all those infirm or in need. He has a royal "curing touch" that heals those who were affected by poison. The long catalogue of posthumous miracles pays close attention to other acts of wondrous healing. Separate eulogies are devoted to curing a woman with crippled arms and hands, a boy with swollen arms and legs which lacked bones and sinews, a leper, and a lame man. Moreover, St. Ladislas restores the hearing of the deaf, speech to the mute, sight to the blind, and saves the kingdom from a plague. All these actions are in keeping with the seventeenth-century model of sanctity and the Jesuit ideal of civic and religious conduct. The seventeenth-

century procedures of canonization – as Simon Ditchfield shows convincingly – focused on a candidate's "sanctity and heroicity of virtues."[34] To repeat from him:

> [T]he efficacy of a saint was measured above all by his or her capacity to deliver miraculous cures. Moreover, for the first century or so after Trent, at the height of confessional polemics over the cult of saints, the miracle played an important role as an authenticating sign of Roman Catholicism as the one and only *vera ecclesia*.[35]

The most superficial way of actualizing the past reality in these sources was to dress it in contemporary costume. This was done by following seventeenth-century literary (fashionable eulogies) and artistic fashions (use of word and image compositions, allegorical figures, and popular iconographical schema), and by depicting contemporary outfits (garments of the Hungarian nobility), settings (baroque interiors), and figures (Hungarian noblemen). The images enabled the authors to introduce a contemporary visual reality, difficult to transfer to the verbal medium. By doing this, the illustrations actualized the life of a saint in a variety of ways that often went far beyond the literary content. They also offered ready models that could be transferred to other visual media and function in a broader social context, such as wall paintings, sculptures or engraved popular holy images.

Conclusions

The seventeenth-century illustrated lives of saints focused mainly on the eleventh century – on the introduction of Christianity in Hungary. St. Stephen and St. Ladislas – two holy kings, along with a whole assembly of their contemporaries – bishops, missionaries, friars and hermits – were responsible for establishing and consolidating the Hungarian Church, with its close ties to the Apostolic See. The selection of holy figures presented, among which almost half were related to the house of Árpád, stressed the close connection between sanctity and Hungarian native rulers. Analogously to similar "national projects," that came into being in the post-Tridentine era, Hungarian lives of saints highlighted the distinctiveness of the local religious and political tradition within universal Catholicism. At the same time, attention was paid to the beginning of Christianity in Hungary (often alleged to have been in the fourth century) emphasising its antiquity and the continuing path to the true faith that found complete fulfillment in the lives of fifty holy figures.

[34] Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *Christianity: Reform and Expansion*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 213.
[35] Ibid., 213.

The lives of saints discussed here were loosely based on medieval traditions, legends, late medieval chronicles, and iconographical patterns. Most of the sources used by Hevenesi and Tarnóczy were Jesuit church histories and hagiographical projects by foreign authors which recreated views of the past that would reaffirm confessional identity. The authors' vision of the past was much dependent on the ways historical inquiries were conducted and presented by the members of Societas Jesu. In a similar way to their Spanish, Italian or German co-friars, Hungarian hagiographers made use of different literary styles (with the fashionable eulogy practiced mainly among the Jesuits) and various word-and-image means for polemic, didactic, and pietistic purposes.

The illustrious past marked by the reigns of the native dynasty was actualized through verbal and iconic means that reshaped the medieval past according to seventeenth-century concepts such as *regnum apostolicum* and *regnum Marianum*. This linked Hungarian history more closely with the Holy See and the Habsburg court. *Proofs of Hungarian Sanctity* and *Admirable King* reconcile local tradition with universal Roman principles, a strategy which was also in accord with the politics of the Habsburgs. Furthermore, the contemporary forms of religiosity, fashion, art and architecture introduced in the representations of the saints facilitated their reception by contemporary readers and/or viewers and diminished the distance between the epochs. The complex political context, often engaged in conflict, within which these works were produced distinguishes the content and message of the seventeenth-century Hungarian lives of saints among the similar hagiographic enterprises of the time.

In the dense network of interdependences within which Hungarian Jesuits produced their works, presentation of the singularity of the Hungarian political, cultural and path based on the medieval saints and beatified had great consequences for the self-identifications of the readers. Most of those in the upper circles of Hungarian society were Catholics, many of whom searched for a balance between their Hungarian identity and loyalty to the Habsburg rulers. In times of crippling Ottoman wars, external and internal unrest in the kingdom, looking back to the history of the independent polity, its famous and pious kings, bishops, and friars, reaffirmed their faith in both the support of Catholic saints and a strong fatherland.

20 YEARS OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU
JUNE 14–15, 2013

Gábor Klaniczay

Celebrating anniversaries of institutions has two functions. In the first place – revisiting our past, meeting former students, colleagues, recalling past achievements, remembering those who already left us – this is an exercise of self-knowledge, identity, and also of self-reflexivity. Who are we? Where are we now? What have we achieved? Have we reached the goals we originally planned? Second: this is also a stepping stone for thinking about our future – recharging our batteries, gathering new plans, constructing the assets for the next 20 years to come.

It was an immense pleasure to welcome about sixty of our alumni (from among 402 successfully graduated MAs and 72 PhDs) and a dozen of our former visiting faculty for this event, a two day series of academic events, three exhibitions, and five field trips to hidden treasures of Budapest museums. In what follows, I provide a brief overview of this flow of events, which I had the task to coordinate with the help of many student and departmental "helpers." I thank, above all, the assistance of Teodora Artimon, Katalin Dobó, Zsuzsanna Godány, Eszter Konrád, and Annabella Pál.

Let me start with the three exhibitions. The Octagon Hall of the Monument Building of the CEU was populated for the week of this anniversary with a poster exhibition of successfully concluded research projects of medieval studies alumni, testifying to the academic potential of the new generation of medievalists from our department. We invited our former students for this contest, and we got 23 excellent posters from the following alumni:

Adelina Angusheva (Bulgaria, MA 1994, PhD 1995), Irene Barbiera (Italy, PhD 2003), László Benke (Hungary, MA 2003), Irene Bueno (Italy, MA 2002, PhD 2010), Fabrizio Conti (Italy, PhD 2011), Margaret Dimitrova (Bulgaria, PhD 2000), Lucie Dolezalová (Czech Republic, PhD 2005, habilitation 2012), Dávid Falvay (Hungary, MA 2001, PhD 2006), Frederik Felskau (Germany MA 1999, PhD 2005), Kateřina Horníčková (Czech Republic, PhD 2009), Jelena Jarić (Macedonia, MA 2008), Uladzimir Kananovich (Belarus, MA 1995, Cand. Sci. 1997), Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv (Ukraine, PhD 2007), Vasco La Salvia (Italy, PhD 2006), Benedek Láng (Hungary, PhD 2003), David Movrin (Slovenia, MA 2002, PhD 2008), Giedré Mickunaité (Lithuania, PhD 2002), Jeremy Mikecz (USA, MA 2009), Marina Miladinov (Croatia, PhD 2003), Petra Mutlová (Czech

Republic, PhD 2009), Iryna Polets (Poland, MA 2008, PhD 2013), Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Romania, PhD 2004), Péter Szabó (Hungary, Czech Republic, PhD 2005), Tanja Tolar (Slovenia, MA 2012).[1] The posters, put in final shape by Judith Rasson, have been uploaded to our website and can be reached under the address: http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu/PublicationsbyAlumni.

A second exhibition was arranged in the library by Balázs Nagy, a representative sample of the books written or edited by our alumni (according to our documentation 162 altogether, till June 2013). This publication list is also accessible on our website under the address: http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu/ProjectsbyAlumni.

The third exhibition was a remake, a renewed presentation of the show *Contagious Middle Ages in Post-Communist East-Central Europe.* This exhibition originally stemmed from a research project of the Medieval Studies Department, relying upon the cooperation of a group of 22 alumni, entitled *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages in Central Europe,* from which an exhibition was organized in 2003 (for our 10 years anniversary). Then further material has been assembled and exhibited on the occasion of the large international conference arranged by János M. Bak in March 2005 entitled *Gebrauch und Missbrauch des Mittelalters, 19–21. Jahrhundert / Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages: 19th–21th Century /Usages et Mésusages du Moyen Age du XIXe au XXIe siècle.* In this second round the help of a further group of students was essential, coordinated by three alumni: Ottó Gecser, Trpimir Vedriš, and Gábor Virágos. In September 2006 an even larger exhibit was organized at the Centrális Galéria of the Open Society Archive, with the present title, curated by Gábor Klaniczay and Péter G. Tóth, with the cooperation of Katalin Dobó and Péter Erdősi. The exhibition has much of its material on a website http://osaarchivum.org/files/exhibitions/middleages/. This material also travelled to the U.S., and on the invitation of Prof. Randolph Starn, the canvases made from it were on show at the Townsend Center for the Humanities in Berkeley in 2008. These canvases, completed with some new data, were presented here for the anniversary celebration and assisted by a show of medieval martial arts by the experimental archaeology group of Csaba Hidán (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest).

The academic program of the festivities began on June 14th, with a day-long set of Alumni Round-Tables. The underlying idea was that in seven fields relating to Medieval Studies, a group of 4–5 selected alumni would chat with 1–3

[1] Where the PhD of the authors is from CEU, we only indicate this title here, and where this title, or a higher one, has been acquired elsewhere, we have also indicated the MA obtained at CEU.

of our professors about the current cutting edge issues within that territory. The following themes and participants were selected:

- *Physical and Cultural Space* (organized by Katalin Szende, Judith Rasson)
  - Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv (Münster University/Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv)
  - Edit Belényesiné Sárosi (National Heritage Board, Kecskemét Regional Office)
  - Judit Majorossy (Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre)
  - Orsolya Réthelyi (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
  - Péter Szabó (Botanical Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno)

- *Material Culture and Social Context* (organized by Alice Choyke, József Laszlovszky)
  - Irene Barbiera (Università di Padova – CEU, Budapest)
  - Dóra Mérai (New Europe College, Bucharest)
  - Magdolna Szilágyi (National Heritage Center, Budapest)
  - Vasco La Salvia (Università di Chieti)

- *Byzantine & Caucasian Studies* (organized by Niels Gaul)
  - Florin Leonte (Harvard University)
  - András Németh (Vatican Library)
  - Nikoloz Aleksidze (University of Oxford/ Free University of Georgia)
  - Zara Pogossian (John Cabot University, Rome)

- *Early Modern Medievalisms* (organized by Marcell Sebők, Tijana Krstić, György Endre Szőnyi)
  - Enikő Békés (Center for the Humanities, Institute of Literature, HAS, Budapest)
  - Gabriella Erdélyi (Center for the Humanities, Institute of History, HAS, Budapest)
  - Péter Erdősi (Atelier, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
  - Robert Kurelić (University of Pula)

- *Cult of Saints and Other Cults* (organized by Gábor Klaniczay, Volker Menze, Marianne Sághy)
  - Reyhan Durmaz (Brown University)
  - Frederik Felskau (Cologne)
  - Ottó Gecser (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

  - Marina Miladinov (Matthias Flacius Illyricus Theological Faculty, Zagreb)

- *Philosophy, Patristics and Eastern Christianities* (organized by György Geréby, István Perczel)
  - Levan Gigineishvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)
  - Jozef Matula (Palacky University, Olomouc)
  - Eszter Spät (CEU, Budapest)
  - Tamás Visi (Palacky University, Olomouc)

- *Images and Visual Culture* (organized by Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács)
  - Kateřina Horníčková (IMAREAL, Krems)
  - Anu Mänd (University of Tallinn)
  - Dragoş-Gheorghe Nastasoiu (CEU, Budapest)
  - Emese Sarkadi Nagy (Christian Museum, Esztergom)

The round-tables provided us with fascinating new insights, critical observations, and inspiring propositions, which have indeed shown medieval studies as a lively, burgeoning field of historical inquiry. The highlight of the evening was a concert by the Pécs-based *Sator Orchestra,* entitled *Creatio. A Modern Approach to Medieval Hymns.* This successful orchestra has been organized by our PhD alumnus György Heidl, an expert in the writings of the young Augustine, currently professor at the University of Pécs. The performers were: Szilvia Bognár – vocals, Júlia Gyermán – violin, György Heidl – acoustic guitar, Zoltán Kovács – double bass, Viktória Szakács – cello.

For the morning of the second day of our celebrations we organized five field-trips to "hidden treasures" of Budapest museums, relying upon the help of alumni who are now in leading positions in these museums. (For technical reasons one of these visits, the one to the Academy Library, took place, in fact, on Friday). The following field trips were organized:

The *Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* was introduced by Gábor Tóth (Deputy Head of Department, Rare book Librarian), who presented us a precious collection of Latin, Greek and German codices. Among them the highlights were a 2nd-century wooden tablet from Verespatak/Roşia Montană, some 9th–11th-century Byzantine fragments from Gyula Moravcsik's bequest, Conrad Kyeser's *Bellifortis*, Lodovico Carbo's *De divi Mathiae regis laudibus rebusque gestis dialogus*.

In the *Museum of Applied Arts* we were hosted by Zsombor Jékely (Director of Collections), were we were shown medieval ivories, important goldsmith works from the Esterházy treasury, chasubles, and other medieval textiles. Going behind

the scenes, we could visit the Collection of Ceramics, where Italian medieval and early Renaissance majolica objects were prepared for us.

The visit to the Restoration Studio of the *Museum of Fine Arts* was organized for us by Dóra Sallay (PhD 2008, Head of Department of Old Master Paintings), who arranged that András Fáy (Head of the Department of Restoration) would introduce the group into the secrets of art conservation based on the works currently under restoration, including a fifteenth-century German panel.

In the *Hungarian National Museum* Etele Kiss (Art historian at the Medieval Department) introduced the group to the "arcanes" of the museum, showing some of the hidden objects not yet displayed because of their disputed authenticity. Among them there is an aquamanile with a female head and a recently acquired ring, supposedly of King Coloman, with a very curious recent history. This visit thus allowed the participants to discuss some of the authenticity issues related to those objects.

Finally, in the *Széchényi National Library* Anna Boreczky (art historian) presented us a selection of five codices, among them the famous Cod. Lat. 4: *Apollonius pictus:* the oldest known illustrated copy of a Late Antique adventure story *(Historia Apollonii regis Tyri),* a manuscript made around the first millennium in the Benedictine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr, where the monks added humorous notes to the pictures in the course of the following centuries.

The concluding event, on Saturday afternoon, was the two-voice public lecture on *Latin and Greek Middle Ages*, by Patrick Geary (Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study) and Claudia Rapp (University of Vienna) – the text of which we publish in the present volume.

The lecture was preceded by a representative series of addresses. First John Shattuck, Rector and President of CEU, provided the public a flattering overview of the achievements of the department and the importance of this field for the University, the Central European region, and academic scholarship in general. Then came a sequence of short addresses of the five professors who have served as heads of department: Gábor Klaniczay (1993–1997, 2005–2007), János M. Bak (1997–1998), József Laszlovszky (1998–2005), György Geréby (2007–2010), Katalin Szende (2010–2013). And – as usual – a grand reception, an enjoyment of a series of slides from our long history, pleasurable conversations, food, drink, and dance concluded the event. We are looking forward to the 30th such anniversary in 2023!

LATIN AND GREEK MIDDLE AGES: A TWO-VOICE PUBLIC LECTURE

Claudia Rapp – Patrick Geary

On Saturday, June 15th, 2013, Claudia Rapp, Professor for Byzantine Studies in the Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik of the University of Vienna and Patrick Geary, Professor of Medieval History at the Institute for Advanced Study, presented the following, informal two-voice reflection on the state of medieval and Byzantine studies. The following transcript attempts to capture the informality and spontaneity of their comments.

Rapp: Let me begin by thanking the organizers for this very kind invitation. For me it was special joy to be invited to a two-voice lecture: I had no idea what that is, but since it gave me opportunity to be reunited at the same table with Patrick Geary, with whom I shared many years of collegiality at UCLA, there was no doubt in my mind that this was the right thing to do. I am glad to be here, also, to have an opportunity to get a deeper appreciation of the CEU Medieval Studies Department and all it stands for and all that it has accomplished, both in the course of this last day of papers, today's presentations, through the posters outside and exhibition upstairs, but also through the graduation ceremony, which gave a good impression of how medieval studies is integrated into CEU as a whole.

Geary: I, too, am delighted to be here in terms of Jóska's [Laszlovszky] discussion of networking. It is wonderful that two people who spent almost two decades as colleagues and then have only seen each other across crowded conference rooms since then would be brought together once more by this department, which really is an extremely important node of communication for our entire profession, and, of course, all of you who have suffered through my chairing of MA defenses through the years know how very, very delighted I am to see all of you here today.

Rapp: So the collaboration continues: we have worked together on an outline. We have structured our remarks along a number of major themes. One – the larger political background for the last twenty years and its impact on scholarship, then two – cultures of knowledge, three – public perception, and four – research questions and issues with the sub-category of new technologies.

Geary: We see four main events that have structured the last twenty years, not just medieval studies: The fall of the Iron Curtain, globalization, September 11th, and the technological-digital revolution. These seem to be the four things that have shaped not only our world, our professional world, and our life, but have had particular impacts and inflections on what we do, East and West, as medievalists.

Rapp: Beginning with the fall of the Berlin Walk in my hometown, (although I was not present at the time); it is sort of emblematic for the fall of the Iron Curtain in general. This led to the opening of the boundaries between East and West, also because Eastern and Western scholarship made contacts that until then had only been maintained and encouraged on individual bases, and has made it easier to institutionalize them. It helped to find regular ways of interacting, and also made it easier for people from Western countries to become more aware of the scholarship that has flourished for many decades on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Geary: My sense is that the end of the artificial divide has meant the recuperation of national and religious identities throughout the region, but also in the West. The Iron Curtain was very convenient; because the West did not have to look East, the West had known itself differently. But there has also been, within the former Warsaw Pact countries, reaction against a kind of universal-socialist ideology to try to find a particular ideology, and a very intentional re-creation of religious traditions, many of which look back to the Middle Ages, and, as Claudia says, in our disciplines opening up isolated Western scholarship to Eastern and Central European scholarly worlds. The intellectual traditions that have been cultivated in Central and Eastern Europe and that the West had been largely able to ignore became inescapable. I think that two tendencies, the recuperation of old traditions and the necessity of Westerners to engage with Easterners and vice versa have been decisive.

Rapp: The next point is globalization which has, of course, opened up Europe also and the homeland of medieval studies to the greater world; we have started thinking not just about our place in History, about the place of Europe in History, but beyond that, we have begun to open up to the study of other continents and the integration of scholarship on other continents. The United States obviously has always been present centrally in my life and in Patrick's life, but now also there is the greater awareness and the greater willingness to engage with scholarship, especially in Asia and about Asia.

Geary: To be more specific, I would say that we all see the new interest in entangled histories, cultural exchange, and trans-nationalism. Certainly globalization has led to the rise of English as the language of international scholarship. When I started studying in Europe in the 1960s there was no particular reason to know English if you were studying continental history. That has obviously changed, but then there is also a strong reaction to globalization within Europe, and not only reaction to McDonalds. Anti-immigration movements and neo-conservatism are reactions against population movements. Then there is also the

accompanying alienation and radicalization of the immigrant communities within Europe, which have impacts on what we do, and then outside of Europe conflicts of Westernization, Europeanization or Americanization or McDonalding of the world. Something that Claudia and I both are aware of, because of our work in world history, is the rise of China as the second world economy, a renewal of what are actually Manchu imperial interests. As you have seen there is a movement in China to reclaim Okinawa as part of China based on Chinese medieval/early modern history. But then, also, the appearance of the new centers of learning and education in places such as Qatar and Abu Dhabi, and medievalists exist there and we shall see what comes of that.

Rapp: And, of course, there is a big interest in those countries to forge connections. New York University now has a branch in Qatar, the Louvre has opened a branch in Abu Dhabi, and those trends are going to continue, I think. 9/11 2001 has had an impact not just on the American public psyche but also has made us all re-think the role of religion. Until 2011 in scholarship we were content to think of religion as just one symptom of social and economic forces. But the visible effect of radicalized Islam as well as the presence of radicalized Christianity, which is very palpable, especially in the United States, has made us re-think the possibility that religion might actually be a separate category that motivates human behavior and cannot entirely be explained by socio-economic motives.

Geary: I think that this is a very important turning point in medieval history as well as in Byzantine history, because, as Claudia says, religion tends to be reduced to an epiphenomenon, both in the old Marxist tradition, but also in the Western economic utilitarian tradition. I think there are probably people in this university and other departments who have got the message that maybe it is not really all about economy. There may be other motivations in life and this has raised the questions that we deal with in the history of religion, saints' cults and the like that maybe are not totally trivial.

The fourth major factor that we think is framing our scholarly endeavors is the digital-technological revolution. Twenty years ago, when I went to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton as a visiting fellow, no one in the entire School of Historical Studies had an e-mail account. They could not imagine why anyone would want one. I had to be an honorary mathematician, because only the math department had email addresses. What this means for us is unprecedented access to published sources, immediate communication; you send the mail and if in five minutes you don't get the answer from your professor you are really wondering what is wrong with him. New digital libraries, the availability not only of published material that one used to have to travel to get, but also the

availability of manuscript sources, actually produces in Western medieval studies a return to the manuscripts. In a way, getting beyond *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, getting away from the critical edition for certain questions and going back to the manuscript because you can do a lot from a very long distance with digital manuscripts and sometimes you can do things you could not do if you actually had the manuscripts.

Rapp: I would say that the movement of the availability of manuscripts as you describe it, as the way away from printed editions is present in Byzantine studies, but it has a different impetus. It has an impetus in the interest in the development of the Greek language, which is and always has been the mainstay of Byzantine studies, and we have learned that we need to look at our manuscript transmission as a way of presenting, not just a living text, but also a living language. It is through the deviations of the copied version that we get closer to the Greek idiom, and the Greek spelling, and the Greek dialectal inflections as they were used in the Middle Ages than if we go through the editions produced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars who thought that their command of Greek grammar was better than that of the medieval copyists.

The digital revolution and the liberal access to information in manuscript form, but also to the depositories, like Google Books, and to the editions like MGH or the Bonn Corpus of Byzantine sources, means that our role as scholars changes and our role as teachers changes. Scholars are no longer privileged sources of data, which is freely available, so our role as professors is no longer communicating facts, but rather teaching critical thinking in order to help students and society sort out and evaluate masses of data available to everyone. We no longer are exclusive key holders to the locked archives; that door is now open wide. What we have to do instead is to teach our students to read maps through the jungle of information.

Geary: The next topic we want to talk about is getting more specific to our disciplines. This is the culture of knowledge. What are the structures within which what we do is organized, first of all, the institutions? We are increasingly unhappy with nineteenth-century structures of knowledge, a classic Humboldtian university that reflects a nineteenth-century understanding of knowledge, and so we have a new structure in this department as a classic example of a new way of organizing knowledge. Archaeology, art history, philology, philosophy, history are not supposed to exist in the same university department, but in Germany we have *Sonderforschungsbereiche*. There are institutions such as the Centre for Medieval Studies in Bergen, which is unfortunately closing, but others will grow up, sometimes *ad hoc* creations. The excellence initiatives in Germany and also in

France are bringing people together, so there are new structures of knowledge that are reflective of how institutional structures relate to what we do.

Rapp: Byzantine studies, by contrast has been stagnant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, so we have not actually diversified to the same degree as ancient studies or medieval studies into philologies, archaeologies, art histories, religious histories, but there has been always a very strong tendency within Byzantine studies to remain integrative and incorporate all these different kinds of evidence, so on this particular point we are ahead of the curve again.

Geary: The second thing that I think is really very important, and probably everyone in this room has participated in, is the enormous growth of international congresses. The obvious ones are Kalamazoo, with over three thousand medievalists let loose in one town, and Leeds. So there are many congresses. Who participates and who gets to speak at these conferences?

Rapp: I think that there is a very important trend: the great presence of graduate students at international conferences, at national conferences, and also there has been a very noticeable trend certainly within the last twenty years (perhaps we could also narrow it down to the last fifteen years) to have conferences organized by graduate students and for graduate students, and I think again CEU is right in the forefront of that, in encouraging the graduate students to acquire this kind of professional formation already at the masters' level and certainly at the PhD level.

Geary: There is also great mobility, greater engagement in ad hoc projects sponsored by the European Research Council, the Humboldt Stiftung, and private foundations. Again, the German excellence-initiatives allow you to travel around not just for conferences, but allow you to spend six months, a year or two years working with a different group of people. So the possibility of mobility, facilitated by the increasing appearance of a *lingua franca* which is, for better or for worse, English, means that you can go from Tallinn to Budapest via Hamburg and possibly Bergen and you can communicate just like Jóska's [Laszlovszky] Hungarian clerics who had no problem in Oxford and Paris.

Rapp: The downside of that I would like to add is, however, that the projects have shortened funding periods, and that is the trend that we are all aware of. Very long-range projects are increasingly endangered; funding periods of five years or less are not uncommon, which means that significant amounts of our time are now spent in writing applications for the next project while we are still working hard to complete the current one.

Geary: And along with that is a very serious problem that you are extremely aware of, that while there are many post-doc positions and many more graduate positions, nobody thought that perhaps there should be more professorial

positions, or research institute positions. So Europe's investment in scholarship is creating an enormous overqualified and unemployed body of wonderful medievalists, and this is a very serious problem. The excellence-initiative in Germany particularly infuriated me, because they are so wonderful, and then you have these Habilitanten, wonderfully qualified people; oh, now we are not going to create a professorial position, but just create temporary post-doc positions. I don't quite understand how it is supposed to work and I am not sure that it does.

Another downside in my mind, coming here and to other universities through the years, is the Bologna system, the three-two-three system of higher education, which I think weakens basic university education, particularly in the area of scientific languages. In the old days, when a Romanian student received her first degree after five years, chances were that she read pretty good Latin and Greek. Through the nineteen years I have been coming to the CEU, I see the Latin going down and English going up. It is nice that English is going up, but a three-year undergraduate degree, three-year doctoral degree, this is a very short time for the kind of technical work that our discipline demands.

Rapp: True with factors multiplied for Greek!

Geary: Let alone Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, and Old Church Slavonic. So these mobility projects are wonderful, but there can be problems, and the retrenchment in our education, as a result of the Bologna accords, is difficult. Going on, we might say something about publications.

Rapp: We have seen a significant rise in print publications and what's been remarkable to me, thinking back to the last twenty years, is to think about how publication history defined the field. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century we had the beginnings of journal publications and regional traditions; the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Zbornik Radova, Vyzantiniskij Vremmenik* were founded more or less within the same decade. The re-foundation of Byzantine studies, if you want to call it that, happened in the early '90s with the appearance of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, a three-volume work, that suddenly made Byzantium accessible even to non-Byzantinists, and what we have seen since then is, maybe you want to call it renaissance, maybe you want to call it a new age of encyclopedism, the rise of companions. There are companions to everything. There is now a new series by Brill that has commissioned twenty companions just on Byzantine subjects, Byzantine epistolography, Byzantine rhetoric, Byzantine military science, which is great, leaving a mark in the field and establishing the field in bookshops and publishers' catalogues. But it may also be the way that all renaissances are: a way of looking back to a research tradition and declaring it

closed and therefore in desperate need of protection, and that is a development that I am watching with great concern.

