ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 26 2020

Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest

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Edited by
Ildikó Csepregi and Kyra Lyublyanovics

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The Mongol invasion in Hungary as depicted in the Chronica Hungarorum
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Copies can be ordered at the Department, and from Archaeolingua
http://www.archaeolingua.hu

Volumes of the Annual are available online at: http://www.library.ceu.edu/ams/
ISSN 1219-0616

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PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

The CEU Medieval Studies Department is happy to share Volume 26 of its *Annual*. The contents cover activities and events of the academic year 2018–2019 – which, in retrospect, seems like "the last year before the transition." At the very end of the editorial process came the sad news that one of the founders of our Department, Professor Emeritus János M. Bak, passed away – which makes it even more clear that this is the end of an era.

This period was extraordinary from many points of view. CEU has undergone profound changes. As the law known as Lex CEU introduced a new regulation for the operation of foreign universities in Hungary, CEU was forced to abandon its long-time home in Budapest and continue its operation in Vienna, Austria. Although certain elements of the university's organisation of institutions remain in Budapest, the vivid and diverse student community and the professors will disappear. This is even more regrettable from the department's point of view, as our Central European location enabled us to operate also in historical terms, between Latin and Orthodox (Byzantine and Slavic) Christianity, and between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean region. Even as a Vienna-based department, we will try to maintain various Budapest-based resources and scholarly contacts, such as the ELTE-CEU research library, research projects and fellowships related to MECERN, as well as cooperation with Hungarian medievalists at ELTE, and at other academic institutions; on the other hand, we are certain that building a slightly different CEU in Vienna will facilitate new opportunities for scholarly research, a fresh student experience, and a growth in terms of academic network.

It is no surprise in the light of the above that the structure of this volume is a little uncommon. Instead of the usual first block of articles and studies, the first chapter includes a piece by department head Gábor Klaniczay on the present and future of the university itself.

The articles based on successful MA theses completed by students in the one-year Medieval Studies program and in the joint two-year program of the Medieval Studies and History departments are presented in the second block. The times and places addressed range widely from the second to the sixteenth century, from Egypt to Wales, Lotharingia and Zagreb, and cover topics such as the origin of the Greek Physiologus, Augustine's Laws of War, falcons in service of the Teutonic Order, the observant reform of the fifteenth century in Mendicant nunneries, or Zagreb baths in the Middle Ages.

The block titled "From the Workshop" presents pieces authored by department members on related scholarly achievements. The project "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and its Eurasian Context", led by scholars from various Hungarian institutions, focuses on the thirteenth-century expansion of the Mongol Empire and its impact in its Eurasian context. Marianna Birnbaum, professor emerita at UCLA and visiting professor at our Department from its inception, presents in her paper the volume "Times of Upheaval", a strongly CEU-related volume containing conversations with outstanding medievalists Jerzy Kłoczowski, František Šmahel, Herwig Wolfram, and János M. Bak, conducted by their former students or younger colleagues Walter Pohl, Pawel Kras, Pavlína Rychterová, and Gábor Klaniczay. At the end of the block a publication that grew out of a departmental student initiative is presented. The CEU Medieval Radio has operated for a few years now, and interviews made in the framework of its successful show "Past Perfect!", featuring outstanding scholars of the field, such as Avril Cameron, Peter Burke or Natalie Zemon Davis, are now arranged into a volume.

When we heard the news about the passing of János M. Bak, although the volume was almost ready for publication, we decided to rearrange the content and include his obituary. According to the original plans his bibliography would also have been included, but we had to realize that his vast life's work needs a more thorough and meticulous processing, as he wrote extensively on a wide range of topics even in the last years of his life. In the project that is going to be dedicated to his work and memory, an unabridged bibliography will be prepared, showing the full scope of his great academic endeavours.

As usual, the closing block of the Annual reports on the academic activities of the department. The Head's Report (by Katalin Szende) summarises the story of the department in the academic year 2018/19. The report is followed by Gábor Klaniczay's thoughts on the past, present and future of the Department. Abstracts of all the MA theses and PhD dissertations defended this year in the department testify to our students' unrelenting research efforts despite the challenging situation of the university in Budapest.

Ildikó Csepregi and Kyra Lyublyanovics

PART 1

From Budapest to Vienna

WHAT HAPPENED TO CEU BETWEEN 2017 AND 2019?

Gábor Klaniczay

The article published below is an excerpt from a document entitled *Hungary Turns its Back on Europe: Dismantling Culture, Education, Science and the Media in Hungary 2010-2019*, a report published by *Oktatói Hálózat* (Network of Professors) in Budapest, and also presented at a press conference at the EP in Brussels (http://oktatoihalozat.hu/hungary-turns-its-back-on-europe/). It was written by thirty authors – political scientists, lawyers, sociologists, scientists, linguists, historians, theater critics, art historians, and philosophers – all of them independent intellectuals with thorough expertise and pragmatic experience in their respective domains. The report covers four broad fields: education, research, media, and culture (arts, literature, theatre, film, music). Its key findings reveal massive centralisation in order to extend state control over these fields, to curtail the autonomy of institutions, to discourage independent/critical thinking, to undermine citizens' informed decision, and last but not least, to obtain financial advantage for Orbán's circle of friends. In the report the authors draw attention to the effects of illiberal politics beyond the rule of law: a pervasive and aggressive reshaping of culture, research, and education in Orbán's Hungary.

The readers of our *Annual,* our friends, colleagues, alumni over the world have been following the unfortunate fate of CEU in the past years with a great deal of anxiety and solidarity. Therefore, we owe them this concise overview now that the departure to Vienna of the American accredited degree programs of CEU – and among them that of the Department of Medieval Studies – has become an imminent reality. The students in the next academic year will arrive in Vienna and not in Budapest, and we will teach them there, in the new building at Quellenstrasse. Taken from the above mentioned report, I include here the excerpt pertaining to CEU without any changes.

***

The Central European University is the most important institution which was established by the cultural philanthropic activity of George Soros in Post-Soviet Eastern Europe. Its basic costs are covered by the endowment founded by Soros. In 1991, it started its operation on a campus in Prague and on one in Budapest, and since 1995, Budapest has been its sole centre. The basis for the university's operation is the accreditation obtained in the US (New York State and Middle States) in 1993 and the Hungarian (and thus EU) accreditation connected to it in 2004. The language of teaching is English, and the university primarily offers

MA and PhD programs in the fields of humanities and social sciences. It was established with the mission to build a bridge after the change of the political system for Central-Eastern European university students that allows them to study in an Anglo-Saxon system and to join the world of global academic discourses and networks. This mission was mostly accomplished: in the past 25 years, CEU with its approximately 1600 students, 200 own lecturers and a large number of visiting professors has become the most international educational and research centre in Hungary. In the past years, it has been ranked among the 100 best institutions in many fields, and it has proved to be the most successful university in Hungary regarding EU applications (ERC, Erasmus Mundus) as well. It is important to note that 25% of the students and half of the lecturers and the administrative staff are Hungarian, and with their help, CEU has built a strong cooperation with other universities and research centres in Hungary.

Why did such a successful university need to be forced out of Hungary?[1] After 2010, universities found themselves in the crosshairs of the Orbán government several times (see the chapter on higher education in this report). While state universities' budgets could be subjected to the strict political control of chancellors appointed by the central administration since 2011, the same method could not be applied in a private university. Besides, the more intense network CEU has built with the Hungarian world of universities and sciences, the more it irritated the people working on building autocracy. The wide international scientific cooperation embodied by CEU did not bring an advantage, either. It is a telling parallel that Collegium Budapest (established at the same time as the CEU, in 1992, at the initiative of the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin and with the support of 5 European countries and several private foundations, based on the model of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton) had to close down in 2011 as the first institutional victim of the second Orbán government, because the government did not renew the cooperation with the international partners.[2] To fill the gap created by the termination of Collegium Budapest and to maintain its heritage, CEU established a smaller Institute for Advanced Study (CEU IAS), using CEU funds.

The principal reason for the offensive against the CEU was evidently its founder and main sponsor, George Soros. It is beyond the scope of this report

[1] See the detailed description of the Lex CEU scandal: Zsolt Enyedi, "Democratic Backsliding and Academic Freedom in Hungary," *Perspectives on Politics*, 16, no. 4 (2018): 1067–1074.

[2] Regarding the Collegium Budapest, see: Gábor Klaniczay, "A New Kind of Academic Institution: The Institute for Advanced Study. International and Hungarian Experiences," in *Constraints and Driving Forces in Economic Systems: Studies in Honour of János Kornai*, ed. Balazs Hamori and Miklós Rosta (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 87–105.

to outline that mendacious and cynical campaign in which Viktor Orbán made Soros – slandered in mass media, in giant posters, and at "national consultations" – the number one public enemy of Hungary, setting the aim to drive him out of the country in 2017. The series of attacks made it clear that the most important institution founded by Soros, CEU, could not remain intact in that campaign either. The assault against the CEU was started in February 2017 by the main ideologist of the Orbán government, Mária Schmidt, who stigmatised the idea – introduced by Karl Popper – of the "open society" giving the name of Soros' foundation (the Open Society Foundation), and who described the new Central-Eastern European intellectuals graduating at CEU as the agents of the "Soros empire", a "shadow power" replacing the Soviet "Eastern bloc". Soon a coordinated press campaign supported by Orbán's radio speech accused CEU – consistently called "the Soros university" –, issuing both American and Hungarian degrees, of "fraud".

In March 2017, the infamous law proposal known as Lex CEU, which was adopted by the parliament within a week with the aid of an accelerated procedure, introduced a new regulation for the operation of foreign universities in Hungary. This bound the issuing of further degrees in the program accredited in the US to a system of conditions with a very short, nine-month deadline meant to be impossible to keep for the CEU. It prescribed, among others, that foreign universities active in Hungary can only be accredited if they also have higher education programs in their "home country". CEU was founded as an independent institution in Hungary – similarly to other American universities working in Europe – and the American and Hungarian accreditation had been enough to have its university status acknowledged. With great efforts, the CEU – in cooperation with Bard College in New York State – fulfilled the requirements of the new law by August 2017. Still, there was another criterium: the law bound the operation of the university to a signed interstate agreement, apart from the professional recognition. An agreement was negotiated in detail with the governor of New York State, Andrew Cuomo and prepared for signing by September 2017 in vain, as the Hungarian government put off the deadline for meeting the criteria set in Lex CEU.

The hamstring of the CEU has triggered an immense protest. The rector, Michael Ignatieff, fought a heroic battle to refute the slander of the government propaganda and to mobilise international solidarity. Reputable universities and academies, several thousand scientists, including Nobel Prize winners, American senators, and numerous politicians, as well as the relevant committees of the EU tried to convince Viktor Orbán to change his mind. There had been no precedent for such a restriction of academic freedom in the EU, so an infringement procedure

was initiated against Hungary. The Lex CEU triggered one of the largest series of demonstrations in Hungary against the Orbán government, bringing sometimes as many as 80 000 people in the streets, while most of the Hungarian universities, the Hungarian Rectors' Conference and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences declared their solidarity. The law is unconstitutional according to several acknowledged jurists (for example the former president of the Constitutional Court of Hungary), therefore a Constitutional Court proceeding was initiated, but the committee with a pro-government majority has still not been willing to put the question on its agenda up to this day. Representatives of the US diplomacy also tried to convince Orbán in vain. All that effort was not enough to make Viktor Orbán sign the interstate agreement required by the Lex CEU in 2018. ("You need time for a good decision," he said cynically in an interview.) The agreement is still not signed.

Consequently, the CEU Board of Trustees was compelled to make the decision in 2018 to move the programs offering American degrees to Vienna. More precisely, a new university will be built in Vienna based on the offer of the city's local government and the accreditation obtained there, for a university cannot really "move". Although certain components of the CEU's organisation of institutions (for example the Open Society Archives, the CEU IAS and numerous PhD and research programs) remain in Budapest, the university itself with its diverse community of students and professors will disappear. Chasing away Central Europe's most significant international university from Hungary is a great loss and a shame for Hungarian culture.

PART 2

Articles and Studies

THE FILIAL PIETY OF THE HOOPOE – AN ARGUMENT FOR THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE GREEK *PHYSIOLOGUS*

Holger Hespen

> The Middle Ages attributed to the Holy Ghost the composition of two books. The first was, as is well known, the Bible; the second, the whole world, whose creatures had locked up in them moral teachings. In order to explain these teachings, Physiologi, or Bestiaries, were compiled in which accounts of birds and beasts and fishes were laid over with allegorical applications.[1]

It is indicative for the state of Anglo-Saxon scholarship about the Physiologi that this short and concise definition of the genre is not penned by an eminent historian, but by a fiction writer. In the fifties and sixties of the last century, Jorge Luis Borges compiled his famous "Book of Imaginary Beings," arguably the most important addition to the genre of bestiaries in the twentieth century. While Borges' kaleidoscopic collection of paradoxographic curiosities is a fascinating read that captivates its reader, this certainly cannot be claimed about the academic literature dealing with the same topic. Especially when it comes to the original Greek Physiologus, scholars have not shown considerable interest until very recently.[2] English translations are scarce and better hidden than some of the

[1] Jorge Luis Borges, *The Book of Imaginary Beings,* third edition, rev., enl., and trans. by Norman Thomas di Giovanni in collaboration with the author, Vintage Classics (London: Vintage Books, 2002, first published 1979), 61.

[2] Important exceptions: Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1889); Ben Edwin Perry, "Physiologus," in *RE* XX, 1 (1941), 1074–1129; Klaus Alpers, "Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologus und den Kyraniden," *Vestigia Bibliae* 6 (1984): 13–87; Arnaud Zucker, "Morale du Physiologos: le symbolisme animal dans le christianisme ancien (IIe-Ve s.)," *Rursus* 2 (2007). Recently, the Physiologus has received more attention: Horst Schneider, "Physiologus," in *RAC* 27 (2016), 722–743; Stavros Lazaris, *Le Physiologus grec. Vol. 1: La réécriture de l'histoire naturelle antique*, Micrologus' Library, vol. 77, no. 1 (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016); and, most notably, the proceedings of a conference on the "Gospel of Nature" at Bern University: Zbyněk Kindschi Garský and Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, eds., *Christus in natura: Quellen, Hermeneutik und Rezeption des Physiologus*, Studies of the Bible and Its Reception, vol. 11 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019).

fantastic animals they deal with,[3] and research is almost exclusively limited to continental European scholarship.

This seems not to do justice to the importance of the work, which due to its vernacular translations became the most popular book of the Middle Ages right after the Bible[4]; a book so influential that its repercussions can still be seen in multifarious artistic depictions of animals and plants in churches all over the world. There are, of course, reasons why academia has treated this fascinating work with neglect: Firstly, it has a very complicated history of transmission and was thought to be entirely uneditable until the mid-twentieth century. This problem has been solved, at least partly, by Francesco Sbordone's monumental edition[5] and the complementary publications of Dieter Offermanns[6] and Dimitris Kaimakis.[7] Secondly, and probably more importantly, the Physiologus has always been looked upon condescendingly: an eclectic collection of silly animal tales, deficient both as a work of natural history and theology, written in substandard Greek.

As a result, many questions concerning the work and its fascinating afterlife still remain unanswered. In order to make sense of the somehow overwhelming colorfulness of the Greek Physiologus, it makes sense to start with the analysis of its individual chapters.[8] Each of the bestiary's small segments contains a multitude of layers, which, if carefully disentangled, offer important insights into the mind-set and socio-historical context of the author.

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[3] Robert M. Grant, *Early Christians and Animals* (London: Routledge, 1999), 52–72; Gohar Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions with a Study of Translation Technique*, Hebrew University Armenian Studies, vol. 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), offers a translation of the Armenian Physiologus and refers to the Greek whenever there are differences; all other translations are solely based on later versions.

[4] Arnaud Zucker, "Der Physiologus: Ein christliches Modell der Tiernaturen," in *Animali: Tiere und Fabelwesen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Luca Tori and Aline Steinbrecher (Milan: Skira, 2012), 101–111 (102); Klaus Alpers, "Physiologos," in *TRE* 26 (1996), 596–602 (596), even calls it "eines der erfolgreichsten Bücher der Weltliteratur."

[5] Dimitris Kaimakis, ed., *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion,* Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, vol. 63 (Meisenheim/Glan: A. Hain, 1974).

[6] Dieter Offermanns, ed., *Der Physiologus nach den Handschriften G und M*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, vol. 22 (Meisenheim/Glan: A. Hain, 1966).

[7] Francesco Sbordone, ed., *Physiologus* (Rome: Società Anonima Editrice 'Dante Alighieri,' 1936).

[8] For such an approach, see Horst Schneider, "Das Ibis-Kapitel im Physiologus," *VChr* 56 (2002): 151–164.

The present article sets out to render the contours of one piece of the big jigsaw puzzle the Physiologus seems to be. It tries to do so by scrutinizing the eighth chapter of the Physiologus. In this section, the author of the Physiologus deals with the hoopoe, a quaint little bird most famous for its eccentric crest. None of the things he claims to know about the animal is spectacularly new, some characterizations are even Greco-Roman commonplaces. Yet the way the author reshuffles hackneyed ideas and utilizes them to get across a particular Christian message is unique, and obviously innovative enough to launch a whole new genre of literature. In order to get a full understanding of the chapter at hand, we must link it with its classical parallels. It comes as no surprise that Aristotle's "History of Animals"[9] and Aelian's "On the Nature of Animals"[10] turn out to be among the relevant points of reference; most illuminatingly, however, we will compare the hoopoe chapter with a passage of the "Hieroglyphica"[11] by Horapollo.

This comparison adds an important argument to the discussion about the origin of the Physiologus. Contemporary scholars mostly assume that the Physiologus in its original form was composed in Greco-Roman Egypt. They base this assumption on two different kinds of arguments: Firstly, they emphasize that the use of allegorical exegesis in the Physiologus might be influenced by contemporary Alexandrian theology.[12] Secondly, and more convincingly, they refer to examples of local colors in the book that indicate an Egyptian heritage. The hoopoe tradition, properly contextualized, falls into the latter category. It helps to substantiate the claim that the Greek Physiologus has been composed in Egypt and that it has been heavily influenced by the local tradition.

Before we embark on a closer investigation of the hoopoe, let us briefly review what we know about our source text with certainty: The Physiologus (gr.: Φυσιολόγος, i.e., the *naturalist*) was composed by early Christians who intended to offer an

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[9] Aristotle, *History of Animals* (Gr./En.), three vols., trans. Arthur Leslie Peck (vol. 1–2), David M. Balme (vol. 3), Loeb Classical Library, vol. 437–439 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965–1991).

[10] Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium*, ed. Manuela García Valdés et al., Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009).

[11] Horapollo: *Trattato sui Geroglifici* (Gr./It.), ed., trans., and comm. Franco Crevatin and Gennaro Tedeschi, Quaderni di AIΩN, NS 8 (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale, 2002).

[12] See, for example, Alan Scott, "Zoological Marvel and Exegetical Method in Origen and the *Physiologus*," in *Reading in Christian Communities: Essays on Interpretation in the Early Church*, eds. Charles A. Bobertz and David Brakke, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series, vol. 14 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 80–89. This might be true, but the impact of Origin and like-minded thinkers went well beyond the borders of Egypt.

allegorical/typological[13] interpretation of nature.[14] The book has been transmitted in eighty manuscripts, which can be divided into four distinct redactions, some of them significantly differing from each other. There is no consensus among scholars when it comes to the date of composition: while some argue for a date earlier than 140 BCE,[15] others even claim that the Physiologus was written as late as the second half of the fourth century.[16] The indirect knowledge of Origenist theology by the author on the one hand, and the wide-spread use of Latin translations of the Physiologus by the late fourth century on the other hand, point at a composition roughly in the second half of the third century.[17] The forty-eight chapters of the "original" Physiologus already provided the basis of the vernacular translations, which turned out to be crucial for the popularization of the screed. It is impossible to determine the authorship; the only thing we can be sure about is that the Physiologus had not been composed by any of the Church Fathers, a false claim regularly made to underpin the work's authority.[18] Neither do we have any clue about the identity of the eponymous "Physiologus," who most probably never existed under this name. Modern scholarship has refuted the idea that the Physiologus stems from Syria;[19] as already mentioned, circumstantial evidence points at an Egyptian origin.[20]

[13] According to Alpers, *Untersuchungen*, 42–46, it is important to distinguish between allegory and typology in the case of the Physiologus: Allegory overrides literal meaning, typology preserves it ("Allegorie hebt den Literalsinn auf, Typologie bewahrt ihn," 42). Alpers claims that the Physiologus almost exclusively uses the typological method, employing natural "facts" as types that are fulfilled in salvation history. This is true for some chapters, but certainly not for the whole book. We also have to keep in mind that the distinction is modern and therefore unknown to the author of the Physiologus. Alpers' strong opposition to the allegorical method might result from a general suspicion of Protestant theologians towards this kind of exegesis, as Kindschi Garský points out: Zbyněk Kindschi Garský, "*Der Physiologus und das Neue Testament, Die neutestamentlichen Wurzeln der frühchristlichen Naturdeutung*," in id., *Christus,* 83–92 (84).

[14] Alpers, *Physiologos*, 596.

[15] Lauchert, *Geschichte*, 65. Alpers, *Physiologus*, 598, is also advocating an early composition during the second century.

[16] Erik Peterson, "Die Spiritualität des griechischen Physiologus," in *Frühkirche, Judentum, Gnosis*, ed. id. (Freiburg/Breisgau: Herder, 1959), 236–253 (252–253).

[17] Many of the relevant arguments for this dating have already been anticipated by a reviewer of Lauchert's history of the Physiologus in 1890: Anon., review of *Geschichte des Physiologus*, by Friedrich Lauchert, *HZ* 64 (1890): 132–133. See also Alan Scott, "The Date of the Physiologus," *VChr* 52, no. 4 (1998): 430–441, and Lukas J. Dorfbauer, "Fortunatian von Aquileia, Origenes und die Datierung des Physiologus," *REAug* 59 (2013): 219–245.

[18] See Perry, *Physiologus*, 1076–1078.

[19] Klaus Alpers convincingly disproves Wellmann's arguments for a Syrian Physiologus: Alpers, *Untersuchungen*, esp. 14–17 (however, unnecessarily destructive in his choice of words).

[20] Schneider, *Physiologus*, 730, listing the older scholarship.

The Physiologus does not care much about natural science; it would be a severe mistake to understand it as a work of natural history proper. The author usually begins a chapter with a short description of the φύσεις (*natures* or *properties*) of a real or mythical animal, a stone, or a plant. This is followed by an allegorical interpretation, in which these properties are explained with regard to salvation history. The author does not bother with providing a full list of φύσεις but picks those that seem to be a good basis for his theological purposes. What is more, he significantly modifies or even distorts some well-known ancient narratives to make them agree with his message.

This will become clear in our analysis of the hoopoe chapter, which reads as follows:

> It is written: "Whoever curses father or mother may end with death." And how can it be that some people are killers of their fathers and mothers? There is a bird called hoopoe. When its children see their parents aging, they pluck out their old feathers (*lit.: wings*), lick their eyes, warm the parents under their wings and build them a nest, and they (*i.e., the parents*) rejuvenate. While doing so, they say to their parents: "Just as you have built us a nest and grown weary from toil and breeding us, so we do the same for you." And how can stupid men not love their parents, who raise them and instruct them in the admonition of the Lord? The Physiologus spoke well about the hoopoe.[21]

This chapter is short and pretty unspectacular in its content; yet, in all its briefness, it gives a good impression of the Physiologus' method. The hoopoe is used here solely as a means to illustrate Ex. 21:16(17), a scriptural quotation with a rather unforgiving stance on disrespect towards ones parents. If a mindless bird like the hoopoe can show such great solicitude towards its elders that it even rejuvenates them, how could we dare not to love our parents, as they not only raised us but also instructed us in the true faith?

The Physiologus might have spoken well about the hoopoe, but why did he choose this particular animal for his illustration of "honor thy parents" in the

[21] "Γέγραπται· ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω. καὶ πῶς εἰσί τινες πατραλοῖαι καὶ μητραλοῖαι; Ἔστι πετεινὸν λεγόμενον ἔποψ. τὰ τέκνα τούτων, ἐὰν ἴδωσι τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν γηράσαντας, ἐκτίλλουσι τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτῶν τὰς παλαιάς, καὶ λείχουσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ θάλπουσι τοὺς γονεῖς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτῶν, καὶ νεοσσοποιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ νέοι γίνονται, λέγοντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γονεῦσιν· ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἐνεοσσοποιήσατε ἡμᾶς καὶ κεκοπιάκατε κάμνοντες καὶ τρέφοντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ὅμοιον ποιήσωμεν ὑμῖν. Καὶ πῶς οἱ ἀνόητοι ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἀγαπῶσι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς,[τοὺς ἐκτρέφοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ παιδεύοντας ἐν νουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου]; Καλῶς εἶπεν ὁ Φυσιολόγος περὶ τοῦ ἔποπος." Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

first place? It is certainly not the most obvious pick, as the prime example for avian filial piety in classical antiquity has always been the stork (πελαργός).[22] In Aristophanes' "Birds," for instance, Pisthetairos says: "We birds, though, have another law as well/; The storks have an ancient copy, inscribed on boards:/'When the time is reached at which the father-stork/ Has fed his storklets, and sees them fully fledged/ The young must then take care of their fathers in turn.'"[23] This is not the only reference to such behavior of the storks: several ancient authors mention it, including Aristotle, Pliny, and Aelian in their respective works of natural history and zoology.[24] Christian authors do not shy away from the allegorical use of this bird either, on the contrary: Basil the Great praises the storks to the skies, attributing an *almost* reasoning intelligence to them. His description of their filial piety very much resembles the Physiologus' chapter on the hoopoe, except its lack of the juvenescence aspect. In a way similar to the Physiologus, he uses the storks as an example for Christian virtue: "The solicitude of the storks for their old would suffice to make our children devoted to their fathers, if they were willing to heed it. For, surely, no one at all is so lacking intelligence as not to judge it deserving of shame to be inferior in virtue to irrational birds."[25] Basil claims that the idea of the stork honoring its parents is such a commonplace in his days that any repayment of benefactions could be proverbially called *antipelargosis* (ἀντιπελάργωσις).[26]

The hoopoe, however, is usually not famous for being an extraordinarily solicitous fellow. It is a well-known animal in the Greek-speaking world, though: in Aristophanes' "Birds," the hoopoe plays a prominent role as bird king; its royalty derives from the fact that it used to be the Thracian king Tereus, certainly not a

[22] Besides the hoopoe and the stork, the bee-eater (μέροψ) has a fabulous reputation when it comes to the way he treats his parents. Most references to this special feature are paraphrases of Aristot. hist. an. IX,13, 615b. It seems that this narrative was not particularly popular in Antiquity; see Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 30.

[23] Aristoph. av. V, 1353–1357: "ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῖσιν ὄρνισιν νόμος/ παλαιὸς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πελαργῶν κύρβεσιν·/ ἐπὴν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ πελαργὸς ἐκπετησίμους/ πάντας ποιήσῃ τοὺς πελαργιδέας τρέφων, δεῖ τοὺς νεοττοὺς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν τρέφειν." Edition used: Aristophanes, *Birds*, ed. Nan Dunbar, Student Edition (Oxford: OUP, 1998). Translation by Stephen Halliwell: Aristophanes, *Birds, Lysistrata, Assembly-Women, Wealth*, trans. and intr. Stephen Halliwell, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 65.

[24] For a comprehensive list of references see Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 29.

[25] Bas. Hex. 8,5. Translation: Patricia Cox Miller, *In the Eye of the Animal: Zoological Imagination in Ancient Christianity, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 28.

[26] Whether this is actually true, we cannot say with certainty, as Basil's statement is the earliest instance of the term's use in the extant literature.

representative of a functional family in the strictest sense. Aristotle's knowledge about the hoopoe does not improve our understanding of the chapter in the Physiologus either: he informs the reader about its nesting habits,[27] its love of singing,[28] and its extravagant style,[29] but obviously did not manage to fire the imagination of later generations with his rather dry reports. Did the author of the Physiologus just confuse the hoopoe with the stork, or did he merge features of the two birds? What would be his intention in doing so? There are actually two sources that indicate that whoever wrote the Physiologus could have based his chapter on the hoopoe on already existing narratives. We will turn now to the first of these two, Aelian's "On the Nature of Animals." It had been composed earlier than the Physiologus and plays an important role not only for the understanding of the eighth chapter but of the Physiologus as a whole.

Claudius Aelianus, the honey-tongued (μελίγλωσσος),[30] born around the year 170 at Praeneste, loved all things Greek and yet never left Italy in the course of his whole life.[31] With his predilection for classical rhetorics, he joined the ranks of the Second Sophistic. Among other works, he composed an eclectic collection of natural historical fragments known as "On the Nature of Animals." For the greater part of this work, Aelian quotes and summarizes Greek authors like Ktesias and Aristotle, sometimes adding a few of his own observations. His book, despite its pagan background, shares many features with the Physiologus: like the anonymous author of the Christian bestiary, Aelian barely shows any interest in actual facts in his description of animals, plants, and other natural phenomena. He rather treats his objects of investigation as symbols for human features or behaviors, and he uses them to send a moralizing message.[32] Nature serves as a mirror of the ancient Greek culture,[33] just as it serves as a mirror for the Christian truth in the Physiologus.

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[27] Aristot. hist. an. VI,1, 559a; IX,15, 616b.

[28] IX,11, 615a.

[29] IX,49b, 633a.

[30] Suda s.v. Αἰλιανός 178.

[31] For a short and concise summary, see Arnaud Zucker, "Claudius Aelianus of Praeneste," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists: The Greek Tradition and Its many Heirs*, eds. Paul T. Keyser and Georgia L. Irby-Massie (London: Routledge, 2008), 33–34.

[32] More information in Hendrik Müller-Reineke, "Oriental Animals as Moral Examples in Aelian's *De Natura Animalium*," *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 15, no. 2 (2010): 117–126. Aelian's approach has been judged with condescension by earlier scholars, of course: "Mythology, mariner's tales, vulgar superstitions, the ascertained facts of nature – all serve to adorn a tale and, on occasion, to point a moral" (Scholfield, *Introduction*, xiii).

[33] Roger French, *Ancient Natural History: Histories of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1994), 216: "Aelian is […] setting up a consonance between nature and culture."

Aelian's miscellany remained popular in the East and West, especially in Byzantine tradition,[34] but has been largely treated with neglect by modern scholars, thereby sharing the Physiologus' destiny.

For our purpose, it is important that Aelian knows quite a bit about the hoopoe. Apart from some curiosities about the bird,[35] he talks about its special role in ancient India (NA XVI,5). The local hoopoe, bigger and more beautiful than the Mediterranean kind, had been chosen by the Indian king himself as his favorite animal: "He carries it on his hand and delights in it, gazing continually in wonder at its splendour and its natural beauty."[36] Aelian proceeds with what he claims to be a Brahmin legend: Once, a son was born to the Indian King. The king already had other sons, who started to behave insolently after they reached adulthood. They were mocking their parents and treating the youngest son condescendingly. The situation escalated in a way that the parents decided to go to exile together with their last-born. This trip, however, turned out to be so full of hardships that the aged parents eventually died from exhaustion. In this situation, the son showed his parents reverence in a most admirable way:

> The son however did not neglect them but split his head with a sword and buried them in himself. The Brahmins assert that the all-seeing Sun was so filled with admiration for this surpassing act of piety that he transformed the boy into a bird most beautiful to behold and endowed with length of days. And from his crown there sprang up a crest, as it were in commemoration of the events of his exile.[37]

This is the most extensive tale about the hoopoe's filial piety that has come down to us from antiquity. Although Aelian wants us to believe that it is an authentic story from India, we cannot be sure about that; no other extant

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[34] An example for this would be the zoological sylloge of Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos. See Arnaud Zucker, "Qu'est-ce qu'épitomiser? Étude des pratiques dans la Syllogé zoologique byzantine," *Rursus* 7 (2012).

[35] The hoopoe uses maidenhair fern as protection from sorcery (NA I,35); it is a transformed human, strongly misogynous, and therefore living in secluded areas only (NA III,26); it knows a herb that dissolves walls (NA III,26); it can be killed with the fat of a gazelle (NA VI,46); it builds its nests from feces (NA III,26).

[36] Translation: Claudius Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals* (gr./en.), vol. 3, trans. Alwyn Faber Scholfield, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 449 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 265.

[37] "ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐκ ὠλιγώρησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔθαψεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν διατεμών. ἀγασθέντα δὲ τὸν πάντ' ἐφορῶντα Ἥλιον οἱ αὐτοί φασι τῆς εὐσεβείας τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ὄρνιν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι, κάλλιστον μὲν ὄψει, μακραίωνα δὲ τὸν βίον· ὑπανέστηκε δέ οἱ καὶ λόφος ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς, οἱονεὶ μνημεῖον τοῦτο τῶν πεπραγμένων ὅτε ἔφυγεν." Translation by Scholfield, Claudius Aelianus, *Characteristics* 3, 267.

source from antiquity ever mentions it. Some scholars are convinced that Aelian is faithfully reporting a myth that he knows from Megasthenes, who in turn learned about it in India.[38] However, there is no way to prove this: neither can it be assumed that all of Aelian's chapters describing Indian phenomena derive from Megasthenes, nor are all of Megasthenes' reports trustworthy.[39] As Aelian himself knows, there is a similar tale in Greek folklore that has been preserved, among others, in Aristophanes' "Birds." It tells the story of the crested lark (κορυδός), supposedly the most ancient bird of all and born before the beginning of the world. When its father died, it had to bury him in its head, as no earth existed yet. The lark's crest bears witness to this.[40] Aelian, arguing for the authenticity of his Indian account, claims that the Greek version is actually an adaptation of the Indian myth of the "head burial" (NA XVI,5). Based on the few surviving witnesses, we cannot say for sure whether this is correct or not; it might well be that the presumably Indian myth had been created either by Aelian or by his sources in imitation of the tale of the lark's crest.

This Indian myth is obviously just loosely connected to what the Physiologus knows about the hoopoe: the common denominator of the two accounts is the bird's filial piety, nothing else. Aelian, however, gives us one last interesting clue about the origin of the description of the hoopoe in the Physiologus, mentioning in passing that the Egyptians pay special honor to these birds because of their reverence to their parents.[41] Does the author of the Physiologus maybe refer to this local Egyptian tradition? If this is the case, it would help us to substantiate the idea of an "Egyptian Physiologus." And indeed: as we shall see in the remainder of this article, the filial piety of the hoopoe was a well-known trope in the region. The "Hieroglyphica" of Horapollo, an odd late antique exegesis of Egyptian hieroglyphs, bear witness to this.

> How they represent *gratitude*: To write *gratitude*, they draw a hoopoe, since it is the only among the dumb animals which, after it has been raised by its parents, returns them the same kindness when they are old. For in the place where it was raised by them, it builds them a nest, plucks their feathers and supplies them with food, until the parents, when they

[38] With special emphasis: Yuri Berezkin and Evgeny Duvakin, "Buried in a Head: African and Asian Parallels to Aesop's Fable," *Folklore* 127, no. 1 (2016): 91–102 (93–94): see also Scholfield, *Introduction*, xvi.

[39] Berezkin, *Buried*, 93 is aware of that.

[40] Aristoph. av. 472–476. For a discussion of this legend in Graeco-Roman culture, see Berezkin, *Buried*, 91–92.

[41] "Οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι […] καὶ ἔποπας τιμῶσιν […] πρὸς τοὺς γειναμένους εὐσεβεῖς." (NA X,16)

> have grown back their plumage, are able to help themselves. Therefore, the hoopoe is honored before others (as an ornament) on the scepters of the gods.[42] (Horap. I,55)

In his extensive comment on the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, Horapollo uses these words in order to describe the character *gratitude*, which is shaped like a hoopoe. His explanation bears an uncanny likeness to the eighth chapter of the Physiologus: the hoopoe realizes the aging process and growing helplessness of its parents; out of gratitude for the nurture it has received during its childhood, it returns the favor by taking care of the parents in a selfless way. Even the details match, like the plucking of the old feathers to make space for a new plumage. Rejuvenation is not explicitly mentioned but obviously implied. In any case, there can be no doubt that the hoopoe chapter and Horapollo's pseudo-explanation of the hieroglyph refer to one and the same narrative tradition. How are they exactly related?

It is difficult to answer this question, in particular because of the opaque character of the "Hieroglyphica." Composed in the late fifth century in Upper Egypt, Horapollo's book was the most extensive late antique treatise on Ancient Egyptian script.[43] Unfortunately, the author's actual knowledge of hieroglyphs is limited at best, as he treats them as an exclusively symbolic system. Horapollo's "Hieroglyphica" was rediscovered only in the fifteenth century, but quickly gained popularity among humanists. In good Hellenistic tradition, those early modern scholars treated the obscure text as a guide to what they hoped to be ancient symbols with magical capacities. Horapollo seemingly confirmed their assumption, but the humanists were backing the wrong horse. In the early nineteenth century, Jean-François Champollion convincingly showed for the first time that the hieroglyphs were predominantly a phonographic system, and Horapollo was proven wrong.[44]

Despite his failure as a reliable expert for the old Egyptian language, Horapollo was deeply rooted in the contemporary culture of the region. For all we know,

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[42] "Πῶς εὐχαριστίαν δηλοῦσιν. Εὐχαριστίαν δὲ γράφοντες, κουκουφὰν ζωγραφοῦσι, διότι τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων, ἐπειδὰν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐκτραφῇ, γηράσασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνταποδίδωσι χάριν· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξετράφη τόπῳ, νεοσσιὰν αὐτοῖς ποιήσας, τίλλει αὐτῶν τὰ πτερὰ τροφάς τε χορηγεῖ, μέχρις οὗ πτεροφυήσαντες οἱ γονεῖς βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς δυνηθῶσιν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων σκήπτρων κουκουφᾷ προτίμησίς ἐστι."

[43] A short but rather up-to-date introduction with reference to current research may be found in Jean-Luc Fournet, "Horapollon," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (2013), 3301–3302. Seminal: Jean Maspero, "Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien," *BIFAO* 11 (1911): 163–195.

[44] For a well-written introduction to the history of the decipherment of hieroglyphs, see Hartwig Altenmüller, *Einführung in die Hieroglyphenschrift* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2005), 11–15.

he was a representative of a pagan intelligentsia that was committed to both its Greek and Egyptian heritage. His grandfather was a grammarian, his father the author of a history of the pharaohs, and his uncle a philosopher.[45] It would come as no surprise if Horapollo, coming from such a background, had used an ancient Egyptian motif for his illustration of the hoopoe hieroglyph. However, he was writing some centuries after the author of the Physiologus used the same narrative in order to illustrate the Fourth Commandment. This raises the question: Are we dealing with two different witnesses of the same Egyptian tradition? Or did Horapollo simply recycle a tale that was invented (or first popularized) by the author of the Physiologus and then quickly gained popularity? Keeping in mind the wide circulation of the Physiologus soon after its composition, the latter option would be perfectly conceivable.

Let us have a closer look at Horapollo's exegesis of the hieroglyphs in order to understand his working methods. In the section "How they write *son*,"[46] for example, he explains that this word is represented by a goose. Geese, he claims, are such loving parents that they would sacrifice themselves for their children if chased by a hunter. Therefore, they are held in high esteem among the Egyptians. It is indeed correct that the word *son* is written with a sign in the shape of a goose, but for a much more profane reason: the words for goose and son are simply pronounced in the same way in the Egyptian language.[47]

Horapollo's explanation of the hoopoe, which he calls by the onomatopoetic name κουκουφά (Coptic: ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧ), has similar roots. The hoopoe-shaped hieroglyph had the phonetic value *ḏb*/ⲧⲱⲱⲃ and was used in the Late Period, among other things, for writing the word *brick* (*ḏb.t*/ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ). This expression, however, is pronounced the same way as the verb ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ, meaning *reciprocate* or *reply*. From a certain time onward, people must have considered *ⲧⲱⲱⲃ–, the phonetic value of the hoopoe hieroglyph, an actual ancient name of the hoopoe. They connected it, quite understandably, with the concept of reciprocity, which appears to be the basis of the narrative of the hoopoe taking care of its elderly parents.[48] Why it took this exact form can just be speculated, as the element of filial piety does not inevitably result from a combination of *hoopoe* and *reciprocity*.

[45] Fournet, *Horapollon*.

[46] Horap. I, 53: "πῶς οὐὸν γράφουσιν."

[47] Altenmüller, *Hieroglyphenschrift*, 6; more examples for the same principle on p. 5.

[48] Crevatin/Tedeschi, *Trattato*, 113–114, briefly allude to this.

Ludwig Keimer has collected several examples of depictions from pharaonic Egypt that represent children (and occasionally their fathers) with hoopoes.[49] He assumes that, while these depictions were initially just meant to be illustrations of playtime activities, they were interpreted in a symbolic way in Greco-Roman times, when their actual meaning had been forgotten. This way, the hoopoe might have become a symbol for the relationship between children and their parents.[50] Another option would be that elements of the popular *antipelargosis* narrative were attached to the hoopoe myth once the connection between the bird and reciprocity of some kind was established.

Horapollo himself certainly has no clue about these developments, as can be seen in the chapter about the goose, and others; he does not come up with the filigreed explanations of the hieroglyphs but relies on an already existing folk etymology. We can safely assume that the same applies to the author of the Physiologus. When he talks about the hoopoe, he relies on the same well-established Egyptian tale as Horapollo, the tale Aelian already had hinted at a few decades earlier. It is highly probable this is true for all the details of his narrative if we take into account his usual working methods: the author of the Physiologus usually only modifies traditional stories in order to bring them in consonance with Christian theological tenets.[51] This is not the case with the hoopoe; in fact, none of the details in the eighth chapter of the Physiologus adds anything substantial for the illustration of filial piety.

The hoopoe chapter is a good indication for the Egyptian origin of the Greek Physiologus. Several case studies of other chapters confirm this assumption by assembling evidence that goes beyond the mere mention of Egyptian months and animals. In many sections of his work, the author of the Physiologus displays quite some familiarity with the local fauna;[52] for example, his knowledge of the ibis surpasses that of famous natural historians like Aelian, as Horst Schneider has shown in a meticulous study.[53] Schneider has also demonstrated just recently that the second chapter of the Physiologus about the solar lizard derives from a Christian reinterpretation of an ancient pagan medical tradition that was particularly

[49] Ludwig Keimer, "Quelques remarques sur la huppe (Upupa epops) dans l'Égypte ancienne," *BIFAO* 30 (1930): 305–331 (308–311).

[50] Keimer, *Remarques*, 311–312.

[51] See, e.g., the seventh chapter, which claims that the phoenix resurrects after three days.

[52] See some examples in Alpers, *Untersuchungen*, 39–41.

[53] Schneider, *Ibis-Kapitel*, 151–164.

popular in Egypt.[54] Motifs from Egyptian mythology have made their way into the Physiologus,[55] and the influence of Alexandrian exegesis on the book is evident but evidently understudied.[56]

Particularly interesting in the context of this paper is yet another example of Egyptian folklore preserved in the Physiologus that resembles the case of the hoopoe: "The second nature of the lion: Whenever the lion lies asleep in his cave, his eyes are awake; for they are open." We can find this statement in the initial chapter of the Physiologus. There are several parallels in antiquity, but they all seem to derive from an Egyptian source, as Klaus Alpers has argued in a careful analysis: the words for *lion* and *seeing* do not only sound similar, in the written form the hieroglyphs for *lion* could easily be mistaken as *the seeing one*. Based on this, the concept of the lion as an animal that is always alert and even on guard during his sleep developed and was transmitted with smaller modifications throughout the centuries.[57] The author of the Physiologus picks it up and, as he often does, adds a little Christological twist: the lion is not sleeping and waking at once, but he is sleeping while his eyes are open *independently* – "In the same way, the body of my Lord sleeps at the cross, while his divinity wakes at the right hand of God, the Father." Horapollo, as in the other cases mentioned before, uses this native tradition for his hieroglyphic explanations as well, but is independent from the Physiologus; he explains the hieroglyph in the form of a lion's head is used to denote a *watcher* or *sentinel*, as the lion is sleeping and waking at the same time, with open eyes.[58]

Based on all this evidence, it is convincing to assume that the Greek Physiologus originates in Greco-Roman Egypt. However, it remains to be seen whether we can pinpoint the origin of the Physiologus in its earliest stages even further. It is impossible to claim that it was doubtlessly written in the city of Alexandria, solely based on its theological method;[59] we know by now that Alexandrian theology

[54] Horst Schneider, "Einführung in den Physiologus," in Kindschi Garský/Hirsch-Luipold, *Christus*, 5–13 (11).

[55] Emma Brunner-Traut, "Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus (zu Kapitel 26, 25 und 11)," in *FS Siegfried Schott*, ed. Wolfgang Helck (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), 13–44; id., "Der ägyptische Ursprung des 45. Kapitels des Physiologus und seine Datierung," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 11 (1984): 559–568.

[56] Lauchert, *Geschichte*, 41–42, already notices this.

[57] See Alpers, *Untersuchungen*, 49–56, esp. 53 with regards to the hieroglyphs.

[58] Horap. I,19.

[59] As Alpers, *Physiologus*, 598 does.

had an impact that extended well beyond the big cities.[60] Circumstantial evidence, however, points at the early Egyptian monastic milieu as the setting that gave birth to Christian natural allegory; some scholars had the right hunch in this respect,[61] but more research has to be done analyzing theological concepts and technical terminology of the Physiologus. This requires a detailed analysis that goes beyond the scope of this paper; I will come back to it in the course of my upcoming dissertation.

Let us summarize the results of this small examination of the eighth chapter of the Physiologus. For the illustration of the Fourth Commandment, the author of the Physiologus uses a narrative he encountered in his immediate surroundings in Greco-Roman Egypt. This narrative results from an older exegesis of the hoopoe hieroglyph that the author himself was probably not aware of anymore. The story of the filial piety of the hoopoe is in accordance with the other Egyptian elements that occur throughout the whole Physiologus. Aelian had heard about it but was not aware of any details or decided not to mention them for reasons we cannot know. Instead, he refers to an Indian hoopoe myth that is not connected to the Egyptian one but bears an uncanny resemblance to the head burial of the crested lark. As it is questionable that Aelian had access to reliable Indian sources, he (or his sources) might have just invented the whole myth. Horapollo, on the other hand, is an independent witness of the parent-loving hoopoe, picking up on the same tradition as the author of the Physiologus. It is possible that elements of the tale of the stork's gratitude made their way into the Egyptian tradition.

Despite the Physiologus' meteoric rise in popularity, the concept of *antipelargosis* remained popular in later centuries. Some readers immediately recognized the analogies, as can be seen in the *Codex Oxoniensis Baroccianus graecus O*, one manuscript of the Physiologus. There it reads, as a concluding remark for the eighth chapter about the hoopoe: "It has been said that storks do the same, whence recompenses to the parents are called *antipelargomata*."[62]

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[60] An impressive example is published and analyzed in: Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995).

[61] Scott, *Date*, 441; Anon., *Review: Lauchert*.

[62] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 30: "ταῦτα καὶ πελαργοὺς δρᾶν ἔφασαν, ὅθεν ἀντιπελαργόματα τὰ εἰς γονεῖς ἀντίδοτα εἴρηνται."

GALEN AND PLOTINUS: ON THE PRINCIPLE OF *SYMPATHEIA*[1]

Anastasia Theologou

The analogy between medicine and philosophy in many ancient texts was used to show the relation between microcosm and macrocosm – physics and metaphysics. The idea of the ideal human state based on the equal proportion of the elements in the body is attributed to Alcmaeon of Croton, a doctor, probably influenced by the Pythagoreans.[2] The Hippocratic tradition also followed the same pattern and it is claimed that Plato had probably studied these medical texts.[3] Galen, following Hippocratic medicine, developed his theory on psychic diseases by applying the Platonic philosophy of the soul but in a scientific framework.[4] He used for his medical purposes the tripartite taxonomy of the *psyche*, introduced in Plato's

[1] I am grateful to my supervisor, István Perczel, for his comments on earlier versions of this paper. I would also like to thank György Geréby, István Bodnár, Zsófia Göde, and Jason Snider for their suggestions.

[2] Robert J. Hankinson, *Cause and Explanation in Ancient Greek Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 30–33.

[3] Jaques Jouanna, "The Theory of Sensation, Thought and the Soul in the Hippocratic Treatise Regimen: Its Connections with Empedocles and Plato's *Timaeus,*" *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen,* ed. Philip J. van der Eijk (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 195–229.

[4] Galen, apart from other studies on Plato's dialogues, wrote a lemmatic commentary on Plato's medical doctrines in the *Timaeus*: *On Medical Statements in Plato's Timaeus* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος Τιμαίῳ ἰατρικῶς εἰρημένων). The entire work, consisting of four books, is not extant, but a number of its fragments have been found and published. First, C. Daremberg published fragments from the third book, *Fragments du Commentaire de Galien sur le Timée de Platon en grec et en français* (Paris/Leipzig: Victor Masson/Michelsen, 1848). The same Greek fragments, with additional Arabic ones, were re-published in: *Galeni in Platonis Timaeum commentarii fragmenta*, ed. H. O. Schröder and P. Kahle [CMG Suppl. 1] (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934). New fragments were discovered by P. Moreaux, "Unbekannte Galen Scholien," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (ZPE) 27 (1977): 1–66; C. J. Larrain, "Ein unbekanntes Exzerpt aus Galens Timaioskommentar Γαλήνου περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος Τιμαίῳ ἰατρικῶς εἰρημένων. ὑπόμνημα πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 85 (1991): 9–30. Larrain also published these as part of a monograph: C. J. Larrain, *Galens Kommentar zu Platons Timaios* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992, 2nd ed.: Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); and also by V. Lorusso, "Nuovi frammenti di Galeno (in Hp. Epid. VI Comm. VII; in In Plat. Tim. Comm.)," *ZPE* 152 (2005): 43–56. Concerning Larrain's excerpt, Diethart Nickel has expressed strong doubts: "On the Authenticity of an 'Excerpt' from Galen's Commentary on the Timaeus," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Supplement, No. 77, The Unknown Galen (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 73–78, but these doubts were convincingly refuted by Aileen R. Das: "Reevaluating the Authenticity of the Fragments from Galen's 'On The Medical Statements in Plato's Timaeus' (Scorialensis graec. Φ-III-11, ff. 123 R -126 V)," *ZPE* 192 (2014): 93–103.

Republic, which distinguishes the rational (ἡγεμονικόν), the emotional (θυμοειδές), and the appetitive parts (ἐπιθυμητικόν)[5] and locates physically the three parts of the soul, respectively, in the head (the rational part), the heart (the emotional part), and the liver (the appetitive part). Drawing back to the *Timaeus,* he also considers the human organism as part of a broader network. In this respect, he shares common ground with Plotinus.

Plotinus was aware of Galen's thought.[6] In light of their shared common ground, I will show that Plotinus and Galen are involved in an on-going debate on the role of "mutual affections" (συμπάθεια),[7] but Plotinus, due to his own way of reading the *Timaeus*, is able to answer Galen's perplexing query regarding the principle of *sympatheia*. Galen is agnostic regarding the ruler of the body's complex processes and the cause of sympathetic activity between the parts and the organism or, in a broader sense, the principle behind the relationship of a living organism and of Nature. For the purpose of this paper, I will first present a short historical overview of the notion of *sympatheia*, then briefly summarize the key points of Galen's theory regarding the demiurge, the soul, and *sympatheia*, and only then will I proceed to treat more thoroughly the place of *sympatheia* in Plotinus' thought. First, I will explain how Plotinus accounts for the connection between the body, the individual soul, the soul of the universe, and the universal soul.[8] Then, I will continue with selected passages related to *sympatheia* in Plotinus, and examine how this kind of union fits into a kind of *hidden spatiality*[9] found in his system. Finally, I will explain why the obscure essence of Galen's demiurge becomes transparent in Plotinus' system in the light of *sympatheia*.

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[5] R. J. Hankinson, "Galen's Anatomy of the Soul," *Phronesis* 36 (1991): 198.

[6] Teun Tieleman, "Plotinus on the Seat of the Soul: Reverberations of Galen and Alexander in "Enn." IV, 3[27], 23," *Phronesis* 43, No 4, (2008): 311–312.

[7] *Sympatheia* denotes affinity or harmony between the parts, shared affection, a bond. For the discussion of the various notions of *sympatheia,* see Eric Schliesser, Introduction to *Sympathy: A History,* ed. Eric Schliesser (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3–4.

[8] My explanation will be limited to the scope of this paper. Finding the connection of the individual soul to the body, on the one hand, and to the higher levels of reality, on the other, in Plotinus' system is a very demanding task, with which I am dealing in my Ph.D. dissertation, in progress.

[9] James Wilberding, "'Creeping Spatiality': The Location of Nous in Plotinus' Universe," *Phronesis* 50, no. 4 (2005): 315–334 and Plotinus, *Enneads,* trans. A.H. Armstrong (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), IV, 88. Both of them call this a "creeping spatiality," but their discussion concerns mainly the question of cosmic religion.

A Brief History of *Sympatheia*

Sympatheia is a composite word from συν- (together) and πάθος (affection) denoting a fellow feeling.[10] In a broader sense though, *sympatheia* or its synonyms (*φιλία or ἁρμονία*) have been employed by philosophers (Plato, Aristotle) to show the bond between soul and body, and by physicians to explain various natural phenomena, such as corporeal diseases and cures (Hippocratics). In the course of time, *sympatheia* has become the manifestation of a broader network denoting the connection between macrocosm and microcosm, which Galen's intuition grasps, but it is only Plotinus who is able to reveal the principle of this network.

Scholars usually attribute the elaboration of the notion of *sympatheia* to Stoicism,[11] and it is true that, for the Stoics, this connective state of the parts with the whole determined their basic philosophical tenets regarding cosmology, nature and fate. Yet, Brooke Holmes argues that the meaning of *sympatheia*, even if the word is not found in the Hippocratic texts, appears much before the emergence of Stoicism. She calls this theory "proto-sympathy."[12] Another objection to the attribution of the theory of *sympatheia* to Stoicism might be raised by the fact that Plato already in the *Timaeus* had based his whole cosmology on the holistic character of the living organism. I believe that it was Plato's philosophy, influenced by Hippocrates, that made *sympatheia* an important factor for revealing the connection within the parts and of the parts with the whole in physics and metaphysics. My suggestion fits the case of Galen, who could have followed Stoicism or Epicureanism, that is, the physicalists, to account for the sympathetic explanation of the organism with nature, but had deliberately chosen to remain faithful to the demiurgic operation, notwithstanding the fact that Galen had remained an agnostic as far as the demiurge's essence is concerned. His view on *sympatheia,* as I would argue, relies on the way he reads Plato's *Timaeus* mirroring the two sides of the same coin: on the one hand, the body as a living organism triggers the manifestation of *sympatheia* but within the limited space of the body; on the other, the limited aspect of *sympatheia* cannot account for the body's more

[10] Schliesser, Introduction to *Sympathy: A History,* 3–4.

[11] Katerina Ierodiakonou, "The Greek Concept of Sympatheia and Its Byzantine Appropriation in Michael Psellos," in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium,* ed. Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneve: La Pomme d'or 2006), 97–100; Eyjólfur K. Emilsson, *Plotinus on Sense-Perception: A Philosophical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 47 and Eyjólfur K. Emilsson, "Plotinus On *Sympatheia,"* in *Sympathy: A History.* 37.

[12] Brooke Holmes, "Proto-Sympahty in the Hippocratic Corpus," in *Hippocrate et les hippocratismes: médecine, religion, société,* ed. Jacques Jouanna and Michel Zink (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2014), 123–138.

complex functions, and so, Galen simultaneously elaborates a detailed theory of the body's connection with the demiurge. In this way he leaves room for a network mapping a *hidden spatiality,* which extends beyond the domain of the body and whose principle is ultimately the soul.

Galen

Galen was an advocate of the four-temper theory (hot, cold, dry, wet) based on the natural elements (fire, water, earth, and air) and their balance within the body. Any kind of unbalance between these is called *δυσκρασία*, while the opposite state provides the *εὐκρασία* of the body.[13] The two bodily states have their foundation in nature's laws. In this respect, the basis for understanding any disease and its cause lies in the understanding of nature. Human nature is part of the whole physical environment, and a good physician requires a holistic approach to the body and its rational principle, to establish the empirical proof and definition of each disease.

As far as the individual soul is concerned, Galen confirms the location of the psychic powers in the body but, in his *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* (PHP), he claims that the soul's essence is incomprehensible.[14]

> Plato said that the cause who made us, the demiurge who fashioned the universe, commanded his children to make the human race by taking the substance (*ousia*) of the immortal soul from him and adding it to what was generated. But we must know that there is no formal similarity between proving and positing the fact that we were made in accordance with the providence of a god or of some gods, and knowing the substance of the maker, or even that of our own soul. In fact, that the construction of our body testifies to an immense wisdom and power, is demonstrated through what I said a little before. However, what the most divine Plato says about the substance of the soul and about the gods who have shaped us, and even more so what he says about our body, does not extend beyond what is probable and plausible, as he himself has shown in the Timaeus, when he first starts his teaching about nature and then, as he expounds his

[13] Galen, *De temperamentis libri III*, in *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia,* ed. Karl Gottlob Kühn (Leipzig: C. Cnoblochii, Vol. I–XX, 1821–1833) 1821, I, 609; Philip Van Der Eijk, "Therapeutics" in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen,* ed. R. J. Hankinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 291.

[14] Galen, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis (PHP),* Kühn, V 791–2.

> discourse, he inserts this statement [namely the statement about the mere probability of what is being said by himself – Plato – about these issues].[15]

Obviously, Galen respects Plato, he accepts all the teachings of the *Timaeus,* but emphasizes the mythic and, thus, unscientific character of the narrative. His view originates from his strong empiricism and his commitment to logical proofs.[16] Since we have no clear empirical evidence on the nature of the soul, any kind of inference using speculation states just a probability.[17] In fact, in many parts of his oeuvre, he refers to the impossibility of finding out what the substance of the soul really is and remains skeptical even toward his "Platonist teachers" who had asserted the universal demiurgic activity of the soul.[18]

However, in the fragments of his *Timaeus Commentary* the substance of the rational soul is identical with that of the God: human beings are part of that substance. In order to save this doctrine of a consubstantiality of the human soul with the divine, Galen posits that the three capacities of the soul – the cognitive, the emotional, and the sensitive – are not parts or functions of the same substance, but three different substances. Only the rational soul, whose seat is in the brain, is divine and immortal, only this is "ourselves." However, for the connection with the body, the other two faculties, residing in the heart and the liver, are also needed. According to Galen, these faculties were added by the Demiurge and the secondary gods to the rational soul. Only the latter is immortal, while these souls are mortal.[19]

In this respect, Galen is faithful both to his philosophical and his scientific formation: as a philosopher he believes in the Platonic Demiurge's creative activity, which he infers from the harmony experienced in nature. As a physician he can operate in the open space of the body and observe the *sympathetic relation* between its parts to understand the normativity of each individual case and act accordingly for the sake of the whole organism.

Still, there remains the question of how we can vindicate the *craftsman,* namely, the natural faculties' activity and causality? Galen tried to find the answer in the wisdom he bestows[20] upon the Hippocratic corpus: *There is one confluence;*

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[15] Galen, *PHP.* Kühn V, 791–2, trans. mine.

[16] Tielemann, "Plotinus on the Seat of the Soul," 49.

[17] Galen, *PHP.* Kühn V, 766.

[18] Galen, *De Foetuum Formatione,* Kühn IV. 700–701.

[19] Larrain, *Galens Kommentar,* 9–30; Daremberg, *Fragments du Commentaire,* 6–10.

[20] Galen, *De Naturalibus Facultatibus,* Kühn II, 38–39, and similarly in *De Usu Partium (UP)*, Kühn III 17. Galen quotes from Hippocrates, *On Nutriment* 23 (IX 106 Littré). For an extended discussion on Galen's attribution of *sympatheia* to the Hippocratic corpus, see Brooke Holmes, "Reflection: Galen's Sympathy" in *Sympathy: A History,* 61.

there is one common breathing; all things are in sympatheia.[21] Galen grasps that unity is the key notion of *sympatheia,* while attraction, repulsion, and appropriateness are the stages of this process.[22]

> Now Hippocrates, who was the first known to us of all those who have been both physicians and philosophers inasmuch as he was the first to recognize what Nature effects, expresses his admiration of her, and is constantly singing her praises and calling her "just." Alone, he says, she suffices for the animal in every respect, performing of her own accord and without any teaching all that is required. Being such, she has, as he supposes, certain *faculties*, one attractive of what is appropriate (ἑλκτικὴν μὲν τῶν οἰκείων) and another repulsive of what is foreign, (ἀποκριτικὴν δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων), and she nourishes the animal, makes it grow, and expels its diseases by judgment. Therefore, he says that there is in our bodies a concordance (σύμπνοια) in the movements of air and fluid, and that everything is in *sympatheia* (συμπαθέα). According to Asclepiades, however, nothing is naturally in *sympatheia* with anything else, all substance being divided and broken up into inharmonious elements and absurd "molecules."[23] Necessarily, then, besides making countless other statements in opposition to plain fact, he was ignorant of Nature's faculties, both that attracting what is appropriate, and that expelling what is foreign.[24]

Galen's theory of *sympatheia* regarding the migration of bodily diseases and affections from one bodily part to another goes back to the Hippocratic tradition and to Plato. This directed movement interestingly includes two more important aspects: a) the *appropriateness in quality* of the parts, meaning that the parts are capable to receive the transmitted affections and b) the character of this transmission considered as an *open-space process* – the body is a spatial complex entity, a network,

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[21] *Sympatheia:* Two or more parts share mutual affection, *De Nat. Fac*., Kühn II, 38–39, *UP*. III, 17–24, *De Methodo Medendi,* Kühn X, 16. *Sympatheia* here serves a teleological purpose.

[22] There are two kinds of attraction within the bodily parts. One is happening when there is a void to fill and there are broad canals/roads for this. Then, the increase of the attraction increases the movement and can act from afar. The other is due to the properties of some qualities, which can act only from near as the canals of this action are narrower. *De Nat. Fac.,* Kühn II, 38–39 and 210.

[23] Galen cannot accept the atomistic view, according to which everything comes together by accident and life is the result of random processes. He clearly states his objection to this view bringing forth diverse examples of the human body's process, Gal. *Foet. Form.,* Kühn IV, 687 ff. See also *Foet. Form.,* Kühn IV, 695; *PHP,* Kühn V, 783–91; *UP,* Kühn IV, 360–61; Gal. *Nat. Fac.,* Kühn II, 120.

[24] *Ibid*., translation from A. J. Brock with small changes.

where different functions can take place and alter the health state of the body as a whole and in its different parts, either positively or negatively.[25] However, why is the system not limited to the domain of the body?

Interestingly, although Galen locates the individual soul's parts in the bodily organs, he does not perceive the body's dynamics as restricted to the soul's local aspect in the body. Moreover, he cannot account for the psychic parts' connection and he cannot explain, even if he maps the place of the soul in the body, more complex activities, such as reproduction. Hence, he is legitimate to posit a principle outside the body, responsible for the dynamics of the body without naming its essence. This is the reason for perceiving the body as an open process: the probability and uncertainty of the resulting state makes the *σῶμα* an unrestricted, *fertile* framework, always ready to *give birth* to any possible option while being in *sympatheia* with its parts and itself.

In this respect, Holmes correctly points out that Galen "is not only imagining a body in which different parts suffer together. Rather it seems he has in mind a more robust notion of *sympatheia*, according to which different parts of the body relate to one another and to the outside world in ways that enable the organism to perpetuate its life."[26]

Nevertheless, Galen's understanding is not capable of vindicating the principle of *sympatheia*. His scientific worldview is limited to accepting only what can be experimentally proven and deduced from the experiments. A good example of his concerns on the issue can be found in his *Formation of the foetus,*[27] in which he claims that natural faculties are not capable of forming the embryo, and that, even if we think of sympathetic relations between the parts, we are not entitled, on the one hand, to credit to the rational part of the soul the plan of such a complex process, nor, on the other, to explain it. Therefore, one could say that Galen considers *sympatheia* to be transparent within the domain of the body, but obscure outside the body's limits, since its ruler remains unknown. Plotinus would have argued that the reason for this perplexity lies in the way Galen reads the *Timaeus*.

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[25] Armelle Debru, "Physiology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, 275; B. Holmes, "Disturbing Connections: Sympathetic Affections, Mental Disorder, and the Elusive Soul in Galen," in *Mental Disorders in the Classical World,* ed. W. V. Harris (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 148. Holmes suggests that since we cannot grasp the nature of the space where the soul and the body meet we should understand *sympatheia* as an open-ended process.

[26] Holmes, "Reflection," 64.

[27] Gal. *Foet. Form.,* Kühn IV, 682–702, Holmes, "Proto-Sympahty in the Hippocratic Corpus," 238.

Plotinus: The Soul, the Body, and Their Network

One of the most important philosophical *conundrums,* which Plotinus wishes to solve in his treatises on the soul, united in the fourth *Ennead* by Porphyry, is how the soul "enters" the body. A body for Plotinus is a perceptible divisible mass (ὄγκος), while a living body (σῶμα) is the animated body, enlightened (πεφωτισμένον) by the soul, qualified according to its capacity and spatially extended. On the opposite pole is the soul and its essence: Plotinus states explicitly in IV.2 [4] 1, 1–5 that the soul is not material, nor a harmony or entelechy, but it is of intelligible nature and of a divine *lot* (νοητῆς φύσεως και θείας μοίρας). In fact, Plotinus resumes here a long argument on the immortality of the soul, which he wrote earlier, in his early treatise IV.7 [2].

Here, continuing the argument of IV.7 [2], he sets up his explanation of the meaning of Plato's allegory on the substance of the soul: "Between the indivisible substance, which always remains in the same state and the one that becomes divisible around the bodies, he [the Demiurge] mingled up a third form of substance out of the two" (*Tim*. 35a 1–4). According to the bottom-up epistemological method that he adopts in this treatise, Plotinus first mentions those entities that are "primarily divisible and dispersed according to their nature" (τὰ μέν πρώτως ... μεριστὰ καὶ τῇ αὑτῶν φύσει σκεδαστά, IV2 [4], 1, 13), which are "the sensible extensions and volumes" (τὰ αἰσθητὰ μεγέθη καὶ ὄγκοι, IV2 [4], 1, 15): extension and volume are the first characteristics of the corporeal world, abstracted from its formal qualities, which belong to the secondarily divisible realm and already have a share in the One. To this mere divisibility, he opposes the indivisible nature, which he represents as the center of a circle, remaining in itself and non-extended, from which everything is generated.

One step closer to the intelligible realm is that substance that "becomes divisible in the bodies" (μεριστὴ μὲν οὐ πρώτως, ὡς τὰ σώματα, μεριστὴ δὲ γινομένη ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, IV2 [4], 1, 34). This secondarily divisible realm is that of the corporeal qualities, "such as colours, qualities and every shape (IV2 [4], 1, 39)." As, whatever happens to these qualities in one body, this does not affect the other qualities in other bodies, Plotinus considers these secondarily divisible qualities entirely divisible, too. Yet, as each form remains whole in its corporeal manifestation, they preserve an element of oneness (IV. 2 [4], 32–41). The soul, the "third form of substance," is in between these two ontologically opposite realms, that is, the intelligible, indivisible nature and the secondarily divisible nature.[28] Belonging

[28] See also Plato's *Phaedo* 81; Paul Kalligas, "Eiskrisis, or the Presence of Soul in the Body: A Plotinian Conundrum," *Ancient Philosophy* 32 (2012): 147–150.

by its nature to the intelligible realm, the soul remains undivided (ἔχουσα μὲν τὸ ἀμέριστον ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης) but proceeds to *become divided* not any more in the bodies, but *around/in relation to the bodies* (μεριστὴ δὲ γινομένη περὶ τὰ σώματα) without losing its unity (*ibid.*, 41–57).[29] From this different divisibility, which does not affect the soul's fundamental unity, there follows that what affects one individual soul, affects all the others, too. Plotinus will further explain this phenomenon of cosmic *sympatheia* in IV. 9 [8], written not much later than IV 2 [4]. The soul operates everywhere and, in a sense, divides itself to animate bodies but remains entire in every part of its body, be it the soul of the universe animating the entire sensible cosmos, or an individual soul animating a part of the universe (*ibid.*, 57–66).

The operation of the soul around bodies finds its roots back in Aristotle. The prime mover is located at the periphery of the universe but is not located in a *topos*.[30] Plotinus echoes Aristotle to explain the soul's presence at the periphery of individual bodies because this enables him to connect the activity of the soul inside the body with the outside activity of the soul in nature. In this respect, being around a body reveals the different ontological status of the soul, as a mediator in between the inside and the outside of the body (nature), and makes the spatial reference in the fourth *Ennead* not just a "*topographie fantastique*" as Bréhier argues[31] but an instrumental space that accounts for the relationship of the bodily parts with the incorporeal soul. Plotinus' spatial view on the ontology of the *Timaeus* is verbalized as follows:

> So, then the soul must be in this way both one and many, divided and indivisible, and we must not disbelieve this on the ground that it is impossible for something which is one and the same to be in many places. For if we do not accept this, then the nature which encompasses all things held together and directs them with prudence would not exist; it is a multiplicity because the beings of the universe are many, but one, so that what holds them together may be one; *by its manifold one* it dispenses life to all the parts, and *by its indivisible one* it directs them with prudence. In those beings in which there is no prudence, the governing one imitates this [that is, the prudence]. This is the meaning of the divine riddle saying,

[29] One must admit that Plotinus' language is not terminological here, but the distinction between "in the bodies" and "around/in relation to the bodies" is clear.

[30] Aristotle, *Metaphysics.* 1072bl8–27, 1074bl5–1075alO. Damascius using the same view later will say: "the limit is always outside the limited," *Parmenides*, 121, 17; see also Wilberding, "Creeping Spatiality," 325.

[31] Emile Bréhier, *La Philosophy de Plotin* (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J.Vrin, 1968), 185.

> "*Between the indivisible substance, which always remains in the same state and the one that becomes divisible around the bodies, he* [the Demiurge] *mingled up a third form of substance out of the two*." So the soul is one and many in this way: the forms in the bodies are many and one; the bodies are many only; the supreme is one only.[32] (IV. 2 [4], 2, 42–55)[33]

> … we must understand that souls were called "second" and "third" according *to whether they are nearer to or farther from* [the higher world]; just as among us too not all souls have the same relationship to the realities there*, but some may become united to those, others are approaching them through their desire, while others again have this* [desire] *to a lesser degree, in so far as they act by powers which are not the same*,[34] but some by the first, others by that which comes after it, others by the third, though all of them have all the powers. (IV 3 [27].6 28–34)[35]

As mentioned above, the ontological degrees are expressed as degrees of proximity of the souls to their source. Therefore, in his psychological treatises Plotinus does not need to quote the whole text of *Timaeus* 34c–35a,[36] but, instead, he selects specific parts of it to bring forth the spatial relationship of the soul with the body,[37] stressing the importance of the activity in space inside and outside the body fitting into the scheme of the omnipresence of the soul.

The soul is one and many in the sense of being: *outside* bodies as far as all souls are part of the same divine substance and are, thus, numerically one; *around/ in relation to* bodies (περὶ τὰ σώματα) as far as the individual souls are governing distinct bodies; and *in bodies*, in the sense that they are equally and wholly present to every part of the bodies that they are governing. We can imagine the body being a translucent veil and the soul as the light that passes through the veil. The more textile layers the light passes through, the weaker its operation becomes, but it is still the same light below every layer and outside the veil. The degrees of the soul's presence in the body depend on the pureness and the appropriateness of the

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[32] In his earliest writings, Plotinus does not seem to distinguish between the intelligible realm and the One, a distinction that would become prominent later.

[33] I have revised A. H. Armstrong's translation, op.cit., n.9.

[34] See Plato's *Phaedrus,* 247d–248e.

[35] A. H. Armstrong's translation amended, op.cit., n.9.

[36] The passage 35a is very obscure and has raised many debates among recent *Timaeus*' scholars regarding its interpretation. See Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997), 58–65.

[37] For example he repeatedly quotes in his fourth *Ennead: καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα μεριστῆς.*

body. In the veil's case the first textile layer will be the celestial bodies, which are qualitatively higher and more translucent than the sublunary ones.[38]

The activities of the soul by being both in motion and in rest create this *hidden spatiality*, which gives birth to a variable network of relationships. By hidden spatiality I mean the function-based space coming from the state of the soul (motion or rest), which is able to preserve and manifest eternally the different forms of existence.[39]

Consequently, the procession of the soul from its source in the individual body is not the result of an a priori pessimistic view, of a "fall" as the Gnostics claim. Plotinus explains that, were it not for this procession, there would not be any body, nor its form.[40] It is due to a top-down process, started in the intelligible realm, the *creation of* the analogous *instrumental space* (in lunar or sub-lunar bodies), which enables not only the dwelling of the soul everywhere inside, around, and outside the bodies' periphery but also offers living bodies the privilege to enjoy the operation of the soul and understand the unlimited power of the soul.[41] In this respect, Plotinus is able to claim that souls are unlimited just like God[42] and that the body could never be the space of the soul because the main space is the incorporeal.[43]

Now, if the main space is the incorporeal, and if the place encompasses bodies (περὶ τὰ σώματα) and becomes the *ground* of living bodies (ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν),[44] while it also exists outside their periphery, then, all the bodies are connected through the soul under the criterion of proximity to the source. And the criterion is such because there is this *hidden spatiality*, which is not created from physically extended bodies, is not imaginary, nor a metaphor, but a space "created" from the soul's operations with every level of existence. In this respect, all activities, be they complex or simple, have their root in the soul. Plotinus moves on, after the definition of the soul as the manifold unity, to fill in the "void" with the

[38] II.1. [40] 4, 8–25, II.9. [33] 8,35–36; IV.4.3 [28] 7,17; see also Wilberding, "Creeping Spatiality," 330.

[39] For another aspect of this hidden spatiality see II.2. [14] 2–3.

[40] IV. 3, [27] 9, 21–36.

[41] See also Wilberding, "Creeping Spatiality," 330.

[42] IV. 8. [6] 38–45.

[43] IV. 3. [27] 20. 12–20.

[44] VI.3 [44] 15. 27–31. Sensibles entities are not real substances. In this respect the soul is the ground/structure of living beings. For an excellent discussion on substance and quality in Plotinus see George Karamanolis, "Plotinus on quality and immanent form," in *Physics and Philosophy of Nature in Greek Neoplatonism*, ed. Riccardo Chiaradonna and Franco Trabattoni (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 96.

unfolding relationship of the parts with the whole; this is what a living being is, according to his interpretation of the *Timaeus*. This is what accounts as a necessary condition for an encompassing living being, which fulfils its destiny through the communication of every part in the cosmos.

Plurality and Unity in *Sympatheia:* The Response to Galen

In the previous section I tried to demonstrate that Plotinus uses a kind of *hidden spatiality* to trace the 'route' of the soul in between the realm of the intelligible and the realm of bodies; and this 'route' becomes an open space in which different relationships take place. In a similar way, Galen understands the potentiality of the living body to preserve its nature and its place in the environment. However, Plotinus, when elaborating upon *Timaeus* 35a, understands the essence of the soul as an operation and uses the distance (διάστημα) from the source (the Intelligible Being) to account for the substrate of living bodies. Moreover, he overcomes Galen's difficulties to understand the sympathetic relation of the three parts of the soul, which have different substance, by identifying the Demiurge with the soul of the universe and positing the ontological unity of souls. If so, the emotional and the sensitive faculties (the animal and the vegetative soul) can belong to one and the same soul and be of one substance, even if they were given by the Demiurge and do not belong to our individual soul. This is indeed a solution for the riddle formulated by Galen.

This is why Plotinus is able to argue for *sympatheia* between beings and the material parts. In this respect, this is why Galen fails to explain not only the way the parts are interconnected but also the principle of *sympatheia*, the manifold oneness. It is the *soul's kinetics* from and towards its source that makes the material parts communicate and the living bodies find their *telos* in nature:

> This then is how it is with the solution of this problem, and the fact of *sympatheia* does not hinder our arguments: for since all souls derive from the same from which the soul of the Whole derives too, they have a community of feeling. For we have said already that they are both one and many. We have also explained how the part differs from the whole. (IV.3.[27], 8, 1–6)[45]

Plotinus and Galen are following Plato's *Timaeus* in positing a sympathetic relationship among the parts in a whole living being (*Tim*. 30 B–C; 37 C–D). There is a common principle, as Galen also posits without defining it, and its

[45] Translation from A. H. Armstrong, op.cit., n.9.

existence is found in the common human feeling (*synaisthesis*), which all the parts recognize even if they are distant. The distance, as I argued, is not a hindrance for sympathetic relations among souls, since *sympatheia* relies on the spatiality of the soul regarding the body (inside, around, outside its periphery). Yet, the awareness of this connection becomes the main content of *sympatheia*:[46] the parts are connected, but the fact that they are able to understand this connection shows a conscious grasp of the unity. Plotinus uses this awareness to turn against the atomists and shares common ground with Galen: atoms cannot make the soul of the body because they come together randomly, and their accidental unity, if it happens, cannot account for a common feeling between the parts of the unity.[47]

But this cognitive value of *sympatheia*, manifested in its content and in respect to the living being's internal awareness, replies also to Galen's objection that the rational soul's presence in the body does not give any information to the rational faculty – that is, to the human being itself – on the way the internal parts of the body work (ἡ ἄγνοια τῆς διοικούσης ἡμᾶς ψυχῆς τῶν ὑπηρετούντων ταῖς ὁρμαῖς αὐτῆς μορίων).[48] The fact that we do not "see" the details of the operation of the soul in our bodies is not because we cannot account for the soul as principle of *sympatheia*. It is because the layers of our body's veil cannot let the soul illuminate the body, internally obscuring this function-based space. But when the body is opened in the light of our natural environment, where the light of the soul illuminates every part of this universe and makes its surface visible, then our common feeling, being intuitive of the operation of the soul and content of *sympatheia*, can be vindicated by the anatomical knowledge, too.

Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to show that the sympathetic relation among the parts of an organism posited by Galen and Plotinus can be traced back to the *Timaeus* and to the way they read Plato. Moreover, both are against the view that atoms constitute the principle of living beings and see bodies as part of a broader network whose principle is the Demiurge. Galen, because of his scientific world view, instead of accepting any contemporary interpretation of the *Timaeus,* expresses in very

[46] D. M. Hutchinson, "Sympathy, Awareness, and Belonging to Oneself in Plotinus," in *Presocratics and Plato: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Charles H. Kahn*, ed. Richard Patterson, Vasilis Karasmanis, and Arnold Hermann (Las Vegas, NV: Parmenides Publishing, 2012), 491–510; *Plotinus on Consiousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 46–60.

[47] IV. 7, [2] 3, 5–15.

[48] Gal. *Foet. Form*. Kühn, IV, 697.

clear terms the main problems raised by the *Timaeus*' creation myth and rejects all the diverging interpretations that were current in his times among Platonist philosophers. Thus, he presents a very clearly formulated problematization of how to comprehend the *Timaeus*; and, apparently, it is this problematization, which led Plotinus to seek and find an answer to Galen's doubts. This he does by grasping the symbolism of the Demiurge and by reading the ontological status of the soul as spatially defined in a process of proximity to its source. This degree of proximity plays a significant role in understanding the instrumentality of the soul's kinetics in relation to its access to the different layers of the body. Plotinus explains by the soul's function-based space the communication between the body's parts but also between the parts and the whole. In this respect, the content of *sympatheia*, the common feeling, becomes cognitively valuable when the light of the soul reaches the appropriate proximity to its source and is able to enlighten as well the realm of experience.

THE PRODUCTION OF IDEOLOGY: HONORIFIC STATUARY FOR SENATORIAL ARISTOCRACY IN THE AGE OF TETRARCHY (293–324)

Mariana Bodnaruk

A now lost base for a statue of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul and urban prefect, was set up by the decree of the Roman senate (*senatus ex consulto suo*) in Rome in 336–37. According to the fragmentary inscription, Albinus was honored as a son of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, distinguished office-holder: twice ordinary consul, twice prefect of the city, and praetorian prefect.[1] If the restoration is correct, the dedication awarded by the senate to Volusianus' son in the last years of the reign of Constantine boasted praetorian and city prefectures as well as consulship received under the reign of Maxentius. In a new interpretation of this inscription, Fanny Del Chicca has suggested that the statue for Albinus was set up on the Capitoline Hill.[2] However, even with only one missing line of the inscription restored, without supplementing the praetorian and urban prefecture, Volusianus is still celebrated on account of his double consulship, normally a source of great pride. The second consulship received during the urban prefecture in 314 had been a timely occasion for dedications for Volusianus, yet the *cursus honorum* publicized in that year saw both his consulship and city prefecture held under the usurping emperor excluded.[3]

Examining the self-representation of the late imperial senatorial aristocracy, I look at honorific language and patterns of self-display in the inscriptions set up for the senatorial office-holders both in Rome and in provinces. Honorific statuary was the site in which the ideological self-representation of the ruling order was acted out and the field in which this representation was equally contested. I maintain that this type of evidence allows one to trace concurrently the public image of

I am very grateful to Filippo Carlà-Uhink and Christian Rollinger for their comments and corrections to this article.

1 *CIL* 6 1708=31906=*ILS* 1222=*LSA*-1416: *Rufi Volusiani, bis ordinarii cons(ulis), [bis praefecti urbi, praef(ecti) praetorio] / filium… PLRE* 1, 37 Ceionius Rufius Albinus 14; 976–78 Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4 (praetorian prefect in 310, urban prefect in 310–11, and consul in 311).

2 Fanny Del Chicca, "La presunta restituzione al senato dell'auctoritas di nominare i magistrati minori," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 204 (2017): 284: *Rufi Volusiani bis ordinarii cons. filium / senatus ex consulto suo, quod eius liberis / [postulantibus, statuae in Capitolio ponendae]…*

3 *CIL* 6 1707=41319=*ILS* 1213=*AE* 2003, 207=*LSA*-1415; *AE* 2003, 207=*LSA*-1573. Pierfrancesco Porena, *Le origini della prefettura del pretorio tardoantica* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2003), 265–67.

the senatorial aristocracy and of the emperor in the tetrarchic period. It will be argued that the honorific monuments erected for the senatorial aristocracy in the age of Tetrarchy articulated official expressions of imperial ideology internalized by the *ordo senatorius*. I will conclude with the account of the ideological role of public epigraphic monuments translating the official discourse as part of rituals of ideological recognition in the shaping of senatorial self-understanding.

About two dozen honorific cursus inscriptions for prominent senators erected throughout the empire in the tetrarchic period are preserved, recording their career over a long time span.[4] Although the epigraphic record is rather sparse, the honorific statuary was still a common medium of self-representation for senatorial magistracies in Rome, where restrictions on aristocratic self-display remained in place as long as the city was the emperors' residence. However, after the withdrawal of emperors from the city,[5] this representational field was deregulated and came to be the primary domain of senatorial self-display.

The consulship was the highest imperial honor. André Chastagnol and others have placed a reform of the suffect consulship, which differentiated it from the ordinary consulship, around 315, when the former was reduced in status to a minor office.[6] Benet Salway has recently dated it to 313, when the ordinary consulship was uncoupled from the *cursus honorum* of the city of Rome, losing its status of urban magistracy and becoming a purely imperial honor. The suffect consulship continued as a minor magistracy at the beginning of the traditional senatorial career.[7] Seldom explicitly mentioned, the suffect consulship can be inferred from the cursus inscriptions. Thus, the proconsulship of Africa held by the traditional

[4] The full cursus is known of *PLRE* 1 T. Flavius Postumius Titianus 9, L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius 12, Attius Insteius Tertullus 6, C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4, and C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus 15; and fragmentary cursus of L. Artorius Pius Maximus 43, Cassius Dio, M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus 14, Nummius Tuscus 1, C. Iunius Tiberianus 7, C. Annius Annulinus 3, and Aradius Rufinus 10. See Wolfgang Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie. Das römische Reich zwischen Krisenbewältigung und Neuaufbau (284-313 n. Chr.)* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001), 403. Of twenty-one inscriptions, nineteen are Latin and two are Greek dedications; all are in prose, honoring seventeen different senators, including two women.

[5] Besides Maxentius' short-term Roman rule, the capital saw only a few imperial visits, namely those of Maximian in 299, Diocletian and Maximian in 303, Maximian in the winter of 307 until April 308, and Constantine in 312 and 315.

[6] André Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain à l'époque impériale: Recherches sur la composition de l'assemblée et le statut de ses membres* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992), 247; Wolfgang Kuhoff, *Studien zur zivilen senatorischen Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.:* Ämter *und Amtsinhaber in Clarissimat und Spektabilität* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1983), nos. 54 and 59.

[7] Benet Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite in the Fourth Century AD," in *Elites in the Ancient World*, ed. Piotr Briks (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2015), 219.

senatorial aristocrats implies prior tenure of a suffect consulship. The honorific inscription to Volusianus mentions that he had held the proconsulship of Africa, which presupposes a suffect consulship.[8] The division of the ordinary and suffect consulship may be linked to the proclamation of the ordinary consuls, one of whom was Volusianus, on 1 January 314.[9] Constantine wanted to annul honors bestowed by the usurper – the ordinary consulship of 310 – and Volusianus' suffect consulship got discounted as an unintended consequence.[10] By the early decades of the fourth century the suffect consulship was held by senatorial offspring in their twenties and rarely included in the cursus inscriptions.[11]

Other scholars detected the Constantinian reform of the suffect consulship around 324, simultaneously with Constantine's upgrade of all senatorial governorships to the rank of *consularis*.[12] Although the dedicatory text of the statue erected to C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus by Campanian Atina omits all mention of the urban magistracies, the city prefect had most likely been consular for about twenty years.[13] Also, the consulship of Egnatius Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus, a member of the Capuan elite co-opted into the senatorial order, must have been a suffect consulship, as it appears early in his cursus.[14]

The old republican offices of the quaestorship and the praetorship had been occasionally omitted from cursus inscriptions already by the last quarter of the third century but still recorded as the standard start of the senatorial career.[15] T. Campanius Priscus Maximianus and L. Suanius Victor Vitellianus are documented as *omnibus honoribus functi*.[16] To the period of the Tetrarchy are also dated the

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8 *CIL* 6 1707=*LSA*-1415, *CIL* 41319=*LSA*-1573.

9 Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 204, points also to an equation of the ordinary consulship of Volusianus with that of Annianus, who held it as his first introduction to the senate.

10 *CIL* 41319=*LSA*-1573.

11 Besides Volusianus, other suffect consuls were *PLRE* 1 C. Macrinius Sossianus 2, L. Artorius Pius Maximus 43, Pompeius Appius Faustinus 7, L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius 12, Iunius Tiberianus 7, Aur. Hermogenes 8, T. Flavius Postumius Titianus 9 (or *adlectus inter consulares*), Attius Insteius Tertullus 6, L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, and Aradius Rufinus 10. Kuhoff, *Studien*, 29–37.

12 M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 57; Kuhoff, *Studien*, 37–39, 43–46. The new title of *consularis* granted the rank of suffect consul, making posts in the provinces more desirable for senatorial elites.

13 *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217=*LSA*-1978.

14 *AE* 1973, 136=*AE* 1999, 459=*LSA*-401. *PLRE* 1, 515 Egnatius Caeci… Antistius Luce… *signo* Aerius.

15 As in the case of Titianus, Priscillianus Maximus, Tertullus, and Lucerinus. Of those, Titianus, Tertullus, and perhaps Lucerinus received both offices as candidates of emperors.

16 Kuhoff, *Studien*, 21–22.

praetorships of M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus and Pompeius Appius Faustinus.[17] Under the Tetrarchy the senatorial starter office of quaestor allowed the sons of senators to enroll formally in the senate, as it persisted after Constantine's reforms of the hierarchy of senatorial ranks.[18] Senators by birth, who needed to hold specific magistracies to confirm their status, pursued the office of quaestor, which conferred actual participatory membership in the senate.[19] In turn, serving in the qualifying post of praetor allowed one to seek a post in the provinces.

In the list of the *Notitia* amongst *curatores urbis Romae* one finds *curatores statuarum*, *curatores aedium sacrarum, curatores alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Sacrae Urbis, curatores operum publicorum, curatores aquarum et Miniciae,* and *curatores viarum.*[20] The public monuments, buildings, and streets were managed by a *curator operum maximorum* and a *curator operum publicorum*. The important curatorships in the city of Rome feature most prominently in epigraphy in the period when they were independent from the urban prefecture.[21] The early tetrarchic period is rich in references to *curatores* of senatorial rank. Urban *curatelae* are recorded in the honorific inscriptions for T. Flavius Postumius Titianus, *consularis aquarum et Miniciae*,[22] L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius, *curator operum publicorum* and *curator aquarum et Miniciae*,[23] Cossinius Rufinus, *curator viae Flaminiae* and *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum sacrae Urbis*,[24] and Lucerinus, either *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum sacrae Urbis* or, more likely, *curator sacrae Urbis regionis II*.[25]

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 199–220 calls for a more nuanced understanding of the Constantinian reforms, including the reduction in the importance of the quaestorship and the upgrading of equestrian offices to senatorial rank, and points to the positive effects of these reforms on the senatorial aristocracy of Rome.

[19] Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 243–244, wrongly maintains that entry was through the praetorship. See Garbarino, *Richerche sulla procedura di ammisione al Senato.*

[20] *Notitia Utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum Tempora*, ed. László Borhy (Budapest: Pytheas, 2016).

[21] Most crucially, after the end of Constantine's reign very few dedications in Rome were set up by imperial officials other than the prefect of the city. On this office, see André Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960).

[22] *CIL* 6 1418=*ILS* 2941; 6 1419b.

[23] *CIL* 6 1673; 6 773=*ILS* 626.

[24] *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217. Both offices were held by Rufinus under Maxentius.

[25] Lines 5–7 were restored as *cur(atori)/ [sacr]ae Urbis/ [reg(ionis) II ?]* and generally accepted. If the latter is correct, the honorand was part of a group of *curatores* of the regions of Rome of consular rank attested epigraphically in the Diocletianic and Constantinian period.

Since the rank of an individual was defined by the state offices which he held,[26] it was indispensable even for the aristocrats from most noble families to serve in the imperial government.[27] The governor remained the most important representative of late Roman imperial administration in the province. Several office titles were in use: *consularis*, *corrector*, and *praeses*. All *consulares* were *clarissimi*.[28] *Correctores* were governors of the provinces in Italy. Already in the early fourth century one witnesses the alternation between *perfectissimi* and *clarissimi correctores* in the diocese Italiciana.[29] Statue honors are attested for a substantial number of senatorial *correctores* of the tetrarchic period.[30] The same vacillation is valid for *praesides*.[31] With the division into approximately one hundred provinces in the early fourth century, provincial governors were the most numerous officials in the imperial administration. The holding of office by senatorial aristocrats was essential for maintaining their interests on distant properties. Overall, participation in the imperial government enabled senators holding offices in the provincial administration to accumulate more honor, connections, and wealth than ever before.

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[26] On senatorial policies of the tetrarchs, see succinctly Wolfgang Kuhoff, "Die Bedeutung der Ämter in Clarissimat und Spektabilität für die zivile senatorische Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr.," *Tituli* 4 (1982): 273–74; Jean-Michel Carrié and Aline Rouselle, *L'empire romain en mutation des Sévères à Constantin 192–337* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 655–657; and Inge Mennen, *Power and Status in the Roman Empire, AD 193–284* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[27] See Paolo Garbarino, *Richerche sulla procedura di ammisione al Senato nel tardo impero romano* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1988).

[28] A fragmentary honorific inscription from Mazara of an unknown *consularis* of Sicilia, *PLRE* 1, 1019 Anonymus 84, dates perhaps to the early fourth century, *CIL* 10 7209=*LSA*-2062. *PLRE* 1, 993 Domitius Zenophilus *signo* Curetius is recorded in the office of *consularis Numidiae* in 320, *AE* 1915, 30=*AE* 2003, 2022.

[29] Giovanni Alberto Cecconi, *Governo imperiale e élites dirigenti nell'Italia tardoantica: problemi di storia politico-amministrativa (270–476 d.C.)* (Como: New Press, 1994), 28 and 34 with table 4.

[30] Volusianus, *corrector Italiae* (*per annos octo*) in 281–283 and 289–291, Titianus, *corrector Italiae Transpadanae* presumably in 291/92 and (the earliest known) *corrector Campaniae* perhaps in 292/93, Tertullus, *corrector Venetiae et Histriae* in 286/305, Cossinius Rufinus, *corrector Venetiae et Histriae*, *corrector Tusciae et Umbriae*, and *corrector Campaniae*, all under Maxentius, Latronianus, *corrector Siciliae* before 314, Zenophilus, *corrector Siciliae* before 320, Gratus, *corrector Lucaniae et Bruttii* sometime between 280 and 330, Perpetuus, *corrector Siciliae* in 312/24. Also, Fulvia Augurina, of senatorial rank, a wife of the governor (*corrector*) of Campania, P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius, received an honorific statue in Formia in the early fourth century as part of the honors awarded to her husband, *CIL* 10 6084=*LSA*-2044. *PLRE* 1, 259 P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius 8; 125 Fulvia Auguriniana.

[31] L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius was *corrector utriusque Italiae* perhaps c. 288–296 before serving as *praeses Syriae Coele(s)* and *iudex sacrarum cognitionum totius Orientis* presumably c. 289/97. The latter office was that of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, a post still held by senators. Compare *PLRE* 1, 522 Virius Lupus 5; 1024 Anonymus 126; 725 Latinius Primosus.

However, the splendor of high provincial governorships, such as proconsulships, whose holders are celebrated in the honorific inscriptions, accrued even more prestige and distinction from less successful competitors for imperial posts. After the reform of Diocletian, there were *proconsules* only in Africa Proconsularis and Asia. Proconsuls, appointed directly by the emperor, were representatives of the central offices at court in the provinces. The proconsulship of Africa was an ancient post of high prestige, as mostly members of already established senatorial families had access to it.[32] Similarly, the proconsul of Asia with his seat in Ephesus was a supra-provincial agency. Thus, L. Artorius Pius Maximus, proconsul of Asia in 287/98, is celebrated in the honorific text from Ephesus.[33] Further, the cursus of Cossinius Rufinus is an exceptional case of the proconsulship of Achaea held before *curatelae* and provincial governorships.[34] *Legati* were usually recorded in inscriptions with reference to their superiors, the proconsuls.[35]

The holding of the proconsulship led to the city prefecture, the summit of the senatorial cursus. The tenures of Tertullus (307–8), Volusianus (310–11, 313–15), and Cossinius Rufinus (315–16) are memorialized in the honorific inscriptions in Rome. Tertullus and Volusianus had successful careers during the Tetrarchy and the reign of Maxentius,[36] while all the lower-ranking urban and Italian offices of Rufinus were possibly held under the usurping emperor.[37] The honorific inscription for Volusianus omits the senator's first tenure of the city prefecture under Maxentius.[38]

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[32] Honorific inscriptions celebrate the proconsulship of Aristobulus (290–94), Titianus (295–296), L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius (298), Volusianus (probably in or before 305/306), Latronianus (probably 312–324), and perhaps Tertullus.

[33] Franz Miltner, "22. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 44 (1959): 349 believed that Maximus could have been governor of Asia after his prefecture of Rome. However, the city prefecture was the highest senatorial rank of the time, and the holding of a provincial governorship after this post would be unprecedented: Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine*, 391-395.

[34] He could not have held the post under Maxentius, but may have been designated to Achaea right before, in 306. Downgraded by Diocletian as part of the provincial reforms of the 290s, Achaea was re-elevated to a proconsular province under Constantine in 324.

[35] In the West, *legatus proconsulis provinciae Africae* in 290–94, Cerealis, and in the East, L. Artorius Pius Maximus, *legatus Syriae Coeles* after 286, were commemorated in the honorific inscriptions celebrating their office. Also, Iunius Priscillianus Maximus is recorded in his honorific dedication as elected for an embassy to the province of Asia (*electo ad legationem provinciae Asiae*), that is, as legate to Asia.

[36] *PLRE* 1, 883–84 Tertullus 6 was prefect of the city in 307–8, which is the most likely date for the statue dedication; however, Fritz Mitthof, in *CIL* 6, p. 4736, suggests 310.

[37] *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217=*LSA*-1978: *ordo po/pulusque Atinas quod in correctura / eius quae s(a) evissimam tyran/nidem incurrerat nullam / iniuriam sustinuerit / patrono dulcissimo*.

[38] *CIL* 6 1707=*ILS* 1213=*LSA*-1415.

The number of competitors for medium-ranking posts, such as proconsulships, and high-ranking offices, namely, the urban prefecture, saw an increase.

Besides prestigious positions, epigraphic evidence equally attests to the religious activities of senatorial aristocrats in their official and non-official roles.[39] Resident aristocrats exercised religious authority in Rome as high-ranking *sacerdotes* of public cults. Senators by birth were included in exclusive fraternities in their teens or early twenties. The college of pontiffs, augurs, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and *epulones* constituted the four senatorial priestly colleges. These prestigious state priesthoods were reserved for a narrow circle of traditional Roman aristocrats. Titianus was augur and *pontifex dei Solis* by 295. His office of *pontifex* must date after Titianus had been *corrector Italiae*, since he then built and dedicated a *templum dei Solis* at Comum, although the priesthood is not recorded in the inscription.[40] He subsequently acquired another priesthood as *duodecemvir Urbis Romae*.[41] Religious offices are included in the senatorial cursus in the honorific inscriptions.[42] Women of senatorial descent holding a religious office, like Vestals, continue, as in the previous period, to receive honorific statuary, restricted however to the Atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum. Terentia Rufilla, *virgo Vestalis Maxima* in 300–301, is known to have been honored by at least three statues in Rome. From the time of Constantine, however, the functions and status of pagan priests steadily changed.

Unlike other posts, the imperial *comes* was a pure dignity, part of a hierarchical system of honors associated with service to the emperor. The conferral of the *comitiva* depended entirely on the favor of the emperor. While both the senatorial and equestrian orders had their own historic institutions and rules of membership independent of the emperor, no such institution existed for *comites*. These honors were not coupled with other posts but are listed in the cursus inscriptions as held between regular offices in the imperial administration. The *comitiva Augusti*, which appeared much earlier than any other *comitiva*, was equal to none of them in rank. Volusianus is attested as *comes domini nostri*, that is, of Constantine, while Cossinius Rufinus was *comes Augustorum*, that is, of Constantine and Licinius.

[39] As for the religious affiliation, Titianus, Volusianus, Cossinius Rufinus, Priscillianus Maximus, Gratus, and Rufilla were certainly pagans as holders of the state priesthoods.

[40] *AE* 1919, 52. Holders of civil posts in the imperial administration were in charge of building works *ex officio*.

[41] *CIL* 6 1419b.

[42] They are attested for Volusianus, *XVvir sacris faciundis* and perhaps *VIIvir epulonum*, Priscillianus Maximus, *pontifex maior, pontifex dei Solis*, and *vatis primaries*, L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius, *pontifex dei Solis*, Gratus, *augur publicus populi Romani Quiritium*, and Cossinius Rufinus, *augur, pontifex dei Solis*, and *salius palatinus*. Rufinus is no longer mentioned as *salius palatinus* in 315–316, but still held the two other priesthoods, *CIL* 6 32040.

Gratus was perhaps *comes*, if the inscription for the patron of Rhegium refers to him. Constantine encouraged senators to join both administrative as well as court positions and to participate in the imperial rituals.

Regarding the provenance of the honorific inscriptions for senators, most of them come from the provincial cities, with less than one third documented from Rome. Even fewer are securely attested as public dedications. Franz Alto Bauer regards the fourth-century Forum Romanum as a scene of traditionalist reaction of the resident aristocrats, asserting the primacy of the city of Rome.[43] The Roman Forum was the most prestigious space for the setting up of statues, but none of the known honorific monuments for male senatorial office-holders is known to have come from this site until the latter half of Constantine's reign. Only two statues for Rufilla, chief Vestal Virgin, were set up at the House of the Vestals in the Forum Romanum in 300 and 301, respectively. One more statue for the same honorand is of unknown provenance from Rome but may have originated from the same location.

Instead, four senatorial statues may have been installed in a domestic context in Rome. The provenance of the bases for the statues to L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius and Tertullus is unknown, but the indication of guilds as awarders reinforces the hypothesis that these statues were set up in a domestic space.[44] The inscription for Betitius Perpetuus *signo* Arzygius, set up by clients to their patron in Rome with no reference to any authority of the *urbs Roma*, was almost certainly originally set up in the family house (*domus*) of the senator.[45] In the provinces, however, statues for senatorial officials were put up in the most prominent civic locations.[46]

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[43] Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (Mainz: von Zabern 1996), 140.

[44] *LTUR* 2, 163.

[45] *LTUR* 2, 154.

[46] In the Italian provinces, four statues were put up in the Campanian cities, such as Capua, Formia, Atina, and Lavinium. They are followed by three more in Sicily: Lilybaeum, Mazara, Panormus. The inscription to Latronianus was recorded in the praetorium of Panormus. One more comes from Regium Iulium in Lucania et Bruttii. In African cities, three statues were installed in Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania, while one originates from Maxula in Africa Proconsularis. An inscription to Aristobulus was found in the Severan forum of Lepcis, in front of the southern colonnade. A statue for Cerealis was probably located in or at the Basilica Ulpia, the restoration of which was the reason to set up this honor to governor, see *Leptis Magna. Una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana*, eds. Ignazio Tantillo and Francesca Bigi (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2010), map I. The location of that basilica was probably outside the Severan Forum, perhaps in the Old Forum. It is unlikely that this inscription was set up next to the other inscription to Caerealis set up some year earlier in the Severan forum, *LSA*-2170. Lastly, one statue was erected in Ephesus, the seat of proconsul of Asia.

As for the awarders, no senatorial statues are known to have been dedicated by emperors or the senate. Of the abovementioned monuments erected in the city of Rome, three public statues were awarded by clients, and two private ones were dedicated by urban corporations, namely, a guild of carpenters (*collegium fabrorum tignuariorum*), and a corporation of wholesale dealers (*corpus magnariorum*). In the provinces, one statue was erected by the provincials of Sicily, but the most numerous ones are those decreed by provincial councils, such as the council and people (*ordo populusque*) of Atina and Regium, and (*ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος*) of Panormus and Ephesus, with the latter being the native city of the honorand. The identification of Lucerinus as *curator rei publicae*[47] of Capua is suggested by the fact that the base was dedicated in that city, but he might have occupied this position elsewhere, being later honored in his native town, where he was probably a patron. Following local conventions for statues in Africa, the awarder was the city, in the case of the *ordo* of Maxula and Lepcis Magna, without an indication of the *populus*, while the people of Lepcis (*Lepcitani*) feature as the awarder without an indication of the *ordo*. The people of Lepcis (*Lepcimagnenses*) also set up another statue, this time by decree of the council (*ordo*). The priests and the *populus* of Lavinium as well as the people of Formia (*Formiani*) were responsible for two dedications, respectively.

The catalog of virtues, as recorded in the honorific inscriptions, highlights benevolence (*benevolentia/εὐνοία*), uprightness (*χρηστότης*), mildness (*laenitas*), goodness (*bonitas*), diligence (*industria*), care (*cura*), munificence (*munificentia*), integrity (*integritas*), blamelessness (*innocentia*), moderation (*moderatio*), justice (*iustitia*), and fairness (*aequitas*). Governors' merits are frequently lauded in general terms, commemorated on account of their virtue and authority as administrator and judge. Thus, "having experienced his benevolence towards all men and participating in the unsurpassable mildness of Domitius Latronianus,"[48] the city honored its governor on account of his magnanimity, whereas Aristobulus was praised as "a man of all virtues, of blameless integrity, of vigorous mildness, of sublime moderation, and of laudable justice."[49] Domitius Zenophilus was celebrated "on account of [his] exceptional gentleness and the benign exercise of his office, to a vigorous and praiseworthy judge,"[50] while L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius

[47] Other senatorial city curators were Priscillianus Maximus, Lucerinus, and Cerealis.

[48] *IG* 14 296=*CIL* 3 5551=*LSA*-1514: *[T]ῆς πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπ[ους] [ε]ὐνοίας πειραθέντες [κα]ὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβ[λή]του χρη[στό][τητος] μετασχόντες [Δ]ομιτίου Λατρωνιανοῦ…*

[49] *LSA*-2168: … *omnium virtutum viro, innocentis integritatis, vicoratae(!) lenitatis, sublimis moderationis, laudavilis(!) iustitiae…*

[50] *CIL* 10 7234=*LSA*-2065: … *pro meritis eximiae laenitatis et benignae administrationis, [s]trẹnuo [a ç prvaedicabili iudici…*

received a statue honor as "friend" (*amator*) of the council of Maxulae, "grateful and compliant for his many merits towards them."[51] Gratus, if the inscription indeed refers to him, is called a man "of admirable goodness and … kindness," and is equally praised on account of his unspecified deeds (*ob merita eius*).[52]

Other inscriptions celebrate specific benefactions of governors towards the provincial cities. The councils of the Sicilians and the people rewarded their benefactor, Perpetuus, with a statue, "after two years of his deeds" (μετὰ διέτιαν τῆς *πράξεως*), "who renewed all cities of Sicily, and who kept the councils well, who relieved the civic duties with his own insight and did benefactions in the entire province."[53] After "decorating the fatherland with many and great works as well as refurbishing the imperial gymnasium,"[54] L. Artorius Pius Maximus is honored by the city of Ephesus as its own and the fatherland's benefactor. The fellow citizen of the people of Leptis Magna, Cerealis, was extoled as "a man of complete integrity and fairness as well as comparable moderation" (*totius innocentiae et aequitatis et consimilis moderationis viro*), since "among other works that he renovated with industry and the greatest labor, he restored the Ulpian basilica … to a better appearance, at public expense."[55] Lastly, the city of Atina bestowed honors on Cossinius Rufinus, because during his term of *corrector* under the usurper it did not suffer any injustice.[56]

In Rome, Titianus was honored as orator, great-grandson and attendant to the orator Marcus Postumius Festus.[57] Volusianus was styled the "most religious" (*religiosissimo*),[58] while Rufilla, "the most worthy" (*dignissim(ae)*), was lauded as "most blessed, most scrupulous, most chaste, most outstanding" and "of remarkable sanctity."[59] Fashioned as "a distinguished man, who surpassed the diligence of

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[51] *CIL* 8 12459=*LSA*-2448: … *ob multa erga se merita universus obsequens gratus ordo.*

[52] *AE* 1923, 61=*LSA*-1807: *[Mi]rae bonitati et [---] benibolentiae(!)…*

[53] *CIL* 6 31961=*ILS* 8843=*LSA*-1536: … *τὸν ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις τῆς Σικελίας ἀνανεώσαντα καὶ τὰ βουλευτήρια καλῶς διοικήσαντα τάς τε λιτουργείας ἰδίαις ἐπινοίαις ἐπικουφίσαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι την ἐπάρχιον(!) εὐεργετήσαντα…*

[54] *LSA*-724: … *πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἀνανεωσάμενόν τε καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον…*

[55] *LSA*-2192: … *inter cetera opera quae industria et labore maximo renovavit Ulpiam basilicam cum … in meliorem faciem publico sumptu restituit…*

[56] *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217=*LSA*-1978: … *quae s(a)evissimam tyrannidem incurrerat nullam iniuriam sustinuerit….*

[57] *CIL* 6 1418=*ILS* 2941=*LSA*-1325: *oratori, pronepoti et sectatori M(arci) Postumi Festi orat(oris).*

[58] *CIL* 6 1707=*ILS* 1213=*LSA*-1415.

[59] *CIL* 6 2141=*LSA*-1486: *sanctissimae, religiosissimae, pudicissimae, praestantissimae*; *CIL* 6 2143=*LSA*-1487: *mirae sanctitatis*.

all former prefects" (*[inlu]stri viro et omnium retro praefecto[rum i]ndustriam supergresso*), Tertullus was awarded a statue in Rome "on account of the care which he took, with attention to their misery and with incomparable diligence" by the corporation of wholesale dealers, freed "from fear and danger" (*metu et discrimine liberatum*), and "on account of his outstanding deeds and singular munificence towards it."[60]

In the tetrarchic period, senators remained the wealthiest landowners, most important office-holders, and most powerful brokers of imperial patronage. They were honored as patrons of cities,[61] guilds and corporations,[62] and individuals.[63] In the honorific inscriptions, senators were commonly remembered as patrons with honorific epithets: Titianus and perhaps Gratus are styled the "most outstanding patron" (*patrono praestantissimo*), just as Rufilla (*patronae praestantissimae*). Cossinius Rufinus is called "sweetest patron" (*patrono dulcissimo*), Tertullus, "deserving patron" (*digno patrono*), Cerealis, "perpetual patron" (*patrono perpetuo*), while Priscillianus Maximus and Perpetuus are merely honored as patrons (*patrono*). L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius is celebrated by the city of Maxula, having received the benefits of his patronage (*mutis in se patrociniis co[nlatis]*).

As for the material and vestment of the statues, at least one was certainly in bronze and another in marble, with the latter wearing a himation, the second most common garment of late antique honorific sculptures after the toga. The himation statue was re-used for L. Artorius Pius Maximus[64] or Damocharis[65] in

[60] *CIL* 6 1696=*LSA*-1401: *…[ob curam quam egit, ut fortunae eorum] inopia ing[enti afflictae sollicitudine eius] miseriae atque incomparabili [industria, cum in] apertum periculum proruebant, recrea/tae atque confotae redditis pristinis viribus, convalescerent et aeternum robur acciperent, atque (ob) eius aegregia(!) facta et in se munificentiam singularem…*

[61] Honorific inscriptions were dedicated to Cossinius Rufinus, patron of Atina, Priscillianus Maximus, patron and curator of Lavinium, Gratus, possibly patron of Regium Iulium, Cerealis and Aristobulus, patrons of Lepcis Magna, as well as Perpetuus, patron of Sicilian cities.

[62] L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius was honored as patron by the guild of carpenters (*fabri tignuarii*), while Tertullus was honored by the corporation of wholesale dealers (*magnarii*) in Rome.

[63] L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius probably became their patron while he was *curator operum publicorum*. Titianus, *consularis aquarum et Miniciae*, likely secured the appointment of his client T. Aelius Poemenius as his assistant in this office and was honored by a statue. Rufilla was celebrated as patroness of Aelia Ianuaria with Leontia, otherwise unknown, as well as Aurelius Eutyches, a client.

[64] *LSA*-724.

[65] *LSA*-727.

Ephesus either in the late third or mid-fifth century, respectively.[66] A bronze statue (*statuam aere insignem*) of Tertullus, prefect of the city, was erected to its patron by the corporation of wholesale dealers in the house of the honorand in 307–10.[67] In addition, the public honorific statue of Cerealis, legate and patron of the city, set up in Lepcis Magna in 290–94, may have been a bronze one. On the top face of the base, there are two large and deep cylindrical holes, one at the front and one at the back edge, and the imprint of a foot at the front hole; these testify to a bronze statue that once stood on the base, facing the front, with its left leg set forward. There is no indication that the bronze statue was later replaced by a marble statue.[68]

To conclude, the public image of Roman senators under the Tetrarchy as testified to by epigraphic evidence saw limited possibilities of representation. Despite remaining important office-holders in the capital and the empire, no public statues for senatorial office-holders are attested in the city of Rome, which can be seen as a continuation of third-century tendency. Only with the establishment of the sole rule of Constantine did a deregulation of senatorial representation in the Forum Romanum take place. In the provinces, however, the honorific monuments celebrated the unwavering loyalty of the senatorial administrators to the imperial government. The increase of honors for senators was a direct consequence of the Constantinian expansion of the senatorial administration as opposed to the allocation of many important posts to equestrians under the Tetrarchy.

During the first three centuries of the empire senators internalized imperial ideology, sharing the same notion of the social order they lived in. However, consistent with other types of ideological production such as panegyrics, the constellations of senatorial inscriptions urged their readers to share a similar complex of beliefs peculiar to the tetrarchic regime. The distribution of senatorial honorific imageries and texts throughout the empire ushered a symbolic communication that functioned across linguistic boundaries. Further changes in epigraphic practice allowing monumental public visibility for senators in Rome, and the development of an underlying idea of the senatorial nobility as office-

[66] *LSA*-728 (by Johanna Auinger). The over life-size statue was discovered near its accompanying base. It represents a man wearing a tunica and a himation and clad in sandals. The statue, dated to early high imperial time, was reused for the late-antique governor. Miltner, "22. Vorläufiger Bericht," 348-349, figs. 187, 189, 190, who found the ensemble, the statue and the base, wrongly described the statue as contemporary with the inscription of Damocharis at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.

[67] *CIL* 6 1696=*LSA*-1401.

[68] *LSA*-2170.

holding aristocracy, correlate chronologically with its rise to power opened by the new possibilities of active service in the imperial government.

List of abbreviations:

AE *L'Année Épigraphique,* Paris, 1888–.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin, 1903–.
ILS Dessau, H. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916.
LSA *Last Statues of Antiquity*, http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk.
LTUR 2 Steinby, E. M., ed. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 2: D–G. Rome, 1995.
PLRE 1 Jones, A. H. M. et al., eds. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 1: AD 260–395*. Cambridge, 1971.

THE PROTECTION OF INNOCENTS IN AUGUSTINE'S LAWS OF WAR

David Rockwell

Early in *De civitate Dei*, Augustine addresses the right and duty of soldiers to kill in war. Section 1.21 states that they may kill if acting act at God's prompting; other passages expand upon this to include soldiers acting upon legitimate authority generally.[1] Later in the same work, Augustine suggests that soldiers acting upon legitimate authority may mistreat (not just kill) civilians under the laws of war.[2] Still later, Augustine even hints that the Sabine Women might legitimately have been seized had the Romans first properly declared war against the Sabine people.[3] None of these propositions can find assent among modern readers as principled statements of the laws of war. Since Nuremberg, at least, charges of violence against non-combatants can no longer be met with the defense that "I was just following orders."

This paper traces the historiographical and philosophical influences upon Augustine's views on the laws of war.[4] It then goes on to explore the hypothesis that, to modern eyes, Augustine's just-war theory[5] provides insufficient protection to non-combatants in their capacity as such, but that other aspects of Augustine's thought – namely his focus on soldiers' subjective mental state – might provide alternative bases for condemning war crimes.

"Thou Shalt Not Kill"

Section 21 of Book 1 of *De civitate Dei* appears in the context of Augustine's discussion of suicide, in which he argues that the taking of one's own life violates both the biblical commandment against killing and key tenets of Platonic and other

[1] E.g., August. *De civ. D.* 1.26.4.

[2] *Ibid.* 2.2.3.

[3] *Ibid.* 2.17.3–4.

[4] Augustine's main historiographical sources are Sallust and Livy. Danuta Schanzer, "Augustine and the Latin Classics," in M. Vessey, ed., *A Companion to Augustine* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 164. His main philosophical source on the laws of war is Cicero.

[5] I use this term even though it would several centuries before the canon lawyers and Scholastic theologians would systemize Augustine's observations into a "theory". Timothy Chappell, "Augustine's Ethics," in D.V. Meconi and E. Stump, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 193.

pagan philosophy.[6] Despite his strong objections to the taking of life, Augustine does admit the existence of exemptions to the biblical commandment.[7] Section 1.21 provides several overlapping examples, which reduce to three categories: killing at God's specific command (*expressa iussione*);[8] killing by authority of law (*data lege*);[9] and killing by soldiers in wars at God's prompting (*Deo auctore*).[10]

Augustine justifies the first exemption – for those killed at God's command – by analogy to a killing done by one owing obedience to a commander.[11] Where God gives the command, the agent acting as instrument of His will is all the more relieved of culpability for acts done at His behest.[12] Three biblical examples are adduced: Abraham, Jephtha and Samson.[13] Augustine presents Abraham as a straightforward example of commendable obedience[14] but implicitly acknowledges the problematic nature of the other two examples. Samson's suicide is excused as justified by secret instruction of the Spirit. As for Jephtha, Augustine simply says that it may be asked (*quaeritur*) if he killed his daughter at God's command since he acted pursuant to a vow.[15]

Augustine's second exemption permits killing pursuant to legal authority.[16] The example is given of those who, as representatives of the sovereign, punish the guilty in accordance with God's laws (*secundum eius leges*).[17] Later in the same passage, Augustine states that there is an exemption for killings made pursuant

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6 August. *De civ. D.* 1.20.1 and 6; 1.22–24.

7 *Ibid*. 1.21.4.

8 *Ibid*. 1.21.1 and 4.

9 *Ibid*. 1.21.1. This category encompasses the exemption for punishing criminals pursuant to state authority (1.26.2) and killing pursuant to just law (1.21.4).

10 *Ibid*. 1.21.2.

11 The same analogy appears at August. *De libero arbitrio* 1.11–12 and *Contra Faustum* 22.75.

12 The *a fortiori* argument appears expressly at *De civ. D.* 1.26.6 and *Contra Faustum* 22.75.

13 Gen. 22.16 ff., Judges 11.20 ff. and Judges 16.28, respectively.

14 August. *De civ. D.* 1.21.3 and 1.26.4.

15 Augustine does not engage with the question of how a person instructed to kill another might ascertain that the instruction in fact comes from God. The discussion at *De civ. D.* 1.26.6–7 relates only to suicides.

16 *Ibid*. 1.26.1.

17 *Ibid*. 1.21.2. *Ideo* indicates that this is an example of *data lege* at 1.21.1 Augustine was alert to the need for public officials to impose punishment. See his correspondence with Nectarius on punishment to correct behaviour (August. *Ep.* 91.2), to deter others from emulating bad behaviour (*ibid*. at 10) and for the criminals' own well-being (August. *Ep.* 104.5, 16 and 17).

to a "just" law (*lex iusta*).[18] These limiting formulations introduce a consideration of key concern throughout Augustine's work, namely that of the legitimacy of authority: if officials are permitted to kill only when acting pursuant to "God's" laws or "just" laws, the question of how such laws may be identified assumes paramount importance. The parameters of Augustine's thought in this regard are not fully worked out and may be inconsistent, even within the scope of a single work: in a much later part of *De civitate Dei*, he expressly denies that any specific application of the law must itself be just and urges judges to act even where it is entirely uncertain whether the justice they administer is in fact "just".[19] And in a late letter, Augustine insists that a soldier must do his duty in any event, appeasing his conscience as best he can.[20]

This concern for legitimate authority features prominently in Augustine's discussion of the third and most interesting of his exemptions from the commandment against killing, namely that granted to soldiers in wartime. This concept of legitimate authority is key to Augustine's thinking about war generally, determining not only whether it can be fought at all but also influencing what can be done during it.[21]

It is immediately apparent from his writings that Augustine was no pacifist. In fact, he expressly rejected the pacifism of the early Christian fathers in favor of an ethical view that permits the application of force, in moderation and for proper purposes.[22] To some extent, his position was an acknowledgement of the Church's role at the time in which he wrote: the Church no longer had the luxury of pacifism, especially as the imperial order tottered.[23] Augustine thus applied considerable ingenuity in interpreting away scriptural passages that earlier

[18] *Ibid*. 1.21.4. We need not explore here the many-faceted ways in which Augustine uses the term *ius* or how his usage differs from that of classical authors. It is enough to note that, for Augustine, a law need not be Christian to be obeyed, since the powers of even unjust rulers are bestowed by God. *Ibid.* 5.21.

[19] August. *De civ. D.* 19.6.

[20] August. *Ep.* 220.8; Richard Hartigan, "Saint Augustine on War and Killing: The Problem of the Innocent," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27, no. 2 (Apr. –June 1966) 202.

[21] The "just war" theory of Augustine and later Western tradition must be distinguished from the medieval Byzantine doctrine of "holy war", for which religious difference was the key motivation. See Ioannis Stouratis, "'Just War' and 'Holy War' in the Middle Ages: Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62 (2012): 227–235. Even in the eastern tradition, however, war did not have to be holy to be just.

[22] August. *Ep.* 138.11.

[23] Chappell, "Augustine's Ethics," 192.

Christians read as prohibiting resort to violence.[24] Once he had conceded that war could be legitimate, however, Augustine faced a problem his pacifist predecessors did not, namely the need to identify the circumstances that would justify wartime violence. His answer took the form of three criteria: that the war be fought 1) pursuant to legitimate authority, 2) with just cause and 3) with right intention.[25] Each owes much to classical Roman practice and, especially, to Cicero.

Legitimate Authority

In keeping with the legalistic turn of the classical Roman mind, earlier Roman accounts of the requisite authority for legitimate warfare focus mainly on procedures, in particular those for declaring war (*ius ad bellum*). These rules, which had both religious and legal import, were entrusted to the institution of the fetial priesthood.[26] In Livy's account, Roman procedures to initiate war unfolded in three parts.[27] First, the head of the college of fetial priests would go to the territory of the presumptive enemy to make demand for satisfaction (*rerum repetitio*). After expiry of a notice period of thirty-three days, if no satisfaction was forthcoming, the fetial priest would return to enemy territory to give a further warning; thereafter, the political authorities at Rome would make a formal decision whether to declare war. If war was declared, then the fetial priest would return once more to the enemy's frontier and throw into its territory a spear (*bellum indicere*), announcing the start of hostilities. This account, however, is a composite, perhaps in part fictionalized. Depending on circumstances, Roman procedures could be abbreviated or dispensed with entirely; they were in any event limited to hostilities with organized foreign states.[28] Both the procedures and the importance attributed to them changed over time.[29] By Augustine's day, they were a dead letter.[30]

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[24] *Contra Faustum* 22.76 (turning the other cheek (Matthew 5:39) requires only an inward disposition, not bodily action); and 22.70 (the warning that he who lives by the sword dies by the sword (Matthew 26:52) applies only to those who fight without legitimate authority). See Christopher Kirwan, *Augustine: The Arguments of the Philosophers* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 218.

[25] Paul Weithman, "Augustine's Political Philosophy," in E. Stump and N. Kretzmann, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 247.

[26] Cic. *Off.* 1.[11].36; Coleman Phillipson, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* vol. 1 (London: MacMillan & Co., 1911), 115–116.

[27] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* (henceforth "*AUC*"), 1.32.6–14.

[28] *Dig.* 49.15.21.1 and *Dig.* 49.15.24 (inapplicable to civil wars and pirates, respectively).

[29] Bederman, *International Law in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 231.

[30] The latest attested reference is Amm. Marc. 19.2.6, recounting the siege of Amida in 359 CE. Phillipson, *International Law and Custom* vol. 2, 330.

Although he was undoubtedly familiar with Livy's account, Augustine relied mainly on Cicero's more formal systemization of Roman practice. Cicero's views appear in two passages that differ slightly in wording but are substantively consistent: a war may be considered just only if undertaken for a just cause and preceded by the giving of notice, the throwing of the spear, and a demand for satisfaction.[31] Augustine's own views on how hostilities properly may be initiated share Cicero's concern for the giving of notice. This is evident from Augustine's treatment of the Rape of the Sabine Women. By omitting Livy's key details that the Romans first sought right of intermarriage from its neighboring peoples and that the Sabines had refused,[32] Augustine could argue that the Romans could have waged war more legitimately (*iustius*) if demand and notice had first been served.[33]

More generally, Augustine acknowledges the importance of legitimate authority through careful definition. Though section 1.21 of *De civitate Dei* suggests that war is legitimately fought only pursuant to divine authority, later in the same work the "soldiers' exemption" is extended to soldiers fighting under *any* legitimately established authority.[34] Such legitimacy is not necessarily limited to Christian rule. This is evident from Augustine's acknowledgement, in *Contra Faustum*, that a soldier may do his duty in wartime pursuant to the order of his sovereign, even where the sovereign or the order is unrighteous.[35]

Just Cause

The Roman historians provide numerous examples demonstrating the importance attributed to the principle that wars must be fought with just cause. Indicia of just cause include not only the case of an attack on the territory of Rome or an ally, but also breach of a treaty; failure to deliver up to Rome an individual that had given offence to it; breach of neutrality; and violation of ambassadors.[36] The fetial priests adjudicated the justness of the cause, but it is unclear how much independent discretion they in fact exercised.

Cicero reflected this Roman concern for just cause. In *De republica* he limits just cause to avenging wrong suffered at the hands of an enemy or defending

[31] Cic. *Rep.* 3.35; *Off.* 1.[11].36. See below for discussion of these remarks as to just cause.

[32] Livy *AUC* 1.9.2 and 14.

[33] August. *De civ. D.* 2.17.3

[34] *Ibid.* 1.26.4 (miles … oboediens potestati, sub *qualibet legitime* constitutus est).

[35] August. *Contra Faustum* 22.75.

[36] *E.g.*, Livy *AUC* 4.19, 5.31, 6.31, 7.9, 7.16, 8.23.1, 10.12, 30.42, 39.1; Polybius 15.1.

oneself against it.[37] The corresponding passage in the *De officiis* is rather less clearly formulated, providing that a war is just if fought to seek recompense *or* by way of notice and declaration, as determined by the fetial priests.[38] This sentence must, however, be interpreted in light of its context: the preceding paragraph provides that war may be fought only for the purpose of living in peace with security.[39]

This last concept – that the purpose of war is peace – guides Augustine's conception of just cause. In a famous passage, Augustine develops the notion that the sole legitimate objective for war is, paradoxically, peace, far beyond his Ciceronian model.[40] Peace is identified by Augustine as the desire of every man, even those who take pleasure in command and battle. War exists an instrument for attaining peace. But Augustine's conception of peace is capacious: it encompasses within it the correction of wrongdoing, whether to set it right or even just to punish it.[41] As with the public official executing criminals (note 17 above), punishment can constitute "just cause" for a soldier, too.

Right Intention

It is perhaps appropriate to begin discussion of Augustine's requirement of "right intention" by first clearing away some modern preconceptions that, due to their prevalence, risk misleading us as to the import of Augustinian thought. Unlike the modern world, the Romans had no fully developed theory of the rules governing the conduct of war once it had been properly declared (*ius in bello*). Protections of the sort provided by the modern-day Geneva Conventions would have been unthinkable to them. That said, some rudimentary constraints were observed, or at least given lip-service. Thus, it was a trope of Roman historiography to contrast the honorable behavior of Romans in wartime with the inhumane conduct of their enemies.[42] Learned observers assumed the existence of rules governing wartime conduct.[43]

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[37] Cic. *Rep.* 3.35.

[38] Cic. *Off.* 1.[11].36.

[39] *Ibid.* 1.[11].35.

[40] August. *De civ. D.* 19.12, 14.

[41] August. *Quaest. In Hept.* 6.10; *Ep.* 189; Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 160.

[42] *E.g.*, the Romans' return of the treacherous tutor and his students. Livy *AUC* 5.27.

[43] *E.g.*, Polybius 2.8 (ambassadors inviolate), 2.58 (ex-allies to be allowed to depart), 4.6 (neutrality not to be abused); Cic. *Off.* 1.[11].36 (*maxime conservanda sunt iura belli*) and 1.[12].38 (wars fought not for survival but only supremacy *minus acerbe gerenda sunt*).

Ascertaining the substance of those rules is, however, remarkably difficult. There was an expectation that sacred spaces might be immune from violence, but the history of Rome is replete with examples of victims dragged from temples. Truces, too, were inviolate, but the Roman talent for legal subtlety manifested itself in a convenient distinction between genuine truces (binding on the state) and *sponsiones* (binding only on the general making them). The Roman view that they could be released from a *sponsio* by simply delivering up the relevant general (*deditio*) was widely recognized as the ruse that it was.[44] Finally, there appears to have been an expectation that enemy men would be spared if they surrendered before the Roman battering ram first touched the town walls,[45] but the Romans violated this principle, too, with some regularity.[46] Even if these principles had been observed, they still fall short of any systematic protection of non-combatants from the horrors of war.

Augustine was not unware of these horrors. His description of what the Goths did *not* do in the Sack of Rome expressly assumes that soldiers in wartime could mistreat civilians at will.[47] In his account of the Rape of the Sabine women, he indicates that "some law of war" perhaps would have permitted the women to be carried off forcibly.[48] And the famous Book 19 contains a remarkable passage on the horrors of the wars that built the Roman empire.[49] Despite his appreciation of the harsh treatment that could be perpetrated on innocent victims in wartime, he nevertheless failed to formulate any conception of the rules governing warfare that would provide protection to non-combatants in their capacity as such.

The reasons for this are found in Augustine's overriding concern in *De civitate Dei* to discourage regard for the travails of this life. For Augustine, the physical security provided by peace is a feature of the earthly city, dispensable as need be to attain loftier objectives.[50] Here we arrive at a sentiment that pervades Augustine's thinking about war, namely the way in which he calls upon Christians to despise

[44] See the discussion of the Battle of the Caudine Forks (Livy *AUC* Book 9; Cic. *Off.* 3.[30].109) in Bederman, *International Law,* 200–202.

[45] This is implicit in the reference to the first strike of the battering ram in Cic. *Off.* 1.[11].34, and Sallust's criticism of Marius' disregard of that rule at *Iug.* 91.

[46] *E.g.,* Livy, *AUC* 9.25, 9.45.14, 24.39.6, 27.16.5–7, 31.27.4. The sources are collected at Bederman, *International Law*, 256.

[47] August. *De civ. D.* 2.2.3 (the Goths refrained from committing acts *quod in eos belli iure fieri licuisset)*; 2.2.2 (Goths, *contra institutum moremque bellorum,* did not raid sanctuaries).

[48] *Ibid*. 2.17 (*[a]liquo enim fortasse iure belli*).

[49] *Ibid*. 19.7. Additional examples can be found at *ibid.* 1.5 and 5.23.

[50] August. *Ep.* 138.11–12; Robert Dodaro, "Augustine on the Statesman and the Two Cities", in M. Vessey ed., *A Companion to Augustine* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 392.

the things of this world: "As far as this life of mortals is concerned, which is spent and finished in a few days, what difference does it make under whose [rule] a man lives, who is so soon to die?"[51] In short, (this) life is cheap, and Christians should rather keep their thoughts on eternal life, in the City of God.

This sentiment leads Augustine to formulate the evils of war in terms that elucidate his understanding of what constitutes "right intention." For him, the greatest evil in war is not the loss of life of victims, but rather the giving of free reign to evil intent – love of violence, cruelty, and *libido dominandi* – on the part of the perpetrators.[52] That is, the evil of war is found in the subjective intent of the soldier, not the objective suffering of the innocent. To the extent Augustine's philosophy imposes any constraint on the behavior of soldiers toward non-combatants, these must therefore operate not through principles couched in terms of protections for victims but rather through those that govern the soldier's "right intention." The Christian warrior must seek not vengeance but benevolence,[53] though, as noted above, this benevolence encompasses within it the correction and punishment of wrongdoing.

This position has been described as Augustine's "interiorization" of personal ethics, as the object of ethical inquiry is not on consequences but on a soldier's psychological state.[54] It suffers from the weakness that it provides no basis to condemn a soldier for committing what we would call war crimes, even atrocities, provided he himself has no evil intent. As *De civitate Dei* 1.21.1 and 1.26.4 tell us, the soldier acts merely as a tool of the commander's will – as such, he bears no responsibility of his own.

Modern Responses

Many modern readers of Augustine have found his disregard for the protection of the innocent troubling and have sought to remedy it through creative interpretation. Some have looked to the account of Ambrose's imposition of penance upon Theodosius following the slaughter at Thessalonica.[55] But it is difficult to read that passage as providing for the protection of innocents *per se*, because Augustine's

[51] August. *De civ. D.* 5.17.1. The translation is from Weithman, "Augustine's Political Philosophy," 246.

[52] August. *Contra Faustum* 22.74.

[53] August. *Ep.* 138.14, 17; Dodaro, "Augustine on the Statesman," 392.

[54] Weithman, "Augustine's Political Philosophy," 246.

[55] August. *De civ. D.* 5.36.5 (events of 380 CE).

criticism focuses not on the slaughter of innocents but on Theodosius' failure to keep his promise to the bishops to exercise mercy.

Others have sought to relativize Augustine's lack of concern for the innocent victims of warfare by suggesting that his emphasis on just cause makes wars unlikely against enemy populations that are themselves innocent.[56] Though this argument has a superficial consistency with the view of war as punishment, it reflects a profound misreading of *De civitate Dei*.[57] Perhaps Augustine's greatest contribution in the work is the acknowledgement that no society is wholly bad or wholly good, but can only be an inter-mingling (dissoluble only by God) of the celestial and the earthly city together.[58] Any conception of the laws of war based on *Sippenhaft* has no place in Augustinian thought.

Conclusion

Despite his obvious awareness of the horrors of war, Augustine's observations on the laws governing it demonstrate what to modern eyes is a failure to provide rules protecting innocent non-combatants. This failure is attributable to Augustine's concern to persuade his Christian readers to despise the travails of this earthly life and instead to focus on eternal life in the celestial city. While Augustine's concern for purity of motive on the part of the soldier might provide an alternate basis for the protection of non-combatants, he does not develop this line of thought into a meaningful set of protections. Civilians in wartime are thus left with the consolation that, whatever they might suffer in this life, they may at least hope for something better in the world to come – contingent, of course, upon God's inscrutable grace.

[56] Hartigan, "Saint Augustine on War and Killing," 202.

[57] John Langan, "The Elements of St. Augustine's Just War Theory," *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1984), 31–32.

[58] *E.g.,* August. *De civ. D.* 1.35.3 (*Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo invicem permixtae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur*).

THE *LOCUS AMOENUS* AND THE WILDERNESS: LANDSCAPE IN KEKAUMENOS AND THE GROTTAFERRATA *DIGENES AKRITES*

John Kee

The *locus amoenus* is the most recognizable nature scene of the classical tradition.[1] In his monumental mid twentieth-century study, Ernst Robert Curtius first recognized the "independent rhetorical-poetical existence" of this idyllic space, composed of a meadow, a brook or spring, and sheltering trees.[2] His analysis has proved extraordinarily influential, to the point that this motif has sometimes seemed to be almost the only means by which medieval authors represented the natural world.[3] The situation is all the more pointed for Byzantine literature, where gardens – domesticated *loca amoena* – enjoyed wide popularity as subjects of ekphrasis. These have offered a prolific field of study.[4] The very richness of that research may, however, have drawn attention away from representations of nature beyond the garden wall. The prominence of these carefully tended environments has seemed to confirm a Byzantine taste for cultivated artifice which precluded any sustained interest in wilderness. Worse, the link to the *locus amoenus* tradition has been read as mere mimicry, looking toward ancient models at the expense of real engagement with an authentically medieval world.[5]

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[1] This essay is a revision of the second chapter of John Kee, "Narrating the Byzantine Border: Wilderness Landscape in Kekaumenos and *Digenes Akrites*" (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2019). I would like to thank my supervisors Floris Bernard, Volker Menze, and Baukje van den Berg for their enormous help through all stages of the process.

[2] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series 36 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 2013), 195.

[3] Curtius, 195; on his reception in Western Medieval Studies, see John M. Ganim, "Landscape and Late Medieval Literature: A Critical Geography," in *Place, Space, and Landscape in Medieval Narrative*, ed. Laura L. Howes (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), xvi–ii.

[4] The effect is perhaps most evident in the prominence gardens have had in the introduction of ecocriticism to Byzantine Studies: Adam J. Goldwyn, *Byzantine Ecocriticism: Women, Nature, and Power in the Medieval Greek Romance*, The New Middle Ages (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Kirsty Stewart, "Literary Landscapes in the Palaiologan Romances: An Ecocritical Approach," in *Reading the Late Byzantine Romance*, ed. Adam J. Goldwyn and Ingela Nilsson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018).

[5] Timothy Gregory, "Narrative of the Byzantine Landscape," in *Byzantine Narrative: Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*, ed. John Burke, Byzantina Australiensia 16 (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006), 483–84. This author's remarks specifically concern the garden-like camp at the beginning of *Digenes Akrites,* Book 6.

This essay argues that Byzantine *loca amoena* could do much more complicated literary work. Descriptions of such pleasant places could look outward as well as backward, across contemporary modes of writing and widely divergent environments. At least in the two texts considered here – the Grottaferrata version of *Digenes Akrites* and the *Advice and Anecdotes* of Kekaumenos – the topos acts as landscape, in the dense cultural-geographic sense of the term. The concept is one of the most copious in that field, having received many, at times contradictory, formulations.[6] For our purposes, what matters is landscape as an actively intermediary space: the environment in human terms, "already both natural and cultural, deep and superficial … shuttling between fields of reference."[7] Landscape makes a useful analytical tool because it allows us to see not just how humans represent the environment, but also how those representations implicate a vastly larger array of cultural codes and contestations.

My texts contain no sweeping nature descriptions of the type we might expect to find in modern literature. But as Veronica della Dora has argued in a related context, Byzantine concentration on singular elements may undergird its own, premodern techniques for representing a densely humanly meaningful physical world.[8] The simple assemblage of grove-grass-water, once set into the wilderness and the flow of narrative, generates distinctive means for linking divergent discourses, scenes, and scenarios. Each element opens out onto its own possibilities; the whole is an essentially mediating space no less than the opening of a nineteenth-century novel. W. J. T. Mitchell has stressed the dynamism of landscape, how it "*circulates* as a medium of exchange, a site of visual appropriation, a focus for the formation of identity."[9] Landscape, that is, operates not as an end-point of intrinsic value – as say, an object of aesthetic contemplation – but, more essentially, as a means of accessing new and different values, of doing specific cultural work. As we will see, though the appropriations will be textual rather than visual, all three of Mitchell's functions are very much present in *Digenes Akrites* and Kekaumenos.

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6 For a very helpful overview, see John Wylie, *Landscape*, Key Ideas in Geography (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

7 David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, Picturing History (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 12.

8 Veronica della Dora, "Topia: Landscape before Linear Perspective," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103, no. 3 (May 2013): 688–709; Veronica della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016).

9 W. J. T. Mitchell, "Introduction," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

Landscape acts as a mechanism by which Byzantine texts are held together, both across traditions and within individual works. The "rhetorical-poetical existence" of the *locus amoenus* was not "independent" in quite the way it has sometimes been envisioned[10]. My first section, on *Digenes*'s debt to the gardens of Achilles Tatius, makes that abundantly clear, showing how the space described by an almost literal cut-and-paste of a classical garden ekphrasis fundamentally transforms its character once moved into a medieval wilderness. The second section examines how the waterside environments which underlie the *locus amoenus* appear in a very different kind of work, Kekaumenos's advice to a general, where they serve as part of a larger strategy of inculcating military-aristocratic knowledge and values. The third section, finally, shows how the Grottaferrata *Digenes* plays on the multivalent significance of such sites – at once potential bucolic idylls and frontier bivouacs – in order to shuffle between its two principal but opposing themes of love and war. The dynamic potential of landscape, we will see, is not merely present in *Digenes*, but amounts to one of the poem's major sources of narrative propulsion.

The Classical *Locus Amoenus* in Achilles Tatius and *Digenes*

Curtius did not follow the Greek *locus amoenus* into the Middle Ages. Two textbook examples, however, occur in the Grottaferrata *Digenes Akrites*, whose sixth and seventh books each begin with sumptuous descriptions of the garden-like spaces in which the protagonist resides.[11] Each is formed by the conjunction of a lush meadow and a sheltering grove, fed by cool flowing water – and well supplied with the optional birds and flowers. The description in Book 7, describing Digenes' permanent home, is longer and more developed. The passage is introduced by allusion to the water's source in the Euphrates, whose purity and freshness are assured by its own source in Paradise; here, the emphasis is on the grove (ἄλσος), which is – crucially, as we will see – walled in. That in Book 6 begins rather with the meadow (λειμών), in which Digenes and his wife pitch their tent one luxurious May. But all three of Curtius's essential ingredients – ἄλσος, λειμών, and ὕδωρ, in those words – are equally present in each.[12]

[10] As Curtius himself recognized in the parallel case of Western medieval romance: Curtius, 201–202.

[11] Elizabeth Jeffreys, trans., *Digenis Akritis: The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions*, Cambridge Medieval Classics 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 153.

[12] *Digenes Akritis,* 6.15–27, 7.11–31. All citations are to the Grottaferrata text unless otherwise noted, translation by Jeffreys with modifications.

Jeffreys has identified classical antecedents for these sections in two passages of Achilles Tatius's *Leukippe and Kleitophon*. The influence is extensive and undeniable: phrases are taken over word for word, or only minimally refitted for the meter.[13] But viewed as a whole, the use of Achilles Tatius by the Grottaferrata recension – or by the reception tradition in which the latter's composer/compiler was working – is a rather more sophisticated act of appropriation.[14] As Jeffrey notes, there are two sections of *Leukippe and Kleitophon* which the *Digenes* passages draw from. The first, in the opening pages, describes a meadow (λειμών) in an ekphrasis of a painted *Europa and the Bull*.[15] The second, toward the end of the first book, recounts a meeting of the lovers in an urban garden, called a grove (ἄλσος).[16] Although the λειμών is interspersed with stands of trees and the ἄλσος thickly flowered, neither word appears in the other's passage.[17] In blending these descriptions, then, the Grottaferrata version (perhaps drawing on earlier compilations) makes free use of the ancient material.[18]

But the reworking goes considerably further. In Achilles Tatius, ἄλσος always has its classical meaning of "grove," a usage that can extend to any sacred precinct, and highlights separation from the outside world.[19] Both of the novel's gardens are walled. Yet the first of *Digenes*'s is not – it is a temporary campsite in the wilderness; the lines describing the hero's arrival to this location are virtually the only verses

[13] E.g., Περὶ τὸ ἄλσος τεῖχος ἦν αὔταρκες μὲν εἰς ὕψος (*DA* 7.15) vs. περὶ τὸ ἄλσος τειχίον ἦν αὔταρκες εἰς ὕψος (*L&K*, 1.15.1). For metrical refitting, e.g. οἱ κύκνοι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τὴν νομὴν ἐποιοῦντο (*DA* 6.24) / ὁ κύκνος περὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων πίδακας νεμόμενος (*L &K* 1.15.8). Text from E. Vilborg, *Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and Clitophon*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955: 1–161. Accessed via the *TLG*.

[14] Jeffreys suggests that the material from *L &K* may have come via a florilegium: Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, xlv–vi. I use "Grottaferrata poet" as a shorthand for whoever (singular or plural) is responsible for giving this recension its "higher" and more classicizing form compared to the Escorial.

[15] Achilles Tatius, *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, 1.1.3–6.

[16] *Leukippe and Kleitophon,* 1.15.

[17] With one exception – in the grove, a peacock's tail is likened to a λειμών: *Leukippe and Kleitophon,* 1.16.3.

[18] Some thought seems to have been given to maintaining consistency in the imagined spaces: while most details in both *DA* passages stem from *L &K* 1.15, in Book 6 the water – appropriately for the wilderness setting – flows as a stream as in *L &K* 1.1. For a less charitable view of *DA*'s garden design, cf. Dyck, "On *Digenes Akrites*, Grottaferrata Version, Book 6," 368.

[19] Henry George Liddell et al., *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon* (Irvine, CA: University of California, Irvine, 2011), s.v. ἄλσος. The word occurs twice elsewhere, as the quiet setting for Kleitophon's own narration (1.2) and at a shrine (8.6).

in the passage *not* derived from the novel.[20] Moreover, it is precisely its ἄλσος that links this space to the dangers of the wild. As they are trying to enjoy their idyllic campground, Digenes and his wife are disturbed when "Look! A fearsome lion came out of the grove."[21] Both the situation and its description immediately recall another episode, at the end of Book 4, when a lion comes "out from the grove" (again, ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσους) to terrify the attendants of the visiting emperor.[22] Digenes, naturally, quickly disposes of both – indeed, these are only two in a series of scenes in which opponents emerge "out of" surrounding vegetation to initiate scenes of chase or combat, with predictable results.[23]

Digenes' mastery of the hunt and the ambush tactics of frontier warfare is essential to his character and status – he is the superhuman embodiment of that border aristocratic ethos.[24] But this rough and rural code of martial prowess is vastly distant from the urbane, antique world of *Leukippe and Kleitophon*. It is landscape that serves as the linking term. Viewed from its antecedents, the ἄλσος in *Digenes* shifts with little warning between the secluded grove of romance and the wild thicket of frontier folklore. But considered on its own terms, the ἄλσος unites both functions to new effects: the sudden shift from pleasure to danger becomes a source of narrative thrill.

Achilles Tatius was widely popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, his novel revered for its refinement and charm despite its racy subject matter.[25] What that ἄλσος did was to give the composer of the Grottaferrata recension a means to write the prestige of that master stylist and of the Hellenistic tradition

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[20] *Digenis Akritis*, 6.15–17. Lines 6.19–20 stem from *L &K.* 1.1.5; *DA* 6.21–27 (with order slightly rearranged) from *L &K* 1.15.7–8.

[21] ἰδού, λέων φοβερὸς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσους: *Digenes Akritis*, 6.91. The lion is the second interloper (after a δράκων), but the first to come explicitly from the woods, attacking as D.'s wife moves toward the trees (6.89–90).

[22] λέων τις ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσους / ἐξελθὼν διεπτόησε τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ παρόντας: *Digenis Akritis*, 4.1066–7.

[23] Others involve lions not in groves (λέων ἐξέβη μέγιστος ἀπὸ τοῦ καλαμιῶνος, 4.162), prey animals (ἔλαφος ἐξεπήδησε μέσον τῆς παγαναίας, 4.140), and human combatants (καὶ Ἄραβοι ἐξῆεσαν ἄφνω ἀπὸ τῆς ἕλης, 5.178).

[24] Adam J. Goldwyn, *Byzantine Ecocriticism: Women, Nature, and Power in the Medieval Greek Romance*, The New Middle Ages (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 57.

[25] Paul Magdalino, "Digenes Akrites and Byzantine Literature: The Twelfth-Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version," in *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot; Burlington, USA: Ashgate/Variorum, 1993), 5.

he represented into the oral-epic material of the original akritic songs.[26] Doing so had far-reaching consequences which make the act one of transformation as much as imitation, even in the latter term's positive, premodern sense.[27] In evoking the gardens of the ancient Mediterranean in the wilds of medieval Anatolia, the poet/compiler made the *locus amoenus* a place of threat. This is textual appropriation in a thoroughgoing sense – a fundamental revaluation of the significance of the classical site, all the more striking for being so (within the ekphrasis itself) literally a repetition. The mere fact that a medieval poet would set out on such an endeavor stands as clear evidence that, as landscape, the topos of *locus amoenus* contained more creative potential than it is usually credited. This is, moreover, just the first step into the Grottaferrata *Digenes*'s sophisticated exploitation of the possibilities inherent in this setting. To see those in action, however, it will first help to take a detour into a very different sort of text.

Restful Places in Kekaumenos

Why a shady spring might make a nice spot to rest while moving through wilderness is not a fact that requires a great deal of explanation. The association may well be universally human, but it is certainly one shared by ancient Greek, Byzantine, and contemporary culture. The landscape itself bears this meaning, which both precedes and exceeds the *locus amoenus* as a specific motif – but that meaning was also available for authors to exploit in other ways. To see how such other literary uses of landscape can work, we turn now to the *Advice and Anecdotes* of Kekaumenos. In this much more diffuse composition, the background cultural meaning of the environment serves as a tool for knitting the text together, joining at first sight disparate episodes and ideas into a coherent structure in the service of the author's larger pedagogical aims.

Though he writes in a decidedly middling register, Charlotte Roueché has warned against seeing this writer as naïve. Kekaumenos focuses on the concerns of a provincial military man and aristocrat in a way that has made him seem – like

[26] On this as the overarching project of *Digenes*, especially G., see Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 44–45; Paul Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi: The Framework of Social Values in the World of *Digenes Akrites* and Kekaumenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1989): 190.

[27] On the Byzantine understanding of imitation, see Ingela Nilsson, "The Same Story, but Another: A Reappraisal of Literary Imitation in Byzantium," in *Imitatio, Aemulatio,* Variatio, ed. Andreas Rhoby and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, 2010), 195–208.

Digenes – a refreshing exception to Byzantine literature's focus on the capital.[28] The text itself contains evidence of both formal education and varied reading; nevertheless, it is clear that Kekaumenos is writing in a specific tradition.[29] The books he most promotes, aside from Scripture, deal with military matters. Whether in history or *taktika*, the goal of reading is eminently practical: to prepare oneself to out-strategize one's enemies.[30] For that latter goal securing good places to rest is more than a luxury. Kekaumenos repeatedly emphasizes the importance of allowing an army to regain its strength after a march – a point distilled into a maxim: "for the fatigue of traveling succeeds in weakening and making hesitant even men who excel in strength."[31] The converse comes a few lines later: "comfort and rest tend to make even the most wretched men more daring."[32] As usual for this author, both these pithy formulations are embedded in stories, about how the rebel Alousianos and how invading Pechenegs lost and won by resting and not resting, respectively.

The solution is to make a camp first. These vignettes with their internal precepts are headed by several sentences of direct instruction on that point.[33] Together, these instructions and their two illustrative anecdotes form a discrete unit in the work, one paired with a discussion on exploiting enemy logistical

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[28] Ihor Ševčenko, "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979): 726–31; Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi"; Catia Galatariotou, "Open Space / Closed Space: The Perceived Worlds of Kekaumenos and Digenes Akrites," in *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 303–28. The last compares the two texts' approaches to space, but from a structuralist perspective very different from my own.

[29] For the author's sources – including florilegia and military, religious, and historical, texts – as well as engagement in the intellectual currents of the eleventh century, Charlotte Roueché, "The Literary Background of Kekaumenos," in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Catherine Holmes and Judith Waring (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 114–27, 128–35. Roueché has suggested an Anatolian origin for the text, "The Place of Kekaumenos in the Admonitory Tradition," in *L'éducation Au Gouvernement et à La Vie: La Tradition Des "Règles de Vie" de l'Antiquité Au Moyen-Âge*, ed. Paolo Odorico (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 143.

[30] Kekaumenos, *Advice and Anecdotes* 19.12–23, trans. Charlotte Roueché (SAWS edition, 2013), http://www.ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/library/kekaumenos-consilia-et-narrationes/.

[31] ὁ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας κάματος ἐκλύειν οἶδε καὶ ὀκνηροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀλκῇ σώματος ὑπερέχοντας (Kekaumenos, 22.14–16). Citations to K. are given with WJ page and line numbers, selectable on the SAWS edition. The translation is Roueché's with modifications.

[32] γὰρ ἡ τρυφὴ καὶ ἀνάπαυσις θαρσαλεωτέρους ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄγαν ἀτυχεῖς (Kekaumenos, 23.04).

[33] Kekaumenos, 23.03–09.

difficulties.[34] In highlighting the importance of encampment, this passage recalls one several pages earlier, in which correct procedures for choosing and securing a site are laid out.[35] Kekaumenos urges "that one should encamp in the kind of terrain where there will be rest for the men and animals, such as beside the banks of rivers, beside streams and springs."[36] With these lines, we are back to the kind of environment that underlay the *locus amoenus*, described now in skeletal form: most importantly, water, but with it the possibility of shade (rest for humans) and certainly vegetation (rest for animals).[37] Again, the association with rest is critical, but requires no explanation. A simple οἷον ("such as") followed by examples is sufficient to make the point.

Such telegraphic references can communicate only because they rely on background knowledge and assumptions shared by author and audience. Put another way, the landscape – the meaning (perhaps universal, certainly embedded in culture) of riverbanks, streams, and springs – brings those associations of comfort along with it, relieving the author of the need to spell everything out. The place itself performs the reference. We can see this process in action again in the second of those passages on encampment. Kekaumenos notes how in his surprise attack on Thessaloniki the rebel Alousianos "did not set up his tent first *in a suitable place*, or encamp his army" but attacked directly with all his baggage, to the predictable result.[38] In the immediately following section, on logistical difficulties, he warns a commander with limited supplies against delaying, except to "rest your army *in suitable country* for two or three days, if you are free to."[39] What is important here are those two nearly identical phrases – ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ and ἐν χώρᾳ ἐπιτηδείᾳ. The qualities that make a site suitable for a camp are understood as given; the reader requires no more than a reminder to take them into account.

Roueché has analyzed how Kekaumenos's compositional methods play on his readers' familiarity with the preexisting admonitory tradition. As an author

[34] Kekaumenos, 23.12–24.20. The section ends with a summary: "For when men are suffering from weariness, fatigue and want, if the prospect of fighting is also landed on them, it puts grief and confusion into their spirits, and brings about defeat without a battle" (24.18–20).

[35] Kekaumenos, 11.12–31.

[36] ἐν χωρίοις δὲ τοιούτοις αὐλίζεσθαι, ἔνθα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ζῴοις ἔσται ἀνάπαυσις, οἷον παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τῶν ποταμῶν, παρὰ πηγὰς καὶ κρήνας: Kekaumenos, 11.21–3.

[37] The danger of swampy or contaminated sites implicitly points to the importance of fresh water, as the need for pasturage (rest for the animals) does for growing vegetation.

[38] οὐκ ἔπηξε πρῶτον τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ κατουνεύσας τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ: Kekaumenos, 22.10–11.

[39] ἐν χώρᾳ ἐπιτηδείᾳ διανάπαυσον τὸν λαόν σου δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, <εἰ> ἔχεις ἄδειαν: Kekaumenos, 23.29–30.

Kekaumenos alludes and reworks, leaving connections implicit. The result is a text arranged as "a *catena* of ideas, not a structured argument, with results that may seem inconsistent."[40] Direct contradiction is not at issue in our passages. But structure – in particular, how a reader may be expected to follow the movement of a text that circles back to a topic some ten pages, in a modern edition, after first introducing it – certainly is. Part of what keeps such a work together is its reliance on shared knowledge like that embedded in landscape. Indeed, the imparting of that common perspective is the purpose of the text. For Kekaumenos's addressee to become a competent general, what matters is not how perceptively he can trace the connections between one precept and the next. What matters is how his reading reshapes or reinforces the understanding of the world that he brought to the text, and will now carry out with him into situations of real command.[41]

The significance space has for such a person certainly draws on broader meanings. But it ends up becoming markedly specific, encoded in a particular way of speaking and thinking. The exact words Kekaumenos employs give some clue of this. Heavy use of ἐπιτηδεῖος – regularly, as here, connected to places – is a standby of the language of no-nonsense practical advice, and especially the language of the military handbooks.[42] The adjective is a means of suggesting expertise; that expertise is what the *Advice and Anecdotes* aims to transmit. As it must in any military elite, knowing how best to exploit the terrain forms an important part of this expertise and thus forms, for Kekaumenos and his readers, one focus for the definition of their professional identity. We are in an entirely different discursive world here from that of the *locus amoenus*. Yet the environment in question – waterside – and its value – rest – remain exactly the same. As we will now see, the ability of the landscape to mediate between those discourses, the idyllic and the military, acts as a critical component in *Digenes'* narrative strategy.

The Grottaferrata *Digenes*: Desire and Warfare in the Wilderness

Landscape, we have seen, acts as a shorthand, embedding culturally-specific connotations by which it can prime readers' expectations. The best environment

[40] Roueché, "The Literary Background of Kekaumenos," 116.

[41] Note that the success of the effect does not depend on its being intentional – it could result from impromptu composition (simulating, as second-person address already suggests, an ongoing of series of conversations with a mentor) as well as from conscious literary planning.

[42] The *Taktika* of Leo, e.g., contains almost as many occurrences as the whole corpus of Michael Psellos (49 to 57), figures obtained via the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Other heavy users of the adjective are medical texts, manuals like the *Geoponika*, and some historians. For more on K.'s use of the word versus that of the previous *taktika*, see my thesis, 37–8.

for rest is beside a stream or spring – a kind of environment that, in the right kind of text, can quickly become identical to the *locus amoenus* as "the place of heart's desire."[43] The Grottaferrata *Digenes* plays on that potential repeatedly: landscape is medium by which it moves from love to war and back. If mention of a grove/thicket serves to bring the narrative from scenes of passion to those of combat, water works in the opposite direction, introducing the opportunity for repose after martial exertion. In *Digenes*, that repose rarely if ever occurs without erotic implications. It is no coincidence that streams, springs, or riverbanks feature in every book of which Digenes himself is the protagonist. He is a hero of the frontier, but also of a love story: or rather, of several love stories, not all of which end well. Each of these unfolds at its own distinctive waterside locale; taken together, they assemble into a sustained "landscape narrative" of a type Jason König has identified in classical literature.[44] *Digenes* is a story of alternations from fighting to rest – but also, and perhaps more importantly, of what happens during those times of rest. The protagonist's desire is not always for his wife. The episodes where the hero strays complicate but also propel forward the overarching love story, giving drive and contour to the poem's overall narrative, such as it is.