Geary: In Western medieval studies there have also been new journals of various types, some of you are responsible and involved in their founding, and there are also new monograph series. Sometimes I think that there is too much publishing in our field. You cannot say something at a conference without being told that the proceedings will be published, so you have to spend the next half a year preparing it for publication, which means probably fewer serious books and more articles. A German colleague said that he was attending a conference every week for a year, that means fifty-two articles that have to be published and I have trouble believing that this distinguished person had fifty-two new ideas with no time to research them. So I really believe in a moratorium on publishing conference proceedings. I have organized conferences for which I have promised that the proceedings will never appear. And I think for some people this is an incentive to attend.

Publishing monographs is a problem. Fortunately there are publishers like Brepols that continue to do this. There are certain publications or publishing houses, but increasingly without subventions. It is difficult to publish certain kinds of monographs and the problem of publishing in one's own language or in English has become problematic and political. Should you publish a definitive history of Norway in English, I guess that then everyone can read it. But is there possibly a time when you actually should publish in Hungarian and not just hide things from the world but inform a Hungarian audience? There are those problems in terms of print publications and there are other kinds of publications that have certain kind of impacts, that is, translation.

Rapp: Translation series have certainly sprung up in a big way in Byzantine studies. There is now the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library Byzantine series that has produced a couple of volumes already. There are Translated Texts for Byzantinists published by Liverpool University Press, analogous to the Translated Texts for Historians, which focuses on all the languages relevant to Late Antiquity. Translations are definitely a tool to help our field establish itself, to make it more present in the public eye, and to help our students go through greater amounts of material in shorter amounts of time, while they are still honing their language skills, in our case, in Byzantine Greek.

Geary: These days it is very difficult to edit a text without publishing the translation. And my experience is, if I try to translate what I have edited, I learn more about what I don't know and I am forced to make decisions.

The other growing world is online publications in our fields. Online journals, online databases, and publications become very complicated, I don't know how it is in the Byzantine world.

Rapp: There have been recent waves of founding journals in Byzantine studies that are published only online, like *Parekbolai*, which comes out of the University of Thessaloniki. I think we should also mention in this context the *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* that has become a mainstay for a lot of teaching of Late antique, Byzantine, and Western medieval studies, I should think.

Geary: Absolutely, and this evens the playing field since people can access these texts even if they are not in the university with a library that can afford very expensive print versions of text translations. Translations that are adequate are very important for expanding wider access to our material, and one hopes to generate interest in that. And of course online publications of handbooks and encyclopedias, many of these are online because they can be updated instantly. *Lexikon des Mittelalters* now exists as an electronic lexicon and can grow exponentially, but they cost. Some of these programs are democratizing because anyone can access them; others are exclusive because you can't. There are many manuscript collections online and there are some, like the *Parker on the Web*, that is yours for something like seventy thousand dollars a year. So it is a lot cheaper to give someone a first class ticket to England to go and live in very nice hotel and work in the Parker Library than to access it online.

Rapp: One thing that I recommend we should not go into because we will spend a lot of time and we will all get exercised about, is the peer review process as a result of changes and publications, and how that translates into online publications, publication history, financing publications, and also career paths and access to funding for young scholars.

Geary: Collaboration is a problem when someone is being considered for hiring or for promotion and collaborative projects and more and more research is collaborative, because committees ask "How many pages did you write?" or "What did this person do on the project?" This is a problem we could talk about for days. Let us move on to the public perception of our fields in the last twenty years.

I think that we all know that there is one aspect of the Middle Ages that is alive not only in this region, let's face it. France faces similar questions about the relationship between the medieval past and present national identity. There is a public perception as we mentioned before, that connects the Middle Ages to a particular national bias, which has generated the problem. We have "The Contagious Middle Ages" exhibition upstairs as an example.

Rapp: I should add that in Byzantine studies there is a new trend. In addition to lands that share the Greek language or, alternatively, the Orthodox tradition, there is now a great interest in Turkey in things Byzantine. That interest begins and is more firmly rooted in private institutions, such as Koç University. But it is beginning to take hold also in public universities, largely driven by archaeological research. Increasingly we see numbers of Turkish students and Turkish scholars who make the effort to learn Greek and develop an interest in Byzantium. That interest, of course, waxes and wanes in the way it is sponsored and encouraged by the Ministry of Culture with Turkey's general politics, whether or not it is looking closer towards the EU or not.

Geary: There is a public perception of the Middle Ages as European identity or perhaps as a Christian-European identity. Although what Christian means depends on the different places. But there is growing attempt, if one moves away from the Middle Ages as a source of national particularistic identity, in finding a unity in Europe in the Middle Ages, which then often becomes Christian. This, of course, can be exclusionary for those Europeans who do not happen to be Christian, or the Franks as "pathfinders of Europe," another kind of highly ideological attempt to find unity within Europe. There is a public perception of the Middle Ages as a source of some kind of common as well as individual identity.

Rapp: I think the best example for that is title of your book in the English and French versions.

Geary: The book was *Before France and Germany* in English and "the birth of France," *Naissance de la France*, in French. But there is a better and different kind of public perception that is happening. In Europe, the boom of exhibitions of medieval materials that has been going on for more than twenty years has continued to be effective. But I think that they had particular impact on your field.

Rapp: In Byzantine studies certainly there have been huge blockbuster exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art at regular intervals, as you can see, 1997, 2004, 2012. There was a big *Byzantium* exhibition in London in 2009. There was one outside of Vienna [at Schallaburg] last year. All these exhibitions served to bring Byzantium to the fore and sharpen the public eye, making it more aware. The exhibition that was taking place near Vienna resulted in schools, high schools, seeking connections to the research institutes in Byzantine studies to ask for collaboration. These are all good developments that we are watching with great interest.

Geary: And there is the ever-favorite Middle Ages as escapism, something that certainly began in the nineteenth century, though there may be versions

again, whether it is computer games – I love the Zombies of Byzantium… I don't know how this impacts the Byzantine world, but it is certainly there with a certain kind of American public and I believe also a European public. Good, better, or different, I leave this to you.

Rapp: There is a long trend of studying Byzantium as an exotic Other and I think this is an example of how that continues. Many Byzantinists of the older generations, if you ask them after a glass of wine or two, will actually confess to having been readers of Karl May. So the escapism of seeking out a country and culture into which you can imagine yourself, that is considered to be alien but sort of accessible, I think is a big draw and it is a big decision whether we should actually play on those instincts or not.

Geary: Research issues and questions; interrogative studies.

Rapp: I think that is a tendency that comes or that originates in Late Antique studies. The old question of the parting of the ways between East and West, the Pirenne thesis, having been revived through archeological studies in the seventies and eighties, and now that question being recast in terms of the unity of the Mediterranean within the larger framework of Mediterranean studies, with publications, certainly beginning with *Transformations of the Classical World*, a series that came out very specifically after the end of the Cold War and resulted in a series of edited volumes. But then, in more recent times, in the monographs by Michael McCormick, Chris Wickham, going back all the way to Peter Brown's *Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity*, of course, in 1971, and also the milestone publication of Judith Herrin's *The Formation of Christendom*. These are all studies that remind us that the language divide between Greek and Latin should not be the only criterion for the organization of our studies, but could be an artificial division.

Geary: There are also disintegrative studies I would say, again connected to particularism. The interest in regional studies, micro-studies, and national level studies is still alive and strong, and there is a kind of neo-conservative return to the state or proto-state as the area of historical analysis. Political history is best re-interpreted as a history of power and it is worth treading out nineteenth-century historical tropes. And there is another world out there, national histories, regional histories, *Landesgeschichte* that really sticks to *Länder*, so you see royal itineraries, and the king disappears and he comes back in, because he went across the border, normally a modern border. It is extraordinary to look at the itinerary of Otto I as he vanishes for a while.

Rapp: That is not so much of an issue for Byzantium, although there is a new trend, a way of thinking less exclusively about imperial ideology focused on

the figure of the emperor and more towards thinking about Byzantium as a state. What would it mean for Byzantium to be a state? How does a state function? Is fiscality the only criterion for the existence of a state? How does a center of power retain its contact with the periphery? What are the mechanisms that hold these regions together politically?

Geary: Another area that's very important is trans-cultural studies, entangled histories, the complexities of Europe and its relationship to what is generally construed as non-Europe. And I think this includes knowledge transfer, translation, textual communication, but also histories of regions with complex societies and complex religious traditions. In the United States if you want to get a job in medieval history and if you work on Spain and read Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin you have a very good chance. There is interest in Sicily, Spain, and to some extent Hungary, those worlds in which there are more than one cultural-religious tradition that have become an extremely important focus of contemporary concerns. Also, one sees a return to Crusade history, a new kind of crusade history, but another kind that entangles trans-cultural complex and coercive power relationships within multicultural spheres.

Rapp: For Byzantium I would extend that beyond Crusade history, which, of course, can be relevant for Byzantinists, especially on the islands and the other regions that were under Crusader rule, like Crete, like Cyprus, and also parts of the Peloponnesus. But we could extend to a greater willingness to think about *Byzance après Byzance* in terms of regional histories. 1453 was not the end. We have very good documentation, especially in certain archives, for the decades and centuries after that. The Ottoman material gives us access to a better understanding of how agricultural production and local communities worked.

Geary: Another area that we really don't have to talk about here, environmental studies, has had considerable impact in Western medieval history in recent years in combination with a new kind of geographical studies, a new kind of archeological studies, and new engagement with natural sciences. Digital integration of a visual component into historical studies, partly connected to the digital revolution we have talked about, but we have also heard yesterday that we have to look at things and not just words.

Rapp: That has always been a trendy tendency in the Byzantine studies. There are some attempts to increase image databases like the database of Byzantine images accessible at the University of Vienna website; the Princeton Index of Christian Art has been unfortunately discontinued as far as I understand

Geary: Not discontinued, it is still going strong but because of copyright issues you can get very little online. You have to make a pilgrimage to Princeton

because they don't own the images. So, new technologies: visualization networks have been so much talked about recently and I think many of us have been involved in network studies, whether textual-social history, or whatever we were doing, this is just increasingly how we think. Sounds like there are people in this institution who have suddenly discovered something medievalists were doing for a long time, but maybe they were using more math.

Rapp: The Byzantinists certainly are exploring this on a large scale. Part of the impetus comes from the study of epistolography. I really want to emphasize that this is rooted in the study of a particular genre of texts because that gives you access to a wide number of people. Part of it is rooted in the prosopographies that have been produced in the last couple of decades, starting with the prosopography of the Palaiologan period, and now the recently completed prosopography of the middle Byzantine period. In Byzantine studies, it is especially being pioneered by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, who I believe was here together with Mihailo Popović just two weeks ago to give a course.

Geary: Manuscript studies also have been transformed by new technologies. Claudia runs the scholarly side of the Sinai Palimpsest Project. Perhaps you want to say something about that?

Rapp: There are over a hundred palimpsests in the Sinai and we are working with multispectral imaging to capture the images, and then process them in such a way that scholars can then produce catalogue descriptions of the erased under-text. We are trying to make that visible and then publish their results online in an openly accessible catalogue. We are hoping to go online on the internet with that next summer.

Geary: And I just mention my stgallplan.org site, which is a set of databases as well as extremely high quality images to study the built and material environment of the monastery of Carolingian monasticism and the ninth century through the optic of the St Gall plan; then also a digital library of all the manuscripts in the Reichenau in the ninth century which are extant, where the plan was drawn up, and all the Carolingian manuscripts extant from St. Gall, for which the plan was made. There are many of these projects. New technologies are palaeo-climatology, genetic history, I won't bore you with that. That is my current hobby, which tries to integrate archeology, history, genetics, population demographics. And new discoveries…

Rapp: New discoveries certainly in archeology are being made in the field of Byzantium: the Yenikapi excavations, the harbors of Byzantium that were found less than ten years ago, and have brought to light some 20 ships from the twelfth century when we thought that these harbors were no longer operative.

It has certainly brought Byzantinists to the realization that archaeology is a very important corrective for the impression that the sources give us. And the *Archives de l'Athos* project, largely based in Paris, with the collaboration of Greek scholars still working on editing the archives from the different monasteries on Mount Athos, archives that, of course, continue from the tenth century all the way into the Ottoman period and give us very important access to the economic and social situation in the regions of northern Greece and beyond where the Athos monasteries had significant proprietory interests.

Geary: So, what does all this mean for us, going forward, but especially for you going forward for the next 20 years? Well, 20 years ago, just before I started coming here, I had no idea that I would write a book on contemporary nationalism in the Middle Ages which would get me labeled in Albania as a neo-bolshevik. I am very proud of that review. Twenty years ago I had no idea that I would direct a web-based research tool exploring Carolingian monastic history and making it possible for you in the privacy of your own home in your bunny slippers to look at the manuscripts of Reichenau. Twenty years ago I had no idea that I would find myself lecturing to undergraduates in Iraq during the war on conflict resolution and nationalism in European history. And I certainly had no idea twenty years ago that I would be directing an international team of geneticists, archeologists, anthropologists, and historians to make migration period genetics between Moravia, Hungary, Austria, and northern Italy. I never would have thought of any of these things; this is what I have done and what I am doing and I suspect that you will all look back 20 years hence and say: I had no idea that I would be doing…, whatever it is that you will have done.

Rapp: Twenty years ago, as Byzantinists we thought that the end of communism would generate greater public interest in Byzantium as the medieval commonwealth that provides the shared historical bedrock of the entire cultural region, which it has. But, we also thought that this increased interest would translate into a stronger position of Byzantine studies in academic institutions, in Europe and in the US. And that has not been the case. Twenty years ago we thought that the effort to make historical sources accessible in translations would strengthen the field, which it has, although not from within but from without. There is now a much greater willingness for non-Byzantinists to engage with Byzantine material, to appropriate Byzantium, as it were, for their own investigations. And this willingness has not been entirely reciprocated by Byzantinists, who are still very proprietorial and to some extent like to hide in their ivory tower, thinking that nobody else knows how to use the stairs to the lofty heights of their scholarship. However, what we are seeing among Byzantinists is a greater interest in looking

towards the East, towards the Islamic world, towards the Silk Road, towards China, certainly the exploration of the Caucasus regions, and part of this I think is an impetus that comes from Late Antique studies, which has been expanding beyond the Roman Empire to look to the Sassanian Empire and the regions further east. Already 10 years ago, Andrea Giardina wrote an article with the title: "Explosion of Late Antiquity," and we might equally well talk about an explosion of Byzantium. And, I would like to end with advocacy for the redefinition of what it means to do medieval studies by introducing the term of the fuzzy Middle Ages. The Middle Ages have become fuzzy in various ways; they have become fuzzy along the chronological boundaries. The chronological boundaries have become much more porous, much more open. This was quite visible yesterday during the discussions, the introduction of the inclusion of Late Antique studies, the inclusion of early modern studies, as is also the case here in this department, means that medieval studies can now branch out and we can look at the pre and pre-pre, and the post and the post-post periods. There has been greater fuzziness about the geographical delineations of the Middle Ages, both in terms of looking towards the east, towards the Christian areas of the Caucasus, the Islamic regions of the Middle East. Crusader history would be another category within this framework. But, also there is greater fuzziness, I think, along the east-west frontier. Between Eastern and Western medieval studies, something that was already highlighted in terms of looking at cross-cultural and intercultural interaction, integrative studies, as Patrick said. And, then finally, fuzziness of medieval studies in terms of disciplinary boundaries, the inclusion of art history, archeology, textual studies, political history, social history. All of these trends, all of these tendencies need to be integrated in our understanding of the Middle Ages. And I think again, this department with its richness and faculty but also the reflection of its richness in its faculty representation in the dissertations that have been produced over the last 20 years is a prime example of how this can be done and can be done well, and with the multiplicator effect as many of you are then returning to your home countries and bringing what you have learned to your own colleagues back home.

Geary: So, our final advice – old people like to give advice, and unlike Claudia, I am old – is the motto of the late Father Leonard Boyle, the Vatican librarian, taken from Hugo of St. Victor: *Omnia disce, postea videbis nihil esse superfluum*, "Learn it all, none of it will be wasted," and thank you for sharing this, letting us share your reunion with you.

Rapp: Thank you.

REPORT OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2012–13

Katalin Szende

Each academic year brings challenges and trials as well as rewarding and uplifting experiences for students and faculty members alike, but looking back with hindsight the latter tend to outweigh the former. This was the balance of the Academic Year 2012–13 for the Department of Medieval Studies, too, which culminated in the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the Department's foundation in June 2013. But before we reached this ceremonial event, we completed another busy year of teaching and research, discussions, conferences, and field trips.

Teaching Programs

The group of new students and those returning from their summer research, as has become usual in the past few years, represented a dozen countries from three continents. Besides a traditionally strong East Central European concentration (students from Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia being the most numerous) we welcomed (or welcomed back, in case of the two-year program) students from the US, Canada, Mexico, Turkey, Pakistan, and Armenia. This year we had altogether 32 master's students: 13 in the one-year program, nine in the beginner cohort and ten in the second-year cohort of the two-year program. Seven ERASMUS students also joined us for one or two terms from France, Germany, Greece, and Norway. The range of proposed MA research topics was equally broad in both time and space, spanning more than a millennium from the fourth to the late sixteenth century, from the Middle East to Irish monasticism, and from the Norman kingdom of Sicily to the Polish pilgrimage site of Częstochowa. The sources and the methods were equally varied, from the philological analysis of philosophical and theological texts through the typo-chronology of objects excavated from village cemeteries to the quantitative narrative analysis of a high medieval chronicle. The abstracts of the defended theses following this report in the Annual give a more nuanced image of this thematic richness.

Our traditional warming-up Fall field trip, organized together with the History Department, took our newcomers this time to Zsámbék, Tata, and Székesfehérvár,

a hilly area in northwest of the Hungarian capital. Besides visiting a number of ruined but spectacular castles and monasteries, as well as the remains of the coronation and burial basilica of the kings of medieval Hungary, students gained insight into attempts at reviving medieval architecture for widely different purposes from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. By the end of the introductory weeks of the pre-session our new cohort had established itself on the campus and in Budapest and was ready to embark on their courses and research.

The courses throughout the year covered, as in the previous years, the chronological range from "The Rise of the Roman Empire" to "The Laboratory of the Renaissance," from "The Papacy, 500–1200" to "Medieval Jewish Civilization" and "The Ottomans and Europeans in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Era." The history of religion and its institutions were central to a number of courses such as "Medieval monasticism," "Mystics, Visionaries, Stygmatics" and many more. Courses offered by visiting faculty, such as "The Cyrillo-Methodian Mission" by Ralph Cleminson and "Prophecy as a Political Language" by Felicitas Schmieder, also had a religious aspect, combined with a view on contemporary politics. When designing the course list, we planned so as to offer a variety of opportunities for students to develop research-related skills. Teaching source languages (besides the traditional Latin and Greek also Ottoman Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew, and Arabic) in the framework of the Source Language Teaching Group and in the form of advanced text-reading seminars has become one of the acclaimed strengths of our program in the last few years. We also offer Greek and Latin palaeography and codicology so that our students develop the skills to work with manuscript sources. There is an increasing demand for advanced computer skills in the Humanities, which was met in cooperation with faculty members from other departments, like Victor Lagutov's course "GIS and Spatial Data Visualization" from the Department of Environmental Science and Policy; the "Digital Text for the Medievalist", offered by Ralph Cleminson and the "Complex Middle Ages: New Methods for the Reconstruction of Spatial and Social Entanglements in Premodern Societies (HGIS & Network Analysis)" taught in the Spring Session by Mihailo Popović and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Vienna). A special, freshly introduced course type was the Faculty Research Seminar, a weekly meeting when resident faculty and guests of the Department presented the results of their ongoing research. These lectures, which were also open to the public, revealed the secrets of one's very own workshop, but in return provided each speaker with feedback at a stage of work when it was perhaps the most useful.

After the thesis submission, which was a rewarding moment for students and supervisors alike, we embarked on our spring field trip, this time to a hitherto

completely unexplored new direction, to the Alpine border region between Austria and Italy. The contest over political supremacy and appropriation in past times is reflected by the double name of the region: Südtirol and Alto Adige, denoting the particular viewpoint from the north or south. Besides visiting important urban centers such as Graz, Bozen/Bolzano, Trient/Trento and Innsbruck, as well as rich and mighty monasteries in Rein, Millstatt, and Novacella/Neustift, the small and secluded valleys in the Alps were perhaps the most memorable. Here in small early Romanesque parish churches in Naturno/Naturns, Laces/Latsch, and Malles/Mals, stunning examples of fresco cycles have been preserved, just like in the Benedictine nunnery of Müstair, in Switzerland, which greeted us with fresh snow even at the end of May. The atmosphere of the Alpine passes and their hospices was brought to life by a unique presentation orchestrated by Marijana Nestorov and performed by the entire one-year MA group. This was the first instance in the twenty-year history of the Department that a field trip paper – a regular academic exercise – was dramatized.

After the Spring Session, in the thesis defense period, twenty-three MA students convincingly defended their scholarly output, chaired in the usual strict but supportive manner by visiting professors Marianna D. Birnbaum, Patrick Geary, Claudia Rapp, Felicitas Schmieder, and John Tolan. In the doctoral program seven students presented their research prospectuses, and the same number of young scholars from the cohorts of earlier years successfully defended their dissertations during the year. The extra-curricular academic activities of the doctoral students were supported by the Henrik Birnbaum Memorial Scholarship Fund besides the regular CEU Travel and Conference Grant fund, similarly to last year.

As usual, teaching did not stop for the summer either, only took on a different form. In the framework of CEU's Summer University, Anna Somfai, with the help of PhD student Ivana Dobcheva and five other departmental and external faculty members and with the participation of 25 highly motivated international students, repeated the very intensive Latin and Greek palaeography course which she first offered two years ago. Another Summer University course was offered, combined with an interdisciplinary workshop, by Irene Barbiera, the Department's CEU Twentieth Anniversary Research Fellow, on the very hot topic of "Reading Old Bodies. New Directions in the Bio-archaeological Heritage." It presented historic human remains "as multidimensional sources for the comprehension of the past" with the contribution of experts from archaeology, history, physical anthropology, paleopathology, paleodemography, zooarchaeology, genetics, and isotopic studies. Together with the two-day conference, "The Bodies of our Ancestors: Ancient Human Remains and the Past in the Future," this was a deservedly successful

closing event of Irene's two-year post-doctoral fellowship project: *To Make Dead Bodies Talk. Bio-archaeological Heritage – Historical Human Remains and their Academic, Social and Religious Context*.

Research Projects and Conferences

In the reports of the past two years two important ongoing departmental research projects have been presented. The first is *Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East Central Europe*, which is part of the broader project *Symbols that Bind and Break Communities. Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities*; the second is entitled *Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and Diasporic Experience in Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras*, conducted in cooperation with the *Transcultural Studies* program of the University of Heidelberg. These projects animated a large number of departmental faculty and students and extended the Department's academic network in new directions by bringing renowned lecturers to Budapest, sharing stimulating workshops, and by integrating the work of our colleagues and graduates into international discussions. Now that both projects are successfully concluded, detailed reports about them can be read in this volume of the *Annual*.

In addition to the Faculty Research Seminar and the workshops and lectures connected to the projects and summer schools mentioned above, there was an impressive array of other events organized by departmental faculty and students throughout the year. The first one was the general assembly of CARMEN (Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network, http://www.carmen-medieval.net/), with our colleague Gerhard Jaritz as its Academic Director, in early September. Medievalists from five continents gathered at CEU to discuss the hot issue of globalization in Medieval Studies and the consequences for teaching and collaborative research projects. The following academic events, the international workshop on *The Treaty of Aachen, AD 812: The Origins and Impact on the Region between the Adriatic, Central and Southeastern Europe* and the conference entitled: *Historic Famagusta: A Millennium in Words and Images* (October 2012) can be taken as direct examples of this broad vision of supra-regional and indeed inter-continental cooperation. This first event took place in Zadar, in collaboration with the university of Zagreb and our Department, assembling the best experts of the theme from York to St. Petersburg, as well as from both sides of the Adriatic; the second event was realized jointly with the Nanyang Technological University of Singapore and two units of CEU, organized by Michael Walsh (Singapore) and Tamás Kiss (CEU), and brought together historians,

art historians, and literary critics from three continents to share their studies on textual and visual representations of Famagusta between 1000 CE and 1960. The conference in November, *Pirenne 150: Perception, Reflection, Historiography*, organized by Balázs Nagy with the involvement of the Medieval and Early Modern European History Department of Eötvös Loránd University and the Flemish Representation in Hungary, gave a critical reflection on the work of this congenial historian, the tone being set by Richard Hodges' (American University of Rome) keynote lecture "Charlemagne minus Mohammed." Guest speakers from Ghent, Marc Boone and Sarah Keymeulen, set Pirenne's legacy in its Flemish/Belgian context, and a number of speakers pointed out the relevance of his work for Central Europe.

Two major conferences on *Pagans and Christians in the Late Antique Rome* and *Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire*, were organized by Marianne Sághy, both with the participation of internationally acclaimed experts from Europe and the US. The first one was, very aptly, staged in Rome, in the magnificent Villa Falconieri of the Hungarian Academy, the second one, a cooperation with CEU and the University of Pécs, took place in Budapest and Pécs. You can read a detailed report on the latter event in this issue of the *Annual*. The last major events of the year, on the days immediately following graduation, were the twentieth-anniversary celebrations, already mentioned at the beginning of this report. We have devoted a special section in the Annual to this even-numbered jubilee.

The Centre for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS), a vibrant hub of exchange where Medieval Studies' faculty members, including the director, Volker Menze, play a crucial role, also organized an impressive number of lectures and workshops. These are extensively documented on their website http://cems.ceu.hu/. The events orchestrated by CEMS included the continuation of the *Caucasus and Byzantium from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages* project, this time with a conference held in Yerevan, and they were also co-organizers of the *Historic Famagusta* and the *Pirenne 150* conferences.

Besides conferences and workshops, public lectures delivered by prominent scholars also enhanced the academic offerings of the Department. The by-now-traditional Natalie Zemon Davis lecture series this year was devoted to a modern topic, "Ethnography in the Archive of the Romanian Secret Police," delivered by Katherine Verdery (CUNY). Natalie Zemon Davis herself also came to Budapest for these lectures and held a special session with doctoral students where she gave much appreciated feedback on their individual work. Further distinguished public lecturers this year, who also served as external readers for doctoral dissertation defenses, included: Niall Brady (The Discovery Programme), Terry Barry (Trinity College Dublin), Peter Schreiner (University of Cologne), and Johannes Koder (University of Vienna).