Digenes's first betrayal of his wife occurs in Book 5. As in Book 6, here he takes over the duty of narration, telling how, crossing "the waterless plains of Arabia" and becoming "completely thirsty," he espied a tree far off by a wooded swamp.[45] At the foot of the palm, he finds "a marvelous spring" and an Arab girl, lamenting abandonment by her Christian lover.[46] The relationship between this figure and the setting in which she appears articulates this section of the narrative. Digenes's initial fear is aroused by the incongruity of a beautiful young woman in such a wild setting: "for the place was deserted, trackless, and wooded."[47] He realizes from her entreaty that he stop to rest and hear her story that she is real.[48] Pleasure in her beauty then takes over – and the scene shrinks from the threatening

[43] Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 186–87.

[44] Jason König, "Strabo's Mountains," in *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity: Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination*, ed. Jeremy McInerney and Ineke Sluiter (Leiden, Boston: BRILL, 2016), 47.

[45] *Digenis Akritis*, 5.25–30. The plains are ἀνύδρους ... κάμπους; D. becomes ἔνδιψος ὅλος; the tree is πρὸς τὴν δασέαν βάλτον.

[46] καὶ τὴν φάραν ἐπιλαλῶ νομίσας ὕδωρ ἔχειν / καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀπέτυχον· φοῖνιξ δὲ ἦν τὸ δένδρον / καὶ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης θαυμαστὴ ἀνεπέμπετο βρύσις (*Digenis Akritis*, 5.31–3).

[47] ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἔρημος, ἄβατος καὶ ἀλσώδης (*Digenis Akritis*, l. 5.40).

[48] πρὸς μικρὸν ἀναπαύθητι, κύριέ μου, ἐνταῦθα, / ἵν' ὅπως ἀκριβέστερον τὰ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσῃς (*Digenis Akritis*, 5.49–50).

marsh to the *locus amoenus* of the spring.[49] It is there, after a brief interlude to fight the Arabs who were indeed hiding in the woods, where he conceives the "passion" (ἔρως) that will cause him to rape this young woman in the course of reuniting her with her lover.[50]

Scholars have long noted how this episode works as a companion to both Digenes's parents' and his and his own wife's love stories, which equally begin as tales of forbidden passion on the anarchic frontier.[51] The contrast between this girl and Digenes's wife is underscored by the environments in which each is set, with the comparative luxuriance of the wife's scene (the passages cribbed from Achilles Tatius) underscoring the superiority of legitimate sexuality.[52] Landscape works as a common term for the opposition these episodes are exploring, between licit and illicit passion – though one that allows for considerable, even unsettling continuity. On its own terms, this Syrian oasis is a not-unpleasant place. While it is intensely vulnerable to intrusion from the forest beyond, so is the "garden" of Book 6. Though this girl is socially and morally culpable for her elopement, Digenes's wife is equally so. Their motivation was the same: ἔρως, whom none can withstand. As Digenes's own transgression and subsequent guilt show here, that force is no infallible guide. But neither is it one that the Grottaferrata *Digenes* is willing to relinquish. The lush profusion of the garden-camp that opens Book 6 may be taken as much as evidence of marital reconciliation, the continuing rightness of a tested passion, as of direct comparison between this girl and the wife.

A plot is beginning to emerge: the gradual domestication of the protagonist, and of desire, through trial and error with temptation. The girl of Book 5 finds a counterpart in Maximou, the Amazonian ally of the bandits in Book 6. The last of her companions standing, this woman bravely challenges Digenes to single combat; the episode turns erotic as soon as she's defeated. Underlying that shift there is, again, a landscape of water and shade. After her defeat – the site is already a grassy

[49] καὶ τὴν μὲν φάραν ἔδησα εἰς τοῦ δένδρου τὸν κλῶνα, / τὸ δὲ κοντάριν ἔστησα μέσον αὐτοῦ τῆς ῥίζης· / καὶ ὕδατος μεταλαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν τάδε ἔφην (5.58–60).

[50] *Digenis Akritis*, 5.233. The bare fact that the woman had eloped means that there could be no legal question of rape: Jeffreys, 149 n256.

[51] Andrew R. Dyck, "On *Digenis Akritas* Grottaferrata Version Book 5," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24, no. 2 (1983): 185–86; Catia Galatariotou, "Structural Oppositions in the Grottaferrata *Digenes Akrites*," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11.1 (1987): 57–58; Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, 139 n65.

[52] Goldwyn, *Byzantine Ecocriticism*, 79; for later romance, Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: The Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 5, no. 1 (1979): 100.

riverbank[53] – the female warrior is instantly sexualized, declaring her virginity and offering herself in marriage.[54] Digenes refuses, but offers to bind her wounds "under the shade of the tree."[55] There, the scene quickly turns to seduction. The removal of folios from the Grottaferrata manuscript prevents us from tracking precisely what follows.[56] If the Z recension contains anything like a faithful indication, however, Maximou is a willing partner, but the consequences for her are far worse than for Book 5's girl. After leaving to rejoin his wife, Digenes, driven by guilt, returns to the scene of his adultery and cuts down the now-defenseless woman in two brutal verses.[57]

The shift from comradely conversation to sex occurs when Maximou takes off her surcoat (a military garment) to escape the heat.[58] The situation thus recalls others of waterside refreshment after exertion: not only Digenes's seeking that wilderness spring in Book 5, but his bathing in another spring after Book 4's initiatory hunt. In each case, the preceding heat is described in virtually exact repetitions.[59] The bath that follows in Book 4 sees the first appearance of the "marvelous, cold" water that will serve as the constitutive element of all the poem's subsequent *loca amoena*.[60] It also marks the transition between two of this book's rites of passage – just after he arises, cleaned of gore and clothed in finery, Digenes encounters his future wife for the first time.[61] Fittingly, then, the bath is bookended by detailed descriptions of Digenes's own physical attractiveness.[62]

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[53] The pair fight twice beside the river across from Digenes's camp. Its soft grass is highlighted: *Digenis Akritis*, 6.574–6.

[54] Jeffreys, 197, n769–70.

[55] Λοιπὸν δεῦρο ὑπὸ σκιὰν ἀπέλθωμεν τοῦ δένδρου: *Digenis Akritis*, 6.775.

[56] The riverside setting is reiterated at 6.777.

[57] *Digenis Akritis*, 6.840–1.

[58] ῥίπτει τὸ ἐπιλώρικον· πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ καύσων. / Καὶ ὁ χιτὼν τῆς Μαξιμοῦς ὑπῆρχεν ἀραχνώδης· / πάντα καθάπερ ἔσοπτρον ἐνέφαινε τὰ μέλη: *Digenis Akritis*, 6.781–4.

[59] Beside the river, Maximou "ῥίπτει τὸ ἐπιλώρικον· πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ καύσων" (6.781). Behind the caesura that line is identical to Digenes' "ἔνδιψος ὅλος γέγονα (πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ καύσων)" (5.28), and the whole line even more closely resembles that describing when, preparing for the hunt, Digenes "ἐκδύει τὸ ὑπολούρικον (ἦτον πολὺς ὁ καύσων)" (4.115).

[60] Καὶ παρευθὺς ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἀπῆλθον / ἦν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ θαυμαστόν, ψυχρὸν ὡς τὸ χιόνιν: *Digenis Akritis*, 4.213–4. The passage as a whole extends from 4.202–18, and begins with Digenes's father's reminder that Τὸ καῦμα ἔστι πολύ (4.202).

[61] Andrew R. Dyck, "The Taming of Digenes: The Plan of 'Digenes Akrites', Grottaferrata Version, Book IV," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 35, no. 3 (1994): 295; Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, 83n253.

[62] *Digenis Akritis*, 4.193–99, 4.219–28.

With Maximou present, a similar scene quickly becomes a seduction – which may count as more a change from latent to active sexuality than as an introduction of sexuality per se. A bathing pond is a place to turn from stress and exertion to repose and pleasure. In *Digenes*, the latter tend to lead toward love; Maximou cuts out the intermediate step of getting dressed up. She does so because she is a unique – and uniquely confusing – figure: a beautiful maiden who is also an accomplished soldier.[63] It is intrinsic to this character's narrative potential that she gets wires crossed, transforming a situation of legitimate homosocial bonding into one of illicit heterosexual sex. Love and war are *Digenes*'s two great themes, but they do not belong together quite so close. Maximou's gender wreaks havoc on the masculine code of honor to which her valor seems to entitle her; in consequence of which, a related code of honor demands she be murdered.

This whole machinery grinds along by playing on possibilities inherent in landscape. Maximou stands, indeed, as something like the ideal figure of the Grottaferrata *Digenes*'s frontier. Outside of any law or social restriction, this literary wilderness is a place where normal social orders come undone, presenting opportunities for the strong and dangers for the weak – a place where *loca amoena* lie among threatening woods. An inherently unstable combination of warrior and woman, Maximou could exist only there. She is even more intrinsically a creature of this space, a representative of its freedoms and its temptations, than even Digenes himself. It is no accident that his final, abusive rejection of her is followed immediately by the building of his house: the end of his adventures *per se*. The paradisiacal environment of Book 7 is even more extravagant than that of Book 6, but it is also safely enclosed behind a wall. The wild *locus amoenus* has become a domesticated garden.[64] There is nothing left for Digenes to do there but enjoy himself with his wife – and, shortly afterward, to die.

Conclusion

Digenes can be a hard text to interpret. The poem's constant re-circulation of a limited number of themes and scenarios has inspired repeated attempts to discover a single overall message. These readings have repeatedly come to diametrically

[63] Galatariotou, "Structural Oppositions," 58–61.

[64] On the wall as "almost a defining feature of a garden," see Antony Robert Littlewood, "Possible Future Directions," in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. Antony Robert Littlewood, Henry Maguire, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 218.

opposite conclusions.[65] It may be that the text lacks the coherence modern readers expect – then again, ambiguity has often been held (especially by moderns) as a hallmark of the literary *per se*. In either case, we are better off concentrating on how Digenes is made and leaving some room for indeterminacy about what it is saying. As this essay has shown, landscape is an essential part of the answer to that how. The narratives of Books 5 and 6, the core of the protagonist's own adventures, are constructed around locations that recall the *locus amoenus* but are set within the wilds of the frontier. The plot hinges on movement across that permeable border – from places of pleasure to places of danger, or vice versa.

At the same time, the poem seems to be questioning the terms on which such simple oppositions are defined. Digenes defeats all the enemies from the wilderness with ease; it is only in the spaces of pleasure that he finds himself overwhelmed. The divisions between Books 5, 6, and 7 – the latter two each beginning with its "restart" in a paradise immediately after marital transgression at a more marginal (but still pleasant) site – offer solid evidence that that dynamic was significant to the creator of the Grottaferrata recension. He or his audience may have taken the succession as a husband's progress, a cautionary tale, an entertaining yarn, or (perhaps) any combination of the three. Regardless, the sequence and the excitement stop when the border between *locus amoenus* and beyond is hardened into a wall. Whatever *Digenes*'s ends, landscape is its means: the medium by which it exchanges love for war and bad love for good, the ground on which it stakes its claim to a share in the literary tradition. As the geographers hinted they would, these spaces which at first seemed like mere stereotypes or backdrops turned out to tell almost the whole story. *Digenes* itself thus stands as definitive proof that Byzantine literature cared about the environment in more ways – and in more copious and polyvalent ways – than has yet been understood. Landscape makes a good tool for seeing how it does.

[65] Galatariotou, "Structural Oppositions"; Eliso Elizbarashvili, "The Formation of a Hero in *Digenes Akrites*," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 50, no. 3 (September 3, 2010): 437–60; James Trilling, "Re-Introducing Digenis Akritis: A Byzantine Poem of Strength, Weakness, and the Disturbing Absence of God," *Viator – Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 149–70.

ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF WAR, ON THE SACRED SIDE OF HISTORY. REPRESENTATIONS OF EPISCOPAL MILITARY ACTIONS IN MEDIEVAL LOTHARINGIA

Gustavo Montagna von Zeschau

Introduction

This article has the objective of creating a debate within the area of studies of episcopal lords, as well as taking a position on it. Essentially, this work proposes that medieval bishops were represented positively when they participated in war. I argue against the perspective of diverse scholars who suggest that representing episcopal military actions was a problematic situation for medieval authors. In my opinion, the numerous cases in which bishops are presented positively when participating in war show that narrating the military actions of prelates was a good opportunity not only to praise them but also to reinforce the identity-links between the episcopal communities and their leaders.[1]

To do so, I will examine two historiographical texts coming from the Lotharingian dioceses of Liège and Trier. In the first case, I will examine a proper historiographical text, namely, the *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*,[2] while for the archbishopric of Trier I will work with the *Gesta*

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis entitled: "Invincible Bishops: Representations of Episcopal Military Actions in Medieval Lotharingia." The thesis was defended at Central European University (CEU), Budapest, in June 2019. In it, I examined diverse historiographical sources coming from the dioceses of Utrecht, Liège, and Trier in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I focused my analysis mostly on understanding the pattern of narration of warfare in the Lotharingian episcopal narratives of war and on understanding the importance of the military past of the bishoprics for the shaping of their local identities.

[2] The Latin edition used here is Anselmus, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, ed. Rolf Koepke, MGH SS. 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 189–234. This *Gesta* was mostly written by Anselm, a canon of the cathedral of Liège, between the years 1052 and 1056. His work is, in fact, a continuation of a previous *Gesta episcoporum* written by the monk Heribert of Lobbes in the last decades of the tenth century. The main objective of Anselm while writing the *Gesta* was to praise the figure of the bishop Wazo of Liège (1042–1048) , who was a contemporary of the author and who probably was the figure who ordered Anselm to write the text. This fact explains why the longest and most original part of it, which was also the part entirely written by Anselm, was dedicated to the deeds of Wazo, while the sections dealing with previous bishops are shorter and mostly based on the first *Gesta* by Heribert. A brief entry about Anselm's work can be seen in Jean-Louis Kupper, "Remarques sur la chronique d'Anselme de Liège," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 59 (1981): 1053.

Alberonis archiepiscopi treverensis, a source that can be characterized as being in-between a *Gesta* and a hagiographical text dedicated to a bishop.[3] Regarding the characteristics of the *Gestae* as a medieval literary genre, scholars agree that they are historiographical texts characterized by a deep attachment to the political environment of production. Mainly, this type of narrative tried to reminisce about and legitimize bishops' actions in front of the clergy while building the bishopric community and its sacred history.[4] Because of this positive, sacred meaning of the

[3] The Latin edition that will be used here is Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis auctore Balderico*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS. 8 (Hannover: Hahn 1848), 243–260. There is another edition: *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques P. Migne, 154 (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), 1307c–1338b. I used the following English translation: Brian A. Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop of the Twelfth Century: The Deeds of Albero of Trier, by Balderich* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2008). There are also two German translations: Emil Zenz, ed., "Von Erzbischof Gottfried (1124) bis zum Tode Alberos (1152)," in *Die Taten der Trierer / Gesta Treverorum 2* (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 1958), and Hatto Kallfelz, "Taten Erzbischof Alberos von Trier, verfaßt von Balderich," in *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), 543–617. The *Gesta Alberonis* was written by Balderich of Florennes between the years 1152 and 1157. Balderich (d. ca. 1162) was born in the diocese of Liège but traveled to Paris to receive training as a cleric. While still a scholar, he caught the attention of Archbishop Albero of Trier (1132–1152), who decided to offer him the charge of master of the cathedral school. Once Albero died in the year 1152, Balderich started his only known work, namely the *Gesta*, which was dedicated to the archbishop. In the text, he narrates the life of Albero, praising his figure while presenting him as an example of good behavior to be followed by the young scholars from Trier. When Balderich needed to describe episodes previous to the arrival of Albero to Trier, he probably based his own work both on oral testimonies and on the *Gesta Alberonis metrica*, a previous hagiographical text dedicated to the same archbishop that was integrated into the *Gesta treverorum*. The work is difficult to define in terms of medieval literary genres. On the one hand, Brian A. Pavlac characterizes it as being in-between a *Gesta* and a hagiographical text. Stephanie Haarländer on the other hand, considers it directly as one of the many *vitae episcoporum* she analyzes.

[4] The best introductory work concerning episcopal and monastic deeds, which deals mainly with the concept of "sacred history," is Michele Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981). Steven Vanderputten includes also the episcopal deeds in his typology, see Steven Vanderputten, "Typology of Medieval Historiography Reconsidered: a Social Re-interpretation of Monastic Annals, Chronicles and Gesta," *Historical Social Research* 26 (2001): 152–153. There are two articles from Theo Riches that suggest two different but somehow complementary approaches. For the deeds and their function as an archive, see Theo M. Riches, "The Function of the *Gesta Episcoporum* as Archive," in *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007): 7–46. For their dynamic and changing political intentions, see Theo M. Riches, "The Changing Political Horizons of *gesta episcoporum* from the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries," in Ludwig Körntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power* (Prinz-Albert-Forschungen, 6, Berlin–Boston: de Gruyter, 2011), 51–62.

discourse about the past that is present in the episcopal deeds, I believe these are the proper kind of written sources to search for positive representations of bishops' military activity.

Bishops and War in Historiography

While the military actions of medieval bishops have received considerable attention from historiography in the last decades, the analysis of the narrative representation of those activities has been mostly neglected until very recently, when some works started to explore how bishops were perceived when participating in war.[5] However,

[5] Concerning the topic of bishops' participation in warfare, most of the new contributions present a wider perspective, both methodologically – although mainly based on a cultural approach to war – and regionally, with a special focus on the narrative and visual representations of churchmen's warfare practices. A clear example of this new cultural approach to the topic of episcopal authorities and war can be seen in Radoslaw Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewsk, and John S. Ott, eds., *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). This book is a compilation of articles, which analyze the relation between clerics and warfare from a cultural perspective and focus on diverse problems. Concerning the topoi of the representations of clerics during war, the article of Radoslaw Kotecki about the representation of twelfth-century Polish bishops when engaged in war must be underlined. See Radoslaw Kotecki, "Lions and Lambs, Wolves and Pastors of the Flock: Portraying Military Activity of Bishops in Twelfth-Century Poland," in Kotecki, Maciejewsk, and Ott, *Between Sword and Prayer*, 303–340. Another compilation with a similar approach, although more focused on England, can be seen in Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski, eds., *Ecclesia et Violentia. Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014). As in the case of the previous book, it does not contain any work analyzing the Lotharingian church. The same topic of clergy and war was widely analyzed for England, with one detailed study specifically centered on it. See Craig M. Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England, 1000–1250* (Woodbridge: Bodywell, 2016). Beyond these works, most of which are compilations, it is important to mention the contributions of David S. Bachrach, who analyzed the liturgical role that the imperial clergy (both secular and regular) played in warfare during the Ottonian period in medieval Germany, see David S. Bachrach, "Military chaplains and the religion of war in Ottonian Germany, 919–1024," *Religion, State and Society* 39 (2011): 13–31. He also published a very interesting and complete work about religious conduct during warfare, which includes some passages analyzing the military actions (mainly discourses) of Lotharingian bishops from Liège and Trier. He examines these events in the contexts of what he calls secular wars, which refer mostly to regional and local wars that were perceived as different from the Crusades. See David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300–1215* (New York: Boydell, 2003), 151–189. The most recent study based on the Lotharingian space comes from the work of Jeffrey R. Webb, "Representations of the Warrior-bishop in Eleventh-century Lotharingia," *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016): 103–130. In this work Webb deals with the narrative representations of Lotharingian warrior bishops during the eleventh century. He describes how episcopal narratives changed the way they represented the bishops' involvement in warfare in that period, either by avoiding mentioning their participation or by justifying it through different rhetorical strategies.

despite these current advances, the relative novelty of the topic implies that most of the studies are focused either on specific regions or on very short periods of time. Therefore, there are no attempts to establish diachronic or synchronic comparisons among the different case studies, neither to systematize the diverse conclusions into one broad general study or to compare different historiographical positions about the representations of warrior-bishops. Consequently, one can see within this area of study that not only are there scholars with different perspectives who have never engaged in a proper debate, but also that their diverse positions are based on diverse branches of the study of representations of episcopal lords that could be related but, until now, they have not been considered together by scholars.

The problem of the lack of debates appears clearly if one attempts to respond to a simple question, which is also the main question that this article wants to solve: Were medieval bishops represented positively or negatively when participating in war? If there are different positions among scholars concerning this question, it is mainly because they are based on diverse branches of studies of the representation of bishops that have rarely been related. On the one hand, since the publication of the article "A Europe of Bishops" by Timothy Reuter, scholars have broadly studied the figure of bishops both as leaders of dioceses and as the symbolic center of their episcopal communities.[6] On the other hand, scholars have also studied extensively the military actions of episcopal lords and their figure as army leaders. However, there have been no attempts to compare both branches of the historiographical studies of bishops, neither to understand how they might influence each other.[7]

This change was related, as Webb explains, to the transformations of the episcopal figures and their representation during the reform period.

[6] The famous article can be seen in: Timothy Reuter, "A Europe of Bishops. The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms," in Körntgen and Wassenhoven, *Patterns of Episcopal Power*, 17–38.

[7] A good introduction to the topic can be seen in: Timothy Reuter, ed., *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992). The classic works about the warrior bishops, both in Germany and Lotharingia, are Friedrich Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1971) and Leopold Auer, "Der Kriegsdienst des Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79 (1971): 316–407. Both of them extensively concentrate on the secular facet of episcopal power, as well on the aristocratic origins of the prelates. From my understanding of the topic, the origin of this dissociation between the analysis of bishops as spiritual or military leaders can be explained by the fact that the academic approaches to the analysis of the secular power of episcopal lords in Lotharingia have to a large extent been focused on the debate regarding the influence the German kings had on the construction of that power, especially within the context of the so-called Imperial Church System. The reference work on this topic is Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige. II. Teil, Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966). About the figure

The logical consequence of these divided paths is that the theoretical framework and the methodological tools for studying bishops either as leaders of their communities or as military leaders of their own armies have scarcely been compared. For example, when analyzing the narrative representation of episcopal military activities, important scholars like Stephanie Haarländer and Rolf Grosse underline the negative influence that the canonical proscriptions of wielding weapons and wearing armor, which were directed specifically to the clergy, had on those representations. From their perspective, those proscriptions worked as a burden for the authors of the episcopal narratives, who tried to conceal the participation of bishops in battles by different rhetorical strategies.[8] However, the authors do not appreciate the fact that, as has been extensively demonstrated, one of the roles of the bishop was to defend their flock and their communities, and in some cases it was expected that they do so even during war periods. This facet of episcopal authority was studied by diverse scholars like Jeffrey Webb,

of the courtier bishop and the imperial chapel, see also Stephen Jaeger, "The Courtier Bishop in Vitae from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 291–325. See Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers. A Reconsideration," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 347–374, which strongly influenced the academic debate about the episcopal authorities of the two regions in the following decades. About the impact that the concept of the Imperial Church System had in German scholarship, see Stephen Patzold "L'épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévistique allemande," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 192 (2005): 341–358. In this sense, while the academic discussion about the relationships established between the Lotharingian episcopal lords and the German kings advanced extensively and promoted several historiographical works, the extreme focalization on the discussion of the Imperial Church System and its application ended up limiting the debate about the bishop's figure in two different ways. First, it placed the focus of the analysis of episcopal power more on the relationship between bishops and kings than on the figure of bishops themselves, as Körntgen states in his introduction: Ludwig Körntgen, "Introduction," in Körntgen and Wassenhoven, *Patterns of Episcopal Power*, 11–14. Second, it helped to increase the number of works that deal only with the secular aspect of episcopal power, while relegating other important features, like the cultural, spiritual, and liturgical ones, as John Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones point out in their introduction: John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones "Introduction: The Bishop Reformed," in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (New York: Routledge, 2016 [2007]), 1–12.

[8] See, for example, Rolf Grosse, "L'évêque d'Utrecht autour de l'an Mil: le modèle d'un prélat ottonien?" in *Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an Mil*, ed. Alexis Wilkin and Jean-Louis Kupper (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2013), 207–209, and Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2000), 365–374. One of the strategies was to exaggerate the prelates' discursive ability, which in turn means that they were able to finish battle scenes or make their enemies surrender through their speeches, instead of engaging in proper combat.

Radoslaw Kotcecki, and Genevieve Bhurier Thierry, who placed their focus on the characterization of episcopal lord as defender, either of their communities, of their flock, or of their cities.[9] However, and even if they are clearly on the opposite side, these scholars did not engage in a discussion about this topic neither with Haarländer nor with Grosse.

Therefore, some important issues related to the topic, like the diverse rhetorical strategies used to represent warrior bishops in narratives, still remain on the side of negativity, because their use is still considered to be only a strategy for concealing the participation of bishops in war. My intention in this article is not only to enlighten this debate but to contribute to it by remarking that these narratives' rhetorical strategies were used not to hide but to praise the participation of bishops in war. To start with, I need to briefly introduce the military histories of the diocese of Liège and the archdiocese of Trier.

A Brief Military History of the Diocese of Liege and the Archdiocese of Trier in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The diocese of Liège was one of the most important bishoprics in the Lotharingian space during the High Middle Ages, mainly because of its political power and its cultural influence. Besides its important role as a center of literary production specialized in hagiographical texts, the diocese of Liège also established strong links with the German monarchs during the tenth century, which in turn ended up transforming the episcopal lords into the main allies of German royal power in the region.[10] In this sense, and due to the support that the bishops of Liège offered to their imperial ambitions, the diocese received numerous grants and benefits from the royal power and, from a military perspective, these benefits helped it

[9] See, for example: Radoslaw Kotecki, "Lions and Lambs, Wolves and Pastors of the Flock: Portraying Military Activity of Bishops in Twelfth-Century Poland," in Kotecki, Maciejewsk, and Ott, *Between Sword and Prayer*, 303–340; Jeffrey R. Webb, "Representations of the Warrior-bishop"; and Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, "Bishops as City Defenders in Early Medieval Gaul and Germany," in Kotecki, Maciejewsk, and Ott, *Between Sword and Prayer*, 24–45.

[10] The most important bibliography for Liège in the period, which is not only general but also deals with the influence of the German Kings, can be found in Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'Église impériale aux XIe-XIIe siècles*, (Liége: Presses universitaires de Liège, 1981), available online, accessed May 14, 2019, http://books.openedition.org/pulg/1442. Also see Jean-Louis Kupper, ed., *Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an Mil* (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2013). About the cultural prestige of Liège as a center of literary production, which was based mostly on the production of hagiographical texts, see Jeffrey R. Webb, "Hagiography in the diocese of Liège (950–1130)," in *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550. Vol 6*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 809–904.

to become one of the most powerful political entities in Lower Lotharingia. In this sense, and to fulfill their role as keepers of order and protectors of peace, the bishops of Liège counted on a strong army that was formed mostly by the urban militia of the episcopal city.[11] However, despite this strong military power, the role of the diocese as an ally of the German kings transformed it into one of the main targets of the uprisings of the rebellious Lotharingian aristocrats, who were fighting against growing royal influence in the region. Because of this, the city suffered at the hands of local lords during the numerous rebellions that occurred in Lotharingia in the tenth and the eleventh centuries; it was exposed, for example, to raids and plunders by troops garrisoned in local fortresses, like in the case of Chèvremont Castle.

Concerning the archbishopric of Trier, it was also an important diocese both of Lotharingia and of the German kingdom. The story of Trier as a city and as a bishopric can be traced as far back as late antiquity when the city, then called *Augusta treverorum*, was one of the most important cities of the Late Roman Empire. Trier was transformed into an archbishopric at the end of the eighth century. Once the region of Lotharingia properly became part of the East Frankish kingdom in the ninth century, the prestige of Trier increased since it became the oldest city in that political entity. Yet, this prestige was not necessarily translated into political power, and during the majority of the High Middle Ages Trier competed for primacy in Germany against the archbishoprics of Mainz and Cologne without success.[12] In fact, from a military perspective, the archdiocese of Trier was a problematic see especially during the twelfth century. This is because it encountered many difficulties while dealing not only with ambitious secular lords like the counts of Luxembourg – who were the most tenacious rivals of the archbishopric in that period – or the palatine counts of the Rhine – who acted as representatives of the territorial ambitions of the German kings in Upper Lotharingia – but also with the local *ministeriales*, who, despite being unfree-vassals of the archbishops, had their own political ambitions and seized the episcopal city and its lords on numerous occasions.

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[11] A detailed description of the episcopal militia can be seen in Claude Gaier, *Art et organisation militaires dans la principauté de Liege et dans le comté de Looz au Moyen Âge* (Brussels: Academie royale de Belgique, 1968), 61–66.

[12] A general introduction concerning its competition with Mainz and Cologne can be seen in Egon Boshof, "Köln, Mainz, Trier. Die Auseinandersetzung um die Spitzenstellung im deutschen Episkopat in ottonisch-salischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 49 (1978): 19–48. For another major study, although concentrated on the relationship established between the archbishops, the kings, and the Popes, see Egon Boshof, *Das Erzstift Trier und seine Stellung zu Königtum und Papsttum im ausgehenden zehnten Jahrhundert. Der Pontifikat des Theoderich* (Cologne: Verlag, 1972).

Methodology

Concerning the methodology for the examination of the patterns of narrating war, I will conduct a narratological analysis of selected passages of the texts.[13] The analysis will focus on the narrator and the narratees, the focalization and the use of time, and will show how all these aspects – working together – contributed to creating a specific narrative spatiality of warfare in the texts.[14] Regarding the characteristics of this specific narrative-war-spatiality, it is based on the difference between spaces of positive-singularity (which describe scenes of victory and are often associated with bishops) and negative-plurality (which describe scenes of defeat and are often attached to the armies of the secular lords). The concepts of narrative positive-singularity and negative-plurality are my own and I developed them mostly in my MA thesis. Briefly, the distinction implies that one group of soldiers can be described either as a singular and homogeneous unit, which,

[13] For an introduction to narratology and its concepts, see Irene J. F. De Jong, *Narratology and Classics: A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). An excellent introduction to the analysis of narratives, which also deals briefly with narratology, can be seen in: Paul Cobley, *Narrative* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Cobley describes narratology as a discipline that "drew attention to the building blocks of narrative, exploring the various combinations that can appear in narrative texts and the devices that readers come to learn and accept." See: *Ibid.*, 200–202.

[14] The theoretical discussion about spatiality and the spatial-turn in humanities is enormous, and a proper introduction would demand an entire chapter. A brief resume of the history of the concept and the debates around it can be read in Robert T. Tally Jr., *Spatiality* (New York: Routledge, 2013). A classical work about space as a social production can be seen in Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 (1905)). Another classic work concerning the theory of space is Michel De Certeau, *La invención de lo cotidiano. I artes de hacer*, trans. Alejandro Pescador (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1996 (1990)). For the concept of battle space, see: Christina Lechtermann, "Topography, Tide and the (Re-)Turn of the Hero: Battleground and Combat Movement in Wolfram's Willehalm," in *Spatial Practices: Medieval, Modern*, ed. Markus Stock and Nicola Vöhringer (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2014), 89–91. Lechtermann bases her own definitions of space and spatiality on the work of Michele de Certeau (see De Certeau, *La invención de lo cotidiano*). The patterns of narrating warfare were extensively studied mostly by scholars from the University of Amsterdam, from where the names of Irene de Jong and Caroline Kroon stand out. Their most recent publication is: Liedwij van Gils, Irene De Jong, and Caroline H. M. Kroon, eds., *Textual Strategies in Ancient War Narrative: Thermopylae, Cannae and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). In it, the authors present an interdisciplinary approach to classic Latin and Greek narratives of war, namely, Livy's account of the Battle of Cannae and Herodotus' description of the Battle of Thermopiles. The analysis is built on the disciplines of narratology, which in relation to war narratives focuses on understanding how they were structured to give a specific meaning to the battle-scenes for their audiences, and linguistics, which regarding this topic focuses on studying the function of specific word-particles in relation to different fragments of a text, like, for example, how they emphasize the description of a battle-speech.

for example, may be a group of soldiers standing in phalanx formation, or as a chaotic agglomeration of people, either frightened individuals fleeing into different directions or unorganized combatants charging without order.[15]

In addition, I propose to examine the passages that narrate warfare from a perspective that focuses on how they influenced the shaping of local episcopal identities. To do so, the theoretical framework I will use is the one elaborated by scholars of the so-called Vienna school for the understanding of ethnic identities in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[16] The main statement elaborated by the Vienna school builds on the idea that ethnicity existed in the early Middle Ages as a form of identification both of groups and individuals, but that it was expressed mostly as political discourse in specific contexts. In this sense, theoretically speaking, identities do not exist as natural categories in the minds of individuals but are the result of diverse processes of identification, which include the identification of individuals with a group, the identification of a group itself, and the recognition of that group as such by outsiders. All of these processes occur due to the use of diverse strategies of identification either by the individuals or by the groups, which the scholars of the Vienna school analyze in their discursive facet by trying to understand the "grammar of identity" behind those narratives.[17] I plan to take this

[15] In addition, the same concepts can be used to analyze the discursive aptitudes of different combatants or even generals, which may appear represented either as having a unified and clear discourse – reflected, for example, on coherent orders from the leaders to their troops and in clear and courageous discourses or behaviors made by the combatants – or in a chaotic agglomeration of diverse voices expressing different discourses – like the spread of false rumors within an army. Since a contrast exists in the appreciation of the singularity, related to scenes that describe military victories, and of the plurality, related to scenes that describe defeats or doubtful results; there is thus the characterization of "positive" and "negative" in relation to the possibility of obtaining a narrative victory.

[16] For an introduction to the perspective of the school of Vienna about ethnic identity and ethnicity as a political discourse and a strategy of identification, which emerged mainly in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see Walter Pohl, "Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West: Introduction," in *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 1–46. About belonging to a specific bishopric as a form of political and religious identity, see Walter Pohl, "Introduction: Strategies of Identification. A Methodological Profile," in *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 21–22. There are other perspectives concerning the shaping of identities also related to the topic of ethnic identity. See for, example, Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The social organization of culture difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969).

[17] The concept of the "grammar of identity" takes from the notion of "grammar" the idea of analyzing the way in which the meanings of a given language are set during the formation of different structures, from words to sentences and even entire texts. Once the notion of "grammar" is merged with the one of "identity," the result is a concept that refers to the understanding of the rules and structures

approach as a base for my own analysis of the different strategies of identification appearing in episcopal narratives, which may express identities either from the bishopric communities as such, as well as from individuals belonging to them, or outsiders describing them. These strategies are supported by the specific meanings of the words and phrases that the written discourses of episcopal identity use, which rest on the cultural and historical backgrounds of the authors and are shaped not only by their own identity but also by its projection onto the diocesan past.

The Representation of the Military Actions of Archbishop Albero of Trier in the *Gesta Alberonis*

Positive Singularity and Negative Plurality as Narrative Characteristics

The first example in which the forces of Archbishop Albero of Trier are characterized as a singular figure – and in opposition to the plural figure of his enemies – appears in one passage of the *Gesta Alberonis* that describes the moment the prelate arrives at the city of Trier, shortly after being elected as archbishop in the year 1131. The current enemy in this scene is the local burgrave, Ludwig de Ponte, who opposed Albero's election and conspired against him.[18] The archbishop, however, discovered the threat and, to protect himself, decided to gather a great army before entering the city. This army is described by Balderich as a *multo milite,* namely, as a singular figure. On the contrary, the author describes the forces of the burgrave as *sui coniurati*, that is, as a plural figure.[19] The superiority of the singularity over

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of identity-discourses (instead of languages), which contribute to giving meaning to their statements (instead of wordings) and make them understandable in a social group. The concept also describes the required knowledge to comprehend those rules and structures and to debate about them. About the notion of the "grammar of identity," see Pohl, "Introduction: Strategies of Identification. A Methodological Profile," 31–32. Pohl also bases his development of the notion of "grammar of identity" on previous studies, although with slight differences. As an example, which I will retake below and concerning the grammar of identity in relation to "otherness," see Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich, eds., *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (New York: Bergham Books, 2004).

[18] The local burgrave, namely, the military commander of the city forces, was a *ministerialis.* The *ministeriales* were unfree servants of the German and Lotharingian bishops who usually fulfilled military duties, although occasionally they occupied offices like that of burgrave of the episcopal city. As Benjamin Arnold noted, the *ministeriales* had their own ambitions and often acted against their episcopal lords. For a general introduction to the figure of the *ministerial*, see Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood, 1050 – 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 53–75. For their use by the German and Lotharingian bishops, see Reuter, *Warriors and Churchmen*, 86.

[19] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 250.

the plurality appears evident in this passage because shortly after describing the different forces Balderich explains how Ludwig's army got frightened by Albero's great force and, finally, the burgrave decided to cancel the conspiracy.

A comparable example regarding the shaping of a positive singular space of battle can be seen in the description of Albero's siege of Castles Arras and Nantersburg, ca. 1137. The conflict started when two local nobles, namely, the brothers John and Werner from Nantersburg, took by "treachery" Castle Arras from the archbishop while he was following the emperor Lothar III on his campaign in Italy. After describing Albero's rage because of this treachery, Balderich explains how he gathered a great army formed by contingents from Toul, Metz, and Trier, and recovered his castle while also attacking and destroying the perfidious brothers' Nantersburg:

> Colligens quoque omnes Tullensis et Metensis terrae principes, cum magna militia Treverim pervenit, et utrumque castrum, Arraz scilicet et Nantersburch, simul obsidione cinxit, et Nantersburch destructo atque Arraz recuperate, cum triumpho magno Treveris reversus est.[20]

In this passage, Balderich uses the image of the military contingents to create a space of positive singularity that allows the archbishop not only to recover Arras but also to destroy Nantersburg. The positive singular space is shaped by the great army gathered by Albero, which Balderich calls, similarly to the previous example, *magna militia*. In this sense, the author emphasizes the singularity of the army, even if he had described that it was formed by troops from three different regions. Moreover, the phrase "simul obsidione cinxit," in which the adverb *simul* denotes a simultaneity not only of time but also of space in the action of besieging, creates in the narratee the sense of a unified space big enough to simultaneously attack both castles. In this sense, the focalization in this passage is augmented to the point that the large force of Albero encompasses the whole war scene, and that the entire battle space becomes solely a space of triumphal siege by the episcopal army. Finally, in relation to this event, Balderich directly attaches the creation of this great force to Archbishop Albero, while praising his figure and describing him as an invincible man ("vir inexpugnabilis").[21]

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[20] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 252. "Assembling all the princes of the land of Toul and Metz, he came to Trier with a great army and simultaneously besieged both castles, namely Arras and Nantersburg. And having destroyed Nantersburg and regained Arras, he returned to Trier in great triumph." The English translation comes from: Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop,* 54. From now onwards I will base all my English translations of this source on Pavlac's work.

[21] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 250.

The pattern of describing Albero's enemies as plural figures is repeated many times in the text. For example, in a later episode when the count of Luxembourg and Namur attacked the city of Trier by surprise, Baldrerich describes his troops as a plural force of 1,500 knights ("mille quingentis militibus").[22] The result of this scene is a partial triumph for the defenders of Trier since the count Frederick of Vianden (a vassal of the archbishop) convinced the count's forces to not sack the city.[23] In the last battle scene mentioned in the *Gesta Alberonis*, the author describes a conflict that occurred in the year 1148 between Albero and Count Palatine of the Rhine Hermann von Stahleck (1142–1156). The conflict started because of the possession of Castle Treis and, at some point, the episcopal lord decided to besiege the castle. While Albero was present at the siege leading his army, the count palatine came with reinforcements to free the castle, and both hosts were deployed to fight:

> […] castrum predictum obsedit. Palatinus autem collectis omnibus viribus suis ad liberandum castrum venit : ad introitum silvae, quae castro adiacet, castra metatus est. Archiepiscopus vero ex opposita parte, acie instructa equitum peditumque, […][24]

Here it is possible to see again the contrast between the singularity in the prelate's contingent, described as an ordered single line ("acie instructa"), and the plurality of the count's forces, described as "viribus suis," which is similar to the description of the forces of the burgrave from the first example. It is not surprising, given this creation of singularity and plurality, that the singular episcopal forces obtained the victory that day. However, the way that the author explains this military triumph can be more deeply analyzed, because it is related to the way that the discursive abilities of the episcopal lords were performed during battles.

The Narrative Function of Bishops' Battle Discourses as Explanation of Victories

The conflict between Archbishop Albero and the count palatine offers an example of how a narrator can use the discursive abilities of an episcopal lord as the main narrative explanation of a military victory. Following the events described above,

[22] *Ibid.*, 253

[23] Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop*, 59.

[24] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 255–256. "[…] Albero besieged castle Treis. The Count Palatine, however, gathering all his troops, came to liberate the castle; and he pitched a camp the entrance to the woods where the castle lay. On the opposite side, the archbishop drew a battle line of soldiers on horse and foot […]." Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop*, 66.

the armies of Albero and the count palatine stayed in their positions for three days. In the meantime, the narrator describes the military practices performed by the troops of Albero. From this moment the narrative starts adjusting the focalization, first to the archiepiscopal troops. Then, when the battle is about to start, the narrative adjusts the focalization extremely close to the figure of the archbishop, at the point where the space of war presented to the narratees is delimited by his figure and the soldiers with whom he interacts.[25] This extreme focalization is followed by the quoting of the archbishop's speech before battle:

> Tunc videres senem illum, iam toto defectum corpore, acies peditum ordinare, equites militare arte disponere, notos ex nomine singillatim apellare, […] Tunc exhortatoriam orationem, tenens crucem archiepiscopalem in manibus, cepit ad armatas acies tali modo facere: O vos amici beati Petri! O sanctae defensores ecclesiae! […] nunc veniat vobis in mentem beatus Petrus, cuius milites hodie existitis; credatis eum cum magna sanctorum caterva invisibilibus clipeis hodie vos protegere; certi estote de victoria. Respicite hoc signum crucis, hoc, inquam, signum terribile, adversariis Ihesu Crhisti. Hec est crux, in qua Herimannus comes palatii mihi iuravit fidelitatem, […] Ipse vero palatinus tenens, manum super hanc sanctam imaginem iuratus est michi in hace verba: "Hunc Dominum, hunc pro nobis crucifixum, do vobis, domine arhiepiscope, fideiussorem, et iuro vobis per eius virtutem, quod nunquam aliquid contra vos faciam, […][26]

[25] An example for this is the very detailed portrayal of the military exercises that the archbishop's knights undertake before the battle, in which Balderich not only describes how they practice changing their formation during a charge, but also explains the traditional tactic of feigned flight. In addition, the narrative use of the rhythm of time supports this detailed and focalized scene, since the narrator mentions, right before the detailed description, that the battle line formed by the prelate waited for the count's advance for three days. In other words, as three days pass in the story, the narrative time moves slowly to help the narratees to concentrate on the detailed scene. Concerning this augmented and very detailed description, as noted by Brian A. Pavlac, this close perspective could be an attempt to show that the author was an eyewitness of the event. This is not at all impossible, since by this time (1148) Balderich was already in Trier, working as the master of the cathedral school. Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop*, 1–3.

[26] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 256. The scene and the speech are, in fact, longer. But because of the lack of space I decided to quote only those specific passages that are useful to my point. "Then you would have seen old Albero himself, although enfeebled in body, personally draw up the battle line of foot soldiers and position his horsemen with military art. Those he knew he addressed one by one by name, […]. Then, holding the archiepiscopal cross in his hands, he began to make an exhortatory oration to the ranks of his soldiers in such a manner: 'Oh you friends of the blessed Peter! Oh defenders of the Holy Church, […] Now may the blessed Peter come to you in spirit, for you are his knights today. Believe that he with a great heavenly host protects you today by their invisible shields.

To reinforce the focalization of this event, which was currently in progress, the scene starts with the narrator calling the attention of the audience using the word *videres*. After calling the audience' attention, the narrator merges the embedded focalization – quoting the speech of the archbishop from very close proximity – with embedding the narration in the figure of Albero as well.[27] In this sense, the prelate becomes both the focus of the perspective and the narrator of a secondary story, because he does not only describe how an event occurred in front of the cross when the palatine count swore fidelity to him but also quotes his own version of the phrase that the count said during the oath. Hermann, the archbishop says, swore in front of the archiepiscopal cross that he would never attack the prelate. Because of this broken oath, the narrator explains that the count became a traitor. Furthermore, because the count's treason constitutes the main explanation of why both armies ended up fighting on that day, I consider Albero's story to be an *analepsis*, a rhetorical-literary tool used to describe past events of the main story, with the objective to explain how the situation had progressed to that point.[28] In this case, the *analepsis* works by bringing from the past the discursive and moral justification to support Albero's condemnation of the count's immoral behavior, namely, his treason. Finally, after the speech, the archbishop offered a general confession to all his men, forgiving their sins and inspiring them:

> Tunc cum accepisset omnium communem confessionem, indulgentia facta et absolutione, benedictionem super eos faciem, ita omnes animavit, quod nec in uno signum timiditatis apparuit.[29]

This passage is closely related to the *analepsis*; if the author can justify the transformation of Albero's soldiers into defenders of the Holy Church ("sanctae defensores ecclesiae"), it is due to the broken promise made by the count to the archbishop, especially because it happened in front of the archiepiscopal cross.

Be certain of victory. Behold this sign of the cross, this sign, I say, terrible for the adversaries of Jesus Christ. This is the cross upon which Hermann, Count Palatine, swore fidelity to me […]. Indeed, the same Count Palatine, holding his hand upon this holy image, swore to me with these words: 'I give to you, lord archbishop, this Lord, He who was crucified for us, as my guarantor, and I swear to you by His virtue that I shall never do anything against you […].'" Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop*, 67.

[27] Regarding the tool of embedded narrative, see De Jong, *Narratology*, 34–37.

[28] About the concept of *analepsys* as a rhetorical tool, see *ibid.*, 78–86.

[29] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 256. "Then when he had accepted the public confession of everyone and granted forgiveness and absolution by making a blessing upon them, he so inspired them all that no sign of fearfulness appeared in anyone." Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop*, 68.

Therefore, the count did not only become a traitor to the archbishop but also a traitor to the Church, and this works as narrative support of the exalted motivation of Albero's army. The transformation also reinforces the positive singularity of the ecclesiastical contingent because from that moment, Balderich describes, they would be protected by the shields of a great heavenly host of St. Peter ("magna sanctorum caterva").[30]

From the explanation of past events evoked by the main character, it follows a change in the focalization, which is embedded in the enemy. The narrator then describes that after realizing that Albero's soldiers were so motivated by the speech, the count palatine Hermann decided that he could not win the battle and asked for peace.[31] In this sense, the complexity of this passage is explained because the archiepiscopal discourse generates a narrative complication in the battle-story that the enemy cannot resolve, namely, the extremely motivated archiepiscopal soldiers. Therefore, the speech, the remembrance of a broken oath, and the general confession offered to the archiepiscopal soldiers are the elements that won the battle in the narrative.[32]

The Siege and Destruction of Chèvremont Castle by Bishop Notger of Liège: An Episcopal Lord as Defender of his Diocese

In his famous article, entitled "A Europe of Bishops," Timothy Reuter described how the burial ceremonies of medieval bishops could attract representatives from all layers of society. These enormous groups, Reuter stated, demonstrated that the bishops were considered the leading figures of one type of "imaginary community," namely, the bishoprics, which were based more on the web of personal relationships of the bishops than on a clear dominion over the episcopal territory. In other

[30] Balderico, *Gesta Alberonis*, 256

[31] Pavlac, *A Warrior Bishop*, 68.

[32] Concerning this scene of Albero making a general confession to his soldiers and calling them as "knights of St Peter," David S. Bachrach argues that it shows how far the discourse of crusade and "just war" had spread around Western Christendom by the mid-twelfth century. The spreading of crusade discourse, Bachrach states, became useful for the episcopal lords because it boosted their spiritual abilities during battles. For this analysis, see: Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War*, 151–189. Regardless of whether crusade discourse gave more or less abilities to Albero during battle, what is evident is that it indeed gave new narrative meanings and rhetorical tools to the author of the text, that is, Balderich. He was the one who used these new tools to potentiate the discursive abilities of his narrative invincible bishop.

words, the bishops ruled more over the people of the diocese than over the land.[33] Consequently, the fact that episcopal power was more personal and exercised over people reinforced the ties between the bishops and their flock. One of the clearest expressions of the bishops as leaders of their "imaginary communities" was their role as protectors of their dioceses, which meant that they should protect not only the properties of their episcopacies but also their people.[34]

The notion of the diocese being protected by a bishop appears clearly in a brief passage of Anselm's *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodensium*, in which the author describes the attack on the fortress of Chèvremont in the year 987. This episode was of considerable importance for the bishopric of Liège because from that fortress – situated near the episcopal city – many local lords instigated rebellions against the German kings, which in turn ended up ravaging the territory of the diocese. In this sense, Chèvremont was not only a political and military center of opposition against imperial power but also a local menace for the diocese of Liège.[35]

This threat can be partially explained because at the time the castle was destroyed the leading prelate was Bishop Notger of Liège (972–1008), a figure of notorious political importance and an ally of the German rulers.[36] Concerning the figure of Notger, scholars agree that he was a paradigmatic example of an "imperial bishop,"

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[33] Reuter states that the notion of ruling more over the people than over a territory was common all around western Europe in the year 1000. In this sense, the bishoprics were not the exception, although other facets of episcopal power differentiated them from other laity lords, like their representation as defenders of episcopal cities. About the figure of bishops as defenders of episcopal cities, see Bührer-Thierry, "Bishops as City Defenders," 24–45.

[34] Jeffrey Webb notes that this change can be appreciated in the work, for example, of Anselm of Liège. See: Webb, "Representations of the Warrior-bishop," 115.

[35] For a general description of the conflict, see Claude Gaier, *Grandes batailles de l'histoire liégeoise au Moyen Age* (Liège: Wahle, 1980), 15–25. For a more detailed description of the sources and the role of Notger, which includes the mention of Chèvremont Castle as an important factor for imperial politics in Lotharingia, see Jean Luis Kupper, *Notger de Liège (972–1008)* (Brussels: Academie Royale de Belgique, 2015), 39–47.

[36] Notger, who was bishop of Liège between the years 972 and 1008, was one of the most important political and religious figures of Lower Lotharingia in his time. As a bishop, he did not only concentrate his effort on the improvement of his diocese, but also defended the political interest of the German kings, with whom he had a close relationship, both in Lotharingia and in their Italian campaigns. For this reason, he is considered to be a clear example and paradigm of an "imperial bishop." About Notger of Liège, see Kupper, *Notger* and Godefroid Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au Xe siècle* (Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1905). For a general overview of his figure, as well as the social, political, and cultural context of the region at the beginning of the eleventh century, see Alexis Winkin and Jean Luis Kupper, eds., *Évêque et prince. Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an Mil* (Liège, Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2013).

namely, a prelate who was close to imperial power and who tried to organize the Lotharingian church under the influence of the German kings.[37] In fact, the closeness of Notger to imperial power is considered the main factor that explains why the many rebellions that emerged in the fortress also ravaged the territory of Liège.

However, despite the importance of Notger, the first record of the siege and destruction of Chèvremont does not mention him. This source, a letter by Gerbert of Aurillac from the year 987 (the year of the episode), only describes Empress Theophano leading an army that besieged and conquered the castle.[38] From the perspective of the analysis of the process of identity-building in the diocese of Liège, it is important that the only contemporary source about the siege does not mention the figure of Notger. This omission is due to the fact that Notger's first appearance in the Chèvremont siege episode – which is also the historical creation of his participation in the event – appears in the text written by Anselm of Liège more than fifty years later. In other words, the historical fact of Bishop Notger leading the destruction of the fortress is mentioned first in the local *Gesta episcoporum*, which had as its main objective to create a sacred history of the diocese, as well as to relate the contemporary episcopal identity with that past.[39] Concerning Anselm's description of the episode, it is neither extensive nor detailed. Nevertheless, he describes how the castle was full of dangerous men who ravaged the region, as well as how, after conquering the fortress, Notger destroyed it until only the ruins remained:

> Multa auferens incommoda, plura huic nostrae aecclesiae contulit commoda, inter quae miseros Leodicenses liberare studuit a munitissimo et factiosis hominibus semper fecundo Montis Caprarum castello. Quod quam damnose vicinum fuerit ipse Leodio, haut longe hinc distantes fidelibus oculis subiectae attestari possunt eiusdem oppidi ruinae.[40]

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[37] Regarding the debate about whether Bishop Notger was an imperial bishop or not, see Kupper, *Notger,* 133–143.

[38] *Ibid.*, 42.

[39] The description by Anselm was the beginning of this historical tradition, but the description of Bishop Notger in the siege was enlarged by latter chroniclers, like Gilles d'Orval in his own continuation of the deeds called *Gesta episcoporum Leodensium*, which was written in the thirteenth century. *Ibid.*, 45–46; the same is described in one vita of Bishop Notger also from the twelfth century - because of the matter of space, I will not work with these sources.

[40] Anselmus, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium*, 203. "By separating many uncomfortable things, he brought many comfortable things to this, our church. Among them he dedicated himself to free the unhappy people of Liège from Chèvremont castle, most heavily fortified and always full of seditious men." (My translation). This passage was also partially translated into French by Jean-Louis Kupper. See Kupper, *Notger,* 42. I based my own translation on his work, although because of time constrictions I only translated the first part of the passage.

The narrator is referring to Notger in this passage and uses the active voice to describe how the bishop did many good things for "this, our church" (*plura huic nostrae aecclesiae contulit commoda*), and among them, he liberated the unfortunate people of Liège (*inter quae miseros Leodicenses liberare studuit*) from the dangers of Chèvremont fortress. Regarding these descriptions, it should first be noted that the use of the active voice gives the figure of Notger the leading role in the attack on the castle since he is the subject who performs the action. Essentially, this sentence is not only the starting point of the historical narrative that situates Notger in the place of battle but also does so by giving him the role of protector of the diocese. Furthermore, the use of the verb "dedicate himself" (*studuit*), which is not a verb that denotes a quick action but one that demands time from the subject who performs it, attempts to present the siege as a difficult task that demanded a strong effort from the bishop. This is also connected to the first sentence of the battle scene, in which the author mentions the many uncomfortable things (*Multa auferens incommoda*) that Notger kept far away from the Church, in order to protect it.

The episcopal community of Liège is mentioned in relation to the event in the first sentence, when the narrator uses the phrases *nostrae aecclesiae* and *miseros Leodicenses*. The first phrase is crucial since it defines a figure of "us" in relation to the Church, which is also an identity shared by the narrator. Furthermore, the phrase *miseros Leodicenses* adds two extra meanings to that identity, namely, the idea of having been suffering because of the problem with Chèvremont and the notion of belonging to Liège. It appears evident that the meaning of the phrase *nostrae aecclesia* refers to the diocese of Liège. Yet, the meaning of the phrase does not end there. By analyzing the word *nostrae* from the perspective of the "grammar of identity," it is possible to note that it describes a shared identity between a narrator, who wrote in the eleventh century in the environment of the cathedral of St. Lambert and who dedicated his work to the ruling prelate of Liège, Bishop Wazo (1041–1048), and the characters of his story, namely, the miserable inhabitants of Liège, who were victims of the violence emerging from Chèvremont before the year 987.

Therefore, the link between the narrative representation of the past identity of the inhabitants of the diocese and the contemporary identity of Anselm is clearly expressed in the text. In other words, the analysis of the word *nostrae*, based on the cultural background of the narrator, helps to rebuild the knowledge that supports the statement of an identity of Liège that not only existed at the moment the text was written, but was also projected onto the past since the same *aeclesiae* was under threat from Chèvremont before its destruction.

Concerning the strategies of identification in this passage, both the identity of the group as such, that is, the people of Liège, and of the individuals as forming part of the group, namely, Anselm and Notger, appear in the sentences. Regarding the group identity, it can be seen how the people of Liège suffered together during the devastation provoked by the seditious men of the castle (*factiosis hominibus*).

Despite its brevity, this passage about the siege and destruction of Chèvremont Castle gives room for a condensed use of strategies of identification. By associating individuals like Bishop Notger, or even Anselm himself, to the identity of the diocese of Liège, and by defining the group as opposed to the seditious and aggressive bandits of the fortress, the author contributes to the shaping of the episcopal identity. Furthermore, this identity, which is the major identification that appears in the text and whose construction was one of the objectives of Anselm's *Gesta episcoporum*, was also projected into a past full of dangers. Nevertheless, the identity remained, as well as the community or social group that it represented. The main character who defended this continuity was Bishop Notger of Liège, and his tool to fulfill this difficult task was his military ability to attack a well-defended fortress and demolish it to the extent that only the ruins remained.

Conclusion

The main question of this article was whether bishops were represented positively or negatively when participating in war. After my analysis of examples coming from Liège and Trier, I believe that, at least in historical sources produced in the sphere of the political and cultural influence of the Lotharingian episcopal lords, the representation of warrior bishops is clearly positive. From my perspective, it is necessary for the development of the study of episcopal lords that the scholars who work with this topic attempt to confront their diverse perspectives in wider debates focused on the narrative representation of warrior bishops. To foment this debate, I showed how the literary strategies that medieval authors used to represent the military actions of bishops, like, for example, the exaltation of prelates' discursive abilities, were used not to conceal their participation in war but to praise it, that is, in a positive sense. The positivity of these representations is related also to the specific characteristics of the *Gesta episcoporum*, mainly due to their intention to create a sacred history for the dioceses. I believe, therefore, that the military actions of bishops were part of that diocesan sacred history.

In this sense I propose for the analysis of episcopal historiographical narratives the existence of a narrative-persona of invincible warrior-bishops that medieval authors used as a literary resource to describe episcopal involvement in war. This narrative figure, which was based on the symbolic-centrality that episcopal lords

had for their communities, had as its main characteristic narrative invincibility. This invincibility allowed authors to reinforce episcopal identities through a specific discourse about the diocesan-military-past, which was performed by projecting onto previous times the same local episcopal identity existent at the moment of the production of the text and by guaranteeing its narrative protection and continuity thanks to the effective defense made by those unbeatable prelates.

THE VOCABULARY OF EMPIRE: GERALD OF WALES AND THE ANGEVIN DOMINIONS

María Paula Rey

This article focuses on the way the Angevin dominions were understood and depicted by contemporaries. It centres its analysis on Gerald of Wales' late work *De Principis Instructione* in an attempt to trace whether Gerald had a consistent way of addressing Henry II and his family's possessions or not, and if there was any association between their power and lands and imperial ideas. The aim of this study is to show how complex the relation between the specific language of the sources and the modern idea of an "Angevin Empire" is. It argues that the debates among historians about the usefulness or accuracy of the association between the Angevin dominions and "empire" derives ultimately from the difficult nature of the concept of *empire*, and the unclear understanding and sometimes uncritical uses of it in modern historiography.[1]

Introduction

The expression "Angevin Empire" has long been used in medieval historiography to label the large group of lands under possession and rule of Henry II and his sons between 1154 and 1224.[2] The idea of the "Angevin Empire" has, however,

[1] This article is an adaptation of my MA Thesis entitled "The Vocabulary of Empire Gerald of Wales and the 'Angevin empire'", defended in Budapest in June 2019 at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University. I want to thank everyone at the Department for their constant support, kindness and excellent work.

[2] It should be noticed at this point that French historians usually use the expression "Plantegenêt Empire" instead of "Angevin", even when it is essentially used to mean the same. As Martin Aurell explains: "Nous avons retenu Plantagenêt pour nous plier à l'usage, somme toute légitime, des historiens français. En revanche, à l'exception de John Le Patourel, nos collègues anglais préfèrent Angevin Empire, d'après l'expression forgée en 1887 par Kate Norgate et reprise pour titre des ouvrages de James H. Ramsay (1903) et John Gillingham (1984 et 2001). Cette option ancienne présente l'avantage de rattacher les domaines du roi d'Angleterre à la maison d'Anjou, et d'insister donc plus sur la lignée continentale et sur le caractère familial de sa domination." See Martin Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt 1154–1224* (Paris: Perrin, 2004), 15. See also on this matter John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London: Arnold, 2001), 3. Another element to be pointed out is related to the periodization of the "Angevin Empire", which might differ from one author to the other, particularly with regards to its end. Generally, most historians acknowledge its extinction in 1224, when under the reign of Henry III the Angevin dynasty lost Poitou and La Rochelle to the king of France. Other historians choose the date of 1204, after Philip Augustus annexed Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Touraine. The year 1216, when King John died, is also used.

divided the academic field between those historians who consider it an appropriate terminology and those who find the concept of "empire" either anachronistic or misleading. There has been an ongoing debate for the past decades which reveals how there is, in fact, a tension between the vocabularies used by medieval authors and the insistence of historians to adequate the concept of "empire" to the Angevin dominions. In strict terms, medieval authors did not use "empire" for the Angevin possessions, and the language they use is relatively diverse and non-specific.[3] Historians who sustain the use of the expression have, however, suggested that although it does not appear like that in medieval sources, there is evidence of an association between the Angevins and ideas of *imperium*.[4]

The aim of this article is to argue that this complex relation between the specific language of the sources and the modern idea of an "Angevin Empire" derives ultimately from the intrinsic difficult nature of the concept of *empire*, and the unclear understanding and sometimes uncritical uses of it in modern historiography. If the expression "Angevin empire" has served the purpose to channel potential interpretations of the structure and functioning of the Angevin possessions, it has nevertheless obscured the specific medieval understanding of the phenomenon. There is, therefore, a need to re-centre the debate over the "Angevin Empire" on the ideas channelled by medieval testimonies and the specific vocabulary they used to describe the lands and power of the Angevin rulers.

By conducting an analysis based on the vocabulary used by Gerald of Wales (c.1146–1223) in his late work *De Principis Instructione*, this paper will try to establish Gerald's portrayal of the Angevin dominions and if his understanding is in anyway related to imperial ideas. Focusing on the overall perspective of an author has the benefit of allowing us to trace more systematically the conceptual

[3] The cases in which *imperium* and its variants appear in administrative sources related to the Angevins are debatable: neither Henry II nor his heirs ever used the concept to describe their dominions and it cannot be sure that they ever thought of them as a unified political and territorial entity. However, the display of imperial imagery seems to appear more frequently in narrative accounts, although the conclusion that can be drawn from these cases is highly debatable. On the matter of administrative sources, see Nicholas Vincent, "Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II (1154–1189)," in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M.T. Flanagan and J. Green (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 70–106. Regarding narrative accounts and imperial imagery, see Fanny Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power under the Norman and Plantagenet Kings (1066–1204)," in *Anglo-Norman Studies XL*, ed. Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 179–182.

[4] This has been, very recently, Fanny Madeline's argument. See "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power". John Gillingham, as will be argued, sustains a similar idea. See John Gillingham *The Angevin Empire*, 2–5.

elements used to address the Angevin dominions. Although the alternative of combining multiple brief examples from different sources – which has been the dominant methodology –, has the advantage of providing a seemingly "global" idea of the phenomenon, it nevertheless runs the risk of taking the examples out of context, which can be misleading.

This article is divided in two main parts. The first one gives an account of the main contributions to the debate on the "Angevin Empire". The aim is twofold: to show how historians have made different uses of the concept and their conclusions are closely related to their understanding of what an "empire" is; and how recent contributions tend to address the problem of the "Angevin Empire" from a new perspective centred on the vocabulary of the sources. The second part will focus on Gerald of Wales's understanding of *imperium* and the way he depicts the Angevin dominions through an analysis of the vocabulary he uses. The purpose is to see whether this vocabulary channels imperial ideas in relation to the Angevins.

The "Angevin Empire" and Historiography

The expression "Angevin Empire" was coined in the late nineteenth century by the British historian Kate Norgate and it appeared for the first time in 1887 in her book *England under the Angevin Kings*.[5] She used this expression to emphasize not only Henry II's successful expansionist policies, but most importantly his Angevin origins, shifting the dominant nationalistic and Anglocentric approach of British historiography.[6] For Norgate, the "Angevin Empire" was a "consistent whole" formed by two autonomous parts. First, England, an independent kingdom where Henry ruled as the highest authority, and from where he imposed his power over Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Second, his continental possessions in France, with their heartland in Anjou and nominally subjected to the King of France. These two cores were not subordinated to one another and could not be ruled in equal terms. This was essentially the nature of Henry's empire: he ruled over a different group of lands, joint together only by his personal rule, different in each case.[7]

The idea of an "Angevin Empire" became part of the vocabulary of the field very quickly. *Empire* seemed to be an appropriate concept to name the complex and

[5] Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings,* Vol. II (London and New York: McMillan & Co., 1887).

[6] For a general understanding of British historiography during Norgate's times, see Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past. English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870– 1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[7] Norgate, *England Under the Angevin Kings*, 185–186. See also Stephen Church, "Was There an Angevin Empire?" available online at https://www.uea.ac.uk/angevin-world/feature-of-the-month, 3.

extensive territorial gathering under the rule of the Angevin dynasty. In the 1960s, however, the idea began to be questioned. The political and theoretical agenda set by the process of decolonisation encouraged a renewed interest in imperial and colonial history.[8] It was particularly the work of John Le Patourel and his theory of "feudal empires" which revitalized the interest of medieval historians in the polity built by the Angevin rulers, and triggered a debate about the accuracy of the term "empire" as applied to the Angevin dominions.

In an article published in 1965, Le Patourel proposed the existence of "feudal empires" which were the result of the expansionist will of dynastic groups. These families had acquired great political and territorial powers after the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire.[9] The need of these dynasties to secure their power and control over their lands created, for Le Patourel, an expansionist logic based on war, inheritance and marriage. This gave birth to at least three great dynastic and territorial cores: Normandy (which later incorporated the kingdom of England), Aquitaine and Anjou. From his point of view, this logic changed significantly after Henry II started to actively seek power. As heir to Anjou, Normandy and England, and after his marriage with Leonor of Aquitaine, Henry created a sort of "empire of empires": the Angevins were now in control of all the post-Carolingian "feudal empires" and the kingdom of England.[10] For Le Patourel, this meant that Henry's empire was a "French feudal empire": despite Henry's active campaigns in Britain, his interests remained focused in France.[11] This assertion was an intention to argue against Anglocentric perspectives which regarded the "Angevin Empire" as a kind of pre-history of the later British Empire.[12]

Le Patourel's work encouraged a great number of publications which appeared in the 1970s. These works, also highly influenced by structuralism, did

[8] A good general overview of postcolonial theory and key problems is the *Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Graham Huggan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). There, Dane Kennedy's article "Postcolonialism and History" provides a good overview of the influence of postcolonial theory in the field of historiography. Regarding the historiography of the British Empire, perhaps the most complete account is *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. V: Historiography, edited by Robin W. Winks and Alaine Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[9] John Le Patourel, "The Plantagenet Dominions," *History* 50, no. 170 (1965): 290. See also John Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires. Norman and Plantagenet*, ed. by Michael Jones (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984).

[10] Le Patourel, "The Plantagenet Dominions," 294. This is why Le Patourel speaks of "Plantagenet dominions" rather than "Angevin Empire" to address Henry's polity: "Angevin Empire" designated, for Le Patourel, the original territorial dominion of the counts of Anjou.

[11] *Ibid.*, 295.

[12] *Ibid.*, 295–296.

not intend to question the utility or meaning of the concept, but were mainly concerned with the organization of the "Angevin Empire", its functioning and its nature. The articles by Warren Hollister, Thomas Keefe and Bernard Bachrach are representative of this concern about the "architecture" of Henry's empire.[13] One of their key questions was whether the "Angevin Empire" was the result of an active "imperial" policy or of a series of accidental events. Hollister and Keefe postulated the idea that this "empire" was not the result of unintended events, but the consequence of the active work of Henry II between 1152 and 1156.[14] Inspired by their work, a few years later, Bernard Bachrach proposed an alternative theory of the origins of the "Angevin Empire". For him, the architect of the "empire" had not been Henry II: in his opinion, its origins were to be found in the expansionist intentions of the Counts of Anjou as early as the tenth century.[15] He was, to some extent, relying on Le Patourel's assertions regarding the French feudal empires.[16]

It was also in the 1970s that voices questioning the idea of the "Angevin Empire" raised. In 1973, Wilfred L. Warren published a biography of Henry II.[17] There, he made clear his disagreement with the notion of empire. For him, the evidence of a unified administration was scarce, and Henry's plans for the future of these dominions did clearly reveal the absence of a notion of unity. Henry gave his sons part of his lands while still alive, and the only reason Richard inherited the totality of the dominions in 1189 was due to the premature death of two of his brothers.[18] Warren had an alternative proposition, which did not thrived. Since for him the Angevin lands were "no more than a loose confederation of client states", Henry's possessions could be better regarded as a "commonwealth of seven internally self-governing dominions linked merely by dynastic ties and oath-takings (…)."[19]

[13] Warren Hollister and Thomas Keefe, "The Making of the Angevin Empire," *Journal of British Studies* 12 (1973):1–25. And Bernard Bachrach, "The Idea of the Angevin Empire," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 10 (1978): 293–299.

[14] Hollister and Keefe, "The Making of the Angevin Empire," 3.

[15] Bachrach, "The Idea of the Angevin Empire," 295.

[16] *Ibid*, 293.

[17] Wilfred Lewis Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991 [1973]).

[18] Warren, *Henry II*, 228–230.

[19] *Ibid*., 230.

In 1975 James Holt pronounced himself on the matter during a Raleigh Lecture on History.[20] Although his main concern was to explain the collapse of the former Anglo-Norman realm forged after the Norman Conquest of 1066, he shared his views regarding the "Angevin Empire". Although he did not deny the idea, Holt put a question mark next to it. For him, even if Angevin rule did encourage "the development of strong centralized systems of government within provinces of their dominions," and exercised "imperial acts" like issuing orders for the totality of the dominions, the existence of practical difficulties to impose a centralized system of administration and the inexplicit intention of Henry to guarantee the posthumous unity of his lands, made the idea of the empire hard to support. One may conclude that if Henry's was an empire at all, it was a non-functioning one.[21]

In 1984, a conference was held at Fontevraud on the topic of the Angevins and the results were published two years later.[22] Writing the conclusion for the dossier, and acknowledging the results of the different contributions, Robert Henri Bautier suggested to abandon the idea of an "Angevin Empire" and replace it for that of an "*espace Plantagenêt*."[23] His general conclusions about the conference were that most participants were not entirely comfortable, within their respective fields, with the idea of "empire," and the general opinion was that Henry's possessions were only an assemblage of lands and the result of hazardous events.[24] The absence of common religious and administrative practices made it difficult to consider the Angevin land's as an "empire." Although the idea of an "*espace Plantagenêt*" was not successful in replacing the idea of empire, it did influence later perspectives, enhanced by the effects of the *spatial turn* in recent French historiography.[25]

It was also in 1984 that John Gillingham published his seminal book *The Angevin Empire*.[26] In this short piece of work, Gillingham was seeking to revive the discussion about the "Angevin Empire" by going back to the basis set by the

[20] James Holt, "The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 61 (1975): 223–265.

[21] *Ibid*., 227 and 241–242.

[22] Robert- Henri Bautier, "« Empire Plantagenêt » ou « espace Plantagenêt ». Y eut-il une civilisation du monde Plantagenêt ?" *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 113–114 (1986): 139–147.

[23] *Ibid*., 146–147.

[24] *Ibid*.,146.

[25] See Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline, eds., *Space in the Medieval West. Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Fanny Madeline, "L'empire et son espace. Héritages, organisations et pratiques," *Hypothèses* 1 (2007): 213–225. See also Fanny Madeline, *Les Plantagenêts et leur empire. Construire un territoire politique* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

[26] Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*.

works of Kate Norgate and John Le Patourel. He was questioning Anglocentric perspectives and sustaining the idea of the "Angevin Empire" as a French one for, after all, Angevin rulers were "French princes who numbered England among their possessions."[27]

Gillingham was also keen on showing that the "Angevin Empire" was not just the result of hazardous events, but it was the consequence of the active interests of the House of Anjou.[28] Although once the empire collapsed little was left that resemble any sort of cultural or political community, during Henry's lifetime it was clear for Gillingham that a slow tendency towards the development of common administrative practices was in progress.[29] He pays particular attention to what he considers shared economic interests among the different urban centres of both England and France as one of the key elements which sustains the idea of an empire. As he states, "this economic interest was strong enough to create in those towns an active political will in favour of retaining the 'imperial connection'."[30]

It is clear that up to this point the interest of historiography was not in problematizing the concept of "empire" in use, but rather to acknowledge the structure and functioning of the Angevin dominions. Historians in favour of characterizing them as an "empire" and historians who denied the accuracy of the expression were both basing their arguments on preconceived ideas of "empire" which were not explicit but were actually the key to their disagreement. For the historiography of the period, the Angevin lands could be regarded or not as an empire by considering their level of centralized administration; the intentions of cultural or political homogenization; the existence of an imperial "design" or plan for preserving the imperial structure intact; the ways of "building" the empire (military conquest, marriage, inheritance); and the relation between the constituent parts of it (exploitation, economic interests, etc). This "checklist" of elements was part of a paradigm of understanding which considered the "empire" a formal model objectively applicable to different historical cases.[31] But what is significant in the case of the debate over the "Angevin Empire" is the tendency to

[27] *Ibid.*, 1.

[28] *Ibid.*, 7.

[29] *Ibid.,* 80–82 and 116.

[30] *Ibid.,* 116.

[31] Undeniably this is, to a large extent, the dominant paradigm in imperial studies, still present in theoretical interventions, attempts of formal definitions and of course in comparative approaches. See for example Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); also Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History. Power and the politics of difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

avoid any considerations about the concept in use. Perhaps the most evident case is found in Gillingham's book, where he explicitly asserts his lack of interest in discussing the term "empire" even when he accepts it can be problematic.[32]

There have been, however, significant changes in the past few decades, which have impacted the discussion about the Angevin domains. The influence of postmodernist approaches and the new agenda set by the "imperial turn" has made room for new perspectives in the study of empires.[33] One of the key shifts has been the re-centring of the understanding of "empire" from conceptual and semantic perspectives. The fundamental works of Richard Koebner (1961) and Robert Folz ([1953] 1969) first put on the spot the meaningful results that tracing the evolution of different historical ideas of empire could have for the historiographical field. Recent works by Anthony Pagden, James Muldoon and John Richardson have contributed to this change of perspective, focusing not only on the changes in the meaning of the concept in different moments and places, but also on the coexistence of different senses of it, acknowledging the intrinsic polysemy of the concept.[34]

One first example of how these new tendencies have subtly influenced the "Angevin Empire's" debate is Martin Aurell's *L'Empire des Plantagenêt*.[35] In this book, Aurell seeks to understand the functioning of the "Angevin Empire" by analysing its power structures, the ideological framework and the propagandistic

[32] He states that: "Unquestionably if used in conjunction with atlases in which Henry II's lands are coloured red, it is a dangerous term, for then overtones of the British Empire are unavoidable and politically crass. But in ordinary English usage 'empire' can mean nothing more specific than an extensive territory, especially an aggregate of many states, ruled over by a single ruler." See Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 3.

[33] See, among others, Antoine Burton (ed.), *After the Imperial Turn* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003); Krishan Kumar, *Visions of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Durba Ghosh, "Another set of Imperial Turns?" *The American Historical Review* 177/3 (2012): 772–793; and also Ilya Gerasimov, Sergey Glebov, Jan Kusber, Marina Mogilner and Alexander Semyonov, "New Imperial History and the Challenges of Empire," in *Empire Speaks Out*, eds. Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber and Alexander Semyonov (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 3–32.

[34] Folz's work was originally published in French in 1953. The English translation appeard for the first in 1969: *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe: From the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969); Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); John Richardson, *The Language of Empire. Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and "*Imperium Romanum*: empire and the language of power," *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 1–9.

[35] Martin Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenet 1154–1224* (Paris: Perrin, 2004).

tools that contributed to the imposition of Angevin power.[36] Aurell has the idea that there was an intention, among Angevin kings, to homogenise the territories in ideological terms, and he sees the development of a primitive bureaucratic system around the court as the key element of this process.[37] Although his aim is not to enter a discussion about "empires", he does however recognise the need of a more critical approach. In the introduction, he traces the development of the debate, giving perhaps one of the very few historiographical synthesis of it. He calls attention to key aspects of the debate, such as the national particularities of each historiography, and formulates explicitly how any discussion of the "Angevin Empire" should be about power, which poses questions about our understanding of politics, state formation and violence.[38]

Another example of how recent historiography is paying more attention to the consequences of using the concept of "empire", is another contribution of Gillingham published in 2016.[39] If he had previously denied any discussion of the term, in this paper he recognises the need to supply a definition of empire and to make explicit "the criteria by which we employ the term 'empire'."[40] Gillingham then adopts Stephen Howe's general definition of empire, who describes it as a large political body consisting of a core territory inhabited by a superior ethnic group, and a periphery usually composed by conquered territories.[41]

More recent studies on the "Angevin Empire" show an increasing interest in addressing the debate with a more attentive look at the language of the sources as a means to understand what contemporaries thought of their political and territorial

[36] For another interesting work on the ideology of the Angevin kings see Amaury Chauou, *L'idéologie Plantagenêt* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001).

[37] Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt*, 31.

[38] *Ibid*., 19–20.

[39] John Gillingham, "Bureaucracy: the English State and the Crisis of the Angevin Empire, 1199–1205," in *Bureaucracy in World History. From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. P. Crooks and T. Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 197–220.

[40] Gillingham, "Bureaucracy," 202.