CEU Medieval Radio, initiated and managed by PhD students of the Department, Tamás Kiss, Zsuzsanna Eke, Kyra Lyublyanovics and Chris Mielke, continued the second year of its existence. From its inception in early 2013, the radio has been playing medieval and Renaissance music on the internet around the clock, pre-recorded papers of guest and in-house lecturers, and interviews. Some of the interviews conducted by Chris Mielke in *Past Perfect!* – a deservedly popular show on medieval and early modern history and culture, with scholars like Natalie Zemon Davis, Patrick Geary, Alan Cameron and Nicholas Coureas – are also available as podcasts at http://ceumedievalradiopodcast.ceu.hu/.

The Review of the Department and Future Perspectives

As already indicated in last year's report, the twenty-year existence of the Department has been long and varied enough to give rise to diverse ideas about its future strategy and place within the university structure. In the light of recent discussions on this between and within the Department of History and the Department of Medieval Studies, the leadership of CEU found it appropriate to conduct an international review in order to get independent opinions on structural and curricular issues concerning these two units: their profile in the light of recent thematic extensions, especially in (but not restricted to) the direction of the Eastern Mediterranean, their relationship to each other and to other programs in the university, and the place and role of the School of Historical and Interdisciplinary Studies (SHIS, established in 2006 as an academic consortium within CEU including also the Nationalism Studies Program) in a possible consolidation process. As Provost Katalin Farkas summarized in her letter to the reviewers, CEU expected to get an answer to the question: "How can we preserve the existing excellence and strength of both departments while providing room for new academic directions and developments?" Questions of articulating the profiles of both departments, of eventual adjustments in the curricula and the degree programs, of faculty affiliation and student recruitment strategies were therefore set on the agenda for the international committee, which consisted of three renowned professors, Miri Rubin (Queen Mary University of London), Maurice Aymard (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris), and Bo Stråth (University of Helsinki).

The review was preceded by the preparation of strategy papers by members of the department highlighting the pros and cons of possible modifications, and by the collection of an extensive set of factual data on curricula and syllabi, the student constituency, research fields, placement statistics, publications, collaborative projects, and many more, without which no informed decision could have been made. The review took place in the form of short visits by the

reviewers in September and October of 2012, when they conducted interviews with the university leadership as well as faculty, staff and students, and consulted the prepared materials. The joint report of the reviewers pointed out, among other things, that: "Both Departments have their own scientific existence and visibility, and we understand their will to go on keeping their identity, their autonomy and their capacity to develop their own programs." Concerning future directions, they emphasized: "The development of constructive cooperation between Medieval Studies and History, that would go farther than the 'one degree/two tracks' solution [referring to the jointly run two-year MA program], and the introduction of greater flexibility of research and teaching programs seems today to be the fundamental priority. Such closer cooperation would combine the strengthening of the Departments and the development of innovative processes, which is today the main responsibility of the colleagues who run the Departments and programs."

After the reviewers' reports were received, both departments were given the opportunity to reflect on the views expressed there. The Medieval Studies' reply emphasized that the reports made it clear that further actions need to concentrate on the points where a common platform can be found. Further new directions must always build on existing strengths with a view to maintaining recruitment and research output. As a concrete example of better cooperation between the two departments, teaching the Early Modern period needs to be revisited, an issue that all the reviewers addressed jointly and in their separate reports alike. I see this rather as a case of overlap than a gap, with a good number of faculty members working in this field, including but not restricted to Ottoman studies. There have been successful efforts to recruit students to our department dealing with this period, as a good number of defended or ongoing doctoral dissertations on intellectual, social, and economic history as well as art, architecture, and archaeology demonstrates. This has further potential for both departments and better exploitation of the already existing resources, such as setting up a common MA thesis seminar, establishing a common course list for this period with courses from both departments, and (eventually) incorporating courses from other CEU departments, e.g., Philosophy. We should also consider offering a Specialization in Early Modern Studies. Besides the Early Modern period, continuing the cooperation in running the Religious Studies specialization and the common participation (together with many other units of CEU) in the newly established program on Cultural Heritage Studies offers opportunities for joining forces. In the medium run, the curricula could be adjusted by introducing new teaching programs (separate degree program[s] or track[s] within the already accredited

programs) or perhaps modify the names of the existing ones in a way that would correspond and give better visibility to fields recently developed or strengthened.

Finally, the review was concluded by President and Rector John Shattuck and Provost Katalin Farkas in May 2013, first as an oral statement at the yearly departmental retreat, and then in written form. Concerning the structural issues, their report highlights that "being engaged in historical studies, the two departments [History and Medieval Studies] have always been natural cooperative partners;" at the same time, "the strength of the departments lies in their distinctive profiles," which need to be maintained and reflected in the curriculum as well. As far as the SHIS is concerned, however, it "has probably outlived its direct utility. There is no other organizational structure at CEU that is comparable to the SHIS, and the School's exact nature and significance remains unclear." As a follow-up to this opinion, in September 2013 the Senate approved the dissolution of the School. Prof. Aziz Al-Azmeh, previously affiliated directly to the SHIS, joined the Department of History.

The Rector's conclusions regarding the names and scopes of teaching programs run by the two departments emphasized that: "because of the size and nature of CEU, it makes no sense for us to run a completely generic program in historical studies that attempts to compete with the generic history programs of large universities. Our strength lies in distinctive profiles, and this is what we try to achieve in different disciplines at CEU. The distinctive profiles need not be stagnant; indeed, they are expected to develop and change. Changes and new developments need to be accommodated in teaching, organization, and research. … However, it was found that it was counterproductive to include the specific profiles in the names of the degrees, especially because the current names cannot accommodate all the new directions in teaching and research." In line with the discussions conducted within the department, "strengthening specializations is one of the useful ways to accommodate new directions in research and teaching. The Religious Studies specialization is supported and complemented in the area of research by the Center for Religious Studies. The Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies plays a similar role with respect to the specialization in Eastern Mediterranean Studies." Let me use the opportunity here to thank the leadership of CEU for their attention and resources devoted to the review of the two departments and for their constructive and well-balanced conclusions.

My period of headship finished at the end of this Academic Year. In June 2013 Daniel Ziemann was elected as the next Head. The implementation of the forward-looking conclusions of the Review will be among his tasks. I wish him much strength and success!

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENED IN 2013

"We are Honouring the Endurance of Righteous Champions." Observations on Eustathios of Thessalonike's Admonitory and Hagiographic Orations Related to the City of Thessalonike

Péter Tamás Bara (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul
External Reader: Stephanos Efthymiadis (Open University of Cyprus)

The hagiographic orations of Eustathios of Thessalonike (*c.*1115–*c.*1195) constitute a small group of texts from the episcopal period in the œuvre of this prolific writer. This study scrutinises the *Oration to a Thessalonian Stylite*, the *Life of Philotheos of Opsikion*, and the *Enkomion of the So-called Kalytenoi Martyrs*. Chapter 1 investigates how the orations were tied to the social and historical milieu of Thessalonike, arguing that the *Oration to a Stylite* is a "mirror" for a stylite, characterising a saintly urban teacher trained in rhetoric. The study situates the *Life of Philotheos* in the context of Eustathios' controversy with the monks of his diocese, assuming that the oration was delivered in Thessalonike between 1180 and 1185, aimed at a monastic audience.

Chapter 1 demonstrates that the metropolitan bishop composed the *Enkomion of the Kalytenoi* martyrs after 1185, the year of the Norman sack of Thessalonike, and shows Eustathios writing the *enkomion* as a bishop responsible for church services in his diocese. Chapter 2 analyses Eustathios' hagiographic technique. First, based on Eustathios' own statements in the *Enkomion of the Kalytenoi Martyrs*, the chapter describes how Eustathios composed the oration using oral tradition and written accounts. Second, comparing the *Enkomion of the Kalytenoi Martyrs* to an earlier synaxarion entry in the *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* about the same saints, the chapter reveals that Eustathios gave his version a nicer outlook and emphasised such topics as lay piety, conscious religiosity, and the role of holy teachers. Third, the chapter compares the *Life of Philotheos* with an earlier *vita* about Philotheos in the *Menologion of Basil II*. The comparison illustrates that Eustathios, besides writing the life of Philotheos in high style, portrayed him as

a model for the Thessalonian monks. The conclusions situate the results of the thesis in the framework of the twelfth century.

The Belt in Late Medieval Hungary

Kármen Anita Baráth (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Elisabeth Vavra (University of Salzburg)

This thesis is a contribution to material culture studies, to a better understanding of an object and the roles it played in society as a personal article and symbol. The belt was a commonly worn clothing accessory; in this thesis, depictions of belts in mural paintings and artifactual remains of belts from archaeological contexts (mainly graves and hoards) serve as a case study. Pictorial sources are not exploited properly in Hungarian research from the viewpoint of material culture. Visual representations are frequently used as illustrations only and their source value is not appreciated enough, even though certain examples are communicative, especially regarding costume and fashion. I selected mural paintings from churches in late medieval Hungary (including examples from present-day Slovakia and Transylvania) to show when and how these visual sources can help reconstruct and date particular objects, thus making it possible to analyze their role(s) in everyday life. In mural paintings, belts are clothing accessories depicted in an especially detailed way. The decoration, shape, length, and situation on the body may indicate current fashion and all these elements can serve as baselines for dating a fresco or an artifact.

Saint Patrick and Monasticism. The Figure of the Monk-bishop

Mónika Beluczˇ (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Volker Menze
External Reader: Thomas O'Loughlin (University of Nottingham)

Saint Patrick, the "apostle of Ireland," presents himself in his writings – the *Confessio* and the *Epistola ad Milites Corotici* – as a monk-bishop. It seems that Patrick's defense against different accusations in the *Confessio* is based on mixing different models of bishops: the monk-bishop and the aristocratic bishop. Seemingly Patrick mixed the models to please all his critics or perhaps to justify

his office with both ascetic and pragmatic authority. Previous research usually agrees that Patrick valued asceticism, but it has never been suggested that he was introducing himself as a monk-bishop, a new phenomenon of fifth-century ecclesiastical leadership. Moreover, it has not been discussed that he might have mixed different models of bishoprics when writing about his office and his Irish mission.

This thesis compares Patrick's perception of his mission and position in the Church with other bishops of the fifth century, his possible role models. The examination focuses on questions of authority and education in the first chapter. In the second chapter I place Patrick's missionary work in line with other evangelizations of the fifth century and examine the role of heresies in the lives of fifth-century bishops. In the final chapter I point out the ascetic practices present in Patrick's writings – fasting, praying, fighting against Satan, and the role of the desert in ascetic life – in order to show that Patrick was either a bishop with monastic training or at least a bishop who valued the monastic lifestyle. The conclusion is that Patrick was aware of popular ascetic trends in Gaul and he seems to present himself not only as a good ascetic, but also as a monk-bishop. Even though he could not perform his mission as a monk, he incorporated the practices and values of monasticism into his office, introducing the monk-bishop model to the Irish.

Quod Deus non Potest. The Limits of God's Power in the Thought of Thomas Aquinas and Their Relation to the 1277 Condemnation

Paul Cristian Bujor (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby
External Reader: Gábor Borbély (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest)

In 1277, the bishop of Paris, Étienne Tempier, banned 219 philosophical sentences; this so-called 1277 condemnation is one of the most interesting events in medieval intellectual history. Among the condemned propositions, centered on the work of Aristotle, those which condemned limitations of God's power played an important role. Whether Thomas Aquinas was directly condemned in the condemnation in 1277 remains problematic; contention has developed among scholars. Some claim that Aquinas was directly condemned, while others consider that his prestige as a theologian would have exempted him from this, even had he maintained some of the condemned ideas.

This thesis is a contribution to the discussion of Aquinas' possible condemnation in 1277. It attempts to go beyond the insufficient information one finds in the historical sources trying to discover the philosophical background that could have led some of Aquinas' ideas on God's power to have been condemned in 1277. In the description of this background the power distinction – as formulated by Aquinas – and the opposition between an *impossibile simpliciter* and one *per naturam* or *secundum philosophiam* – present in the condemnation – were essential. A contribution to the description of the same background is also found in the discussion of Pierre Duhem's idea of continuity between the 1277 condemnation and early modern scientific positions, since he maintains that God's absolute power had an instrumental role in this development. The conclusion compares Aquinas' position on God's power and that which can be assumed to lie behind Tempier's condemnation, stressing the differences of the two which could have led to Aquinas' direct condemnation in 1277.

Changing Iconography in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Psalters: Miriam's Dance as an Expression of Personal Devotion

Zsuzsanna D'Albini (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Anna Christidou (Visiting Scholar CEMS – CEU Twentieth Anniversary Award), Niels Gaul, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Georgi R. Parpulov (University of Oxford)

Representations of Miriam's dance as illuminations of the first ode of Moses portray a specific circle dance in nine eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine psalters. The varying postures depicted suggest that the images do not rely on a common pictorial model, but were inspired by a contemporary circle dance. Furthermore, the garments of the dancers can be correlated with the eleventh- and twelfth-century courtly milieu. This implies that these images placed Miriam's dance in a contemporary environment or at least an environment recognizable to contemporaries. The first ode of Moses praises the triumphant God, thus Miriam's dance can be perceived as a triumphal dance. This triumphal connotation of dance is apparent in the written sources, e.g., *The Book of Ceremonies*. Furthermore, this new type of representation abandoned any visual reference to the narrative (the crossing of the Red Sea), which suggests that these illuminations can be perceived as representational portraits similarly to the neighboring portraits of the supposed authors of the odes. I suggest that these portraits could have been seen as examples, models of devotion and prayer. It seems that most of the psalters in

this sample were made for personal, not liturgical, use. Thus, the representations may have been perceived as focal points for contemplation and meditation during the recitation of psalms and odes.

The Imperial Projection of the Umayyads: The Transformation of the Church of St. John the Baptist into the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus

Ashkhen Davtyan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Aziz Al-Azmeh
External Reader: Philip Wood (Aga Khan University, London)

The construction of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus in the early eighth century was a major proclamation of imperial power by the late Umayyads. The construction of such a monumental building shows the self-confidence and the imperial projection of the ruling dynasty. This thesis discusses the gradual shift in the policy of the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty, focusing on ʻAbd al-Malik and al-Walid, who moved away from a policy of sharing and adaptation towards genuine innovation. The previous policy of sharing characterized the so-called transitional phase of the Umayyad Empire. The transitional phase was also a phase of adaptation: Byzantine motifs and models were adapted and later used to oppose the rival Byzantine Empire. The phenomenon of the Damascene *temenos* (sacred space), initially shared between Muslims and Christians, as well the use of mixed Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sassanid coinage are among the most emblematic expressions of the transitional phase. The thesis discusses in detail the end of this transitional period, which was marked by the construction of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus and by the introduction of an iconic, purely epigraphic, coinage.

Our Lady of Częstochowa as a Model: A Study of "Miracle-Working" Icons and Images in the Latin West up to the Sixteenth Century

Magdalena Dębna (Poland)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Mirosław P. Kruk (University of Gdańsk and National Museum, Cracow)

Our Lady of Częstochowa is the most venerable image in Poland. It is owned by the Pauline Fathers who have resided at the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa since 1382. The origins of the image are mysterious, however, it became the object of pilgrimage after the 1420s. *Our Lady of Częstochowa* depicts the Virgin in the *Hodegetria* type of icon with scars on her right check. Many Polish scholars have already dealt with the image; although some of their research is outdated, most of their studies are valid in some respect even if not complete. This study takes a critical and comparative approach to analyze relevant aspects of the function of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the context of other Marian icons, images imitating them, and occasionally statues in the Latin West, up to the sixteenth century. Together with bringing in icons, Eastern-looking artworks and the theology standing behind them are also noted. This thesis goes beyond the national context to discover patterns in the cult of Marian depictions with regard to their look, origins, the history of Byzantine imports, legends and *topoi*, as well as pilgrimages to them based on visual experience and influenced by popular religiosity. What were the specific features of adjusting and accommodating the Marian icons and images in the Catholic cult? Over the centuries *Our Lady of Częstochowa* and other depictions have been re-painted, put into different frames, dressed in expensive robes, honored with revetments, crowns, and votive offerings. They were believed to possess apotropaic powers. Their legends, illustrated by repeated motifs and paintings, assured their high status and close relationship with believers. Not the high artistic value, but their characteristic features made them objects of pilgrimage which attracted members of all social classes. This study challenges the notion of "miracle-working" images which were believed to create a sacred space related to pilgrims, a performance which kept them "alive." Most of the miracles related to the Virgin did not happen at her shrines. The reception of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* shows that such an image can be read on the individual level and as a part of a whole. This study demonstrates that the contact between the Latin and Orthodox spheres was strong even against a changing historical background.

A Relational View of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and its Royal Court: The Social Space Constructed by "Hugo Falcandus"

Hervin Fernández-Aceves (México/Spain)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul
External Readers: Alex Metcalfe (Lancaster University) and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

This thesis is a study of the scope, composition, and social roles at the Norman royal court of Palermo as reported by "Hugo Falcandus" (a pseudonym) in his *Historia* or *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, a narrative that relates the affairs of state and intrigues of the kingdom under William I and the first years of William II (1154–1169). The study is founded on the interactions between social actors as narrated in the text (i.e., courtiers, nobles, palace servants, royal relatives) who were involved in machinations in the government of the Mediterranean kingdom as expressed by "Hugo Falcandus." My starting hypothesis is that a relational approach can contribute to understanding narrative sources and the two main questions that I address are: 1) How can one extract relational data and construct networks that visualize and represent the information contained in a narrative source such as the *Liber de Regno Sicilie*? and 2) What do the networks thus constructed reveal about the significance and implications of the social space constructed by an author such as "Hugo Falcandus"?

Jami'i 'Abbasi: Baha al-Din Al-'Amili's Manual of Religious Instruction in the Context of State- and Confession-building in Seventeenth-century Safavid Iran and Beyond

Narine Gevorgyan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić
External Reader: Rula Abisaab (McGill University)

In a general comparative framework of Ottoman and Safavid "connected histories," this thesis studies the Safavid state-building project that ran parallel with the institutionalization of Twelver Shi'ism and its (re)definition as a state doctrine during the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. This study uses the paradigm of "confessionalization" to create a framework for viewing the religious-political transformation in Iran in relation to similar developments in the Ottoman Empire. This reveals that the state- and confession-building processes in

these rival empires were informed by an inter-imperial confrontation and followed highly similar trajectories. One of the main characteristics of these processes was the articulation and imposition of theological and practical "orthodoxies." As a case study, the thesis focuses on one of the key developments in both states, the production of manuals of religious instruction as a means of articulating and crystallizing doctrinal and ritual differences and social disciplining of the population. A contextualized reading of two religious manuals, Baha al-Din al-'Amili's *Jami'-i 'Abbasi* and Birgivi's *Ziyâretü'l-kubur*, produced in rival contexts on the polemical issue of religious visitation of shrines (*ziyara*) demonstrates that these texts reflect contemporary ideological challenges arising from the Ottoman–Safavid confrontation.

The Image of Tibet in Medieval Muslim Sources

Zsuzsanna Godány (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Ferenc Csirkés
External Reader: Anna Akasoy (Hunter College)

The Himalayan region was always regarded as the end of the world where weird peoples practicing inhuman customs lived and where the miraculous could happen, for example, tribes eating human flesh or amazons lived. Moreover, these lands were also populated by monsters and other supernatural creatures and were the home of precious and exotic commodities. Tibet, which is located in the most inaccessible part of the Himalayas, first appeared in Muslim sources in the ninth century. These sources contain short references and anecdotes about the country and its people. By studying Muslim works ranging in date from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, this thesis focuses on the general image of Tibet created by Muslim sources and examines whether the perception of the country changed between the ninth and the first half of the thirteenth century. I also attempt to determine if this image fits the category of the Other that is common to all societies, was known to the Greeks, and also appeared in later civilizations. I argue that Tibet's geographical isolation and remote position, which resulted in a lack of direct observations on the country, facilitated the development of a miraculous image and the portrayal of the country as a fabulous land in Muslim literature.

Tenth- and Eleventh-century Coarseware in the Local Economy of the Fortified Site of Broili (Frioul, North-Eastern Italy). A Case Study

Giacomo Gonella (Italy)

Thesis Supervisors: Irene Barbiera, (Visiting Scholar CEU Twentieth Anniversary Award), József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Katarina Predovnik (University of Ljubljana)

This thesis focuses on pottery from the fortified site of Broili, located in the Illegio Valley, in the sub-Alpine area of Frioul, Italy's northeasternmost region. The study relies on an accurate stratigraphic sequence which is also supported by radiocarbon dating. Three main phases were detected archaeologically that are represented by two buildings. The earliest edifice is dated to the early tenth century and was rearranged, possibly around the mid-tenth century with the construction of a mound which resulted in a motte-like building. These two phases are associated with structures detected in a level area nearby, which were probably used for storing in-kind taxes. A considerable reorganization of the settlement must have taken place in the late tenth century with the leveling of the courtyard and the erection of Tower 1, which can well be regarded as an aristocratic palace. This palace was probably attacked and destroyed in the late eleventh century and the whole site definitely abandoned.

The study of pottery (the coarseware only) followed three steps. The first one was the association of the ceramic assemblages with the stratigraphic sequence. The second was data quantification: all the potsherds were grouped in different clusters based on paste characteristics (macro analysis only); other technical aspects (firing characteristics, surface treatment) were then calculated by percentages. In addition, pottery types have been created based on diagnostic shards (rims and bases), which led to the third step, namely, comparison with the pottery from other sites within the scope of the patriarchate of Aquileia. An attempt at contextualizing all the data historically is finally made and some conclusions drawn about the possible situation in terms of economic systems and exchanges, which seem to have fallen within a regional range.

The Linen Weavers of Bardejov. An Institutional Interpretation of an Urban Industrial Branch in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century

Sándor Gyarmati (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende, Balázs Nagy
External Reader: Erich Landsteiner (University of Vienna)

The thesis focuses on the monopolistic industrial sector of linen weaving established by the inhabitants of the free royal town of Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa, in Slovakia) during the fifteenth century. inhabitants of this town of medieval Upper Hungary produced linen in large quantity, and sold it on markets throughout a significant part of the Hungarian Kingdom. Hungarian historians considered this viable economic organization as an early form of the putting-out system (Verlag), assumed to have represented a marginal development path in the medieval economic history of the region.

Despite the abundant sources, the organization did not become the subject of further analysis after the middle of the twentieth century: the Slovak and Hungarian literature established static models about the structure and operation of this industrial branch without taking the complete available statistical data into the investigation. In this thesis I conduct a detailed analysis of the social embeddedness of the production stage, on the principle of methodological individualism. I base my assessment on the numeric data obtained from the Great Linen Register, a contemporary ledger used between 1447 and 1456 by the members of the urban administration to keep track of the flow of linen stock and payments/cash. Besides the statistical interpretation, attention was paid to the structure of the linen register, which reveals the basic contours of the economic organization.

The results show that the oversimplified social models that Jenő Szűcs and Emma Lederer outlined behind the production do not fit the stratification of the urban society as revealed by the source evidence. Based on the complete analysis, I provide a more nuanced image of society and production. Interdependence between individuals' activities related to each stage of the workflow and the social stratification of Bardejov resulted in an industrial branch that left its mark on almost every political-social activity in the town, such as taxation, everyday work, political, and commercial relations.

Conceptions of the Afterlife in the Works of Gregory the Great

Holger Hespen (Germany)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby
External Reader: Mark Edwards (Oxford University)

Gregory the Great's descriptions of the afterlife, especially in the fourth book of his Dialogues, had a major influence on the perception of life after death in the Middle Ages. His vision narratives are vivid and colorful, emphasizing the corporeal aspects of eternal punishment (and reward) rather than a spiritual judgment. Therefore, they have been interpreted as signs of a newly developing distinctive medieval theology, differing from Classical tradition. Contrary to this *ex post* interpretation, I try to understand Gregory's stories against the background of his special cultural and historical circumstances. Focusing on the descriptions in the Dialogues, but also contrasting them with other works by Gregory, I analyze the three major aspects of the afterlife: Hell, purgatory, and (to a lesser extent) heaven. The omnipresence of the Beyond in the Dialogues can be explained in part by the contemporary curiosity about the destiny of the soul after death. However, in order to achieve a fuller understanding of Gregory's "eschatological urgency," his perception of the world has to be considered thoroughly. Seeing signs of the approaching apocalypse everywhere, Gregory tried to convince as many people as possible that only a proper Christian lifestyle could save them from eternal damnation. The dreadful conditions of sixth-century Italy shaped his conceptions of the afterlife significantly and explain why his ideas differ in many respects from Augustine's eschatology.

Daily Life in the Mixed and Double Monasteries of the Late Antique Near East

Andra Jugănaru (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Volker Menze
External Reader: Ewa Wipszycka (University of Warsaw)

This thesis deals with a special type of ascetic life, marked by the association of men and women, which emerged parallel with the rise of cenobitism in the fourth century. Monks and nuns shared their vocation in close proximity or even in cohabitation under the umbrella of a single monastic unit. Scholarship distinguishes between "double monasteries," where brothers and sisters in Christ

lived separately, and "mixed monasteries," where they lived in the same buildings. Given the fact that proximity between men and women aiming to re-establish Paradise on earth was intriguing, why did these persons opt for double-gender communities? How did brothers and sisters live close to each other? What were the factors that triggered the foundation of double monasticism and what were the causes that led to its decline? These are the questions that this thesis seeks to answer.

Following a theoretical introduction to the problem and the sources related to the three monasteries to be analyzed, the first chapter presents the context of the rise of double communities as the preferred solution chosen by men and women seeking to live a God-pleasing live in proximity. It introduces three "family double monasteries" that are examined as case-studies: Tabennesi (Upper Egypt), founded by Pachomius and his sister, Maria; Annisa (Cappadocia), founded by Macrina and her brothers; Bethlehem, founded by Paula and her daughter, Eustochium, together with their spiritual father, Jerome and his brother, Paulinianus. The last two chapters examine the course of everyday life in these monasteries, the interdependence of the communitarian organization and their religious practices, focusing on issues such as segregation and unity, private and public, individuality and community.

The paradox of double monasticism is that while their founding fathers – Pachomius, Basil, and Jerome, perfectly orthodox chief legislators of monastic life and unquestionable authorities on monasticism in the centuries to come – considered that *it was possible* for men and women to live an angelic life in close proximity, the interest in founding double monasteries not only decreased rapidly, but their very existence came to be rejected as unorthodox. The thesis argues that this decline can be explained by the family nature of these communities on the one hand and by the Origenist controversy on the other.

The Virgin Mary, the Apocalyptic Horsemen, and the Tree of Jesse: The Wall Paintings of the Parish Church in Alţâna (Alzen, Alcina)

Anna Kónya (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Zsombor Jékely (Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest).

This thesis analyzes the wall paintings of the parish church in Alţâna, which provide a rare example of coherent and extensive sanctuary decoration in Transylvania from the second third of the fourteenth century. A comprehensive

approach is applied to the study of the wall paintings, involving the examination of their historical background and architectural context as well as problems of style and iconography.

The analysis shows that the iconographic program in Alţâna is complex and elaborate, the selection of images and their arrangement in the space of the sanctuary, the various interconnections, and the exclusiveness of some of the iconographic themes imply careful planning and a learned background. In contrast, the artistic quality of the images and the simple, sparing treatment of the compositions reduced to the essentials bespeak local standards. Several aspects of this program deserve attention: the large Mariological cycle comprising at least fifteen scenes, a relatively rare subject in fresco cycles north of the Alps; the complex use of the Tree of Jesse iconography; and the presence of Apocalypse representations uncommon in monumental art.

The decoration of the sanctuary in Alţâna revealed in 2007 belongs to a significant body of wall paintings discovered recently in Transylvania which has not been researched yet. Their examination is important as it adds to the fragmentary picture of artistic development in the region and can also enrich knowledge about culture and standards of education in late medieval Transylvania, in this case demonstrating how the means of expression of provincial art could be coupled with erudite ideas and an elaborate conception.

Legitimizing Usurpation: Romanos I Lekapenos and Nikolaos I Mystikos

Ivan Marić (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul
External Reader: Juan Signes Codoñer (University of Valladolid)

The thesis investigates the efforts which the usurper-emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944) undertook in order to legitimize his position and promote himself and his eldest son, Christopher, over the legitimate heir of the established "Macedonian" dynasty, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. The focus is on the use of coins and seals for propagandistic purposes and the role of the patriarch, Nikolaos I Mystikos (p. 901–907, 912/3–925), in supporting the new emperor. Special attention is given to the gold coin representing Romanos being crowned by Christ, which projected his divine legitimacy, and to the contemporary letters that Nikolaos Mystikos sent to Symeon of Bulgaria (r. 893–927) in which the patriarch confirmed the divine ordination of Romanos I Lekapenos. Apart from Symeon,

the letters were probably also addressing the higher strata in the Byzantine capital, mainly the high-ranking officials and dignitaries at court – an audience similar to the one the gold coins were addressing. Finally, the possibility that Mystikos was the mastermind behind the coin's iconography is examined as well.

The Social, Political and Linguistic Context of the Emergence of Aljamiado Literature in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Bosnia: The Case of a Lexicographer and Poet, Mehmed Hevā'ī Uskūfī

Marijana Mišević (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić
External Reader: George Dedes (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)

At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century in the social and political context of Ottoman-ruled Bosnia, a body of texts appeared that have been called *aljamiado* literature. The reasons behind this type of literature, written in Arabic script but in a local Slavic dialect, have not been explored to date. This thesis raises questions about the broader meaning of this type of writing in the Ottoman context through an exploration of the case of the literary output, a versified dictionary, of the earliest author known by name, Mehmed Hevā'ī Uskūfī (d. after 1651).This case demonstrates that *aljamiado* literature had to do with changes in many facets of society that were happening at that time. It may (or may not) have been an expression of a newly felt Muslim-Bosnian identity forming at that time. The Uskūfī case also provides insights into the issues of patronage, literary trends, literacy, language ideology and its role in regional identification practices in the early Ottoman Empire.

Offering Body, Wealth, and Pleasure: The Visual Representation of Women Tempting Saints

Andrea Nechita (Canada)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Martha Easton (Seton Hall University)

The notion of women as seductresses, temptresses, and devils in disguise has a long textual history and is an archetype found in the Bible and biblical apocrypha.

Saints' legends, especially the legends of the Desert Fathers, contain numerous references to seductresses. Images of seductresses can be found in all artistic mediums. Research on the seductresses of saints in the visual arts in relation to saints is scarce, especially for the Middle Ages and Renaissance. This study has collected and examined over one hundred visual sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of seductresses attempting to lure saints from their pious paths. During this time, the depiction of the temptations of Saint Anthony the Great increased in popularity in German, Flemish, and Dutch art.

This analysis found four models of seduction: the rich woman, the nude, the everyday woman, and the devil-woman. The rich woman represents two things. First, she attempts to provoke a desire for the material riches of this world in the holy man, and second, she is seen to embody the negative vices which were thought to come with these riches, namely, pride and haughtiness (*superbia*). The second model of temptation is more clearly based in biological function as the goal of the woman is to provoke sexual desire and lust in the male figure. This category encompasses temptation through representations of nudity, as well as beauty, virginity, and youth. The third seducing model has been labeled the "everyday woman." In such depictions the temptress wears a simple dress. There are no attributes of wealth on her nor is she nude in any way. The fourth model of seduction is the devil-woman. Specific attributes which identify the devil woman include the presence of at least one of these indicators: clawed feet and/or hands, cloven hooves, and horns. The models of seduction are sometimes mixed, as a seductress may be a rich woman as well as a devil-woman, although the devil-woman attributes do not stand alone and always accompany one of the other models. This research concentrates on the representations of the seducing women and uncovers the patterns and changes in trends that these seductresses went through during this time period.

Killing and Being Killed: The Medieval Crocodile Story

Marijana Nestorov (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Marcell Sebők
External Reader: Thierry Buquet (Institut français du Proche-Orient)

This study deals with the perception of the crocodile in the Middle Ages. As perception can only be accessed through source material, textual and pictorial representations of the crocodile form the basis of the study. Even though the Middle Ages are the focus of the research, a review of ancient sources dealing

with the animal is offered, as medieval authors drew most of their knowledge from the ancient authors. This is why this study covers, in more or less depth, the period from the seventh century BCE until the fifteenth century CE, with some concluding remarks as to how perception of the crocodile developed from the sixteenth century onwards. Descriptions of the relations between the hydrus (today: Egyptian mongoose) and the crocodile are a case study for the transmission of knowledge about the natural world. The perception and symbolism of the crocodile developed and changed over time. Ancient sources were adapted, compressed, and used by medieval compilers such as Isidore of Seville. Their works were then re-copied and illustrated in many later works such as bestiaries and medieval encyclopedias. Travelers' accounts, especially the work of Felix Fabri, were used in this study to show how first-hand observation of crocodiles interacted with previously acquired knowledge. It appears that this was a turning point in the perception of crocodiles, as references to the hydrus and similar notions cease. The early modern period saw another change concerning the crocodile, namely, the dried and stuffed animal was used as an object to denote a dragon.

The Muslims of Algiers in Antonio de Sosa's *Topographia, e historia general de Argel* (1612)

Johanna Tóth (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, Marcell Sebők
External Reader: Emrah Safa Gürkan (Georgetown University)

The thesis analyzes an early modern account of the Muslim society of Algiers written by a Spanish captive and slave, Antonio de Sosa, at the end of the sixteenth century. He held a high ecclesiastical position (vicar general of Agrigento, Sicily), and was traveling to his post when he was captured by Algerian corsairs at sea. De Sosa spent four and a half years in captivity (1577–1581) in Algiers, while he established a good relationship with Miguel de Cervantes, also held captive there, conducted conversations with various people, and, as he states, read many books in his prison cell and wrote day by day about the happenings in the city.

The result of his daily writings is the *Topographia, e historia general de Argel* [Topography and general history of Algiers], which consists of five books. I focus on the first one, the *Topography of Algiers*, which gives a colorful and detailed account of the city of Algiers, its inhabitants, the different groups of people with different customs, religions, etc. The *Topography* is a significant source for

various reasons. First, it introduces Algiers, the "capital of the corsairs," and the capital of a province of the Ottoman Empire seeking independence, an important trading center in the Mediterranean with a complex multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. This is what de Sosa depicts in great detail and with much care. He organizes his writing so as to put greater emphasis on the people of the city, their customs, everyday life, characteristics, religious rites, etc. In addition, he differentiates among different "ethnic" groups within the group of "Muslims" and gives an account of the nature of their relationships, which is exceptional compared to the writings of his contemporaries. His methodology and categories of classification of different identities were new and nuanced, which makes his work outstanding.

I take into consideration the political events and the possible strategic purposes of de Sosa's work. I look at the contemporary ideas in his age of the "Turkish threat" that impacted the treatise and see how the work fits into the genres of travel literature and captivity narratives, also considering the perceptions of Muslims in general and the case of "Iberia." My aim is to place de Sosa's work in the series of emerging pieces of "ethnographic knowledge" of the age, which was a transformation period concerning the methods of talking about another culture, a period of new perceptions, new ideas, changing attitudes towards empirical knowledge, and a period of the rise of curiosity about distant lands. I intend to show how de Sosa's work is exceptional among early modern accounts of Muslims because of its nuanced depiction of the "ethnic" groups in a Muslim society and because of his criteria for categorizing different identities.

Dress Accessories and Jewellery from Twelfth- and Thirteenth-century Hungary. Typochronology and Social-Economic Interpretation Based on Finds from Kána Village

Mária Vargha (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Thomas Kühtreiber (University of Salzburg)

This research focuses on different approaches to dating and evaluating the social and economic relations of dress accessories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Dress accessories and jewelry are good base material for studying society and economy as their personal nature and relatively high value reveal information about the social and economic situations of their owners. In the framework of this project, the whole settlement was excavated: 200 houses, 4 large storage pits,

a large number of different archaeological features, the church and churchyard of the village, with nearly 1100 burials. This is an exceptional situation, as no other previously excavated site offered the opportunity for a complete investigation of an entire village. In the case of Kána, the situation is even more fortunate, as not only the village, but also parts of the nearby abbey of Kána were excavated.

Mainly because of the impacts of the Bijelo Brdo debate on the research, and also in consequence of the impoverishment of (churchyard) cemeteries, which in most cases were the bases for such studies, the dating of twelfth- and thirteenth-century jewelry and its socio-economic interpretation is still not clear.

To gain as precise results as possible, this work uses a new, complex methodology; it compares finds from burials of churchyard cemeteries with hoards and destroyed settlements from the age of the Mongol invasion. To avoid the danger of a circular argument I used a control dating for the artifacts that relied on the chronology of the cemetery at Kána, distinguished by cemetery analysis and finds from the settlement, and also hoards that can be connected with the Mongol invasion which provide a stable chronology for the artifacts in them. The investigation of the material from Kána village is an ideal starting point for this research, as according to present knowledge it is the most completely excavated Árpádian-age village in the Carpathian basin.

Eight different phases were defined in the cemetery based on stratigraphy (superposition and orientation of the graves) instead of grave goods. Thus, the chronology could be investigated independently, without relying on traditional dating by artifacts. Investigation of the chronology of the artifacts revealed not only issues of dating the artefacts of the period, but also two important phenomena in burial customs, the lack of thirteenth-century artifacts in graves, which resulted in the "disappearance" of thirteenth-century graveyards from analyses, and the unreliable dating value of coins.

Miraculous Healing Narratives and Their Function in Late Antique Bio-hagiographic Texts. A Comparative Study

Branislav Vismek (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisors: Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar, Volker Menze
External Reader: Ildikó Csepregi (Hungarian Scientific Research Fund [OTKA], "Communicating Saints" Project)

This thesis deals with miraculous healing narratives in late Classical literature. Research on late antique holy men and women and representations of the miracles they were depicted performing has been studied extensively in recent decades. This thesis contributes to the research by analyzing three similar miraculous healing narratives which are parts of three different texts – Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Philotheos Historia*, Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyry*, and Marinus' *Life of Proclus*. To contextualize these texts, I looked at a diversity of what I call bio-hagiographic texts, their audiences, the religious and literary traditions that shaped them, and the reasons for their composition. Then I evaluated the importance of miracles in these texts, the views of the ancient writers on miracles, and their relation to rituals and/or magic. I argue that in Christian bio-hagiographic texts miracles signify the victory and manifestation of "real" supernatural powers. Finally, I argue that, in the context of conflict between miracles and magic, the contest between different religious traditions, and the mutual influence of different literary representations of the supernatural, miracle stories of healing were meant not only to amaze or entertain the audience. Rather, they were powerful rhetorical tools, specifically within the emerging Christian discourse and its push for appropriating "pagan" and Classical culture.

PHD DEFENSES
DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2012–2013

Landscapes and Settlements in the Kecskemét Region, 1300–1700
Edit Belényesyné Sárosi (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on March 26, 2013, consisted of György Endre Szőnyi (Department of History, CEU), chair; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), principal supervisor; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), associate supervisor; Alice M. Choyke (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Terence B. Barry (Trinity College, Dublin); Miklós Takács (Institute of Archaeology, Research Center of Humanities, HAS). The external readers were: Terence B. Barry (Trinity College, Dublin) and Miklós Takács (Institute of Archaeology, Research Center of Humanities, HAS).

This doctoral thesis provides a descriptive analysis of the changing landscape of settlements in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve Region, located on the Great Hungarian Plain. More directly, the study aims at presenting the process of development of how the network of late medieval villages and market towns emerged, and how this pattern was replaced slowly by a few nuclei of market towns surrounded by an abundance of isolated farmsteads by the late eighteenth century. Settlement history and especially the development of various settlement forms are among the old-established research fields in Hungary; beside historical, geographical and ethnographic studies, archaeology played an active role in the study of settlement systems from the first decades of the twentieth century. The recent study of settlements, influenced by the frameworks of historical research, broke in to the specialized time frames of the Árpádian Age (tenth to thirteenth century), the late medieval (fourteenth century until 1526) and the Ottoman periods (1526–1686). In my opinion, the transformations in the settlement pattern can be mostly detected as long-term tendencies, or processes, which are strongly interconnected not only with socio-economic changes and special historical situations, but also varying ecological factors. Thus, one of the main ambitions of my dissertation was to break these theoretical frameworks, and find a context that makes sense of the changes in terms of settlement history. Accordingly, I

decided to tackle the period from the late thirteenth–fourteenth century till the late seventeenth century, that is, in the context of the study area in the Interfluve Region, the period from the formation of the late medieval nucleated villages and the emergence of market towns until the desertion of medieval villages and the formation of the isolated farmstead system in the seventeenth century.

The dissertation comprises three main structural blocks. In the first part, I describe my research strategy, the available interdisciplinary source material, and the natural environment of the study area in order to familiarize the reader with the elements of the modern landscape and the factors that played important roles in the development of the landscape around Kecskemét (Chapters 2–3). The second major part concerns the landscape of settlements (Chapters 4–7). In that context I first investigated the settlement pattern: hierarchy, dispersion, nucleation as well as desertion processes in the study area. I included three case studies (Kecskemét, Szentkirály, and Monostor) in order to demonstrate general patterns as well as local models of settlement development. In the third part of the dissertation I present a detailed picture of land management, with a special focus on agrarian production (Chapter 8).

The first set of research questions connect to the development model and distribution pattern of the settlements in the study area. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were defined by significant realignment in the settlement pattern, not only in the central part of the Danube–Tisza Interfluve Region, but throughout the Hungarian Kingdom. This transformation was influenced in part by changes in economic and social structures, and accelerated by the impacts of the Mongol Invasion in 1241–1242. This period witnessed a number of additional changes such as developments in agricultural techniques. The appearance of above-ground, multi-roomed houses instead of semi-subterranean huts and the building of private representative residences were other important elements in the process.

The rearrangement of settlements in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve Region was notably influenced by movements of Cuman people into the area from the second half of the thirteenth century, giving a special local direction to development, as after the Mongol Invasion sizeable parts of the depopulated royal estates as well as private lands were let to Cuman kindreds. The development in the settlement system was further affected by the transformation of both royal and private estate bodies in the thirteenth–fourteenth century. The documentary sources suggest that large royal estates were located from the Árpádian Period until the first half of the fifteenth century in the central part of the Danube–Tisza Region, preventing the formation of extended private lordships. Probably, significant

parts of deserted or non-viable royal properties (which were not populated by Cumans) were reorganized and attached to surviving and/or developing local market centers such as the later towns of Kecskemét, Cegléd, and Halas. The fact that clusters of deserted early villages are typically found in the vicinity of later urban centers can be regarded as an indicator of this rearrangement. Regrettably, in the absence of detailed written evidence and archaeological data it cannot be decided to what extent the deserted early settlements were destroyed by the Mongols in 1241–1242. Were these lands subsequently attached to other settlements as physically destroyed and depopulated territories or did these sites (or at least some of them) survive the Mongol Invasion so that their disappearance can be connected to some conscious reorganization process?

The late fourteenth and fifteenth century were characterized by an apparent nucleation resulting in the emergence of a few local market centers and a larger body of villages. When looking closer at the hierarchy of settlements in the area between the two dominant urban cores of Szeged and Pest, one notices that Kecskemét and Cegléd became noteworthy market towns with similarly moderate urban functions. The earlier temporary "dwelling sites" of the Cuman population were replaced by a solid network of nucleated villages whose morphology, architecture, and material culture reflect a comprehensive integration with and assimilation to Hungarian culture. However, the arrival of the Cumans established a new pattern characterized by larger and coherent bodies of lands owned by Cuman landlords, lying between the sizeable lands of market towns and smaller "islands" of Hungarian villages.

The nucleation process continued in the late fifteenth–sixteenth century; in this period three main chronological phases and types of settlement desertion can be observed. It is not easy to determine which settlements had better prospects for survival. As a general tendency it seems that most of the villages that were inhabited in the sixteenth century are among those which occupied or continued earlier Árpád-period sites and it seems that fifteenth-century Cuman habitation settlements with no known Árpád-period predecessors were more likely to disappear. Environmental factors such as fertility and type of soil and the closely connected economic potential of fields, especially given the introduction of new kinds of plows, must be important, however, not-yet-explored aspects of this process. Climate change connected to the onset of the cooling period known as the Little Ice Age was possibly also among the reasons for abandonment, as was demonstrated in connection with Monostor. Site location is another key issue in understanding the reasons behind this phenomenon. It seems that sites which remained viable in the longer term were located along roads carrying major

traffic, suggesting that the communication networks of the Árpád Period were used in later centuries. The growth of large-scale animal husbandry, and more importantly, the expansion of the animal trade might have served at least partly as a background for either the survival or desertion of a settlement. It is apparent that all the villages which were probably involved in the raising and trading of animals are situated along major traffic routes.

The first wave of desertion affected several of the Cuman sites established earlier; probably impermanent dwellings were deserted before 1500 (such as Zomokzallas, Köncsög and Bugac). A second wave of abandonment can be ascertained around the time of the Ottoman conquest of Hungary. It is remarkable that some villages, for instance, Ágasegyháza, Monostor, Borbásszállás, appear in documentary sources and/or archaeological material as inhabited sites in the early sixteenth century. However, the first Ottoman defter in 1546 records them as deserted lands, which suggests that their depopulation can be directly connected to the Ottoman occupation of the area. Interestingly, all these deserted lands had been noted as being rented/managed by the citizens of Kecskemét from the year 1546, which means that there was no long break or intermission in the cultivation of the village lands after their abandonment. In my interpretation, this pattern raises the issue of whether the disappearance of settlements was the direct result of wartime destruction or whether it was a form of planned evacuation of settlements initiated by the overlords or the inhabitants themselves. The documentary evidence suggests that the number of villages remained relatively stable during the first decades of the Ottoman occupation until the Fifteen-Years' War. All the villages that were recorded as being inhabited in 1546 were registered as villages in 1590. The most intensive phase of desertion occurred between 1591 and 1606, when documentary sources report extensive destruction throughout the Interfluve area. In this period, literally all settlements were abandoned except for the three market towns of Kecskemét, Nagykőrös, and Cegléd.

In terms of morphology, the data suggest that nucleated villages with regular row elements were the most characteristic features in the late medieval rural landscape in the study area. At present no indications of irregular or agglomerated features in the period between the fifteenth and seventeenth century are verified. The settlements became structured along streets from the early fifteenth century and the peasant holdings were divided into standard tofts, comprising the croft where the above-ground, multi-roomed peasant house was located within a small farmyard together with large agricultural lands belonging to the same unit. The presence of sties and stables as well as the possible storage-function connected to the house suggests that draught animals were kept there.

Storage areas were available in the farmyard area surrounding the house. The church and the churchyard are also key components of village sites. Market places were present in only the larger villages, many of which appear as market towns in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century.

At Monostor, I applied field-walking, excavation, aerial photography, and geophysical survey in addition to collecting of documentary and cartographic material. The results allowed me to deduce that there were two main cores to settlements, one in the southern Alsómonostor area and another in the northern Felsőmonostor area. The dispersed farmsteads and the early village at Alsómonostor were deserted in the early fourteenth century at the latest based on surface finds, while at Felsőmonostor the village was continuously inhabited from the eleventh to the late sixteenth century. Lacking systematic excavation of the deserted sites themselves, the exact date and cause of their abandonment is unknown. Searching for the reasons for their abandonment, I correlated my observations to recent climate studies which describe the early fourteenth century as the beginning of a cooling period with more precipitation. The deserted early sites expanded to areas lying 103–111 m above sea level and were often located on areas near lakes or swampy areas, while late medieval settlement features avoided areas below 108m above sea level. This pattern, in my understanding, means that one possible reason for the settlement desertion was the rise in ground water levels related to climatic change. At Felsőmonostor the connection between the settlement and the monastery is essential from both the chronological and morphological points of view. The field surveys indicate that the early village surely preceded the foundation and building of the monastery, which was founded in the twelfth century and abandoned in the early fourteenth century. Among other elements of the villagescape, the parish church was surveyed and some parts of the street (or one of the streets?) were identified on aerial photos; an observation which suggests that the late medieval site at Felsőmonostor was a street-village-type settlement.

A similar interdisciplinary approach was employed for Szentkirály, where the earlier surveys of András Pálóczi Horváth were supplemented with new excavations and aerial photography. The new data suggest that there were three major settlement cores with parish churches within the territory of the later village during the Árpád Period, which were all abandoned by the time the Cumans arrived in the area around the turn of the thirteenth century. They chose the site of their permanent settlement around the ruins of one a Árpád Period church and village, first referred to as Szentkirály in 1354. Their site selection clearly demonstrates that their settlement was influenced by the former habitation pattern of the

Árpád Period. The focus of the settlement in the late medieval and early modern period remained the Árpád Period church, which was renovated and enlarged in the Gothic style in the fifteenth century. The archaeological investigations revealed that the late medieval village was in fact located at the junction of the roads that led from the direction of Kecskemét towards crossing points on the Tisza River. Several sections of this road, identical with the main street of the late medieval village, were excavated by both András Pálóczi-Horváth and myself. The presence of shallow ditches and fences along both sides of the road indicates that communal and private areas were physically separated in the late medieval period. The transitional phase of the Cuman settlement process ended in the first half of the fifteenth century when the first fixed houses were built. The houses were located at distances of 100–105 m from each other, permitting the inference that the width of the inner plot of each house was around 70–75 m. The above-ground, multi-roomed houses display substantial similarities in their building techniques and formal traditions. Furthermore, there were also several variants of houses with complex heating systems.

Kecskemét represents a special regional model of urban development. Until the mid-fourteenth century Kecskemét was one of the emerging sites with the same potential to develop into an important local centre as any other village. The situation changed from the second half of the fourteenth century, as all surrounding properties were donated to private landowners, partly to Hungarian noblemen and partly to members of the Cuman elite. These processes opened up short-term prospects for Kecskemét, which remained part of the royal estates until 1439. The function of Kecskemét as a major node for commerce and administration in the central part of the Danube–Tisza Interfluve Region from the mid-fifteenth century is beyond doubt. Based on its advantageous geographical location, royal patronage encouraged the town's participation in regional and long-distance trade. Spatial growth was another important factor in the development. The annexation and later renting out of nearby deserted village lands that were used as free expansion zones for agricultural production played a significant role in the town's growth. Livestock husbandry, in particular the large-scale breeding of cattle and sheep, dominated. In this respect, the urban development of Kecskemét represents a special model, insofar as its economy was based not so much on specialized crafts or industries, but on animal husbandry. This model was a major motivating factor that – besides trading – encouraged urbanization.

The most prominent urban indicator of Kecskemét was its role as a major traffic junction; eleven other central places could be reached from the town

without going through other centers. Three annual fairs and a weekly market were among the major urban activities conducted in the town. In addition, the presence of self-governance in the town, the royal customs office, and the administration of salt production in the fifteenth century reflect Kecskemét's urban potential. In respect to judicial activities, Kecskemét's role as a Cuman seat should be mentioned. The presence of crafts can only be discussed from the mid-sixteenth century when data on three guilds (goldsmiths, furriers, and tailors) and specialized craftsmen appear. Many of these activities were connected to the processing of animal products The Ottoman tax rolls suggest that in 1559 around 20 % of registered family heads were craftsmen, a percentage corresponding to similar occupation proportions in major market towns in the Great Plain region.

Based on the first detailed topographic representations, especially the map of the First Ordnance Survey, it was possible to define topographic layers in the town plan and identify numerous continuous features in the present-day townscape. I suggest that the settlement developed from compound settlement clusters. More closely, I believe that the town developed from two medieval settlement cores, with two individual parishes, one dedicated to Saint Nicholas and the other to the Virgin Mary. Accordingly, the dense, irregular clustered areas around the medieval parishes represent the earliest texture in the town plan. The second layer in the texture are the lines connecting the two early settlement cores with the inner market place around Saint Nicholas' and the outer market place (*Vásártér*, "Fair ground"), which already seem to have been laid out by the late fifteenth–early sixteenth century. The Ottoman tax rolls and the emerging town protocols name twelve streets in the mid-sixteenth century showing that the town had a composite, multi-street plan by that time. The town was defended by a system of a ditch and palisades in the late sixteenth century seemingly, the town expanded radially along the main channels of traffic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hence, small convergences of four to five minor streets along these major streets on the eighteenth century town plan might refer back to earlier stages in town development, namely, a former town boundary. The possible direction for the growth of the settlement in the seventeenth–eighteenth century was influenced by the location of the *Vásártér* (the "Fair ground"). That is to say, the special spatial needs of the fairs presumably blocked expansion towards the south. Thus, the main expansion was directed towards the north and northeast. Consequently, the more regular, grid-like street pattern north- and north-east of Dellő Lake may well be the remains of a planned expansion along the prolongation of Kőrösi Street, which probably happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth century period.

Continuity is another relevant aspect in the townscape of Kecskemét. The factors displaying the strongest and most visible permanence in the townscape are the streets, both the names and the patterns of the streets, many of which still exist today. Beside the streets, the latest possible path of the former defensive ditch system and the sites of the five major gates had further major impacts on the settlement morphology. The available information on the pre-modern town plan of Kecskemét suggests the settlement most definitely had an urban character by the second half of the sixteenth century. The urban use of space is seen in the dense pattern of streets connected to high densities of houses located around the parish churches, the widened main streets, the accommodation of the market places, and the presence of a defensive structure around the town. Still, the pre-eighteenth century architecture of the settlement presumably resembled rural settlements, as the townscape was dominated by one-storied buildings built in the fashion of village houses.

In the third part of the dissertation I describe land management with a special focus on agrarian production. This contributes to an understanding of the way interactions between the town and countryside contributed to urban development. Various features associated with land use were interpreted, such as the boundaries, system, and the pattern of fields. Woodland, vineyards, and orchards in the context of the production and ownership were also considered since these are aspects that have not been highlighted in previous studies.