[41] Stephen Howe's defines an empire like: "[A] large political body which rules over territories outside its original borders. It has a core territory whose inhabitants usually continue to form the dominant ethnic group, and an extensive periphery of dominated areas, usually acquired by conquest, but sometimes, especially in the medieval world, expansion comes about by the intermarriage of ruling families from previously independent states…" See the quote in Gillingham, "Bureaucracy," 202. For the full definition, see Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14–15. For Gillingham, the core lands of the "Angevin Empire" were the inherited ones: Anjou, Main, Touraine, Normandy and England. The rest of the territories, Aquitaine, Wales, Ireland and Brittany were peripheral. See Gillingham, "Bureaucracy," 202–203.

realities. Nicholas Vincent's work on the official records of Henry II's chancery has shown how *imperium* was never used by the Angevin Kings.[42] He analyses the specific formulaic and linguistic evidence in the records in order to establish "what the charters themselves may tell us of the king's approach to the various lands over which he ruled."[43] He concludes that Henry's territorial domains are always channelled through a constellation of words which include *dominium*, *potestas*, *terra,* adjectives like *transmarina* and *cismarina* when associated to the land, and expressions such as *citra et ultra mare*, which reveal the cross-Channel nature of Henry's lands.[44]

But perhaps the most enriching perspective of the past few years is best represented by the works of Fanny Madeline, which combine a critical use of the concept of *empire* and a source-based approach. Her use of the concept is joint by an adequate contextualization and discussion of it which, even when it does not prevent her from using it for the Angevins, makes explicit the implications of its use, acknowledging, in a refreshing way, that the choice of concepts and analytical categories is not a neutral, objective or obvious thing.[45] Alongside with her concern about the concept, Madeline has recently focused her attention on tracking down elements in the sources which allow her to support the idea that there was indeed an Anglo-Norman "imperial styling" and that the langue of power of the Anglo-Norman kings was closely related to medieval ideas of *imperium*. In an article published in 2018, she addresses these issues and focuses on "the occurrences and uses of the word *imperium* in the texts written under the Norman and Plantagenet kings". Although she recognises the absence of the term in administrative documents, she insists that they can be commonly found in historical narratives, particularly within the British context. [46] Her main argument is that during the Norman and Angevin periods there was a hybrid idea of empire which combined notions of hegemonic power as well as Roman and Carolingian symbolism.

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[42] He states that the debate surrounding the idea of an "Angevin Empire" is "(…) a debate in many ways founded upon a wholly anachronistic confusion between the medieval concept of *imperium* and the modern idea of 'empire', itself far from universally agreed." See Vincent, "Regional Variations," 70–106. As he shows, *imperium* occurs in only one charter which is a forgery. See page 78.

[43] Vincent, "Regional Variations," 71.

[44] *Ibid*., 79.

[45] See, for example, Fanny Madeline, "L'empire des Plantagenets. Espace féodal et construction territorial," *Hypothèses* 1, no. 11 (2008): 236–252; also "L'empire et son espace" and "The idea of 'empire' as hegemonic power".

[46] Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power" 181.

These new outlooks have raised new and important question that suggest new lines of inquiry. Vocabulary based approaches such as those of Vincent and Madeline show how, for example, the different nature of documents (e.g. administrative sources or narrative accounts) may lead historians to different conclusions. The choice of focusing on words is productive because they are the means by which past concepts and representations have come to us.[47] A choice of words may respond to different factors and individual decisions, but it also represents the general worldview in which an author is immersed.

Gerald of Wales and the "Angevin Empire"

The choice of focusing the analysis on Gerald of Wales' *De Principis Instructione*, is both related to the author's biography and to the specific characteristics of the text. Gerald was an extraordinary witness to his own time: as a man who was connected to royal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical circles, his testimony provides an insight to the political affairs of the period. He was versed in history, theology and law, and his worldview is representative of the conventions, prejudices and conceptualizations of the intellectual group he belonged to.[48]

De Principis Instructione, composed between 1191 and 1216, combines a reflection on the moral virtues of the ruler and a narrative of Henry II's reign, and thus provides a valuable insight into the views of Gerald on political matters and makes it an ideal source of information for addressing the problem of the "Angevin Empire".[49] *De Principis* had a complex process of composition and was thought by Gerald as a didactic piece of writing dedicated to instruct the ruler.[50] It is divided

[47] Susan Reynolds, "Empires: a problem of comparative history," *Historical Research* 79, no. 204 (2006): 152.

[48] For a detailed account of Gerald's life and works, see Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales. A voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006). Most of Gerald's works were edited in the 19th century. Cf. *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 Vols. edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, RS 21, 1861–1891).

[49] I have chosen to use Bartlett's recent critical edition of *De Principis Instructione*, published by Oxford Medieval Texts in 2018. Apart from providing the first full English translation, this edition is the first one to present the complete Latin text. George Warner's previous edition for the *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (vol. 8, London, 1891), although contains all three books, usually shortens long passages of classical quotations, mainly in Book One. All quotations from *De Principis* in this article will be then taken from Bartlett's publication, indicating book, chapter, and pages to that edition.

[50] Robert Bartlett believes that versions of the work were in existence in 1191: "Gerald refers to the *De Principis instructione* in several of his other works. The earliest such mention seems to be in the first edition of the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, where, referring to the miserable end of Henry II, he writes 'as we narrated in the book *De Principis instructione*'. James F. Dimock, the editor, dated

in three books: the first, forming over half of the entire work, contains Gerald's considerations on the principles that make a ruler virtuous and the dangers of becoming a tyrant.[51] It is the longest book, and it is full of *exempla* and quotations from a variety of sources.[52] The second and third books, on the other hand, consist

this version of the *Itinerarium* to 1191 (…) if this is correct, Gerald had written at least parts of what are now Books Two and Three of the *De Principis Instructione* by the middle of 1191." Robert Bartlett, "Introduction," in *De Principis Instructione* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), xiii–xiv. There is no proof, however, that the first version of *De Principis* was published in its complete form, with the three books. There are testimonies that Gerald published Book One separately and kept working on Books Two and Three. They could have been originally intended as separate works, but it is uncertain. It is also possible that Gerald began to prepare the definitive version near the time he left the King's court, and waited until King John's death to publish the definite version, which was issued c. 1216–1217. The decision to publish the book so late could be related to the fact that, given the fierce critic of Henry II it contains, it would not have been safe to do it before. See Bartlett, "Introduction," xviii. *De Principis Instructione* survives in only one manuscript, the Cotton MS Julius B XIII, ff. 48r–173v, now in the British Library. It is a manuscript from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and according to Bartlett it might be a copy of a second and revised edition of the original text. Of this original text, only the Preface is extant in another single manuscript from the early thirteenth century, the MS R. 7.11 in Trinity College (Cambridge). This preface is found in ff. 86r–92r, followed by the prefaces of the three books which are closely similar to the ones in the Cotton MS Julius B XIII. Both the manuscript in the British Library and the one in Trinity college have been digitized and are available for consultation: see http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_julius_b_xiii_f048r and https://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=R.7.11#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=87&xywh=1726%2C597%2C980%2C520. See Bartlett, "Introduction," xi-xii.

[51] Bartlett considers it a "mirror for princes", given the fact that it is essentially a moral exhortation with the didactic purpose of teaching or giving counsel to rulers on how to conduct their behaviour. Bartlett, "Introduction," xxiii.

[52] These are the Bible, classical authors and poets, patristic texts, legal works and *florilegia*. From the Bible, Gerald usually extracts moral precepts and historical examples and he quotes mainly from the Psalms and the Book of Mathew. From patristic texts, he uses mostly Jerome's letters and Ambrose's *De Officis*, although he also quotes (or attributes quotations to) Augustine and Gregory the Great. Regarding Roman pagan authors, he uses references to Seneca, Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, among others. It is interesting to notice, as Bartlett suggests, that most references to classical authors do not often come from first hand texts, but from *florilegia*, collection of extracts of classical authors very popular in the 12th century. Bartlett shows how Gerald takes most of classical quotes and references from three main anthologies, the *Florilegium Angelicum*, the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* and the *Florilegium Gallicum*. In some passages, particularly in chapter 20, Gerald shows knowledge of Justinian's *Codex*, the *Digest* and the *Institutes* and, although he does not make it explicit, he also alludes to Gratian's *Decretum*. Finally, Book One contains many passages taken from medieval chronicles. Gerald uses them manly when he is discussing Roman and Carolingian history. He relies frequently on Hugh of Fleury's chronicle, but he also quotes from Paul the Deacon and the *Vita Karoli Magni* (which he attributes to Alcuin). On the matter of the sources see Bartlett, "Introduction," xxxv–lvi.

of a narrative account of the reign of Henry II, with an emphasis on the period that goes from the death of Thomas Becket in 1170 to Henry's death in 1189.[53]

An analysis based on the vocabulary used by Gerald provides an opportunity to understand his idea of the Angevin dominions but also of what *imperium* was for him. These elements together should reveal whether there was any direct association between the power of Henry II and his sons and "imperial" ideas or if, on the contrary, this association is hard to acknowledge through the specific vocabulary used.

Let us begin first by focusing on the uses of the "imperial vocabulary" – that is, all the case variations of the nouns *imperium*, *imperator*, *imperatrix*, and adjectives such as *imperialis* and *imperatorius* – in Gerald's work.[54] The first thing to point out is that imperial terms appear more extensively in Book One (221 cases) than in Books Two and Three (10 and 46 cases respectively). This is related to the specific contents of each book: for example, while the first is packed with historical examples, the disparity between the other two is best explained by the fact that Book Three gives a long account of the Third Crusade and thus includes many references to the Holy Roman Empire.

In broad terms, the majority of the imperial vocabulary in *De Principis* is related to specific historical cases and, with less frequency, it is used in an abstract sense. In Book One, most cases refer to the Roman Empire (126) and to the Carolingians (39).[55] Gerald also uses the imperial vocabulary when referring to

[53] Thomas Becket's murder is usually considered the turning point in Henry's life. See Bartlett, "Introduction," xxxii. About the narrative of "rise and fall" and its relation with the metaphor of the Wheel of Fortune, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 64–68.

[54] Verbal forms (*impero*) or participles were not included in the analysis for they are not particularly revealing of the general conceptualization of "empire". *Impero* is usually translated as "command", "rule", "govern", as so are its related participles. To include verbal forms it would have been necessary to search for other synonyms of "rule" and "command" in the source, which would have given an idea if the verb *impero* is used in particular contexts or it is randomly use without any further connotations. Unfortunately, this would have gone beyond the scope and also the possibilities of the present work. In the thesis on which this article is based there is a list of all the cases of imperial vocabulary as they appear in *De Principis*. See the appendices in Maria Paula Rey "The Vocabulary of Empire Gerald of Wales and the 'Angevin empire'" (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2019), 80–87.

[55] Regarding the Carolingians, Gerald discusses many aspects among which is the transmission of the Western Roman Empire to the Franks, the *translatio imperii*, mostly in 1.17 and 1.18. This is interesting, because it places Gerald within contemporary discussion of *imperium*. Gerald also gives testimony of the Donation of Constantine in i.18, which is one of the key elements in the medieval conception of the *translatio imperii*. In an interesting passage in 1.17, Gerald establishes the Empire of the Franks as the authentic Roman Empire, downgrading the Byzantine emperors as illegitimate.

Roman law (14),[56] the Eastern Roman Empire and Greek emperors (8),[57] and the Parthians, Scythians and Persians (10). In at least 19 examples, *imperium* appears meaning either "power", "rule" or "command" in a broad sense, and cannot be directly associated with a concrete historical case.[58] Lastly, only five instances appear to be cases either isolated or not entirely clear.[59]

In Book Two there are only ten examples of which half are related to Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1155–1190).[60] Although Book Three contains more cases (46), almost all of them refer also to Frederick or the Holy Roman Empire, and they mostly appear in the context of the discussion of the Third Crusade.[61]

There are three cases in Books Two and Three in which the imperial terminology seems to appear associated with the Angevins. These examples have been used by historians to support their argument that there were, in fact, links between the Angevins and imperial ideas of power.[62] The first case is the relation of Henry II

On the importance of the *translatio imperii* in the context of the Plantagenet ideology, see Amaury Chauou, *L'idéologie Plantagenêt*, 174–175.

56 Particularly Justinian's *Code*, the *Digest* and the *Institutes.*

57 There is one instance in Book One where he speaks of the "Greek emperors" (*imperatoribus Grecis*). *De Principis*, 1.17, 232. Instances where Justinian is mentioned are usually in relation to the Roman law, and therefore the examples were considered into that group.

58 To illustrate this, a good example is found in 1.13, when Gerald quotes the following sentence: "Vis magnum imperium, do tibi, impera tibi." *De Principis,* 1.13, 158–159. Another example of this abstract use is in Gerald's description of the ruler's titles, where he explains why an "emperor" is called in that way: "Imperator igitur ab imperando dicitur, quoniam in totum imperii corpus exercet imperia; puta penes quem est imperando ab universitate collata potestas." *De Principis,* 1.19, 318–319.

59 Of this last group, for example, is one of Gerald's anecdotes regarding Gregory VII: he says the Pope appeared wearing "imperial ornaments" (*imperialibus ornamentis*). In other opportunity Gerald, when writing about Theobald of Blois, speaks of "imperial Burgundy" to refer to the Dukedom of Burgundy, but it is the only instance in the entire work. Both cases appear in *De Principis*, 1.20, 354: "(…) papam uidisset tam pontificalibus quam eciam imperialibus ornamentis insignitum (…)". The other case appears in 1.20, 386: "(...) in Burgundia regale quam imperii quoque finibus (...)". Here Gerald is telling the story of Theobald of Blois, one of whose daughters married Odo II of Burgundy.

60 They appear mostly in 2.1, 444–445 and 2.30, 547–548.

61 In Book Three there are also a few occurrences where the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos is mentioned as the "Greek emperor," in clear contrast with Frederick, the "emperor of the Romans." See *De Principis*, 3.20, 644–645. For the events of the Third Crusade Gerald relies almost entirely on the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*. According to Bartlett, "from the last paragraph of iii.16 to the end of iii.22, Gerald's *De Principis Instructione* is identical to the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (…)." Bartlett, "Introduction," lv.

62 Particularly Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power," 190 but also Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt,* 9.

and his mother, Matilda. In 3.27, Gerald refers to Matilda as *imperatricem*, which is not rare in medieval sources: before marrying Henry's father, Count Geoffrey of Anjou, Matilda was married to Emperor Henry V for almost eleven years. After the emperor's death and her marriage with Geoffrey she kept using the title "*imperatrix*" in public documents.[63] This example is the only case where Gerald mentions Henry's mother, and the passage reveals more about Matilda than about Henry.

Although Gerald never refers to Henry as "fitzempress" (*filius imperatricis*), he was occasionally styled in this way, which has been understood as Henry's attempt to establish a symbolic link with the Imperial See. Fanny Madeline believes that Henry was, by using this formula, "claiming an imperial status through his maternal legacy."[64] It could be possible that Henry was trying to enhance his authority by suggesting some kind of filiation with the Empire. However, Madeline's assertion that this was Henry's way of fulfilling an "imperial ambition" seems to push the argument to an extreme and would require a deeper analysis of the uses of the label "fitzempress", for there is no proof that Henry ever sought the imperial dignity.

A second case also occurs in Book Three, in a passage copied from the *Topographia Hibernica*.[65] There, Gerald describes the moral and physical aptitudes of Richard I and Henry the Young King as future rulers and asserts that both brothers had a figure "*digne imperio*" (worthy to rule).[66] Although translating "*imperio*" as "to rule" seems to fit perfectly the context, Madeline gives a different reading and proposes a direct translation of "*imperio*" as "empire."[67] This allows her to argue that for Gerald, "imperial dignity should also be embodied by men of good moral and

[63] Gerald writes "Ad haec etiam, ut ostendatur qualiter ex regis Henrici parte radix quoque propagnis vitata fuerit, siendum quod imperator Henricus, cui nupserat filia regis Henrici primi et mater secundi, nomine Matildis, quique propter ambitum terrenum primo patrem suum carnalem captum in vinculis tenuit et postea sipiritualem, papam scilicet Paschalem, imperium sponte reliquit et, in ultimis occidentaleis Britannie versus Cestriam finibus heremun petens, ibi usque ad obitum suum sancte et religiose poenitentiamegit. *Imperatricem* vero reversam comes Andegaviae Gaufredus patre tradente, ses marito vivente, nuptam suscepit, filiosque ex ea genuit, quorum duo jam in spica et spe magna, súbito tamen et sine fructu, emarcuerunt et evanuerunt, tertius autem, ut dictum est, coepit altius quam finivit." *De Principis*, 3.27, 686.

[64] Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power," 190.

[65] *De Principis* 3.8, 600. Also *Topographia Hibernica,* in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera,* Vol. 5, ed. J.F. Dimock (London, 1867), 3.50 and 3.51.

[66] "Diversis igitur tam moribus quam studiis eodem ex germine eademque radice duo cum fuerint, perpetue tamen laudis gloriam eternitatisque memoriam uterque promeruit. Ambo staturae grandis, pauloque plusquam mediocris, et forme *digne imperio.* Strenuitas illis et animi magnitudo fere par, sed via virtutis valde dispar." *De Principis*, 3.8, 600

[67] She translates *et forme digne imperio* as "and a body worthy of the empire". Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as hegemonic power," 191.

physical stature (…) therefore, *imperium* had a physical presence in the body of the ruler."[68] The relation between the appearance of *imperium* in this passage and the association of it with the imperial dignity does not seem so direct when considering the alternative translation. And although it is true that for Gerald a virtuous ruler is a man of good moral behaviour, he speaks of this as a condition for every kind of ruler.

The last example can be found in chapter 2.21, in a passage where Gerald praises the easy way in which Henry II got control of Wales and Scotland, and compares him with Alexander the Great.[69] This expression has also been used by historians to justify the idea that Henry ruled an empire.[70] However, although this comparison seems to allow an association between the Angevins and the idea of empire as conquest and military success, to conclude that this allows to speak about Henry's dominions as an "empire" seems dubious. This example, together with others where Gerald compares Henry the Young king with Caesar and Augustus in an attempt to praise his virtues, could be alternatively read as a rhetorical tool in a context where he is clearly enhancing the great power of the rulers.[71]

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[68] *Ibid*., 191.

[69] He calls Henry "western Alexander": "Certant enim cum orbe terrarum victorie vestre; cum a Pyrineis Hispanie montibus usque in occiduos et extremos borealis occeani fines, *Alexander noster occidentalis,* brachium extendisti. Quantum igitur hiis in partibus natura terras, tantum et victorias extulisti. Si excursuum tuorum metse querantur, prius deerit orbis quam aderit finis. Animoso quippe pectori cessare possunt terre, cessare nesciunt victorie; nec deesse poterunt triumphi, sed materia triumphandi. (...) Qualiter fulguranti adventus vestri lumine attoniti occidentales reguli, tanquam ad lucubrum, avide ad vestrum statim *imperium* convolaverint!" *De Principis*, 2.21, 516–517. This passage is taken by Gerald from the *Topographia Hibernica,* 3.46, 3.47, 3.48.

[70] Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt*, 9–10 and Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power," 189. According to her the "occurrences of the term *imperium* in chronicles of the reign of Henry II are often associated with the narrative of his conquests in the British Isles." Madeline, "The idea of 'Empire' as hegemonic power," 191. The image of Henry as a "conqueror" within the British Isles has given space to some historiography to see an intrinsic "imperialistic attitude" of the English over their neighbours developing already in the twelfth century, which is often associated with the emergence of a national identity. However, as an example quoted by Rees Davies shows, despite the fact that there is an intention of asserting Henry's superior status through language, the imperial vocabulary does not seem to be the way, "Scotland was recurrently referred to as a land (*terra*), not as a kingdom (*regnum*) (…) the premier-league status of Henry II's title as 'the lord king' (*dominus rex*) stood in pointed superiority to that of William, merely 'king of the Scots' (*rex Scottorum*). See R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire. Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14. See also Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 338–339 and 342–343. See also John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century. Imperialism, national identity and political values* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), Part I.

[71] *De Principis,* 2.9, 474–475. In the same section, Gerald refers to Henry the Young Kings as a "second Alexander" (*Macedo secundus*). *De Principis*, 2.9, 476–477.

Madeline, for instance, believes that these references illustrate how Gerald applied elements from "the lexical field of the word *imperium*" to depict Angevin power and concludes that these sort of comparisons, present in many other contemporary accounts, show how the Angevin kings "used imperial models as references of governmental virtues."[72] This is hard to deny. Given the intellectual background of authors like Gerald, whose knowledge was very much rooted in the revitalised interest on Latin classics and Roman law, it is expected that they channelled their understanding of power through the *exempla* or theoretical framework provided by sources they considered authoritative. In any case, this does not mean that they could not differentiate the political attributions of Roman emperors and those of medieval rulers such as Henry. The comparisons Gerald uses can be alternatively seen as a rhetorical way to express the outstanding achievements of Henry and his son, and not a testimony of him acknowledging Henry's dominions as an empire or his power as an "imperial" one.

There is one further reading of the comparison of Henry II to Alexander, which reveals how an analysis centred on the overall view of an author can help put examples which seem straightforward under new light. The image of Alexander that Gerald portraits is not a consistently positive one. He places him among those rulers who despite their great achievements had succumbed to temptations and had faced a dramatic fate. In comparing Henry with him he might be well channelling a praising but also an implicit critique. There is a similarity between Alexander succumbing to his vices and Henry: they both had known all glories but, as a consequence of their misbehaviour, had suffered a tragic end.[73] The comparison, in

[72] Madeline, "The Idea of 'Empire' as Hegemonic Power," 192.

[73] On Henry's ill ambition Gerald writes: "Preterea in transmarinis Aquitannice Gallie partibus preter Andegauiam, Cenomanniam et Turoniam, que ei patrimoniali iure, Pictaviam quoque et Gasconiam totam usque ad Pyrenoeos Hispanie montes, que ei matrimonialiter obuenerant, dominatui suo Aluerniam et Berricum, Gisorcium quoque cum Vegesino Normannico, olim Normannise subtracto, uiriliter adiecit. Nec solum ad Francorum, simplicis ac sancti uiri Ludouici regis abutens commoditate, uerum etiam ad Romanum imperium, occasione werre diutine et inexorabilis discordie inter imperatorem Frethericum et suos oborte, tam Ytalia tota, quam urbe Romulea sepius inuitatus, comparata quidem sibi ad hoc Morianae uallis et Alpium uia, sed non efficaciter obtenta, animositate sua ambitum extendit." *De Principis*, 2.1, 444– 445. The idea of the brilliant carrier followed by an abrupt and unexpected fate can be also found in Henry's epitaph, as recorded by Roger of Wendover, Mathew Paris and Ralph of Diceto. See on this matter Robert Favreau, "L'épitaphe d'Henri II Plantagenêt à Fontevraud," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 50 (2007): 3–10. The way Gerald portraits the death and funeral of Henry gives an eloquent picture of the dramatic fate of the king. See *De Principis*, 3.28, 694–697.

the broader context of *De Principis*, seems to be more an assertion of the common disgraceful destiny of both rulers than an argument to understand Henry's power and domains as an "empire".

It can be concluded that those cases in which the imperial vocabulary appears in association with the Angevin dynasty are rare and ambiguous and the term is often used in the abstract sense of "rule," "power" or "command." The impression is that Gerald had a clear idea of what *imperium* was, and this is very much aligned with the more general medieval understandings of "empire," which combined an abstract sense of the term with notions of it which were attached to real political phenomena.[74]

The focus should be now put on the way Gerald makes reference to the Angevin dominions. What appears is a semantic display very similar to that found by Nicholas Vincent in Henry's charters.[75] The most common terms are *terra*, *terra transmarina* and *regnum*, and it is clear there is a fundamental distinction between the insular lands and the "overseas lands" (*terrae transmarinae)*. Gerald seems to acknowledge the British Isles as a unified whole under Henry's command, although he does recognize that Britain is made up of individual constituent "realms" (*regna*) and "lands" (*terrae*) – Scotland, Ireland and Wales – as something different from England.[76] However, the *regnum Anglorum*, which gives Henry his highest title, is considered the supreme entity under which the others are subjected to.

When mentioned, Henry's lands in France are almost always referred to by the generic "*terra*" and usually the adjective "*transmarina*". Although Gerald differentiates the French lands in terms of the way they came under Henry's rule (by inheritance, marriage or annexation), when he speaks of the Angevin dominions as a whole, the lands in France appear generally as a rather amorphous group

[74] On medieval conceptios of "empire" see Folz, *The Concept of Empire*, 3–4. Muldoon, *Empire and Order*, 9; also See Pagden, *Lords of All the World*. See also Rey, "The Vocabulary of Empire," where a detailed account of the development of the concept in the Middle Ages is given in Chapter 2.

[75] Vincent, "Regional Variations," 79.

[76] In 2.1, 442–443 he affirms that: "Totam insulam Britannie, sicut occeano clauditur, in unam potenti manu concludens monarchiam (…)." He then follows, acknowledging the circumstances of the Scottish homage to Henry: "Dicunt tamen Scoti, et propter honorem terre sue assertiue proponunt, quod princeps eorum tantum de terra que Leonis uocatur usque ad mare Scoticum, quod Scociam propemodum insulam factum ab Anglicano antiquitus regno discriminauit (…)." In a short fragment in 3.25, 672–673 England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales are regarded as different "realms" (*regna*).

in contrast with the *regnum Anglorum*, which stands for its individuality.[77] The contrast between England and the continental lands gives the idea of a hierarchy between them. This could be explained by the fact that as King, Henry had the same status that the King of France, but, in connection to his continental lands he was subjected to him. The status of Henry as king of England and his subordinate position regarding his French possessions illustrates the intricate personal and hierarchical relations of power of this period and may be the key to explain the treatment of his different domains.[78]

From these brief observations, it is clear that Gerald does not use a single term to address the Angevin dominions, and that the often used *terrae* is too general to specify a particular conceptualization of the lands as either a political or territorial entity. What prevails in *De Principis* is a differentiation of the Angevin possessions by their geographical location, way of acquisition and the status they gave to their ruler. Gerald's depiction of the Angevin domains is channeled through a vocabulary which shows an intricate net of personal ruling and reveals the overall image of a composite structure of several hierarchically different parts.

[77] See especially 2.1, a long chapter where Gerald describes Henry's possessions one by one. In 2.27, Gerald gives an account of the visit of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to England and Henry's refusal to assume any responsibility in Jerusalem. The contrast between the kingdom of England and the continental lands stands clear: "Dic uero Londoniis praefixo, multis quidem tam militaris ordinis quam plebis, per patriarchae monita publicosque tam eius quam uiri uenerabilis et sancti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Baldwini sermones ad populum suasorie factos, ad Christi obsequia consignatis, tandem responsum a rege patriarca suscepit, quod *regnum* suum absque tutela et regimine destituere, *terrasque suas transmarinas* Francorum rapacitati, quibus exosus exstiterat, ei inpraesentiarum exponere tutum non erat." *De Principis*, 2.27, 532–535. In 3.7, 392–393, Gerald tells us how Richard asked his father to guarantee him the loyalty of both English men and those of "the lands overseas" before his departure to the Holy Land: "Et quoniam tam longinquum iter et periculosum arripere debuit, ne quid absencia sua tam longa in preiudicium ipsius malitiose machinari possit, fidelitates procerum *regni* Anglicani, nec non et *terrarum transmarinarum* ipsum iure hereditario contingencium fidelitates, salua in omnibus fidelitate patri prius et exhibita et debita, suscipiendas indulgeret."

[78] This is clear in a number of passages throughout Books Two and Three. One good example is the letter that gives testimony to the agreement between King Louis and Henry to go together on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Here, the subordination of Henry as vassal of Louis, although he is addressed as "King Henry," is made very clear. *De Principis*, 2.5, 460–467. See also 2.1, 444–445; 2.28, 538–539 and 3.1, 564–567, where the hierarchical relation between Henry and King Louis and Henry's double quality as a King and vassal is evident.

Conclusions

The intricate nature of the "Angevin Empire" debate derives from a combination of the way historiography uses and applies analytical concepts and the intrinsic complexities of the sources and the ways of interpreting them. The use of a complex concept like "empire" has produced many excellent works on the Angevins, but it has also led to a debate in which the specific views of contemporaries have been slightly disregarded. Recent contributions have tried to correct this, but they have done so by focusing on finding in the sources elements which could support the idea of a link between the Angevins and imperial ideas.

The aim of this article was certainly not to overcome the debate on the "Angevin Empire", but to insist on the importance of understanding its logic, and to show the necessity to pay more attention to the specific ways in which the Angevin dominions where depicted in medieval sources. Even when the concept of "empire" seems useful as a general reference to designate something which had no name, the gap between our understanding of *empire* and that of the time of Henry II should be taken into serious consideration.

From the analysis of Gerald's *De Princpis Instructione*, it seems that there was a rather clear usage of *imperium* and its related terms, and that an association between "imperial ideas" and the Angevins is not necessarily an evident one. The actual vocabulary displayed in the documents might be well telling us something different about their logic and functioning that is not related to medieval ideas of empire, and even less to modern ones. If we accept that possibility, and if we focus on understanding the logic which seems to stand out from the vocabulary of the sources without the urging of considering it either as imperial or not, we might be able to open new possibilities of inquiry and to radically change the perspective under which the Angevin dominions have been largely understood.

THE DISCOURSE OF KINGSHIP IN JOHN GOWER'S MIRRORS OF PRINCES

Roman Tymoshevskyi

For as a king in special
Above all other is principal
Of his pouer, so scholde he be
Most virtuous in his degree.
(John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*)[1]

Alongside lyrical and ethical topics, the works of the fourteenth-century English poet John Gower are imbued with political themes. This is especially evident in his works addressed to the king or prince, the subject of which matter implies the authors' concern with questions related to politics. In terms of genre, these works can be considered as a part of a broader tradition of advice literature, in particular, the so-called *speculum principis* (mirror of princes) genre.[2] Since the main subject of mirrors of princes is the king and his rulership, by writing in this genre Gower concerned himself with shaping the discourse of kingship. In the present study, I will try to situate Gower's works within the general mirror of princes' discourse of kingship. To do this, I will reveal the twofold nature of his views on royal accountability and will demonstrate how he attempted to resolve the contradictory implications of the limits of royal power resulting from that duality.[3]

Although the existing scholarship pays enough attention to the political aspects of Gower's works, including those concerning righteous rulership, it largely neglects the complex analysis of Gower's kingship discourse. One of the main points of scholarly interest is Gower's courtly affiliation and the different aspects of his literary relations with institutions of power.[4] Much of the scholarship focuses on the intertextuality of Gower's works, including the mirrors of princes. In this

[1] John Gower, "Confessio Amantis," in *The Complete Works of John Gower: The English Works*, vol. 2, ed. George C. Macaulay (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1901), 280, lines 1745–1748.

[2] In this paper I will discuss the sixth book of John Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and, especially, the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, which can also be fully related to the mirrors of princes genre.

[3] This paper is based on Roman Tymoshevskyi, "The Discourse of Kingship in John Gower's and Thomas Hoccleve's Mirrors of Princes" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2019).

[4] Elliot Kendall, *Lordship and Literature: John Gower and the Politics of the Great Household* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008); David R. Carlson, *John Gower: Poetry and Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 121–227.

regard, special attention is paid to the influences of particular genres and literary sources on his writing.[5] While these works are invaluable for my own discussion here, the examination of Gower's political ideas in past scholarship, especially that of kingship, is particularly scattered and concentrates on individual aspects of his political discourse, especially on those related to the major topics of ethics and love.[6]

Foundations and Sources of Kingship

The basic element of the political theory of kingship is the foundation of the royal power over his subjects, or, to put it differently, the king's sovereignty. Due to the moralizing inclination in Gower's works, his views about royal sovereignty are not so clear. Discussing generosity as one of the main virtues pertinent to all men and especially to the king, in the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis* Gower connects the origin of kingship with the division and appropriation of the common good:

> The worldes good was ferst comune,
> Bot afterward upon fortune
> Was thilke comun profit cessed,
> For whan the poeple stod encresced
> And the lignages woxen grete,
> Anon for singulier begete
> Drouh every man to his partie;
> Wherof cam in the ferste envie
> With gret debat and werres stronge,

[5] Eleanor Johnson, *Practicing Literary Theory in the Middle Ages: Ethics and the Mixed Form in Chaucer, Gower, Usk, and Hoccleve* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 183–201; Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 168–90; Kathryn McKinley, "Lessons for a King from John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," in *Metamorphoses: The Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison Keith and Stephen Rupp (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 107–28.

[6] George R. Coffman, "John Gower in his Most Significant Role," in *Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays in Honor of George F. Reynolds*, ed. E. J. West (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1945), 51–62; Elizabeth Porter, "Gower's Ethical Microcosm and Political Macrocosm," in *Gower's Confessio Amantis: Responses and Reassessments*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), 135–62; Conrad van Dijk, *John Gower and the Limits of the Law* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 49–139; Matthew Giancarlo, "Gower's Governmentality: Revisiting John Gower as a Constitutional Thinker and Regimental Writer," in *John Gower: Others and Self*, ed. Russell A. Peck and R.F. Yeager (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 299–322.

> And laste among the men so longe […]
> Til ate laste in every lond
> Withinne hemself the poeple fond
> That it was good to make a king […]
> (1991–2000, 2003–5)[7]

This passage perfectly demonstrates the twofold nature of kingship in Gower's interpretation. The emergence of royalty, according to Gower, was the result of the fall and the sinful nature of humankind. He situates the division of the common good not long after the fall when the human population started to increase. Thereby, the sins of avarice, envy, and war caused by the growing population become the main premises for the emergence of royalty. This corresponds to the main concern of this part of the *Confessio Amantis* – the opposition of generosity to avarice. Thus, for Gower, kingship becomes the necessary remedy for the situation. This idea has clear Augustinian roots: for Augustine, sinful individual possession of the common property and endless conflicts became the necessary justification for the rise of executive rulership among the people.[8] It is hard to determine whether Gower used Augustine's works since he never references them. Although, Gower may be to some extent acquainted with Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and even borrowed the story of "Alexander and the Pirate" contained in Book IV of the *Confessio Amantis*.[9]

Gower suggests that it is the community of the land that delegates supreme executive power to the king. According to Conrad van Dijk, this idea distinguishes Gower's vision of rulership from Augustine's doctrine, which suggests that rulers' power was ordained by divine grace.[10] However, Gower does not totally dismiss the role of divine providence. As for the source of this idea, Matthew Giancarlo suggests Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*.[11] In his description of the government of cities, Latini states: "for as soon as Nimrod the giant took over the kingdom and the country, and greed sowed war and mortal hatred among people of the world, it was necessary for men to have lords of different types; some were rightfully elected

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[7] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 281.

[8] Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963), 103–107, 118–154.

[9] Yoshiko Kobayashi, "Letters of Old Age: The Advocacy of Peace in the Works of John Gower and Philippe de Mézières," in *John Gower: Others and the Self*, ed. Russell A. Peck and R. F. Yeager (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), 218; Donald G. Schueler, "A Critical Evaluations of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1962), 75.

[10] Van Dijk, *John Gower and the Limits of the Law*, 107.

[11] Giancarlo, "Gower's Governmentality," 235.

and others took power by force."[12] For Gower, election was the only method of foundation of rulership, while for Latini forcible foundation was also possible. Moreover, Gower also suggests that this election was done for specific purposes: "appesen al this thing and give riht to the lignages in partinge of here heritages and that of al here other good" (2006–9).[13] In fact, these short lines reflect the main function of royal power in relation to the community, that of mediation and distribution of justice and keeping the peace.

Thus, Gower seems to assume people are the source of the king's power. Nevertheless, he frequently refers to the common concept of the divine sanction of royalty. For instance, the passage in the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis* about the necessity for the king to have pity upon his subjects reads:

> Thei scholde his Pité most beholde
> That ben the lieges of his lond,
> For thei ben evere under his hond
> After the Goddes ordinaunce
> To stonde upon his governance
> (4176–80).[14]

This introduces the tension between the divine and popular accountability of the king, which can be traced throughout Gower's mirrors of princes, in which he frequently describes the main elements of the king's virtuous behavior as pleasant to his people and therefore to God, and vice versa. The tension can be easily resolved if we treat both ideas as complementary components of his twofold interpretation of the nature of royalty. There is no necessary contradiction in stating that kingship was created both by God and by the people if one assumes that the popular foundation of the monarchy was a result of divine providence working to repair the consequences of humanity's fall.

Thus, for Gower, divine and popular elements of kingship were very closely connected, though divine sanction seems to be dominant. Thus, for him, the king's

[12] "Car des lors que Nembroth li grans gayans sorprist premierement le regne et le pais, et que convoitise sema la guerre et les mortels haines entre les homes et les gens dou siecle, il convint as homes que il eussent seignors de plusors manieres, selonc ce que li un furent esleu a droit et li autre par lor pooir," Polycarpe Chabaille, ed., *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini* (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1863), 576. Translation in Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, trans., *Brunetto Latini: The Book of the Treasure* (New York and London: Taylor & Francis, 1993), 351.

[13] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 281.

[14] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 352. For a similar notion in *Vox Clamantis*, see John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower: The Latin Works*, ed. George C. Macaulay (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1902), 262, l. 1093–4.

power was framed by its relation with God and with the community of the realm. This idea is especially visible in his use of the concept *vox populi vox Dei*. While these are very abstract categories, Gower's works also contain more precise means to define royal power. In this case, morality and law seem to be crucial. They play an important role in the authors' discourse of kingship since they are inextricably connected with the question of the limits of royal power.

The King's Main Duties and the Limitations of Power

The tension between morality and law as a means of limiting royal sovereignty was one of the main concerns of the late medieval theory of kingship. In the late medieval legal system morality was mainly associated with *ius naturale* and *ius divinum* in opposition to *ius civile,* the law of nations.[15] Their combinations led to various notions of the limitations of royalty in medieval political thought and, as a consequence, to different views on the royal office in general. Usually, the inclination towards morality as the main limiting principle in some works discussing kingship may have led to the notion of the relative indefinite nature of royal power. At the same time, the shift towards law may lead to the idea of rulership restricted by law and, in a different way, controlled by the citizens, namely, to the mixed constitution.[16] This tension is well observed in Gower's kingship discourse. As I will discuss, he resolves the tension by emphasizing morality, making the law part of it. In this, he follows *Secretum Secretorum*, which treats morality as a main limiting principle.

The question of the limitations of kingship in Gower studies remains very controversial. The previous scholarship in one way or another connected the question with Gower's idea of law. For instance, Van Dijk suggests that law was one of the cornerstones of Gower's political thought. Giancarlo approaches the question from a slightly different perspective, assuming that justice was the main concept that defined Gower's discourse of kingship and his political theology.[17] Although I agree that the concept of justice, as well as the legal aspect, play a very important role for Gower, they seem to be only structural components of the moral

[15] See J. H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350 – c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 424–77.

[16] James M. Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 180–203.

[17] See Giancarlo, "*Gower's Governmentality*," 225–60; Van Dijk, *John Gower and the Limits of the Law*, 89–139.

paradigm of royalty. These concepts were derivatives of Gower's views on the king's dual responsibility.

Gower's vision of legal limitations is defined by his treatment of the king's position towards the law. Gower clearly asserts that the king's power is above human law. For instance, in the *Vox Clamantis*, he admonishes King Richard II: "you are above the laws, but [should] live as a just man" (613).[18] He also refers to the general supremacy of the king in one of his *Confessio Amantis* tales, the one immediately preceding Gower's exposition of Aristotle's five parts of politics. When the Persian King Darius asks three counselors whether the king, wine, or women possess the greatest power, one of the counselors says that the king is "myhtiest of alle thinges" (1826) and "stant himself of lawe fre" (1845).[19] Here, the king's supreme power stands in direct connection with his superiority over the law.

The way in which Gower constructs his vision of kingship heavily depends on his sources. He takes over the moral paradigm of royal power from the *Secretum Secretorum* and in part from Giles of Rome. Since Gower theoretically acknowledges the superiority of the king's power over the law, morality is the only means to limit kingship. The dominance of the moral paradigm is evident from the very structure of the *Confessio Amantis*. The mirror of princes' element of the *Confessio Amantis* is presented in a form of exposition of the Aristotelian division of philosophy. It consists of theory, the first part of philosophy, which includes theology, physics, and astronomy; rhetoric as the second part; and practice, the third part of philosophy, to which Gower devotes the most attention. This division does not come from Aristotle's works, but was borrowed from Latini's *Trésor*.[20] The third part of philosophy, practice, includes ethics (governance of self), economics (governance of household), and politics (governance of the state). Out of the three, Gower predominantly elaborates on politics. However, while for Latini and Giles, whose mirror also built upon such tripartite division, politics implies practical skills necessary for ruling the kingdom or city, for Gower politics basically turns into the king's moral self-governance, that is, ethics.[21]

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[18] "Tu super es iura, iustus set uive sub illis," Gower, *Latin Works*, 248. Translation in Eric Stockton, trans., *The Major Latin Works of John Gower* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), 234.

[19] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 282–83.

[20] Latini, *The Book of the Treasure*, 3–5. On *Confessio Amantis*' division of philosophy, see James Simpson, *Sciences and The Self in Medieval Poetry: Alan of Lille's Anticlaudianus and John Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 211–17.

[21] See Latini, *The Book of the Treasure*, 350–81; Giles of Rome [Aegidius Romanus], *Ad Francorum regem Philippum IIII cognomento Pulchrum* (Rome: Antonius Bladus Pont. Max. excursor, 1556), III. fol. 237–368.

Echoing the author of the *Secretum*, Gower treats virtuous rulership as a fundamental part of royal dignity. Therefore, the king's main duty is to follow the path of virtues. Gower's list of main royal virtues are pretty similar to other mirrors of princes. In Gower's case, it includes truth, generosity, chastity, justice, and pity. In their demonstration, Gower seems to rely mostly on the *Secretum*. He also acknowledges the king's duty to worship and be obedient to God, as well as protect the people. Additionally, in the *Confessio Amantis* Gower also emphasizes the necessity for the king to be well educated in Aristotelian sciences.

Thereby, Gower returns to his concern about the divine and popular elements of kingship. On the one hand, following all of the aforementioned duties becomes the ruler's main obligation before God, that is, a necessary condition of the divine sanction of royal power. On the other hand, the very reason for the king's office is to govern people for the sake of common profit. This is how Gower binds the divine and the popular elements together. The general guiding principle here – common profit – may be borrowed from Giles of Rome. For Giles, the Aristotelian notion of common good constitutes the rightful regal rule in opposition to despotism and is equal to the virtuous life of both the king and his subjects.[22] Similarly, Gower suggests that the king's moral behavior stems from seeking the common good, the lack of which was the main reason for the foundation of kingship.

According to Gower, it remains the king's own choice to act in accordance with the principle of the common good or not. Bearing in mind the peculiarity of royal power, he appeals to the king's own willingness to follow the virtuous path, warning him about possible harmful consequences otherwise. For example, in the *Vox Clamantis,* he asserts: "you who subdue others, work to subdue yourself; if you wish to be a king, rule yourself and you will be one" (605–6).[23] Therefore, the first step towards just rulership and the common good requires moral behavior from the king himself. According to Nicholson, this fully corresponds to the idea that runs through all Gower's works, namely, that reforms of society start from a moral improvement of each individual, including the king.[24]

[22] Giles of Rome, *Ad Francorum Regem*, III.ii.6, fol. 275–76.

[23] "Qui superas alios, temet superare labora; si rex esse velis, te rege, rex et eris," Gower, *Latin Works*, 248; *Major Latin Works*, 234.

[24] Peter Nicholson, *Love & Ethics in Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 120–22.

Vox Populi Vox Dei

By achieving the common good of the realm and his subjects, the ruler automatically pleases God, approving the divine sanction of his office. In this way, Gower tries to explain the ruler's simultaneous responsibility towards his subjects and God. His use of the *vox populi vox Dei* concept is of special interest here, since it perfectly demonstrates the way in which he articulates the connection between the objects of royal accountability. Although, Gower's appeal to the voice of the people is sometimes interpreted as an attempt to give authority to his own poetic voice; he may have also deployed the concept to undergird his political agenda.[25] In his mirrors of princes, he only hints at the necessity of the king to listen to this voice. For example, in the *Vox Clamantis,* listing contemporary social problems of young Richard II's reign, Gower writes: "everywhere the voice of the people of today, who are placed in doubt in the face of the enormity of evil, cries out about such things" (578–7).[26] In a similar way, he does not point out the connection between the voice of the people and that of God. However, this concept is not totally alien to him since in the third book of the *Vox Clamantis*, while criticizing the Church, he does equate the voices of the people and of God.[27] In turn, the employment of this concept by the author has few important implications for his kingship discourse.

Listening to advice is directly connected to the king's duty. Gower touches upon this in several *exempla* of the *Confessio Amantis*. For him, the king should not only be willing to listen to advice, but should also be able to choose faithful counselors. He should avoid flatterers, seeking those councilors who will tell him the unpleasant, but necessary truth. This is explicit in the tale of King Ahab, who rejected the truthful prophecy of Micaiah about the future war and instead followed the flattery of Zedekiah, which led the king to defeat.[28] However, it is even more important that the councilor should play the role of intermediary, delivering the commune voice to the king. The intermediacy of the council can be perfectly illustrated by the *Confessio Amantis* tale of Emperor Lucius asking the steward

[25] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 191–210; Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 130–32.

[26] "Vox populi conclamat vbique moderni in dubio positi pre gravitate mali," Gower, *Latin Works*, 247; *Major Latin Works*, 233.

[27] "Vox populi cum voce dei concordat, vt ipsa in rebus dubiis sit metuenda magis" (1267–1268), Gower, *Latin Works*, 141.

[28] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 302–6, l. 2527–686.

and chamberlain about his reputation among the people.[29] While the steward said that the king has a good reputation, the chamberlain asserted that the people condemn his councilors and excuse the king. Finally, the fool presented in the meeting said to the king that: "if that it were so […] that thou thiselven were good, thi conseil scholde noght be badde" (3994–97).[30] Following the fool's statement, the king removed vicious councilors, bringing the people's oppression to an end. This tale is usually read as Gower emphasizing the king–people relations, rather than the problem of evil counselors; or as Gower's negotiation of reciprocity of the political capital within the traditional social hierarchy.[31] However, in the tale, Gower explicitly says that the fool's revelation was divinely inspired.[32] Thus, this once again confirms the connection between the voice of the people and that of God in Gower's discourse of kingship.

The other implication of the *vox populi vox Dei* concept is that the king should strive to win a good reputation and the love of his people. For example, in the *Vox Clamantis* Gower urges the king to "believe that a good name is better than treasures; it upholds honor, banishes scandal, and flourishes in esteem" (781–2).[33] Thus, by using this concept Gower does not merely say that the ruler should acquire a good reputation among his lieges; he also asserts that otherwise he will be justly punished. The practical implication of such punishment may imply revolt or, even, the king's deposition, which will be discussed further. Gower treats the voice of the people as a certain indication of whether the king's rule is virtuous or not, asserting the king's responsibility to listen to this voice.

The Concept of Tyranny and the Ruler's Deposition

The moral limitations of royalty play an important role for Gower. The aforementioned passages suggest that if the king's rule is against the common good, there is some possibility to restrict his power, which raises the question of the practical implication of such an idea. As will be discussed further, there are two things that are key for Gower's and Hoccleve's discourse of kingship, namely, the question of law and royal deposition.

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[29] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 346–48, l. 3945–4026.

[30] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 347.

[31] Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, 128; Kendall, *Lordship and Literature*, 259–61.

[32] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 347, l. 3990.

[33] "Nomen, crede, bonum gasas precellit, honorem conseruat, remouet scandala, laude viget," Gower, *Latin Works*, 253; *Major Latin Works*, 238.

As mentioned above, Gower acknowledges the king's superiority over human – positive – law. However, the law remains a logical component of the discourse. It is justice that directly links the king's moral restrictions with the duty to keep the law.[34] For Gower, justice is one of the main divine virtues, which means that it is obligatory for the king to follow. Here he clearly follows the *Secretum* idea that "a king in his justice is likened to the Most High."[35] Therefore, for the sake of the common good, justice should be the framework for the execution of royal power. In order to keep his virtuous rule, the king should "ferst be lad of lawe, and forth thanne overal so do justice in general" (3086–88).[36] This causes an important dilemma in Gower's idea of kingship: if the king transgresses the law, could he be justly punished? Gower's position is ambiguous in this case. On the one hand, he asserts that the king firstly must be just before God, since "his astat is elles fre toward alle othre in his persone, save only to the God alone" (2732–4).[37] On the other hand, he frequently repeats that if the king violates moral virtues and the common good, he can be overthrown. He seems to compare justified deposition to God's wrath. In the *Confessio Amantis*, especially, in the tales of the rape of Lucrece by Aruns, son of Roman King Tarquin, Gower clearly expresses the possibility of deposition of the unvirtuous king by the "comune clamour" of the people.[38] Thereby, Gower presents the ruler's deposition by the people as God's punishment. Thus, for Gower, human law is part of moral rulership through the concept of justice. The king may be overthrown not because of violating the law, but because he failed to be just. It adds a practical angle to the abstract concepts of the common good and moral virtues.

Gower's usage of the term "tirant" and "tiranny" is of special interest regarding the king's misrule. In the *Vox Clamantis*, Gower mentions this term only a few times, while in the *Confessio* it is more commonly used. In the *Confessio,* the term appears in the discussion of the virtue of mercy. For Gower, the concept of tyranny is predominantly related to the cruelty of the ruler. For example, Gower mentions this in the context of the tales of the warlike King Spertachus, violently killing whomever he conquered, or in the story of the tyrant Siculus, who constructed

[34] For the detailed elaboration of this question, see Van Dijk, *John Gower and the Limits of the Law*, 106–39; Giancarlo, "Gower's Governmentality," 230–45.

[35] "Rex assimilatur in justicia simplici Altissimo," Robert Steele, ed., *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. V* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 124. See Allan H. Gilbert, "Notes on the Influence of the Secretum Secretorum," *Speculum* 3, no. 1 (1928): 84–98.

[36] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 317.

[37] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 307–8.

[38] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 367–77, l. 4754–5130.

a brass bull to torment his people.[39] Moreover, in the tales of Lucrece's rape, he demonstrates that tyranny can be engendered by the king's excessive indulgence of his lust.[40] Gower defines tyranny in an abstract way only once in the *Vox Clamantis*, saying that "he who rules unjustly amidst corruption is a tyrant" (1004).[41] Thus, in most cases by the means of tyranny, the author labels the ruler's physical violation of his subjects. This does not correlate with Gower's main sources. The *Secretum* does not use the term tyrant at all. In turn, Giles defines tyranny in Aristotelian terms: as a government of the ruler who does not care for the common good, preferring it to personal profit.[42] Such a definition may include not only the ruler's violence, but also a transgression of the law, prodigality, and other royal vices preventing achievement of the common good. In Gower's case, tyrannical cruelty becomes the most blatant sign of the ruler's evil will. Hence, tyranny emphasizes the border of complete abuse of rulership.

Through the principles of the common good and moral rulership, Gower reconciles the divine and popular elements of kingship. For him, following the principal royal virtues and seeking the common good of both the king and his subjects are the basic elements designating good rulership.

Though Gower's moral vision of politics was mainly informed by Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* and, especially, the *Secretum Secretorum*, it can be also related to the political context of his time. In fact, moralizing about kingship in writing was rooted in late medieval political culture. Most of the accusations that legitimized the depositions of Edward II and Richard II were formulated to carry a moral message. King Edward II was accused of failing to listen to good advice, as well denounced for his pride and greed, which prevented him from being just to his subjects.[43] A similar, although slightly extended, list of moral misdeeds – breaking oaths, unjust rule, cunning withdrawal of people's money, inconsistency in behavior, and others – underlies the accusations against Richard II.[44]

Although Gower's discourse is composed of different, sometimes slightly contradictory, concepts, all of them are built around the core idea of the king's double accountability, that is, that the king should be responsible for his political

[39] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, 328–9,332–4.

[40] Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 2, l. 4754–5130.

[41] "Qui regit in viciis, ipse tirannus erit," Gower, *Latin Works*, 259; *Major Latin Works*, 243.

[42] Giles of Rome, *Ad Francorum Regem*, III.ii.3, fol. 270v.

[43] See George B. Adams and H. Morse Stephens, eds., *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1901), 99.

[44] Henry T. Riley, ed., *Chronica et Annales* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 252–87.

decisions towards both his people and God. In turn, both sides of royal responsibility are inextricably linked to each other. The author's adherence to this idea can be explained by the influence of his sources, most of which either elaborate or allude to it. In this case, Gower follows a tendency in political thought, starting from the late thirteenth century, which describes royal power as created by people and inspired by God.[45] Moreover, his choice of this idea to some extent may be informed by the experience of Richard II's rule, the second half of which was marked by the absolutist aspirations of the king. In his attempts to put forward the concept of the people's complete obedience to the king, Richard tried to eliminate his responsibility to the community, emphasizing his exclusive relations to God.[46] Thus, the idea of double responsibility offered a premise based on which Gower could establish that authoritarian rulership goes against correct political order.

[45] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 103.

[46] Saul Nigel, "The Kingship of Richard II," in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 37–59.

FALCONS IN SERVICE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THE TURN OF THE FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Benjámin Borbás

Introduction

Falconry was probably one of the most popular noble activities in the Middle Ages. Hunting with falcons was not only a sport but also had a very important role in the social interaction of aristocracy since it offered the possibility of a loose and informal meeting of influential persons. Because the upkeep of these hunting animals was costly due to their acquisition, training, and feeding, falcons shortly became a symbol of prestige. European monarchs, princes, and noblemen who wished to impress their distinguished visitors thus made serious efforts to acquire the best falcons. The Teutonic Order – having close connections to regions where the best falcons were found – made a good profit from this general need for hunting birds and sought to exploit the diplomatic advantages of being the most important mediator of falcons in Europe.

In my article, by exploring the so-called *Falkenbriefe,*[1] I will present how the Teutonic Knights used falcons as diplomatic gifts to achieve certain goals in politics and will discuss many aspects and details of the sending of these animals. By analyzing the lists of addressees who received these gifts from the order, we will be able not only to get an excellent overview of those supporting the Teutonic Knights but also determine the relative importance of these persons from the order's point of view.

The research uses the diplomatic correspondence of the order by exploiting materials of the Ordensbriefarchiv (OBA) found in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, and especially focuses on a register of sent-out falcons composed in 1397.

[1] The name *Falkenbrief* was also used in the era, and this term was collectively used for letters asking for falcons, accompanying falcon shipments, and thanking the birds that had been arrived at the recipient. A thorough study of the phenomenon is yet to be completed, but as far as the available resources allow it to be seen, the gifting of falcons by the mid-fourteenth century was already an important part of the diplomacy of the Teutonic Knights.

Falcons and the Importance of Falconry in Medieval Courts

In the development of falcons and the training of falcons for hunting purposes, food acquisition was initially the main motivating force. These animals played a key role mainly in areas where, due to the barrenness of the area, the amount of food available and the number of wild animals to hunt were limited. Therefore, by training these highly effective birds of prey, man sought to ensure his own survival or the variety of food that would come to his table. However, capturing and training wild falcons was a delicate and time-consuming task. It was also a problem that the finest falcons were not found everywhere, so the acquisition of the finest specimens was a major challenge and, in some cases, could have been costly.[2]

During the Middle Ages, the most important role falcons played in noble courts was being part of a hunt. These events not only offered the opportunity to exercise the same skills as one would need in battle, but it also functioned as a social event.[3] One of the best and most popular ways to entertain guests arriving in noble courts, be it a private visit or an official diplomatic delegation, was hunting.

It is important to note that the care of the falcons was entrusted to specialists, the falconers, who also carried out the everyday training of these birds of prey. The birds were only handed over to the lords on days of hunting or practicing. Hunts with falcons took place about two times a week, and due to the bird's physical performance, it was unwise to prey on more than two or three wild animals a day. Thus, it was useful to have a more well-trained bird at hand, which, of course, also increased costs.[4]

This material factor made it possible for the hawk to become an animal of prestige since the costs of keeping falcons (acquisition, training, feeding, staffing) exceeded their wild value, so in their case, we cannot speak of a direct and immediately perceivable profit. Since hunting was not only for food acquisition but also meant a sporting activity for nobles, it became a social event, where the hawk constituted a central element and received huge attention from this social point of view. Apart from falcons involved in hunts, the noblest specimens often appeared at feasts to raise the reputation of the host.[5] The value and rarity of the finest specimens made

[2] Anna Lena Eberl, "Die Bedeutung der Falken(-jagd) für das Hofleben im Mittelalter," in *historia. scribere 7* (2015): 228, 230.

[3] Werner Rösener, "Jagd und Tiere," in *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, ed. Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2005), 327.

[4] Glavanovits Tamás, falconer (Hungarian Falconers Club), personal communication, July 08, 2019, Várpalota, Hungary.

[5] This is confirmed by the distinction made between simpler and more ornamental harnesses of hunting birds. While the former was used during hunts, the latter, made in a more expensive and finely designed manner, was borne by the falcon during feasts and banquets in the immediate vicinity

it possible for the hawks to become an interesting tool in politics. The lords and those of high ranks wished to impress their guests by showing off their wealth and therefore were willing to pay heavy sums for certain specimens or to promise to provide different kinds of support for the donator of the falcon.

As I said, the purchase of the finest falcons was neither financially nor logistically an easy task, especially regarding those parts of Europe where these birds of prey were not native. Nonetheless, falcons and falconry were already hugely popular in Europe by the late Middle Ages, which is well demonstrated by several contemporary works. Certainly, the most famous work on ornithology and falconry is *The Art of Hunting with Birds* (*De arte venandi cum avibus*). Its author, Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor (1220–1250), was enthusiastic about hunting with birds and had a reputation as an experienced falconer.[6] As a result of the increasing demand for falcons, the price of animals also increased, partly because the more distinguished falcons were imported mostly from distant regions. For example, although the peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*) was native to Germany, still, larger, more resistant and more valuable types of falcons, such as the saker falcon (*Falco cherrug*), the gyrfalcon (*Falco rusticolus*), and the lanner falcon (*Falco biarmicus*), were in farther areas (Asia, Africa, South Europe, Iceland).[7]

In the Middle Ages, the most sought-after species was the gyrfalcon, but most European princes could acquire them only by purchase, as it was native to the Scandinavian territories.[8] To satisfy the growing demand for birds of prey, trading with falcons became a prospering business, which was characterized by migratory traders from the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark. They specialized in capturing and training falcons (or bought up birds bred by local falconers) and visited the largest princely courtyards. Thus, they delivered popular and already trained birds to their potential buyers. While some nobles were content with

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of the lord or his wife. Konrad Spindler, *Falknerei in Archäologie und Geschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beizjagd in Tirol* (Innsbruck: Golf Verlag, 1998), 10.

[6] Casey Albert Wood and Marjorie Fyfe (eds.), *The art of falconry: being the de arte venandi cum avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Standford: Stanford University Press, 1961). Facsimile version: Fredericus II: *De arte venandi cum avibus. Ms. Pal. lat. 1071 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.* I–II. Graz, 1969. (Codices selecti phototypice impressi 16–16*) (Codices e Vaticanis selecti 30. [!31.])

[7] Johannes Fried, "Kaiser Friedrich II. als Jäger," in *Jagd und höfische Kultur im Mittelalter,* ed. Werner Rösener (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 142.

[8] In his letter to the grand master of the Teutonic Order, the bishop of Leslau (who was also responsible for overseeing the upbringing and training of falcons) mentions falcons coming from Finland and Sweden by sea. OBA 986. In another place, we can read that at the time of the writing of the document it was not possible to send the order's falconer, named Cunczel, to Sweden. OBA 29011. See also: Fried, "Kaiser Friedrich II," 153.

falcons received in this way, the higher strata, the princely and royal families, often sent their own agents to obtain the best specimens.[9]

These birds of prey could have become precious diplomatic gifts because of their costliness. If someone wanted to win the favor of an influential person in the hope of returning his kindness in the future, then a young and nobler hawk proved to be an excellent choice. Sending of falcons, however, cannot be imagined as a one-way process in which less affluent people seek the grace of their wealthier patrons. The example of the Teutonic Order will show that masters and lords with greater financial resources also sent falcons as diplomatic gifts to influential persons or those of lower rank and status: they were meant to be signs of gratitude or guarantees of future benevolence.[10]

A Favor or a Calculation? Falcons in the Service of the Teutonic Knights

The popularity of falcons, especially among the nobility, seems to be unbroken in the medieval era.[11] This offered the opportunity for lords ruling over territories with a fortunate geographical position to make a profit from the growing demand for birds of prey. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Teutonic Order in Prussia had quickly become the main "supplier" of European princely courts in terms of

[9] Eberl, "Die Bedeutung der Falken(-jagd)," 231; Fried, "Kaiser Friedrich II," 142.

[10] The grand master of the Teutonic Order himself often received such gifts. In April 1422, the commander of Fellin (now Viljandi, Estonia) wrote a letter to Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (1422–1441), who had been elected just a month earlier, in which he informed the grand master that he had sent him horses and a goshawk. Probably, he intended to win the favor of the new grand master with these gifts. OBA 3713. On another occasion, in 1429, the *Oberstermarschall* (a high ranking officeholder within the Order who is responsible for military logistics and supply of military services: castles, military equipment, arms production, horses, etc.) sent four of his best falcons to the leader of the order. OBA 5208. In 1425, Paul von Rusdorf sent thanks to an unknown person (possibly a duke) for hunters, dogs, and falcons sent to him, and for a lure made of leather to train the latter. OBA 4434.

[11] It should be noted that in the correspondence of the Teutonic Knights we can read about the exchange of not only falcons, but also other valuable animals. These include the letter of Frederick IV, Duke of Austria (1406–1439), who asked Grand Master Michael Küchmeister (1414–1422) for a larger steed for jousting and four falcons. OBA 3210. In addition, it was common that falcons were not directly asked for from the grand master or other high-ranking member of the order. Rather, a better known and the nearest official of the Teutonic Order was requested to convey individual wishes to the grand master: in his letter written from Sankt Gallen in 1417, the commander of Mewe (now Gniew, Poland), residing at the Council of Constance, forwarded the desire of the lord of Öttingen to have falcons to the commander of Balga (now Russia). In addition, the commander of Mewe sent to the addressee Russian hats and gloves that he was presented with during the council. OBA 2584. For another example of a forwarding request, see OBA 12281.

falcons.[12] The sending of such diplomatic gifts is evidenced by numerous exchanges of letters and long lists of falcons sent to different princely courts.[13] The leadership of the order, headed by the grand master, tried to take advantage of the favorable situation of Prussia as far as possible by training and presenting native hawks.[14] In exchange for falcons destined to be delivered to princely courts as diplomatic gifts, the grand master expected appropriate compensation and the return of his favor.[15] In general, the most important purpose of the gifts was to maintain and secure the goodwill of the recipients with the Teutonic Order, to diffuse tense situations, and to collect intelligence.[16] However, they also offered an opportunity for very specific and special requests.[17]

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[12] The order maintained so-called *Falkenschulen* in areas suitable for the capture of falcons. Young birds were raised and educated here, thus falcons sent out of these falcon schools to European courts were already trained and accustomed to human hands. Eberl, "Die Bedeutung der Falken(-jagd)," 232.

[13] Besides the register of 1397 published in this paper, see a list from 1412–1413 of falcons sent to different German princes. OBA 1782d.

[14] Such a region was the bishopric of Ermland (now Warmia, Poland), the commandery of Windau (now Ventspils, Latvia), the Vogtei (administrative unit) of Grobin (now Grobina, Latvia), and the Sambia Peninsula on the southeastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Gustavgeorg Knabe, "Preußische Falken im Dienste der Politik des Deutschen Ordens," *Preußenland* 7, no. 2 (1969): 17. Regarding the latter region, we have a letter of the local bishop from 1524, sent to the provisor of Grünhof (now Święciechowo, Poland) about falcons captured in Sambia. OBA 27231. A shipment of falcons dispatched from the same region is also mentioned in another letter of the same bishop sent to the grand master from 1522. OBA 25741.

[15] Clichés referring to this reciprocity are a quite common element of letters of thanks, but they prove that both sides were aware of the Teutonic Order expecting a reward or favor for these gifts: "we shall and wish to return this favor to Your Highness and the whole of the Order with our services," OBA 5527; elsewhere: "and if we can work on the benefit of You and the Order, we shall do it at all times," OBA 4877.

[16] It is interesting that in the fourteenth century, despite the tense situation between the Teutonic Knights and the Kingdom of Poland, the sending of falcons remained frequent. Moreover, correspondence just before and after the Great War (1409–1411) testifies to the survival of this tradition. Such letters confirm that these diplomatic gifts had proven to be the right choice in the most critical situations to ease tensions and to (re)approach the other party. Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407), despite the worsening situation with the grand duke of Lithuania, sought to maintain a good relationship with Vytautas's cousin, the king of Poland. This is testified by the letter of King Władysław II Jagiełło issued on June 16, 1406, saying thanks for the falcons sent to him. OBA 865. Quoted by: Sebastian Kubo, *Die Außenpolitik des Deutschen Ordens unter Hochmeister Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 237.

[17] A good example is a letter of one of the order's procurators sent to Grand Master Michael Küchmeister dated 1417. In this, the procurator writes that the count palatine of the Rhine is threatening to abolish the duty exemption of the grand master's wine if he would not receive eight falcons in the future instead of the customary five. OBA 2480.

Excellent evidence of hunting birds being used in lobbying is found in the statutes of the Teutonic Order: in 1354, Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382) made it clear that within the order the sending of falcons was exclusively the prerogative of the grand master.[18] In what follows, I would like to present this unique way of enforcing interest by analyzing a list of falcons sent by the Teutonic Order in 1397, and by examining letters of thanks sent by grateful recipients to Marienburg (now Malbork, Poland), headquarters of the Teutonic Knights.

The List of Sent-out Falcons in the Year 1397

This unpublished list of falcons sent out from Prussia in 1397 is found in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK) in Berlin, under the catalogue number XX. HA. OBA. Nr. 555. The text, written in both German and Latin, is incomplete on the edges of the document, which makes it difficult to read the title of the list. The date of compilation can be read out from the damaged parts only with difficulty, but, fortunately, it is confirmed by the content itself. The names of the recipients (those I managed to identify) together with the number of falcons intended to be delivered to them are assembled in the table below:

[18] Max Perlbach (Hrsg.), *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1890), 154.

[19] This table was created on the basis of a register found under the catalogue number of GStA PK, XX. HA. OBA. Nr. 555.

[20] Next to the name of certain persons, a short comment, "nicht" (not), can be read. Without any further information, we can only speculate on the meaning of this. In my opinion, this might have indicated that falcons assigned to the name had not yet been delivered to the addressee. This may have been a result of a change in the relationship between the sending and the recipient party, but also of the limited number of birds available. The latter option is supported by two things. On the one hand, we do not read the word "nicht" for any of the major recipients in German territories. The order might have sought to deliver the falcons first to those of greater importance and located geographically closer. On the other hand, with one exception, all the "nicht" comments can be read next to the fewest number of falcons (three or four). The only exception is Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary, to whom ten falcons were assigned. However, in the absence of further information, we can only guess about the reason behind these remarks.

Table 1. List of falcons sent by the Teutonic Order in 1397

	Name of the recipients[20]	Title	Number of falcons sent	Remark (not = not yet delivered(?))[21]
1.	Wenceslaus	King of Germany (1376–1400)	12	
2.	Rupert II	Count Palatine of the Rhine (1390–1398)	8	
3.	Frederick (III) of Saarwerden	Archbishop of Cologne (1370–1414)	6	
4.	Werner of Falkenstein	Archbishop of Trier (1388–1418)	4	
5.	Godfrey OR John (II) of Nassau	Archbishop of Mainz (1396–1397 OR 1397–1419)	4	
6.	Rudolph III	Duke of Saxony (1388–1419)	4	
7.	William I of Jülich	Duke of Geldern (1371/77–1402)	4	
8.	William I and Albert IV	Dukes of Austria (1386–1406 and 1395–1404)	8-8	
9.	Leopold IV	Duke of Austria (1386–1411)	6	
10.	Stephan III, his son, Louis VIII, and Ernest	Dukes of Bavaria-Landshut-Ingolstadt (1392–1413; 1413–1443), and Duke of Bavaria-Landshut-Munich (1397–1438)	3	not
11.	Frederick V	Burgrave of Nuremberg (1357–1397)	4	
12.	Eberhard V of Katzenelnbogen	Count of Lower County Katzenelnbogen (1385(?)–1402)	4	
13.	Albert III	Archbishop of Magdeburg (1382–1403)	4	not
14.	Lamprecht of Brunn (1374–1398)	Prince Bishop of Bamberg	4	not
15.	Frederick IV and Wilhelm I	Margraves of Meissen (1381–1421 and 1382–1407)	4	with the name of Frederick being crossed out
16.	Bernhard I and Henry I	Princes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1400–1428 and 1400–1409)	4 (with the previous number 5 being crossed out)	not
17.	Philip VIII	Lord of Falkenstein (born after 1353, died on March 21, 1407)	3 (with the previous number 4 being crossed out)	
18.	Louis XI and Frederick III	Counts of Öttingen (1371–1440 and 1371–1423)	4	
19.	Eberhard III	Count of Württemberg (1392–1417)	4	
20.	Konrad of Egloffstein	German master of the Teutonic Order (1396–1416)	4	
21.	Sigismund of Luxembourg	King of Hungary (1387–1437)	10	not
22.	Stibor of Stiboricz	Voivode of Transylvania (Kingdom of Hungary) (1395–1401 / 1409–1414)	4	not
23.	Henry VII (of Legnica)	Bishop of Leslau (1389/1390–1398)	3	

Right after the register, we can find formulas for safe-conduct written in both Latin and German, which were meant to secure a safe journey for the falconer and his falcons. This duality of language stems from the fact that the order used German when corresponding with princes and lords of German-speaking territories, as well as the rulers of Hungary and Bohemia, while, for example, in the case of the Polish king (and other rulers of Europe not included in the document) the preferred language was generally Latin. These letter formulas, intended to facilitate the work of scribes working on letters attached to the shipment of falcons, show that these shipments were frequent and regular.

The predominance of German-speaking regions reflects the main political allies and orientation of the Teutonic Knights. However, it cannot be stated that only these lords received such gifts from the order on a regular basis. On the contrary, during the fifteenth century, the Polish king was bestowed with falcons of the best specimens,[21] and Prussian falcons even reached as far as Italy through the procurator of the Teutonic Order present at the papal court.[22] Additionally, the Latin version of the safe-conduct formula found in the list of 1397 is based on a letter intended to secure a trouble-free shipment of falcons destined for the king of France and the prince of Burgundy.[23]

A comparison of this list with later documents recording the sending of Prussian hawks suggests that the former register was recorded sometime at the end of the year. From the 1530s onwards, following the end of Teutonic rule in Prussia, there are lists recording shipments of falcons sent by Albert, Duke of Prussia (1525–1568). These registers were usually made in the October of that year, and often contain phrases like falcons delivered in "this year" and "past year."[24]

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[21] OBA 865, 1053, 4562.

[22] The archbishop of Florence and the titular bishop of Cumae also asked the grand master for falcons. OBA 7458. We also know about birds of prey sent to the duke of Milan (OBA 8658a) and to the margrave of Mantova (OBA 11326). In 1480, 80(!) falcons were sent to Pope IV Sixtus (1471–1487), which he certainly distributed amongst his own supporters. In this case, too, the intention of the Teutonic Order seems clear: to obtain the pope's goodwill for the Livonian Provincial Master in his conflict with the Archbishop of Riga. Armin Stecher, *Die Jagd im Mittelalter. (Dipl.)* (Innsbruck: 1996), 80. PrUB JH I 16870. http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Landesforschung/Urkundenbuch/pub/orden1411.html, Universität Hamburg (accessed February 26, 2020).

[23] "*quia falkonarium nostrum, ostensorem presencium, cum falkonibus et penniludys, ad Serenissimum principem dominum, Regem Franciae, et Illustrem principem dominum, ducem Burgundie pro presenti dirigimus,*" OBA 555.

[24] Dieter Heckmann, "Preußische Jagdfalken als Gradmesser für die Außenwirkung europäischer Höfe des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," *Preußenland* 37, no. 2 (1999): 47–62. Documents from previous periods also support this assumption, since in a letter issued on October 18, 1417, a horse or falcon was asked for from the grand master (OBA 2593), while in a letter of October 27, there

Therefore, we can suspect that the list of 1397 had a similar function: officers of the order made for themselves a summary of falcons sent that year, and it appears that the "season" of sending birds of prey was considered to be semi-closed. The latter can be explained primarily by the cold weather, which prevented the transport of these delicate animals, since injured or dead birds arriving at the recipient often provoked disappointment and discontent, thus causing an opposite effect contrary to the intention of the sender.[25]

The letters of thanks of the recipients also reveal more to us about the time of delivering falcons sent by the order. These letters were usually dated December and early January in the relevant year.[26] In my opinion, it was a conscious decision to have these diplomatic gifts delivered by Christmas and New New Year's Eve, so the falcons had enough time to prepare for the next hunting season in spring.

Although due to the limits of this study, it is not possible to provide a detailed introduction of all the persons found in the list, still, it is worth highlighting some of them in order to reach some general conclusion valid for the whole of the register.

a) House of Luxemburg

With twelve falcons sent to him, Wenceslaus, king of Germany, stands out from the rest of the recipients; only his brother, Sigismund of Luxembourg can approach him with ten specimens assigned to him. These two outstanding items were not only due to the royal dignity held by Wenceslas and Sigismund, but also the amicable relationship of the order with the house of Luxembourg. Both were

is a mention of falcons sent to the head of the order (OBA 2595). These coincide with the letter of the bishop of Samland dated November 18, 1522. In this, he wrote to the grand master about preparations of the falconer to the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg, as well as to the duke of Pomerania. OBA 25741. Therefore, the compilation of the list of 1397 could have been finished at the end of October and falcons were sent out subsequently around November.

[25] A good example is the letter of the German master of the Teutonic Order sent to the grand master in February 1420, in which he forwards the complaint of the count palatine of the Rhine. The elector was discontent since in the recent years he had received fewer falcons and of poor quality. Moreover, in the last year a falcon with damaged wings had been delivered to him. The latter may have suffered some kind of injury during transport. OBA 3106. In 1416, Władysław II Jagiełło, king of Poland (1386–1434) asked the grand master to urge his commander in Danzig (now Gdańsk, Poland), who had personally promised him in Lithuania to send him falcons, but the birds have not been delivered up to this day. OBA 2330.

[26] OBA 1600 (Dec. 7), 1602 (Dec. 10), 5527 (Dec. 15), 1607 (Dec. 23), 5564 (Jan. 1), 5266 (Jan. 2), 7410 (Jan. 3), 1644 (Jan. 5), 4877 (Jan. 5), 5565 (Jan. 6), 5566 (Jan. 9), 1649 (Jan. 12), 1053 (Feb. 27).

engaged and powerful supporters of the Teutonic Order in European politics and diplomacy, especially in its conflict against the Polish crown. Interestingly, due to its dispute with the archdiocese of Riga, the order and Wenceslaus had become estranged for a while, and reconciliation between them was made with the help of Sigismund in the year of the creation of the list (Késmárk / Kežmarok, July 1397), July 1397).[27]

b) William I of Jülich, Duke of Geldern

William I of Jülich is a good example of nobles who were engaged in military campaigns of the Teutonic Knights against the Lithuanians. These so-called *Reisen,* held twice a year (in summer and winter), were very popular military activities amongst nobles and their entourage from all over Europe since they offered an opportunity for waging war even in wintertime. Moreover, the annual flow of these skillful crusaders meant an indispensable force for the Teutonic Knights on their main military campaigns. Therefore, the order sought to establish a good relationship with these less powerful, but more adventuresome and war-loving Christian lords.[28]

The relationship between the Duchy of Geldern and the Teutonic Knights can be traced back to an early time, since in 1218, during the Fifth Crusade, Count Adolf V donated an estate in this area that formed the basis of the commandery of Dieren. Afterwards, the knights increased their holdings within the county with additional areas (church of Doeseburg, commandery of Tiel). Although several nobles of the region participated in campaigns in Prussia (*Preußenreisen*), we do not know of any count or duke taking part in such undertakings until the reign of William I and his father. Between 1383 and 1400, William travelled to Prussia on no less than seven occasions during his life; however, most of them were unsuccessful. Six of these took place before 1397 when the list of falcons sent by the order was made. The duke was usually accompanied by numerous nobles and knights from the region, which enabled them to share the expenses and to travel in greater safety on the roads to Prussia.[29]

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[27] László Pósán, "Zsigmond és a Német Lovagrend" [Sigismund and the Teutonic Order], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 111, no. 3 (1998): 92.

[28] Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels,* I–II. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989, 1995).

[29] W. Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen,* I, 61; Wilhelm Bonn Janssen, "Wilhelm I," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters (LexMA)*, ed. Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger, Norbert Angermann, Robert-Henri Bautier, and Robert Auty, vol. 4 (Stuttgart/Weimar: LexMA Verlag, 1999), 146–147.

c) Archbishops of the Holy Roman Empire

The archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne were the prince electors of the empire, so they had a decisive influence in the election of the German kings and emperors who were the supreme secular patron of Teutonic Order. Among the archbishops on the list, I would like to highlight the title of "Archbishop of Mainz," without a name assigned to it. Due to the lack of exact dating, the identity of the archbishop cannot be clearly established from this letter. There are two explanations for the absence of the name of the archbishop of Mainz holding the office in 1397. One of these explanations would presume that the writer of the letter intentionally omitted the name the archbishop assuming that it was common knowledge as in the case of the German king and the Hungarian king who were not named explicitly either. In my opinion, this was not the case, since all the other recipients, including the remaining archbishops, dukes, and other high-ranking persons were listed by name. The exception was made only in the case of the above-mentioned kings and the German master of the Teutonic Order (*gebietigern deutschen land*). Probably, it is right to assume, that in their cases no further clarification was necessary. It seems more likely that due to a recent change in the archbishopric see, the order could not possess precise information on the identity of the new archbishop at the time of compiling the register. In 1396–1397, a double election to the dignity of the archbishop of Mainz took place. As a result, two rivals, Gotfrey IX (elected by the chapter) and John II of Nassau (supported by Pope Boniface IX), were competing for the same office. Only after a long negotiation was Gotfrey willing to acknowledge John as the new legitime archbishop.[30] Thus, it is very likely that, at the time of the list being written down, the legitime successor to the archbishopric see was not yet known due to the precarious situation. If that is right, then the four falcons were assigned to the archbishop of Mainz without knowing the exact identity of the prelate.

d) Allies in the Region and Bases of Recruitment

If we look through the people enlisted, it is worth briefly mentioning two regionally separable groups. On the one hand, the list include several persons whose estates laid close to the Prussian state of the Teutonic Knights, so it was important to keep them at the loyalty of the Order because of the Polish-Lithuanian threat. These included the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Meissen and Frederick with

[30] Alois Gerlich, "Mainz," in *LexMA*, vol. 6, 139–140; Alois Gerlich, "Johannes II. von Nassau," in *LexMA*, vol. 5, 515.

the latter being at that time the Burggrave of Nuremberg but one year later being promoted to the Margrave of Brandenburg.

On the other hand, the remaining persons may also be made up of a separate territorial category. The southern and south-western parts of the Holy-Roman Empire (Bavaria, Westphalia and Rhineland) were the traditional recruitment territories of the Order. Not only did the third and fourth sons of lower nobility families enter the Teutonic Order in large numbers, but a significant number of leading office holders also came from here.[31] The good relations with the influential figures in these areas (the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier and Cologne, the Duke of Bamberg, the Dukes of Upper Bavaria, as well as the Counts of Lower Katzenelnbogen, Württemberg, Öttingen and the Burggrave of Nuremberg mentioned in the previous category) were therefore vital to the Order, as evidenced by the falcons sent to the above persons.

Main Conclusions of the List of Falcons from 1397

By analyzing the numbers of falcons in the list, we can find that most of the people listed were gifted with three or four specimens. There are only two recipients who were donated with no more than two falcons (the count of Württemberg and the bishop of Leslau [now Włocławek, Poland]). Those beneficiaries whom the Teutonic Order considered worthy to receive six or eight falcons were without exception persons of high-rank and great influence: the archbishop of Cologne (eight) and the three Austrian dukes (six and eight, and eight respectively). It is interesting, however, that the same rank did not mean an equal number of falcons. For example, the Teutonic Knights made a difference between the prince electors: whereas the archbishop of Cologne had won six falcons, the archbishops of Trier and Mainz, just as the Duke of Saxony, were rewarded with only four falcons each. At the same time, the elector Palatine of the Rhine (Rupert II) surpassed the former with his own eight falcons. This distinction was probably due to Rupert's political influence and his role fulfilled in imperial politics during the previous years.[32] It is also apparent that the quantity of specimens assigned to the kings (ten and twelve) exceeded the rest in number. The reasons behind these large numbers lie in the fact that these monarchs, prelates, and other high-ranking persons intended to impart

[31] Klaus Militzer, "The Recruitment of Brethren for the Teutonic Order in Livonia, 1237–1562," in *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick,* ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), 272–274.

[32] In 1394, he became the appointed vicar of the empire during the captivity of King Wenceslas. Kurt Andermann, "Ruprecht II," in *LexMA*, vol. 7, 1111.

their own favor from some of the falcons they received. By doing so, they tried to achieve the same effect the Teutonic Order hoped to be carried out by these diplomatic gifts.[33]

Regardless of the correctness of my comments on the identity of the archbishop of Mainz, diplomatic gifts sent by the order were much more about the position, influence, and power associated with them, while personal sympathy was rather of secondary importance. This would coincide with the conclusion drawn from the frequent and, from time to time, recurrent recipients of falcons sent by the order. The grand master sent hunting falcons as diplomatic gifts to certain high-ranking persons (including kings, archbishops, and prince electors) each year, or at least very often. This habit and intention were maintained by the grand masters even if, due to death or strife, the name of the officeholder was not known to the order at the usual time of sending out the consignments of falcons (late autumn).

Albert I, King of Hungary, and the Falcons of the Teutonic Knights

In order to paint a picture of the importance and possibility of interpreting diplomatic gifts from the perspective of the host party, I have chosen the case of Albert I, king of Hungary (1437–1439), who was the duke of Austria (1404–1439) before his enthronement and a committed supporter of the order. This choice is also justified by the fact that, fortunately, the correspondence between Albert and the order regarding falcons has survived and covers a period of ten years, between 1428 and 1438. Therefore, we can get insight into a longer period of this phenomenon, to compare these letters and to draw further conclusions from the recipient's point of view. In addition, the letters of thanks of Duke Albert reveal to us more about those "expected" favors in exchange for the gifts of the Teutonic Knights, as well as about the execution of these shipments.

For the sake of clarity, I display in the table below the duke's letters of thanks confirming the successful delivery of falcons, which express his gratitude to Paul von Rusford, grand master of the Teutonic Order (1422–1441).

[33] This is evidenced by a letter sent by the German master of the Teutonic Knights to the grand master in which he asks for several falcons (*ettlichen falcken*) for the electors and other lords. This practice is strengthened by a reference in the letter that this custom was maintained by both his predecessor and the Prussian master. OBA 12281. According to this, the grand master usually sent several falcons to his provincial masters governing German and Prussian territories in order to enable them to establish useful connections with nobles nearby.

Table 2. Letters of thanks of Albert V, duke of Austria (1404–1439), to the grand master of the Order for several falcons sent to him

Date	Issued in	Number of falcons	Services offered in gratitude	Falconer	Other	Score (OBA)
Jan 5, 1428	Vienna	6	promptitude to the order	-	-	4877
Jan 2, 1430	Vienna	6	promptitude to the order, as in the past	Merten(?), falconer of the order	-	5266
Feb 5, 1433	Vienna	6	promptitude to the order	-	falcons are safe and sound upon receiving	6346
Jan 3, 1438	Fehérvár (Hungary)	9 (+1 goshawk)	promptitude to the order	falconer of the order	coronation as king	7410

It seems, that between Albert and the Teutonic Knights there was a long-standing tradition of sending and receiving hawks. Apart from Sigismund of Luxemburg, Albert was the only figure of Hungarian history who I have managed to prove received hunting birds from the order on a regular basis so far.[34] This was due to the fact that both his father, Albert IV (1395–1404), and Albert V himself were loyal supporters of Sigismund, patron of the order, in his war against his brother Wenceslaus, while Albert the younger also lent a helping hand to Sigismund and the Teutonic Knights in their fight against the Hussites.[35] Moreover, after the defeat of Grünwald (1410), the Order was in need to seek after and maintain strong allies in the face of the threatening Polish-Lithuanian personal union. It is interesting to observe that, just like his predecessors amongst the Austrian dukes, Duke Albert also received such diplomatic gifts from the grand master even prior to his coronation as a Hungarian king. (Compare him with the dukes of Austria listed above from the year 1397.) From the period before he ascended to the Hungarian throne, I have found three letters of thanks addressed to the grand master for the falcons he had sent to him. In 1428, 1430, and 1433, Albert confirmed the successful arrival of six falcons and assured the Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf of his willingness to serve the order loyally. The letters are relatively short and sparing of words, but in one case (1430) we are informed about the name of the falconer (Merten) entrusted by the order with delivering the birds,[36] while in another letter

[34] In a subsequent paper, I would like to deal with the case of Sigismund in more depth.

[35] In his letter dated 1430, Albert V briefly refers to their previous cooperation: "and with which things we can support You and the Order, we are more than willing to do so, as we had always been happy to do." OBA 5266.

[36] OBA 5266. In 1438, only a falconer without a name is mentioned. OBA 7410.

(1433), Albert expressed his satisfaction at receiving the falcons in a "healthy and vivid" condition.[37]

However, with his coronation as the king of Hungary, Albert became a person with greater influence in the eyes of the Teutonic Order. In his letter following his coronation in Fehérvár, Hungary, Albert reported on the arrival of ten falcons, as opposed to six specimens previously received by him as the duke of Austria. It is interesting to mention that Albert was elected king December 18, 1437, after his predecessor Sigismund of Luxemburg died on 9 December. It is thought-provoking, however, that Albert's letter of thanks on receiving ten falcons corresponding to his royal rank was issued as soon as 3 January 1438. In my opinion, there is no way that the grand master, upon learning of the death of Sigismund, would have been able to assign and get these specimens delivered from Prussia to the newly elected king in Hungary. It is more probable that the shipment of falcons, which was timed to be delivered to Albert around Christmas and New Year's, had already been prepared and arranged as it would befit a king, being aware of the imminent death of the sick Sigismund.[38] At that time, it was certainly known in Prussia that Albert V, duke of Austria, would soon rise to the Hungarian throne, since in 1402 Sigismund and Albert IV, duke of Austria, had made an agreement on succession to the Hungarian throne. They had agreed that the throne would be bestowed upon the young Albert in the event of Sigismund's decease without a male heir.[39] Moreover, the possibility of electing Albert King of the Romans and of Hungary was a constant topic within the Teutonic Order as evidenced by several communications.[40] The crowning of the duke was therefore

[37] OBA 6346. Letters confirming delivery were not only for expressing words of gratitude to the sender but also had practical reasons. Reliable and trustworthy falconers were of particular importance due to the valuable nature of these gifts. In his letter to the grand master, an unknown person expressed his belief that a knight (*Knecht*) entrusted with the delivery had embezzled falcons and a dog sent to him. OBA 28788.

[38] Perhaps it is thanks to the hasty composition of birds sent as gifts to Albert that the "package" also included a goshawk, which was not considered as a "true falcon", rather only belonging to the *Falconidae* and thus valued less. Therefore, the minimum number of ten birds normally sent to the kings as befitting their royal dignity could only be achieved by this "supplement:" a goshawk. This seems to be a solution born out of necessity that may have resulted from a lack of time to obtain the appropriate number of "true falcons."

[39] *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae*, vol. 13 (Brünn: Verlag des mährischen Landesausschusses, 1897), 233–234.

[40] OBA 7409, 7413, 7446.

expected, and the increase in the number of falcons sent to him indicates a recent change in Albert's rank.[41]

The letters of thanks confirming the arrival of falcons and addressed to the grand master were also used for writing the latest news and reporting on special events. A good example is the letter of Albert, who reports on the coronation of himself as the king and his wife as the queen of Hungary.[42] A similar case is found in the letter from the duke of Oels (now Oleśnica, Poland) from 1417, in which, among other news, the grand master is informed of the coronation of Elisabeth Pilecki, third wife of Władysław II Jagiełło, as queen of Poland. Besides joyful occasions, naturally, death also meant an exciting topic. For instance, in his letter, the count palatine of the Rhine wanted to know more about the current situation of the order after the death of Vytautas, grand duke of Lithuania, and asked the grand master for further news.[43] Besides politics, addressees of these letters attached to falcons could be informed of extreme weather phenomena (e.g., no snow experienced in the year in Silesia despite being mid-December).[44] Therefore, it can be said that the shipment of falcons created an additional opportunity to build new relationships and to cultivate existing ones through letters written in a mostly amicable tone.

Conclusion

The Teutonic Order had a decisive role in mediating falcons to European courts from the middle of the fourteenth century. This possibility was created by its geographical position since in Prussia the order possessed areas that were the natural habitat of precious birds of prey. However, it was mostly its network created by the Hanseatic trade that enabled the order to obtain the most valuable and rarest types of falcons from neighboring countries (i.e., Scandinavian and Russian territories). These specimens then later were sent to European nobles and monarchs, for most of whom getting a fine and rare falcon would have been an impossible task because of the distance and costs involved.

According to the documents I examined, the transport of falcons may have lasted from the end of October to the beginning of December of a given year,

[41] Within six months of his election, King Albert's envoys appeared in Prussia. However, it is likely that this visit was in connection with his election as the King of the Romans taking place on 18 March 1438. OBA 7464.

[42] OBA 7410.

[43] OBA 5564.

[44] OBA 5527.

and the grand masters of the order reserved themselves the right to present them. The excellent network of relations of the Teutonic Knights covering the larger part of Europe allowed influential lords to turn to a nearby member or agent of the order if they wished to get falcons for themselves or their followers. The popularity of falconry among European nobility had been widely exploited by the leadership of the Teutonic Order to achieve their own political goals: they sent falcons as diplomatic gifts to secure general political or military support, or to handle difficult or individual issues.

SPACE: A PROPOSAL FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF *ALBANENSES* IN SHKODRA'S MEDIEVAL CITY STATUTE

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This paper deals with the interaction of the physical environment of Shkoder in north Albania, the spaces associated with urban institutions, and the identification of the people connected with those spaces through the statute of the city, which dates back to the first decades of the fourteenth century. I propose that the statute allows for a reading where *albanenses* as a social group is used in reference to the space inhabited by them. That is, I take a spatial, rather than an ethnographic, approach to propose an understanding of the otherwise complex reality of legal allowances in Shkodra in the late Middle Ages.[1]

Political Situation of the North-Albanian Territories by the Fourteenth Century

Fig. 1. Shkodra's location in relation to the states that emerged from the collapse of the Serbian Empire in the 14th century

From the rise of Epirus and the emergence of new Slav powers in the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, the situation of the Albanian territories

[1] This paper is an updated and revised version of a chapter from my MA thesis "Placing Identities? Socio-Spatial Relations in Shkoder in the Fourteenth Century" (Budapest: Central European University, 2015).

was characterized by precarious political stability.[2] In Alain Ducellier's analysis, the constant wars between the rulers of Epirus and the Slav lords that began around 1205, together with the harsh fiscal policy of the Angevins, produced a considerable decline of the Albanian ports and led to the separation of the coastal cities, particularly Durrës (Durazzo), and the interior.[3] The Albanian littoral, however, continued to have a considerable naval and commercial significance for Greek, Venetian, Hungarian, and Ragusan foreign policy. Afterwards, when the Serbian expansion to the southern Adriatic became a reality, the annexation of the Epirus and the Albanian territories in 1346 was an important gain for the Serbian king Stephen Dušan, at least momentarily.[4] After his death nine years later, the empire broke up and prominent Albanian lords assumed the control of cities while chieftains controlled the countryside.[5] In Shkoder, a city in northern Albania, the

[2] Alain Ducellier, "Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: 1198–c. 1300*, ed. David Abulafia, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 785. This instability was also owing to the fact that there was nothing like a politically or culturally unified Albania; such an idea would only materialize in modern times. It goes without saying that my use of "Albania" has nothing to do with the *Regnun Albaniae*, the rather artificial political entity established ca. 1272 that fell into Karl Topia's hands in 1368. For this, see: Etleva Lala, *Regnum Albaniae, the Papal Curia, and the Western Visions of a Borderline Nobility* (PhD diss., Central European University, 2008)." Following Oliver Schmitt, I will refer to the "Albanian realm" or "Albanian space," and the cases where only "Albania" appears are solely due to stylistic purposes: Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien: (1392–1479)* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001), 47.

[3] Ducellier, "Albania," 794. A *coup de grâce* was the earthquake in Durrës in March 1271, which left this city destroyed, abandoned, and defenseless: Donald Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 15. Ducellier, however, dates the earthquake to July 1267: Alain Ducellier, *La Façade Maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge: Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981), 294. See the description of the earthquake by George Pachymeres, a Byzantine historian, in: Robert Elsie, *Early Albania: A Reader of Historical Texts, 11th–17th Centuries* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2003), 12–13.

[4] Bariša Krekić, "Le relazioni fra Venezia, Ragusa e le popolazioni serbo-croate," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV: atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana. Venezia, 1–5 giugno 1968*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, vol. 1 (Florence: Olschki, 1974), 398.

[5] In the course of 1350, John Bova (Buji) Spata and Peter Liosha (Losha), two Albanian chieftains, gained control over Epirus and Aetolia; John Comnenus established his principality in Valona and Berat; the Balšići (Balša) brothers, a western noble family, held Zeta (southern Montenegro and northern Albania); and three main families – the Balšići, the Matarangos, and the Thopias – disputed the region between the Lake of Shkoder and Durrës: John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 357–68. Between 1363 and 1396, the Balša gained solid control over North Albania and the coast of Budva and Bar. Then, they surrendered their territories to the Venetians: Alain Ducellier, "Genesis and Failure of the Albanian State in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise: Xe–XVe siècles* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), 10.

Balša dynasty began to rule from about 1360 until 1392, the year in which the Ottomans took George Stracimirović Balšić prisoner and released him only after he surrendered Shkoder to them, first, and to the Venetians four years later.[6]

And yet, in spite of this volatile political situation, from at least the second half of the thirteenth century, Shkoder and the surrounding villages had experienced successful agricultural development and by the time the Balša took over, the city was part of a modest but consolidated local economy. Parallel to this, the codification process of local city laws in Albanian cities that took place in the first half of the fourteenth century allowed a form of local administration centered on the resolution of the affairs of the commune by means of a citizens' assembly.[7] This article proposes that the city statute that emanated from this tradition of self-administration can be read as a codification of the various relationships between the physical setting of the city and the social and economic activities that took place inside and around it.

The City Statute: A Source to Approach *Who Lived Where*

According to Oliver Jens Schmitt, the *Statuti di Scutari* dates back to the first decades of the fourteenth century, before Stephan Dušan was crowned emperor in 1346.[8] Its compilation was part of the long jurisprudential tradition that helped to organize life in Albanian and Dalmatian cities and established a set of norms in the administration of justice and public affairs.[9] On the other hand, it was also the result of a north Albanian tradition of customary law that kept alive the memory of the principles of justice that structured social life. The statute, as Gherardo

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[6] Konstantin Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet im Mittelalter," in *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, ed. Ludwig von Thallóczy, vol. 1 (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1916), 105.

[7] Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Un monumento dell'Albania medievale," in *Statuti di Scutari, della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, ed. Lucia Nadin (Rome: Viella, 2002), 30.

[8] Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 113.

[9] Miloš Milošević and Sima Ćirković, "On Kotor Statute," in *Statuta Civitatis Cathari. Statut Grada Kotora: prevod originala iz 1616. godine sa naučnim aparatom*, ed. Jelena Antović (Kotor: Državni arhiv Crne Gore, 2009), 513. Even though they have not survived, it is known that similar law books were written down in Bar (Antivari) (1369), Ulcinj (1376), Durrës (Durazzo) (1392), and Drisht (Drivasto) (1397): Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 110. They were a common element of the Albanian space and held authority also in the Venetian period. In Dalmatia such law books were also a principle for city life, see: Marija Karbić and Damir Karbić, *The Laws and Customs of Medieval Croatia and Slavonia: A Guide to the Extant Sources*, ed. Martin Rady, Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe (London: UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 2013).

Ortalli puts it, "is a monument to a past whose memory one wants to rescue."[10] In modern times, there was virtually no trace of the code until Lucia Nadin made the fortunate discovery of the only surviving manuscript of the *Statuti*, which had remained unnoticed in the library of the Museo Correr in Venice.[11] Together with the integral text of the statute, the manuscript contains several additions from the years 1391 to 1469.[12] Even though there is no date affixed to the manuscript, Nadin assumes it was elaborated at some point between 1479 and the very first years of the *Cinquecento*.[13]

From Henri Lefebvre's writing on the production of social space to the more recent contributions of the "spatial turn," space is no longer seen as a passive canvas in which events occur, but a decisive factor for historical understanding.[14] In the field of medieval studies, recent research projects encompassing, among other places, the broader Dalmatian-Adriatic space have also insisted on the need to incorporate spatial reflections for the understanding of historical and social processes.[15] In the fourteenth century, Shkoder followed the pattern of the majority of medieval cities and consisted of two main parts: one represented by the citadel and used for housing and the exercise of economic activities (crafts, trade, and gardening), and another consisting of arable land, forests, grassland, vineyards, etc., that were in the immediate outskirts of the city. Shkoder's connectedness with the surrounding villages was not exclusively physical. The relationship between the city and the countryside was carefully regulated and legally sanctioned by the

[10] Gherardo Ortalli, "Gli statuti, tra Scutari e Venezia," in *Statuti di Scutari, della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, ed. Lucia Nadin (Rome: Viella, 2002), 22.

[11] Lucia Nadin, "Il codice degli statuti e l'edizioni," in *Statuti di Scutari, della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, ed. Lucia Nadin (Rome: Viella, 2002), 79.

[12] Marinus Dulcichius, Slav of origin, had copied the text *fedelmente* from the original, kept among the documents of the Council of Ten in Venice: Lucia Nadin, "Il testo Statutario," in *Statuti di Scutari, della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, ed. Lucia Nadin (Rome: Viella, 2002), 50.

[13] Nadin, "Il testo Statutario," 51.

[14] See: Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). For a more general reading, see: Filippo Carlà, "The Uses of History in Themed Spaces," in *A Reader in Themed and Immersive Spaces*, ed. Scott A. Lucas (Pittsburgh, PA: ETC Press, 2016), 19–29; Philip Ethington, "Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History," *Rethinking History* (2007): 465–93.

[15] See, for example, the project on "Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Urban Elite and Urban Space" (2015–2019) headed by Irena Benyovsky Latin, with all their results at: http://urbes.s2.novenaweb.info/en/home/. See also: Danijela Doblanović, Marija Mogorović Crljenko, and Dušan Mlacović, "Istrian and Dalmatian Towns – Urban Space and the Elites: The Cases of Rovinj and Rab (Middle Ages and Early Modern Period)," *Povijesni Prilozi (Historical Contributions)* 38, no. 56 (2019): 157–80; Stephan Sander-Faes and Clemens Zimmermann, eds., *Weltstädte, Metropolen, Megastädte: Dynamiken von Stadt und Raum von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018).

creation of communes, which had the right to administer themselves on the basis of statutes, regulations, and ancient local customs.[16] Here, the active engagement of local traders played an extremely important role in the urban centers because it allowed them to "establish contacts, links, and domestic and commercial relationships between cities, villages and regions of the country, which turned into rules, traditional norms and customs."[17] In consequence, by pursuing an integral understanding of the space circumscribed to Shkoder one is allowed to understand better the relations of the "three worlds of South-Eastern Europe: that of the city, the villages, and nomadic pastoralism."[18]

In Shkoder, norms were sanctioned by the city statute, which was, for that matter, the primary cohesive factor between *civitas et contrata*. Already the first two articles of the *Statuti di Scutari* refer to the variety of social and legal groups that inhabited the city: *citadini*, *sclavi*, *arbaneses*, and *stranieri*.[19] One could easily divide these groups into ethnically suggestive terms and terms that refer to a legal status. Yet, *sclavi* and *arbanese* may also be contextualized in relation to the circumstances in which they are used and the activities people engaged in, at least inasmuch as it is possible to infer from these articles.

So, in Shkodra, who was supposed to live where? To answer this question, I will take a step back from a direct link to the identity, that is, ethnic, element of the groups mentioned in the statute and rather assume that overlapping identities could and probably did occur. That is, whereas *Albanenses* can lead to an ethnic reading, the term *Scutarenses* seems to refer specifically to the affairs of the city,[20] but could not somebody be both? I insist on this potential multiplicity of meanings for two main reasons: first, to explore the relationship between the law and the physical and social reality of the city, and second, as a warning to the reader so that she does not assume that a given denomination automatically implies a

[16] Luan Malltezi, "La ville et la campagne dans la société Albanaise des XIe - XVe siècle," *Acta studia albanica* 2 (1990): 102. Later on, after the Venetian administration took over, clashes between them and the local population were not uncommon, see: Nada Zecević, "Contra Formam Suae Commissionis: Three Examples of Abuses by Venetian Officers in Albania Veneta (Early Fifteenth Century)," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, no. 20 (2016): 73–84.

[17] Malltezi, "La ville et la campagne," 101.

[18] Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 93.

[19] *Statuti di Scutari della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, trans. Pëllumb Xhufi (Rome: Viella, 2002), art. 1–2.

[20] According to Schmitt, the name "Albanian" can be: 1) a mere appellation that refers to the origin; 2) the assignment of a person to the Albanian-speaking ethnic group in the Western Balkans; 3) the designation of a person who is not in possession of the citizenship of the Dalmatian and Albanian municipalities, and 4) a semi-nomadic group: *Das venezianische Albanien*, 60.

reference to the "ethnic" characteristics of those people, whatever they may have been. In consequence, controversies about the autochthony, presence, continuity, or distribution of the Albanian "ethnos" in the Middle Ages will not guide the reading of the city statute.[21]

Space: The Meeting Ground of People and Law

The mixture of difficult mountainous conditions and inter-regional connections constituted a fundamental element of the physical environment of Shkoder. Most importantly, this setting came to be a constituent element of the city since it also played a role in the social – and spatial – relations of the inhabitants of the city. The *contrata*, that is, the territory that fell outside Shkoder's city walls, spread in a radius of about 5–10 kilometers around the city.[22] A common element in the countryside of Shkoder and of other parts of Albania was the strict demarcation of the limits of each piece of land, which gave space a very physical sense of territoriality. Unlike the southern plains, disputes concerning territorial division were considerably less common in the north, where it was not difficult to find natural landmarks that served as reference points. The capacity to account for specific trees, springs, etc., could remain in the memory in a given community for generations and the demarcation of land was an important part of their oral tradition and customary laws.[23] The physical inclination of the city territories also influenced the outcome

[21] For literature having "Albanian ethnicity" as a central research problem, see: Hasan Kaleshi, "Das türkische Vordringen auf dem Balkan und die Islamisierung – Faktoren für die Erhaltung der ethnischen und nationalen Existenz des albanischen Volkes," in *Südosteuropa unter dem Halbmond: Untersuchungen über Geschichte und Kultur der südosteuropäischen Völker während der Türkenzeit*, ed. Georg Stadtmuller (Munich: Trofenik, 1975), 125–38; Kasem Biçoku, "Les régions ethniques albanaises au moyen âge et la propagation du nom national 'Arber,'" *Acta studia albanica* 1, no. 2 (1992): 11–23; Pëllumb Xhufi, "The Ethnic Situation in Epirus during the Middle Ages," *Acta studia albanica* 1–2 (1994): 47; Pëllumb Xhufi, "Regard sur les noms Albanie et Albanais au Moyen Âge," *Acta studia albanica* 1 (2002): 3–21; Ilijaz Rexha, "Shtrirja e vendbanimeve mesjetare mbi bazën e etnonimit Arban-Alban në Ballkan [The extension of the medieval dwelling-places on the basis of the ethnonym Arban- Alban in the Balkans]," *Studime Historike* 3–4 (2005): 7–30. A comment on an earlier mention of ethnic groups in the Balkans can be found in: Peter Schreiner, "Ethnische Invektiven in der spätbyzantinischen Händlerwelt: Zum anonymen Poem im Marcianus gr. XI, 6 aus dem 3. oder 4. Jahrzehnt des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta* 2, no. 50 (2013): 763–78. For a discussion about the different ethnonyms used and applied to Albanians, see: Bardhyl Demiraj, *Shqiptar – Albanian* (Tirana: Naimi Printing House, 2010).

[22] Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 96.

[23] Spiro Shkurti, *Der Mythos vom Wandervolk der Albaner: Landwirtschaft in den albanischen Gebieten (13.–17. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 28–29. The statute was not inattentive to customary

of disputes: the statute states that the land situated between two vineyards, two fields, or two gardens, belonged to the vineyards, fields, or gardens situated in the upper part, except when the owner of the lower parts could prove he or she held a title of ownership.[24] The boundaries of the lands and districts gave way to controversies not only between citizens, but also between land owners and the commune, and even between cities. According to the city statute, "stealing land" by modifying fences or any other sign of property was forbidden and entailed a fine of three *perperi*.[25] It could also happen that two different cities claimed a given village, for example, bitter rifts divided the people from Drivasto and Shkoder, quarreling about some border villages.[26]

In fact, the boundaries of lands and villages were an important issue for the commune. The city, together with the church, owned the majority of lands around the walls and directly profited from them.[27] So, for instance, the city code states that if a citizen owned grains (*blava voy prassa*) outside the city, he should bring it to Shkoder to sell them there and not elsewhere.[28] This would be particularly relevant in the fourteenth century, a "period of prosperity" for the

law and also stipulated that, in ambiguous cases (particularly regarding land-related issues), one should follow the state of things "como steti antiquamente": *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 21, 47, 48.

[24] "Ordinatu è de li terreni intra le vigne, campi et orti, vulemo che quilli terreni sia de la vigna aver de li campi aver de li orti, volemo che sia de quilli de la parte sovrana, salvo se la parte zò provasse per breve como è soy li dicti terreni": *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 37.

[25] *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 210. Because of the large amount of local currencies – about 20 types – that circulated in north Albania during the time of George II Balsha (1385–1403), the accounting was kept in *perperi*: Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 147–48; Milan von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens, hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, Denkschriften, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 63/1 (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1924), 67–68. The *grossi*, the *moneda de Balsa*, was the common currency in Shkoder. Another type, the *grossi de Catharo*, appears only once in the statute, in the addition 269 from 1391. In fifteenth-century Shkodra there was a quick depreciation of the *grosso* as a consequence of the Venetian trade policies. In 1432, the price of one *ducato* was 32 *grossi de Balsa*, but after the "currency crisis" of 1436, the value of the ducat increased to an exorbitant rate of 84 to 90 *grossi*: Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 334–35.

[26] Božić, "Le système foncier en 'Albanie vénitienne' au XVe siècle," 97, as quoted in: Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 143.

[27] Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 142. On the extent of the church presence in the city, see: Edmond Malaj, "Në gjurmë të monumenteve kishtare brenda Shkodrës mesjetare [On the traces of ecclesiastical monuments inside of Medieval Shkodra]," *Studime Historike* 1–2 (2016): 4–32.

[28] "Ordinemu chi havissi blava voy grassa de fora de la cità nostra citadino che ello sia tenudo a portar la dicta grassa ne la nostra citade et non in altre parte": *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 68.

Albanian economy in the production of grain, wine, oil, products of farming and fishing, timber, and salt.[29]

The commune took active care in the control of goods that were taken outside the city. The city statue had a prohibition to export food ("De non trazer grassa fora de la terra") and foreigners or citizens caught outside the territory carrying wheat, flour, barley, rye, meat, or cheese should pay a fine of 50 *perperi* with seizure of the goods.[30] The lands belonging to Shkoder included forests, pastures (*pra de comun*), fields (*campi de comun*; *terreni de comun aratorii da la banda de soura Scutari*), vineyards on the mountain and in its surroundings, gardens (*zardini*), extensive wastelands, and grazing areas that served to breed cattle, sheep, and pigs.[31]

Olives and grapes seem to have been the most important crops. According to the statute, if it was proved with reliable evidence that someone had intentionally cut or burned an olive tree or a vineyard belonging to somebody else, the fine was as high as 50 *perperi*, whereas cutting any other fruit tree carried a fine of only two *perperi*.[32] Similarly, if there were branches of a tree extending over a neighbor's yard, the fallen fruits could be divided between the neighbor and the owner of the tree. Olives seem to have been an exception again: they all belonged to the owner of the tree and no other claimant was entitled to collect any.[33] The surrounding lands

[29] Nadin, "Il testo Statutario," 55. Shkurti insists on the fact that in Albanian cities of the Middle Ages viticulture was a "massive public activity" and the lands near cities were covered with vineyards: Spiro Shkurti, "Recherches dans la vie économique de la ville Albanaise du Moyen Age," *Acta studia albanica* 1 (2001): 136.

[30] "Ordinemo chi se trovasse che trazesse grassa de la terra, oy forestieri aver citadino zoè grana over farina, voy orzo oy meio oy carne aver lardo over il formazo, chi paghe per pena perperi L de grossi de Sclavonia et chi perda la blava." An exemption from paying could be granted if the person was able to name the seller (in which case the seller should pay the fine) or if he was condoned by the judges or councilors ("consiglieri"): *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 67.

[31] Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 143.

[32] "Ordinemo cui se trovasse per bona prova chi taiasse arbor de olivar stranio voy incendisse studiosamente, chi paghi per pena perperi L de Sclavonia et paghi lo damnazo (…) et cui taiasse vide voy viti de vigna studiosamente, che paghi la dieta pena et paghi lo darnnazo; et cui taiassi altrui arboro pomifero, chi paghi per pena perperi II de Sclavonia": *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 42.

[33] *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 41.

were not exclusively productive lands. That space was also destined to be where one disposed of rubbish[34] and even to be the habitual place of thieves and wrongdoers.[35]

Shepherds (*bolco*, *bolcho*, *bulgo*, *bulcho*) is the group that first springs to mind when one refers to economic activities in a mountainous setting. In all the places where they are mentioned in the statute of Shkoder, they are supposed to be outside the city.[36] Moreover, on the only occasion they are to be found inside (i.e., when they wanted to "attend a festivity, coming back late at night"), the statute determines that they had to pay either the damages for losing an animal (if any), or a fine if none had been lost.[37] Here there was a clearly specified space to perform an activity, but it also makes clear that certain people were out of place in a given space, at least when the activity in question was involved. In a way, an analogous reasoning could apply to other groups, like the Ragusan merchants, who did not live in the city but in *Sotto Scutari*, close to the church of St. Blasius.[38]

The commune took active care in protecting the fields from thieves and damages caused by animals, and for that purpose a *guardator* was supposed to watch over the city, vineyards, lands, and pastures.[39] If any damage occurred to the land, the guardian was considered responsible and thus he himself had to pay for the damages. Interestingly, if a custodian of the grazing lands of the city

[34] After building or renovating a house, the person was not allowed to throw the remaining materials in the public road. Instead, rubble had to be disposed of outside the city ("ordinemo che nisun possa zitar in omni via terra de fundamenti e di celaro cui volissi far casa da novo voy renovar"): *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 25.

[35] It was stated that villages or hamlets in the Shkoder district should not accommodate thieves ("nisuna villa over casale che sta nel destrecto de Scutari non debia tenir latrone intra sé"). Proven that they did, the village or hamlet should take responsibility and pay 25 *perperi*, half to the count and half to the commune: *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 223. It is difficult to assess how dangerous it actually was to travel by land from one city to another, but as hostilities around the Bay of Kotor were not totally unheard of (and with the increase of the Ottoman presence, piracy: AAV II 415, 434; III 708, 932), it would not have been surprising to be attacked in scarcely populated areas. In this respect, the *Statuti* commands that, if a company departs together from the city to go to the woods, the market, or any other country ("in selva over in merchadantia over in altro lago in conserva"), nobody should leave the group because in the case that "se fossi per forza robati siando insieme per la via," he should be held responsible for the damages: *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 80.

[36] *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 72–77, 251.

[37] "Ordinemo che zaschadun bolco che venisse la festa in citade che lo vada ad hora de vespero a li bovi e se non andasse a recevere li bovi de li soi insieme del suo compagno e in quella nocte fosse niguno manchamento de li bovi voy de altra cosa, che sia tenudo a pagar ogni damno; e se damno non fossi chi paghi grossi XXI, la mità al conte e la mità a lo Comune." *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 73.

[38] Jireček, "Skutari," 108.

[39] *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 81–84.

encountered a "sclavo oy arbaneso voy scutarino" with sheep, cows, or pigs, he should take him to court together with two or three guards, and the owner of the animals should pay a fine of 50 *perperi*.[40] There are two basic ways of interpreting this phrase. One would be a direct mirror into "Slav, Albanian or person from Shkoder." The other, however, may take one step further and take into account the activity in question and where it is supposed to take place and be interpreted as "farmer, mountaineer, and citizen of Shkoder."[41] These two options show that, while in theory both are possible, one has to be very careful in pretending to assign ethnic-linguistic identities on the sole basis of legal or notarial documents.[42]

Space: A Category of Analysis

The Statute of Shkodra shows that the experience of space acquired in the *contrata* had a variety of forms. It appears in the purposeful division of productive lands according to their distance from the city, the strict territorial demarcation of those lands, the differentiation of activities that should (or should not) take place in certain locations, a place that offered no guarantee of safety, and the references to people in which ethnicity, social status, and economic activity are combined.

In Shkoder at the end of the Middle Ages, the appropriation of spaces within the city by different social groups was not carried out in a unidirectional way. Despite the paucity of source material, the statute of the city (as well as contemporary acts and reports that due to space limitations could not be studied here) do offer enough indication of the multidimensionality of elements that intervened in the process. In this article I used space as an additional explanatory category for the plethora of meanings that the term *albanenses* had. The main concern was not to define who Albanians *were* but to try to understand their "presence" in the legal text in the context of life and activities in the city. So, if in previous scholarship *albanenses* involved different categories that applied to members of a given cultural space, speakers of the same language, people taking part in the same profession, and similar social and legal status, according to examples from the Statute, another

[40] *Statuti di Scutari*, art. 84.

[41] This is the interpretation adopted by the Albanian translator of the statute, who understands these terms as: "një bujk, një malësor ose një shkodran": Përllumb Xhufi, trans., "Statutet e Shkodrës," in *Statuti di Scutari della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, ed. Lucia Nadin (Rome: Viella, 2002), 193.

[42] See: Žarko Muljačić, "Conflitti linguistici a Dubrovnik (Ragusa) nel Medio Evo," in *Das Dalmatische. Studien zu einer untergegangenen Sprache* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 131–38; Diego Dotto, *Scriptae venezianeggianti a Ragusa nel XIV secolo. Edizione e commento di testi volgari dell'Archivio di Stato di Dubrovnik*, Interadriatico. Culture dell'Adriatico. Lingua e letteratura 7 (Rome: Viella, 2008), 69.

level of meaning can be extended to denote those sharing or inhabiting a particular space. What made an analysis of these terms possible was mainly the statute itself, which embodied the connection between physical and social space by means of the jurisdiction it exercised over *civitas et contrata. Albanenses* were directly linked with this physical setting inasmuch as they were referred to as an outside element. In the sources there are not enough indications that point to the existence of exclusive ethnic elements, language, or a way of life connected with pastoral activities, and so, "space" becomes a useful category to understand how social dynamic and natural setting interacted with one another.

A MILITARY ANALYSIS OF THE IRON GATES CASTLE CHAIN ENTRUSTED TO THE TEUTONIC ORDER (1429–c. 1436)

Jason Snider

By the close of the fourteenth century, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire was on the doorstep of the Kingdom of Hungary. Finding out that confrontation in a large-scale open battle would not halt the advance, Hungarian monarchs began to construct and rely increasingly on fortresses systems to guard the southern frontier. Military historians have already deliberated upon many of these castle chains. However, to this point, the twenty-four castles assigned to the command of the Teutonic Order in the Iron Gates region of the Danube River (on the southern borders of modern day Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți Counties in Romania) have not been studied in totality by scholars as a coordinated castle system or castle chain.[1] Yet they were purposely designed and built – forged as links between two or three pre-existing fortresses – to act as a unified barrier in order to repel the steady northward advances of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Murad II (1403 or 1404–1451). As a key part of the ever-evolving defensive scheme of Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437), many were constructed in the 1420's under the watchful eye of his renowned general Filippo Buondelmonti degli Scolari (commonly known as Pippo Spano, or Pippo of Ozora, 1369–1426). Following Spano's death in 1426, the king immediately adapted his plans and handed the duty of defending the strategic position of the Iron Gates to an external power – the Teutonic Order – which repaired and completed the chain.[2]

My interest in this topic is not from a textually focused point of view. In truth, it comes as a departure from what scant amount of scholarly work has been conducted on it to this point so far. The majority of these studies have examined the Iron Gates castles from the standpoint of the politics of King Sigismund, but as a minor feature within his overarching Ottoman policies. Other works which have come from the fields of archaeology or architecture were concentrated upon

[1] This region is also known as: Romanian: *Porțile de Fier*, Serbian: Ђердапска клисура / Đerdapska klisura or Гвоздена врата / Gvozdena vrata, Bulgarian: Железни врата, German: *Eisernes Tor*, and Hungarian: *Vaskapu*.

[2] For a brief overview of the basics surrounding King Sigismund's varied, yet concerted, efforts to halt the Ottoman advance, see: Mark Whelan, "Catastrophe or Consolidation? Sigismund's Response to Defeat after the Crusade of Nicopolis (1396)," in *Between Worlds: The Age of the Jagiellonians*, ed. Florin Ardelean, Christopher Nicholson, and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Eastern and Central European Studies II (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), 215–27.

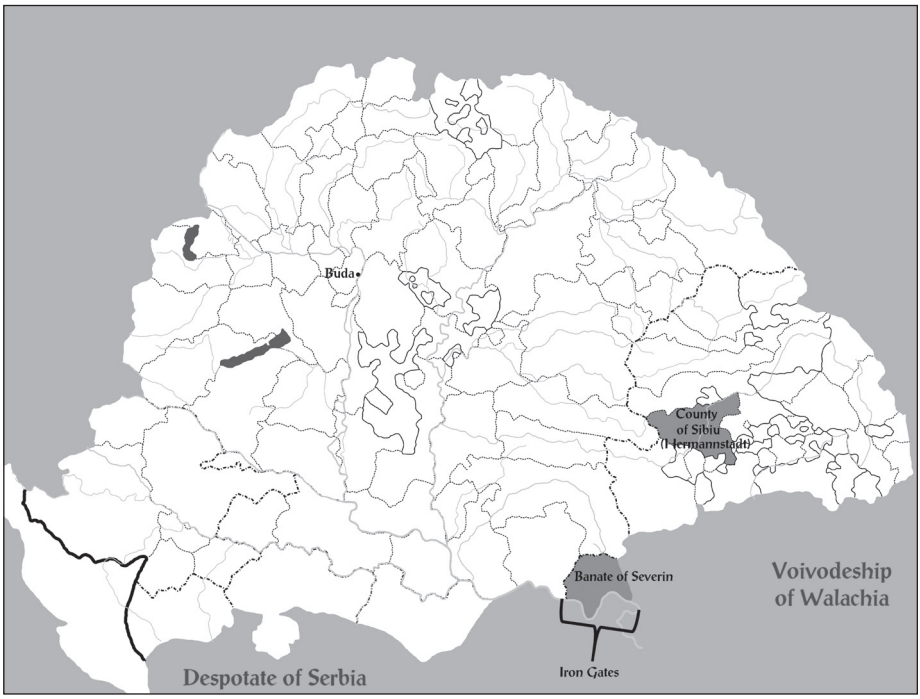

Fig. 1. Map of the Kingdom of Hungary

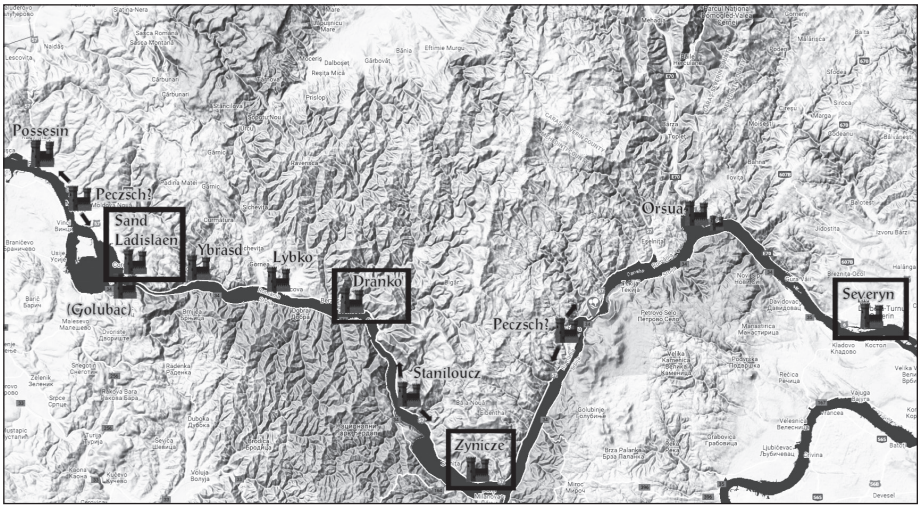

Fig. 2. Map of the known castle locations and chosen sample set

specific fortresses in isolation, and not as a comprehensive system. I submit that because these fortifications in concert composed the very center of the embattled frontline between the Hungarian Kingdom and Ottoman territory, they are far more important than the credit they have been given in the secondary literature. Therefore, as this is a military issue at heart, I believe it necessary to approach the physical circumstances of both the castle system and its topographical environment in which it was placed in a new way. This is to most completely understand its original military context when added in compliment to the usual documentary analysis. I would describe my approach as landscape archaeology through a military lens.[3]

I contend that this type of analysis is needed in order to evaluate the effectiveness of this system, especially given its failure in the year of 1432 while under the overall command of a contingent from the Teutonic Order. In short, after a two-year truce with the Ottomans which gave the Order's expedition time to shore-up the system and prepare for inevitable attack, Turkish forces were still able to cross the river here in a largescale raid, penetrating into Wallachia as far as Târgoviște and Transylvania.[4] According to one of the surviving documents from the Teutonic Order's correspondence archive, by the end of the year, three of these fortresses (unnamed) had been lost to the Ottomans.[5] This is a failure of the castle system whose very purpose was to prevent this. However, failure does not necessarily reflect strategic significance.

Geography is key to military planning and theory. By themselves, geographical features can form either barriers or facilities to human endeavor such as transportation, trade, communications, etc. The Danube River is a well-studied example of this. Flowing in a general easterly course, the Danube as a body of water has acted as a natural obstacle for invading armies on land along one axis (North/South), and at the same time, it was also a swift highway through which the same army could quickly travel on the perpendicular river axis (East/West). Therefore, control of this feature has historically been key for defense of the Carpathian Basin. As the western-most end of another large geographical feature, the Great Eurasian

[3] This was the main argument of my master's thesis which will be further discussed below. See: Jason Snider, "A Military Analysis of Key River Fortifications Given to the Teutonic Order in the Banat of Severin" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2019).

[4] Mark Whelan, Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Imperial Response to the Ottoman Turkish Threat, c. 1410, PhD diss., University of London, 2014, 57.

[5] Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Dahlem), XX. Hauptabteilung, *Ordensbriefarchiv*, Nr. 6276, transcribed in: Costin Feneșan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului și la Dunărea de jos în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea [The Teutonic Knights in the Banat of Severin and the Lower Danube in the First Half of the 15th Century]* (Timisoara: Cosmopolitan Art, 2015), 255.

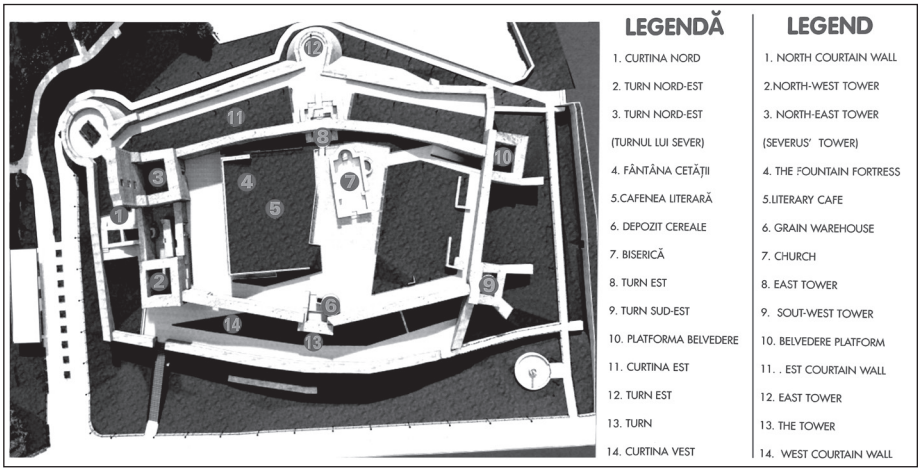

Fig. 3. Diagram of Severin Castle from above

Steppe, the Carpathian Basin has been the terminal point for multiple nomadic cultures migrating along the course of the 8,000 km long steppe. Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Khazars, Pechenegs, Cumans, and Mongols have all found their way to the Carpathian Basin over two and a half millennia.

During the Late Medieval Period, the latest influx of external peoples came from the South, as the Ottoman Empire (a culture that had itself come off the Eurasian Steppes at a more easterly point) made its eventual way to the Carpathian Basin via recently conquered Byzantine or Serbian lands. By the turn of the fifteenth century, King Sigismund defended the Kingdom of Hungary along the Danube frontier through a number of military policies to include this chain of castles at the Iron Gates.[6] This 134 km long stretch of the Danube divides the Carpathian Mountains on its northern bank, and the Balkan Mountains on its southern shore, making it a thin bottle-neck that controls access to the Carpathian Plain and the Kingdom of Hungary to the North.

In this article, I will briefly present the findings of my master's thesis combined with some new results as a part of my doctoral research with the purpose of making a larger argument for the viability of this type of analysis, given the strategic importance of this castle chain. I will do so using the four castles examined in my master's work, which attempted to evaluate them militarily using topographic maps, three-dimensional renderings of historical maps (to interpret

[6] Whelan, "Catastrophe or Consolidation," 215–227.

the castles in their original environments), satellite imagery, photos, drawings, and physical inspections of these castle sites. Interpretations were then made using the military knowledge and experience given to me while I was in the United States Army, through these tools, applying concepts such as defensive positions, offensive capabilities, fields of fire, strategic objectives, flank security, etc. Again, I contend that this process can be utilized on the entire castle system, beyond these four examples. This, in fact, is the aim of my doctoral research which I plan to use in my dissertation.

The Castle System's Basics

The Iron Gates defensive system of fortifications numbering twenty-one on the River Danube (and strengthened by an additional three further inland in important mountain passes) was at its greatest extent in the year 1429, when its control was given to the Teutonic Order under the overall command of Nikolaus von Redwitz (fl. 1422–1436).[7] This full-serving brother was the preceptor of the Order's expedition to this frontier region.[8] In two related reports compiled in October or November 1429 by Redwitz for his superior, Grandmaster Paul von Rußdorf (r. 1422 to 1441), these fortifications were listed as: *Severyn, Insyl Saan, Vaskapu, Sente Peters,* an unnamed fortress above *Severyn, Orsua, Goryn,* another unnamed fortress upriver from *Orsua, Peczsch,* a third unnamed fortress above *Peczsch, Lybko, Zynicze, Stanilouczc, Dranko, Ybrasd, Soel, Ander Peczsch, Sand Ladislaen, Possesin,* a final unnamed fortress upriver from *Possesin, and Rybes*.[9]

Of these twenty-one riverine castles, only four locations have been conclusively identified by scholars, historians, and archaeologists, and are able to be studied. Some other sites have problematic identifications or have been properly identified but have become hidden. This is due to the construction of the Iron Gates I hydroelectric dam (completed in 1972), and the later Iron Gates II dam (finished a little over a decade later, in 1984) which have inundated the area upstream in

[7] *Ordensbriefarchiv*, Nr. 27837, transcribed in: Feneşan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului*, 187–189.

[8] King Sigismund gave Redwitz a number of other titles in addition to preceptor of the expedition, listed in a documentary signature dated July 18, 1430. The original Latin is: "*frater Nicolaus de Radewitz, Ordinis beate marie virginis domus ierosolimitani preceptor ceterorum fratrum predicti Ordinis in Regnum Hungarie missorum Banus Zewriniensis, necnon camararum monete regalis Cibiniensis comes."* See: Viorel Achim, "Locul Ordinului teuton In istoria Banatului de Severin [The Role of the Teutonic Order in the History of the Banate of Severin]," *Banatica* 24, no. 2 (2014), 42.

[9] *Ordensbriefarchiv*, Nr. 27837, transcribed in: Feneşan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului*, 187–189.

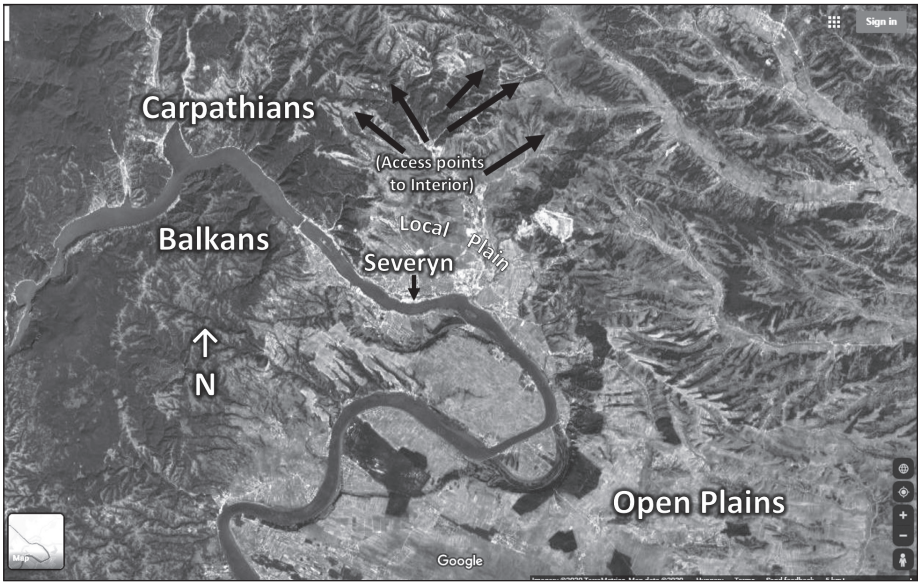

Fig. 4. Severyn and access points to the interior

Fig. 5. Zynicze today

which these castles lie before any archaeological survey could be conducted in all but one of those fortifications affected by the flooding (*Zynicze* which is partially submerged).[10] These "survivors" are *Severyn, Zynicze, Dranko*, and *Sand Ladislaen*.

The Four Castles

The four chosen fortresses serve as useful a sample set representing a relatively even distribution of the entire chain geographically, typologically, and functionally, in order to determine if an analysis of this type is both feasible and meaningful.[11] In addition, these were chosen because additional academic data has been collected from them and published in other sources. For example, because two have not been submerged (Sand Ladislaen and Severyn), their sites are still completely accessible. As a consequence, multiple studies have been conducted in these places, providing the most information as individual examples from all the castles on the river.[12] The other two are partially submerged but still visible, and once again, Zynicze is the only one of the castles affected by the flooding to have had an archaeological survey conducted prior to the building of the first dam.[13] Finally, archaeologist Theodor Trâpcea was able to make a few observations of Dranko prior to its flooding, but performed no excavation.[14]

[10] Dumitru Ţeicu, *Cetăţi medievale din Banat (Medieval fortifications in Banat)* (Reşiţa, Romania: Muzeul Banatului Montan, 2009), 11–16.

[11] Geographically, Sand Ladislaen is located on the western Flank, Zynicze at the approximate center of the chain, Dranko roughly midway between the two, and Severin on the eastern flank. Their typologies and functions will be expanded upon individually in their own sections.

[12] For Severin, see: Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu. "Drobeta-Turnu Severin. Ipoteză de evoluţie urbanistică," *Historia Urbana* 1–2 (2001), 145–154, and Ákos Karczag and Tibor Szabó, *Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei. [Fortified places in Transylvania, Partium and Banat]* (Budapest: Semmelweis Kiadó, 2012), 475–476. For both, see throughout the entire works: Ţeicu, *Cetăţi medievale din Banat*, and Theodor Trâpcea, "Despre unele cetăţi medievale din Banat," *StIB*, vol. I (1969), 23–82.

[13] Ţeicu, *Cetăţi medievale din Banat*, 11–16. For a recent article based on the 1970 archaeological survey- including multiple three-dimensional reconstructions, see: Andrei Bălărie, "Turnurile-Locuinţă de la Sviniţa," *Banatica* 20, 1 (2010).

[14] Trâpcea, "Despre unele cetăţi medievale din Banat," 25–26.

Fig. 6. Dranko as submerged today

A. Severyn

As it is below the dam, Severyn has not been submerged.[15] There had been a fortification at this site since Roman times, built to guard the northern end of the first Roman bridge to span the Lower Danube (constructed by Emperor Trajan in 105 CE in order to complete his Second Conquest of Dacia).[16] Another fort was later built in the fourteenth century a short distance from the ruins of the Roman one. Its purpose was to defend against the invading Cumans, beginning the second phase of fortress construction at Severyn.[17]

The total footprint of this later castle is about one hundred twenty meters by ninety meters. The inner bailey (courtyard) measures approximately thirty-five meters by seventy meters. Redwitz reported in 1429 the garrison size as being 200

[15] Modern Drobeta-Turnu Severin in Romania (in Hungarian: Szörényvár).

[16] In fact, attempts have been made to link the origins of the region's name, Iron Gates, to this bridge. This idea seems to have originated directly from an 1853 article in the *London Times* referring to the bridge, calling the entire region "the Iron Gate, or the Gate of Trajan." See: "The Seat of War on the Danube," *The Times* (December 29, 1853), 8.

[17] Gheorghiu, "Drobeta-Turnu Severin," 147.

fighters and 40 bowmen.[18] This fortification forms the very eastern flank of the Iron Gates castle chain. Further, this castle is located on the Danube shore on a long, gentle slope that runs about eight kilometers northward until it reaches hilly ground, and about the same distance to the east where it meets the mountainous eastern entrance of the Iron Gates. This makes it very easy for an enemy force to surround, given that there are an almost infinite number of places to cross the river by boat and then turn towards the castle to attack it, given that there is no natural feature to help protect it. Its greatest problem is the location in the center of a wide open plain, which makes it extremely possible to bypass.[19] More records speak about attacks on this castle than any other in this chain. During the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242, the original stone fortress was completely destroyed, which was then rebuilt.[20] The later castle was first captured by the Turks in 1418 following the death of the Voivode of Wallachia, Mircea the Elder (r. 1386–1418), but was quickly recovered.[21] During the traumatic year of 1432, the Ottoman forces made a "violent" attack on Severyn on their way to continue further raids in south-western Transylvania, which was successfully repeated in the same place six years later when it was sidestepped in 1438.[22] It has also been argued by Ferenc Szakály, that the entire fortress fell to the Turks in a previous attack in 1420.[23] It does not take a soldier, nor military historian, to see that there is a problem with this fortress in the chain.

B. Sand Ladislaen

Purpose-built as state-of-the art, yet constructed with relative haste (1427–1428), the fortress ruins of Sand Ladislaen stands directly across the river from the strategic fortress for which it was created to offset: *Golubac* (Serbian: Голубац, Hungarian: *Galambóc*). Only 1.38 km apart, both castles stand at the Western entrance to the Iron Gates gorge- at a bottleneck where the Carpathian and Balkan Mountain

[18] *Ordensbriefarchiv*, Nr. 27837, transcribed in: Feneşan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului*, 187–189.

[19] Snider, "A Military Analysis," 49–50.

[20] Gheorghiu, "Drobeta-Turnu Severin," 147.

[21] Feneşan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului,* 9.

[22] Halil Inalcik, "An Ottoman Document on Bayezid I's Expedition into Hungary and Wallachia", in *Actes du X. congrès d'études byzantines* (Istanbul: Comité d'organisation du X. congrès international d'études byzantines, 1956), 220–222, cited in: Whelan, *Sigismund of Luxemburg*, 111.

[23] Ferenc Szakály, "Phases of Turco-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács (1365–1526)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 33 (1979), 80, cited in: Whelan, *Sigismund of Luxemburg*, 33.

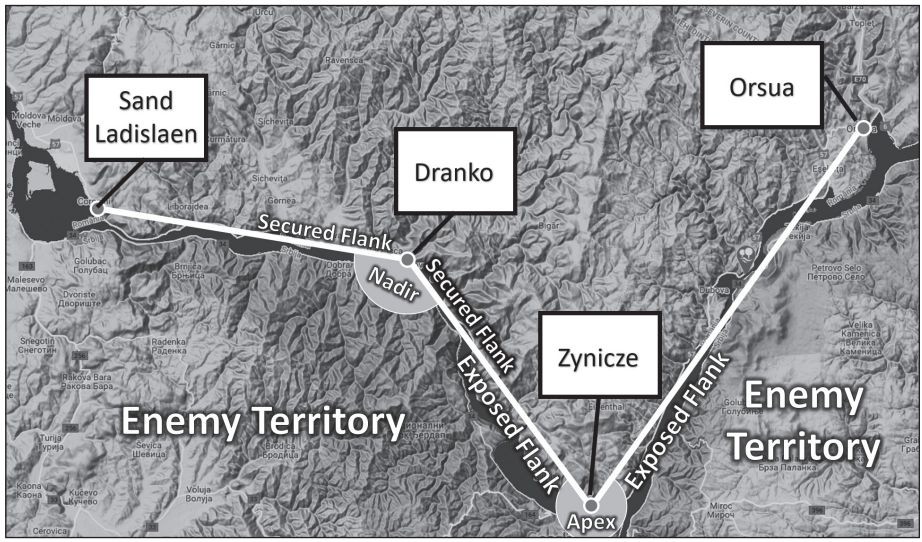

Fig. 7. Angular explanation regarding flanks of Zynicze and Dranko

chains plunge straight down into the river, also on opposing banks. Therefore, either fortress has the potential to control the vital military and economic traffic through this restrictive part of Danube once supremacy has been actually achieved over the other. This makes Sand Ladislaen a key fortress for the Teutonic Order's expedition to control.

Sand Ladislaen's construction is well represented in secondary sources. Back in 1396, King Sigismund had led a crusade against the Ottomans composed of multinational combatants of Burgundian, Bulgarian, Croatian, English, French, German, Hungarian, and Wallachian fighters, ending in his defeat at the fortress at *Nicopolis* (modern *Nikopol* in Bulgaria). Sigismund fled the field in a route, hardly escaping with his life aboard one of the Venetian ships that he had brought with him.[24] This theme of a loss in battle to the same enemy, and a close escape via boat would be repeated again during the Siege of Golubac in 1428.[25]

The cause for Sand Ladislaen's increased need and rapid construction began the same year it was mandated, in July 1427, when the Despot of Serbia, Stefan

[24] David Nicolle, *Nicopolis 1396: The Last Crusade* (London: Osprey Publishing Limited, 1999), 38–40.

[25] Joannis Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, Vol 11, ed. Aleksander Przezdziecki (Krakow: Josepho Liskocinski, 1873–1878), 355–6.

Lazarević, died. Lazarević was one of Sigismund's vassals who was given the defense of the Serbia, acting as a sort of buffer zone on the southwestern flank of the kingdom of Hungary. In a personal agreement with Sigismund, Lazarević had agreed to transfer dominion of many of the Danuban castles under his direct control to the Hungarian King upon his death, especially Golubac. However, because negotiations with Lazarević's heir took several weeks, the Turks seized a number of castles in the interim, including Golubac, which was simply handed over to them by its Serbian castellan- in an act of treachery to Sigismund. Angered, the king immediately began a siege to win this castle back in April 1428, around the time of Sand Ladislaen's completion. The siege, however, ended in another failure for Sigismund, and like at Nicopolis in 1396, and the king yet again barely escaped with his life via a river ship after only a month and a half.[26]

Of the twenty or so castles and watch towers that make up the chain, Sand Ladislaen is unique. The rest are riverine type castles (*Flussburgen* in German castle typology) which are set along a river edge. This suggests that their function was more offensive, in that it is possible to field a rapid response force from the garrison within immediately upon the circuit road or on the riverway. This is less of the case with high-ground type castles (*Höhenburgen* in the same typology) which are more defensive due to the lessened ease of regress (i.e. on a hill). Of these castle types, more time is required to deploy forces from within as they must get down from the hilltop (sometimes along single winding trails – as I have personally found to be the case with Sand Ladislaen). Sand Ladislaen has been designed and built on a rocky summit to both get a better view of Ottoman activities at Golubac directly across the Danube, and to better defensively withstand an attack from that garrison should they choose to cross the river.[27]

The physical characteristics of Sand Ladislaen speaks to its function as well, beginning with its size. With a ground plan footprint of 19,000 m^2, it is almost double the size when compared to the next largest fortress in the castle chain (Severyn at 10,800 m^2).[28] Further, when given the reported garrison size of 456 total men (400 fighters, 56 bowmen), it also is double the size of that for Severyn of 240 men (200 fighters, 40 bowmen) in the document written by Redwitz

[26] László Veszprémy, "King Sigismund of Luxemburg at Golubac (Galamboc) 1428," *Transylvanian Review* 18 (2009), 297–298.

[27] Snider, "A Military Analysis," 62–63. See also: Jason Snider and József Laszlovszky, "A Német Lovagrend egy fontos erőssége a Zsigmond-korban [The Teutonic Order as an important strength of the Sigismund era]," *Várak, kastélyok, templomok, Évkönyv* (2019), 63–67. See Also: Karczag and Szabó, *Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei*, 283–284.

[28] Snider, "A Military Analysis," 63.

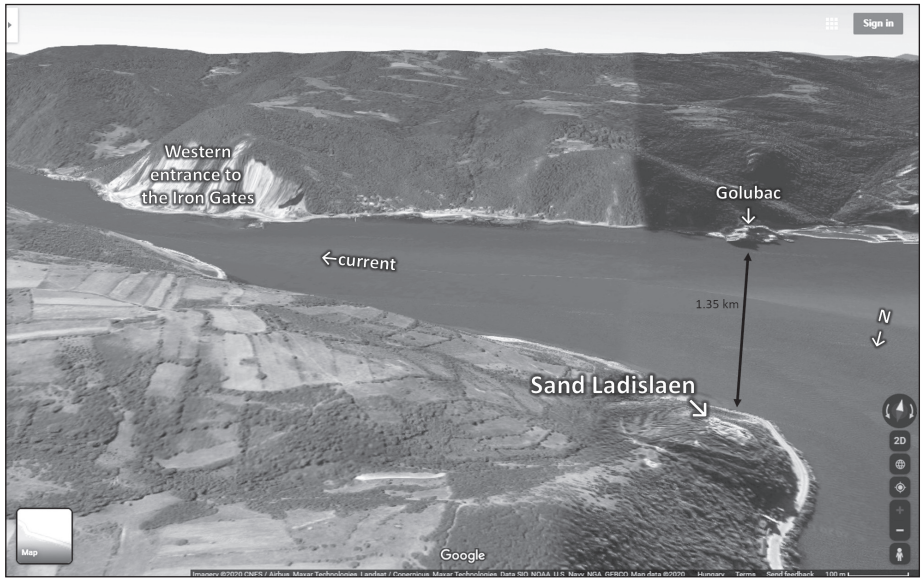

Fig. 8. Relation of San Ladislaen to Golubac and the Western Portal to the Iron Gates Gorge System

and dated by Costin Feneșan to October or November 1429 – one year after its initial completion.[29] The castle chain's largest garrison was therefore placed as a counterbalance to attempt to monitor and neutralize its counterpart across the water at Golubac. When examined in tandem with the amount of men at Severyn, the two largest garrisons of the chain were placed at either end of the bottleneck formed by the Iron Gates gorge (with Severyn at the eastern end), making Sand Ladislaen Sigismund's western guardian of the Iron Gates stretch of the Danube. It was built in the shape of an ellipse, dictated by the contours of the hilltop, roughly enclosing one hundred ninety meters by one hundred meters.[30] Given all of these characteristics, Sand Ladislaen in my analysis, is the strongest of all fortresses in the chain militarily.[31] This translates into a solid western flank, the end closest to the Carpathian Basin which opens up westward at this point.

[29] *Ordensbriefarchiv*, Nr. 27837, transcribed in: Feneșan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului*, 187–189.

[30] Snider, "A Military Analysis," 62.

[31] *Ibid.*, 67.

C. Zynicze

The castle of Zynicze is recorded by Redwitz as having a garrison of forty-six men, however, unlike the other three castles discussed in this article, it is unclear documentarily when it was constructed. Some of the modern names for this castle refer to its unusual characteristic of three individual, stand-alone watchtowers grouped together at the same site. Its names are *Tricule* (Romanian), and *Három torony* (Hungarian) (it is also known by the name of the nearby village of *Szinice* or *Sviniţa*).[32] The two near-shore towers are about 20 meters apart, while the outgoing lower Danube-side tower was about 40 meters from the other two.[33] Combined with its relatively minor size of three simple watchtowers, its listed garrison size of a smaller forty-six total men suggests that its purpose was more as an observation point within the chain, yet because it has double the manpower of the other watchtowers in the chain, this indicates that there was a military need which required a larger garrison.[34]

This is because it sits at the tip of a broad peninsula of land created by the Danube. In thinking about the Danube as a river that flows along a general west to east line, this means that Zynicze juts further into hostile territory than any other castle of the chain, exposing its west, south, and eastern flanks. Needless to say, its position is a very key part of the castle chain. If it were to fall, it would create a large opening in the defensive line, allowing access to the interior of the peninsula and the territories beyond.[35]

D. Dranko

Finally, Dranko was most likely built at the same time as the other fortresses in the chain of *Possesin, Ybrasd, Ander Peczsch*, and *Stanilouc*z after 1419.[36] Redwitz gives its garrison as 28 total men which makes logical sense as it is a single, three-story watch tower.[37] Its walls are a meter and a half thick, and its dimensions on

[32] Ţeicu, *Cetăţi medievale din Banat*, 15, also: Karczag, and Szabó, *Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei*, 446–447.

[33] Bălărie, "Turnurile-Locuinţă de la Sviniţa," 237.

[34] Snider, "A Military Analysis," 53.

[35] *Ibid.*, 55.

[36] Ţeicu, *Cetăţi medievale din Banat*, 147, also: Karczag and Szabó, *Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei*, 165–166.

[37] OBA, Nr. 27837, transcribed in: Feneşan, *Cavalerii Teutoni în Banatul Severinului*, 187.

Fig. 9. Direct view of Golubac from the foot of Sand Ladislaen

the ground is twenty-three meters by twenty-one. It is fifteen meters tall, despite currently being submerged by the Danube up to its top floor.[38]

Further, as a simple watch tower, its function was to act as a plain monitoring platform, like the rest of the watch towers in the chain. Unlike Zynicze which was set at the apex of an angle in the river which formed a peninsula, Dranko is located at the nadir. This means that its flanks are not as exposed to places of attack from enemy territory. I believe these smaller watch towers (to include Zynicze) were meant to monitor the river while using the smallest amount of resources and man power as possible.

Compared to the larger fortifications of Severyn and Sand Ladislaen, which contained large garrisons at the extreme ends of the chain to protect the only two entrances to the gorge system, I believe the smaller towers like Dranko and Zynicze were meant to be garrisoned by enough men to patrol the river and shoreline up to the next castle in the chain (with the average distance of ten to twelve km between fortresses along the line). This is how the entire system worked – the many smaller towers made good sense as a way to conserve limited and later dwindling resources as the fewer large ones were needed to give the chain strength, albeit at

[38] Ţeicu, *Cetăţi medievale din Banat*, 81.

points which were spread out. The job of the smaller towers was simply to monitor their assigned sector along the line of the river, detect enemy activity, and relay the warning along the line to the others. If the threat was great enough, the castles with the large garrisons were to deploy the numbers sufficient enough to neutralize the threat once that more urgent message had been received.

Conclusion

The US Department of Defense defines *terrain analysis* as "the collection, analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of geographic information on the natural and man-made features of the terrain, combined with other relevant factors, to predict the effect of the terrain on military operations."[39] A similar analysis has been used by landscape archaeologists for archaeological features in a more general sense since the mid-nineteen seventies. However, I have proposed that it is possible to synthesize a military type of *terrain analysis* for archaeological features: Sand Ladislaen, Dranko, Zynicze, and Severyn. As chosen as a sample set of the entire chain, these four fairly-evenly span the entire length. Two are simple watchtower type fortifications (Zynicze and Dranko), and the other two are more complex with concentric walls. They also represent the two castle types found in this chain, *Höhenburgen* (Sand Ladislaen), and *Flussburgen* (the rest). How and where they set in their individual landscape reflects and determines their military purpose and function. The same can be said for their garrison sizes which actually come from the written sources which are the more traditional resources which historians use. It should be mentioned that for this period in the Kingdom of Hungary's history, data about garrison sizes are incredibly rare; and the well documented organizational and fighting systems of the Teutonic order at this time can be used to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge of the Iron Gates chain, because these systems were brought with expedition.[40] Given all of this, I believe that it is possible to employ this type of analysis for the entire chain in order to attempt to develop more complex theory for the failings of the Order's expedition as it played a key part in King Sigismund's defense of the Kingdom of Hungary in the early decades of the fifteenth century.

[39] Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington DC: The Joint Staff, 2018), 235.

[40] I have discussed this in the third chapter of my master's thesis concerning an analysis of the garrisons as a whole. See: Snider, "A Military Analysis," 31–33.

Sources of the Images

1. Map of the Kingdom of Hungary (by Jason M. Snider)
2. Map of the Known Castle Locations and Chosen Sample Set. Map. From Google Maps. https://www.google.com/maps/place/Drobeta-Turnu+Severin,+Romania/@44.6198893,22.0601421,55586m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x475231c5a8871173:0x3370a1b752cbe6b!8m2!3d44.6369227!4d22.6597342?hl=en (accessed January 27, 2020)
3. Diagram of Severin Castle from above. Photograph by Jason M. Snider
4. Severin and access points to the interior. From Google Maps. https://www.google.com/maps/place/Drobeta-Turnu+Severin,+Romania/@44.6800875,21.6807584,396a,35y,167.69h,75.9t/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x475231c5a8871173:0x3370a1b752cbe6b!8m2!3d44.6369227!4d22.6597342?hl=en (accessed January 27, 2020)
5. Zynicze today . Photograph by Jason M. Snider
6. Dranko as submerged today. Photograph by Andrei Stroe. Wikimedia Commons, 5 July 2011. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RO_CS_Drencova_ruins.jpg (accessed January 27, 2020)
7. Angular explanation regarding flanks of Zynicze and Dranko. From Google Maps. https://www.google.com/maps/place/Drobeta-Turnu+Severin,+Romania/@44.6198893,22.0601421,55586m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x475231c5a8871173:0x3370a1b752cbe6b!8m2!3d44.6369227!4d22.6597342?hl=en (accessed January 27, 2020)
8. Relation of San Ladislaen to Golubac and the Western Portal to the Iron Gates Gorge System. From Google Maps. https://www.google.com/maps/place/Drobeta-Turnu+Severin,+Romania/@44.6198893,22.0601421,55586m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x475231c5a8871173:0x3370a1b752cbe6b!8m2!3d44.6369227!4d22.6597342?hl=en (accessed January 27, 2020)
9. Direct view of Golubac from the foot of Sand Ladislaen. Photograph by Jason M. Snider

THE OBSERVANT REFORM OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN ITALIAN AND HUNGARIAN MENDICANT NUNNERIES

Ditta Szemere

Introduction

The topic of the Observant movement tends to fill volumes with complex analyses, and it is still very fashionable among scholars who study Christianity in the late Middle Ages. Insofar as previous studies showed that it had several independent origins from which the reform became a general ideal with local solutions, a comparative analysis of separate cases could serve to shed more light on the Observance itself both on a local and broader level. The present work examines the Observant movement in more detail and its consequences in two Italian and two Hungarian female monasteries, with a focus on how it shaped everyday life and female literacy.[1] The comparison of Italy and Hungary might seem strange, yet these two rather different countries were connected in many ways in the late Middle Ages, which warrants a deeper analysis of the similar phenomena of the Observant reform in the two distinct contexts. The main objective of this work, thus, is the examination of the differences and the similarities of the Italian and the Hungarian female Observant reforms in order to establish a general pattern and to identify local characteristics based on factors that are usually present in the scholarship. The comparison is based on the circumstantial aspects of the reform, the situations of conflict and collaboration it engendered between the male and female communities, and its basic elements, which shaped significantly the everyday life of the nuns.

The main connection between Hungarian and Italian mendicant monastic reality regarding the reform movement is the writing activity of the nuns. However, the number of sources and codices that survived from the two countries is very different: the hundreds of codices from Umbria cannot be compared to the fifty-some Hungarian manuscripts. It is not only the number of sources that differ in the case of the two countries but also their genre: from the Italian monasteries, several narrative sources survived together with economic records and legal documents, while the Hungarian material lacks the narrative sources and had a limited number of documents pertaining to the latter two categories as well. For this reason, a

[1] This paper is based on Ditta Szemere, "Everyday Life and Literacy: Female Observant Monasteries in Late Medieval Italy and Hungary" (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2019).

comparative analysis will inevitably contain more information from the Italian material. My aim with the comparison, accordingly, is to place the fragmented Hungarian sources in a context based on the Italian narrative. This comparison will lead to a clearer perspective through which we can understand which events described in the Hungarian sources are part of a general pattern, and which are the consequences of local characteristics.

Female Monasteries in Italy and Hungary

As this analysis concentrates on the Observant reform of the fifteenth century, I selected those out of the many female mendicant communities that had the most significant role in the reform movement. Because of their similar social, economic, and political position, level of cultural importance and corresponding history with the Observant reform, I will analyze both the Franciscan and the Dominican nunneries in Hungary. For Italy, however, I will only use the example of two Franciscan nunneries, as their connection to each other, their role in urban and cultural life is comparable with the situation of the two Hungarian nunneries. By the fifteenth century, these four female communities became very similar: all had many lands and privileges, the nuns came from families of high social status, and they were the most important female religious centers in the region.

Its geographical location can explain why the monastery of Santa Maria di Monteluce could become one of the largest and most important female monasteries in Italy: it was in the center of the peninsula and also part of the territory of the Papal State, so political conditions were excellent for establishing close relations with the Church. After its foundation in 1229, the nuns asked for the privilege of poverty of the Poor Clares from Pope Gregory IX. In that year, the abbess of the monastery was Agnese, probably Clare's sister.[2] Initially, the privilege was requested by Clare in the previous year and the reason why the Poor Clares of Monteluce received it so soon can be probably attributed to the protection of Gregory IX, who had taken care of the nuns even when he had still been Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia.[3]

[2] Maria Pia Alberzoni, *Chiara e il papato* (Milano: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 1995), 69–70. Alberzoni argues for this interpretation even though there is no written evidence proving that this Agnese was actually Clare's sister.

[3] Umiker shows that this document is identical to the one given to the nuns of St. Damiano: Monica Benedetta Umiker, "La ricezione di S. Chiara d`Asiisi nel monasteri di S. Maria di Monteluce in Perugia," in *Il richiamo delle origini: Le clarisse dell'Osservanza e le fonti clariane. Atti della III giornata di studio sull'Osservanza francescana al femminile (Foligno, Monastero Clarisse di S. Lucia, 8 novembre 2008),* ed. Pietra Messa, Angela Emmanuela Scandella, and Mario Sensi (S. Maria degli Angeli-Assisi: Ed. Porziuncola, 2009), 49.