In terms of the visible frameworks of land management, I tested available information about boundary-lines in the study area to see if it was at all possible to connect documentary sources and topographical representations with existing landscape features. The preliminary results of this experiment were unexpectedly successful. The outcome of this showed that it is worth dealing with the survival and field survey of pre-modern boundary markers, since they seem to be among the rare surviving and continuous pre-modern landscape features in the region. The pattern of boundaries was apparently influenced by settlement nucleation and dispersion processes in the area. In that regard, the most important observation is that the town directly absorbed deserted village lands into its economy. The "puszta economy" meant that some of these lands were divided and distributed by the town magistrates as parcels among the citizens; both extensive pastures and arable fields, called "gardens", were allotted. A few *puszta* lands were leased by private groups of wealthy citizens. The "gardens" were actually free leaseholds. In this manner, the people of Kecskemét became freeholders of lands by the seventeenth century, but remained tenant peasants under Hungarian law. It seems that most of these allotted fields were situated around the core areas of the town

and was managed as arable land. Sometimes vineyards are mentioned in or among the gardens, while animal husbandry is not referred to explicitly at all.

Generally, this management system can be described as a model with agricultural zones around the town consisting of inner arable fields and pasturelands on distant deserted lands. However, the system was more complex as the population was capable of maintaining farming in the context of deserted lands. Consequently, the choice between arable farming and animal husbandry was not made on the basis of the distance from the town alone. Other factors such as carrying capacity, soil fertility, or in the case of stock-breeding, the distance of pasture from the place of the market, were among the main factors considered in the selection. Moreover, it is important that even if large-scale animal husbandry dominated the management of the deserted lands, documentary sources suggest that arable farming was also continuously present.

Woodland management and horticulture have received relatively little scholarly attention compared to animal husbandry in the study area. I demonstrate that some elements of the woodland steppe, which is regarded as part of the natural ecology of the Great Plain region, was present from the medieval period until the nineteenth century in this area, especially around Cegléd, Nagykőrös, and Kecskemét. Besides woodland, forest pastures were also present, for instance at Bugac, Szentkirály, and Cegléd. Gardens, viticulture, and horticulture are unexplored subjects as well within the field system of Kecskemét. The free legal status of the vineyards of Kecskemét played a key role in the early modern expansion of the town in addition to the produce from meadow gardens.

Finally, both the pattern and structure of settlements were part of a dynamic system in the fourteenth to seventeenth century period, in which frameworks for living and production in a changing political, economic, and climatic circumstances were adopted. Still, it is only partially possible to review the late medieval and early modern history of villages, even if most of the late medieval rural settlements around Kecskemét have been mapped. The biggest problem is the insufficient information on the individual histories of settlements, for instance, in terms of desertion, a crucial feature when describing overall patterns and changes in the landscape. The results of the present dissertation suggest that settlement desertion cannot be automatically interpreted as a synonym for destruction, as the abandonment of settlements could equally result from planned spatial realignments or from the economic reorganization of an area, rather than from a series of random events. In this respect, this discussion has highlighted and suggested some key directions for future detailed investigations.

The dissertation has successfully demonstrated that a conscious synthesis of methodology and the application of multi-disciplinary source materials may greatly enhance the perception and interpretation of past landscapes. Hopefully, it will be regarded as an inspiration for future landscape studies in Hungary and will provide useful comparative material for international scholarship.

Itinerant Rulership in Byzantium: A Topographical Analysis of the Laskarid Realm (1204–1261)

Julia Bokody (Jedamski) (Germany)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on March 1, 2013, consisted of Matthias Riedl (Department of History, CEU), chair; Niels Gaul (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), principal supervisor; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), associate supervisor; Johannes Koder (Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, Universität Wien); Ruth Macrides (Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham); Anna Christidou (Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Johannes Koder (Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, Universität Wien); Ruth Macrides (Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham).

In 1204, with the sack of Constantinople, the highly centralized capital of the Byzantine Empire collapsed. Three Byzantine successor realms came into existence on the periphery of the former empire, which rivaled in establishing themselves as legitimate successor states. One of these, the so-called Empire of Nicaea, emerged in western Asia Minor under the rule of Theodore I Laskaris (1204–21).

This dissertation focuses on the topography of western Asia Minor during the years of the Byzantine exile. During the previous centuries Byzantine Asia Minor had been dramatically transformed. Over time, significant territorial losses turned Asia Minor from the core of the Byzantine Empire into a shaken and fragmented periphery, yet also into a zone of rich cultural exchange and trade. During the first half of the thirteenth century, for the first time after a long period of neglect and for the last time in Byzantine history, western Asia Minor was in the direct focus of Byzantine rule. This became visible in repaired fortifications and prospering towns.

Compared to the highly centralized Byzantine Empire that fell with Constantinople, this project asks how the topography of western Asia Minor

looked between the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the re-conquest in 1261. How did the Byzantine rulers-in-exile set up their newly created territory? Its modern and artificial name *Empire of Nicaea*, focusing on one single city, suggests a concentration of power in the place, where Theodore I Laskaris first gathered forces against the Crusaders. However, building activity spread over the whole Laskarid territory and thus leads to a different conclusion. A palace that was used by most of the emperors in exile and that even enjoyed significance for imperial politics after the reconquest of Constantinople was situated at Nymphaion (Nif, resp. Kemalpasa) near Smyrna (İzmir), which is roughly 400km away from Nicaea (İznik). A monastery that was used as an imperial burial site was founded near Magnesia (Manisa), where the imperial treasury and mint had been transferred. Fortifications attributed to the Laskarid period can be found in the river valleys of Lydia and at the Hellespont. At the Latmos (Bafa Gölü) several monasteries testify to imperial building activity as well. Further sites seemed to occupy strategically important positions within the territory, as, e.g., Pegai (Karabiga) and Lampsakos (Lapseki) along the coast of the Sea of Marmara, as they are mentioned frequently in contemporary accounts.

This dissertation argues that the Laskarid rulers created various focal points within their realm that took over functions of the former capital. No single city was chosen to reflect the former meaning and core position that Constantinople once had. Instead, several places were set up and regularly visited by the emperors. Thus, I argue that this was the only period in which a Byzantine dynasty performed itinerant rulership. This can be considered a defense strategy, as a result of the experience in 1204 the Laskarid rulers distributed power over space to prevent the taking of the heart of their territory.

Eagle and Lion: Integration, Immigration, and Conflict on the Istrian Frontier in the Sixteenth Century

Robert Kurelić (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on March 7, 2013, consisted of László Kontler (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Ivan Jurković (Juraj Dobrila University of Pula); Beatrix Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church of Hungary). The external readers were: Ivan Jurković (Juraj Dobrila University of Pula); Daniel Power (Swansea University).

This dissertation analyzes the sixteenth-century Istrian frontier from the perspective of the subject population in the rural parts of the peninsula. Istria, presently divided between Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy, was a frontier region of the Holy Roman Empire throughout the Middle Ages. Following the elimination of the patriarchate of Aquileia, the peninsula was divided between the dominant Venetian Republic holding two thirds of the coast and the Habsburgs ruling the interior but isolated heartlands. Both powers reigned over a rural subject population that was overwhelmingly Slavic. Split along political lines that made them either "Austrian" or "Venetian" these subjects bore the brunt of their respective lieges' power struggles and yet, faced with meager resources and a mutually dependent economy, they needed to coexist and cooperate in order to survive and thrive. The sixteenth century in particular was an age of great upheavals in the region. Two wars delineate this period: the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–1516) and the Uskok War (1615–18). The time in between was one of uncertainty as the emergent Habsburg power, reinforced by the acquisition of the Spanish Crown, sought to challenge the Venetian dominance of the region in order to assert its own claim to supremacy in the Adriatic. This was even further strengthened by Ferdinand's ascension in neighboring Croatia and Hungary. In the shadow of this grand struggle the subject population, decimated and suffering from outbreaks of plague and malaria, war, and famine, became the (un)willing pawns of their princes, forced to contend not only with each other, but also with a new population of refugees from the Dalmatian hinterlands settled in Istria by the rival powers to repopulate the region. I focus primarily on the subjects of these rural areas living close to state boundaries, leaving aside the predominantly Italian urban population of the coastal cities. I aim to ascertain the dynamics of frontier life and

to determine whether these frontier communities were receptive to migrants of Istrian and external origin, how the boundaries affected the interaction between the subjects, and what role boundary disputes played on the peninsula.

In the introductory chapter, I briefly outline the history of Istria, from the conquest of Charlemagne and the subsequent donation to the patriarch of Aquileia until the ascendancy of Venice and the counts of Görz who, by exploiting their role as advocates of the patriarchate, slowly usurped a large portion of the interior of the peninsula which formed the nucleus of what became Habsburg Istria following the death of Count Albert of Görz in 1374. The defeat of the patriarchate in 1420 left only two powers vying for dominance, Venice and the Habsburgs. It was not until Maximillian's reign, however, that Habsburg ambitions began to clash openly with Venice's claims to supremacy. The peace treaty of Trent in 1535 left a number of unresolved territorial disputes, the so-called *differenze*, which created an environment of near-incessant tensions similar to an undeclared war. Further compounded by the raids of Uskoks, refugee pirates from Senj who preyed on Ottoman and Venetian merchant marine lines, these tensions intensified by the end of the century and exploded during the Uskok War, which left Istria completely ravaged. This bloody conflict that pitted neighbors and relatives against one another was the most brutal and the last war to be fought in Istria until modern times. Throughout that time Istria was a patchwork of haphazardly assembled possessions, from communes and counties under direct control of the central powers in Venice and Vienna to petty fiefs of minor lords on both sides. The local officials were jealous of their colleagues and rivals alike. Whereas the Venetian *podestas* changed constantly, the captain of Pazin, who was in charge of the largest Habsburg fief, was a more permanent presence, though weakened by the poverty and isolation of his domain – cut off as it was from other archducal territories by mountains – and his struggles with his own subjects, who were jealous of their ancestral liberties.

In the first chapter, "The Ties that Bind," I deal with that which brought the subjects together. I compare the connections and relationships between the rural populations on both sides of the frontier in order to determine whether individuals or families would have had difficulties crossing the boundary and settling on the "other side". I do this by analyzing culture, defined as a set of beliefs, values, and attitudes, against the backdrop of a common shared language. A significant factor was the widespread Glagolithic script in which the Croatian Chakavian dialect was written, both used by priests and notaries, which contributed greatly to the preservation of the vernacular in everyday life. This also simplified written communication between communities and made it more accessible to a wider

audience. Moreover, the local administration was remarkably similar throughout rural Istria. The *župan*, an elected local official serving a one-year term with roots dating back to the pre-migration period, was the political pillar of the community, serving at the same time as a leader and magistrate of the community and as its voice in dealings with neighbors and superiors alike. Vampire lore serves as another piece of written evidence that connects the neighboring communities, as attested by a remarkably detailed story penned by Valvasor in 1689 that has, however, a far older origin. The belief in vampires, or *strigoi* as they were called in Istria, as well as other popular superstitions were so deeply rooted and found on both sides that they affected the lives of the peasants and their leaders regardless of the authorities' attempts to stamp them out. In this they cemented the bonds between the villagers and the newcomers arriving from neighboring communities sharing a compatible belief structure.

Further, I analyze the Habsburg community of Boljun on the basis of the extensive parish records and reconstruct familial relationships at the end of the sixteenth century. The immigrant Belvederi family as well as the *župan* Juraj Matijašić – himself a first generation migrant – form the backbone of this case study. The records clearly show that, when it came to the choice of marriage partners, the inhabitants of Austrian Boljun did not discriminate against their Venetian neighbors. Moreover, the Matijašić and Belvederi cases show that migrants were not only welcome in Boljun, but they could also climb the local social hierarchy and reach leading positions in the community, including that of *župan*. Records also show that economic migrants and entrepreneurs were well received, as well.

In the second chapter, "New Blood," I deal with the Morlak immigrants in Istria. The Morlaks – the term itself is complex and constantly changing – by the sixteenth century were transhumant pastoralists of the Dalmatian hinterlands, who appeared in Istria in the second half of the fifteenth century but were not yet present in large numbers until the second decade of the sixteenth century. It was at that time that the officials of both powers began to undertake measures to systematically colonize the Morlaks on abandoned lands under their rule, both to repopulate the demographically harmed regions and to use them as border guards and raiders as they were frequently used in Dalmatia. I reconstruct the Morlak settlement on both sides of the frontier from rent rolls and charter evidence and I explain the problem of honor as the central driving force of Morlak society by expanding on fragmentary sixteenth century evidence with eighteenth century writings about Morlaks in Dalmatia, which reveals striking analogies, showing the endurance and immutability of Morlak customs. I then

discuss the collision between Morlak honor as the foundation of their justice system with the honor of the state seeking to curb the rampant crime frequently ascribed to Morlaks in contemporary sources. I show how problem-ridden the migration became as transhumant and mobile Morlaks frequently clashed with the sedentary old inhabitants with the state often powerless to intervene as it was incapable of penetrating the veil of silence, the *omerta*, that reigned within Morlak society. Moreover, they went about armed and were not above directly challenging constables and officials when faced with criminal charges, but they were also capable of navigating the near-Byzantine labyrinth of the Venetian justice system and exploiting it for their own ends. Also, the frontier itself presented a problem as it allowed them to behave like privateers, engaging in illicit dealings on the territory of one state, while acting like law-abiding citizens in the other, thereby taking advantage of the hostility between rival officials to protect them from the law. In addition to internal migrations caused by criminal behavior – mostly from Venetian to Austrian soil – I also look at economic migrants at the end of the century as Venice attempted to lure Austrian subjects to its side of the frontier, promising exemptions and stipends.

In the third chapter, "What Drives Apart," I analyze boundary disputes that plagued medieval and early modern Istria, but became particularly frequent and disruptive in the time following the peace treaty of 1535. The prevalence of a number of contested zones left by the commissioners for joint use, but almost immediately and constantly disputed by communities on both sides, created a plethora of problems for officials and governments alike. I discuss the source material itself as a reflection of the priorities of the two states. Venice, tired and defensive, sought to fossilize the boundary by means of extensive record keeping, which the vibrant Habsburgs, with an ambitious and vindictive Ferdinand and his heirs, sought to countermand by sheer force if necessary. I show a number of factors that worked against a peaceful and permanent resolution of boundary disputes. They were, by their very nature recurrent, as both memory and written evidence of where the boundary lay faded and the boundary markers themselves were destroyed by the passage of time or human action. Furthermore, the evidence itself was heavily contingent on the willingness of the parties involved to seek an amicable resolution. As a number of examples shows, the captains that negotiated in the name of their respective princes possessed only a limited number of options. Trapped between the desires of their subjects to increase the land set for their use and the need to safeguard their princes' rights and privileges, they too were mere pawns in the game. Moreover, the relationship between the princes themselves could greatly affect their disposition towards peace, and they

were frequently influenced by their advisers, many of whom had ample reason to lobby for a forceful or more militant response. By comparing the dispute resolution procedure before and after the War of the League of Cambrai, I show how contingent the amicable path was on the balance of power between the two states. Extant sources from earlier centuries clearly demonstrate the superiority of Venice and the willingness of the Habsburgs to acquiesce to Venetian demands. From Maximillian onwards, this policy of appeasement disappeared completely, giving way to escalation.

I then discuss the ritual aspect of boundary disputes, which shows that a great part of the disputes themselves revolved around posturing and a show of force. Whereas in the previous centuries the rituals on the boundary were of a more peaceful nature, involving a joint inspection and the sharing of a meal, the changing circumstances and an increased militarization of the region – especially through the creation of a peasant militia called *cernide* – transformed these rituals into a martial demonstration of power. Armed to the teeth, the militias of both sides appeared in force on the boundary in order to protect "their" territory, while the captains, themselves more violent than their earlier counterparts, directed reprisals against the other side, beating, imprisoning or wounding the subjects of the other state. The violence became a self-serving expression of the willingness to defend one's territory.

This transformation was taking place at a time when forests and pastures became an evermore vital economic resource, as both states issued ordinances seeking to extend governmental control over them. Transhumant pastoralism necessitated cooperation among the subjects, as cattle needed to be seasonally moved from one territory to the other, but border pastures became a hotly contested zone, as I show on the example of the Valbona dispute in which the stakes seem to have been so high that the violence escalated to a great degree and even lip service to ancient ritual forms of conflict resolution was denied.

The three different but complementary chapters of this dissertation outline a remarkable period in Istrian history. Against the backdrop of wars and a changing balance of power in the region, as well as the influx of a large number of culturally similar, but more violent, Morlaks, Istrian peasants were caught between the hammer and anvil. They needed to draw new settlers to replenish their dwindling numbers, but these migrants were often more trouble than they were worth. Furthermore, they had to maintain good relations with their neighbors in order to marry, find work, and feed their livestock. At the same time, they were forced to defend their lands vigorously and often violently against those very same neighbors. The Istrian peasant faced seemingly impossible choices, and

yet, as I have shown, he was able to balance all this pragmatically and endure in a period of great calamities and disasters, both natural and manmade.

The Birth and the Agents of an Episcopal Civic Cult: St. John of Trogir (12th–15th Century)

Ana Marinković (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 11, 2013, consisted of Victor Karády (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Marianna D. Birnbaum (Professor Emerita, UCLA); Neven Budak (University of Zagreb); Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Joško Belamarić (Institute of Art History, Center Cvito Fisković, Split) and Paolo Golinelli (University of Verona).

The aim of this thesis was to analyse the process of transforming the cult of a local bishop into the cult of a civic patron saint and to trace the strategies used in order to accomplish the civic appropriation of the cult. Such a transformation was the result of the separation of the secular civic authorities from the ecclesiastical ones – a process which was completed roughly in the thirteenth century in Italian communes, and by the first half of the fourteenth in Dalmatia. The new civil, secular urban communities, having detached from the pre-communal civic patrons, that is, the cathedral patrons, needed to establish a new civic pantheon on which they could rely in matters of heavenly intercession as well as symbolic self-representation. These new cults were frequently built around local bishops, since they possessed the civic quality of *Indigenousness*, which made them especially suitable for the role of civic patrons.

The adjectives used in the title, *Civic* and *Episcopal*, only partially and rather generally describe the complex set of features defining the cult of St. John of Trogir. First of all, as argued in the introduction, the notions of *Communal* and *Civic*, though interchangeable in this context, do not cover the same semantic spectrum, and although the thesis is dealing with the birth of the civic cult in general, most of it focuses on the appropriation of the cult by the communal institutions in particular. Further, the notion *Episcopal* is used here rather in the meaning of the local bishop, although the wider comparative material (Dalmatian as well as Italian) includes not only the local (frequently Early Christian) bishops, but other types of saints as well.

Finally, the notion of *Reformist* (as of Gregorian reform) should be added as well to the analysis of the birth of the Tragurian civic cult. The holy reformist bishops were receptive to civic veneration primarily since their episcopates and early cults coincided with the early stages of city communes, but there were also more complex motives for their frequent appropriation as city patrons, reflected in the reformist bishops' hagiographical *topoi*, which eventually served as the basis for their civic appropriation. Those *topoi*, such as defending the city, pacifying civic conflicts, or founding monasteries and building activity, were strongly tied to the reformist background, however, they also bore a strong "civic flavor."

For example, the *topos* of the bishop as *defensor civitatis* is related to the actual political context of the conflict between the papal state and emperors, as reflected in the hagiographies of many Italian reformist bishops. The role of bishops as protectors of the city against enemy attack was likely to provoke civic veneration, and the later follow-up of this conflict was reflected in the appropriation of certain civic cults by either guelfs or ghibellines, sometimes causing a dichotomy of the civic devotion, as in Bologna, for example.

Since no consequences of this conflict were visible in Dalmatian cities and the role of the emperor as the agent of construction of civic cults did not exist, the universal *topoi* of defence of the city or the related prophecy and pacification of the internal civic struggles were taken over and applied to locally existing problems – conflicts with the supporters of the unreformed Church and the military attacks of various enemies. Thus, the germs of Dalmatian civic cults of reformist bishops lay in the local variants of the universal *topoi* of reformist episcopal hagiography, as well as in various levels of the political and religious circumstances in which the cult developed. Among other features distinguishing the cult of St. John from the other two Dalmatian reformist episcopal cults, those of St. Gaudence and St. Rainer, it was the papal confirmation of the Tragurian cult, pronounced in the context of papal efforts to solve problems on the Eastern Adriatic, which added to the strength of the local cult. Thus, the reformist background of the Tragurian bishop's cult actually represents the prehistory of the civic cult, as it traces the germ on which the patronage of the city was based.

The second part of the thesis covered two aspects of the secular authorities' appropriation of the cult of St. John. The first is the strategy of appropriation on the part of the communal institutions, notably the city council, which might be considered as *Internal* civic appropriation, and the second refers to the strategies used by the rulers of Trogir (Hungarian kings, Venetian doges) towards the local civic cult, that is, *External* civic appropriation.

Both levels of governance focused mostly on the liturgical center of the cult, that is, the holy bishop's relics, and their translations to ever-new tombs and chapels. Thus, first of all, I have tried to assemble the knowledge on the forms and the ritual use of the tombs of St. John, and to identify the commissioners of each new phase of the tomb structure. Since the independent institution of *Operaria* was repsonsible for all the buildings in the cathedral, neither the canons' chapter nor the commune could be held directly responsible for the commissions of the arks and the chapels. However, certain features, such as the *comes*' throne, an integral part of the Gothic chapel's structure or the *comes*' coat of arms that marks the entrance to the Renaissance chapel indicate the active role of the civic institutions and/or their officials in the conceiving of the patron's chapels.

The most important result of the reconstruction of the Gothic chapel and the new reading of several other sources is the discovery that the design of the ark and the chapel of St. John served as the model for the ark and chapel of St. Simeon in Zadar, commissioned by the Hungarian Queen Elisabeth. Moreover, not only did it represent an important link in development of Dalmatian shrines, but the design of the Tragurian ark, coming from the Venetian tradition, stands as an early example of a full-figure effigy on a holy person's tomb in general.

The main analytical chapter dealing with the instances of communal appropriation possibly represents most clearly the methodological approach used in the analytical parts of the thesis, that is, the treatment of each mention of the saint, in any form of votive act or offering, as an instance of appropriation. Therefore, the first step was to identify the agent or commissioner of every such instance and then to put those instances in a meaningful sequence. Thus, I have analysed the following means of the civic appropriation of the cult: (1) invocations in official documents, which shows both the transformation of the ecclesiastical and private devotion into the official civic devotion towards St. John, (2) as well as his taking the place of St. Lawrence, the previous civic patron, (3) furthermore, the final institutionalization of the cult through statute regulations, the civic insignia, and the public use of the relics, (4) and finally the reflection of the official status of both civic cults (the old and the new) in the hagiotopographical strategy that associated the communal territory with the churches dedicated to the patron saints.

However, up to the fifteenth century, the roles and scope of the communal patron and the cathedral patron, as the new and the old civic protectors, were difficult to distinguish. Not only in the hagiotopographical demarcation, but also in invocations and statute regulations, and certain official iconographic solutions (such as the relief on the public *loggia*), St. John and St. Lawrence appear on

equal terms. Thus, I have tried to delineate chronologically and thematically the contexts in which St. John appeared independently, as well as those where he did not accompany St. Lawrence. The latter concerns the fact that St. John never assumed the official patronage of the cathedral, whereas the former contexts turned out to be primarily related either to ceremonies related to St. John's relics, the visual representation on the civic insignia or institutionalised public devotion through the activities of the confraternity.

Public devotion was not included in the analytical scope of the thesis, seeing that the central problems were the official aspects of the cult. However, the confraternity as an institutionalised form of both public and private devotion played an important role in the system of civic religion, interacting directly with the communal institutions regarding the matters of the patron's cult, as well as introducing new elements of civic self-representation (such as the new iconography of the patron saint holding a model of the city).

The synthetic chapter concluding the analysis of the first phase of civic appropriation, that is, of the process through which the communal institution assumed control over the cult of the holy bishop, took into consideration the comparative features – similarities and differences – of two other typologically congruent Dalmatian cults, namely, those of the reformist bishops of Osor and Split. The comparison shows that the civic elements in the hagiographies played a considerable role in this process, however, the particular local constellations of ecclesiastical and political circumstances were of even greater significance.

The second phase of civic appropriation regards the attitude of the external rulers, that is, Hungarian kings and Venetian doges, towards the local patron's cult. The analysis of all the available instances of the rulers' references to the cult of St. John brought forward two patterns of the rulers' managment of devotion to the city patron: firstly, the administrative interventions on the part of the Venetian Doge, visible as early as the first Venetian rule in the mediated regulations brought by the council that was led by the Venetian *comes*, but in the fifteenth century represented by the direct orders (*ducals*) regarding the role of the civic officials in cult acitivities. The second pattern regards the Hungarian kings of the Angevin dynasty who used a different strategy of using strong symbolic gestures, such as the crowning of the reliquaries of Dalmatian civic patrons. However, unlike the Venetian government, which paid special attention to the civic cult of Trogir, the Angevin rulers focused mostly on Zadar, the capital of Dalmatia, and on the introduction of the new Jadertine civic cult of St. Simeon the Elder, whereas the cult of St. John remained in the background.

Maybe somewhat surprisingly, since the early Tragurian hagiography had defined Venice as the major civic enemy, the period of Venetian rule in Trogir did not witness any attempt to suppress the cult of St. John. On the contrary, it instigated the development of all of its institutional aspects, while at the same time introducing the cult of St. Mark in a very limited form. Here I should mention the hagiographical manuscript collection of Venetian origin which contains the earliest known copy of St. John's *Vita*, which has been plausibly dated to the mid-fifteenth century. This collection reflects the inclusion of the Tragurian patron in the wider Venetian civic pantheon.

However, the Venetian strategies were not always met with compliance in Trogir, and there were, moreover, discordances between the Church and the Commune as to the role and the features of the civic cult. Each of the involved parties had its own agenda and the motives for controlling the cult is scrutinised over the dispute concerning the feast day of the translation.

The last part of the thesis is a case study of the most prominent episode from the Tragurian bishop's hagiography, namely, the *furtum* of St. John's arm relic on the part of the Venetian army and its eventual miraculous return. This episode, because it was considered the utmost act of the saintly patronage of Trogir, became the basis of the civic visual self-representation (the insignia), that is, the central narrative of civic devotion. This narrative is of interest not only because it shaped the symbolic civic identity of Trogir, but also because it shaped the image of Venice, which paradoxically played both roles: the role of the ruler who identified with the local cult, as well as the role of its enemy, who had been "othered" by the local hagiography. In the long run the development of this episode – from its composition in 1203 until its transformations in the writings of seventeenth-century Venetian authors – shows how St. John's cult reflected the changing political context of the city he protected.

All the analysed instances of the civic appropriation of the cult show that although the pre-communal civic patron of Trogir, St. Lawrence, remained present in the civic pantheon in a very high position, often paired with St. John, the role of the communal patron in the strictest sense was reserved for the cult of the local bishop. The fact that his relics never physically left the ecclesiastical environment (not even in the case when a chapel, built purposely for housing the relics of the civic patron, was commissioned by the commune) only reflects the generally observed fact that the communal, civil government was rather in search of sacralising its own existence and practice than of secularising the cults of civic patrons. In Augustine Thompson's words:

> The growing division of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions paradoxically led the commune to cultivate an ever more sacred ethos for itself. As bishops became less visible in government and cities constructed their own public buildings, the commune ceased to share the holy aura of the Mother Church. "Secularized" communes needed their own divine legitimacy. They sought it in heaven, invoking the protection of new patron saints, and on earth, saturating their laws, assemblies, and communal institutions with sacred rhetoric, symbolism, and ritual. (Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of Italian Communes 1125–1325*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005, 107–108.)