When St. Clare died in 1253, more than fifty Poor Clare sisters were living in Monteluce.[4] In 1264, the abbess of the convent was the sister of Pope Urban IV,[5] which is one of the possible reasons why the nuns immediately adapted the urbanist rule (1262) instead of the original rule of St. Clare.[6] The difference is significant because while Clare's rule regarding the privilege of poverty entails the absolute prohibition of property ownership both as a community and as individuals, the urbanist rule permits the possession of land, within limits, to guarantee the subsistence of the nuns.[7]

The monastery of Santa Lucia in Foligno was founded later in the fifteenth century and became the local center of the Observants. Foligno is the closest city to Assisi, which explains why there were several friars of Foligno among the followers of St. Francis. The Third Order of the Regular Franciscans was also already present in the thirteenth century alongside the monasteries of the Poor Clares.[8] From 1327, when Bishop Paolo di Nallo Trinci gave the land (belonging to the Trinci family) to the Augustinians, the church of Santa Lucia was the property of the Augustinian nuns.[9] The Augustinian nuns lived there for a hundred years, after which five nuns from Sulmona – who, following conflicts between the wealthiest families of their city, had to flee their respective monasteries – reformed the monastery in 1425 and founded a Poor Clare community in the name of the Observant reform, the monastery of Santa Lucia. This monastery followed the first rule and during the fifteenth century became the most important female community in the region.[10]

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4 Stefano Felicetti, *Aspetti e risvolti di vita quotidiana in un monastero perugino riformato: Monteluce, secolo 15* (Rome: Istituto storico Cappuccini, 1995), 554–555.

5 As Umiker emphasizes, Pope Urban in his letter called his sister Agnese, as she was originally named Agnese at birth. However, her name in the community was changed to Maria, and in the official documents of the monastery she is always mentioned as Maria *domini Pape*. This serves as evidence for the claim that the Agnese mentioned in the privilege of poverty cannot be her, but rather most probably Clare's sister. I thank M. B. Umiker for pointing this fact out to me during our consultation in Perugia in April 2019.

6 Felicetti, *Aspetti e risvolti di vita quotidiana,* 555.

7 About the different rules, see Annibale Ilari, "San Francesco d'Assisi, le Clarisse et la Regola benedettina: Appunti per una storia della cultura benedittina," *Quaderni dell'archivio storico e notarile del commune di Ferentino «Antonio Floridi»* (Ferentino, 1978).

8 Michele Faloci Pulignani, "S. Francesco d'Assisi e la città di Foligno," *Miscellanea francescana di storia, di lettere, di arti* 6 (1895): 3–15.

9 Luciano Canonici*, Santa Lucia di Foligno: Storia di un Monastero e di un ideale* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1974), 34–35.

10 Canonici, *Santa Lucia di Foligno,* 36–37.

The Poor Clares of Monteluce had a close relationship with the Poor Clares of the monastery of Santa Lucia di Foligno. The two communities were connected above all by the movement of the Observant reform, which was completed in the second half of the fifteenth century, and by the fact that the Franciscan convent of Monteripido controlled and organized daily life and work in the scriptorium in both communities.[11] In the two female monasteries, the circulation of the nuns and the exchange of books were frequent, but the most evident proof of their close relationship is the fact that the nuns of the monastery of Foligno fulfilled an important role in Monteluce: for example, Sr. Lucia from Foligno and Sr. Eufrasia Alfani were abbesses of Monteluce for forty-one years starting from 1453.[12]

The two selected Hungarian nunneries are both within the territory of present-day Budapest and were the most significant nunneries of the period. From the thirteenth century onward, the political center of Hungary was the middle of the country, called *medium regni* in the primary sources, including towns such as Esztergom, Fehérvár, Óbuda (and later Buda), and Visegrád.[13] The mendicant orders preferred to settle in cities and the two orders examined in this thesis – the Franciscans and the Dominicans – had an important role in the royal court, too. The Dominicans arrived in Hungary very early and until the Mongol invasion (1241–42) founded twelve convents. In 1303, Dominican chronicler Bernard Gui records the operation of thirty male and three female convents in Hungary.[14] After the invasion, the order had the support of King Béla IV, who organized his court in the newly built royal center, Buda, where he also founded a nunnery on Margaret Island.[15]

[11] About the convent of Monteripido, see Ugolino Nicolini, ed., *Francescanesimo e societa' cittadina: l'esempio di Perugia* (Perugia: S. Maria degli Angeli, 1979); Ugolino Nicolini, "I Minori Osservanti di Monteripido e lo 'scriptorium' delle clarisse di Monteluce in Perugia nei secoli XV e XVI," *Picenum Seraphicum* 7 (1971): 100–130.

[12] *Memoriale di Monteluce: cronaca del monastero delle clarisse di Perugia dal 1448 al 1838*, ed. Ugo Nicolini (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1983), 123.

[13] See Balázs Kertész, "Koldulórendek megtelepedése az 'ország közepén'" [Mendicant orders settling in the *medium regni*], in *Az első 300 év Magyarországon és Európában: A Domonkos-rend a középkorban*, ed. József Csurgai Horváth (Székesfehérvár: Alba Civitas Történeti Alapítvány, 2017).

[14] Jacques Quetif and Jacques Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ballard et Simart, 1719), https://archive.org/details/ScriptoresOpVolume1/page/n19; cited in Kertész, "A koldulórendek megtelepedése," 10; András Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation] (Debrecen: Nagy Károly, 1938), 24.

[15] The island was the property of the royal family, see György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The historical geography of Arpadian Hungary], vol. 4 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1998), 644–645, 652. The island was called the Island of Hares at that time, later its name was changed to Virgin Mary Island after the name of the monastery. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, 644. Henceforth I refer to it as Margaret Island.

Besides the nunnery, Béla IV also built a friary on Margaret Island and a male convent in Buda.[16] The earliest documents mentioning the nunnery are from 1255: these charters testify that the king donated to the monastery the *ius patronatus* of the Church of the Virgin Mary in Buda and the customs of the city's markets.[17] With this and with later donations, the nunnery of Margaret Island became a wealthy institution, preferred by daughters of noble families.[18] The nunnery itself was very rich,[19] this, however, did not create a contradiction with mendicant ideals because the nuns – living in cloistered communities – enjoyed economic security, provided by the income from the lands, not as individuals but as a community.[20] The nunnery was put under the direction of the Dominicans and upon the request of the queen, a house was also built next to the nunnery in order to ensure the proximity of the friars, so that they could perform their duties for the female community.[21] In later centuries, this female community – because of its wealth, its good geographic position in the center of the *medium regni*, and the noble origin of its members – remained the most significant Dominican nunnery of Hungary.

Similarly to the Dominicans, the Franciscans also settled in Hungary right after the foundation of the order: they had twenty-five convents in 1270, and forty at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[22] Before the Mongol invasion, only one Franciscan nunnery, Nagyszombat, was founded in the country, in 1238, probably

[16] Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 26; Jenő Szűcs, "A kereszténység belső politikuma a XIII. század derekán. IV. Béla király és az egyház," *Történelmi Szemle* 21 (1978): 161–162, 178–181; Kertész, "Koldulórendek megtelepedése," 16. For more about the Dominican monastery of Buda see Katalin H. Gyürky, *Egy egykori budai domonkos kolostor* [An old Dominican convent of Buda] (Budapest: Pannonia, 1976).

[17] Kertész, "A koldulórendek megtelepedése," 19.

[18] András Kubinyi, "Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig (1541-ig)," [History of Budapest in the late Middle Ages until the Fall of Buda (1541)], in *Budapest története*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1975), 76–77.

[19] For the list of the monastery's properties from the foundation until 1512 see Jakab Rupp, *Buda-pest és környékének helyrajzi története* [The history of Buda-pest and its surroundings] (Pest: MTA Történeti Bizottsága, 1868), 65–70.

[20] Sándor Lázs, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV-XVI. század fordulóján: Az anyanyelvű irodalom kezdetei* [Nuns' Literacy in Hungary at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: The beginnings of vernacular literature] (Budapest: Balassi, 2016), 16.

[21] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 20.

[22] György Balanyi, *A ferences mozgalom begyökerezése magyar földön* [The Settlement of the Franciscan Movement in Hungarian Lands], Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 25, no. 10 (Budapest: MTA, 1940), 11–12.

because of the cult of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia.[23] The second nunnery was founded only in 1297 in Pozsony (German: Pressburg, presently Bratislava in Slovakia) and the expansion of the Poor Clares continued only in the fourteenth century with the support of Queen Elizabeth, mother of King Louis I, who also joined the Poor Clares when she was widowed. The wife of Pál Magyar, a rich Hungarian noblewoman, also donated several lands to the Poor Clares.[24] On account of its several privileges and large estates, the nunnery of Óbuda soon became the second most important female religious community of Buda, and through the ownership of houses in the city it also played a significant role in urban life.[25] It was under the direction of the Franciscan convent of Óbuda, a friary founded around 1270 to 1280.[26] In the fifteenth century, the nunnery was protected and supported by King Matthias and his mother, Erzsébet Szilágyi, who – according to letters written to the pope – tried in vain to entrust the supervision of the nuns to the Observants.

The Observant Reform in the Italian and Hungarian Nunneries

In the fifteenth century, several female Franciscan monasteries existed in Italy, which presented a vast variety within the order: there were Conventual and Observant communities, both of the first and the second rule. Consequently, the concept of the reform could mean both the transformation of the Conventual monastery into an Observant one and the reintroduction of the first rule in the community. In the Umbrian sources, three patterns emerge as the principal reasons for the reform there: it took place upon the initiative of the nuns, or of the town, or of the Franciscan friars.[27] In all cases, the reform was completed with the help of (usually four) reformer nuns sent from other, already reformed monasteries.[28]

[23] St. Elizabeth of Thuringia died in 1231 and was canonized in 1235.

[24] János Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The History of the Order of St. Francis until 1711], vol. 9 (Budapest: MTA, 1923), 450.

[25] Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Monastic topography of Medieval Buda," in *Medieval Buda in Context,* ed. Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende, and András Vadas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 221.

[26] Vilmosné Bertalan, "A középkori ásatások – kutatások története Óbudán 1850–1975" [The history of the excavations and of research in Óbuda 1850–1975], *Budapest Régiségei* 24 (1976): 31–42.

[27] Mentioned also in the introduction of Angela Emmanuela Scandella, ed., *Ricordanze del monastero S. Lucia osc in Foligno* (Santa Maria degli Angeli: Ed. Porziuncola, 1987) and Mario Sensi, *Storie bizzocche tra Umbria e Marche* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1995), 359–364.

[28] For a map of the reformed monasteries see *Memoriale di Monteluce, xx.* and *Ricordanze del monastero S. Lucia, xxxix.*

The case of Foligno demonstrates the strong initiative of the nuns, where female religiosity was the main motive of the foundation of an Observant community: according to the main narrative source of the monastery, the *Ricordanze,* the five reformer nuns came to Foligno because of "divine inspiration."[29] The document mentions a stop at L'Aquila during their travel, where they stayed for several months and where the Observant influence was very strong.[30] That might be the reason why the nuns – not all from the Franciscan Order – after encountering the Observant ideas in L'Aquila, decided to form an Observant Franciscan community in a town where the lay leaders also promoted the Observant reform.[31] This example is not the only one: there are also other cases of Umbrian monasteries or groups of saintly women of the Third Order where the reform started because of the nuns' desire to adapt the Observant rules.[32]

The case of the monastery of Santa Maria of Monteluce in Perugia presents an instance in which the reform resulted from the town's initiative. The chronicle of the nuns, the *Memoriale*, dates the reform to 1448, but the chronicle was started in 1488 with the intention to capture in writing the memory of the monastery's reform while the reformer nuns were alive.[33] Sr. Baptista writes that "ad procuratione delli nobili citadini de Peroscia" the monastery was reformed by the nuns of Foligno, who came "per comandamento del dicto summo potefice Pope Nicolò V, et del dicto monsignore cardinale, protectore de l'Ordine."[34] The arrival of the twenty-four nuns was celebrated by the whole city: citizens, friars, nuns from other nunneries made a procession with the participation of the local lay and religious elite. The chronicle of the nuns of Foligno confirms this and highlights the fact that the reform took place at the request of the city of Perugia.[35] As we can see from the sources, the idea of the reform here came from the citizens and was realized by the

[29] *Ricordanze*, 3.

[30] *Ricordanze*, 477. For more about this influence see Mario Sensi, *Le Osservanze francescane nell'Italia Centrale (sec. XIV-XV)* (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 1985).

[31] *Ricordanze*, 248.

[32] See the nunneries in Montefalco (*Ricordanze*, 278), Gubbio (*Memoriale*, 94; *Ricordanze*, 285), and Borgo San Sepolcro (James R. Banker, "Female Voice, Male Authority: A Nun's Narrative of the Regularization of a Female Franciscan House in Borgo San Sepolcro in 1500," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 40, no. 3 (2009): 651–677).

[33] *Memoriale*, 1.

[34] *Memoriale*, 6–7.

[35] *Ricordanze*, 4.

friars.[36] It is clear in these cases that the spiritual need of the laity, directed towards the religious communities, and the participation of lay leaders in clerical decisions were the main reasons for the Observant reform. However, the origin of this desire is not indicated in the sources. One reason can be that by the sixteenth century, most important Umbrian cities had a female Observant monastery, or that by that time Observant preachers had had great influence on the citizens.

There are cases in which neither the nuns nor the citizens initiated the reform but rather, the local religious authority. In Narni, the friars requested the reform of the monastery: this command of the friars caused a great confusion in the monastery of Foligno because by then the nuns followed the first rule, while the monastery of Narni adopted the second.[37] Although the selected nuns followed the rule of obedience and complied with what the friars said, this was the beginning of a long argument between the nuns and friars.[38] In the same way, the female monastery of Arezzo was reformed in 1492: the idea was presented as a proposal to the nuns, but later from the narration of the *capitulum* it turns out that it was more like an order and the nuns were expected to obey.[39]

Similarly to the case of Italy, the Observant reform in Hungary could mean both the foundation of a new, Observant monastery and the transformation of an already existing community after the Observant model. As the Hungarian sources are more fragmented, it is more difficult to discover a clear pattern. However, it can be shown that the participants of the reform were the same (nuns, town/royal authorities, and friars), who either had very different types of reform ideas or the reform happened against the will of the female community.

The Poor Clares monastery of Óbuda presents a complex case of different efforts to achieve the reform. It was under the direction of the Franciscan monastery of Óbuda, but it belonged to the royal dynasty and in the fifteenth century it was under the protection and support of King Matthias and his mother.[40] János Karácsonyi cites sources about the Clarissan nunnery of Óbuda that show that

[36] It is important to mention other cases of Umbrian female monasteries that followed the same pattern: for example, the Monastery of Santa Maria Trasteberim of Città di Castello was reformed by the nuns of Monteluce because of lay initiative (*Ricordanze*, 334), and in Norcia an originally Conventual community was transformed into a reformed Observant monastery upon the wish of the urban community. (Sources about this monastery are published in R. Cordella, "Il 'Memoriale' della clausura di Norcia," *Picenum Seraphicum* 16 (1983): 115–193.)

[37] *Ricordanze*, 43.

[38] *Ricordanze*, 44–47.

[39] *Memoriale*, 53–54.

[40] Kubinyi, "Budapest története," in *Budapest története*, vol. 2, 76–77.

the nuns asked the papal nuncio, Angelo Pechinoli, in 1488 to visit the monastery and to put an end to the nuns' careless and negligent lifestyle, which had already caused scandals in the community.[41] The nuncio fulfilled their request and, on his suggestion, the community chose a new prioress to initiate the changes.[42] King Matthias and the nuncio tried to place the monastery under the supervision of the Observant Franciscans, but this effort came to grief because of the death of Matthias in 1490. This pattern is very similar to the case of Foligno: the nuns initiated a reform for which they had important protectors both among the lay and the religious leaders. However, after the death of the protector, the female reform movement slowed down and the nunnery was reformed by a Franciscan leader, Lukács Segösdi.[43] The Conventual Franciscan religious elite took up the Observant ideas and reformed their monasteries – and also the communities of the nuns – but their separation from the Observants was clear until the sixteenth century.[44]

On the other hand, the case of the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island shows that the reforms happened against the community's will. By the fifteenth century, the nunnery became the most important female Dominican monastery of Hungary as the tomb of St. Margaret of Hungary was a popular pilgrim destination: her cult was revived in the fifteenth century and several miracles were recorded, so King Matthias also supported her canonization.[45] The reform of the nunnery started with the Dominican friars' reform in the 1450s, when Leonhard Huntpichler came to Hungary and became the leader of the reformed Dominican monasteries.[46] András Harsányi shows that in 1459 the nuns, with the help of

[41] *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 3., ed. Vilmos Fraknói and József Lukcsics (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1898), 312, 316; Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. 9, 456, 505. According to the documents of the friars cited by Karácsonyi (p. 71), in a sermon one friar wanted to excommunicate those who entered the convent without papal permission; the conflict was resolved by the papal nuncio.

[42] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 45.

[43] Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. 9, 323.

[44] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 40. In order to reform the female monastery, one of Segösdi's projects was to translate the rule into Hungarian for the use of the Poor Clares: this text is in the Guary Codex, written between 1482 and 1508 with the aim to teach the nuns a strict way of life; therefore, it was an important step towards the reform of the monastery. *Guary-kódex*, ed. Dénes Szabó (Budapest: MTA, 1944).

[45] Ilona Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a sziget* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1979).

[46] Gábor Farkas Kiss, "Latin és népnyelv a késő középkori magyarországi domonkos kolostorokban (Leonhard Huntpichler: Directo pedagogorum)" [Latin and vernacular in the Dominican monasteries of Hungary in the Late Middle Ages], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 120 (2016): 225–247.

King Matthias and his mother, Erzsébet Szilágyi,[47] asked the pope to grant the nunnery independence from the friars, which included the request of the life-long nomination of Anna as prioress.[48] After the papal bull, the friars had minimal influence on the life of the nuns and the prioress had the right to decide who could enter the monastery.[49] This document was the first sign of conflict between the nuns and the friars: Pope Pius II permitted the Dominican nuns of Margaret Island to elect their confessor from the Franciscans as well, and put the monastery directly under papal jurisdiction. As Péterfi points out, the rationale behind this papal bull was to ensure the undisturbed life of the nuns in order to leave space for the reform of the community, led by Prioress Anna's example of an excellent life.[50] The conflict deepened when in 1468 the friars threatened the nuns with excluding the monastery from the order if the regulation was not strictly observed. In 1478, Prioress Anna resigned from her office and was sent to a convent of Pécs,[51] then in 1489, Pope Innocent VIII put the nunnery of Margaret Island back under the government of the Dominican friars.[52]

In sum, in both cases the reform was urged by the male religious leaders of the orders, who started their own reform under the influence of the royal elite, the Hunyadi family. King Matthias was one of the main supporters of the Observant Franciscans.[53] After the visitation of the nunnery of Óbuda, he planned to give the monastery over to them because the nuns did not keep the rules under the

[47] Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 104–106.

[48] Lázs supposes that Prioress Anna was the main obstacle of the reforms as she insisted on the old rules. Lázs argues that the comment of Ráskai Lea in the colophon of the Domonkos Codex (133r: 18–19) refers to these conservative nuns. Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 44.

[49] *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 3, 155–157, no. CCLXI; See Bence Péterfi, "Mátyás király és Árpád-házi Margit" [King Matthias and Margaret of Hungary], in *Az első 300 év Magyarországon és Európában: A Domonkos-rend a középkorban*, ed. József Csurgai Horváth (Székesfehérvár: Alba Civitas Történeti Alapítvány, 2017), 192.

[50] Péterfi, "Mátyás király és Árpád-házi Margit," 192.

[51] Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 107.

[52] Lajos Implom, *Adatok a Szent Domonkos-rend magyarországi rendtartományának történetéhez - A rendtartomány alapításától 1526-ig* [Documents for the history of the Dominican province in Hungary from the foundation till 1526] (Vasvár: Magyar domonkos rendtörténet 1., 2017).

[53] It was a common trend in East-Central Europe that the royal and aristocratic elites were the main supporters of the mendicant orders. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle (vers 1450 – vers 1540)* (Rome: Ist. Storico dei Cappuccini, 2008), 73; Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek: Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon* [Mendicant friars, managing monks: Economy of the mendicant orders in medieval Hungary] (PhD diss., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2015), 8.

direction of the Conventual Franciscans.[54] Since they had fewer monasteries and fewer friars than the Observants, this threat motivated the Conventuals to start an internal reform to avoid losing the monastery.[55] The nuns, however, rejected the reforms either because they envisaged a different kind of reform, like the one in the nunnery of Óbuda, or because they preferred the old way of life without changes, like in the nunnery of Margaret Island led by Prioress Anna. Even after the death of the king and the protector, the friars could introduce reforms and the nuns opposing them were placed in other communities. This pattern corresponds to the third model presented from the Umbrian sources, although the Italian nuns welcomed the Observance. Sándor Lázs argues that the reason behind the complete rejection in the case of the nunnery of Margaret Island lies in the social background of the nuns: as they came from a high social group, they were unwilling to renounce their previous privileges.[56]

Consequences of the Reforms

The most evident consequence of the reforms was their influence on the relationship between male and female orders. As the Observant reform brought significant changes in everyday life, it also sparked attendant conflicts between nuns and friars. The main reason for the friction was the rule chosen: in Umbria the friars preferred the Urbanist rule, while some female monasteries chose to return to the original rule of Saint Clare. At the same time, the reforms also created situations in which male and female community members worked together with the common aim of spreading the reform's ideas and as a result, a network between monasteries was formed. As a second consequence in connection with the Observant reform, three aspects of everyday life were significantly shaped by the reform ideas.

First is the question of poverty, one of the most relevant problems in the analyzed monasteries. Depending on the rule, the prohibition against proprietorship could mean two things. The first rule of Saint Clare forbids every type of property ownership, while the Urbanist rule of the Poor Clares and the Augustinian rule of the Dominicans permit it for the community, but not for the individual nuns. This second interpretation resolves the contradiction between adherence to the enclosure and the expectation of poverty, as the cloistered communities needed the

[54] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 45.

[55] De Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois,* 73.

[56] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 43.

income generated from the properties of the monastery.[57] The reform movement also included the strict observance of the Urbanist rule, meaning that in the monasteries of Óbuda, Margaret Island, and Monteluce the question of poverty regarded the personal belongings of the nuns. Whereas in the case of Foligno, in which the nuns insisted on the profession of the first rule, the poverty of the community was a constant motive of conflict.[58] The difference between these two interpretations outlines the two ways to understand the Observant reform.

Second is the newly (re)introduced *clausura*, the enclosed life of the nuns in order to ensure their tranquility and hence their holy status. According to Julie Beckers, the spatial analysis of the Umbrian monasteries shows that the internal changes in the monastery buildings following the Observant reform aimed to ensure the *clausura* and the right conditions in line with the regulation.[59] The building structure ensured the *clausura* in Hungary as well, as archeological research shows.[60] Although cloistered life was usually requested of the female communities both societally and by the male domains of Christianity, enclosure was, in fact, an economic issue: it was possible only if the monastery had a source

[57] Sensi, *Osservanza al femminile*, 174.

[58] Felicetti in his master thesis transcribed from the economic records (*Entrata e Uscita*) lists of objects sold inside the monastery of Monteluce. Even after the reforms, the records are a testimony to the existence of the "lifetime loan," the possession of an object, usually a book, till the death of the nun after which the object belonged again to the community. Stefano Felicetti, *Vita quotidiana in un monastero di clausura nel Quattrocento: Monteluce di Perugia e il registro contabile degli anni 1441–1470* (MA Thesis, Universitá degli Studi di Perugia, 1993). Similarly, in Hungary the nuns also dealt with financial issues (see Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 42), and in all nunneries exchanges and acquisitions were customary between communities and even between nuns from different monasteries, creating by this activity a strong network system between the monasteries.

[59] Julie Beckers, "Invisible Presence: The Nuns' Choir at Santa Maria di Monteluce in Perugia," *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani* 30, no. 2 (2015): 107–117, 113. The external part of the monastery remained the same as described in Francesco Grispo, "Il 'quadrellato perugino' nelle facciate gotiche delle chiese di Perugia," Appendix II in *Non un grido, non un lamento. 12 maggio 1910: La soppressione del Monastero di Monteluce di Perugia. Atti della V giornata di studio sull'Osservanza Francescana al femminile (Perugia, Monastero Clarisse S. Maria di Monteluce in S. Erminio, 12 maggio 2010*), ed. Pietro Messa and Monica Benedetta Umiker (S. Maria degli Angeli-Assisi: Ed. Porziuncola, 2011).

[60] For both nunneries, see the archeological analysis of Katalin Irásné Melis, "A Budapest Margitszigeti középkori királyi udvarhely régészeti kutatása II. (15–16. század) II." [The Archaeological Research of the Medieval Royal Court of Margaret Island in Budapest (15th–16th century) II.], *Communicationes Archaeologiae Hungariae* (2008): 295–358; Vilmosné Bertalan, "Óbudai klarissza kolostor" [The Poor Clares' convent in Óbuda], *Budapest Régiségei* 24/1 (1976): 269–278.

of funding other than the alms of the citizens.[61] It served, on the one hand, the spiritual purpose of protecting the sacred life and sanctity of women dedicating themselves only to religion; on the other, it was practical for the religious elite to control female communities in this way, as the enclosure worked only alongside obedience to and dependence on the friars.[62] With that said, enclosure did not mean the complete renunciation of the outside world, as the connection between monasteries persisted through the movement between communities, the letters of the nuns and the exchange system of books and religious texts.

Third is the production of religious literature in the vernacular, the most important consequence that connects the Italian and Hungarian nunneries. The reform movement furthered writing activity in these nunneries for two reasons. First, it sought to engage the nuns in an active spiritual religiosity in everyday life as well, which required the provision of vernacular literature for nuns who did not know Latin well.[63] The second reason underlying the revival of religious-cultural life inside the monastery is much more practical: in the fifteenth century, paper became an affordable material and the monasteries in question had enough capital to acquire the materials they needed for the books. The friars' role with respect to the writing activity was the same in Italy and in Hungary; they organized the work in the scriptorium and provided the texts to copy, usually translations from Latin. The nuns of these communities came from the higher strata of society and, usually, they were literate even before entering the community. However, one significant difference between Hungary and Italy was that female literacy in the Umbrian monasteries entailed reading and writing in Latin and sometimes also in Greek, the comprehension of religious texts, knowledge of the Scriptures and the rule of the monastery, and in exceptional cases, also the capacity to vulgarize, translate, and write texts. Meanwhile in Hungary, the nuns had very little knowledge of Latin and their writing activity was limited to the copying of already translated texts and the compilation of books by gathering similar texts together.

The use of the vernacular in writing differs very much in the two countries: the Italian nuns possessed books also in Old Italian even before the reform, while

[61] Lezlie S. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 32–34.

[62] The cloistered life became an obligation for female communities of all orders by the decree of Pope Boniface VIII in 1298, in which there were strict rules for nuns regulating the exit from the monastery and the entrance of unauthorized persons into the *clausura*. See Elizabeth M. Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298–1545* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999).

[63] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 35–36.

most of the Hungarian codices in the vernacular were written after the Observant reform at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the two nunneries of Hungary examined here. This was the case probably because the Italian communities were rich enough to permit this activity and also because of the number of nuns allowed for the inclusion of work in the scriptorium among the other kinds of labor around the monastery.[64] The choice of the vernacular both in Italy and Hungary can be explained by the fact that by the fifteenth century, the nuns either did not use or did not understand Latin. Lázs argues that the introduction of Hungarian into the *lectio communis* was of fundamental importance in the nuns' religious experience, as the Latin language, used in masses and prayers, created only a passive participation in religious life. In Italy – because of the great similarity between Old Italian and Latin – most nuns understood Latin texts and were able to translate them to Italian. The vernacular was used mostly in the codices dedicated to the nuns and in personal correspondence, while the language of legal documents was Latin.

The difference is even bigger considering the quantity of texts written in the vernacular that survived from the monasteries: the first Hungarian text is from the 1440s and the total number of codices written in the Hungarian language before the Ottoman invasion is around fifty.[65] By contrast, in the two Umbrian nunneries of Monteluce and Foligno there were around 250 codices in total by the end of the sixteenth century: in the scriptorium of Monteluce, the nuns copied more than thirty codices in the fifteenth century and fourteen codices were written in the monastery of Folingo.[66] There are four important categories of texts present

[64] Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 112. At the end of the fifteenth century, eight nunneries of the Poor Clares and twelve Dominican nunneries were in Hungary, but only two had a productive scriptorium in which the Hungarian language was used. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek*, 114–115.

[65] Dávid Falvay and Eszter Konrád, "Osservanza francescana e letteratura in volgare dall'Italia all'Ungheria: ricerche e prospettive," in *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento: Italia e Ungheria a confronto* (Rome: Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae, 2014): 161–186.

[66] The list of the existing codices of Monteluce from the fifteenth through sixteenth centuries is made by Monica Benedetta Umiker in Appendix, "I codici di S. Maria di Monteluce e l'attività scrittorie delle monache" in *Cultura e desiderio di Dio. L'Umanesimo e le Clarisse dell'Osservanza. Atti della II giornata di studio sull'Osservanza Francescana al femminile* (Foligno – Monastero S. Lucia, 10 novembre 2007), ed. Pietra Messa, Angela Emmanuela Scandella, and Mario Sensi (S. Maria degli Angeli-Assisi: Ed. Porziuncola, 2008), while in her later study she lists fourteen lost books of which there are indications in other sources: Monica Benedetta Umiker, "La dispersione di carte e libri del monastero S. Maria di Monteluce in Perugia," in *Non un grido non un lamento, Atti della V giornata di studio sull'Osservanza francescana al femminile* (Perugia, Monastero Clarisse di S. Erminio, 12 maggio 2010, S. Maria degli Angeli: Porziuncola, 2011), 33–57; Jacques Dalarun, "Il monastero di Santa Lucia di Foligno come foyer intellettuale," in *Uno sguardo oltre: Donne, letterate e sante nel movimento dell'Osservanza; atti della 1. giornata di studio sull'Osservanza francescana al*

in all communities.[67] The first contains the legal texts, such as the text of the rule used by the community. As the choice of the rule was an important issue in Italy, the Umbrian communities usually had the text of more than one rule (usually the rule of Clare and the Urbanist rule were copied together), while in Hungary the question was not relevant.[68] The second category includes texts about important saints of the order in the form of legends, miracle stories, and *vitae*: all three Poor Clares communities had the Legend or *Vita* of St. Claire as well as St. Bonaventure's writings on St. Francis. Other saints significant for the community are also present in the manuscripts; for example, Lea Ráskai copied the Legend of Margaret of Hungary.[69] Other examples from the Umbrian monasteries are Eustochia de Messina and Angela da Foligno: they held as much importance in the local context as Margaret did in the Hungarian communities.[70] In the third category, we find texts grouped together for use in everyday religious life, such as the whole Bible or its fragments, that is, passions, the Gospels, other biblical texts, breviaries, compilations of prayers, etc. The genre of sermons is also in this category, albeit their presence in the nuns' life differed in Italy and Hungary: the Umbrian nuns included the sermons related to special occasions in the chronicles, whereas the same genre was present in prayer compilations in the Hungarian monasteries. The fourth category exists only in Italy: they are the writings of the nuns, for example, the chronicle of the monastery including necrologies, economic notes, and so on.

All things considered, there was a great number of prayers, prayer books, treatises, and exempla in both countries, in other words, books that treat the

femminile, 11 novembre 2006, Monastero Clarisse S. Lucia, Foligno, ed. Pietro Messa and Angela Emmanuela Scandella (S. Maria degli Angeli-Assisi: Porziuncola, 2007), 79–111. For more about Umbrian lists see Carmela Compare, *La cultura delle monache: inventari di biblioteche femminile alla fine del XVI secolo* (MA Thesis, Universitá degli Studi L'Aquila, 1996); D. Zardin, "Libri e biblioteche negli ambienti monastici dell'Italian del promo seicento," in *Donne, filosofia e cultura nel Seicento*, ed. P. Totano (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1999), 347–383.

[67] For the Hungarian texts, Lázs offers an excellent categorization that focuses on the use of the texts. Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 139–386. Compare put the Italian manuscripts of the female monasteries in three main categories: Franciscan literature, works of important nuns, and texts regarding the Bible. Compare, "I libri delle Clarisse," 169–372.

[68] Compare's lists show that the rules are the second most frequent texts after the Biblical texts.

[69] Adrienne Dömötör and Katalin Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete, 1510. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1990).

[70] About Angela da Foligno see Cristina Mazzoni, "Angela da Foligno," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 581–600.

practical part of monastic life. Nevertheless, the Italian list of books also contains a high number of meditative essays, passions, theological treatises, and the writings of important Franciscan authors. The principal difference between Hungary and Italy is that the nuns of Umbria were actively involved in mendicant spirituality, while the books of the Hungarian nuns aimed to facilitate spiritual experience with the Hungarian translations and explanations of important texts for monastic life.

Conclusion

Based on the present analysis, three main similarities can be pinpointed between the Italian and the Hungarian Observant reforms. The first is obedience as the highest Observant value: independently from the initial motivation of the reform movement in the female monasteries, the relationship with the friars, or the nuns' general attitude towards the reform, obedience to the friars was without question. This comparison was meant to show that if the nuns had a way to contradict the friars, it was possible only with the support of the powerful both in the case of Italy and of Hungary. The second concerns the similar consequences of the Observant movement, that is, the changes in everyday life. In all cases, the reform reintroduced enclosure, the prohibition against owning personal property, and the use of the vernacular in writing. Curiously, in Italy it also created a substantial connection between Observant communities, while in Hungary – probably because of the lack of active contribution to the promotion of the reforms – it was apparently not the reform that fostered a stronger sense of attachment to a movement, but the common activity in the scriptorium. Finally, the Observant reform had a similar effect on communities in both Italy and Hungary: they became cultural centers and had an important role in the development of religious literature in the vernacular.

Regarding the differences, the thesis aimed to demonstrate that the Observant reform did not necessarily mean the same thing in Italy and in Hungary. The Umbrian nuns, being in the center of an Observant network and having an important role in the reform initiative, had a different attitude towards the reform ideas from that of the Hungarian nuns. Both the Italian and the Hungarian sources show that in every case, all three agents (nuns, friars, and lay leaders) played a significant part in the reform movement; at the same time, the importance of motivational factors varied according to territorial characteristics. The analysis reveals that the person of the reform promoter was related to the nature of the reform. The initiative of the nuns evinces a deep religious wish for a return to origins, and on that account, the Observant reform in such cases meant the strict reintroduction of *clausura* and the fight to restore the first rule. The main goal of the friars was to keep the reformed monasteries within the organized framework

of the order, so they focused on the supervision of the nuns and, as much as it was possible, became the leaders of the local movements of those monasteries that adopted the second rule. In these cases, the good relationship between nuns and friars resulted in a speedy expansion of the Observance. In Italy, the urban communities also exerted great influence on religious issues, and as mendicant preachers provoked strong religious responses from the laity by preaching in the squares, the Observant reform connected lay people with the friars and the nuns. The Hungarian laity had a similar attitude towards the monastic orders' observance to the one in Italy, and, also, the friars' attitude shows the same willingness to reform both the male and the female monasteries. The only difference in this sense can be seen in the behavior of the nuns: in Hungary their independence and privileges were more important than their strict observance. According to the perspective presented here, the main reason for this was likely the noble origin of the nuns and the peculiar features of Hungarian society, namely, that it was still characterized by strong social hierarchies. In the end, the two countries presented the two types of the reform movement: Observant reform in Italy meant a more radical lifestyle, enclosure and poverty, while in Hungary it represented a stricter observance of the rule and a less independent life for the nuns.

PLEASURE OR NECESSITY? ZAGREB BATHS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Ivona Vargek

One of the components of a medieval town were baths. Baths were places that had a practical function, that of cleanliness, but they also fulfilled certain social functions. First of all, they were a place for socialization, a place of gathering and exchanging ideas, but sometimes there was an opposite aspect when they became a place of quarrels. Besides that, baths were places that offered different health-related services. My goal is to identify which of these social functions the two baths of Zagreb fulfilled.[1]

The baths of Zagreb are an interesting example because of their geographic location and climatic conditions. Usually, baths were located in places that had sources of thermal water, which made the water more enjoyable, but it was also believed that hot water cured certain diseases. Zagreb, located in the inner part of Croatia, had neither an especially warm climate nor thermal water. The water there had to be heated in order for it to become suitable for visiting during the whole year. Due to their peculiar position, next to the bridge that was the most frequently used passage to go from one half of the town into the other, they were visited by people from both parts of Zagreb, namely, Gradec and Kaptol.

Location of the Baths and the Ownership Structure

We have written sources connected to the existence of the Zagreb baths from the late thirteenth until the sixteenth centuries. The thirteenth century is a period in which urban development was happening in the whole Kingdom of Hungary.[2] This is part of the reason why the baths started being used during this period.

Both baths were established on the Medveščak stream, which divided medieval Zagreb into two parts – Gradec and Kaptol. Kaptol was an earlier urban center, east of the Medveščak stream, and was under the jurisdiction of the chapter, with the cathedral as the main establishment. The initial point of development of

[1] This was also the goal of my MA thesis written last year at Central European University: Ivona Vargek, "Pleasure or Necessity? Zagreb Baths in the Middle Ages" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2019).

[2] For a more detailed explanation of the whole process, see Katalin Szende, "Towns and Urban Networks in the Carpathian Basin between the Eleventh and the Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, ed. Barral i Altet, Xavier, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács (Rome: Viella, 2018), 65–82.

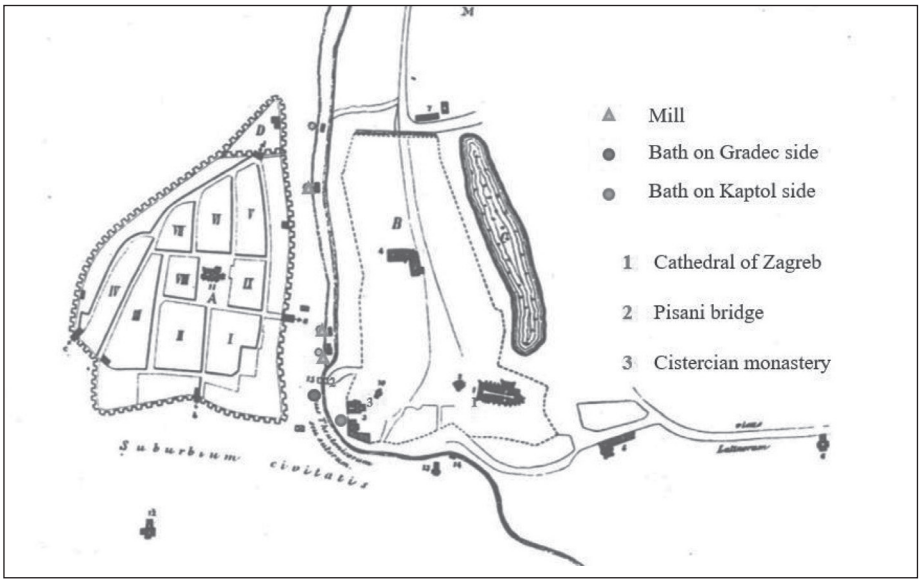

Fig. 1. Map of Zagreb in the late fourteenth century.
The map indicates the locations of the two baths. (After Igor Karaman)

Kaptol was in 1094 when King Ladislaus I (1077–1095) established a bishopric there.[3] Gradec was located west of Medveščak. Its development started in 1242 when it was granted the status of a free royal town by King Béla IV.[4]

[3] There is an ongoing debate about the exact year of the establishment of the bishopric of Zagreb. While Croatian historiography sets it in the years after Ladislaus' campaign to this region, Hungarian historians claim that it must have been before the campaign, which started in 1091. The broader frame of this debate is that for Hungarian historians Hungarian kings had influence in the region before 1091, while for Croatian historians they did not and both base their argument on the year of the establishment of the bishopric. The general consensus between Croatian historians is the year 1094, which I will use in this work as well. For more details about the whole debate and different theories about the year of foundation, see Lelja Dobronić, *Biskupski i kaptolski Zagreb* [Bishopric and Zagreb Chapter] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), 21.

[4] Ivan Kampuš and Igor Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb* [Zagreb through a Thousand Years] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994), 32–33. King Béla IV reigned over the Kingdom of Hungary from 1235 until 1270. His influence on the territory of Croatia was significant, see Ana Novak, "Vladarska politika Bele IV. (1235–1270.) i njezin utjecaj na razvoj crkvenog zemljišnog posjeda s obzirom na područje Komarničkog arhiđakonata" [The Reign and Royal Policy of Bela IV, King of Hungary and Croatia (1235–1270) and its Impact on Church Land Properties, on the Territory of Komarnica Archdeaconry], *Podravina* IX, no. 17 (2010): 116–123.

Regarding the location of the baths, no maps have been preserved from the medieval period and there has been no archeological research in the area, so the location of the baths can only be estimated based on descriptions from written sources.[5] The stream on which the baths were established, Medveščak, had importance for the prosperity of the town as an economic, social, and political factor. Besides the baths, there were many mills built on the stream, which were a source of income. One of the artificial channels built on the Medveščak stream was Pritoka. This channel flowed until the Pisani Bridge and one of the baths was later built on it.[6]

The bath on the eastern bank was situated, according to written sources, under the church of Saint Mary, which was located next to the monastery of the Cistercian Order.[7] It is often referred to in the historiography as a public bath.[8] However, I propose this term not be used because it could be misleading. The reason is that this bath changed many owners coming from different groups of society, but for the bigger part of the researched period, it was owned or rented by ecclesiastic structures. The first owner was the Cistercian Order, which rented this bath to the town judge, Italian merchants, and clerics. After 1364, a certain Pavao left the *balneum muratum* to the new owners – the Prebendaries – who kept it until the early sixteenth century.[9]

The other bath, often called the town or communal bath, was more accurately defined in the medieval sources according to its location as *balneum in inferiori parte civitatis Zagrabiensis*.[10] Once again, a descriptive title is more appropriate

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[5] Even though the location can only be assumed, I have, as part of my MA thesis, relocated one of the baths slightly as can be seen in the map provided below. The map was taken from Ivan Kampuš and Igor Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb* [Zagreb through a Thousand Years] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994).

[6] The name of the bridge in sources is Pisani Bridge, according to the Croatian word, which means "colored." Later on, the name was changed to Krvavi Bridge and connotations today connect it to the conflicts that happened on it, even though it originally indicated the fact that it was colored.

[7] Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed. and comp., *Povijesni spomenici slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Zagreba. Monumenta Historica Liberae et Regiae Civitatis Zagrabiensis*, vol. I (Zagreb: Brzotiskom K. Albrechta, 1880), 455 (Henceforth: MCZ).

[8] Franjo Buntak ascribed this bath the term "public," but he uses the same term for the other bath as well. This was obviously based on the fact that they were opened to the public. However, he does not use any other titles for distinguishing the baths, but rather makes a distinction based on their geographical location, see Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba* [History of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1996), 138.

[9] MCZ I, 406. The title *balneum muratum* here is important because it indicates that bath was rebuilt in stone already in 1364.

[10] MCZ I, 169.

because referring to the bath as communal could suggest that it was owned by the commune, which was not the case. The owners came from different groups of society. The first mentioned owners are Stjepan and Akuš, sons of ban Mikac. According to my research, a certain nobleman, Stjepan Prodanić, inherited the bath from them. So far, it has been presumed that Prodanić bought the bath from Stjepan and Akuš. However, since he was a descendant of Mikac, probably one of his grandsons, my theory is that he inherited the bath rather than bought it.[11] Later, the owner was Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb.[12] The following renter of the bath was a certain Michael, son of a goldsmith named Sebastian, but the contract about the rent has not been preserved. We only know about this rent because he left the bath to one of his daughters, Barbara, after his death in 1444.[13] The last owner about whom we have information is Klara, daughter of Luka, from Stjeničnjak and widowed daughter-in-law of the previous owner, Ivan Bolsak, the chief judge of Gradec.[14]

Both of these baths were important social institutions and sources of revenue, but it is also possible to argue that they were a sign of prestige for the owners. This is clear from the earlier analysis of the network of various owners.

Hierarchy Inside the Baths

Inside the baths, there were different tasks for which different people were responsible. The greater division of responsibilities was practiced, the more developed the bath was. The three main functions among the people operating the bath were those of *balneator, rasor*, and *minutor*.[15] In the case of Zagreb, these three functions were fulfilled by three different persons, which is evidence of the state of development of the bath.[16]

The *balneator* was in charge of the operation and management of the bath. The tasks of the *balneator* in one of Zagreb's baths were to look after visitors, find employees, supply everything necessary for the functioning of the bath, and to

[11] See Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457 I–II* [Secular Archontology of Hungary] (Budapest: História-MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996), 235.

[12] MCZ I, 394.

[13] MCZ X, 47.

[14] MCZ XI, 16.

[15] MCZ I, 229–230.

[16] The available evidence describes the situation in the bath on the eastern bank. However, because of the proximity of the baths, it is possible that they developed by mutual influence and both had these people employed and the same services offered.

repair anything that could be damaged.[17] Moreover, the *balneator* could have been the person responsible for shaving the visitors if the bath was relatively small and work division was not very developed.[18]

Due to a lack of evidence, it would be impossible to follow the development of the inner hierarchy of the employees in the case of Zagreb. However, a source from 1360 mentions the *minutor*, the person in charge of bloodletting, by this specific term, which proves that this division was clear.[19] Moreover, a contract from 1364 specified the services that had to be offered to the Cistercians in case they visited the bath.[20] In this contract, both a *balneator* and a *minutor* were mentioned. The list of their duties included having to provide the Cistercians with shaving and bloodletting when needed. This is an indication that the *balneator* was the one who was supposed to shave the monks. The *rasor* was in charge of shaving the visitors if this duty was not included among those of the *balneator*. In the case of the bath on the eastern side, it was the obligation of the *rasores* to shave the monks' beards every fourteen days.[21] Both men and women served the visitors inside, called by the titles *servitor* and *servitrix*.[22]

In the case of the towns of Sopron and Pressburg, people employed as *balneatores* usually came from the lower layers of society.[23] Regarding the Zagreb case, it is not possible to reconstruct the social standing of these men based on the available data.

A person whose job was to perform the phlebotomy or bloodletting was called *minutor sanguinis*.[24] According to the 1360 source, the *minutor* was supposed to do the bloodletting to the monks four times a year.[25] His duty was probably also to do the cupping since the function of a cupper was not mentioned anywhere. This was a process in which cups would be put on the patient's body and these cups would create a vacuum, which then removed the bad humors from a specific part of the body.

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[17] MCZ III, 317–318.

[18] MCZ I, 230.

[19] MCZ IV, 174.

[20] MCZ I, 229–230.

[21] MCZ I, 230.

[22] MCZ III, 317–318.

[23] András Kubinyi, "Fragen der städtischen Gesundheitspflege in den mittelalterlichen Städten Ungarns," in *Stadt und Gesundheitspflege,* ed. Bernhard Kirchgässner and Jürgen Sydow (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1982), 95–107.

[24] Nada Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Liber, 1982), 288.

[25] MCZ IV, 174.

The Visitors

The baths in Zagreb were open to visitors from any layer of society and there were no restrictions on who was allowed to enter them. However, due to the fact that there were only two baths available for the whole city, which in the late fourteenth century counted between three and three and a half thousand citizens, probably not a big percentage of these people visited the baths.[26] For example, Paris had twenty-six baths, which covered the needs of a town that had seventy thousand people living in it.[27] This means that one bath covered the needs of over 2,500 people, which confirms that the number of baths in Zagreb was proportionate to the number of people living in it.

The Statute of Prebendaries from 1511 mentions three groups of visitors.[28] The first was that of the *fratres*, who had special treatment in the bath, which indicates that they were probably regulars of the bath. Another group listed in the statute are the peasants, referred to by the term *rusticus*. Even though monks had different, better treatment in the bath, indicated by the statement that they were supposed to be shaved with different razors than those used for shaving *rustici*, there is no mentioning of the need to separate the monks and the peasants inside the bath.[29] Due to the nature of the source, it being the instructions for *balneatorers* for how to manage the bath, if the separation was needed, it would have been mentioned there. The third group mentioned and not specified is that of *clientes aliquis reputationis*, which again confirms the fact that no special treatment was offered according to the social standing of the visitors.

It was often the case that there was a gender-based division in the baths. Even though this distinction was never made in documents concerning the Zagreb baths, there is one case that implies that there could have been a division in Zagreb. However, more evidence is needed to support this theory. In 1360 an accusation was raised against a young man who entered the room where ladies bathed naked and he created trouble and behaved in an inappropriate way. The case was supported by

[26] Sabine Florence Fabijanec, "Prilog poznavanju vode u svakodnevnom životu srednjovjekovne Hrvatske" [A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Role of Water in the Daily Life of Medieval Croatia], in *Voda i njezina uloga kroz povijest*, ed. Filip Novosel (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011), 42.

[27] Virginia Smith, *Clean. A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 170.

[28] MCZ III, 317.

[29] *Ad radendum barbas fratrum habebit cum suis servitoribus apta rasoria, non illa laicalia, quibus raduntur rustici*. MCZ III, 318.

the testimony of the *balneator* and his wife.[30] Although this means that there was some kind of a division, it does not provide enough evidence to establish whether the bath was divided between men and women or if there was perhaps a specific time of day when only women were allowed to bathe.

Another example that sheds some light on the gender question is *Aquae Iasae*, a thermal bath in Varaždin, a town north of Zagreb. This bath was established in Roman times and used again in the Middle Ages when the chapter of Zagreb acquired it in the late twelfth century. There, people were probably divided by gender already in the Late Middle Ages. An official division is evidenced in 1606 after the reconstruction of the bath.[31] However, the fact that they found it necessary to make separate rooms for men and women could mean that this division was already happening in the bath and only needed practical division through means of separate rooms.

One more case was preserved where two noblemen and one burgher were taken out of the bath and dragged through the town, which proves that noblemen and burghers were among the groups visiting the baths.[32]

Due to the scarcity of sources, it is almost impossible to determine the range of people visiting the baths. However, available data allows me to draw certain conclusions. The baths were visited by monks, noblemen, burghers, peasants, and citizens, men as well as women. Since the religious composition of Zagreb was relatively homogenous, unlike some other towns with mixed Catholic, Muslim, and Jewish populations, no religious segregation was present.

Services Offered in the Baths

The essential function of the baths was, as indicated above, hygienic. The way this was performed in Zagreb depended on the fact that the baths were provided with water from the Medveščak stream on which they laid. The temperature of the water corresponded with the temperature of the stream, which changed according to the weather conditions and seasons of the year. This issue was handled through heating the water by furnaces. An interesting detail that again confirms the special status of the friars in the bath is the 1364 contract, which determined that friars should be allowed free entrance on the days when the water in the bath was heated.[33]

[30] MCZ IV, 221.

[31] Fabijanec, "Prilog poznavanju uloge vode u svakodnevnom životu srednjovjekovne Hrvatske," 45.

[32] MCZ II, 348.

[33] MCZ I, 229–230.

Warm water in thermal baths was considered to have healing effects on certain diseases. This was, after cleaning, the second most important function of these places. However, because the baths used stream water, which was artificially heated, the healing function of water was not present in Zagreb. However, the temperature of heated water made it more comfortable for people to stay longer in the bath, turning it into a place of social gathering.

The main services of the Zagreb baths, besides cleaning, were phlebotomy or bloodletting, shaving, bandaging of smaller wounds, and cupping. All of these health-related services were compiled and described by the term *regimen sanitatis*.[34]

Although thermal water was unavailable, bloodletting and cupping testify that these baths were nevertheless considered places where health-related problems could be resolved. Moreover, the presence of *servitores* and *servitrices* mentioned above suggest that socialization was part of the experience.

The best-evidenced practice was that of bloodletting. This practice started already in antiquity when Greek philosophers developed theories about human health.[35] In Greek, the word consists of *phlebos* meaning "vein" and *temnein* meaning "to cut."[36] By letting a certain amount of blood out of a person's system, it was believed that the bad humors would be removed. The amount of blood that had to be let was determined by the *minutor*, who according to the amount decided from which vein the blood would be taken.

How this practice was implemented in the baths of Zagreb and when it started being applied is unknown, but it was certainly already in use in the second half of the fourteenth century. The case that shows this is one already mentioned above, of a young man who entered the bath where the ladies were bathing and *faciens se minutorem dixisset se velle minuere sanguinem*.[37] This accusation consists of two important facts. First of all, that bloodletting was a practice in use and second, that the position of *minutor* was already a special one.

The missal of the Zagreb bishopric from 1511 clearly illustrates how bathing culture and health-related functions of baths were intertwined. The missal

[34] Fabiola I. W. M. van Dam, "Permeable Boundaries: Bodies, Bathing and Fluxes: 1135–1333," in *Medicine and Space. Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia A. Baker, Han Nijdam, and Karine van't Land (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 118.

[35] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 139–140.

[36] Liakat Ali Parapia, "History of Bloodletting by Phlebotomy," *British Journal of Haematology* 143, no. 4 (2008): 490.

[37] "He made himself a *minutor* [person in charge of performing bloodletting] and said that he wants to perform bloodletting." MCZ IV, 174.

contains a calendar that states the food and drinks recommended for each month for maintaining good health and suggests which months are recommendable for bathing and bloodletting and which are not. These elements – hot and cold food and drinks, bloodletting, and bathing – were ways of regulating the bodily humors.[38] The statute defines two types of bloodletting – *de vena minori* and *de [vena] maiori* – and the process itself is referred to as *fleubothomia*.[39]

Ianuarius: *Balnea tutus intres et venam findere cures.*
Martius: *Balnea sunt sana, sed que superflua vana. Vena nec abdenda, nec potio sit tribuenda.*
Aprilis: *In quo scalpescit corpus sanguis quoque crescit. Ergo solvatur venter cruorque minuatur.*
Maius: *Scindatur vena, sed balnea dentur amena.*
Julius: *Venam non scindat nec ventrem potio ledat. Somnum compescat et balnea cuncta pavescat.*
Augustus: *Balnea non curet, nec multum comestio duret. Nemo laxari debet vel fleubothomari.*
September: *Tunc venam pandas, species cum semine mandas.*
November: *Balnea cum Venere tunc nullum constat habere. Potio sit sana atque minutio bona.*
December: *Frigus vitetur capitalis vena scindatur. Lotio sit vana, sed vasis potio cara.*[40]

Based on this source, bathing in the summer months should be avoided. On the other hand, bathing and bloodletting were recommendable in the winter months. Apart from the healing function, it was also more logical to visit the bath with warm water during those months than bathing during the summer.

[38] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 117.

[39] MCZ III, 317.

[40] "January: Freely enter the bath and undertake the bloodletting. March: Baths are healthy, but not in excess. You should not let blood, neither drink too much. April: The body starts itching and blood starts multiplying. Because of that you should let blood. May: You should let the blood and take a bath. July: You should not let blood and avoid bathing. August: Do not bathe or eat much. Do not undertake the bloodletting. September: You should let blood and eat vegetables with seeds. November: You should avoid bathing and drink moderately. December: You should let the blood from the main vein and drink moderately, warm drinks" (my translation). This part of the missal, which gives monthly instructions, was written in a four-versed form, but I only transcribe here the parts relevant for the topic. See the whole calendar in: MCZ III, 265–286.

Religious Aspects

In medieval communities, there was a tradition of donating money, land, and buildings to the Church in order to save one's soul through masses said for the deceased person's salvation.[41] This tradition was practiced in Zagreb, among other ways, through leaving money in last wills for the repair of the bath. The money would be left for the bath on the eastern side of Kaptol where the bath was owned by monastic orders and later by the bishopric of Zagreb. The reason behind leaving the money was the belief that mendicant friars had intercessory power and could help a person reach salvation more easily.[42]

For example, a certain nobleman from Velika Mlaka, a village on the outskirts of Zagreb, donated a small hamlet that was to be sold or rented. The profit gained from this was to be used for the repair of the bath owned by the prebendaries. They sold the hamlet and bought a *caldar*, a water heater, with the help of the money. Even though the last will of a donor is not preserved, this information is available through a document from 1516, which determined what prayers should be performed on his bequest.[43]

Another influential man, the castellan of Stjeničnjak, a village near Zagreb, donated one hundred golden florins for the repair of the bath in 1516.[44] The intention of the donor that the money should be spent specifically on the repair of the bath is stated through the form *ad reformacionem balnei ipsorum legaverat florenos centum*.

Archdeacon Gjuro Ivančan of Beksin left the same amount as the previous donor, one hundred florins. The prebendaries recorded in their books that the money was used for the repair of the walls of the building.[45] In return for this donation, the prebendaries determined that during Gjuro's life as well as after his death a mass should be held for the salvation of his soul every Saturday in the Church of Saint Mary.

It seems that the very high sum of one hundred florins was a frequent donation since Matija of Donbro, cantor and canon of the cathedral of Zagreb, offered the same amount *pro reparatione ac restauratione balnei, quod magnam ruinam*

[41] Daniel E. Bornstein, *Medieval Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 342.

[42] Other groups of society – the poor and students – were believed to have the same intermediary powers.

[43] MCZ III, 169.

[44] MCZ III, 169–170.

[45] MCZ III, 170.

et signanter in tectura patiebatur.[46] Being a canon of the bishopric of Zagreb, he probably visited the bath and, based on what he had seen, decided to make the prebendaries repair the roof. The important aspect of Matija's donation is that it clearly states the reason behind his donation and that is to have his soul saved – *pro refrigerio anime*.

All these cases, and there were probably more that were not recorded, confirm that the bath had a relevance even from a religious aspect. Donors, who most probably visited the baths, found it necessary to leave money in order to help themselves reach salvation but specified that money should be spent on repairing the bath as an important property of the prebendaries, one of the most significant ecclesiastic bodies in medieval Zagreb.

Bath as a Place of Quarrel

There were a couple of situations where the baths turned into a place of conflict. The first one happened in 1422 when some canons attacked the citizens of Gradec.[47] It was a part of long-lasting disagreements and discord between the two sides. This attack happened near the Manduševec well, the Church of Saint Martin, and the bath on the Gradec side of Zagreb. Whether part of the conflict happened inside the bath itself is unknown, but it is a possibility.

The second case certainly occurred inside the bath. This attack was initiated by Osvald Tuz of Lak, bishop of Zagreb. The bishop's captains Ivan de Buzla, Matija Olaz, and Grgur Zubalo, with his permission, entered the bath in 1472 and attacked noblemen Petar of Byzkad and Stjepan Bykchele of Zelina as well as one burgher who was not named. They wounded the men and dragged them through Kaptol.[48]

These cases are demonstrative of how an enjoyable and pleasant bath could turn into a hostile place. Moreover, it was a place where people were relaxed and did not expect any kind of attack, which made them even more vulnerable.

[46] "For the reparation and rebuilding of the bath, of which the roof was especially damaged" (my translation). MCZ III, 317.

[47] Borislav Grgin, "Vrhunac srednjovjekovnog razvoja" [The Peak of Medieval Development], in *Povijest grada Zagreba*, ed. Ivo Goldstein and Slavko Goldstein (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2012), 74.

[48] MCZ II, 348.

Conclusion

The analysis that I have provided in this article makes it possible for me to conclude that baths were one of the elements of social culture in medieval Zagreb. Even though there were only two baths in Zagreb, people from almost all groups of society visited them, a fact that testifies to their importance.

Although they were not located on a source of thermal water, these baths were still pleasant and enjoyable places. They offered many possibilities – bloodletting, cupping, and shaving – for spending a significant amount of time there. Apart from being a place for socialization, these services also made the baths a type of healing place.

The idea of communal bathing was obviously present and practiced in Zagreb. The proof of this is the ownership structure. The influential and wealthy individuals who owned the baths obviously found those institutions to be lucrative. This would not have been the case if there was not significant interest in visiting these places.

Finally, baths had a religious aspect. People used to leave money for repairing the baths *pro refrigerio anime*, for saving their own soul. By donating money to the prebendaries, members of the church hierarchy who were running the bath in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the donors made sure that those prebendaries would pray for them and help them save their souls.

The analysis demonstrated that baths represented significantly more than a place for bathing for their visitors. They were urban institutions, very important for the community and for socialization, pleasure, and necessity at the same time.

IMAGE, PRINT, AND MANUSCRIPT IN EARLY MODERN COLOGNE[1]

Krisztina Péter

Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–1597), a prominent burgher of Cologne, compiled one of the most remarkable sources of early modern urban life: his 2,000 folio pages long diary called *Gedenkbuch*.[2] While describing the everyday life of his family, neighborhood, and city in an extremely detailed way, and sometimes giving pieces of advice to his future descendants, Weinsberg also recorded a considerable amount of political and military news based on oral, manuscript, and printed sources.

The diarist was born in an emerging wine merchant family and studied law at the University of Cologne.[3] Later he became one of the city councilors of Cologne and he also worked as a churchwarden of his parish.[4] Weinsberg's circumstances – being a university graduate, living in one of the most important printing centers of Europe, being a council member – and his personal curiosity all contributed to the creation of this exceptional diary. Weinsberg wrote his diary or family chronicle[5] for posterity, but, as he clearly stated, he had written it for his future family members only, not for everyone.[6] Thus, his diary is neither entirely private nor entirely public.

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[1] This paper is based on my MA thesis: "'Wie die Truck sagt…' Transmission of News from Print to Manuscript in the Diary of Hermann von Weinsberg" (Budapest: Central European University, 2018). I would like to thank my supervisors, Katalin Szende and Gerhard Jaritz, for valuable criticism and helpful comments.

[2] Hermann Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs. Digitale Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Tobias Wulf, Manfred Groten, and Thomas Klein, accessed 25 November 2019, http://www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de/. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Weinsberg's text are from there.

[3] On the life of Weinsberg see, most importantly, Matthew Lundin, *Paper Memory: A Sixteenth-Century Townsman Writes His World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2012); see also Manfred Groten, ed., *Hermann Weinsberg 1518–1597. Kölner Bürger und Ratsherr. Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2005) with a chapter on the current state of the research and with further bibliography.

[4] Joachim Oepen, "Die Aufzeichnungen von Hermann Weinsberg im Memorialbuch der Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Köln als historische Quelle," in *Hermann Weinsberg*, ed. Manfred Groten, 59–77.

[5] Lundin, *Paper Memory*, 26.

[6] WS 6r. The diary comprises three parts: the first (*Liber Iuventutis*) covers the years between 1518 and 1577, the second (*Liber Senectutis*) [hereafter WS] is about the years between 1578 and 1587, the third part (*Liber Decrepitudinis*) [hereafter WD] describes the years between 1588 and 1597.

The usage of news media by Weinsberg and his handling of the acquired news have already been examined to some extent.[7] In what follows I will analyze how he used visual sources of news to write up his diary as well as his perception of images. I will focus on one particular piece of news, namely, the news of the assassination of the French King Henry III on 1 August 1589 as a case study.

The regicide followed years of war in France. As a climax of the conflict called the War of the Three Henries, Henry III was forced to flee Paris in May 1588. As a consequence, the Guise brothers, leaders of the Catholic League, became de facto rulers of France. However, Henry III had the Guise brothers killed in December and made an alliance the next spring with Henry of Navarre, leader of the Huguenots, the third belligerent party. Planning to retake the capital, the king set up his camp at Saint-Cloud at the end of July 1589. The Parisians, being in a desperate situation, instigated a young Dominican friar to murder the king. Jacques Clément (1567–1589) stabbed Henry III to death on 1 August 1589, and the king died on the next day.[8]

The sensational news of the regicide arrived in Cologne within days and Weinsberg dealt with it several times in his diary.[9] He first mentioned and described the murder in an entry dated to 1 August, the alleged day of the death of the king.[10] Almost one month later, on 28 August 1589, Weinsberg recorded that he had bought two images, which arrived from Frankfurt to Cologne, depicting the assassination,[11] which means that engravings on the regicide were already on

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[7] Eva-Maria Schnurr, "'Jedem anbringer gleub ich so balt nit'. Informationsbeschaffung und Mediennutzung des Kölner Bürgers Hermann Weinsberg während des Kölner Kriegs (1582 bis 1590)," *Geschichte in Köln. Zeitschrift für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte* 56 (2009): 171–206; Alexandra Schäfer, "The Acquisition and Handling of News on the French Wars of Religion: The Case of Hermann Weinsberg," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 695–715.

[8] The most detailed description of the assassination: Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574–89* (London: Routledge, 2016), 298–306. For an overview of the political events see also Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) and Robert J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559–1598* (London: Longman Seminar Study, 1996).

[9] WD 133v, 1 August 1589.

[10] *Ibid*. The king actually died on 2 August 1589.

[11] On the publication of printed images in the Holy Roman Empire see Michael Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit: Aufgaben und Leistungen des illustrierten Flugblatts in Deutschland bis um 1700* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990); the series *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, vols. 1–4, 6–7, 9, ed. Wolfgang Harms et al.; and the series *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vols. 1–55, ed. F. W. H. Hollstein et al. On the genre of broadsheets see Andrew Pettegree, ed., *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

sale in the empire only one month after the event.[12] One of the most important consequences of the invention of printing was the appearance and wide availability of images depicting recent events.[13]

Weinsberg added that except the images he was still unable to get any printed news. In the following I will investigate Weinsberg's perception of one of the images he bought, which he described as follows:

> The other image seems to be [drawn by] another hand, it is slightly more artistic and it depicts a room. On the one side stands the king reading a letter and a monk. There is a little knife in the latter's hand in front of the king's stomach. And the monk was a bit drunk and attacked and stabbed the king in the oriel(?) intentionally. And above on a small hill a scaffold can be seen, where the monk was quartered. On the other side the king lies in bed, and a bishop is standing at his feet with a cross, another person with a burning torch, and a third one in long garments with an aspergillum. Beside the king's bed stands a bareheaded person in armour and with a sword. People say that he must be the king of Navarre. In the background many lords and nobles with raised two fingers stand densely around a table. Underneath there is the corpse and the helmet with the coat of arms with lilies and their escutcheons(?). The lords and nobles around it are all bareheaded but one. The head of this one is covered and he puts his two fingers on a letter that is lying on the corpse. Many other persons stand here and there, as commanders and officers. And it was all marked with a cipher, through the whole image.[14]

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[12] Cf. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaction Books, 2001), 146.

[13] *Ibid.,* 141.

[14] "Die ander figur schein ein ander hant zu sin, war etwaß kunstiger und einer von gemechs. Auff einer sithn stunde der koninck laß einen breif und ein munch bei im ein klein metzer in der handt vur deß konincks bauch und ein wenich druncken wart der munch und den arcern angriffen und in in gestochen von villen, und oben im kleinen percklin schein ein schapfotlin, alß er da gefirdelt worden. Auff der ander seithen lag der koninck im bedde, da zu foissen ein bischof stunde mit ein crutz, einer mit breneten trotzschn, einer mit eim weiquast mit langen kleidern. Neben dem koninck stunde einer bloiß heubts am bedt inharnerß und sidwer. Man sagt daß sult der koninck von Navarn sin. Da hinden stunden die herrn und adel an einen dischs heuffich mit uffgereckten zwien figern underwartzs stunde die lich, mit den lilien wapen helm und irer tischn. Die hern und adel dar neben all bloiß heubtz ohn einer mit bedecktem heubt lagt zwein finger uff einen breif so uff der lichen tag. Es stunden auch hin und widder mehe personen alß befilchaber und officier. Und war scheir alle mit eine ziffer bezeignet durch die gantze figur. In disser figur war kein geschrift dan unden an stunden disse wart. Ware, abcontrasitung wie der koninck in Franckrich von einem munch den 1 augusti

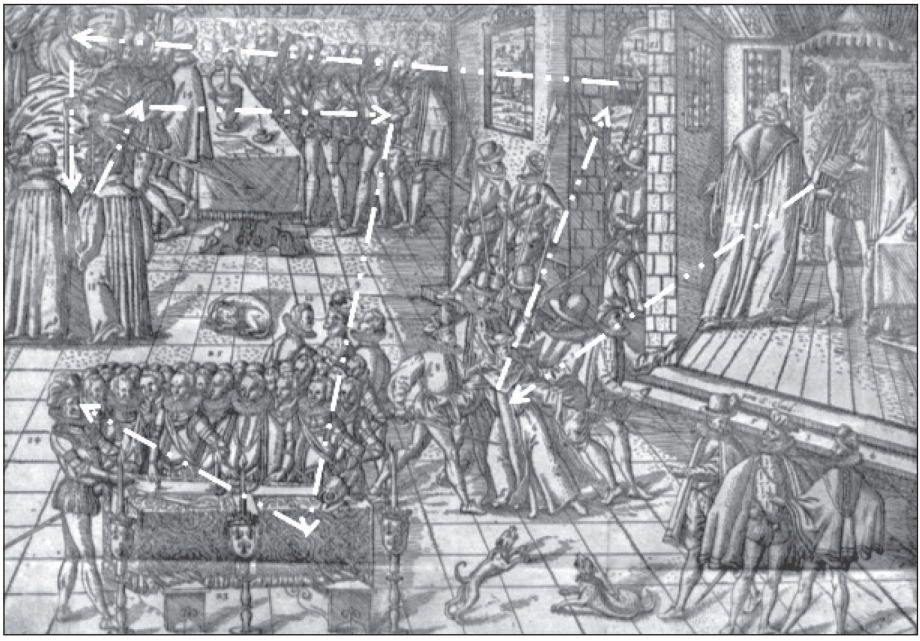

Fig. 1. Anon. Discours, wahrhaftige Erzehlung, wie Henricus III., König in Frankreich, von einem Münch, Jacob Clemens genannt, d. 1. Aug. 1589 ist erstochen worden. Verlegung Petri Cesaree: Basel, 1589 [VD 16 ZV 19129], C3. The arrows show the sequence in which Weinsberg described the image

By comparing Weinsberg's description with an engraving attached to an anonymous pamphlet describing the assassination, and which is now in the possession of the Zurich Central Library (*Fig. 1*),[15] we can safely state that this is the image the diarist saw and bought.

Weinsberg added to his description that there were no captions others than that of the title of the image, which he copied in full in his diary. This is actually not true: there is an inscription within the engraving, naming the place

zu s. Claud erstochen worden und wie sich weiter alle sachen zugetragen, findestu mit zifferzallen erkleirt im tractetlin. discours oder erzellong kon. maies. dhoit et_. anno 89. Disses tractatlin noch sunst keine getruckte zeitung hab ich disser zeit bekomen mogen. Wan ich besser bericht bekom mach ichs auch mitanzeignen. So vil gestalt der zwien figuren." WD 139r, 28 August 1589.

[15] Anon, *Discours, wahrhaftige Erzehlung, wie Henricus III., König in Frankreich, von einem Münch, Jacob Clemens genannt, d. 1. Aug. 1589 ist erstochen worden* (Verlegung Petri Cesaree: Basel, 1589), [VD16 ZV19129], C3, accessed 25 November 2019, http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-16372.

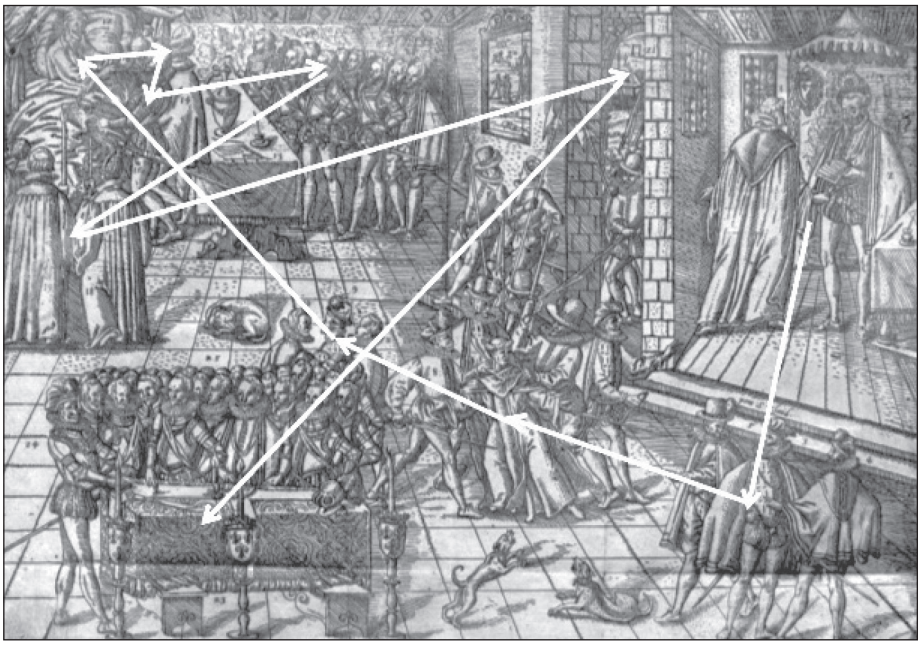

Fig. 2. Anon. Discours, wahrhaftige Erzehlung…, C3. The arrows show the sequence of the numbers in the text of the pamphlet

of the assassination (St. Cloud) inscribed into the doorstep of the king's chamber. Weinsberg seems to have overlooked it.

It is interesting that he felt the need to describe the purchased images in his diary instead of attaching them. This either suggests that Weinsberg attributed more resilience to the written word or that he intended to store and display the images outside his diary, but at the same time wanted to record the contents of the images therein. In any case, he was aware of the transient character of these topical broadsheets.[16] Although there are some drawings made by Weinsberg himself in the diary, no printed images are attached to it – in contrast to the collecting practices of some of his contemporaries such as, for example, the Swiss priest Johann Jakob Wick[17] and the French notary Pierre de l'Estoile,[18] who both collected a vast amount of illustrated broadsheets.

[16] WS 486v, 7 January 1585.

[17] Franz Mauelshagen, *Wunderkammer auf Papier: Die 'Wickiana' zwischen Reformation und Volksglaube* (Zurich: Universität Zürich, 2008).

[18] Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford: OUP, 2017).

Weinsberg starts his description of the engraving with an evaluation of its aesthetic value, claiming that this image is somewhat more artistic than the other one he had also bought and described previously. This very rudimentary evaluation is all the more surprising given the elaborateness of the engraving, which is full of minute details (elaborate clothes, ornaments of the ceiling, fringes of the tablecloth, even the lines of the letter presented to the king by the monk can be seen). Many of the figures are arranged in classical *contraposto* pose. On the other hand, the knowledge of ancient classics manifests itself in the description of Weinsberg, for instance, in his separation of description and evaluation[19] and in the first two sentences of the description, which are typical periodic sentences.[20]

Describing the image, Weinsberg started with the figures of the king and of the monk in the top right corner, numbered 1 and 2, respectively. Then he went towards the middle of the picture (describing the capture of the murderer, figures nos. 6–8) and then upwards (to the execution of the monk, no. 21). After that he jumped to the top left corner of the image, to the deathbed of the king (nos. 12–20). From there his description proceeds back to the top middle (nos. 13–15) and then downwards describing the crowd in the middle of the bottom of the image (nos. 23–25). When comparing it with the numbering of the figures, one can see that the intention of the engravers was a bit different. In fact, opposed to today's customary direction reading an image sequence, the narrative of the pamphlet begins with figures nos. 3–5, the persons who let the monk enter the room of Henry III, starting the story on the bottom right and continuing (almost) counter-clockwise.[21]

Weinsberg saw basically three main parts of the picture, the assassination scene (nos. 1–8), the deathbed scene (nos. 12–20), and the funeral scene (nos. 23–25) – at least he mentioned twice that he proceeded to another part of the image. In each of these parts he first described the king as the "protagonist," alive in the first two parts (nos. 1, 12), and dead in the coffin in the third (no. 23). That is, he did not see the image as a whole but applied a "scanning technique" instead: he "focused on individual elements of the scene and moved from one element to another."[22]

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[19] Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 56.

[20] Cf. Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 131.

[21] Cf. Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 144.

[22] Daniel S. Russell, "Perceiving, Seeing and Meaning: Emblems and Some Approaches to Reading Early Modern Culture," in *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory, 1500–1700*, ed. Peter M. Daly and John Manning (New York: AMS Press, 1999), 82.

Weinsberg was primarily interested in the persons and the story depicted. The persons are mentioned by him according to their social status[23] ("king," "monk," "lords," "officials," etc.) and he also describes carefully the relative positions between them ("at his feet," "beside," "around," "densely," etc.).[24] He also pays special attention to the actions and movements of the figures ("standing," "reading," "lies") and to their gestures,[25] as special visual signs within a visual sign, such as "with raised two fingers," "puts his two fingers on a letter," and so on. He also mentions some objects ("letter," "cross," "helmet," etc.) present in the image. This means that for Weinsberg the image consists mainly of persons, actions, objects, and relationships and he is obviously more interested in the information contained in the image than in its aesthetic value. Printed images, broadsheets, and woodcuts were primarily valued "for the information they alleged to convey,"[26] and publishers indeed put considerable effort into gathering and showing as many pieces of information as possible.[27] In summary, Weinsberg's gaze is a scientific, "cold" one.[28]

On the other hand, he hardly mentions the environment – except the room and the scaffold – and the details of the image, such as windows, dogs, and so on. Weinsberg did not record objects and structures that were peripheral for him, which means that he made some selections with regard to the narrative.

Nevertheless, there were some details that were still important for him, for instance, headdresses. Headwear was an important sign of a person's social status in early modern times.[29] Regarding the crowd at the bottom of the image, Weinsberg emphasized that there was only one person who was wearing a hat (no. 24) and inferred from this fact that the latter must have been the highest-ranked person in that group, even though he failed to recognize that this person was the new king, Henry IV.

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[23] Cf. Lundin, *Paper Memory*, 6.

[24] On the important role of relationships and groupings in the perception of images see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: a Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: OUP, 1988), 71, 75.

[25] On the role of gestures: *Ibid.,* 56, 60–71, 75.

[26] Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 23.

[27] Philip Benedict, *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 151.

[28] Bob Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," *Journal of Religious History* 15, no. 4 (1989): 448-469, here 464.

[29] See Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 54.

Weinsberg also assumed that the monk was drunk, probably because the figure of the monk (no. 1) is clinging to the wall and leaning slightly forward. He also explains that the monk stabbed the king to death "intentionally."[30] Thus, Weinsberg engaged in some interpretive work that went beyond strict description: he noted and interpreted certain symbols and gestures in the picture as long as they pertained to the plot or the characters.

However, Weinsberg's description is neither the representation of the image nor his visual experience and not even the "period eye,"[31] but it is how he interpreted the image, that is, how he was thinking about having seen the image.[32] It is interesting that Weinsberg seems to have been aware of doing a kind of interpretation. This is clear from his usage of words such as "seems" and from his remark that one of the figures is "allegedly"[33] the king of Navarre.