Nicholas of Modruš, "The Glory of Illyria": Humanist Patriotism and Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Rome

Luka Špoljarić (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 11, 2013, consisted of Susan Zimmermann (Department of History, CEU), chair; Niels Gaul (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Tijana Krstić (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); James Hankins (Harvard University); Neven Jovanović (University of Zagreb); Neven Budak (University of Zagreb). The external readers were: James Hankins (Harvard University) and Neven Jovanović (University of Zagreb).

The dissertation reconstructs and contextualizes the life of Nicholas, bishop of Modruš (ca. 1427–1480), most often evoked as a papal diplomat who played an important role in the events surrounding the fall of the Bosnian kingdom to the Ottomans in 1463, subsequently spending the rest of his life in the provinces of the Papal States, where he formed his grand library and engaged in philosophical and antiquarian matters. In a word, the Nicholas of Modruš imagined today is one painted with broad strokes, a result of the facts that the bulk of his oeuvre still remains buried in manuscript and that his career at the papal Curia is largely unstudied. By introducing an ample amount of unpublished material into the discussion, establishing a new dating for a number of his works, correcting a number of mistakes and assumptions, and finally addressing various previously unconnected paths of research, the dissertation sheds new light on the role of Nicholas of Modruš on the stage of Renaissance Rome. Therefore, just as any

other biography, so this dissertation too is selective. While it is divided into four sections that treat chronologically four successive phases of Nicholas' life, it is Part I and Part II that discuss the first years of his curial career, which shed new light on two particular questions, namely, the bishop's humanism and his patriotism.

The Prologue sets the stage for these discussions, presenting Nicholas' life and career before his arrival in Rome in 1464. The section begins by treating his social background in Kotor, Dalmatia; his academic trajectory in Venice and Padua; and the beginnings of his ecclesiastical career in Croatia under the patronage of the Croatian noble family of the Frankopans. The bulk of the Prologue, however, treats the bishop's career in anti-Ottoman diplomacy, connected to the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire during the 1450s and the first half of 1460s, which led to the fall of the last remaining independent realms in the Balkans: Byzantium (1453), Serbia (1459), Morea (1461), Wallachia (1462), and finally Bosnia (1463), where the bishop of Modruš was sent as a papal legate on the eve of the Ottoman invasion. The final part of the section is dedicated to the period which Nicholas spent at the court of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), where he attempted to secure the king's favor in promoting his career. The final part also considers the reasons for his eventual banishment from the Hungarian court and his move to the papal curia.

Part I is the first of the two central sections, which discusses Nicholas of Modruš's curial career under Pope Paul II (1464–1471), and offers, most importantly, a more nuanced perspective on the somewhat monolithic image of a humanist that Nicholas of Modruš has long enjoyed in scholarship. Departing from Ronald Witt's understanding of humanism as essentially an imitation of Classical literary practices, Part I shows that Nicholas' pre-Roman oeuvre, comprising *De mortalium felicitate* (1462) and *Navicula Petri* (1463), was in fact defined by the pursuit of theological and philosophical topics through the prism of Scotist scholasticism, which was fully in line with his education in Venice and Padua. Thus, while the bishop's pre-Roman works betray his weak knowledge of Classical literature and ancient history before 1464, his arrival in Rome represents a gradual turn to the humanistic canon of texts and an exploration of new topics. His first Roman works, *De consolatione* (1465–1466) and *De humilitate* (1470), but also the more traditional *De titulis et auctorbus psalmorum* (ca. 1470), were all conceived as manuals that targeted wide dissemination by appealing to broad audiences and that, in the process, employed a wide range of Classical and patristic authorities. The works that followed in the later period of his curial career, *De bellis Gothorum* (1471–1472), translations of Isocrates' speeches (1471–1472), the *Oratio in*

funere Petri cardinalis S. Sixti (1474) and *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* (1480) mark a complete turn to historiographical and rhetorical topics, which, as shown in the epilogue, found much use at the curia of Sixtus IV. Yet, while the dissertation treats Nicholas' increasing appropriation of classicizing features in his writings, the bulk of the discussion of his intellectual pursuits is based on the analysis of his library, as reconstructed from the identified manuscripts and a partial inventory of the books that were donated to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo following his death. Approaching the identified corpus of books diachronically and synchronically shows that the library's most significant aggrandizement can be traced to 1464–1471, the first period of Nicholas' curial career, during which the bishop collected not only scholastic theological and philosophical writings, but also made an energetic effort to assemble a complete collection of canonical works of Classical and Christian Latin antiquity. While numerous marginal notes adorning the preserved manuscripts allow us to trace the bishop's engagement with the minutiae of ancient culture, their rich illuminations reveal that they were also supposed to play a role in the social space and convey to all the visitors of his library the good taste of their owner. Not only a private studiolo, Nicholas' library thus functioned, much as those of many other curial prelates, as a place for convivial discussions, where Nicholas welcomed other members of the circle centered around Cardinal Bessarion, to which he himself belonged. The Nicholas of Modruš that emerges, from Part I, therefore is not a disinterested humanist enjoying his otium in the provinces (as previously presented), but a traditionally-educated *homo novus*, whose turn to humanism represented a response to the highly competitive field of the Renaissance curia that regarded classicism as a cultural ideal.

Yet, as outlined in the prologue, Nicholas was a South Slav, a Croatian prelate of Dalmatian origin, who, before coming to Rome had played a prominent role as a papal legate in the events surrounding the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463. As Part II shows, all this had a formative role on the bishop's patriotism, that is to say, on the way he chose to articulate allegiance to his imagined patria. Documentary evidence shows that upon his arrival to Rome, in parallel to his engagement with the leading intellectual circles of the Curia and his appropriation of humanist standards, the bishop established himself as the leading figure of the local South Slavic or rather, as gradually conceptualized within the humanist circles, Illyrian community. The most light on his role in this community is provided by Corsin. 127, a manuscript comprising Nicholas' personal copies of his *De bellis Gothorum*, *De humilitate*, and translations of Isocrates' speeches. Due to the severely truncated state of these copies, neither the dating of these works

nor their dedicatees were previously established, and they were so far merely referred to as examples of the bishop's antiquarian and philosophical interests. Yet, first, Part I identifies the dedicatee of *De humilitate* as Catherine, titular queen of Bosnia, who, following the fall of her kingdom to the Ottomans in 1463, took up residence in Rome, where she became a papal ward and, alongside Nicholas, the leading representative of the Illyrian community. Part II, in contrast revolves around the bishop's history of the Gothic wars. By shedding light on the negative image of the Goths in Italian humanist historiography on the one hand, and on South Slavic/Illyrian traditions of their own Gothic origins on the other, the analysis of Nicholas' work traces his subtle manipulations of the sources that were meant to convince the Italian elite into a positive image of the Ostrogothic Illyrian natio. Moreover, by dating the work to 1471–1472 and setting it within the context of the military and diplomatic preparation for the Papal–Neapolitan–Venetian expedition against the Ottomans, in which Nicholas himself played an important role, *De bellis Gothorum* is unveiled as a piece of historiographical propaganda that argued for the utopian restoration of Ostrogothic Illyria under Queen Catherine. The work was, it is furthermore argued, primarily supposed to be presented, and probably dedicated, to King Ferrante of Naples, legitimizing his role in the expedition and any future involvement in the Balkans, as well as evoking the active policy of his father, Alfonso V of Aragon, who for long had counted Queen Catherine's own father, Stephen Vukčić Kosača, the duke of Hum, as his vassal. This interpretation is finally corroborated by the fact that the likely dedicatee of Nicholas' translations of Isocrates' speeches was the crown prince of the Neapolitan kingdom, Duke Alfonso of Calabria. Taken together, therefore, Nicholas' works that now fill the fascicules of Corsin. 127, all composed in the context of fervent anti-Ottoman diplomatic activities in 1470–1472, during which the bishop established himself as the leading curial prelate for Illyrian matters, were meant to enhance the prestige of Queen Catherine and to secure the involvement of the Neapolitan court and the rest of Italy in banishing the Ottomans from the Balkans and restoring the utopian Ostrogothic Illyria under her rule. At the same time, in Nicholas' view of the world and based on his learning, virtue, diplomatic and military performance in the expedition, and finally his role in the Illyrian national community in Rome, show that he expected to be rewarded with the cardinal's hat and to become the first Cardinalis Illyricus, the kingdom's patron cardinal. The epilogue outlines the final years of Nicholas' curial career: the time he spent as a member of the *familia* of cardinal Pietro Riario, his administrative posts in the Papal States and his role in the Pazzi conspiracy. All these show that, in spite of his bitter disappointment with the unfavorable results

of the elections of cardinals in 1473 and his subsequent reduction to the status of Pope Sixtus' courtier, it was a dignity he continued to covet until the very end of his life.

The dissertation combines a wide range of extant documentary, epistolary, literary, codicological and palaeographical evidence, published and unpublished, most of which appear in the appendices. Appendix 1 presents all the identified documents and other sources directly referring to Nicholas, published and unpublished likewise. Appendix 2 includes the edition of Nicholas' correspondence, while Appendix 3 comprises of his dedicatory letters, important sources for both the nature of his social networks and self-fashioning strategies. Appendix 4 contains the transcription of Nicholas' *De bellis Gothorum*, while Appendix 5 offers the last four sections of his *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*. Appendix 6 includes the edition of parts of the lost book of poems presented to Nicholas by his humanist client Francesco Maturanzio, which have been preserved as part of a larger collection of the latter's poems. Appendix 7, the *Repertorium*, offers a list, and in most cases, the codicological descriptions of all manuscripts known to date which preserve the works of Nicholas of Modruš. Appendix 8a includes the 1480 inventory of Nicholas' books donated to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo by Sixtus IV, expanded by identifications of the titles, as well as of manuscript copies and incunable editions. Appendix 8b presents the catalogue of the presently identified manuscripts that formed Nicholas' library. Finally, Appendix 9 offers plates in support of various details discussed in the body of the dissertation.

Árpád Period Communication Networks: Road Systems in Western Transdanubia

Magdolna Szilágyi (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on December 7, 2012, consisted of Endre György Szőnyi (Department of History, CEU), chair; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), principal supervisor; Alice Choyke (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU associate supervisor); Thomas Szabo (Senior Research Fellow of the former Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen) and István Tringli (Senior Research Fellow, HAS Institute of History). The external readers were: Thomas Szabo (Senior Research Fellow of the former Max-Planck-Institut

für Geschichte, Göttingen) and István Tringli (Senior Research Fellow, HAS Institute of History).

The dissertation deals with the road systems of Western Transdanubia (the counties of Moson, Sopron, Zala, and especially Vas County) between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries. The various types of roads formed an intricate, both hierarchically and chronologically, multi-layered system that was in constant change. The investigated period provides an overview of the chronological and topographical evolution of the sequences of roads from the foundation of the Hungarian State, through the formation of the Árpád Period settlement system, the rise of internal and foreign commercial activities, as well as a one-and-a-half-century-long period of political, economic, military, and social transformations followed by a time of consolidation. Western Transdanubia involving the marchland (Hun. *gyepű*) that separated the Hungarian Kingdom and the Holy Roman Empire represents an ideal territory for observing these processes and investigating their effects on the contemporary road system.

In lack of navigable waterways it was exclusively land roads that functioned as routes of travel and transport in the investigated territory. These routes played a fundamental role in medieval territorial organisation in various respects. The settlement system and the road network of any region were equally important, mutually interrelated elements in the landscape that presupposed each other, and the transformation of one necessarily brought about changes in the other. Roads enabled communication between castles and therefore they served as the backbone of the counties' territorial organization and the military defence system. Economy and trade also required roads as goods (agricultural produce, handicraft products, timber, stone, minerals, and so on) had to be transported from their places of production to those of distribution and consumption. Finally, the parish system would have been utterly unimaginable without roads connecting parish churches with the settlements belonging to them.

The road network of medieval Transdanubia (similarly to other parts of the Hungarian Kingdom) represents a rather neglected and understudied field of research in Hungarian scholarship (particularly in comparison with the road system of Roman Pannonia). The only survey discussing the roads of medieval Transdanubia in a comprehensive way has been the study of Lajos Glaser, which was published in the journal *Századok* in 1929–1930. Other historians referred to medieval roads only in connection with other subjects, or focused on one single type of road. József Holub (1917), for example, dealt with the medieval roads of Zala County in connection with the toll collection locations of the county. András Diószegi (1909), Ambrus Pleidell (1925), Dénes Huszti (1941) dealt with

long-distance trade routes. Gyula Pauler (1888) and István Miskolczy (1933 and 1934) reconstructed the routes of military campaigns. After the Second World War, historians (Elemér Mályusz, Jenő Major, Ferenc Maksay, György Györffy, and András Kubinyi) started to emphasise the role of roads in the formation of the settlement system and urbanization. Recently, there has been a tendency to closely investigate the medieval roads of a minor region using various types of sources and methods (by Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, and Csilla Zatykó). In this dissertation I endeavor to join both the pioneering work of Lajos Glaser and the latest road investigations by carrying out interdisciplinary research on the sequences of Árpád period roads in Western Transdanubia (with special attention to Vas County).

The dissertation comprises five parts that are followed by a bibliography and three appendices. Part 1, comprising six introductory chapters, reviews previous research on medieval roads in Hungary, with special regard to the territory of Transdanubia. The second and third chapters are dedicated to the chronological and geographical frameworks of the dissertation. The third chapter deals with the aims and research questions of the dissertation. The questions are formulated as follows: How can one classify medieval roads in terms of their hierarchy, use, physical properties, and other considerations? How did the relief and the waters of the landscape, as well as the Roman infrastructural heritage influence (restrict or promote) the road network in the Árpád period? To what extent did long-distance routes passing through Vas County promote the rise of towns and market towns? In what ways did changes in the settlement system affect the road network, and the other way around? How did the current political and economic situation affect the directions of communication? The fourth and fifth chapters discuss the sources and research methods that are applied throughout the dissertation. The most important sources of evidence that the research is based on are documents of pragmatic literacy (perambulations, letters of donation, letters of division, terriers, and letters of sentence). The written data above are compared and complemented with early modern cartographic evidence (from handwritten road maps, cadastral maps, and military surveys), toponyms, as well as archaeological evidence on Árpád-period sites and monuments located along the routes. It must be emphasised here that the types of sources used in the dissertation have been fundamentally selected on the basis of the aims of the research (which are to interpret the medieval perception of roads and to reconstruct a sequence of long-distance and regional routes). For that purpose the identification and mapping of local roads and tracks in the landscape by field surveys have been neither

indispensable nor feasible within the geographical framework of the dissertation. The last chapter of Part 1 provides an outline of the structure of the dissertation.

Part 2, dedicated to the semantics of Árpád period terminology for roads and river-crossing places, is one of the most substantial parts of the dissertation. The survey is primarily based on common terms occurring in Árpád period written documents, complemented with toponymic and early modern cartographic data. The collected terms on roads are divided into eight main categories: (1) Hierarchy, (2) Legal aspects, (3) Functional aspects, (4) Modes of travel and transportation, (5) Connections to other roads, (6) Physical properties, (7) Vegetation, and (8) Date. One chapter is dedicated to each category, followed by a ninth chapter on river-crossing places (bridges, ferry-ports, and fords). In some cases only a small number of items could be included in these categorie. The uneven availability of data can be explained by the relatively low number and incidental survival of the Árpád period sources rather than the complete absence of certain types of roads. That is why, in this part of the dissertation, the framework of the survey had to be broadened to some extent, and – while still focusing on the period and territory defined above – written data after the mid-fourteenth century and beyond the territory of Western Transdanubia had to be taken into consideration as well. The aims of this part were to illustrate the variability of historical terms indicating roads and river-crossing places, to uncover the semantics of these terms as well as to provide an overview of the characteristics and use of the different types of roads in Árpád-period Western Transdanubia.

Part 3 is dedicated to the landscape features that existed prior to the conquest of Transdanubia by the Magyars and therefore determined the formation of Árpád period routes from their inception. The territory has a geographically structured surface comprising various landforms (mountains, valleys, low hills, plateaus, and plains). From the aspect of overland communication, the most dominant element of land relief was the chain of mountains belonging to the Fore-Alpine region that form part of the western frontier of Hungary. Travel across the mountains overgrown with vast forests was restricted to natural passes, which therefore fundamentally determined the potentials of communication to the east and west. After landforms, hydrological conditions were the second most important element in the natural landscape that affected the directions of travel and transport. Western Transdanubia was covered with a network of rivers and streams that rushed from the Alps to the plains of Transdanubia in a northeast – southwest direction, as well as their tributaries. Roads and settlements often developed in the valleys of these watercourses at the edge of the inundation zones. On the other hand, hydrological features also posed restrictions on travel,

partly because crossing over rivers and streams was limited to bridges, ferry ports, and fords, and partly because the main communication routes tended to stay away from marshes and fens. The third type of landscape feature that influenced the development of the Árpád period road system of Transdanubia was the remains of ancient Roman roads. Some of those roads that remained in relatively good condition even centuries after their construction were re-used for communication in the Árpád period. Other Roman roads that did not fit the medieval infrastructure or were too heavily worn were used as boundaries of landed properties or completely abandoned.

In addition to Part 2, Part 4 represents the most lengthy and essential part of the dissertation. This part seeks to provide a reconstruction of the road network of Vas County between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries, and to investigate how the general findings of the two preceding parts can be observed in practice. The first chapters are dedicated to the long-distance routes that, having passed through the territory of Vas County, led to foreign lands. These are the north–south directed Sopron–Muraszombat (Murska Sobota) route that evolved more or less along the ancient Roman Amber Route, as well as the main routes leading across the county to the West – the *Via Latinorum*, *Via Theutonica*, *Katonák útja* (i.e., Soldiers's Road), and the road along the Pinka Valley. The subsequent chapters describe the regional routes of Vas County that evolved around five nodal points of the road system, namely, the towns of Vasvár, Kőszeg, Szombathely, Körmend, and Sárvár. This part of the dissertation provides a closer view of the relationship between the formation of long-distance and regional routes and the development of the settlement system and the rise of central places. In order to make the route descriptions easier to follow and compare, each road is characterised according to seven main points, namely (1) Árpád period sites along the route; (2) Árpád period written data (referring to road sections, bridges, fords, tollstations); (3) Data yielded by early modern maps and toponyms; (4) Archaeological sites and architectural monuments (castles, churches, etc.) along the route; (5) Natural environment features (landforms, watercourses, and vegetation); (6) Ancient Roman heritage features; (7) Conclusions, previous scholarly investigations, and critiques. Understanding is also facilitated by detailed maps at the end of the appendices indicating the long-distance and regional routes discussed as well as the sites along them. In addition, the written, cartographic and toponymic data used for the reconstructing the routes are arranged in charts in the first part of the appendices, providing a better overview of the great amount and diverse types of evidence. The third constituent element of the appendices is a collection of charters dated between 1000 and 1350 which provide evidence

on roads, tracks, river-crossing places, and toll collection locations in Vas County. These documents – arranged topographically and within that in chronological order – are referred to by their serial numbers throughout the work.

The findings of the dissertation are detailed in individual chapters found at the end of the Parts 2, 3, and 4. The main points are as follows: First of all, eight main categories of appellative terms indicating medieval roads have been identified with the help of medieval written records. The denomination and use of these terms were defined by the sources themselves, but it must be emphasised that the definitions of the terms have to be treated with relative flexibility. Second, I have pointed out that in the territory of Western Transdanubia the most important landscape feature determining the direction of overland routes in the Árpád period was the morphology of the terrain, followed by watercourses. The remains of Roman roads were used for travel and transportation in the Middle Ages only if and to the extent that they fit in the medieval infrastructure. Otherwise they were abandoned. Third, I have called attention to the relationships between long-distance and regional roads and other features in the landscape (the natural environment, the man-made heritage from former periods, contemporary settlements, agricultural resources, non-agricultural resources, ritual foci, and demography). Fourth, I have demonstrated the way the different processes of Árpád period political, military, and economic history are reflected in the transformation of the settlement system and road network of Western Transdanubia from the eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century. These conclusions are briefly referred back to in Part 5 in order to examine to what extent these findings are unique phenomena and whether they might be extended to other geographical regions and periods. It is also here that I call attention to the fact that the sources and methodology I apply in the dissertation enabled me to re-think several routes and road sections formerly reconstructed by Lajos Glaser, which demonstrates the need for future road investigations in other parts of Transdanubia as well.

PAGANS AND CHRISTIANS IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE: NEW EVIDENCE, NEW APPROACHES

An International Conference in Budapest, 7–10 March 2013

Marianne Sághy

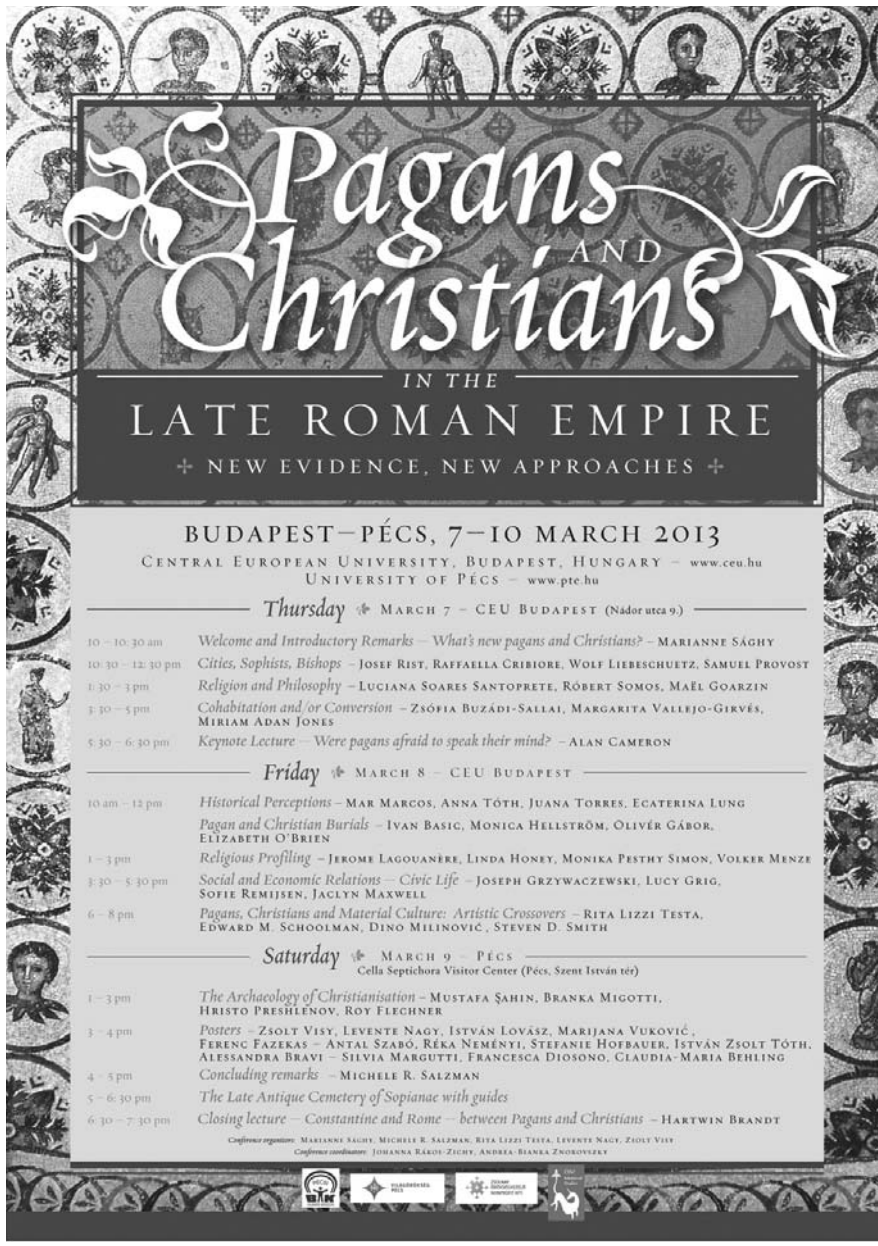
To commemorate the 1700th anniversary of Emperor Constantine's Edict of Tolerance issued in Milan in 313, CEU's Department of Medieval Studies in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology of the University of Pécs hosted an international conference entitled "Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence, New Approaches," held on March 7–10, 2013. The Edict proclaimed tolerance of all religions across the Roman Empire. Hungary was an appropriate place to host a commemorative conference, since Hungarian historian András Alföldi is considered one of the initiators of studies on pagans and Christians in the late Roman Empire with work carried out in the 1930s. The conference was organized by Marianne Sághy, associate professor at CEU, in cooperation with Rita Lizzi Testa (Perugia) and Michele R. Salzman (California Riverside). The conference and the topic drew speakers and attendees from across the globe. Distinguished scholars such as Alan Cameron (Columbia University), Wolf Liebeschuetz (Nottingham), Maijastina Kahlos (Helsinki), Raffaella Cribiore (New York University), Lucy Grig (Edinburgh), and Hartwin Brandt (Bamberg) spoke at the event, held partly in Budapest and partly in the late antique cemetery of Sopianae (Pécs). Conference attendees included Hungarian classicist and Academy of Sciences member Zsigmond Ritoók and Giorgio Bonamente, dean of Perugia University. The event also received coverage in the Hungarian media. An exhibition of 30 posters presenting current and ongoing research in the field of pagan-Christian relations in late antiquity that accompanied the conference is on display at the Cella Septichora Visitor Center in Pécs and will travel to Zagreb, Budapest, Vienna.

Second in a series dedicated to the topic, the conference gathered more than fifty scholars presenting new evidence and new approaches to an old problem. Keynote speaker Alan Cameron, author of the magisterial *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011) obliterated not only the notion of the "pagan resistance" proposed by Alföldi, but also the once-popular game of philologists to identify anti-Christian polemic in pagan texts of late antiquity. His lecture, *Were Pagans Afraid to Speak Their Mind in a Christian World? The Correspondence of Symmachus* persuasively argued against open pagan-Christian conflict; only courteous disagreement was tolerated,

direct attack or scurrilous abuse was not. In late antique Rome, networks counted more than religion: "Ecclesiastics might thunder against paganism in all its forms, but in the real world government turned to those with influence, whatever their religious beliefs."