As previously mentioned, Weinsberg noticed that various parts of the image were marked with numbers and he copied the inscription from the bottom of the engraving into his diary, which says that if one wants to know what the numbers mean, one can find them in a separate publication, in a pamphlet titled *Discourse or Story of his Majesty's Death in 1589*. Engravings and woodcuts were often sold as single sheets, but fortunately this particular sheet came down to us bound together with the pamphlet containing the key. Weinsberg probably did not see this pamphlet since he mentioned that he could not get any printed news other than the images. Thus, comparing the actual captions with Weinsberg's explanation provides an insight into how much Weinsberg understood from the message the engraver wanted to convey, or rather, how successful the engraver was in transmitting his intended message.

The pamphlet contains a continuous narrative and the numbers found in the image (2–25) are inserted into this continuous text. Otherwise there is no reference at all to the accompanying engraving within the text of the pamphlet. Figure no. 1 is the monk, but his number is missing from the text. Figure no. 2 is the king, figures nos. 3–5 are lords and courtiers (Lord Bellegarde, Lord de Laquesto, and

[30] On the perception of drunkenness leading to other sins see, for instance, B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order. The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville–London: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 70–71, on the perception of drunkenness as metaphor for the disorder of the world see *ibid*., 64.

[31] Baxandall, *Painting*, 29.

[32] Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: on the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 11.

[33] WD 139r, 28 August 1589.

the secretary of the king[34]). They are described by Weinsberg as "many others" even though they had important roles in the events: they let the monk enter the room of the king, thus they could be blamed for the murder.

Figures nos. 6–8 show the scene, how the monk was captured and stabbed to death on the spot (the "execution" was later performed on his dead body). Weinsberg was unaware of this twist in the story: he interpreted the scene as the capture of the monk, who was later executed at the scaffold. The next three figures (9–11) show that the king is going to his bed accompanied by Bellegarde and the secretary "to have a little rest" (12) – nobody thought at first that the wound was serious. This was the way the engraver intended to lead the viewers' attention to the next major scene (no. 12: the deathbed of the king), in the top left corner of the image. However, Weinsberg completely neglected to mention this scene.

Weinsberg neglected the pen and the letter on the table near the bed as well, although they are also important in the story, since they indicate that Henry III wrote a letter to the noblest princes of the whole of Christendom before dying.[35] The next figure (14) shows a doctor analyzing the king's urine, which made the doctors and the king realize that the injury was fatal. Subsequently, according to the pamphlet, Henry III sent for Henry of Navarre.

There are more subtleties that are missing from Weinsberg's description owing to his oversight. The next scene (no. 16) shows Henry III confirming Henry of Navarre as his successor and recognizing him as the next king of France. The dying king is depicted sitting in the bed, maybe to emphasize that he was still conscious when he did so. The pamphlet says that the king gave Henry of Navarre "the Golden Fleece," and the image depicts him handing over a chain.[36] The significance of this particular detail in the image, and perhaps the whole image itself, is that Henry of Navarre was willing to accept the leadership of a Catholic order though himself a Protestant. Weinsberg, however, hardly noticed it, probably because not the regalia, but a single chain is handed over in the image. The crowd behind the table are indeed the French nobility as Weinsberg guessed, to mark that they also acknowledged the new king. The importance of the crowd is another aspect of the image that was overlooked by Weinsberg.

[34] "nemblich den Herrn von Bellegarde / Nu. 3. vnd den Herrn de Laquesto General Procurator / Nu. 4." *Discours, wahrhaftige Erzehlung*, A4v.

[35] It is probably worth noting that the copy of this letter is inserted into the text of the pamphlet. This means that a letter, originally written to the rulers, was made available to everyone, even to Weinsberg, had he bought the pamphlet.

[36] "das Guldene Floß." *Discours, wahrhaftige Erzehlung*, Bv.

Figures nos. 18–20 are indeed clergymen, one of them is the bishop and the other two, whom Weinsberg did not recognize, are the two confessors of the dying king. The image shows that the king managed to confess and received the last sacrament before dying, that is, died in a "proper," Catholic way.[37] Weinsberg also has nothing to say about it.

The next scene (no. 21) marks the "execution" of the monk with a sudden shift to the right side of the image because the numbering of the image follows the narrative of the pamphlet. As shown previously, Weinsberg read the picture in a different order. Later, at no. 22, the engraver shows that the new king wrote a letter, in which Henry IV remembered his predecessor with deep sorrow. The copy of this letter is also inserted into the text of the pamphlet. No. 23 marks the sarcophagus of Henry III. Weinsberg correctly guessed that this scene is about the funeral. The sarcophagus of the late king is decorated with a coat of arms with lilies and a helmet, which Weinsberg could recognize as the French royal coat of arms.

The penultimate number (24) marks the new king. Thus, Weinsberg guessed correctly that the only person in the group who wore a hat was the most important one. He stands on the edge of a large group of people, who surround the sarcophagus. This group is probably meant to show the support of the nobility for the new sovereign. Finally, according to the text, no. 25 denotes Cardinal Charles Bourbon, the uncle of the new king. The Catholic League wanted him to become the new ruler, but he recognized Henry IV, which is why he is depicted among the people supporting the new king.[38] At the same time, similarly to the Golden Fleece allusion, his inclusion may also suggest that even Catholics supported the new ruler. This was also overlooked by Weinsberg probably because in the image the cardinal is not distinguishable from the other members of the crowd.

To sum up, on a basic level Weinsberg could clearly understand the image. There are no serious misunderstandings or discrepancies between the engraver's intention and Weinsberg's perception. However, he understood only few of the more subtle messages of the image, such as the smooth transition of power to legitimize the new king, the emphasis on the preservation of the political order, and the emphasis on the importance of the Catholic religion. Weinsberg could not understand these subtleties without the help of the printed text of the pamphlet, which served as an instruction as to how to read and interpret the image, the

[37] According to the secondary literature the king actually died without the last sacrament: Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant?*, 304; Nicola Mary Sutherland, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion: 1572-1596.* Vol. 1, *Henry of Navarre: Huguenot Protector and Heir Presumptive, 1572-1589* (Bristol: Elm Bank Publications, 2002), 264, n. 113.

[38] Holt, *The French Wars*, 137.

meaning of which was not completely accessible without the written text. Text and image were mutually interdependent in establishing meaning. Thus, this engraving can be considered both as an iconotext,[39] a "discursive image,"[40] and "a variant on the theme of *ut pictura scriptura*, painting as prose or verbal communication."[41]

In the second half of the sixteenth century "current-events publishers were experimenting with different combinations of print and images."[42] In this case, one can observe many different connections between image and text: title, inscription, and key accompanying the separate pamphlet. For instance, there is a sophisticated connection between the engraving, the numbered key, and the text of the pamphlet. Since the numbers of the image follow the text successively – with two exceptions: no. 1 is missing from the text while no. 21 and no. 22 are reversed – one can assume that the engraving was produced after the text of the pamphlet had been written. In turn, the numbers had to be inserted into the text of the pamphlet before printing it out.

The role of the numbered key is to make the image, which was obviously produced for sale, understandable for as many people as possible. Because in this case a complex story of an extraordinary event is told it was even more necessary "to reduce the complexity of the image"[43] and to govern the perception of the viewers, to suggest the interpretation intended by the commissioner. However, the effort of the publisher to persuade the customers to buy yet another publication in order to find out what the numbers mean probably hampered the achievement of these goals. Moreover, the insertion of the key into a lengthy and complex text suggests that the intended customer of the engraving was supposed to be a literate, educated,[44] and probably rather affluent individual who could afford to buy both the elaborate engraving and the twenty-pages-long pamphlet.[45] This also sheds light on how printed news was sold in the sixteenth century: basic news for a modest price and additional, detailed background information for those who were willing to pay more.

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[39] Peter Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

[40] Moxey, *Peasants*, 128.

[41] Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 1.

[42] Benedict, *Graphic*, 202.

[43] Moxey, *Peasants*, 127.

[44] Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), xiv.

[45] Regarding prices, Weinsberg paid 32 albi for a series of twenty-one engravings in 1585 (WS 486v, 7 January 1585), when the daily wage of a skilled artisan was approximately 3–5 albi (Schäfer, "Acquisition," 712).

One can see that Weinsberg was able to interpret the image[46] – a complex engraving that explicitly relies on an accompanying text – more or less well without seeing the text and the captions of the numbers. However, we have to take into consideration that he already had considerable knowledge of the event before seeing the engraving, since he had dealt with the regicide previously in the diary when the sensational news first arrived to Cologne in early August, based on "common rumour."[47] He also could acquire information from the bookseller or pedlar selling the image and the pamphlet. This means that the news arrived to him "via a bundle of media."[48]

Although Weinsberg was aware that printed images were not always reliable sources,[49] in this case he did not question the reliability and trustworthiness of the engraving. He believed that what he saw in the image was what had actually happened. In that sense the engraver was successful: he managed to persuade the viewer that his image was the "reality." The naturalistic representation,[50] detailed lifelikeness,[51] and the minute details of the engraving probably deliberately served the same purpose, that is, they contributed to the "reality effect" of the image and to the evidentiary value of the image as a source.[52] Broadsheets and other visual media narrating news and contemporary events offered both propaganda and information at the same time.[53]

In the case of princely or royal murders, the prominence of the victims promised the increased interest of the customers and thus encouraged publishers to produce prints in large amounts for sale.[54] The murder of Henry III was a media sensation and "received exceptional attention in visual journalism:"[55] nine illustrated broadsheets were published on the assassination in 1589 in the Holy Roman Empire.[56]

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[46] On the reception of images in general see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[47] WD 133v, 1 August 1589.

[48] Scribner, *For the Sake*, xv.

[49] See, for instance, WS 492r, 28 February 1585.

[50] Scribner, "Popular Piety," 464.

[51] Baxandall, *Giotto*, 87.

[52] Schäfer, "Acquisition," 710.

[53] See, generally, Benedict, *Graphic*, 151.

[54] Schilling, *Bildpublizistik*, 229.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Karl Härter, "Political Crime in Early Modern Europe. Assassination, Legal Responses and Popular Print Media," *European Journal of Criminology* 11, no. 2 (2014): 142–168, here 144. (By comparison, only three illustrated broadsheets were published on the murder of William of Orange in 1584. *Ibid.*)

On the other hand, starting with Emperor Maximilian I, rulers of the sixteenth century increasingly tried to exploit the propaganda power of the printed media.[57] Consequently, political information, especially information on rulers and courts, became more and more available to the broader public.[58] "The growth in print was stimulated by a wider public interest in regality and in turn furthered that interest."[59] Momentous or sensational events, such as regicides, generated further discussions on politics.[60] Through the image depicting the chambers where the king was dying Weinsberg could gain insight into the French royal court. By buying the engraving, displaying it in the private sphere of his home, and by describing it in his diary the French kings were domesticated,[61] "consumed and owned"[62] by the diarist and his successors. These developments contributed to the rise of the emergence of a public sphere[63] or at least helped to "make people politically conscious."[64]

The image probably could have provided "information dispassionately, without arousing any sense of personal involvement"[65] but this is not the case here. Though Weinsberg viewed the image with a scientific gaze, he did not do it with a cold, emotionally distanced gaze. He had a very sharp opinion on the murder and expressed it clearly in his diary by quoting the verse of the Bible that claims that God is the only one who can take revenge on someone.[66] Weinsberg returned to report the assassination many times in his diary[67] and he was still shocked even in 1595 that a monk could commit a murder.[68]

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[57] Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton–Oxford: Princeton UP, 2008). On visual representation of rulers see also Kevin M. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven–London: Yale UP, 2009); Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994).

[58] Kevin M. Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London–New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 14-15.

[59] *Ibid.*, 113.

[60] Thomas Munck, *Conflict and Enlightenment: Print and Political Culture in Europe, 1635–1795* (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), 42.

[61] Scribner, *For the Sake*, xxviii.

[62] Sharpe, *Reading*, 112.

[63] *Ibid.*, 113.

[64] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 146.

[65] Scribner, "Popular Piety," 464.

[66] WD 144r, 26 September 1589.

[67] WD 133v, 1 August 1589; WD 138v, 28 August 1589; WD 143r–144r, 26 September 1589.

[68] WD 424r, 7 February 1595.

However, visual sources were merely subsidiary sources of information for Weinsberg,[69] which is evident from the fact that he usually transcribed the texts and inscriptions surrounding the engravings first and described the images themselves only after that.[70] Moreover, in this case and at other occasions as well Weinsberg explicitly emphasized that he had to settle for the information conveyed by the image because no printed news was available to him.[71]

On the other hand, Weinsberg was very much interested in visual sources. The sixteenth century witnessed a "quantum leap in the number of images available to ordinary people,"[72] such as Weinsberg, a phenomenon that probably contributed to his lively interest in them. He mentioned printed images he had seen or bought several times in his diary, for instance, the engravings on the massacre at Junkersdorf in 1586[73] and on the funeral of Johann Baptista von Taxis in 1588, both cut by Frans Hogenberg (c. 1538–1590).[74]

After buying six images on the recent events of the French civil war in 1592[75] he even considered gluing them together "to see the whole story together," but eventually decided against it because it would have needed a lot of work and money.[76] A couple of years earlier, in 1585, he bought twenty-one images made by Hogenberg, which depicted miscellaneous events of the Cologne war, at the same time.[77] He listed these images in his diary, describing each image with one sentence. He added that he bought them because several years later these images would not be available on the market, but his descendants, living in a more peaceful world, would most certainly enjoy looking at these images and marveling at them.[78] The role of these engravings would be to teach and to delight his descendants – *docere et delectare*.

[69] Schäfer, "Acquisition," 710.

[70] *Ibid.,* 711.

[71] For instance, in 1592: WD 257r, 26 February 1592.

[72] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 19.

[73] WS 586v, 15 July 1586.

[74] WD 32v, 20 April 1588.

[75] WD 256v, 26 February 1592.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] WS 486v, 7 January 1585.

[78] *Ibid.*

PART 3

From the Workshop

THE MONGOL INVASION OF HUNGARY (1241–42) AND ITS EURASIAN CONTEXT

Interdisciplinary Research Project Supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (2018–2022)[1]

János B. Szabó – József Laszlovszky – Balázs Nagy – Dorottya Uhrin

Introduction

In 2018, an interdisciplinary project was accepted by the Hungarian National Research Support Scheme to carry out a complex program on one of the most important events of medieval Hungarian history with long-lasting effects, the Mongol invasion of the country in 1241–1242. The scholarly interpretation of this period is not only crucial for the understanding of Hungarian history, but it is also part of an important historical process, the expansion of the Mongol Empire and the impact of this in its Eurasian context.

The project started in 2018 and lasts until 2022. The research is carried out by an interdisciplinary team representing a wide range of academic institutions and academic fields. The project is led by experts from the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), the Central European University (CEU), the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church (KU), the University of Debrecen (DU), and the University of Szeged (SZU). The Hungarian National Museum (HNM) and the Budapest Historical Museum (BHM) provide the museum contribution for the project, while the Research Centre for Humanities (RCH) and the Military History Institute and Library (MHIL) contribute with their research background. The members of the team represent very different scholarly approaches, and different generations of scholars are contributing to the results of the program: Attila Bárány (DU), Gábor Bradács (DU), Gergely Csiky (RCH), József Laszlovszky (CEU), Balázs Nagy (ELTE and CEU), Tamás Pusztai (HNM), Beatrix Romhányi (KU), Enikő Spekner (BHM), János B. Szabó (BHM), Csaba Tóth (HNM), Dorottya Uhrin (ELTE), István Vásáry (ELTE), László Veszprémy (MHIL), and Mária Wolf (SZU). The most important academic fields represented by this team are archaeology, history (economic- and social history, church history), Mongol

[1] The project "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary in its Eurasian Context" is supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (NKFIH, project no. K-128880).

studies, numismatics, and oriental studies and languages. Furthermore, another circle of scholars representing an even wider array of academic fields are also contributing to different elements of the project; thus, art history, ethnography, community archaeology, and battlefield research are also significant scholarly aspects of the program. The Eurasian context of the research topic is provided by a large international network of the team members and institutions, and with the help of this network, international workshops and conferences are also essential parts of this program.

Historiography and Research Situation

Hungarian historical research has been dealing with the Mongol invasion of Hungary for more than a century and some of the local and foreign sources have been collected and translated to Hungarian. The goal of this approach is to produce a harmonized account from the disparate sources of information, and there have been important results in this direction during the last two decades. Balázs Nagy's (2003) significant volume, *Tatárjárás* (Mongol Invasion)[2] represents a very useful compilation and translation of the important primary sources on the invasion, along with the historiography of the period and selected up-to-date scholarly views. This volume includes the first summary and discussion of the archaeological research on the Mongol invasion of Hungary, an academic field that has interpreted a significant number of new sites and sources for the study of the period. This study also offers a summary of the possible research directions and archaeological approaches for new research on this subject.[3] Subsequently, the Hungarian National Museum put out a nationwide exhibition based on the archaeological finds of the period, along with a corresponding volume that reflected the latest conclusions.[4] These two volumes present the state of research on the Mongol invasion of Hungary, and new archaeological finds since then have provided confirmation for the ideas put forward in them. An important conference organized at Kiskunfélegyháza also shed

[2] Balázs Nagy, ed., *Tatárjárás* [Mongol invasion] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).

[3] József Laszlovszky, "Tatárjárás és régészet" [Mongol invasion and archaeology], in *Tatárjárás,* ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 453–468.

[4] Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam, eds., *A tatárjárás. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban. 2007. május 25 – szeptember 30.* [The Mongol invasion. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum between 25 May 2007 and 30 September] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007).

light on the new archaeological sites connected to this period. The volume of this conference (*Carmen miserabile*, 2014), dedicated to one of the leading experts of this field, András Pálóczi Horváth, also shows significant development in research methods and approaches.[5] A few years ago, an article published in *Magyar Régészet/Hungarian Archaeology* introduced these archaeological findings from the invasion region, which indicated sites with direct evidence of massacres and destruction by the Mongols, to a much wider readership.[6] All of these studies can be considered to represent the state of the research field up to the recent present. However, further publications in the last few years related to ongoing archaeological excavations, along with publications on earlier finds, continue to offer new clues that help to shed light on the Battle of Muhi and surrounding events.

The Battle of Muhi, fought between the royal army of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Mongols in April 1241, is not simply a crucial episode in Hungarian history, but an event that occupies a position of Pan-Eurasian historical significance. It is therefore crucial that serious efforts are made to offer a reliable historical reconstruction of not only the battle itself, but also the short- and long-term impacts of the related Mongol invasion and occupation of Hungary. Recent innovative historical interpretations and archaeological finds now offer a complex, multidisciplinary approach that can be the basis of a new large-scale research project. Therefore, *The Mongol Invasion of Hungary and the Mongolian Conquest and its Eurasian Context* is a project aimed at improving our understanding of the episode and of its broader historical context through a fuller analysis of the surviving textual records and the most recent archaeological findings.

This general approach of the project has also been confirmed by an important international scholarly debate, which had just emerged before the launching of the new program. The causes of the sudden Mongol withdrawal from Hungary in 1242 has always been an interesting research question, ever since scholarly studies have been dedicated to the history of the Mongol invasion of Europe. Recently, two leading scholars of relevant academic fields – oriental studies and climatic

[5] Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, eds., *„Carmen miserabile". A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei. Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére* ["Carmen miserabile." The memories of the Mongol invasion in Hungary. Festschrift for András Pálóczi Horváth for his 70th birthday] (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014).

[6] József Laszlovszky, Stephen Pow, and Tamás Pusztai, "Reconstructing the Battle of Muhi and the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241: New Archaeological and Historical Approaches," *Hungarian Archaeology* 5, no. 4 (Winter 2016), 29–38. *Magyar Régészet* 5, no. 4 (2016): 27–36.

history – have proposed a new solution for this problem, which has generated an important discussion.[7] Members of the present research project together with some other Hungarian scholars published a discussion paper on this new study offering an environmental-historical solution for the withdrawal; they argued for a more complex, multi-causal explanation for this sequence of events in 1242.[8] This scholarly debate has also contributed to the shaping of the present research project and to the methodological approaches used in the complex research framework of the program.

These new academic results, scholarly discussions, and recent research projects and investigations have also made clear that a new research project can only be successful with an interdisciplinary approach using a wide range of methods and disciplines, including historical studies (political history, economic and social history, military history, ecclesiastical history, environmental history), oriental studies, archaeology (battlefield archaeology, settlement archaeology, landscape archaeology, archaeozoology, etc.), numismatics, etc. Thus, the present project and the research team offer a framework and a common research platform for the new results. It is also one of the main goals of the project to summarize these new results and to present them in the form of conferences and new publications for the widest possible international scholarly audience. This publication aspect and research strategy of the problem is also crucial, as many previous important studies were not available for the broader scholarly public, as they were published in Hungarian or in the languages of the countries affected by the Mongol invasion of Central Europe. In this way, we are also making an effort to make available research results from Polish, Czech, Slovak, Croatian, etc., publications.

Activities of the Research Project in 2018–2019

The first year of the project can be characterized by three important aspects of the research: archaeological fieldwork, preparations for new publications, and dissemination of the new research results connected to the program. Concerning the first element, the archaeologists of the project started to carry out a complex field survey at Muhi and in the surrounding area in order to reconstruct the

[7] Ulf Büntgen and Nicola di Cosmo, "Climatic and Environmental Aspects of the Mongol Withdrawal from Hungary in 1242 CE," *Scientific Reports* 6, no. 25606 (2016): 1–9.

[8] Zsolt Pinke, László Ferenczi, Beatrix F. Romhányi, József Laszlovszky, and Stephen Pow, "Climate of doubt: a re-evaluation of Büntgen and Di Cosmo's environmental hypothesis for the Mongol withdrawal from Hungary, 1242 CE," *Scientific Reports* 7 (2017): 1–6.

location of the battle. As for the second point, archaeological finds from earlier investigations and their new publication, interpretation also plays a crucial role in the project. The earlier findings from the Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze archaeological site[9] were documented in drawings and these fifty tables of illustrations will be published in a new study on this important site.

Public lecture series, participation at international conferences and workshops, and other activities related to social media represented the third important part of the program in the first year of our program. Francesca Fiaschetti, postdoctoral researcher of the University of Vienna, held a lecture in December 2018,[10] while in April the project's members organized a two-day-long conference.[11] Moreover, members of the research team contributed papers at international conferences in Vienna, Rijeka, Prague, and Shanghai,[12] and presented public lectures in

[9] Mária Wolf, "Régészeti adatok a tatárjárás történetéhez" [Archaeological data for the history of the Mongol invasion], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 143 (2018:1): 117–150; Mária Wolf, "Régészeti adatok a muhi csata történetéhez" [Archaeological data for the history of the battle of Muhi], in *"Carmen miserabile". A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei,* 69–80; Mária Wolf, "Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze – Tatárjárás idején elpusztult település" [Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze – destroyed settlement during the Mongol Invasion], in *A tatárjárás. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban. 2007. május 25 – szeptember 30.*, ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), 44–47.

[10] Francesca Fiaschetti, "Space, Networks, Elites in East Asia under Mongol Rule" (lecture, University of Vienna, Vienna, Dec. 3, 2018).

[11] Balázs Nagy, "A tatárjárás európai historiográfiája" [European historiography of the Mongol invasion]; Attila Bárány, "A mongolok és a Nyugat: a keresztény-mongol szövetség terve" [The Mongols and the West: The plan of the Christian-Mongolian alliance]; Szilvia Kovács, "A nyugati keresztény térítés kezdetei a Mongol Birodalomban" [The beginning of the Western Christian evangelization in the Mongol Empire]; Dorottya Uhrin, "Carpini és C. de Bridia" [Carpini and C. de Bridia]; László Veszprémy, "A tatárjárás emlékezete a krónikákban" [The memory of the Mongol invasion in the Hungarian Chronicles], Tamás Bodnár and Tamás Pusztai, "Mohi és környezete a középkori okleveles forrásokban" [Mohi and its neighborhood in medieval charters]; Gergely Csiky, "Mongol hadsereg és fegyverek" [The Mongol army and weapons]; Mária Wolf and Péter Barkóczy, "Hejőkeresztúr leletanyagának régészeti és archeometriai vizsgálata" [Archaeometrical and archaeological examination of the findings of Hejőkeresztúr]; Csaba Tóth, "Tatárjáráskori kincsleletek" [Treasury hoards from the age of Mongol invasion]; János B. Szabó, "A tatárjárás képe a magyar nemzeti historiográfiában" [The image of the Mongol invasion in the Hungarian national historiography]; Beatrix Romhányi, "Az -egyháza utótagú helynevek" [Settlement names with the suffix '-egyháza' (church)]; József Laszlovszky, "Csatatér-rekonstrukció" [Battlefield reconstruction]; Sándor P. Szabó, "A muhi csata és a tatárjárás középkori kínai nyelvű források fényében" [The battle of Muhi and the Mongol invasion in the light of medieval Chinese sources].

[12] Balázs Nagy, "From the Battle of Muhi to the dog-headed Tatars" (paper presented at 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe, Shanghai University, Shanghai, November 9–12, 2018); Balázs Nagy and Zsuzsanna Reed, "The Mongol invasion and its impact" (paper presented at Medieval Studies in Central Europe, Center for Medieval Studies,

Ulaanbaatar.[13] A website[14] and Facebook page[15] were also created by the project. Thanks to the interest of the Hungarian general public regarding to the Mongol invasion, the members of the project and other researchers present their findings to a wider audience on the first Thursdays of every month.[16]

Archaeological Surveys and Battlefield Research at Muhi

The Battle of Muhi (in medieval sources the nearby settlement was called Mohi) was one of the most important events in a decades-long historical process that saw the Mongol Empire occupy Central Asia, defeat the Russian principalities, and drive into the region of Central Europe, attacking Hungary and the duchies of Poland. That the battle was significant is evinced by the wide and disparate range of sources, European and non-European, which record aspects of it. As an example, the Persian official and historian in the employ of the Mongols, Juvaini, described it as "one of their greatest deeds and their fiercest battles."[17] It also appears to be the only battle fought on European soil for which we have a descriptive medieval Chinese account – namely, that found in Sübe'etei's biographies in the Yuan Shi, the official history of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty.[18] A version of Juvaini's account persisted in the work

Prague, May 15–17, 2019); József Laszlovszky, "Batu went up on a hilltop. Religious and ceremonial preparations before the Battle of Muhi" (paper presented at The Mongols and Religion, University of Vienna, Vienna, May 15–17, 2019); Dorottya Uhrin, "Nomadic folk religion and decapitation of enemies" (paper presented at The Mongols and Religion, University of Vienna, Vienna, May 16–17, 2019). Moreover, Balázs Nagy presented the project at the "Mongols and religion" conference in Vienna. Balázs Nagy, "The Mongols in Central Europe: New approaches to much-discussed questions" (paper presented at Četvrta medievistička znanstvena radionica u Rijeci / Fourth medieval workshop in Rijeka, Rijeka, May 30–31, 2019); Dorottya Uhrin, "Devastation of books and charters during the Mongol Invasion and its consequences" (paper presented at Četvrta medievistička znanstvena radionica u Rijeci / Fourth medieval workshop in Rijeka, Rijeka, May 30–31, 2019).

[13] József Laszlovszky, "The archaeology of the Mongol invasion (1241–1242) in Hungary" (public lecture, International Association of Mongol Studies, Ulaanbaatar, May 3, 2018), http://iams.org.mn/news.php?nid=38.

[14] http://tatarjaras1241.elte.hu (last accessed Feb. 15, 2020).

[15] https://www.facebook.com/TatarjarasNKFI/ (last accessed Feb. 15, 2020).

[16] http://tatarjaras1241.elte.hu/2019/01/30/ismeretterjeszto-eloadassorozat-a-tatarjarasrol/ (last accessed Feb. 15, 2020); https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0g0VCgxNMVNWWUHQ_BcqCg?view_as=subscriber (last accessed Feb. 15, 2020).

[17] J. A. Boyle, trans., *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).

[18] Stephen Pow and Jingjing Liao, "Subutai: Sorting Fact from Fiction Surrounding the Mongol Empire's Greatest General (with Translations of Subutai's Two Biographies in the Yuan Shi)," *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7, no. 1 (2018): 37–76.

of the fifteenth-century Timurid court historian, Khwandamir,[19] and a very garbled version (which shifted the events to Moscow) is found in the seventeenth-century Turkic history of the Khanate of Khiva's Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur.[20]

Improving our understanding of the Battle of Muhi as a series of events is concomitant with an improved identification of the geographical sites where various episodes of the battle occurred. Based on the sources, it is clear that the battle was actually a series of sporadic engagements that unfolded in prolonged stages at different sites. From the same records, we are aware of certain key natural or man-made landscape features around which these events centered (e.g., the hotly contested bridge spanning the Sajó, the Hungarian camp that was surrounded by the Mongols, the village of Mohi, a highway along which Hungarian troops retreated, etc.). The location of many important features remains conjectural. In a large part, this has to do with the fact that scholars have attempted to reconstruct the battle mainly through the written sources with the contribution of a little geographical and settlement history research.

Our project aims at integrating and synthesizing findings from a wider range of disciplines than has previously been attempted. Key to this is the integration of archaeological findings into the picture. A number of recent articles have been published in Hungarian that detail at least two excavated finds that can be connected to the battle. Mária Wolf has excavated a settlement site in the framework of rescue projects of the M3 motorway near Hejőkeresztúr and this research has revealed a sunken-floor house from the Arpad Period with archaeological finds not characteristic of the average material culture of contemporary villages.[21] Her conclusion was that the finds can be connected to the Battle of Muhi, and this aspect of the site has also been discussed in the context of the Mongol invasion in the aforementioned article by József Laszlovszky.[22] Furthermore, Mária Wolf argued in her detailed publication on the swords and one piece of armor that "based on the archaeological finds, here we can see the material culture of a larger than average rural settlement mixed with the objects of those who were running away from

[19] W. M. Thackston, trans., Khwandamir, *Habibu's-Siyar. Tome Three. The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk* (Cambridge: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994).

[20] Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur, *History of the Turks, Moghuls, and Tatars, Vulgarly Called Tartars together with a Description of the Lands They Inhabit* (London, 1730).

[21] Wolf, "Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze – Tatárjárás idején elpusztult település," 44–47.

[22] József Laszlovszky, "Az ország pusztulása" [The devastation of Hungary], in *A tatárjárás. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban. 2007. május 25 – szeptember 30.*, ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), 39–43.

the battlefield." She has formulated a hypothesis that the site can be connected to the route along which Prince Coloman fled the battlefield. This publication has also pointed out the importance of studying the medieval historical-geographical situation and its relevance for the localization of various elements of the battle.[23] The other important finds in this context were the burials published by Tamás Pusztai, as they were also connected to the events.[24] Two burials with very significant objects were found in a pit near the settlement remains of Mohi, at the edge of what was the thirteenth-century village. The sabretache and scabbard of a knife were attached to the belt of one of the skeletons, while near the other body, a bridle and eight coins from the years 1235–1241 were excavated. An octagonal-shaped iron mace was also found near the first body and it must have belonged to a warrior of Asiatic origin who took part in the battle. Based on the excavated features and on the detailed study of the objects (bridle, knife-scabbard), it can be firmly argued that the two deviant burials belonged to casualties of the Battle of Muhi.

This most recent archaeological literature and the work already carried out on the former medieval settlement of Mohi will serve as a starting point from which we intend to carry out a thorough investigation of the historical geography of the larger battle area. For example, based on the new interpretation of the settlement archaeological information from the site of Mohi, the position of the important medieval roadway through the settlement, which led to a crossing on the Sajó River, can be established. The dating of this road by contextualizing it into the settlement network of the region is crucial for our understanding of the movements of different troop contingents during the battle. The use of written documents from the thirteenth century and from later periods (particularly charters and texts of perambulations) will also offer us a better chance to reconstruct the surrounding settlement and road system as it existed during the Mongol invasion. This work has already been started by the archaeologists of the Herman Ottó Museum at Miskolc and by the researchers of the County Archive of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén.

This reconstruction will be accompanied by an intensive archaeological survey, including the application of metal detectors in specific targeted areas. This part of the project is supported by the recent methodological developments of battlefield or conflict archaeology. These research fields have proven to be one of the fastest developing areas of archaeological investigation and the special team of the Hungarian Military History Institute has already produced significant results

[23] Wolf, "Régészeti adatok a muhi csata történetéhez," 69–80.

[24] Tamás Pusztai, "Buzogánnyal, tarsollyal és késtok-merevítővel eltemetett halott a muhi csatából" [Dead man from the battle of Muhi, buried with mace, sabretache, and scabbard of a knife], in *"Carmen miserabile." A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei,* 141–150.

through their complex, interdisciplinary research on battlefields of later periods that are of high importance for Hungarian history.[25] Systematic metal detecting with the help of amateur detectorists can be one of the most important contributions to this project. Therefore, we have developed a special scheme with the Hungarian National Museum, the National Park of Bükk, the Ferenczy Museum Center, the Herman Ottó Museum at Miskolc, and with the recently established Association for Community Archaeology to carry out a large-scale, systematic metal detector survey in the area of the battlefield.

During several weekend campaigns in 2018 and 2019, more than fifty volunteers explored the area of Muhi and the nearby settlements looking for remnants of the medieval past. All of the data related to the finds were entered into a GIS system together with all the track records of all participants. Furthermore, historical and archaeological data relevant for the medieval settlement system were also entered into this database, as well as the complex information from georeferenced historical maps. As a result of this, prior to the fieldwork, the archaeological and historical data were compared and summarized on a map. This map contains the medieval villages with church sites and the borders of these settlements. The combination of these research maps with the archaeological data from the new field surveys offer us a new basis of interpretation for the battle. The different levels and layers of this spatial database show, respectively: 1) the modern geographical conditions of the area with the historical changes of the environment, 2) the medieval settlements system based on written evidence and the archaeological field survey, 3) the contemporary finds from the area, along with the various reconstruction attempts for the localization of the battlefield. This first survey helped to narrow down the possible site of the battle as well as to specify the location of the medieval village of Sajóhídvég (the meaning of the place name is "at the bridge on the Sajó River"), where the medieval bridge was located. On the first weekend of March in 2019, the team of the project together with the aforementioned museums organized another field survey program. This time thirty volunteers with metal detectors investigated the site. The archaeologist members of the project (József Laszlovszky, Tamás Pusztai, Tibor Rácz) and a researcher dealing with the history of the nearby villages (Tamás Bodnár) held presentations for the volunteers, as this training aspect is also crucial

[25] Lajos Négyesi, *Csaták néma tanúi: a csata- és hadszíntér kutatás: a hadtörténeti régészet fogalma és módszerei* [Mute witnesses of the battles: The concept and methodology of the battlefield and military history research] (Budapest: HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2010); Balázs Polgár, "Oszmán-török csataterek régészeti kutatása Magyarországon" [Archaeological research of Osman-Turkish battlefields in Hungary] (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2018).

for the methodological development of this community archaeological project. Our program also acknowledges the help of József Tarnóczi, the mayor of Ónod, who provided the accommodation for all the teams, and we were able to use the community hall of the village as our training site. The research period proved to be the most important concerning the archaeological results. Based on this data a small group of volunteers with our archaeologists worked on the site of a medieval village called Hídvég. They found a medieval golden ring, spur, and a piece of a book binding, and they localized the place of the medieval church by the fragment of its walls. With the help of local informants another research area was identified in an area near Szakáld, and there we found arrowheads of different types. The most important finding of this weekend was a medieval seal ring. The ring depicts an ox head with a star and moon on its sides. The ox head links the ring to the Hahót-Buzád family; however, the exact identification requires further research. Since there was no medieval settlement in this area, most likely the project was able to identify a location connected to the Battle of Muhi.

Another important element of the project is related to underwater archaeology. Of particular importance is pinpointing the location of the bridge around which a range of accounts state that much of the fighting took place. Partly this will be done by an investigation of the archaeological finds in the area, such as wooden posts that are found in lakes or riverbeds. One of these sites has already been identified by earlier research near Köröm, but our goal is to collect more data and samples from these areas. To localize the medieval bridge, János Attila Tóth, underwater archaeologist, and László Lengyel, diver trainer, dived in a lake near the ferry of Köröm and took samples from the timber structure to determine the age of the wood by dendrochronology.

Furthermore, the complex reconstruction of the battlefield at Muhi also requires a geo-morphological and hydrogeographic analysis of the area in order to offer a better reconstruction of the thirteenth-century course of the Sajó River. Particularly, when we consider the high degree of meandering of the Sajó, it is clear that its floodplain and riverbed might have changed over the last centuries. A similar investigation proved to be very successful in reconstructing the medieval changes of river courses in the area of the Drava, something that was crucial for the interpretation of the contemporary land-use and settlement network.[26] With the help of Balázs Nagy, the head of the Physical Geography Department of Eötvös

[26] http://osdravaprojekt.ovf.hu/ (last accessed Feb. 15, 2020); István Viczián, "Geomorphological Research in and around Berzence, on the Border of the Drava Valley and Inner Somogy Microregion, Hungary," in "*Per sylvam et per lacus nimios" The Medieval and Ottoman Period in Southern Transdanubia, Southwest Hungary: the Contribution of the Natural Sciences*, ed. Gyöngyi Kovács

Loránd University, the medieval beds and the locations of the floodplains of the rivers and runnels in the era were defined. Moreover, the company HelmSolutions prepared the LiDAR survey of the territory, which provided very detailed topographical material for the 3D terrain model of the area.[27] This survey was also combined with drone recordings by the Faculty of Science of ELTE. This reconstruction of the hydrogeographical conditions of the area and the road and settlement systems will enable us to better pinpoint how the various stages of the battle, such as the engagement at the bridge and the subsequent attack on the Hungarian camp, unfolded. It will also help to reconstruct the road network along which the retreat took place and, thus, serve as a basis for further archaeological investigations. The first results of these investigations were also presented at the Hungarian environmental history conference organized in 2019.[28]

Publications of the Project Participants:

B. Szabó, János. "A muhi csata (1241. április 11.)" [The Battle of Muhi (April 11, 1241)]. *Korunk* 3 (2019): 15–25.

Laszlovszky, József and Stephen Pow. "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle." *Hungarian Historical Review* 8 (2019): 261–289.

Laszlovszky, József, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, Stephen Pow, and Zsolt Pinke. "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short- and Long-Term Perspectives." *Hungarian Historical Review* 7 (2018): 419–450.

and Csilla Zatykó (Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre of Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 75–91.

[27] The LIDAR survey has been carried out in the framework of the project: "Creating a research center for the development of new measuring technologies and documentation processes targeting protected cultural and natural heritage. GINOP-2.1.1- 15-2015- 00695" (Hungary). We acknowledge here the help of HelmSolutions (www.helmsol.com) for the LiDAR survey of the area.

[28] Balázs Nagy and József Laszlovszky, "Új földrajzi, környezettörténeti és régészeti kutatások a Muhi csatatéren és a Sajó mentén" [New geographical, environmental historical, and archaeological research at the battlefield of Muhi and along the river Sajó] (paper presented at the conference titled Környezeti események történeti és természettudományos források tükrében, Budapest, Oct. 30, 2019).

PRESENTATION OF THE VOLUME *TIMES OF UPHEAVAL*[*]

Marianna D. Birnbaum

It is a privilege and pleasure to introduce the volume "*Times of Upheaval…*": a volume containing conversations with four outstanding medievalists, conducted by their former students or younger colleagues. The title serves for all seasons, since throughout human history there were always times of upheaval, but in this volume our own times are recollected by those four scholars, the upheavals of the 20th century, as they have experienced them. The interviewers deal with limited space: "Central Europe," as it is referred to the region, and in it four countries: Poland, the earlier Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary, investigating a limited period of its history, and with our four protagonists whose birthdates are between 1924 and 1934. Although the four countries would take up merely a small part of the US or for that matter Africa, the experiences of our informants could not be more divergent.

Many years ago, one of my students at UCLA wanted to know in which century I would have liked to live, if I had a choice. As what? was my counter-question. Here, however, we will realize that even pursuing the same career did not guarantee an even remotely similar "*Sitz im Leben*."

Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski, a hero of the Polish resistance fighting with the Armija Krajowa against the Nazi occupiers, lost his right hand during WWII. Born in 1924, Kłoczowski was brought up in a family deeply anchored in Poland's patriotic tradition and in his faith, Roman Catholicism. When postwar Poland's politics intervened in his personal and political freedom, Kłoczowski started researching the religious orders of his own country and appeared first with a groundbraking study on the Polish Dominicans. That work and his *From the Hermitage to the Community*, brought Kłoczowski in contact with the leading French medievalists, and with the help of the key figures of the *Annales* group, his research was furthered by materials unavailable in Polish libraries and by invitations to France and translations of his publications into French that granted him a much larger reading public. (Polish scholars were freer to travel Westward than their counterparts in the other, so-called Socialist countries).

[*] *Times of Upheaval. Four Medievalists in Twentieth-Century Central Europe. Conversations with Jerzy Kłoczowski, János Bak, Frantisek* Šmahel *and Herwig Wolfram*. Edited by Pavlina Richterová, Gábor Klaniczay, Pawel Kras and Walter Pohl. Central European University Press, Budapest-New York, 2019. Presented on the occasion of János M. Bak's 90th birthday at the official CEU celebration, 16 June 2019.

The Catholic University of Lublin created a haven for his work for many decades to come, yielding the most important tomes devoted to the history of Polish Christianity, linking his beloved country into the chain of European civilization. Kłoczowski's own world view reflected a belief in Poland's special role in the world, his judgment of Polish political figures, such as Pilsudski whom he, like many of his generation, venerated, differed greatly from the evaluation of his younger contemporaries. Yet, he labored to keep his personal convictions separate from his research and encouraged his students, among them Pawel Kras – one of our alumni at CEU – to take advantage of studying abroad. The interview Kras conducted with his much-admired mentor, introduces the reader to a remarkably prolific scholar and a man of high morals and integrity.

Ten years Kłoczowki's junior, František Šmahel experienced a renewed Czechoslovakia's first steps toward a socialist dream as a young child. He remembered the events of the German occupation and believed that life would improve with the return of President Beneš. Even after the Communist takeover, until the forced collectivizations, the young František and his egalitarian, close-knit family were able to believe in a better future. Yet, the fact that his uncle was tried and sentenced for having failed to report a fellow officer who had planned to escape to the West, almost shattered Šmahel's scholarly future. Instead of attending Charles University, Šmahel worked for a year in a mine, until with great difficulties, he was admitted to study history. Similarly to Kłoczowski's career, it was Šmahel's opportunity to visit Paris (in 1956) that opened his own horizon about the Western approach to historical studies (although Šmahel always gave credit to František Graus, the Marxist historian, whose novel way to examine sources had affected his own research). Like many of his generation, barred from consulting foreign archives or libraries, Šmahel refused to turn into a parochial student of the Middle Ages. Although he wanted to study the Italian Renaissance, first not quite as his own choice, Šmahel turned necessity into an asset and became a life-long researcher and later the author of ground-breaking works on Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague, Hussitism and its national and international significance. In the years preceding 1968, it was possible to travel again (as he did to Warsaw and Vienna) and the door opened also to the West, to another visit to the *Annales* group, among whom Jacques Le Goff became one his great supporters.

After the tragic end of the Prague Spring, Šmahel was barred from scholarship for several years and earned a living driving a streetcar (sharing his fate with a number of Czech and Slovak intellectuals who were forced to work as janitors or window-washers). He kept writing, discussed his work among a small circle of friends and colleagues. Here-and-there he was able to publish a short paper. The

years missed until the so-called "Velvet Revolution," created unfilled gaps in his own life and in the scholarly lives of his students. Yet *The History of Tabor*, and the four volumes of *The Hussite Revolution*, secure Šmahel's place in the front line of his country's historians. The fascinating conversation with Šmahel, who has been an ardent supporter of the CEU, was conducted by his student Pavlína Rychterová. This contribution also provides us with a detailed and useful account of Socialist Czechoslovakia's turbulent century and its institutions.

Compared to Šmahel's trials and tribulations, Herwig Wolfram's private and scholarly career, revealed in his conversation with Walter Pohl, his student, friend and successor (and the author of such seminal works as *The Avars*) was smooth sailing all the way. He himself calls attention to this fact, repeatedly referring to his good fortune that never put his life, safety or scholarly progress at risk. There are many readings to Chancellor Kohl's phrase, the "luck of late birth," and Herwig Wolfram in his usual modesty gives more credit to fate that to his own remarkable qualities.

Separated by a very close border from the people's republics, meant freedom for the young Herwig who was able to carve out his own future, even if the years 1945–55 in an impoverished postwar Austria, were full of insecurity and apprehension. Classical studies were a natural choice, because he hails from generations of educators and the love of Latin was imbedded by a favorite teacher. Although he often speaks of his year of guest professorship at UCLA as the liberating force in his life, this is not so, because already as a young student, Wolfram and three friends undertook long journeys during the summers, freeing themselves from the confines of Austria's often smallish stance about the rest of the world. They familiarized themselves with the rest of Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula, meeting young people with vastly different experiences than their own.

Perhaps that was the reason why Herwig never accepted the Austrian self-image of victimhood and rejected the surviving features of anti-Semitism, or the *Germania* concept as it appeared in the life of his university.

Wolfram describes his visit to America in 1968/9 as an epiphany, but Walter Pohl remembers him already from a time before, as a lively, witty teacher, very different from the stuffiness of the rest. We too realized this when we first met and indeed, as he claims, we became more than just close friends. We became family. Nonetheless, Wolfram indeed experienced the Road to Damascus, when he became a close friend of Gerhard Ladner, the Austrian convert from Judaism, living in exile during the Nazi times, a devout Catholic and expert on the papacy, the man who originally invited Wolfram to UCLA.

In addition to his own father and to Professor Fichtenau, his *Doktorvater*, Herwig added Ladner as his third *progenitor* (as he wrote it in the biography of the latter). The hagiography was not much of an exaggeration: Gerhard Ladner was the only secular saint we have known. Once when at a dinner in our house, he shyly lifted his hand, it was difficult to believe that it was not the *stigmata* we experienced but, charging from under the table, it was Max Emil, our dachshund that bit him.

In America Herwig Wolfram met Patrick Geary, then a gifted student. As Herwig put it about their friendship: "One of the most treasured things that I brought back from the United States." Many years later as, Dean of the Faculty and Director of the Austrian Institute of History, Wolfram kept fighting against any and all manifestations of Austrian provincialism, chauvinism and the relativization of history.

Wolfram's approach that seeks the understanding of early European people and offers narratives free of nationalism and chauvinism, characterizes today what we call the "Viennese School." Already his early work on the Goths (translated into several languages) and his *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic People* display the same attitude and methodology. It is interesting to note that not just those of his contemporaries who being locked up had no choice but deal with their own history, Wolfram too returned to his own country's past: The edition of the 15 volumes of *Austrian History* is still the most ambitious and significant project postwar historical scholarship had launched, the greatest gift to his country.

I left it for last to report on the conversation between our birthday-boy, the forever young János Bak and his younger, but equally outstanding friend and colleague, Gábor Klaniczay. János's career, overarching many decades and two continents, is truly paradigmatic for his generation, because for years he shared the fate of those who had been barred from their freedom, but later he became one of those who in search of that very freedom left everything behind to begin a new life (and he did that not just once). Once Oskar Kristeller told me that he could actually reduce the essence of humanism to the traveling of books and people. This is the true story of János Bak's life.

Born in Budapest, the son of assimilated Jews with strong ties to the well-known, mainly liberal intellectuals of the capital, in his childhood János lived a life that included a governess, good schools, Boy Scouts, vacations on the Adriatic and the rest of the advantages that were considered an upper middle-class birthright. The Hungarian Jews never believed that they would have to share the fate of their Central European coreligionists.

However, by mid 1944, the Nazis and their Hungarian collaborators had completed the deportation of the Jews from the countryside to the extermination

camps, János was wearing the yellow star and the family had to decide whether they live according to the evermore harrowing ordinances, try to acquire false papers, or go into hiding. They were forced to choose one after the other and, fortunately, survived. In mid-January of 1945, the Soviet Army liberated their hiding place.

The years that immediately followed were marked by the gradual Communist takeover of Hungary. This at first was greeted happily by the Bak family, however it soon turned out that their bourgeois background posed great difficulties for all of them. Yet, the lackadaisical manner by which the Hungarian universities were run between 1945 and 50, permitted János to get his degree without much effort and granted him a teaching position as well as administrative work that he kept until the Revolution of 1956. By then, disillusioned, János participated in the pre-revolutionary as well as the revolutionary activities of the youth movement and, after the tragic defeat of the uprising, he felt forced to leave the country rather than to face arrest, as it later turned out to be the fate of some of his friends and comrades. Having arrived in the West, Bak succeeded to become the student of Professor Schramm the famed medievalist in Göttingen, and ultimately received his PhD in Germany, in 1960.

Nonetheless, his desire to become a medievalist could not have been that ardent, because in the middle of writing his thesis, in 1959, polishing up on his knowledge of the Morse Code acquired as a Boy Scout, János found a job as radio operator on the board of the "SS Desdemona," one of the ships of the Hapag-Lloyd company. In this veritable picaresque, our hero sailed from Hamburg to Chicago, and spending about three months on board, he also visited Canada, his future home for the first time. He sent chapters of his discretion to Professor Fichtenau from the ports the ship docked. It should not become a surprise that instead of Canada, he wound up on a two-year scholarship in Oxford, before he returned to Germany as a recipient of two-year fellowship (from the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) to turn his dissertation on *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert* into a book. Meanwhile, János never gave up his involvement with contemporary history (including the Imre Nagy Institute in Brussels); even his first academic position, Assistant Professor in Marburg, was in modern history. This stint was followed by a few years in Newark, Delaware, Bak's first transatlantic position. But as the Vietnam war turned uglier, János left the USA and accepted a job in Vancouver to lecture on medieval studies that was organized as one of the first interdisciplinary program in the field.

Throughout his stay in Vancouver, János Bak remained interested in and attached to research devoted to medieval Hungary. This is proven by his lion share in the five-volume translation of *Decreta regni medievalis Hungariae* (1989–2013).

No one but János with his unmatched knowledge of Latin could have done that job (parenthetically: if he so wishes, he can even have a *temper tantrum* in impeccable Latin). But before that, János Bak organized the *Majestas* conferences (I participated in the one in Paris, devoted to bad kings), the first one yielding the excellent *Coronation* volume, followed by 11 more. That project took him often to the US, but also to Europe. Finally, Gábor Klaniczay, building up a Medieval Studies Department at the CEU, convinced János to return permanently to a post-Communist Hungary. The conversation, including hammering out the concept, the mission statement of the program, and even some of the courses to be taught, took place in our living room, in California. May I say here that the rest is history?

I hope that I was able to convey my belief that this volume under review renders much more than the life stories of four excellent scholars. It provides us with a reliable account of intellectual life in 20th century Central Europe and should be required reading for the student of the period.

PAST PERFECT: FIVE YEARS OF INTERVIEWS WITH CEU MEDIEVAL RADIO

This recently published volume is a result of a long-time student initiative, CEU's first and, so far, only radio station. In 2012, CEU Medieval Radio (www.medievalradio.org) was launched online as an effort not only to bring medieval music to everyone but also to make complex, high-quality scholarship more approachable to the general public. Over seventy interviews were recorded for CEU Medieval Radio's program "Past Perfect!", a show on medieval and early modern history and culture, with the intent of bridging the gap between "ivory tower" academia and the listeners at home. This talk show became a bit of a storied tradition for this little online radio station – twice per month they would produce and broadcast an interview with a different expert each time on a wide range of fascinating topics of research which they would share with the listeners. In this volume, sixteen first-rate scholars explain their work in a friendly and accessible way. Scholars like Natalie Zemon-Davis and Patrick Geary represent some of the international guests, János Bak and József Laszlovszky discuss amazing new research from Central European University, while Richard Unger and Benedek Láng are part of the CEU Medieval Radio team's personal favorites, talking about topics such as beer, queens, and code-breaking. To help the readers get the most from these interviews some explanatory notes were added.

The radio station was established by Tamás Kiss in 2012 as a non-profit oriented initiative to popularize medieval and early modern music, history, and culture. This enterprise came to life also with the collaboration of Civil Rádió FM 98, a community radio station in Budapest, which would play terrestrial broadcasts of certain programs. CEU Medieval Radio is currently run by the doctoral students of the Medieval Studies Department, and it plays authentic pre-eighteenth-century music, a weekly talk show, and spots promoting the Medieval Studies Department's public events.

In trying to make this radio station come alive as more than just a playlist of authentic medieval music, "Past Perfect!" sought to interview guests from all over the world on their various areas of specialty, with the aim to popularize medieval and early modern studies with the help of experts. The Past Perfect! series reflects many of the values and traditions of the Department of Medieval Studies. Those values could be summed up as "keeping relevant" and "valuing interdisciplinarity." As such, the interviews reflect historic topics that carry a strong resonance even up to the present day. One such example is the program dedicated to Crusader studies, and the impact of religious warfare on modern issues such as demography,

"Past Perfect!" Five Years of Interviews with CEU Medieval Radio. Edited by Christopher Mielke, Stephen Pow, and Tamás Kiss. Budapest: Trivent, 2020. Paperback, 306 pp. ISBN 978-615-81353-7-5. DOI: 10.22618/TP.HAA.20205

diaspora, and even the environment. In many other cases, interviews have touched on subjects related to subaltern groups such as peasants, prostitutes, and religious minorities in an effort to understand how these various groups of people interacted with each other in everyday circumstances. In some cases, the evidence of these communities can only be detected in visual or material sources, so the interviewees had to come from a variety of backgrounds and disciplines in order to present various competing bits of data and evidence. The guests have included archaeologists, linguists, historians, art historians, philosophers, anthropologists, cryptographers, music historians, and specialists from all sorts of geographic regions studying the time between 300 and 1600 AD.

The volume opens with an interview that represents a turnaround of the ordinary process; Angela Mariani interviewed Christopher Mielke, the host of "Past Perfect!" and Tamás Kiss, the founder and creator of CEU Medieval Radio; this talk answers any questions the readers might have regarding how this station came to be. Following that, the interviews have been divided into three categories: the most distinguished international guests, then a sample of interviews from the faculty of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, and finally a selection of the radio team's own personal favorite interviews with fascinating subjects. A few of the interviews presented here will be available to the public for the first time as a result of the decision to publish them in written form. At the same time, unfortunately, it was impossible to include in this collection all the talks that were truly remarkable and fascinating – and there were many such interviews. If a sequel to this volume is prepared in the future, perhaps they might too see the light of day in print.

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About the Editors

Christopher Mielke was awarded in 2017 a PhD in Medieval Studies from Central European University receiving a *magna cum laude* for his dissertation "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Archaeology of Medieval Queens of Hungary, 1000–1395." This was an archaeological study of the material culture and space of Hungarian queens of the Árpádian and Angevin dynasties. From 2012 to 2017, he was the host, organizer, and lead correspondent for CEU Medieval Radio. Most recently, he has led the charge for updating exhibits at the Beverly Heritage Center, including a reconstructed floorplan of the original 1808 Randolph County Courthouse, and including information about the Underground Railroad in the Exhibit about the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike. He is also part of negotiating the opening of Beverly's first public library.

Stephen Pow has recently completed his PhD at Central European University with the dissertation "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century." This study involved an interdisciplinary revisiting of the historical problem of the Mongol evacuation of Hungary in 1242 after a swift occupation. He has volunteered as a member of the team at CEU Medieval Radio

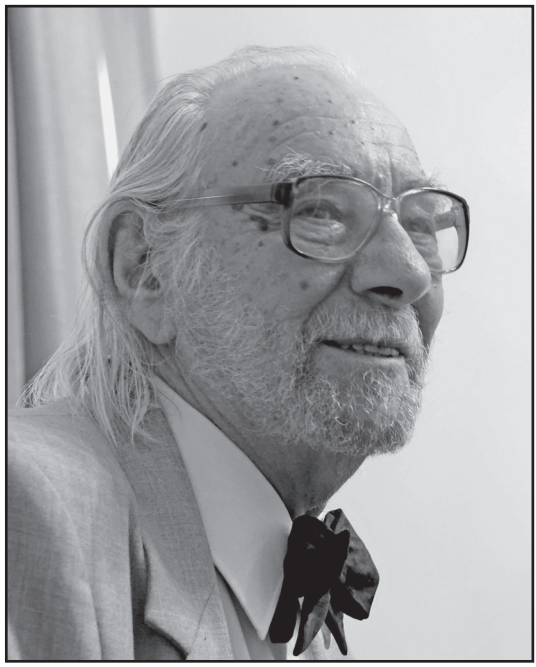
for over half a decade – activities which culminated in the publication of the present volume. His publications include research on environmental history, ethnogenesis, military history, and the literary-historical origins of Arthurian knights like Sir Lancelot. In addition, he has taken part in several co-authored translation projects.

Tamás Kiss is a historian of the early modern Ottoman Empire, software and web developer, as well as a digital humanist with a research focus on natural language processing models optimized to Ottoman Turkish. He founded CEU Medieval Radio in 2012, and completed his doctoral dissertation on the Cyprus War of 1570–71 and its Venetian and Ottoman political and cultural historical contexts at Central European University in 2016. He taught Digital Humanities (DH), early modern historical and literary courses at Queen Mary University of London (2004–2008) and Central European University (2011–18). Currently, he works as an IT project manager in charge of DH, language technological and repository projects. At the same time, he continues academic research as a member of Eötvös Loránd University's Centre for Digital Humanities (ELTE_DH).

The volume is available at Trivent Publishing: https://trivent-publishing.eu/home/116-past-perfect-five-years-of-interviews-with-ceu-medieval-radio.html

PART 4

János M. Bak



JÁNOS M. BAK
(1929–2020)

OBITUARY

János M. Bak, founding member and Professor Emeritus of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, passed away on 18 June, at the age of 91. Until the last moment of his life, he was an engaged scholar, an authoritative and caring professor, an indefatigable promoter of international cooperation for the advancement of learning and the broadening of the 'Republic of Letters'. Revisiting the title of the *Festschrift* for his seventieth birthday, *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways…*, let us recall a few things of János's rich and adventurous life as we mourn and remember him.

The adventures began towards the end of World War II, when János as a teenager had to survive the Holocaust with false papers and hiding in Arrow-Cross dominated Budapest. Subsequently, after a brief period of enthusiastic conversion to Marxism, he quickly got disillusioned with the unfolding Stalinist regime and became an active

participant in the 1956 revolution. At its defeat, he left Hungary and earned a medieval studies doctorate in Göttingen as a pupil of Percy Ernst Schramm. As a postgraduate, he spent two years in Oxford, then worked at the University of Marburg, and published a much-cited monograph on *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert*. In 1966, he moved to the US and subsequently to Canada where he became professor at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. As a member of the world-wide community of 1956 émigré intellectuals, he was active in supporting Hungarian colleagues with books, invitations, scholarships, and publication opportunities. At the same time, he became a major organizer in international medieval studies. After devoting several years to the history of 'East-Central Europe' and 'peasant studies', in the 1980s he called to life *Majestas,* a scholarly association for the study of rulership, which functioned for two decades. He organized a number of successful conferences and published a review under the same name.

When he retired as Professor Emeritus from Vancouver in 1993, it was not to rest, but to join a new and ever-more demanding academic adventure: building a Department of Medieval Studies at the recently founded CEU in Budapest. He brought home his world-wide network and made the largest contribution to turning our department into a thriving new center in this field. And this was not only thanks to his German and American experience but above all to his passionate engagement with our enthusiastic international graduate students. Our seminars became fascinating scholarly workshops combining hidden treasures of local knowledge with high standards of cutting-edge international scholarship. And, in all this, János was a lively and critical animator – at times funny and cheerful, at other times irascible or grumpy, scaring students to death with explosive criticism, but giving them due respect, fatherly protection and friendly encouragement. Generations of grateful students mourn his departure.

The warmly human impact on the formation of future scholars was paired by his tireless organizational drive. In the first years of our department he was like a high-speed engine, bringing every week a new suggestion to build and develop our program. It was his suggestion to publish an *Annual* – now in its twenty-sixth year; he also initiated the publication of a review dealing with East-Central Europe. Once we had the New York State MA accreditation, he urged us to move on immediately to the PhD, making Medieval Studies the first accredited PhD program at CEU. While still managing *Majestas,* he initiated a large research project at CEU on the comparative history of medieval nobility in Central Europe. He invested much energy into recruiting junior collaborators (his former students) to work on important source-repertory handbooks. We organized together, involving our best students, a research project, several exhibitions and an international conference on

the contemporary 'uses and abuses' of the Middle Ages. He published the *Laws of Medieval Hungary* in annotated English translation in five volumes, and started a bilingual source edition series entitled Central European Medieval Texts – to date, nine volumes completed, and two in the pipeline at CEU Press. He retired from CEU as Professor Emeritus in 2007 – for this occasion he received at the Medieval Academy of America the prestigious CARA Award for Excellence in Teaching Medieval Studies. For his 80th birthday a selection of his studies was published in the prestigious *Variorum Reprints* series, under the title *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond.*

He remained very active as emeritus: surrounded by faithful students coming to visit him from Croatia, Poland, Russia, Ukraine, and, of course, Hungary, he advised them in their work, he involved them in his new editorial and lexicon projects. He played a key role in the foundation of the Medieval Central European Research Network (MECERN) in 2014. One of his last projects was a new OUP *Handbook on Medieval Central Europe*. He corrected the proofs of his 'Medievalism' chapter a few days before his death. Although he suffered several injuries in the past years and walked with a cane, until recently he made the effort to come to CEU and hear the MA or PhD defenses. He frequently attended the public lectures of his younger colleagues or visiting friends from the world-wide community of medievalists. A year ago, on his 90th birthday, a research fellowship was founded and named after him in recognition of his contribution to medieval studies. More than 80 individuals worldwide donated over $35,000 to the János M. Bak Research Fellowship on Medieval Central Europe. The last time he visited CEU, already very ill, was in March 2020, at the public lecture of the first Bak fellow who had the opportunity to work in Budapest for three months.

We were exceptionally fortunate to have him as a friend and a colleague for three decades. His departure is a great loss for us, for CEU, and for medievalist scholarship around the world.

To conclude this obituary let me quote the words of our rector, Michael Ignatieff: "I knew János for 40 years, as a scholar, friend, bon vivant, intellectual provocateur. He embodied the spirit of CEU at its best: morally serious, intellectually irreverent, and fiercely loyal to ideals. We will all miss him."

And another word by Patrick Geary: "May his memory be a blessing for us all."

Gábor Klaniczay

An inventory of János M. Bak's scholarly achievements and a full list of his publications will soon be available here: https://people.ceu.edu/janos_bak-m.

PART 5

Report on the Year

REPORT OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2018–19

Katalin Szende

Future chroniclers recounting the story of CEU and its Department of Medieval Studies in hindsight will probably brand 2018–19 as "the last year before the transition." It was a year that we could still spend in Budapest from one end to the other, uninterrupted as far as our teaching programs and academic activity were concerned. However, the winds of change that began blowing in the spring of 2017, incited by the political attacks on CEU, already hauled our sails and set us on the move. The year was therefore also full of suspense and preparation, planning and adjustment, worries and hopes.

Teaching Programs

We started our twenty-sixth academic year with prospects for fruitful and rewarding, but also challenging and demanding work together. With the dedicated program directorship of Zsuzsa Reed (Two-year MA), Daniel Ziemann (One-year MA) and Alice M. Choyke (PhD), we continued, as written in our Mission Statement many years ago, to provide "intellectually challenging comparative and multi-disciplinary postgraduate education on all aspects of the history and culture of the period between c. 300 and c. 1600." Our diverse and well-balanced student body indeed made sure that all aspects of the faculty's potential to cover Central and Western Europe as well as the Byzantine, Slavic, Jewish, and Ottoman worlds in teaching and supervision was fully utilized. Indeed, this year saw the most varied student group in the Department's history concerning the countries of origin around the Globe, coming from Argentina and Mexico to India and China, with a solid core from Hungary, Croatia, the Russian Federation and the US, countries of origin that have featured in our records from the beginning. The research topics, as one can see from the titles of the defended theses listed in this volume, ranged in geographical terms from the Baltic to Byzantium, the Ottoman Empire and Kerala in India; however, in this cohort there was also a pronounced interest in the core territories of medieval Europe: France, Lotharingia and Italy.

But let us not jump so far forward in time to the defenses but start our story, as it was, with the arrival of the new students on a hot Monday in late August. The group of eleven incoming one-year and ten two-year MA students was complemented by eleven continuing two-year students, plus six students just starting their studies on the doctoral level. The Cultural Heritage Studies two-year MA program, in its fifth year of existence under the direction of József Laszlovszky, welcomed eleven incoming and nine continuing students from Africa, Asia and Europe, from countries including Bhutan, Ghana, Hungary, India, Kirgizstan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Many of the PhD students joined the "fresher" MA group on our traditional fall field trip to the bishop's city of Veszprém and the Őrség region in South-Western Hungary. To accommodate the interests in a multiplicity of historical periods, the itinerary also included the ethnographic village of Pityerszer and the Baroque palace of Keszthely, as well as a timeless dip in Lake Balaton. By the end of the two-week pre-session everyone acquired the basic survival skills for life in Budapest and also in the more adventurous field of academic Latin.

This year offered a nice combination of courses from our traditional strengths and broad chronological coverage, such as "Early Christianity: From Messianic Sect to State Religion," "The Roman Empire and the Barbarians from Attila to Charlemagne," "The Cult of Saints in Medieval Central Europe," the "Commercial Goods and Trading Networks in Medieval Europe," "Judaism and Christianity," and "Medieval Philosophy and Theology," to name a just few; and many opportunities to study aspects of late Antique, Byzantine, and Ottoman history and culture. While our resident Ottomanist, Tijana Krstić, was on research leave working on her OTTOCONFESSION project, we had with us as recurrent visiting professor Günhan Börekçi with a course on "The Seventeenth-century Crisis". During the vacancy in Byzantine Studies, we could secure the contribution of Margarita Vulgaropoulou who taught a course on "Byzantine Art in the Medieval Balkans: Eastern and Western Perspectives" and Baukje van den Berg (researcher at the Austrian Academy of Sciences) was invited to teach a course on "Byzantine Secular Literature." The course on "Women and Christianity from the New Testament to the Early Modern Period," traditionally a domain of our colleague Marianne Sághy, who passed away in September 2018, was taught, in the sign of collegiality and commemoration, as a pro bono series of lectures by resident faculty (Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky, Gábor Klaniczay, István Perczel) and alumni (Ottó Gecser and Dávid Falvay), co-taught and coordinated by our alumna Ildikó Csepregi.

The knowledge of source languages and other research-related skills has always been among our priorities. The Source Language Teaching Group under the competent and forward-looking direction of our colleague György Geréby

offered instruction in Latin, Greek, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac and modern languages for all students of CEU. On student demand, this list was complemented with the teaching of Middle English by visiting professor Tamás Karáth from the Péter Pázmány Catholic University. Latin palaeography and codicology as well as advanced source reading courses in Latin, Greek, and Ottoman were also available. The increasing demand for digital approaches and skills in the Humanities was met this year in the framework of a university-wide seminar on "GIS and Spatial Data Visualization" taught by Victor Lagutov from the Department of Environmental Science and Policy and our colleague József Laszlovszky.

Following the practice of the previous year, the Faculty Research Seminar in the Fall term was connected to the "Introduction to Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies" course convened by Balázs Nagy and myself. This time it was centered on the theme of "Regions and Regionality" from various chronological and disciplinary angles. Besides members of our resident faculty such as Tijana Krstić, Béla Zsolt Szakács and Daniel Ziemann, we welcomed as guest lecturers Mihailo Popović (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Nora Berend (University of Cambridge) and our PhD student András Vadas.

The most extensive, and for many of us the most enjoyable, way of engaging with the practical aspects of medieval life and culture is the yearly spring field trip where one can have first-hand experiences and often learn more in a single day than in a whole semester. This year the choice fell on Austria, as a gentle way of introducing our students to the city and country of CEU's future campus. With the expert guidance of József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács and Dóra Mérai over six days, we followed the heritage of the Roman Empire in Carnuntum and Vindobona, the formation of the medieval Duchy of Austria, the unfolding of its rich monastic landscape (Lilienfeld, Melk, Neuberg) and its contact with the Western Hungarian region (Fraknó/Forschtenstein, Léka/Lockenhaus, Sopron and Szombathely). The trip took us to several ancient and modern World Heritage sites, such as the Fertő region, Carnuntum, the city center of Vienna, the Hundertwasser House and the Semmering Railway. We also met several of our colleagues from various Viennese institutions, including Christoph Sonnlechner in the Vienna City and Municipal Archives, and our alumni working in Vienna.

Further field trips within Budapest were offered at the "Medieval Heritage of Budapest" course. Besides this traditionally popular course, the Spring term was enriched by renowned visiting lecturers: Nicholas Purcell (University of Oxford) gave a course featuring his most recent book project on "Liquid Continents: Ecological Histories of the Mediterranean and its Neighbors"; Gottfried Hagen (University of Michigan) on "Ottoman Mentality: How the World Works, According to Evliya

Celebi and Others"; Christian Krötzl (University of Tampere) on "Saints, Pilgrims and Identities between Unity and Diversity – Hagiographic Regions in Medieval Europe"; and David Malkiel (Bar Ilan University) on "Readings in Maimonides" that was also relevant for the Department of Philosophy and the Jewish Studies program.

Following the Spring term courses, the thesis defenses were chaired in the usual strict but supportive manner by Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA), Claudia Rapp (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Patrick Geary (Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study), Nancy van Deusen (Claremont Graduate University), and Ottó Gecser, our alumnus and now Professor at the Department of Sociology at ELTE, Budapest. In addition to these visiting professors, our founding father, Professor Emeritus János M. Bak also joined the defenses as chair for a memorable afternoon. In the Cultural Heritage Studies Program (CHSP), nine students defended their final projects. In the doctoral program six students presented their research prospectuses, and five young scholars from earlier cohorts successfully defended their dissertations during the year: Anna Aklán (Hungary), Mariana Bodnaruk (Ukraine), János Incze (Romania), Andras Kraft (Germany) and Giacomo Mariani (Italy). Their abstracts are included in this volume, and the full text of their dissertations is available in the Electronic Thesis Database of CEU Library (https://library.ceu.edu/ceu-library/electronic-theses-and-dissertations-etds/).

We were very proud to learn that our alumna Dóra Mérai, who defended her dissertation on "Early Modern Funeral Monuments from the Transylvanian Principality" in 2018 and works currently as Research Fellow at the Cultural Heritage Studies Program, received one of the three CEU Best Dissertation Awards in 2019. Two of our MA students won special prizes at the 34th National Conference of Scientific Students' Associations (OTDK) held on April 24–26, 2019 in Budapest. Our faculty member Balázs Nagy, also professor at ELTE, was the main organizer of the conference. John Kee, second-year MA student, received the special prize awarded by the Hungarian Society for Ancient Studies, and Michal Machalski, our first-year MA student, got the special prize of the Hungarian National Museum. This was the first time that CEU (or more precisely, its Hungarian entity, KEE) participated in this traditional student contest.

On Faculty and Staff

This Academic Year brought along several changes in the departmental faculty and staff constituency. The first and most tragic one was losing our long-term friend and colleague, Marianne Sághy, who passed away after a long and heroic fight with cancer on 21 September 2018. We did not want to wait until the compilation of this report before commemorating her; a special section of the previous (2019) issue of the

Annual of Medieval Studies was dedicated to her memory, her teaching philosophy and publications. She worked literally until the last moment of her life, and thus several of her works appeared posthumously. The volume *Piroska and the Pantokrator: Dynastic Memory, Healing and Salvation in Komnenian Constantinople*, co-edited with Robert C. Ousterhout was published as part of the CEU Medievalia series and presented at a special session of the conference entitled *Dis/embodiment and Im/materiality: Uncovering the Body, Gender and Sexuality in Late Antiquity – In Memoriam Marianne Saghy (1961–2018)* on 6–8 June 2019. Organizing this event started as Marianne's collaboration with Gender Studies PhD student Stanimir Panayotov, but had to be completed without her, in her memory. The organizing committee included a number of Marianne's former students, Andra Jugănăru, Dunja Milenković, Mariana Bodnaruk and Anastasia Theologou, the keynote speakers were Grace Ledbetter (Swarthmore College, PA), Uma Chakravarti (Miranda House College for Women, University of Delhi) and Susanna Elm (University of California, Berkeley). We are committed to preserving Marianne's memory and intellectual legacy.

As mentioned in my previous report, in June 2018 our colleague, Floris Bernard, Assistant Professor of Byzantine Studies left us to take on a new position. During this year of vacancy, with the strong and efficient support of our student body led by Student Representative John Kee, we secured the approval of CEU's senior leadership to announce a position and hire a new colleague. The interest among young Byzantinists worldwide was remarkable: the Search Committee consisting of Professors Béatrice Caseau (Paris I Sorbonne), Stephanos Efthymiadis (Open University of Cyprus), Daniel Ziemann and István Perczel (CEU), chaired by Katalin Szende (ex officio) received 65 excellent applications, from which five scholars were invited for the final interviews and job talks. The student community was also involved in this final round of the selection process, which ended with offering the position to Baukje van den Berg, a scholar of Byzantine literary culture and philology. She obtained her PhD at the University of Amsterdam in 2016 and worked subsequently at the Institute for Medieval Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Her employment will further intensify our traditionally strong ties with the Viennese community of Byzantinists.

As Dóra Mérai became Research Fellow in the ongoing Horizon 2020 project "OpenHeritage: Organizing, Promoting and Enabling Heritage Re-use through Inclusion, Technology, Access, Governance, and Empowerment" of the CHSP (see my previous report), our alumna Ágnes Drosztmér took over as Program Coordinator. Her calm professionalism and sensitivity towards the needs of a very diverse student body is a great asset for the program. The Event Coordinator position that became vacant after Kyra Lyublyanovics's leave was filled with our advanced doctoral student

Anastasia Theologou. She brought much intellectual and emotional dedication to this post that is so important for the public relations of our Department. Besides the organization of public lectures, conferences and workshops previously mentioned and to be described below, she proved her skills very soon in the organization of two major anniversary events in celebration of two distinguished colleagues.

The first of the two events was the *Genius Loci – Laszlovszky60* celebration of Jóska's 60th birthday. The title refers to both an open-access, online Festschrift (http://files.archaeolingua.hu/Laszlovszky60/Final.pdf) by the Archaeolingua publishing house, and a live surprise event co-organized with ELTE on 16 November 2018 when selected authors of the Festschrift presented their contributions, with Jóska's comments after each session in his inimitable style. Finally, the website of the Festschrift was revealed, and the castle-shaped birthday cake inaugurated and consumed. The topics in the Festschrift cover archaeology, cultural heritage, and medieval history, from cholera bacteria in the Ganges River through medieval sturgeon fishing to the secret of eternal youth, as a tribute to Jóska's intellectual horizons. On the following day the celebration continued with a "Laszlovszky-themed" field trip – traditionally Jóska's own genre but this time organized by us as a gift, complete with booklet. The jubilant and the guests were guided by faculty and family members starting from houses owned by eighteenth-century members of the Laszlovszky family in the Buda Castle and their manor in the Buda hills, the former Laszlovszky Street in Pomáz, and the medieval glass workshop at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi excavated by Jóska. We finished the birthday trip with a wonderful meal at the Fülöp goat farm.

The second jubilee event celebrated the 90th birthday of the eminent scholar and historian, and the founder of our Department, Professor János M. Bak. To mark the occasion, we established and crowdfunded a fellowship for early- and mid-career researchers. More than 80 individuals worldwide donated over US$ 35,000 to the János M. Bak Research Fellowship on Medieval Central Europe, highlighting János's impact on former students and medieval studies colleagues alike. CEU's Development Office headed by Trisha Tanner was instrumental in the practical arrangements. The celebration took place in two stages. The surprise was revealed to János in the form of an *Album amicorum* that contained personal greetings by each donor. This booklet was handed over to the jubilant at a reception at the Czakó Kert restaurant in Buda in early May. János immediately embraced the idea and read out the greetings with pleasure, in the voice and style of the saluters. A few weeks later, in connection with the thesis defenses, an "official birthday" took place at CEU with greetings from the Rector and a laudation by Patrick Geary. On this occasion the volume *Times of Upheaval* (CEU Press,

2019) featuring an interview with János by Gábor Klaniczay and three further conversations with renowned Central European medievalists Jerzy Kłoczowski, František Šmahel and Herwig Wolfram was presented by Professor Marianna D. Birnbaum, who had the pleasure of knowing all of them personally. The full text of her presentation is included in the present volume of the Annual.

Research Projects and Academic Events

As befits a research-intensive university, faculty members and students affiliated to our Departments worked on several ongoing projects throughout the year. In the reports of the previous two years I have already presented the two major ERC projects running with the involvement of our colleagues: the OTTOCONFESSION (Confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire) with Tijana Krstić as Principal Investigator and the JewsEast (Jews and Christians in the East: Strategies of Interaction between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean), hosted by the University of Bochum, with István Perczel as the leader of the sub-project on South India. These projects were carried on and continued to influence the agenda of several PhD and MA students: Evren Sünnetcioğlu, Emese Muntán, Cankat Kaplan and Cevat Sucu in the first case, Radu Mustaţa, Jinsi JR and Emy Joy in the second. These students are supported by the project in presenting their results on major international fora. Emese was the winner of the RefoRC Paper Award 2019 for her paper "Uneasy Agents of Tridentine Reforms – Catholic Missionaries in Southern Ottoman Hungary and Their Local Competitors in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," presented at the Ninth Annual RefoRC Conference on Early Modern Christianity in May 2019.

Among the collaborative enterprises, the *Medieval Animal Data-Network* (*MAD*) coordinated by Alice Choyke and Gerhard Jaritz, in cooperation with Ingrid Matschinegg from the Institute of Realienkunde attached to the University of Salzburg, is perhaps the longest standing. Their regular sessions at the IMC at Kalamazoo and Leeds remain an inspiration for students and faculty alike. The *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns*, coordinated by Katalin Szende as PI and our alumna Magdolna Szilágyi as Research Fellow, has been hosted by the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – another institution targeted by the restrictive measures of current governmental policy. The atlas series is the most important Europe-wide output of the International Commission for the History of Towns. Its Hungarian publications featured, among other items, the *Historic Atlas of Kecskemét* edited by our alumna, Edit Sárosi.