The first session of the conference, dedicated to *Cities, Sophists, Bishops* presented case studies of conversion(s) in the context(s) of the late Roman city. In *The Conversion of a late Antique City: Bishop Porphyry of Gaza, his Vita and the Account of Marcus Diaconus,* Josef Rist assessed the importance of the different versions of *The Vita Prophyrii* in the context of religious change in Gaza as a proof of Christianization promoted by imperial agents, fear, and local manipulation. Raffaella Cribiore's paper, *The Sophist Libanius as a Grey Pagan* stressed the multiple character of Libanius based on the evidence of his huge, largely unread and unpublished letter collection. Staunch defender of the old religion, Libanius never mentioned his gods in his letters (except for Hermes), while his letters to Olympius show that Libanius respected Christians, with whom he entertained close contacts. *A View from Cyrrhus, Theodoret's Affectionum Graecarum curatio* by Wolf Liebeschuetz emphasized the compatibility between Greek and Christian philosophy. Samuel Provost's *Living Side by Side in a Changing Urban Landscape: Christians, Pagans and Jews in Philippi (4th–6th c.)* focused on public architecture in a Classical city – forums, theaters, baths – so far neglected by scholarship, arguing that not only church or temple constructions, but these buildings also attest the transition between Christianity and paganism. Róbert Somos' paper, *The Sentences as Elements of Philosophia Moralis. Adaptation of a Pagan Literary Form in the Works of Rufinus of Aquileia* followed up the transformation of a Greek literary genre into Christian thought, showing that Rufinus presented Origen's ethical teaching as a first step towards understanding Christianity as the true religion.

The session *Cohabitation and/or Conversion* focused on the dissemination of Christian doctrine in different social strata. Theologians like Hilary of Poitiers sought to make the Revelation easy to understand for the average person. Christians, however, were easily charmed or frightened by pagan prophecies. Emperor Zeno feared pagan auguries as harmful, while Gregory the Great's correspondence and commentary on the Song of Songs are more tolerant towards traditional beliefs, arguing that people move by stages towards a fuller knowledge of God. Zsófia Buzádi-Sallai's *A Pagan Who Converted and Became Bishop* focused on the inherent Platonism of the writings of Hilary of Poitiers. Margarita Vallejo-Girvés dealt with the multi-religious context of sixth-century Constantinople showing that Empress Verina collaborated not only with Chalcedonians, but also Monophysites and pagans to build up an alliance against Emperor Zeno. *Conversion as Convergence:*


Pagans AND Christians
IN THE
LATE ROMAN EMPIRE
NEW EVIDENCE, NEW APPROACHES
BUDAPEST–PÉCS, 7–10 MARCH 2013
CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY – www.ceu.hu
UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS – www.pte.hu
Thursday MARCH 7 – CEU BUDAPEST (Nádor utca 9.)
10 – 10: 30 am Welcome and Introductory Remarks — What's new pagans and Christians? – MARIANNE SÁGHY
10: 30 – 12: 30 pm Cities, Sophists, Bishops – JOSEF RIST, RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE, WOLF LIEBESCHUETZ, SAMUEL PROVOST
1: 30 – 3 pm Religion and Philosophy – LUCIANA SOARES SANTOPRETE, RÓBERT SOMOS, MAËL GOARZIN
3: 30 – 5 pm Cohabitation and/or Conversion – ZSÓFIA BUZÁDI-SALLAI, MARGARITA VALLEJO-GIRVÉS, MIRIAM ADAN JONES
5: 30 – 6: 30 pm Keynote Lecture — Were pagans afraid to speak their mind? – ALAN CAMERON
Friday MARCH 8 – CEU BUDAPEST
10 am – 12 pm Historical Perceptions – MAR MARCOS, ANNA TÓTH, JUANA TORRES, ECATERINA LUNG
Pagan and Christian Burials – IVAN BASIC, MONICA HELLSTRÖM, OLIVÉR GÁBOR, ELIZABETH O'BRIEN
1 – 3 pm Religious Profiling – JEROME LAGOUANÈRE, LINDA HONEY, MONIKA PESTHY SIMON, VOLKER MENZE
3: 30 – 5: 30 pm Social and Economic Relations — Civic Life – JOSEPH GRZYWACZEWSKI, LUCY GRIG, SOFIE REMIJSEN, JACLYN MAXWELL
6 – 8 pm Pagans, Christians and Material Culture: Artistic Crossovers – RITA LIZZI TESTA, EDWARD M. SCHOOLMAN, DINO MILINOVIĆ, STEVEN D. SMITH
Saturday MARCH 9 – PÉCS
Cella Septichora Visitor Center (Pécs, Szent István tér)
1 – 3 pm The Archaeology of Christianisation – MUSTAFA ŞAHIN, BRANKA MIGOTTI, HRISTO PRESHLENOV, ROY FLECHNER
3 – 4 pm Posters – ZSOLT VISY, LEVENTE NAGY, ISTVÁN LOVÁSZ, MARIJANA VUKOVIĆ, FERENC FAZEKAS – ANTAL SZABÓ, RÉKA NEMÉNYI, STEFANIE HOFBAUER, ISTVÁN ZSOLT TÓTH, ALESSANDRA BRAVI – SILVIA MARGUTTI, FRANCESCA DIOSONO, CLAUDIA-MARIA BEHLING
4 – 5 pm Concluding remarks – MICHELE R. SALZMAN
5 – 6: 30 pm The Late Antique Cemetery of Sopianae with guides
6: 30 – 7: 30 pm Closing lecture — Constantine and Rome — between Pagans and Christians – HARTWIN BRANDT
Conference organizers: MARIANNE SÁGHY, MICHELE R. SALZMAN, RITA LIZZI TESTA, LEVENTE NAGY, ZSOLT VISY
Conference coordinators: JOHANNA RÁKOS-ZICHY, ANDREA-BIANKA ZNOROVSZKY

Understanding Gregory the Great's Attitude Towards Pagan and Jewish Influences in Anglo-Saxon Christianity by Miriam Adan Jones discussed Gregory the Great's changing attitude towards pagans and Jews. Gregory dealt differently with different ethnic groups and religions in different regions; while in Britain he promoted the integration of pagan and Jewish rituals into Christian tradition, he forbade pagan rituals and protected Jewish practices on the continent.

The section on *Historical Perceptions* stressed the transformation of traditional concepts in Christian historiography as well as the prudence required when using these texts for historical reconstruction, as Christians notoriously shaped their identity in opposition of a fictional "Other." Mar Marcos deconstructed the Eusebian construction of Emperor Maximinus Daia in the *De martyribus Palestinae*, where Maximinus is presented as the quintessential evil ruler. Anna Tóth's *John Lydus as Pagan and Christian* presented a man caught in between two cultures. Religious syncretism transpires in Lydus' *De mensibus* and *De magistatibus* with an array of Platonic and Pythagorean ideas. Personal convictions, however, had to be reconciled with social status: his syncretistic approach to Christianity enabled Lydus to stress continuity between pagan and Christian rites and customs. Ecaterina Lung's *Religious Identity as Seen by 6th-century Historians and Chroniclers* emphasized that historians had recourse to different techniques when constructing Christian identity, such as ethnicity, morality, culture that placed Christians on top of an imagined hierarchy. The Byzantine historians' preference for military and political history and their minimizing of pagan gods were viewed as many attempts of justifying the past.

Pagan and Christian burials had often been interpreted in the past in terms of recycling pagan monuments into Christian buildings. New archaeological evidence questions this view and slows down the pace of transformation. Ivan Basić's paper, *From sepulcrum divi Diocletiani to ecclesia gloriosae Virginis. New Cognitions on the Christianisation of Diocletian's Mausoleum in Split* challenged the theory of a one-stage transformation. Archaeological finds of the post-Diocletianic phase of Split, mid-sixth century Christian sculpture and textual sources such as Sidonius Apollinaris, Ammianus Marcellinus and Ambrose of Milan seem to attest the gradual transformation of the mausoleum, with many pagan details left intact, into a church and, finally, into a cathedral. Monica Hellström's *The Role of Funerary, Cruciform Basilicas in Rome in the Context of Previous Roman Burial Places* argued that basilicas were more than covered cemeteries. Connected to the concept of *familia*, funerary basilicas were an extension and an alternative of pagan family tombs, linking the community to the imperial family. Elizabeth O'Brien's paper, *Impact Beyond the Empire: Burial Practices in Ireland, 4th–8th Centuries A.D.*, presented the

gradual introduction of inhumation in eight-century Ireland, Christianized some four centuries ago, where the predominant pagan burial rite was cremation.

Olivér Gábor dealt with the difficulty in defining the religious identity of the persons buried in the fourth-century cemetery of Sopianae (Pécs). Neither grave goods, nor religious symbols such as the Christogram nor the east-west orientation of the graves seem to be acceptable markers of religious identity because these elements are widespread in every late antique cemetery in Pannonia, including pagan and Jewish graves.

How did Christian saints interact with co-religionists and opponents? Some adamantly rejected pagans, others, like Saint Thecla, generously extended her miracle-working power toward pagans and Jews, yet others, like Syrian Barsauma were shockingly intolerant toward Jews. Linda Honey showed that in the *Life of St. Thecla* one fourth of the recipients of the physical healings were not Christian and had previously sought help from other religious healers. The miracle accounts show a peaceful pagan-Christian-Jewish cohabitation in the mid-fifth-century Eastern Empire. Monika Pesthy-Simon's *Martyres versus Pharmakoi* discussed the presentation of the martyrdom of Dasius and Caesarius as part of a pagan *pharmakos*. This rite did not exist because human sacrifice was not allowed in the Roman Empire. References to *pharmakoi* in the context of martyrdom indeed highlighted the relation of Christian martyrdom to pagan sacrifice. Volker Menze's *The Dark Side of Holiness: Fear, Punishment, Death and Barsaumo 'the Roasted'* presented Christian monastic violence in action. The Syrian monk Barsaumo's miracles were meant to achieve conversion; if his opponent did not convert, he had to face cruel death. Barsaumo incited riots, inflamed violence against Jews, and intimidated even fellow Christians. This potent and uncontrolled monk reveals new perspectives on Christian identities in sixth-century Palestine.

The section on *Social and Economic Relations – Civic Life* discussed the ways Christianization influenced social patterns and relations in the Roman Empire. Joseph Grzywaczewski's paper on *Sidonius Apollinaris' Pagan Vision of* Roma bellatrix *in Christian Rome*, pointed out the ways Christian intellectuals used pagan motifs. Sidonius introduced the figure of *Roma bellatrix* among other pagan gods, such as Zeus, without mentioning Christian heroes. Lucy Grig's *Late Antique Popular Culture and the Creation of "Paganism": The Case of the Kalends of January* argued that the celebration of the Kalends was presented in a negative light by Christian writers because it included, just like the Saturnalia, role reversion and satire. Ecclesiastical rhetoric sought to sort out pagan and Christian elements in the feast and condemned the improper "pagan" traditions. Interestingly, an alternative source, Gallic pottery sheds a different light on this "pagan" feast.

Sophie Remijsen in her *Christianization of the Rhythm of Life? On Sundays in Late Antique Papyri* demonstrated that the edict of Constantine in 321 ordering Sunday rest did not have an impact on the rhythm of life in late antique Egypt. The *dies Solis*, the regular holiday, was mentioned in a papyrus four years after the decree as a day when courts did not work, but considering the evidence of other papyri precisely dated lines out that the holiday was not respected and the decree did not have a deep impact either on Christians or on pagans. Jaclyn Maxwell's *Social Relations and Status Anxiety across Religious Divides in Late Antiquity* focused on continuity in discussing the common attitude of élite pagan and Christian writers towards social inferiors. Did Christians have a different view on the poor? Christians were more anxious about their social status than elite pagans, perhaps because they were less well-established. Self-proclaimed religious leaders, such as the holy men, seriously challenged Christian leadership.

Pagans, Christians and Material Culture: Artistic Crossovers discussed pagan and Christian elements in material culture. Edward M. Schoolman in his *Religious Images and Contexts: "Christian" and "Pagan" Late Antique Terracotta Lamps* focused not only on such questions as "What is a pagan or Christian lamp in late antiquity?", but concentrated on contextual evidence in order to assess how these objects take on religious meanings and functions. These lamps were used not only for their primary function, but also for funerary, devotional, and apotropaic purposes as well. *The Pagan Literary Mimésis in Christian Constantinople: The Devotional Epigrams of Agathias' Cycle*, presented by Steven D. Smith, argued that Book 1 of Agathias' Cycle was a provocative form of pagan literary expression within an orthodox Christian context. His pagan poems emphasized the tension between pagan literary mimésis and Christian ethics in the age of persecution of pagan practice, and the use of the pagan language served more than just the requirements of the genre.

The Cella Septichora Visitor Center in Pécs was a proper place to discuss the *Archaeology of Christianisation*. The participants fully appreciated the Late Roman burial chambers as a conference venue. They felt like asking for a spade to do some more excavating! The archaeological material of northern Croatia highlighted the attempt to recognize the equation of Sol with Christ in the age of Constantine, while the southwest Black Sea coast revealed how the old pagan temples were replaced by Christian ones in the region. Aspects of solar Christianity were presented by Branka Migotti in her *The Cult of* Sol Invictus *and Early Christianity in Northern Croatia*. On the site of Aquae Iasae (Pannonia Savia) a fresco illustrating Christ's salvation together with the features of Solar Christianity may indicate that the cult of Sol coexisted with Christianity in the region during the reign of

Constantine. Hristo Preshlenov in his *Pagans and Christianisation along the Southwest Black Sea Coast in the Provinces of Scythia, Moesia and Haemimontos* listed the Christian and pagan monuments of the region: some 35 early Christian basilicas, not to mention the temples, originally pagan, but transformed in the fifth century into Christian churches. The bishops of the *cathedra episcopalis* founded by the Apostle Andrew attended church councils. The burial places show the reuse of pagan graves in the fourth-sixth centuries, with pagan reminiscences.

A poster exhibition in the Cella Septichora presented the work of young researchers and PhD students: Claudia-Maria Behling's *Pagan Garden to Christian Paradise: Early Christianity in the Eastern Transdanubian Region*, Stephanie Hofbauer's *Finger Rings from Antiquity to Christianity*, Réka Neményi's *Early Christian Cross-bow Brooches*, Marijana Vuković's *The Memory of Saint Ireneus of Sirmium*, Francesca Diosono's *Pagani and Peasants: The Rural Site of Villa San Silvestro di Cascia*, Alessandra Bravi's *Visual Landscapes: Ancient Statues in the Political Spaces of Constantinople*.

The *Frühes Christentum in Ungarn* research project of the universities of Pécs and Vienna was summarized by the poster of Levente Nagy, while the recent results of the excavation in Sopianae were shown by the posters of Zsolt Visy, István Lovász, and István Zsolt Tóth: *Sopianae and Valeria in the Late Roman Period*.

The conference ended with Hartwin Brandt's seminal lecture on Constantine that presented, on the basis of numismatic evidence, a consciously political, barely Christian emperor exploiting traditional imperial representation and religion.

OTKA-SUPPORTED SAINTS PROJECT AT THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES, 2010–2014

Stanislava Kuzmová – Gábor Klaniczay

The research project *Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe, Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries* (supported by OTKA [Hungarian Research Council] 81446) commenced on 1 November 2010 and ended officially on 31 March 2014. The project was associated with the collaborative research project *Symbols that Bind and Break Communities. Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities* (2010–2013) sponsored by the EuroCORECODE program of the European Science Foundation. Its aim was to study how saints' cults shaped and reflected identities associated with geographical units and communities in the medieval and early modern periods. The collaborative project, led by Nils Holger Petersen from the University of Copenhagen, involved, besides Budapest, four teams with sub-projects based at: the University of Copenhagen (Denmark), the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Krems (Austria) (later affiliated to the University of Salzburg), the University of Tallinn (Estonia), and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Trondheim, Norway). The ESF collaborative project ended in August 2013 with a final conference of three EuroCORECODE projects in Arnhem, Netherlands, where several members of the Budapest team participated.

The group of researchers based at the Department of Medieval Studies, under the leadership of Gábor Klaniczay, focused mainly on symbolic identities related to saints' cults in the region of Central Europe. The members of the research team were Cristian Gaşpar and Béla Zsolt Szakács from the CEU Medieval Studies Department, Edit Madas from the Széchényi National Library and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ottó Gecser from the University of Budapest (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem) Department of Sociology, Trpimir Vedriš from the University of Zagreb (PhD candidate at CEU), and two postdoctoral researchers affiliated to CEU, Ildikó Csepregi and Stanislava Kuzmová. All the project members supplied information about publications and related events to be posted on the project website (www.cultsymbols.net), established and updated continuously by the Budapest team. The project built on the existing expertise of the research teams and at the same time formed an extended community of specialists, which helped young fellows working on the project (and also students of the department interested in these topics) to enhance their skills and knowledge.

In Budapest the project organized the Saints Colloquia Series – a series of public lectures which drew together researchers and people interested in the field. It became a regular meeting point, a place for interdisciplinary discussion, followed by the opportunity to socialize over a glass of wine, and thus helped to build the community. Team members and international guests presented their work-in-progress and the results of their research. We hosted several book launches to publicize the results of our project and the news in our field. During the last year guest speakers from other teams of the CULTSYMBOLS collaborative project lectured on various topics related to saints' cults and symbolic identities, ranging from liturgical music to the division of relics (for the titles of the series, see below and also on the website). The project team co-organized a seminar together with Irene Barbiera's CEU 20th Anniversary Postdoctoral fellowship project, *To Make Dead Bodies Talk* on *Displaying and Perceiving Dead Bodies in the Middle Ages I: Saints' Bodies*, with lectures by Edina Bozóky (Poitiers), Ana Munk (Zagreb), Ottó Gecser, and Gábor Klaniczay in May 2013. Thanks to these events the project continually enriched the life of the department. Besides the usual regular involvement of the faculty members participating in the project, the fellows (Csepregi, Kuzmová, Gașpar) working on the project designed and taught an elective course, *Saints, Miracles, Audiences*, in 2013, presenting materials related to saints' cults in Central Europe.

In October 2012, the OTKA Saints Project, together with the Croatian Hagiography Society, *Hagiotheca* (including Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš from Zagreb and CEU, Budapest), organized a large international open-call conference in Dubrovnik, entitled: *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio. Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion*. More than 50 speakers took part, including those from all the CULTSYMBOLS partners. The proceedings of the conference, a major contribution to the question of the relations between saints and regional identities, will be published in 2014 with the help of an ESF Cross-CRP Dissemination grant.

The CULTSYMBOLS project, all the partners including the OTKA Saints Project, organized sessions and participated actively at the international medieval congresses in Leeds and Kalamazoo: 4 sessions at IMC Leeds in 2011 ("Saints' Cults and Symbolic Identities I–IV"), 2 sessions at IMC Leeds in 2012, a session in Kalamazoo 2013, 4 sessions at IMC Leeds 2013 ("Symbolic Identity and the Cultural Memory of Saints, I: Saints Switching Regions," "II: Saints and Regions," "III: Saints and Local Communities," "IV: Saints in Liturgy and Preaching"). The last series of sessions in Leeds served as a final internal project conference summarizing the findings of the collaborative research project, presenting them to

a large international audience, and creating the basis for the main joint publication. Besides these congresses, the members of the Budapest team presented papers at a number of conferences and were invited to give lectures on other occasions at various venues.

The results of the project are available in publications which have already appeared or will soon appear: two bilingual volumes of representative selections of the legends of medieval Central European saints, edited, translated, and with commentaries (by Cristian Gaşpar, Marina Miladinov, and Gábor Klaniczay, with contributions by others), a bilingual version of the oldest legend and the canonization process of Saint Margaret of Hungary (co-edited by Gábor Klaniczay and Ildikó Csepregi), and dissertations and sermon texts on St. Elizabeth of Hungary by Ottó Gecser and on St. Stanislaus of Cracow by Stanislava Kuzmová. We cooperated in the publication of a collected volume from the Third Hagiotheca International Conference in Poreć (Croatia) in 2010 and are co-editing a volume from the Fourth Hagiotheca conference in Dubrovnik, held in 2012. In addition, the team members' research on various aspects of saints' cults as expressions of regional and national identities, especially in the area of Central Europe, has resulted and will result in publications of a number of other articles in journals and collected volumes from conferences.

The OTKA Saints Project focused on saints' cults in Central and Eastern Europe in a pan-European context. It treated the cults of medieval saints drawing on various media: hagiography, healing miracles, sermons, visual images, and public ceremonies. Researchers have worked specifically on the cults of saints such as St. Adalbert, St. Elizabeth, St. Margaret, St. Stanislaus, and other dynastic and "regional" saints. The Budapest team collaborated with other partners on subprojects that had different particular spheres of expertise and focuses of research. These subprojects frequently intersected and complemented each other. Krems concentrated on visual material with a focus on the area of Central Europe; Trondheim focused on musicology and liturgy, especially in Scandinavia; Tallinn dealt with the area of Livonia; Copenhagen addressed various reception histories in Northern Europe in the medieval and early modern era. The Budapest project members attended joint meetings, exchanged ideas and the results of their studies on specific subjects, and engaged in the discussion of comparative material. On top of the cooperation within the CULTSYMBOLS project, we were involved in joint actions with the three collaborative projects working on the problems of regions in various humanities' disciplines organized within the EuroCORECODE scheme. Budapest, following the initiative of the Krems team, hosted a meeting

involving all three collaborative projects, a cross-CRP workshop *Distant Regions – Equal Patterns?* in 2011.

Appendix I – Selected major publications resulting from the OTKA Saints Project

Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X-XI). Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries). Ed. Gábor Klaniczay, trans. and annotated Cristian Gaşpar and Marina Miladinov. Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 6. Budapest: CEU Press, 2012.

Sanctitas Principum: Sancti Reges, Duces, Episcopi et Abbates Europae Centralis (Saec. XI–XIII) – The Sanctity of the Leaders: Holy Kings, Princes, Bishops, and Abbots from Central Europe (Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries). Ed. Gábor Klaniczay, trans. and annotated by Cristian Gaşpar and Marina Miladinov. Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 7. Budapest: CEU Press, 2014 (forthcoming).

Gecser, Ottó. *The Feast and the Pulpit. Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235–ca. 1500*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2012.

Kuzmová, Stanislava. *Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow, His Image and Cult*. Warsaw: DiG, 2013.

Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints. Ed. John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš. Bibliotheca Hagiotheca – Series Colloquia, vol. 2. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012.

Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio. Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion. Ed. Stanislava Kuzmová and Ana Marinković. Bibliotheca Hagiotheca – Series Colloquia, vol. 3. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2014 (in preparation).

Szakács, Béla Zsolt, *Pictorial Schemes of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2014 (in preparation).

Legenda Vetus, Acta Processus Canonizationis et Miracula Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria – The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary. Ed. Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay and Bence Péterffy. Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 9. Budapest: CEU Press, 2015 (in preparation).

Symbolic Identity and the Cultural Memory of Saints. Ed. Nils Holger Petersen, Tracey R. Sands, and Sebastian Salvadó. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2015 (in preparation).

Appendix II – OTKA SAINTS Colloquia Series 2012–14

2012, January 11: Cristian Gaşpar (OTKA Saints Project, CEU): *The Frankish or the Roman Connection? Old Ideas, Modern Misconceptions, and New Evidence Concerning the Author of the First Vita of St. Adalbert of Prague*

2012, February 1-2: Robert Wiśniewski (University of Warsaw): Erasmus lectures – *Defenders of the Cities. When did the Saints' Bones Begin to Be Considered Effective Palladia?*, *Martyria and Miracles. How Did All this Begin?*, *The Use of Relics in Late Antique Divination*

2012, March 14: József Laszlovszky (CEU): *Saint Margaret of Scotland: Her Byzantine, Bulgarian, English, German, Hungarian, Polish and Russian Ancestors*

2012, May 2: Marianne Sághy (CEU): *From Local Hero to Catholic Saint: Interpreting the Globalization of the Holy Patron in Late Antiquity*

2012, May 29: Csilla Gábor (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj): *Saints as Signs: Post-Tridentine Arguments and Interpretations on Sanctity*

2012, September 26: Gábor Klaniczay (OTKA Saints Project, CEU): *Stigmatics, Miracles, Sanctuaries – Account of a Year of Hagiographic Research in Paris*

2012, November 14: Cristian Gaşpar (OTKA Saints Project, CEU): *In Hot Pursuit of a Fugitive Bishop: History, Textual Strategies, and Monastic Ideology in Canaparius' Vita of St. Adalbert of Prague [BHL 37]*

2013, January 16: Marianne Sághy (CEU): *Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire: The Fall of a Master Narrative?* and Book Launch: Three books on medieval saints

2013, September 24: Kateřina Horníčková (CULTSYMBOLS, Institut für Realienkunde, Universität Salzburg/Krems): *Martyrs of "Our" Faith: Community Identities and the Cult of the Bohemian Martyrs in Post-Hussite Bohemia*

2013, October 8: Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu (CEU): *A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Murals of Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakerék)* and book presentation

2013, October 15: Nils Holger Petersen (CULTSYMBOLS, University of Copenhagen): *Saints' Liturgy, Historiography, and Identity Formation in the Latin Middle Ages*

2013, November 19: Sebastian Salvadó (CULTSYMBOLS, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim): *Sanctifying the Hispanic March: Crusades, Politics and the Twelfth-Century Historia of Raymond of Barbastro*

2013, November 26: Jenni Kuuliala (University of Tampere/CEU): *The Boundaries of Difference: Physical Disability in Medieval Canonization Processes*

2013, December 3: Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen (CULTSYMBOLS, University of Copenhagen): *Saints and Identities in Scandinavia: Patterns and Paradoxes*

2014, March 11: Eszter Konrád (CEU): *The Hagiography of St. Francis in the Hungarian Vernacular*

2014, March 18: Anna Zajchowska (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw): De incurabilitate fratrum: *Medieval Hagiography and Cult of Saint Hyacinth* and book presentation

2014, March 25: Ottó Gecser (OTKA Saints Project, ELTE Budapest): *Presence and Integrity: Attempts to Keep Saintly Corpses Together in the Later Middle Ages*

2014, April 1: Emőke Nagy (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca – ELTE, Budapest): *Saint Anne's Cult in Late Medieval Hungary (14th–16th Centuries): the Trinubium Legend*

2014, May 20: Roman Hankeln (CULTSYMBOLS, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim): *Blood, Sweat and Chants: Articulating Violence in the Music of Medieval Saints' Offices*

TRANS-EUROPEAN DIASPORAS: MIGRATION, MINORITIES, AND THE DIASPORIC EXPERIENCE IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE EARLY MODERN ERA – PROJECT REPORT*

Georg Christ – Katalin Szende

While in the last two decades the study of diasporas has become a prominent academic field in contemporary history and the social sciences, investigations into pre-modern diasporas have remained scarce. Furthermore, diasporic studies have typically focused on single groups. The contemporary bias has obscured the fact that many diasporic groups can be adequately understood only if their emergence is viewed in a "longue durée" perspective through a careful analysis of the history of connections between the group's (virtual) homeland and its host society. A focus on a single diasporic group, however, makes it difficult to generalize and prevents scholars from understanding the historical diversity of such trans-national experiences. Previous research has emphasized links between groups of the same diasporic affiliation over links between groups of different identities in one place.

The collaborative project carried out by the Transcultural Studies Program and the Institute of Papyrology of the University of Heidelberg and the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU addressed these issues by studying diasporic groups in comparative and distinctly historical pre-modern, that is, late antique, medieval, and early modern, perspectives. We looked into a variety of professional and "ethnic" groups operating in and/or connecting two geographic regions: Central and Eastern Europe, on the one hand and the Eastern Mediterranean, on the other. The long-term comparative perspective employed throughout the two-year cooperation exposed both the changing nature of these historically contingent phenomena and common traits of diasporic existence since late antiquity. It

* The authors of this report express their special thanks to Prof. Dr. Andrea Jördens (University of Heidelberg) for offering the contribution of the Institute of Papyrology in carrying out this project; to Dr. Julia Burkhardt (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften) for welcoming and helping students from CEU in Heidelberg and organizing the fourth workshop; to Dr. Tijana Krstić and Dr. Carsten Wilke (both CEU) for their advice in developing the academic program of the project; to Dr. Balázs Nagy (CEU and ELTE) for organizing the second workshop, and to Susanne Rein (Heidelberg) and Annabella Pál (CEU) for their kind and creative administrative assistance.

identified how both migrants/diasporic communities and host societies dealt with the challenges of new or changing social environments in the pre-modern era. We received support from a joint scheme of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) and the Hungarian Scholarship Fund (MÖB).

Based on the questions described above, during the preparatory meeting in March 2011, we outlined four research areas that served as the foci of four workshops organized during the project in 2012 and 2013. The first workshop, entitled **Migration of Knowledge through Traveler, Scholarly, and Diplomatic Diasporas,** organized by Georg Christ and Sylvie Schwarzwälder in Heidelberg on 4–5 May 2012, explored the trans-regional dialogue and transfer of knowledge through textual and visual idioms as well as material culture. The participants of the workshop explored how diasporic groups and networks as well as individuals performed mediatory roles in East Central Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean, respectively, and who were the groups or persons who connected the two regions in medieval and early modern times. Beyond a series of case studies clarifying the conceptual frameworks figured high on the agenda, which then served as a basis for the common discussions during the following two years. The main questions raised in this context were: (1) What were the patterns of élite migration by travelers, scholars, and diplomats, and how did they interact with or even constitute diasporas? (2) What knowledge and information did these persons and groups possess and transmit and what were the effects of this knowledge exchange on the diasporic communities as well as the homeland and the host societies? (3) How did the identities within the diasporic groups and host society's attitudes towards them change through communication and exchange of knowledge? The program of the first workshop included the following contributions:

Welcome address: Johannes Heil (Heidelberg)
Introduction: Georg Christ (Heidelberg)

Panel I: Travelers

Katalin Szende (Budapest): "Hungary is One of the Countries where Life is the Best and Easiest:" Reports on the Carpathian Basin in Twelfth-Century Arabic Sources

Gerhard Jaritz (Budapest): Constructing New Images of Fauna? Travelers and the Development of Knowledge about Animals

Panel II: Scholars

Andrea Colella (Heidelberg): Literary and Non-literary References about the Palestinian Jewish Tradition in Southern Italy (Fifth to Ninth Century)

Julia Dücker (Heidelberg): "Men of the Deepest Belief"? Angevin kings, Franciscans, and Migrations of Knowledge in Fourteenth-Century Hungary
Marcell Sebök (Budapest): A Habsburg Diplomat, Humanist Scholar, and Traveler: The Case of Oghier Ghislain de Busbecq

Panel III: Communities
József Laszlovszky (Budapest): Eastern Monastic Communities (Eleventh to Thirteenth Century): Religious/Cultural Diaspora?
Tijana Krstic (Budapest): The Transylvanian Connection: German- and Hungarian-speaking Anti-Trinitarians as Religious Intermediaries in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul
Carsten Wilke (Budapest): Kabbalistic Fraternities of Galilee and their Central European Members, Funders and Successors

Panel IV: Powers
Stefan Burkhardt (Heidelberg): Weaving the Network of Power. Migration, Minorities, and Diasporic Experience of Byzantines, Italians, and Hungarians around 1200
Teresa Sartore (Heidelberg): Hospitallers' Rhodes: Transcultural Identities on a Frontier Island in the Fifteenth Century
Tamás Kiss (Budapest): A Re-enactment of the Conquest of Cyprus? Dialogic Decodings of the Ottoman Imperial Circumcision Feast of 1582

The workshop was hosted by the Transcultural studies program and the Institute of Papyrology at the University of Heidelberg. The director of the institute, Professor Andrea Jördens, and her colleagues introduced the participants to the heart of the collection of papyri numbering 10,000 items from the fifth century BCE to the tenth century CE, written mainly in Greek and Coptic. The presentation concentrated on fragments connected with the self-government, religious communities and everyday life of minority groups in Byzantine Egypt and its successor states.

The second workshop, organized at CEU by Balázs Nagy on October 8–9, 2012, focused on "Trading Diasporas' Role in Trade and Diplomacy," presenting these diasporas as transcultural agents. The geographical framework was set by the maritime trade routes across the Eastern Mediterranean and their extensions towards Central Europe, including the Balkans and Transylvania as the main land routes for the transport of Levantine wares. Many of the presentations as well as the discussions concentrated on the comparison of trading diasporas of different places: How were groups of the same diaspora (Jews, Greeks, Florentines, Venetians) resident in different trade hubs of competing routes connected with

one another and – if applicable – their homeland or city? How did they organize their presence along the trade routes? Did they generate closed ethnic networks or were they open to associations with other ethnic networks and groups? What was stronger: The links among groups of the same diaspora or among different diasporic groups living in the same place? How useful is the distinction between diasporic and indigenous groups in a commercial hub or a port town – did the conditions of cross-cultural exchange create a new, perhaps "cosmopolitan", trans-culture that forged a common identity between diasporic and indigenous groups? How did texts, images, and objects wander along trade routes by the mediation of trading diasporas?

Many of the papers were based on ongoing or almost finished doctoral research projects, and, with the help of CEU's Conference Fund, we also invited alumni of the Department of Medieval Studies whose work was relevant for the main theme. Two sessions were devoted to monastic houses, especially those of the mendicant orders, as commercial and artistic centers. The conceptual framework of research on trading diasporas helped to explain special features of these orders as protagonists of religious expansion. These papers also formed a link to a previous DAAD-MÖB research project conducted by the Department between 2008 and 2010 in cooperation with the University of Göttingen (see the report by József Laszlovszky in the *Annual*, 2011). The program was the following:

Introduction: Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (Budapest)

Panel I

Georg Christ (Heidelberg/Manchester): Unwieldy Diaspora: Hansa Merchants in Bruges and Venetians in Alexandria

Krisztina Arany (Budapest): Florentine Trading and Banking Diasporas in Central Europe

Panel II

Tanja Tolar (London): Between the Doge and the Sultan: Re-examination of a Group of Gilded and Enamelled Glass Bottles and Fragments

Mária Pakucs-Willcocks (Bucharest): The Greek Trading Diaspora in Sibiu during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century

Panel III

Julia Dücker (Heidelberg): Rebellion Due to the *natura Alamanorum*? The Protest of the Cracow Burghers in 1311/12

Zsolt Simon (Târgu Mureş): Ethnic Minorities in the External Trade of Late Medieval Hungary – The Case of Transylvanian Romanians and Saxons

Panel IV

Beatrix Romhányi (Budapest): On the Edge of the Town: Mendicant and Pauline Monasteries in the Urban Economy

Darko Karačić (Budapest): The Role of Franciscan Friars in the Social Networks of Dubrovnik Merchants Trading in Medieval Bosnia

Panel V

Leonie Silberer (Heidelberg): Architecture of a Minority? Considerations on Franciscan Monastic Life and Building

Zoltán Soós (Târgu Mureş): The Role and Importance of Mendicants in the Local Economy: The Case of the Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) and Segesvár (Sighişoara) Friaries

The third workshop was organized in Budapest on "Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Process of Expulsion and Diaspora Formation from Late Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century," June 5-8, 2013.[2] This time the two co-operating partners were joined by members of the ERC-supported research project from the Université de Nantes, "The Legal Status of Religious Minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean World, 5th–15th Centuries" (RELMIN), headed by Professor John Tolan. This workshop studied the causes and consequences of the expulsion of religiously- or ethnically-defined minority groups in late antique, medieval, and early modern Europe and the Mediterranean. The speakers situated different cases of expulsions in their specific social, political, and cultural contexts in order to better understand their causes and their repercussions. They also examined the changing religious and political ideologies and inquired into differences in the processes of expulsion. Some of the expulsions in the period under study were transitory (those expelled returned within a few months or years), others were permanent. Other contributors focused on the migration and settlement patterns of those expelled, how they came together in diaspora communities, how they interacted with their host society, their polity of origin, and among themselves. To what extent did these diaspora communities preserve distinct group identities (based on language, culture, rite, or other factors)? How was the memory of the home country and its loss preserved and made mythic as a vector of group identity?

[2] John Tolan is currently preparing the proceedings of this workshop for publication by Brepols.

The closing discussion sought to locate expulsion among the broad range of instruments for conflict resolution between voluntary migration and mass murder. Most of the papers dealt with the expulsion of Jewish communities from various political entities; these papers were usefully complemented by case studies on the Coptic and Greek diasporas in post-Roman Egypt, the Cumans in medieval Hungary, the French Templars, and Protestant refugees and Moriscos in the Early Modern period.

The workshop was accompanied by three field trips that presented the heritage of religious and ethnic groups that lived in and around Budapest in different historic contexts. One walking tour followed the traces of the German, Italian, Jewish, and Moslem inhabitants of Buda's Castle Hill; another walking tour took the participants to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish quarter of Pest, which showed traces of both tragic destruction and modern attempts at revival. The third excursion, to Vác and the Börzsöny hills, introduced the vestiges of medieval German burghers, Slovak settlers after the Ottoman period and a modern Jewish presence. For researchers of the legal aspects of religious cohabitation, the visit to the residence of the Werbőczy family (whose most prominent member was Stephen, the author of the customary law compilation called the *Tripartitum*) at Alsópetény was especially memorable. The program of the conference was:

Greeting the participants: László Kontler (Budapest), Andrea Jördens (Heidelberg)
Introductory lecture: John Tolan (Nantes), Exile and Identity

Panel A: Expelling societies

Kyra Lyublyanovics (Budapest), Spies of the Enemy, Pagan Herders, and Vassals Most Welcome: Shifts and Drifts in the Cuman-Hungarian Relations in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Julien Théry (Montpellier), The Expulsion of the Jews in 1306 and the Construction of a French Royal Theocracy

Katalin Szende (Budapest), Scapegoats or Competitors? The Expulsion of Jews from Hungarian Towns in the Aftermath of the Battle of Mohács (1526)

Panel B: Exiles

Robin Mundill (St. Andrews), Banishment from the Edge of the World: The Jewish Experience of Expulsion from England in 1290

Nadezda Koryakina (Nantes), Expulsion and Its Consequences according to Sephardi *responsa*

Carsten Wilke (Budapest), Losing Spain, Securing Salvation: Mental Adaption to Exile among Refugees of the Iberian Inquisitions

Marcell Sebők (Budapest), Victims of Reformations? Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Refugees and Their Impact on Artistic and Cultural Production

Panel C: Community recomposition

Lajos Berkes (Heidelberg), Greeks in Egypt after the Islamic Conquest

Josep Muntané (Nantes), Où sont finis les juifs de Catalogne ? Une révision du terme "sefardi" en tant que appliqué aux juifs de Catalogne

Tijana Krstić (Budapest), In Search of the Post-expulsion Morisco "Community" in Ottoman Istanbul, 1610s–1640s

Panel D: Absorption

Georg Christ (Heidelberg/Manchester), The Making of the Jewish Diaspora in Alexandria in the Later Middle Ages: A Re-evaluation

Patrick Sänger (Heidelberg), The Hellenistic King Ptolemy VI (180–145 BC) and his Politics towards Jewish Refugees: A Case of Generosity and Calculation

Panel E: Representations

Marianne Sághy (Budapest), The Expulsion of the Templars: Constructing Religious Deviance in Politics and Folklore

Marianna D. Birnbaum (Los Angeles/Budapest), The Jew(s) of Malta between Expulsion and Literary Representation

The fourth and last workshop in the series was organized in Heidelberg, on October 28-29, 2013, by Julia Burkhardt (née Dücker), on "Military Diasporas and Diasporic Regimes in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, 500–1800."[3] The workshop focused on military groups and organizations and their impact on political, economic, and cultural structures. Even though military groups seem to be rather less obvious cases of trans-European diasporas, their role in mobilizing and transferring capital and personnel was considerable. Military orders such as the Knights Hospitaller or mercenaries from particular ethnic groups maintained a constant flow of money, goods, personnel, and knowledge across the wider Euro-Mediterranean. The participants discussed the ways and modes by which capital and personnel were transferred within these frameworks. Beyond that, they also addressed issues such as how military diasporas interacted or competed with both indigenous groups and other diasporas in different places. How did they establish channels of communication that overcame linguistic differences? How did they cope with their contemporary opponents and

[3] The proceedings of this workshop will be published; a book proposal is currently being finalized.

enemies? How were they entangled with mercantile and other religious networks? Were there common ideals and codes of conduct that united different military diasporas of different religions and origins?

Military diasporas frequently differed from the majority societies around them in their religion as well as their ethnic composition. In such cases military superiority could become a tool for forced conversion, but there were also varied strategies for cooperation. Connecting East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, as in the case of the previous three thematic workshops, meant, on the one hand, direct connections through military groups that were present, fighting in or mediating between both regions, such as the soldiers of the Latin Empire or the military retinues of queens of Byzantine descent in Latin Christian countries. On the other hand, the comparative approach allowed an examination of the roles military diasporas played in power politics in general terms: How did these ethnically distinct military groups contribute to supporting, reinforcing – or, in other cases, subverting – political power? Finally, the papers examined mechanisms of integration and adaptation, for instance, in the Seljuk-Byzantine and Ottoman-Balkans context, with regards to the role of kinship, language, ethnicity and common places of origin. The following papers were presented:

Welcome Address: Andrea Jördens (Heidelberg)

Panel I: Incorporating Soldiers

Patrick Sänger (Heidelberg/Vienna): Military Diasporas in and Their Impact on Hellenistic Egypt

Luka Spoljarić (Budapest/ Zagreb): *I, Domina, Illyrico deserto litore Romam*: Ottoman Wars and the Illyrian Diaspora of Renaissance Rome

Roman Shlyakhtin (Budapest): Princes and Archers. Seljuk Mercenaries in Twelfth-century Byzantium

József Laszlovszky (Budapest): From the Varangian Body-guards of the Byzantine Emperor to the Russian Door-keepers of the Hungarian King

Panel II: In-between – Military Diasporas and Diverging Religions

Lajos Berkes (Heidelberg): The Persian and Islamic Occupation of Egypt in the Seventh Century: Similarities and Differences

Cristian-Nicolae Daniel (Budapest): Greek-Slavonic Rite Men Fighting for Latin Rite Lords and Their Entangled Religious Options

Verena Schenk zu Schweinsberg (Heidelberg): Military Orders and the Encounter with the Heathen in Thirteenth-century Livonia

László Veszprémy (Budapest): Hungarians beyond Hungary in the Thirteenth Century: Soldiers and Missionaries

Keynote Lecture: Nikolas Jaspert (Heidelberg): Crossing borders: The Religious Military Orders and their Brethren on the Frontier

Panel III: Backbones of the Empire – Military Diasporas and Centers of Power
Mariana Bodnaruk (Budapest): Participants in the Emperor's Glory: Late- antique Statues for Military Honorands in Rome
Stefan Burkhardt (Heidelberg): Soldiers between East and West around 1200
Chris Mielke (Budapest): Soldiers of the Queens
Halil Evren Sünnetcioglu (Budapest): Diasporas within the Center of Power? The Clan of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as a Case Study
Concluding Remarks: Georg Christ (Heidelberg/Manchester)

The speakers at the workshops, especially the second and the fourth, included a large number of doctoral students. This shows that the common thematic framework of the project proved to be useful for their doctoral research and encouraged them to engage with a wider historiographic framework and more advanced researchers. This was further reinforced by the grants the project arranged for doctoral students for library research and consultations. Beyond the planned thematic volumes based on the papers of the third and fourth workshops, the real output, in our view, will be the significant contribution of the workshops to fifteen dissertations in progress or submitted recently:
Arany, Krisztina (CEU), Florentine Merchant Families in Hungary During the Reign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437)
Berkes, Lajos (Heidelberg), Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden
Bodnaruk, Mariana (CEU), Imperial Elite Representation in Late Antique Roman Art
Collela, Andrea (Heidelberg), Juden in Süditalien zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter
Csikós, Veronika (CEU), Episcopal Patronage in Angevin Hungary
Daniel, Cristian-Nicolae (CEU), Coping with the Powerful Other: A Comparative Approach to Greek-Slavonic Communities of Rite in Late Medieval Transylvania and the Banat
Karačić, Darko (CEU), The Franciscan Impact on Medieval Dalmatian and Bosnian Urban Centers
Kiss, Tamás (CEU), Cyprus in Western and Ottoman Political Imagination Before and After 1570-71
Lyublyanovics, Kyra (CEU), The Socio-Economic Integration of Medieval Cumans in Hungary. An Archaeozoological Approach

Mielke, Christopher (CEU), Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Archaeology of Medieval Queenship in Hungary (1000–1395)
Sartore, Teresa (Heidelberg), Latin Rhodes and European Malta: Two Fortress-Islands at the Borders of the Western World
Shlyakhtin, Roman (CEU), Scythians or Persians? The Image of the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor in the Byzantine Historical Narratives of the Twelfth Century
Silberer, Leonie (Heidelberg), Mittelalterliche Klosteranlagen der Franziskaner in Mitteleuropa
Soós, Zoltán (CEU), The Mendicant Orders in Medieval Transylvania, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century

The connections between the University of Heidelberg and CEU established during this project led to cooperation in other areas as well: Julia Burkhardt (née Dücker) gave an inspiring public lecture at CEU; Carsten Wilke participated in several events organized by the Jüdische Hochschule Heidelberg; the international conference "Heilige, Helden, Wüteriche. Verflochtene Herrschaftsstile im langen Jahrhundert der Luxemburger (1308–1437)" in Heidelberg in September 2013 hosted three participants from CEU; the CEU-based conference "A Forgotten Region? East Central Europe in the Global Middle Ages" welcomed speakers from Heidelberg, and Georg Christ has agreed to be the external reader for Krisztina Arany's dissertation to be defended in June 2014. We hope to foster this academic relationship in the future as well.

This project has integrated local and regional research, including work on East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, in a broader comparative framework which increases its relevance on a global scale. The combined expertise of the project participants produced important new contributions to the ongoing conceptual debates on the definitions of "diaspora" and "transnationalism" in historical perspective. Labor and religious migration, travel for trade, seeking political asylum, legal pluralists navigating several registers and realms of law (of one's own community and the host society), and coping with the impact of migration and the diasporic experience on one's identity are all issues that affected people's lives in the past and that continue to matter in the present. Therefore, uncovering and understanding roots and consequences of phenomena of mobility and diasporic community-building in a historical and *longue durée* perspective are crucial for a critical and robust understanding of such phenomena today.

JACQUES LE GOFF (1924–2014)

Gábor Klaniczay

The world-famous medievalist, Jacques Le Goff, died on April 1, at the age of 90. That day, around noon, e-mails ran around the world, announcing the sad news to friends, colleagues, students, and those who revered him – I received quite a few. I had the great luck to belong to all four of these categories, thus the loss is all the more greater.

For several decades, since 1969, he has been a central member of the editorial board of the *Annales E. S. C.*, the review of French "New History." From 1960 he taught at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, where he became president in 1972, the successor of Fernand Braudel. In 1975 he transformed this school into an autonomous institution of graduate higher education and research, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, a model for the interdisciplinary alliance of history, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and economics.

Together with his friend and colleague (and in a certain sense rival), Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff is recognized as the best known representative of twentieth-century medieval studies world-wide. One could say that in the past decades he played a major part in transforming the research on medieval history from being a source of national pride and romantic nostalgia to the principal starting point and operating engine of new methodologies that have transformed historiography in general.

He started his career with two pioneering books, *The Intellectuals in the Middle Ages* (1957) and *Merchants and Bankers* (1957), expressing his interest in viewing the problems of the history of ideas and of economics as filtered by lives of the social classes. His broad synthesis, *Medieval Civilization* (1964), became the model for a new historical approach, an inspiring treatment of a combination of the history of man and the natural environment, material culture, social history, the history of mentalities, artistic creation, and intellectual achievements. In 1974 he (and Pierre Nora) edited a three-volume methodological manifesto of the *Annales* group, entitled: *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology* (*Faire de l'histoire*) another work, co-edited with Jacques Revel, called *La nouvelle histoire* followed in 1978. He also provided a model for such new approaches in two influential collections of his studies: *Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages (1975)* and *The Medieval Imagination* (1985). His monograph on *The Birth of Purgatory* (1981) gives an overarching synthesis from late antique mythologies of the underworld to the *Divina Commedia* of Dante. His principal work, the thousand-page biography of

Saint Louis (IX), King of France (1995), despite its volume and its heavy scholarly apparatus, made the best-seller stands in France. And one could continue this enumeration up to the very present with further dozens of books.

Writing about him in Budapest, I cannot help but remember that Central Europe had a special attraction for Le Goff. This had both political and biographical reasons. During World War II, as a young man on the side of the Popular Front, he participated in the southern French resistance, fighting in the *maquis* against the Vichy government. His left-wing sympathies and his interest in Marxism were cooled by a sobering experience in Prague in 1948, when, as a scholarship student, he was an eye-witness to the Communist takeover. In the subsequent decades he kept an attentive eye on the recurrent reform attempts of the internal opposition movements in the socialist countries. In 1960, in the company of Fernand Braudel, he traveled to Poland several times to offer French cooperation to Western-oriented intellectuals. During such a trip he met his wife, Hanka Dunin-Wąsowicz, whom he married in 1962. This was also the time that his friendship developed with the medievalist and reform politician Bronisław Geremek, who became the principal advisor of Lech Wałęsa in the 1980s, and later, in the late 1990s, the Foreign Minister of Poland who managed the entry of Poland into the EU. Le Goff organized an international protest when Geremek (and other Polish medievalists like Karol Modzelewski) were imprisoned. His friendship and support were not limited to other excellent Polish medievalists (Witold Kula, Tadeusz Manteuffel, Aleksander Gieysztor, Jerży Kloczowski, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Hanna Zaremska), making them in a way "external members" of the *Annales* circle, inviting them to France, and publishing their books in French translation. He also offered similar care to other East Central European colleagues: the Czechs František Graus and František Šmahel, the Russians Aron Gurevich and Juri Bessmertni, and the Hungarians Erik Fügedi, Éva H. Balázs, Béla Köpeczi, and Domokos Kosáry.

I hope it will not seem too pretentious if I relate some personal memories of him. I chose the topic of my MA and Ph.D. theses – medieval heresies – under the influence of the inspiration I got from his books and studies. Still a student, in 1973 I translated his book on medieval intellectuals into Hungarian, which put me in personal contact with him. I the chance to spend four months in Paris with a scholarship in 1976. I frequented his seminars at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*. I was amazed by the freshness of new approaches, how historians, anthropologists, theologians, art historians, archaeologists debated in these seminars over how to analyze medieval rites, *exempla*, gestures, the history of the body, dreams and visions. And I was even more impressed by the kind,

immediate, friendly tone he used to communicate with every student, the sincere curiosity with which he questioned them, encouraging them to find how they could go beyond the established interpretations. He always found time for these discussions, even though he was president of the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*. After the seminars, if he had the opportunity, he did not miss coming with us for a drink or an abundant feast to continue the debates around the table.

From that time on I remained in close contact with him; I always went to see him if I managed to travel to Paris, and he was also a frequent guest in Hungary, at French-Hungarian bilateral workshops, of which he was one of the chief organizers on the French side. He held the co-presiding role in the French Hungarian Mixed Commission of Historians (together with Prof. Éva H. Balázs). In 1979 he was the first person to popularize the new method of historical anthropology at a French-Hungarian conference in Tihany; in 1986, when he was inaugurated as doctor *honoris causa* at Eötvös Loránd University, he presented his – then – most recent book on the medieval imagination.

In 1992, after the collapse of Communism, when Central European University was founded, and within it the Department of Medieval Studies, Le Goff came again to Budapest to help this new initiative as the chairman of our Academic Advisory Board. A few years later, in another newly founded international academic institution, the Collegium Budapest - Institute for Advanced Study, he presented his new work, a book series on European history entitled "*Making Europe* (*Faire l'Europe*)," written by the best historians from different European countries and published simultaneously in half a dozen European languages. It was with his support that the group of "great" European publishers (Seuil, Blackwell, Beck, Laterza, Critica) admitted a Hungarian publisher, Atlantisz, from the very beginning. Le Goff's Budapest visit in 1995 gave an opportunity for arranging with him a discussion of great public visibility: Collegium Budapest and the City Council of Budapest arranged a public series entitled "City Hall Conversations," where he spoke about medieval European regions, centers and peripheries – I had the great honor to be his interlocutor in this conversation.

Fifteen years ago, when the headlines of the French papers were filled with titles including "Jacques Le Goff – 75," a journalist of a Hungarian weekly misread the information and published the news that the great French historian had passed away. Shattered, I phoned Paris immediately to find out what had happened, and I was very glad to learn that this was false news. I informed the weekly, which duly published a retraction and apology. I also wrote to Le Goff, who was laughing about it, and reminded me that those whose death is falsely announced will have true longevity.

He did indeed have fifteen more years, which allowed him to realize many important scholarly plans. But life in this period was no longer easy for him. He was a great traveler, and when at home he was at the center of the rush of Paris life. In 2000, however, his feet betrayed him; an incurable condition of his knees prevented him from moving around and condemned him to live secluded in his own apartment. This was followed in 2004 by an even more terrible blow, the sudden loss of his wife, Hanka. While he could cope with his physical impairment jokingly or with serenity, this tragedy made him collapse. Le Goff, who had been celebrated a few years before by his colleagues as a "man-eating giant" (by Jacques Revel and Jean-Claude Schmitt in *L'Ogre historien. Autour de Jacques Le Goff*, 1998), hinting at his endless vitality, energy, and dynamism, nearly lost his will to live. It took him several years to recover by writing a moving biography of his wife, which developed into an intellectual auto-biography about how she opened the whole world of East Central Europe for him (*Avec Hanka* - 2008). Having done this, he set to work again. He published at least a book every year. The radio station France Culture has a special program on historiography (*Les lundis de l'histoire*); every month a program was recorded at his flat, where he had fascinating and amusing conversations with the authors of the best novelties in medieval studies. The editorial board of the *Annales* also visited his flat regularly to get his input. He had a busy schedule; historians from around the world, when going to Paris, frequently made a pilgrimage to his flat on the outskirts of Paris. This was my routine, too, the last time this February.

In 1996 a book of conversations with Le Goff was published with the title: *Une vie pour l'histoire*. How could that be translated? A life for historiography? Or for history? To live, shape and understand history at the same time? In any case, Jacques Le Goff not only inscribed his name in history of historiography but also on the hearts of those who knew him. He was an extraordinary personality; may he be remembered a long time.