Research on Central Europe has also remained a topical issue on the agenda of our Department. This led to a renewed cooperation with the *Centre for Medieval Studies* (CMS) in Prague. In the early 1990s, research on how the Middle Ages and

its current perception shape the identity of the region was coordinated by scholars attached to two CEU campuses across Budapest and Prague. Since 1998, the newly established CMS has become an essential hub of scholarship in the Czech capital, and – under the direction of Petr Sommer and a new generation of scholars, Pavel Soukup, Pavlína Cermanová, Václav Žůrek, and many others – an indispensable part of the international scene. It was their initiative to strengthen the ties and renew the initial close contact with CEU, in cooperation with our alumna, Lucie Doležalová, Professor at Charles University in Prague. The three-day workshop in Prague eminently served this purpose. Between 22 and 24 November 2018, seven faculty members and five doctoral students of our department (Olga Kalashnikova, Iliana Kandzha, Anna Kinde, Karen Stark, and Mária Vargha) joined more than a dozen Czech scholars and graduate students in presenting new and ongoing research projects. Textual and philological studies were discussed side by side with research on intellectual, religious, social, and environmental history, and several opportunities for further cooperation emerged. Among the collaborative projects presented at the workshop, one of the most important is the Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe, edited under the auspices of the *Medieval Central Europe Research Network* (MECERN), to which colleagues both from the Czech Republic and at CEU Budapest contribute. Besides the academic importance of the workshop, it was also a statement of solidarity in support of CEU, acknowledging its role in the intellectual formation of Central Europe in these challenging times.

MECERN itself did not have any major events this year, but it sponsored two sessions at the 94th Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in Philadelphia. Co-organized by MECERN board member Julia Verkholantsev with the title *The Global Turn in Medieval Studies*, the meeting included sessions on "Early Capitals? Seats of Power in a Comparative Perspective (8th–13th centuries)" and "New Capitals in a Newly Developing Region (14th–15th centuries)", chaired by Patrick Geary and Eva Schlotheuber, respectively. The organizers of the two sessions, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende invited as speakers Maaike van Berkel, Donald Ostrowski, Sébastien Rossignol, Zoë Opačić and David Mengel.

Finally, Central Europe is in the focus of a two-year research and student exchange project supported by the German Academic Research Board (DAAD), a bilateral cooperation between Heidelberg University and CEU on the theme of *Regions and Regional Exchanges in Medieval Central Europe*. The project involves around ten faculty members and close to twenty PhD students altogether from the two institutions and runs in 2019–2020. The first workshop, organized by Jörg Peltzer and Julia Burkhardt in Heidelberg on 24–25 April 2019 dealt with the relationship between the dynastic principle, the persistence of realms and the

formation of non-regnal regional power structures in the central and late Middle Ages. It was organized in an innovative format, starting with a tour of Heidelberg castle and the collegiate church of the Holy Spirit to discuss dynastic strategies in situ, followed by nine seven-minute (!) papers in three blocks, with very intense discussions on each. This served as an *entré* for five of our PhD students to stay and conduct research in Heidelberg's s rich libraries. We are looking forward to the continuation of the cooperation in the coming year.

No research at our Department would be conceivable without the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library, which has become a major resource for all medievalists in Hungary and Central Europe and a frequent target for research visits for alumni and many other scholars. This unique collection of standard source editions and handbooks, as well as the most recent academic publications of international and regional publishers celebrated its 25th anniversary on 3 December 2018. The curator of the library since its establishment, our colleague Balázs Nagy, invited for a celebration CEU's Head Librarian Diane Geraci, all the librarians of the Medieval Library past and present, and the donors or their representatives whose generosity is a continuing resource for maintaining the quality and coverage of the collection. Among the many collaborators, special thanks are due to our longest-serving librarian, Ágnes Havasi, for her commitment and conscientious care for this precious research facility.

Epilogue

In the Fall of 2018, at the beginning of the Academic Year on which I am reporting here, the future plans for CEU were still very much open and there was still hope that the Hungarian government would ratify the agreement prepared by its own officials with the State of New York on CEU's continuing operation in Budapest. During the year the hope faded. Much of the time between teaching and research was spent with university-wide planning for a bi-campus operation between Budapest and Vienna in the coming Academic Year, and an eventual transfer of much of our activities to Vienna thereafter.

From 1 August 2019, after the end of my second three-year term of headship, Gábor Klaniczay, one of the founding fathers of the Department took over at the helm. Almost a year later, as I am writing this report, after an unexpectedly tough period with commuting followed by quarantine, plans for a large-scale move have been finalized and new challenges arose. Gábor addresses some of these questions in a separate essay. Our move to Vienna will reach a new stage next year, but we both hope that this will not be a farewell to Budapest, and that we shall find or invent new ways of remaining part of the Hungarian academia while being a valuable member of the community of medievalists worldwide.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT

Gábor Klaniczay

When a year ago, in May 2019, I accepted to be nominated, for the third time, Head of the Department of Medieval Studies, I had mixed feelings.

I remembered my first headship, from 1993 to 1997, with our glamorous beginnings and dynamic growth. The first discussion of our project in Malibu, LA, with János Bak and Henrik Birnbaum, the first departmental planning meeting in Erdőtarcsa, with celebrities like Hans Belting, Pál Engel, Aleksander Gieysztor, Ernő Marosi, Ferdinand Seibt, and Dušan Třeštik, the development of our temporary campus in Hűvösvölgy, the first Field Trip to Spoleto with participation at the first congress of FIDEM (*Fédération Internationale des Études Médiévales*), the first international conference on ethnicity with the participation of Ernest Gellner, the first departmental graduation feast with the presence of George Soros, the central role of CEU Medieval Studies played at the first International Medieval Congress at Leeds in 1994, the accreditation sessions by the New York Board of Regents, for the MA directed by Elizabeth Brown, and for the PhD with a team consisting of Giles Constable, Dale Kinney and Paul Szarmach, the publication of our first Annual in 1995, the continuing academic board meeting with Jacques Le Goff, Robert Evans, Evelyne Patlagean, František Šmahel, the move to our new premises in the Faculty Tower in 9 Nádor Street in 1996. Our first series of MA defenses founded a tradition of fascinating scholarly events, a panorama of dozens of new prospective scholars defending their novelties, chaired by international celebrities, like Patrick Geary, who has been with us for these defenses ever since.

In those years we felt to be at the cutting edge of several cultural movements. We were proud to have managed to convince George Soros and the intellectuals involved in the foundation of CEU that such a new international university cannot be successful without investing, besides actuality-based fields such as transition economics, constitutional law or political science, into classical territories of university education. Our specific objective, the foundation of a medieval studies department was supported by the additional argument, that this unusual

multidisciplinary construct (uniting history, archaeology, art history, philosophy, patristics, paleography, etc.) would ally to the most innovative French and Anglo-Saxon initiatives in the field. We also benefited from a renewed world-wide attention to the "new Middle Ages" as characterized by Umberto Eco. We called for an investment into the restoration of Central European traditions of classical and religious cultures, oppressed or neglected during the socialist period. And we soon realized that our investment is needed also in a political sense: medieval traditions became a battleground at the end of the twentieth century: the rising new nationalist movements in post-communist East-Central Europe wanted to use them for their political claims, while repressing or even destroying those of their neighbors. Criticizing the "uses and abuses" of medieval heritage, and reaffirming the universal humanistic principles of medieval culture became our mission – one could say: medieval foundations of modern "open society."

A final dimension is to be added to this set of ideas motivating us in these first years of department-building. Creating a new international center of medieval studies in Budapest meant for us to build a cooperation of local expertise of scholars, universities and research institutes – local: meaning those in Hungary and in East-Central Europe – and centers of medieval studies in the broader world: in North America and in Western and Mediterranean Europe. As for our local contacts, the foundation of a common Medieval Library with the biggest Hungarian university, ELTE was an important asset, our cooperation with other Hungarian universities, such as Szeged, Pécs, Debrecen was another one, and we built close contacts with Prague, Bratislava, Warsaw, Cracow, Zagreb, Cluj, Moscow as well. Our offer to our students was to provide them with an easier access to global academic culture, such as ongoing studies in world-class universities, participation in international conferences and research projects, and constitute a new, internationalized academic elite in our field with a common educational experience. At the same time, we offered our colleagues from the East and from the West to provide an active, lively link with each other and with a new generation of interested future medievalist scholars.

We gradually realized an important additional specificity of our Budapest-based Medieval Studies. Geographically, our Central European location predestined us not only as a mediation zone between post-communist East-Central Europe and the West, but, in medieval/historical terms, between Latin and Orthodox (Byzantine and Slavic) Christianity, and also between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean. For this reason, we invested in developing expertise in Byzantine Studies and Slavia Orthodoxa, based on recommendations of Henrik Birnbaum, Ihor Ševčenko and Vladimir Vavřínek, and were able to hire in the future the slavist

Ralph Cleminson, and subsequently a series of Byzantinists. As for the North, we engaged in Scandinavian-Central European comparisons, and, needless to say, Italy has always been at the center of our interest and cooperations.

So much about the memories of my first headship, after which my senior colleague and co-founder of the department János Bak took over for a brief period, and a long reign of József Laszlovszky followed, with an impressive growth and institutional development. When I was asked to take over the direction of the department the second time, from 2005 to 2007, it was in the sign of my new investment in the life of the department, after having been on a partial leave between 1997 and 2002 while serving as rector of Collegium Budapest – Institute for Advanced Study, and spending a year in 2003/4 in Stanford, at the Center for Advanced Study for Behavioral Studies (CASBS). When I returned full time to CEU Medieval Studies, instead of the initial community of perpetual, inspired foundations and redefinitions, I found a consolidated, routine based, well-functioning institution, with an efficient administration in the hands of Csilla Dobos and Annabella Pál.

New plans were still in the making. After having acquired Hungarian accreditation for our PhD program in 2004, we had to design a two-year MA degree in History, jointly organized with the History dept. at CEU, and while developing this close cooperation we had to be attentive to preserve the autonomous structure of our department, providing not simply "medieval history," but rather a multi-disciplinary construct. Another issue to be handled was the process whereby we kept extending our academic territory towards the east – to the initiative of István Perczel a Center of Hellenic Studies got founded, we had a new Byzantinist colleague, and Perczel himself engaged in a lasting adventure to explore even further dimensions of eastern Christianity, the Syriac-speaking "Thomas-Christians" of Kerala, India. This initiative was one of the signs of our becoming "global" – another instance of this evolution was the foundation of CARMEN (Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network), a broad world-wide cooperation of medieval studies programs. The founding assembly was convened at CEU, Budapest, and CARMEN was of a great use for our department in the subsequent years.

After my brief, two-year-long second headship our rotating system brought György Geréby, Kati Szende, Daniel Ziemann, and once more Kati Szende to this position, and now it became my turn again, for the third time. Again, I have to confront this task in a much more evolved, differently articulated department, which has extended its chronological reach to teach an MA program of Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies. We have now a growing

and dynamic Cultural Heritage Studies Program directed by József Laszlovszky, we have a much stronger representation of Byzantine studies and also Ottoman studies than before, our department has been hosting two ERC projects, and we have also reinforced our Central European history focus with the foundation (six years ago) of MECERN (Medieval Central European Network), with its bi-annual large international conferences.

The specialty residing in the present situation is, however, obviously not at all related to all this, but to the present situation of CEU, which has been constrained by the Orbán government to move its American accredited degree programs to Vienna, and this move will happen right now, in the pandemic-ridden summer of 2020. We have been fighting, for two years, surrounded by a huge solidarity in Hungary and around the whole world, for convincing the ruling FIDESZ party that expelling our international university from Budapest, our home, is incompatible with the basic principles of democracy and academic freedom that every member of the EU should respect, and it is in many respects also contradicting Hungarian constitution – in vain. (The story of CEU's expulsion is described in a greater detail in another article in this same *Annual*.) At the end of 2018 it became clear that Viktor Orbán refuses to sign the agreement with the State of New York which could have secured the preservation of the legal status of CEU in Hungary.

Since then the process of the move started to unfold, with the painful and frequently grim-spirited scheduling of how to dismount here in Budapest what we have constructed in the past 28 years. While the task of constructing a new version of CEU – and within that our Medieval Studies Department – in Vienna is a challenging and fascinating task (and the Austrian colleagues offered us a very warm and helpful welcome), we have invested much energy in trying to maintain various important Budapest-based resources and scholarly contacts of our program – ELTE-CEU research library, the activities of our research projects and fellowships related to MECERN, cooperation with Hungarian medievalists at ELTE, at the Institute of Historical Research, at the Budapest libraries and archives. We have elaborated detailed plans and strove to convince CEU leadership that we could organize in the future regular study-trips for our students in order to allow them to use these resources and networks which have largely contributed to the international fame of our department.

The ambivalent feelings related to this third department-headship of mine, that I have mentioned at the beginning of my writing, are related to the present situation. I accepted to serve this department in order to use all my skills and influence in order to make this new, second foundation successful, yet, at the same time, save as much from what we have constructed in Budapest, as possible.

I am convinced that a certain amount of teaching activities within CEU should continue in the wonderful campus opened just a few years ago in Nádor Street. We should not allow that this island of intellectual liberty, this highly valued center of international learning fully disappears from Budapest. This will be my task in the next two years: we should make it Vienna, find our new position in that prestigious academic milieu, and try to gain strength and originality there from the fact that we have not cut our roots that remain in Budapest, and we take care to preserve and use our assets here.

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2019

A Portrait of Christ in the Christian Museum of Esztergom

Éva Bárdits (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács.
External Reader: Emese Sarkadi Nagy (Eszterházy Károly University, Eger)

This thesis centers around a small-scale devotional painting depicting Christ with a crown of thorns in the Christian Museum of Esztergom, aiming to better define the art historical position of this particular work, as it has not been extensively researched before. Iconographic analysis, stylistic analysis, and the evaluation of technical data are all applied to reach this aim.

The findings of a restoration that was carried out in 2018 (and which gave momentum to this project in the first place) are recorded and examined. The exact iconographic type of the image is defined as "Christ Crowned with Thorns" (or "Salvator Coronatus"). Questioning previous attributions and datings, the time and place of the painting's creation are investigated through stylistic and iconographic analogies, concluding that the painting is either of German or Netherlandish origin, and was most probably created between 1475 and 1525.

Concerning its possible meaning and function, the painting is investigated within the context of fifteenth-century devotional attitudes, interpreting it as an *Andachtsbild*. A multilayered meaning is revealed in the interplay of various iconographic types, which is understood within the framework of affective piety and thus connected with emotive and mnemonic aspects of private devotion. The embellishment of Christ's portrait with the signs and tools of corporeal suffering is established to be the core of this meaning.

Was There a Custom of Distributing the Booty in the Crusades of the Thirteenth Century?

Benjámin Borbás (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Alan Murray (University of Leeds)

This thesis summarizes completely new research on the custom of distributing spoils of war amongst participants during military undertakings in the Holy Land. The investigation concentrates on the Fifth (1217–1221) and the Seventh (1248–1254) Crusades of the thirteenth century. A written acknowledgment recording an agreement between John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, and the Teutonic Knights right after the capture of Damietta (1219) during the Fifth Crusade is the starting point. I focus on answering whether this acknowledgement recorded an unusual agreement between the king of Jerusalem and the order (with the booty being divided fifty-fifty between the two parties) or if it fits into the already established customs and statutes in use. The document is compared with contemporary sources reporting undertakings in which the knights were concerned. I argue that the military strength of a military order and the power relations between the parties participating in military campaigns can be studied through their sharing in spoils of war.

Palladas's Self-Representation: The Erudite Teacher and Civic-Minded Intellectual in Fourth-Century Alexandria

Sofia Bougioukli (Greece)

Thesis Supervisors: Volker Menze, Baukje van den Berg
External Reader: Gianfranco Agosti (Sapienza University of Rome)

The current thesis explores a group of epigrams by the understudied poet and grammarian, Palladas of Alexandria (fourth century AD). My thesis provides, for the first time, an exploration of interconnected aspects of Palladas's self-representation and self-fashioning. Such an investigation into Palladas's construction of these two aspects of the self allows us to address various dimensions of the intellectual and social milieu in the late antique East. I argue how Palladas builds his image of the ideal intellectual as Hellenic erudite teacher and civic-minded intellectual.

To demonstrate the way the late antique intellectual constructs his own image, I study his explicit self-referential comments, his programmatic statements, and his criticism of other intellectuals by means of invective and satire. I combine

a philological and intra-cultural approach: by means of intertextual and discursive analysis, I examine Palladas's relation to other texts but also to contemporary cultural representations.

Crafting the Ideal Christian General in Leo VI the Wise's *Taktika*

Andy Chen (United States)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Anthony Kaldellis (Ohio State University)
External Reader: Stephanos Efthymiadis (Open University of Cyprus)

Early Byzantine military manuals have been drawing more attention in the last decade with the steady publication of critical editions and translations. One of the manuals currently experiencing renewed interest is the *Taktika* of Emperor Leo VI the Wise, a late ninth-/early tenth-century military handbook that has had a significant impact on the genre of Byzantine military literature. Recent treatments of the text – particularly John Haldon's 2014 commentary and Meredith Riedel's 2018 book on the religious aspects of the military in the *Taktika* – find instead that the *Taktika* reflects Leo's wide-ranging articulations on the religious convictions of the Byzantine *oikoumene*.

Despite the increasing attention to the underlying message and place of the *Taktika* in Leo's ideology for the Byzantine Empire, however, so far little work has been done on deconstructing the narrative layers of the text. The manual's professed aim is to educate generals, and its contents describe the ideal conduct and characteristics of the model general. If the general is the proxy by which Leo articulates a deeper theological argument about the identity of the Christian empire, as Riedel argues, or reacts to his sociopolitical anxieties, such as that of the balance of power between the emperor and elites in the Byzantine administration, then a close examination of the elements that constitute the *Taktika's* model general is a necessary first step to understand the didactic filter lying between the historian and any "deeper" readings of the manual. In light of this, I offer in this thesis an analysis of Leo's ideal general in the *Taktika*. I argue for a didactic dimension of the *Taktika* and contextualize the development of the archetype of the virtuous and pious general as it eventually appears in the *Taktika* in relation to the manual's literary tradition in order to demonstrate what Leo means to communicate to readers approaching the text as a handbook. By doing so, I demonstrate both the foundations and innovations of the ideal general of the *Taktika*.

Following a historical review of Leo's reign and literary production, in Chapter 1, I focus on literary influences and the lineage of the ideal general, with

discussion on the genre of military writing in antiquity and Byzantium and the particular tradition in which the *Taktika* is situated. In Chapter 2, I examine the text of the *Taktika* itself in order to demonstrate how Leo crafts the image of the ideal general in the handbook, as well as how he aims to craft ideal generals out of his audience. I examine particularly details about the structure of the manual, Leo's selective reception of older sources, and the coherence of didactic and political themes in the manual as a whole.

The Ottoman Hagiography of Abraham: Writing Abraham's Life-Story in Post-Timurid Anatolia

Ahmet Cem Durak (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Günhan Börekçi, Carsten Wilke
External Reader: Shari Lowin (Stonehill College)

Halilnâme stands as a unique literature work in the whole of Ottoman historiography with its choice of Prophet Abraham as its protagonist. The choice of the author, who was under the patronage of the grand vizier of Sultan Mehmed, illustrates the court's understanding of replacing themselves in a wider universal history in post-Timurid Anatolia. This thesis researches the reason behind its author's, Abdülvâsi's choice of an ancient prophet as the protagonist to present Sultan Mehmed and his grand vizier Bayezid Pasha as pious Islamic rulers. The methodology used is both from the disciplines of religious studies and history. As a religious text, *Halilnâme* presents an *ubi-sunt* pattern to its audience, and this religiosity is compared with its contemporary religious literature and historic-religious developments. The major findings of this thesis are (1) being the scholar of the court, Abdülvâsi differs from the other early Ottoman hagiography writers while praising the classic Islamic sedentary customs; (2) Prophet Abraham and other prophets named in *Halilnâme* are presented as archetypes of justice and piety. Their activities such as the construction and the delivery of justice were repeated by Sultan Mehmed I and Bayezid Pasha. Thus, Abdülvâsi legitimizes his patrons by the Islamic legends. Finally, (3) Abdülvâsi uses *isrā'īliyyāt* (Jewish literature that is found in the post-Qur'anic Islamic texts) to develop his Abraham legend. He draws on *isrā'īliyyāt* mostly found in classical *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (stories of the prophets) literature, but there is a verse from the Hebrew Bible translated into Turkish in the opus suggesting Abdülvâsi's direct access to the Jewish sources.

Christian Manuscripts of Kerala (India): Revisiting Popular Histories of Syrian Christians in the Early Modern Period

Emy Merin Joy (India)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: Martin Tamcke (University of Göttingen)

The Syrian Christian community of Kerala, India, which claims to be one of the oldest Christian communities in the world, traces its lineage back to the missionary activities of St. Thomas, the Apostle, in the first century. Most of the popular histories of the community are varied and manipulated, predominately because of the obliviousness of Western as well as Indian scholars to the intercommunal splits, and most of them are written based on secondary literature. The popular histories are also heavily biased and erroneously written due to the lack of consultation with local sources. The local sources written in Syriac and Malayalam, which has been written in diverse local alphabets, have been used very little. This study reinterprets the popular histories of the Syrian Christian community by revisiting them through the local sources, specifically using the recently discovered Leiden MSS 1213 and 1214. A textual and comparative analysis of the sources clarifies certain errors and misunderstandings in the popular histories of the community and shows how histories were manipulated to fulfil the personal motives of the "leaders" of the community in the early modern period. The detailed information about the events after the arrival of Syrian bishops reveals the complex relations among the Syrian bishops, the Syrian Christians, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, substantiating the manipulative and polemical nature of church history. This study also presents the problems of translation by examining how certain events in the original text are "re-represented" and "practically" omitted.

An Anti-Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) Polemicist in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul Ibrahim Al-Halabi (d. 1549) and his Interlocutors

Cankat Kaplan (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić
External Reader: Guy Burak (New York University)

This thesis is an attempt to rethink the term "heresy" in the context of the sixteenth-century Mamluk and Ottoman mindset. From a theoretical perspective, it tries to go beyond the supposed dichotomy between heresy and orthodoxy that informs

many studies of Islamic history. It argues that in sixteenth-century Damascus, Cairo, Aleppo, and Istanbul heresy was not a universal term but a context-bound one. In many studies, heresy is the synonym for heterodoxy and heretical ideas are generally understood as ideas that do not suit the Sharia and the Sunna. The problem with this dichotomy is that scholars approach it as timeless and universal. However, as I show in this thesis, the controversial Sufi shaykh Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) was accepted as a true saint in the Ottoman realm while his veracity was highly debated in the Mamluk lands. Furthermore, even in the Mamluk lands, being an Ibn Arabi supporter was seen as appropriate at certain points in time, but in a later period it could be grounds for execution.

In this thesis, I have attempted to situate two polemical, anti-Ibn Arabi works by Ibrahim al-Halabi (d. 1549), *Nimat al-Dharia fi Nusrat al-Sharia* and *Tasfih al-Ghabi fi Tanzih Ibn Arabi*, in the changing social, political, and religious contexts of the early modern Islamic Eastern Mediterranean. Examining the debate about Ibn Arabi in the sixteenth-century Ottoman state, I have argued that Ibrahim al-Halabi had a great influence on the new, more critical stance of the Ottoman ulema vis-à-vis Ibn Arabi, starting after the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk lands.

The sixteenth century was an age of change for the Ottomans. The period also witnessed important developments in the evolution of Ottoman Sunnism. Recent scholarship has interpreted this change as a result of the conflict between the Ottomans and their rival in the east, the Safavids, and the Ottomans' pursuit of legitimacy in this context. However, the role of the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate has not attracted the attention it deserves. This thesis concentrates on this overlooked aspect of early modern Islamic history and explores the Mamluk scholars' perception of the Ottomans as newcomers to the Sunni tradition. According to them, the Ottomans were not "Sunni enough" and they were exceeding the limits of the Sharia and the Sunna. At least, according to al-Halabi, the doctrine of the Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujud*) of Ibn Arabi, which was widely accepted in Ottoman lands by the sultans and the chief jurisprudents, was definitely out of the limit.

Narrating the Byzantine Border: Wilderness Landscape in Kekaumenos and *Digenes Akrites*

John Kee (United States)

Thesis Supervisors: Volker Menze, Baukje van den Berg
External Reader: Guy Burak (New York University)

Using conceptual tools from cultural geography and narratology, this thesis argues that Byzantine literature contains much more complex and substantive engagement with the spaces of the empire's periphery than has been recognized. It focuses on two texts that have always been acknowledged to display considerable interest in provincial life: the *Advice and Anecdotes* of Kekaumenos and the Grottaferrata version of *Digenes Akrites*. By adapting the rich cultural-geographic concept of "landscape" to the study of premodern narrative, however, this thesis demonstrates that their interest in the space of the borderlands is still deeper and richer than has been understood.

The argument proceeds in three stages. The first addresses the most "stereotyped" environment of all, the idyllic locale of the classical *locus amoenus*. It shows how *Digenes* plays on this space's associations with practical advice about the correct site for a military camp – relayed also by Kekaumenos – to integrate this motif into the wilderness of the frontier. The second explores how that wilderness is presented by Kekaumenos. It suggests that he combines narrative techniques from historiography with advice inherited from earlier military treatises to teach the unique perspective of an experienced general, the way such a commander "reads" the land. The final chapter treats *Digenes*'s wilderness in detail. It demonstrates how landscape there works in multiple ways – often in ones directly antithetical to Kekaumenos's – in order to define its protagonist as a heroic lone warrior, not a general.

In all these cases, this thesis suggests that landscape implicates more than simply terrain. It serves also as a means by which these texts present larger, otherwise purely notional spaces, such as the imagined worlds of literary traditions or the imperial-political geography of the border. The thesis concludes by suggesting how this insight might be extended to the study of Byzantine literature more generally.

Invincible Bishops: Representations of Episcopal Military Actions in Medieval Lotharingia

Gustavo Montagna von Zeschau (Argentina)

Thesis Supervisors: Daniel Ziemann, Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar
External Reader: Steven Vanderputten (Ghent University)

This thesis analyzes the narrative representation of the Lotharingian bishops' military actions in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The study examines both the narrative recreation of battles – and the role of bishops in them – and the relationship between these military episodes and the process of identity-building in the bishoprics of Liège and Utrecht and the archbishopric of Trier. The bishops' invincibility, as is demonstrated in the present study, should be understood as a narrative feature.

The analysis is based on a survey of historiographical narratives and *gesta* in which battle episodes are examined together with their narrative association to episcopal identities. The methodology of analysis entails a narratological analysis of specific passages in relation to their strategy of shaping the spatiality of combat within the text. Regarding the link between war scenes and identity, the study examines diverse strategies of identification in the texts and the "grammar of identity" that supports them.

These two approaches combined show that the narrative trope of episcopal invincibility was built on a pattern that was shared by diverse Lotharingian written sources in the analyzed period. This pattern consists of separating the combat scenes into spaces of positive singularity and negative plurality. From a narratological point of view, the bishops of these texts are presented as avoiding military defeat by improving the positive singularity among their own troops. Furthermore, this narrative "invincibility" of Lotharingian bishops helped the chroniclers project onto the past an episcopal identity that was protected by the figure of these unbeatable prelates.

Readers of Chaucer: The Case Study of Marginalia in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24

Ágota Pintér (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Zsuzsanna Reed
External Reader: Andrea Velich (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The aim of this thesis, as a case study of Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 (Dd), is to provide new data about the reception history of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. To map the reception of a literary work, there are three sources that a researcher can turn to: forms of imitation, re-invention, and commentaries. This thesis focuses on the marginal commentaries found in Dd, which is the most densely commented from the early manuscripts, thus being outstandingly informative regarding the historical reception. The commentaries in Dd have not been completely catalogued and extensively discussed so far. In order to interpret the notes from the margins, I collected, categorized, and analyzed the marginalia. On the basis of this information, I defined the provenance of Dd more precisely than it had been known before, and with the help of palaeography, I distinguished and dated the annotators of the main body. The provenance defined the social layers of the owners and readers (aristocrats, college masters, and members of the church) and provided details of the owners' erudition and about the *terminus ante quem* of the marginalia in Dd. The thematic analysis of these annotations revealed the individual use of the manuscript. Based on the sources, I determined the connection between the annotators and the main body of the text, the *Canterbury Tales*. After comparing these results to the seventeenth-century reception history of Chaucer, the seventeenth-century commenters show anomalies. Although Chaucer was generally not appreciated in the seventeenth century, this thesis reveals that among the annotators of Dd there were four hands from the seventeenth century who were deeply engaged with the content of the *Canterbury Tales* continuing the seventeenth-century interpretation.

The Vocabulary of Empire: Gerald of Wales and the Angevin Empire

María Paula Rey (Argentina)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Martin Aurell (Université de Poitiers)

Since the late nineteenth century, historiography has applied the expression "Angevin Empire" to Henry II's assemblage of lands, later inherited by his sons, Richard and John. Since the 1960s, however, the expression has been largely debated. Many historians consider the use of the concept of *empire* to be anachronistic or not consistent with the documentation. Recent works on the "Angevin Empire" show how the emphasis today is on the semantics of the concept of "empire" and on the need to reassess the language of the sources with a more critical approach. My research aims to establish whether there is an association between the Angevin kings and imperial vocabulary or not, by focusing on Gerald of Wales's late work *De Principis Instructione*. By analyzing the imperial vocabulary he uses as well as the alternative terminology he applies when referring to the territories or power of the Angevin rulers, I intend to see if the vocabulary is in fact channeling an imperial idea about them.

The Corrupting Sea Loan
Justinian's Failed Regulation of *Pecunia Traiecticia*

David Rockwell (United States, United Kingdom)

Thesis Supervisor: Volker Menze
External Reader: Peter Sarris (Cambridge University)

In September 540 CE, Justinian adopted new legislation that enshrined in law certain "long-standing customs" in relation to maritime loans (*pecunia traiecticia*). Less than eight months later, he repealed it. This study attempts to reconstruct the circumstances of this confused episode of imperial lawmaking. It considers and in large part rejects older attempts at explanation that depended on outdated assumptions and underdeveloped arguments. This study presents a range of conjectures to explain the historical circumstances surrounding the passage and repeal of *Novel* 106, conjectures that give more weight to the role played by two notoriously corrupt officials in promulgating the new law. On this reconstruction, earlier legislation by Justinian regulating interest rates had substantially reduced the interest rates that could be earned on maritime loans, which became much

less profitable. Lenders sought legislation to return to the *status quo ante*. Their efforts were successful, perhaps as a result of illicit intervention by one or both of the *quaestor sacri palatii,* Tribonian, or the *praefectus praetorio Orientis* John the Cappadocian. The new law led to an increase in the real interest cost of maritime loans. A reaction ensued from the shippers (ναύκληροι) or merchants (ἔμποροι) that relied upon maritime loans to finance their activities. These groups may in turn have applied for redress to the imperial bureaucracy, perhaps to the very same two officials. *Novel* 106 and its repeal through *Novel* 110 may therefore represent an instance of the charge made against Tribonian in Procopius' *Wars* 1.24.16, namely, that he sold the repeal of some laws and the passage of others, as the needs of his (presumably paying) clients might from time to time require.

The Dissolution of the Templar Order and the Expulsion of the Jews from Toulouse under the Reign of Philip the Fair

Anna Krisztina Romsics (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Carsten Wilke, Katalin Szende
External Reader: Veronika Novák (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The following thesis is a contribution to ongoing research regarding the possible reasons and motivations behind the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306 and the dissolution of the Templar Order in the following year. Both events were initiated by the King of France, Philip IV. Applying a complex approach, this study is concentrated on the town of Toulouse and analyzes the surviving charters of the Jewish house auctions and the inventory of the Templar possessions from 1313. The chapters cover the most important features and issues of the reign of Philip the Fair, the phenomenon of medieval moneylending, and the history of the Jewish people and the Knights Templar in France. The analysis of the research material is contextualized within the framework established by other studies conducted on the topic and arrives at the conclusion that there were complex driving forces behind the dissolutions. Philip IV needed to establish new sources of financial revenue and he also aimed to strengthen French royal power. By underpinning the influence of the Capetian dynasty and eliminating threats to his power, Philip hoped to centralize his power and make France the most influential and glorious kingdom of the period.

"O Wondrous and Strange Mystery." A Codicological Investigation and Textual Analysis of Saint George's Vision (BHG 691u-v)

Lev Shadrin (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby
External Reader: Stephanos Efthymiadis (Open University of Cyprus)

The vision of St. George is a revelatory apocryphal miracle, which is preserved in seven Greek manuscripts dated to the period between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The canonical Byzantine hagiographic corpus dedicated to St. George praises him as a martyr, athlete of faith, and a holy warrior saint. However, these defining concepts are not present in the text in question, as it focuses on a revelatory and apocalyptic narrative, which is not typically associated with the saint. Moreover, the text was published a century ago and has been largely ignored in the scholarship. Therefore, the present thesis aims to collate the existing information on the miracle of the vision, produce a paleographic and codicological survey of the manuscript sources containing the text, outline the core narrative elements constituting the textual framework and facilitating the dynamics of the miracle, and, lastly, highlight the potential hypertextual references in order to elaborate on the literary origins of the miracle.

A Military Analysis of Key River Fortifications Given to the Teutonic Order in the Banat of Severin

Jason Snider (United States)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: László Veszprémy (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest–Piliscsaba)

Castles are pieces of material culture that reflect meanings for their builders in terms of function and take on further meanings and functions for their users throughout the lengths of their individual biographies. The Danuban castles of the Iron Gates region of Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți Counties in modern-day Romania were built at separate times for separate defensive purposes. However, in the course of the 1420s and into the 1430s, these fortifications took on a more cohesive meaning for their inhabitants (which became the Teutonic Order from 1429 to about 1435), and for their overall sovereign, King Sigismund of

Hungary (r. 1387–1437). During these two decades, these castles took on the function of a castle chain meant to be used as a combined protective wall on the Kingdom of Hungary's Danube frontier against encroaching Ottoman forces. This work proposes to examine the quality of this chain by focusing on the military characteristics of selected individual links. Given the success of the Ottoman invasion of 1432, it becomes necessary to see if there was a "weakest link."

Everyday Life and Literacy: Female Observant Monasteries in Late Medieval Italy and Hungary

Ditta Szemere (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Daniele Solvi (Università della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli)

The thesis concentrates on the role of nuns in religious cultural life after the Observant reform of the mendicant orders in Central Italy (Umbria) and Hungary. The first two observant Poor Clare convents of Umbria, in Perugia and Foligno, were the most active centers of high-profile literary activities in the fifteenth century. Similarly, in Hungary there were two important female monasteries – in Óbuda and in the Margaret Island – where Franciscan and Dominican nuns copied in the scriptorium. These communities' life and work are well-documented, and many scholars have studied these convents respectively, but the present research aims to provide a complex view of the everyday life and work of the nuns after the Observant reform in the two very different historical contexts of fifteenth-century Italy and Hungary. The objective of the research is to provide a better insight into the social and historical background of religious literacy, female religious life and its organizational structures in the pre-modern era, and to offer a comparative perspective on Italy and Hungary.

The Discourse of Kingship in John Gower's and Thomas Hoccleve's Mirrors of Princes

Roman Tymoshevskyi (Ukraine)

Thesis Supervisor: Zsuzsanna Reed
External Readers: David Matthews (University of Manchester),
Ethan Knapp (Ohio State University)

This thesis examines the discourse of kingship of John Gower's (c. 1327–1408) and Thomas Hoccleve's (c. 1367–1426) mirrors of princes, that is, Book 6 of Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and Book 7 of his *Confessio Amantis*, as well as Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*. It analyzes the main concepts and ideas about kingship employed in Gower's and Hoccleve's mirrors in light of the tradition of *specula principis* writing. The thesis analysis is built upon four main questions: What are the components of Gower's and Hoccleve' discourse of kingship? What were the sources of the discourse? To what extent do the authors' backgrounds reflect on their writing? How can Gower's and Hoccleve's mirrors and their kingship discourse be related to the medieval tradition of the mirror of princes' genre? Following these questions, I claim that the authors' own social backgrounds largely influenced both the literary form and the content of Gower's and Hoccleve's mirrors, resulting in a creative way of fashioning the authors' poetic personas. In the case of the discourse, I argue that there are two main elements defining Gower's and Hoccleve's discourse of kingship: the theory of the king's double accountability to his people and God and the moral paradigm of the king's duties and limitations of his power. In turn, these elements linked Gower's and Hoccleve's mirrors to the two different strands of the genre tradition based either on the morality-oriented vision of kingship or on the more practical Aristotelian view on governance.

Pleasure or Necessity? Zagreb Baths in the Middle Ages

Ivona Vargek (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende
External Reader: Judit Majorossy (University of Vienna)

There were two baths operating in Zagreb during the High and the Late Middle Ages. They were owned by people coming from different social groups: bans, ecclesiastic structures (i.e., the Cistercian Order and the Prebendaries), citizens of Zagreb, and nobles. The visitors' social structure – from nobles to peasants

– was diverse as well. This work focuses on the social components of the baths. Services provided inside, from bathing and shaving to bloodletting, turned these institutions into social places of communal bathing. The challenging part of this research is the sources, which are of a legal nature – litigations, last wills, and statutes. Even though this makes the reconstruction of social history harder, it is possible to extract many social aspects from the available information. Comparison and, when necessary, analogy with the baths of Sopron and Pressburg helps me resolve some questions for which the data for the Zagreb baths is insufficient.

The *Heirmologion* BR. 23 of the Central State Archive of Tirana, Albania

Armand Zaçeliçi (Albania)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: Balázs Déri (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

This thesis focuses on the study of the *Heirmologion* Berat 23 (Br. 23), an atypical musical manuscript of the Middle Byzantine period preserved in the CSA of Albania. This manuscript, written by Mihail Slavopulos in 1292, exhibits a specific form of organization that distinguishes it from other *Heirmologia* of the same period. Moreover, the arrangement of the odes within the *Akolouthia* (service) seems to be a form of "deviance" from the traditional *Heirmologia*.

The purpose of this study is to delineate the position of Br. 23 among Middle Byzantine *Heirmologia* through both a systematic description and a comparison with two other *Heirmologia* of the same period, E. γ. II of Grottaferrata and Iviron 470 of Mount Athos. A detailed examination is made of a repertoire of liturgical chants in Mode I – text and neumatic notation – which is common for the three manuscripts.

Even though an interdisciplinary study, the central point of this thesis is the interpretation of Middle-Byzantine neumatic notation in terms of Eastern liturgy. This interpretation aims primarily at providing as well as establishing a theoretical conception that can serve as a guide for further research on Middle Byzantine *Heirmologia*.

PHD DEFENSES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2018–2019

"Our Lord the King Looks for Money in Every Corner" Sigismund of Luxembourg's Pledgings in Hungary

János Incze (*Romania*)

The examination committee at the public defense on 14 December 2018 consisted of László Kontler, Chair (CEU, Department of History), Stanislav Bárta (Masaryk University, Department of Auxiliary Historical Sciences and Archive Studies), Katalin Szende (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies) (supervisor) Balázs Nagy (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies) (supervisor); the external readers were Franz Irsigler (University of Trier) and István Draskóczy (ELTE, Budapest).

The dissertation is a comprehensive study of King Sigismund's (1387–1437) pledges in the Kingdom of Hungary in the contemporary international framework. Already his contemporaries noted about Sigismund of Luxembourg that he was often short of money. Many of his lenders considered him a bad debtor, his brother Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia and the Romans, accused him of being irresponsible regarding finance management, and there was even an anecdote mocking the king who was drowning in debt. To ease this financial pressure, Sigismund often turned to his favored method of raising loans secured by pledges of royal domains. In light of these antecedents, it came as no surprise that the majority of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century historians generally had a crushing opinion on King Sigismund's finances in Hungary. Since the 1930s, successful attempts were made to rehabilitate Sigismund's image in the historical discourse. As a result, even the opinion that Sigismund was ahead of his time in economic thinking emerged. These more recent views interpret the many loans of the king as a necessity for successful governance and not as an unnecessary tool for keeping up his luxurious lifestyle. Nonetheless, even after the radical change in the tone of discourse, our knowledge about the ruler's fund-raising method continues to be limited to the results of the research primarily conducted in the 1930s. The present dissertation aims to update and expand upon these limited conclusions.

The works written on the topic studied this issue on its own and never in a broader context; therefore, the aim of Chapter 1 is to show that the case of Sigismund of Luxembourg's Hungary was not an isolated instance but on the contrary, pledging was a known fund-raising method in almost all royal courts of Europe. The major difference was the extent to which the crowned heads relied on pledges. While in the West (of the continent) it did not become a common tool for complementing ordinary revenues, in Scandinavia and Central Europe it was so widespread thata historian suggested the introduction of a new era for the Holy Roman Empire, called the "era of pledging."

Pledging played a major role in Sigismund's reign in the Kingdom of Hungary right from the onset. It helped him to fulfill his claim to the throne of Hungary, which became questioned after the death of King Louis I in 1382. Sigismund managed to overcome the difficulties of rising to power in the country with the help of his cousins, the Moravian margraves, to whom he pledged the territories between the rivers Váh and Danube. Chapter 2 discusses the Moravian rule of this territory, it presents Sigismund's strategies to regain it, and finally it examines the legal status of the Váh-Danube interfluve during these years.

Do the many pledges indicate deplorable financial conditions for Sigismund? This is the question that Chapter 3 seeks to explore. Due to the lack of a substantial number of sources, researchers are often left in the dark concerning the precise revenues of medieval Hungarian rulers. Sigismund's case is different in the sense that there are enough sources preserved to make a rough estimation. During his long reign of fifty years his revenues fluctuated, so most probably he was able to gain more revenues in the second part of his reign. Then he possibly had more than 300,000 florins ordinary revenues annually, which sometimes could rise even to half a million florins with the extraordinary revenues. This amount was high enough to consider Sigismund a relatively rich ruler among the late medieval Hungarian kings, also on a European scale his revenues were not negligible.

So far, the research of the topic concentrated on estimating how much money Sigismund could possibly raise from the pledgings and how he could spend this amount. As a result, fundamental issues related to the topic have not been addressed, such as how the transactions of pledge worked. Chapter 4 offers an overview of the pledgings' sources and provides an in-depth analysis of the characteristics and the legal features of Sigismund's pledgings with the help of multiple examples. The chapter demonstrates that the ruler's transactions do not show a unified pattern. Apart from certain clauses, which were constant, the conditions of the transaction could vary based on the agreement reached between the ruler and the pledgor.

The questions that were at the center of scholarly attention up to this point are addressed in Chapter 5. Since many of the transactions' sources have not been preserved, the precise overall value of Sigismund's pledgings of his entire reign cannot be calculated. Nonetheless, on the basis of the existing source material this amount should have been certainly more than one million florins, which is twice as much as the sum that the scholarship suggested earlier. The distribution of the transactions was uneven, and a gradual and constant increase can be observed almost throughout Sigismund's reign. Both the pledgings' value and the number of concluded transactions indicate that Sigismund pledged the most in the last part of his reign, in the 1420s and 1430s. Thus, most probably, not only Sigismund's revenues were higher in this period but his expenses too. The reasons behind the increase in pledging were multiple. The Ottoman and Hussite wars, erecting forts at the southern borders, and the constructions at Bratislava castle all took their share, among others. Besides the money involved in the transactions and the number of concluded deals, the number of pledged castles could be another indicator of the scale of the royal pledgings under Sigismund's rule. Altogether ninety-three castles were put in pledge under his reign, which was more than half of the country's royal castles, out of which only 20% were recovered during his lifetime.

Besides the castles, a good number of market towns had been put in pledge by King Sigismund. It has been widely accepted in the scholarship that there was a non-alienation concept concerning the seven free royal towns, and it has been suggested that this idea emerged under Sigismund's reign. However, by looking closer at the sources, it becomes apparent that in several occasions even these settlements had been involved in transactions of pledge. Most commonly this happened in the form of pledging, a source of revenue or a tax of the urban settlement, but it could happen under extraordinary circumstances that the whole town was put in pledge as the case of Bratislava illustrates. In addition to castles and towns, Chapter 6 discusses the issue of the *comitatus* pledgings. The term was used generally in two senses. In Croatia the administrative units called *župe* were pledged, while in Hungary the offices of the *ispán* were given in pledge mostly together with the castles serving as the seat of the *ispanate*. Finally, Sigismund's most infamous financial transaction, the pledging of the Spis region, is also discussed here.

There was a wide spectrum of pledge holders representing various social groups from prelates and barons to burghers and knights, middling nobility and so on. Characteristically, in the first part of his reign King Louis' old aristocracy – which tried to keep Sigismund' power in the country limited – was the greatest beneficiary of the royal pledging practice. However, once Sigismund managed to defeat his internal opposition, there was much more possibility for other groups to conclude

such deals with the ruler. Among them were the members of the new political elite who had risen under Sigismund's rule from the middling nobles, and the numerous foreigners in royal service. Despite the great number of business partners only a handful stand out as the most important pledge holders. These were the two highly influential families of the Frankopans and Garais, the royal consort Queen Barbara, and the Polish King Władysław II who took in pledge the Spiš region.

The final chapter is dedicated to the question of spending the sums of the transactions. Up until now it was believed that Sigismund relied heavily on pledgings because he financed his wars in this way. Although war financing certainly played a major role in utilizing the resources provided by the pledges, only a much smaller amount of money can be claimed with great certainty to have contributed to war costs than was thought earlier. In addition to this, travel-related costs, recruiting adherents, remunerating their services, and costs of constructions were further areas of expenses that Sigismund covered by pledgings from time to time.

Pledging away royal domains to complement ordinary revenues was a known method in medieval Hungary even before Sigismund of Luxembourg's ascension to the throne. However, his rise to power has brought quantitative and qualitative changes into this matter, since the volume of pledging reached heights unknown before his reign and most probably even after his death. The consequences were severe and long-lasting. Because only a fraction of the pledges were recovered, the crown lost its position as the greatest landowner of the kingdom to the aristocracy, and as a result it deeply weakened royal authority. It was not King Sigismund who introduced the practice of royal pledging in the Kingdom of Hungary, but he so enormously contributed to the phenomenon that pledging became an almost indispensable element of royal finances after his death.

Production of Distinction: The Representation of Senatorial Elites in the Later Roman Empire, 306–395

Mariana Bondaruk (*Ukraine*)

The examination committee at the public defense on 12 June 2019 consisted of Balázs Trencsényi, Chair (Department of History, CEU), Gerhard Jaritz, supervisor (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), Silvia Orlandi, supervisor (Department of Classics, Sapienza University of Rome) and Daniel Ziemann (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), the external readers were Michele Bacci (University of Fribourg), Lucy Grig (University of Edinburgh), and John Matthews (Yale University).

The dissertation scrutinizes late antique senatorial self-representation as it can be reconstructed, first and foremost, from the epigraphic media from throughout the Roman Empire dating to the fourth century, between the accession of Emperor Constantine I and the death of Emperor Theodosius I. It questions two competing dominant models that aim to explain the aristocratic dominance and epigraphic culture of the senatorial elite in the later Roman Empire: that of the private "take-over" of the state institutions by the resident senators and that of the effective "domestication" of the senatorial aristocracy by the imperial court. It suggests a more complex interaction and a constant struggle between the aristocracy and the state, and points to the competition for status and honors among and within different aristocratic groups.

The principal objective of this dissertation is to examine the intertwined topics of the transformations in late antique epigraphy and art, with attention to the shifts of the late Roman socio-political world behind them. The underlying research questions pertain to the ideological representation (or self-representation) constructed within the aristocratic culture and the distinctions of variegated senatorial elites it produced in the fourth-century Roman Empire. The dissertation seeks to evade the traditional scholarly divide between western and eastern aristocracies and attempts not to revolve its discussions around binary oppositions such as pagan versus Christian. Generally, it finds its niche in the field of interdisciplinary cultural studies, crossing the boundaries of the academic disciplines of late antique studies, epigraphy, and art history.

My use of a number of concepts in an unfamiliar way requires clarification. The word "distinction" refers primarily to a social relationship, rather than to a mere decoration or honor awarded to someone or excellence that sets someone or something apart from others. The social relationship of distinction lies at the heart of an artwork or a monumental epigraphic text. It occurs even without the conscious intention of and search for distinction or explicit pursuit of difference, but I specifically focus on intentional strategies through which members of aristocratic groups seek to distinguish themselves from others. "Production," then, is not associated with the manufacturing of material artifacts and cultural goods but refers to the act of "bringing forth," creating value, that is, social status production. Therefore, "production of distinction" points to all kinds of objects and processes that obey an intentional creation of difference. Also, the concept of "strategy" denotes the product of an unconscious program adopted by members of a group as opposed to projects or calculations.

In the fourth century senatorial origin, residence in Rome, owning of property, and traditional aristocratic culture became relegated to second rank,

as they, taken alone, could no longer be identified with distinction, that is, these qualities were no longer sufficient to claim distinction. Instead, a greater value became increasingly attached to office-holding. The early fourth-century institutional recalibrations magnified the visibility of imperial officials as reflected in epigraphic texts and late Roman art. This primacy of office is manifested in its centrality in the epigraphic media, dominated by the imperial officeholders at the expense of other social groups such as provincial notables (*curiales*) and women. In the quest for distinction, different office-holding senatorial elites appear as social agents and driving forces behind art and epigraphic monuments. The distribution of inscriptions among the senatorial aristocracies, namely, civilian and military administrators, palatine officials, and provincial bureaucrats, the senators of Rome and of Constantinople, was experienced by western and eastern provinces alike, in Latin as well as in Greek epigraphy. Prevalence of office in the imperial government is reflected across epigraphic genres as recorded in the inscribed imperial laws, in the honors paid to individual officeholders, in the dedications of buildings, in the fulfillment of vows to the gods, in epitaphs, in the inscriptions on *instrumentum domesticum*, and even in graffiti.

The dissertation consists of three parts: the first part analyzes the senatorial aristocracy as a collective body, the second part discusses the three key groups of imperial officials according to the career type, while the third part examines the representation of the female members of the order. The first part focuses on institutional and group representation of the senatorial aristocracy. Following the introductory remarks, Chapter 1 sketches the major developments of senatorial institutions and aristocratic representation as unified groupings in state monumental art, buildings embodying their authority, and imperial ceremonies. It draws attention to the institutional revival and expansion in the fourth century, with the creation of the second senate in Constantinople and increasingly growing court membership and ceremonial. Instead, the religious colleges of Rome stuffed with senators saw a decline and a reduction in participation by the end of the century, while in its last decades the very first senatorial bishops emerged. The reformed order of imperial *comites* and the reintroduced title of *patricius* built new imperial hierarchies and came to be one of the means the emperors used to generate ruling elite. In the new imperial ideology senators were no longer seen as the emperor's peers, since the imperial person had become elevated to a divine sovereign, lord of the entire world, but as one of several groups of monarchical subjects, who received their power as emanated from the sacred ruler.

The second part reconstructs the representations of the three main senatorial groups, distinguished by the type of their service, mostly based on the comprehensive

reading of the epigraphic media. Chapters 2 through 4 assess how different kinds of inscriptions reflected the self-understanding of the expanded senatorial order, which no longer insisted on the importance of the dividing lines that had separated members of the resident aristocracy from all other imperial officials of the later Roman Empire. Of these chapters, Chapters 2 and 3 explore the ways of self-representation by the office-holders of two main branches of imperial government: civil and military.

Thus, Chapter 2 traces the senatorial offices in the civil imperial administration and reveals how the new self-image of the governing elite of the later Roman Empire was shaped. The top strata of the resident aristocracy of Rome for a remarkably long period of the first three centuries of the empire had seen restrictions on self-display imposed due to the presence of the emperors in the capital. Fourth-century Rome without emperors witnessed loosening former restrictions and saw the constraints previously enforced lifted, with competitive energies of resident aristocrats exploited on behalf of the state. Senators of Rome gradually began to adhere to a more inclusivist image of the political world in which they lived and started to see themselves as part of the unified imperial service elite. The imperial ideology, as exhibited by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, claimed that all official authority emanated directly from the sacred ruler whose proxy presence was ensured by civilian administrators in the cities and provinces of the empire.

Correspondingly, Chapter 3 focuses on the participants in the emperor's military glory. The dedications to and by the office-holders of the military branch of the imperial administration show that the representation of the military elite existed within a constantly recreated framework, confirmed both by military victories and contribution to the maintenance of the imperial state. Their participation in the imperial government was rewarded with grants of rank and high status. When the early fourth-century reform of the army excluded senators from the military, by the turn of the century middle-ranking army commanders had achieved the senatorial rank. Emperors were drawn overwhelmingly from military backgrounds and, by the end of the century, formed political marriage alliances with the high-ranking generals. Under the powerful pressure of the military aristocracy for payments in gold in order to increase its prerogatives and enlarge its powers, the empire saw an expansion of the monetary economy, with consolidated professionalized officer-corps dominating much of the political history of the late empire.

Thereafter, Chapter 4 examines the self-representation of members of the palatine aristocracy who capitalized on benefits of proximity to the imperial figure. The aulic elite saw rapid expansion with concomitant increase in rank and status already under Constantius. Their rapid upward political mobility found renewed

resonance in both the civilian and military side of the imperial administration, as bureaucracies were expanded and professionalized and a new value set on legal and related forms of expertise. The senate of Rome itself was transformed and enlarged, including administrative and bureaucratic officials on retirement from active service, just as the senate of Constantinople.

On the whole, it is argued that the introduction of a new explicitly monarchical political idiom entailed a new ideological presentation of the structure of the Roman state and the place of the imperial aristocracy in it. The equilibrium between remote emperor and locally influential imperial officials rested on a series of implicit rules. To explain aristocrats' success in gaining titles and favors from the emperor it is unnecessary to conjecture about their administrative skills or personal moral qualities. One is faced here rather with a structural feature of the later Roman Empire with the frequently random dispersal of imperial favors, with many of the decisions risen from or directed toward specific occasions or requests. Given that dependence on the emperor was one of the most important factors ensuring integration of the traditional aristocracy of Rome, imperial courtiers, and the aristocracy of service, the influence of imperial legislation was particularly effective. Moreover, although it seemed to unify elites by creating and awarding honorific titles across senatorial divides, it also preserved the hierarchy of status by producing new distinctions. However, while the consolidation of the imperial aristocracy meant, crucially, an adjustment with the state, it also permitted "the ability to maneuver and as far as possible dominate."

Lastly, the third part demonstrates the changes in senatorial self-understanding by focusing on the patterns of representation of senatorial women. Chapter 5 investigates the phraseology and iconography of the monuments dedicated to or by female aristocrats that deliberately highlight their senatorial rank and status. The dissertation closes with three appendices that survey the fourth-century senatorial honorific inscriptions not included in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, catalog the preserved fourth-century standing senatorial statues with regard to their garments and attributes, and provide photographs of the extant monuments.

All in all, the dissertation demonstrates that late antique aristocracies show major differences in the form of their integration into the imperial state and political mobility and that these distinctions are in some way more fundamental than the civilian/military divide that has previously been a focus in the discussion of the transformation of late antique aristocracy. The early fourth-century administrative reforms and the introduction of a new gold currency (*solidus*) laid a decisive foundation that supported the expansion of the late Roman governing class as a whole.

The outcomes of this doctoral research can be briefly summed up as follows: a contribution to the understanding of the late Roman governing class and its trans-regional, hierarchically structured institutions that encompassed much of the European continent and Mediterranean in a unified and centralized administrative framework, as well as the cultural and social impacts of supra-regional institutions of the imperial state on the identities of the senatorial elites of the late empire. It also opens an avenue to access the influence of the senatorial stratum on late Roman art.

The Apocalyptic Horizon in Byzantium: Philosophy, Prophecy, and Politics during the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries

András Kraft (*Germany*)

The examination committee at the public defense on 18 December 2018 consisted of György E. Szőnyi, Chair (History Department, CEU), István Perczel (supervisor, Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU) and Gábor Buzási (Department of Assyriology and Hebrew Studies, ELTE, Budapest), the external readers were Paul Magdalino, Emeritus (University of St Andrews) and Christophe Erismann (University of Vienna).

The dissertation scrutinizes the Byzantine apocalyptic horizon of expectations as it can be reconstructed from textual sources dating, first and foremost, to the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. The underlying research questions pertain to the theoretical legitimacy of this horizon, the literary and hermeneutical structure thereof, as well as its utility and impact on Byzantine history. The thesis consists of three parts: Part I establishes the validity of the horizon's existence, Part II analyzes the literary thought-world thereof, while Part III discusses instances when the apocalyptic horizon came to inform and shape the historical present.

Part I investigates the middle Byzantine reception history of the philosophical debate over an eternal world. Following some preliminary remarks, Chapter 1 sketches the major developments of the eternity debate in late antiquity and draws attention to its revival in the eleventh century, when Michael Psellos and Symeōn Sēth dedicated short discussions to it in their compendia. Psellos' treatment was limited to a very brief presentation of the Christian, Aristotelian, and Platonic views on the creation of the world. He endorses the Christian view without much argument. In contrast, Sēth succinctly refutes eternalism by drawing upon the infinity argument that he probably knew from the works of the sixth-century philosopher John Philoponos. The discussion was continued by John Italos, who

was condemned in 1082 for a series of heterodox views including the thesis that the visible world was eternal. However, a treatise of Italos has been transmitted in which he refutes the idea of an eternal cosmos and argues for its createdness in the beginning of time. Chapter 2 provides a new critical edition of the Greek text of Italos' treatise (*Quaestio* 71), provided with an English translation and followed by a commentary that develops Italos' main arguments and identifies his main sources. I argue that Italos sincerely defended an anti-eternalist standpoint by adopting Philoponian arguments. Moreover, Italos seems to react in *Quaestio* 71 to specific charges that had been attributed to him during his repeated synodal investigations in 1076/77 and 1082. His treatise against eternalism appears to be a comprehensive apology of his orthodoxy. Chapter 3 investigates the aftermath of Italos' synodal condemnation and establishes that the eternity debate ceased to be openly discussed for as long as the Komnēnian dynasty ruled; the debate was reopened only by Nikēphoros Blemmydēs in the middle of the thirteenth century. The abrupt discontinuation of the eternity debate after 1082 indicates that the *Synodikon* anathemas had legal ramifications that prohibited further debate. In conjunction with Chapter 8, I suggest that this prohibition was enforced by the imperial administration because of the politically precarious implication that eternalism negates the apocalyptic horizon.

Part II reconstructs the Byzantine apocalyptic horizon of expectations based on a holistic reading of medieval Greek apocalyptica. Chapters 4 through 7 assess how the literary techniques of end-time narratives shape the conception of apocalyptic time. Apocalyptic narratives are mostly concerned with the period that precedes the Last Judgment. As a result, apocalypticists enumerate future events in clear linear succession. The main events of the anticipated history of the future were thereby relatively well known. This patterned flow of future events is conditioned by fluctuating narrative speeds that evoke reader responses that range from disorientation and bewilderment to fascination and insubordination. The notion of apocalyptic time is further conditioned by the expectation of the shortening of days, a biblical motif that supposes time to undergo ultimate distortion, with its sequenced regularity being unraveled. More importantly, t*he chronological sequence of apocalyptic events is transcended by a typological superstructure.* Byzantine apocalypses organize the history of the future along typological patterns, which continue the historical interconnections between Old and New Testament characters and events. The typology of the future introduces non-linear interweavings that turn the two-dimensional arrow of time into a three-dimensional spiral. The reader/listener is transferred from his or her contemporary world to, for instance, the antediluvian age, or to the period of the Egyptian

captivity, or to the days of the Incarnation while, at the same time, picturing the events to come. He/she becomes a spiritual time traveler into the past and back into the future. Finally, it is argued that apocalypses portray greater interest in the contemporaneous environment than in the past; the historiographical epicenter of Byzantine apocalypses lies in the present. Their various revisions and translations testify to their repeated – if not altogether continuous – reuse and widespread popularity, which was not a function of the narrative being historically accurate but of the typological patterns being persistently pertinent in bestowing meaning to the ever-escalating present. As a result, medieval Greek apocalypses reflect a *longue durée* – social as well as political – horizon of expectations, which was rooted in a historical understanding that revolves around the typologically modeled present.

Part III demonstrates that the apocalyptic horizon served as a prototypical reference system with normative value. Chapter 8 focuses on Alexios I Komnēnos' appreciation of apocalyptic expectations. Historiographical testimonies of messianic aspirations assigned to Alexios and to his contemporary counterparts abroad form one type of evidence. The lack of anti-imperial prophecies forms another. The remarkable *hiatus* of apocalyptic narratives from Alexios' reign and for much (if not all) of the Komnēnian period suggests effective imperial censorship. The show trial instigated against Italos and the condemnation of eschatological heterodoxies as pronounced in the *Synodikon* anathemas further testify to an agenda that vindicates the imperial monopoly on the apocalyptic horizon. Chapter 9 argues that the public execution of the dethroned emperor Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos should be seen in an apocalyptic context. Mourtzouphlos' death at the hands of the Latin conquerors of Constantinople reflects a competition for the prerogative of interpretation as to how to explain the capture of the Queen of Cities in 1204. Although no prophecy has come down to us that predicts Mourtzouphlos' innovative execution, its apocalyptic significance can be fathomed from indirect sources. It is argued that the death sentence was intended to nullify a preexisting Greek prophetic tradition and to replace it with a pro-Latin oracular context. Subsequent Byzantine apocalypses advanced counter-narratives that, in turn, contested the Latin "fabrication." The final chapter continues to investigate medieval Greek prophetic writings from the thirteenth century. It reconstructs the Byzantine apocalyptic response to the fall of Constantinople in 1204. It is argued that apocalypticists advanced a typologically structured historiography that necessitated the recapture of Constantinople. Based on Old Testament precedents, in particular with regard to the *Book of Isaiah*, thirteenth-century apocalyptic thought defined an irredentist horizon of expectations. These case studies show that prophecies played a not insignificant role in the ideological struggle and

the decision-making process in the Eastern Roman Empire of the late Middle Byzantine period.

The thesis closes with an Appendix that surveys fifty Byzantine apocalyptic texts with regard to the manuscript tradition, modern editorial work, and dating attempts thereof. I suggest a relative chronology of the surveyed material through the order of presentation. Moreover, I establish that c. 70% of all manuscripts containing medieval Greek apocalyptic sources originate from the post-Byzantine period.

The outcomes of this doctoral research can be briefly summed up as follows: Part I: a contribution to the understanding of Christian Platonism through a survey of the eternalist debate during the Middle Byzantine period and through a new critical edition of Italos' *Quaestio* 71, which is supplemented with the first English translation and a comprehensive commentary. Part II: a literary analysis of Byzantine apocalypses that establishes the standardized narrative structure, draws attention to the employment of alternating narrative speeds, and reconstructs the pervasive use of exegetical typology. Part III: three case studies that show how the apocalyptic horizon shaped political strategies. Appendix: an extensive survey of Byzantine apocalyptic sources that identifies new textual witnesses of published Byzantine prophecies, a relative chronology of the surveyed material, and a statistical estimation of the manuscript distribution across centuries.

Wandering Lotuses: Parallel Philosophical Illustrations in Late Antique Greek and in Indian Philosophies

Anna Katalin Aklan (*Hungary*)

The examination committee at the public defense on 11 September 2018 consisted of István Bodnár, Chair (Department of Philosophy, CEU), István Perczel (supervisor, Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU), Ferenc Ruzsa (supervisor, Dept. of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Eötvös Loránd University), the external readers were Hugo David (École française d'Extrême Orient, Pondicherry Centre) and Péter Lautner (Dept. of Philosophy, Pázmány Péter Catholic University).

As the lotus wanders from one pond to another
without any means of conveyance…[1]
(BSBh 2.1.25)

[1] *Padminī cânapekṣya kiṁcit prasthāna-sādhanaṁ saro'ntarāt saro'ntaraṁ pratiṣṭhate*… BSBh 2.1.25. Translated by George Thibaut.

Śaṅkara compares the creative activity of Brahman to an assemblage of lotuses, which appear without any perceivable means of transfer in a pond where previously there were none, most probably from another pond where they had been seen before. The title of this dissertation is an allusion to the same or similar philosophical examples that are present in late antique Greek and in Indian philosophies separately, without any explicit means of transfer. Similarly to Śaṅkara's unrefuted opponents, in the dissertation I attempt to give a logical explanation of these parallels.

In my approach to comparative philosophy, this study examines the possibility of historical influence between philosophical texts. Other approaches, such as structural, conceptual, or phenomenological comparisons, are also present and certainly accepted in scholarship where the question of influence is consciously avoided. The present research, however, is explicitly dedicated to the question of influence from India to Greece, or vice versa, and as such, is intended to be a continuation of previous work done by other scholars regarding the texts examined here. The focus of the dissertation is philosophical illustrations. It was not obvious how to term these phenomena in philosophical works. They have been and can be labelled similes, but during the course of the study I came to realize, however, that these phenomena are more than simple stylistic embellishments of philosophical texts. They comprise inseparable structural elements of theoretical explanations and are applied to clarify and specify abstract theories. In some cases, these similes resemble proverbs, but at the same time they comprise a separate category from them, inasmuch as they are used especially in philosophical contexts, exclusively for illustrating philosophical tenets.

The central part of the dissertation contains two separate studies. The first study is a comparison of a treatise written by the Neoplatonist Porphyry (234–305 CE) and a longer passage from a fundamental text written by the most revered proponent of Advaita Vedanta, Śaṅkara (ca. 8th c. CE). The other study investigates philosophical illustrations present in the Pyrrhonist (Sceptic) Sextus Empiricus' writings (2nd century CE) and in various Indian philosophical texts.

Chapter 1 provides a general Introduction to the topic. The dissertation is placed within a special theoretical framework: maritime histories as understood by Nicholas Purcell and Peregrine Horden, hallmarked by their term "thalassology." They developed and extended the approach of Mediterraneism, advanced by Fernand Braudel. They offer a new paradigm, a novel approach to geographical borders, which have been regarded as rigid separating borders for the past centuries and are still regarded as so by many. According to their theory, all seas, oceans, and in fact all geographical boundaries are recognized as permeable frontiers, which

allowed for goods as well as ideas to be exchanged, thus providing the possibility for continuous communication even between distant areas, which have mostly been studied separately. Horden and Purcell suggest that the extension of physical and temporal boundaries of the areas under research can bring new results. Following their approach, in the dissertation I regard the Mediterranean and India as two entities within a wider unit of the *Oikoumenē*, the inhabited world as the ancient Greeks knew it, and which truly became a global economy after Alexander the Great's conquests after 326 BCE.

Besides describing the theoretical framework, the introductory chapter also provides an overview of the historical background. As the philosophical problems under study belong to late antiquity, mainly the second and third centuries on the Greek side, and pertain to the Greek-speaking Hellenistic Mediterranean and India, an introduction to the interaction between the two cultures is given, based on archaeological, literary, epigraphical, and other evidence. I also give an outline of the historical contacts regarding philosophy, that is, the possible points of contact between the two cultures, based on literary and archaeological sources. As is well-known, the beginning of the Common Era saw increased activity in trade between the Mediterranean and India, as witnessed, among others, by the anonymous navigational and mercantile handbook, *The Circumnavigation of the Red Sea.* The book describes port cities and items of trade along the Arabian Peninsula and India. Some of these ancient ports have been excavated and identified (although in some cases not conclusively), such as Berenike and Myos Hormos in Africa, and Poduke and Musiris in India. It seems that Indian traders, seamen, and probably some permanent settlers were present in Egypt and Ethiopia, and vice versa, at least a temporary Greek-speaking population was also present in South Indian ports.

As is also well-known, these were not the first encounters between Greeks and Indians. In the second century BCE following Alexander's campaign, Indo-Greek kingdoms were established on the northwestern frontiers of India, where complete Hellenistic cities flourished, keeping in contact with mainland Greece, or at least with the active Hellenistic kingdoms. The most obvious example is Ai Khanum, where even a papyrus containing philosophical texts and epigraphy of Delphic maxims was discovered.

The chapter on history also includes a section of an outline of the possible points of contact for philosophical influence as found in archaeological and literary evidence, starting from the Presocratics and concluding with the Hellenistic times. The main investigations of the dissertation are placed in this theoretical and historical background.

Chapter 2 contains a Literature Review on comparative studies between Greek and Indian philosophies (excluding works dealing with historical or other cultural relations, e.g., mythology or literature). Besides general works, the chapter introduces literature about the two main topics of the dissertation: Neoplatonism and Advaita Vedānta, and Scepticism and Indian philosophy. Additionally, a section on works of comparisons between various other schools is included. A concluding section addresses the question of comparative Greek and Indian philosophy as a separate field of study.

Chapters 3 and 4 comprise the center of the dissertation, presenting two case studies in comparative late antique and Indian philosophies. Chapter 3 focuses on two similar passages in Neoplatonism and Advaita Vedānta. The Greek text is a lost work by Porphyry summarized by a later representative of the school, Proclus (412–485 CE), in his voluminous commentary on Plato's *Timaeus.* The Indian text comes from one of the founding works of Advaita Vedānta, the eighth-century philosopher Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, a commentary on the founding text of the schools, the anonymous *Brahmasūtra*. The research is a direct continuation of the comparison of two passages discovered by Émile Bréhier in the 1950s and developed further by István Perczel. To my knowledge, no other scholar has dealt with this material, and this is the first instance when the two texts have been studied in their original languages. I examined the two texts carefully within their wider philosophical contexts, with a special attention to their strong attachment to the traditions they belong to, investigating not only their own philosophical schools and predecessors, but also their opponents.

The polemical texts refute the idea of the creation of the world, while maintaining its ontological dependency on the highest principle. After a detailed textual and contextual comparison, I have found that the connections that link the texts to and embed them in their respective traditions are very strong, to the extent that the similarities, which are obviously present, do not indicate direct connections between them. In addition, I have found that the parallels are limited to the philosophical illustrations and do not extend to deeper philosophical implications, that is, structural and conceptual connections that would be due to direct influence do not exist between the two texts. The parallels are confined to the philosophical illustrations, which, on the other hand, undoubtedly exist. These examples that are present in both texts were most probably due to intellectual exchange – even if not due to the influence of textual contact, most probably due to verbal communication. Both texts are deeply embedded in their own traditions and display several layers of previous philosophies. It is difficult to tell in what period the parallel expressions were transferred from one culture to the other.

It seems practical to postulate a "common pool" of philosophical expressions, a certain distinct philosophical language, which was available to philosophers of both cultures. Various authors used these illustrations as building blocks in the expression of their theories, transforming and altering them as it best fitted their purposes.

The second case study in Chapter 4 is concerned with the writings of the Sceptic philosopher Sextus Empiricus, whose works show a remarkable plenitude of similar elements that occur abundantly within various kinds of Indian philosophies. Following Aram M. Frenkian's investigation, my thesis re-examines the three elements identified by Frenkian as Indian influences in Sextus' *oeuvre*: the smoke-fire illustration, the snake-rope analogy, and the quadrilemma. The same elements, among others, were identified by Thomas McEvilley as evidence of Greek influence upon Madhyamaka Buddhism.

This chapter starts with some methodological observations, as the comparison of these philosophical illustrations presented serious methodological challenges. One of the greatest difficulties was the expanse of philosophical literature, and the great extent to which texts have been lost. In order to make the research feasible, I had to make a serious restriction to include only existing written evidence, which, on the one hand, excludes the possibility of a given example being present in earlier texts that have been lost, but, on the other hand, makes the material accessible to scholarly investigation. Besides, I have decided to respect existing chronologies and make it a priority to take chronology into consideration when searching for possible influences.

After inspecting the supposedly earliest occurrences in both Greek and Indian philosophy and literature, one has to acknowledge, at least until other evidence occurs, that these three elements are not indicators of borrowing – they probably form part of the shared metaphors and ways of expressions described above. There is one exception, however, in the case of the smoke-fire example used in the theory of signs, when not only the illustration but the whole theory is present in both traditions – but due to lack of other evidence and especially due to the lack of clearly determined chronologies it is difficult to assess the actual type and cause of intertextuality.

Chapter 5 provides an overall Conclusion to the topics examined in the dissertation. Since there is no solid method of proving that there was an exchange of the parallel philosophical illustrations under research, postulating a "common pool" of examples, a certain verbal communication of intellectuals or philosophers discussing and exchanging philosophical views has a heuristic value in accounting for the similarities and for the differences present regarding the examples discussed

in the dissertation. Also, this can provide an explanation for the simultaneous occurrences in the broader timeframes of the individual parallels, however serious the chronological difficulties that are present might be. Speaking about influences or diffusion, however, does not involve servile borrowing and copying. The philosophical illustrations involve mostly images, metaphors, similes, and other linguistic expressions that seem to be "travelling." Contrary to the lack of precise, palpable evidence on borrowing, interaction could have been probable given the plentiful evidence of connection between the two cultures especially after the time of Alexander. These results fit the theory outlined in the Introduction. These cultural areas, the Greek and the Indian, did not exist in isolation from each other. The seas and lands that separated them served just as much as bridges between the two far-away regions. The frequently mentioned but rarely demonstrated intellectual exchange accompanying the fervent trade relations in the first century CE, but which were present already much earlier and extended some centuries later, can be traced in the philosophical parallels examined in my dissertation. Although many details are and will remain in the darkness of historical distance, the available data does reinforce my original hypothesis that the broader area of the *Oikoumenē*, the known and inhabited world, especially after, but also probably before Alexander's campaign, did provide space for intellectual exchange. Furthermore, the research has yielded several minor results along the way, for example, the methodological propositions, the identification of Porphyry's and Śaṅkara's opponents, and the mapping of the various philosophical illustrations on the Indian side. I hope that these results stand in their own rights and are valuable additions to scholarship.

Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce's Sermons as a Source for the History of Religiosity and Culture of Late Fifteenth-Century Italy

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The examination committee at the public defense on 10 July 2019 consisted of Franco Bacchelli (University of Bologna), Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU), Ottó Gecser (Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest), Riccardo Parmeggiani (University of Bologna), Silvana Vecchio (University of Ferrara) and Gabriella Zarri (University of Florence), the external readers were Pietro Delcorno (University of Leeds) and Bert Roest (Radboud University Nijmegen).

The dissertation is dedicated to the life and works of the celebrated Italian popular preacher Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce (1425–1495) as well as to an investigation

of the relevance of his sermon collections as historical sources for the religious, cultural, and intellectual history of his times. It comprises two independent but deeply correlated sections, respectively dealing 1) with the reconstruction and study of the preacher's biography and of his works and 2) with the analysis of some contents that emerge from his published and manuscript writings. The first part, originally intended as introductory and subordinate to the second, has grown to have an importance of its own, since the already available reconstructions of Roberto's life are outdated and unsatisfying. The whole dissertation stands on the belief that sermon collections are invaluable tools to retrace late medieval debates on religious, cultural, and intellectual issues, since such preaching tools were constantly updated by their authors to respond to questions and needs that emerged from the urban society to which they were primarily addressed.

The original idea was thus that of exploiting these valuable and still understudied sources for the reconstruction of religious and intellectual debates. The choice of the author was dictated by the need to enucleate a precise set of sources inside the huge amount of preaching material available from fifteenth-century Italy. In this way, I chose to focus on Roberto da Lecce, given the unique fame he enjoyed both from his live audiences and from the public of readers, among the very first, who he could address thanks to the revolutionary introduction of the printing press. His seven main sermon collections – five in Latin and two in the vernacular – were, especially the Lenten collections, the most printed sermon collections in Italy, second only, in the larger European book-market, to a few huge best-sellers (Johannes von Werden's *Dormi secure* sermons, Konrad Grütsch's *Quadragesimale*, and the sermons by Johannes Herlot "Discipulus"). Moreover, the huge success of his manuscript and printed sermons among his contemporaries has already been documented and studied a great deal.

The choice of the author at the center of the dissertation was also dictated by the fact that, on more than one occasion, he proved to particularly ensure that the contents of his sermons specifically respond to the urgent needs of the Italian society of his time. A quotation in particular, contained in a sermon he dedicated to his ideal preaching master Bernardino da Siena, helps in proving this. After having recalled how he had himself learned how to preach by repeating Bernardino's sermons in his youth, Roberto admitted he had then decided to write his own sermons, since the ones he had been using had become obsolete and not up to date with common religious public opinion, which – in Italy, in the second half of the fifteenth century – had grown to be more demanding and more attentive

to the preachers' arguments.[2] All this contributed to making Roberto's works a particularly valuable viewpoint on the society, the religiosity, and the intellectual and cultural life of fifteenth-century Italy.

The most complete and comprehensive monographic work on Roberto da Lecce still remains the doctoral dissertation prepared by Friar Serafino Bastanzio and printed in 1947. Numerous contributions had rendered this already – in many ways – modest work obsolete, but the result of these studies over the years, due especially to Oriana Visani's efforts, have never been collected together. Recently (2017) a new monographic study on Roberto da Lecce appeared in his hometown, without, however, bringing much novelty as to his biography. Thus, the first chapter of the dissertation's first part is entirely dedicated to the reconstruction of the life of Roberto, drawing from known and unknown sources and focusing in greater detail on the more controversial passages of his biography, such as the moment of his clamorous separation from the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order. The life is retraced through six chapters, different in length and timeframe, subdivided according to the quantity and quality of sources available to document each. This part of the dissertation is closed and completed by an overlook of testimonies of Roberto's controversial fame and fortune among contemporary authors and with the transcription of five unedited texts (four in Latin, one in vernacular) regarding either his preaching or his figure.

The second chapter of the dissertation's first part is centered on the analysis and study of Roberto's written works. After an opening subchapter that theoretically discusses the literary genre of sermon collections in general, distinguishing between *reportationes* and model sermon collections, in Latin and in the vernacular, a second subchapter is dedicated to the editorial history of Roberto's works. I have attempted a reconstruction of the editorial history of his seven major printed collections and of the other minor ones, which enjoyed incredible success in Italy and in Europe. Indeed, Roberto was among the first and most fortunate authors of model sermon collections to be printed in the last decades of the fifteenth century and one of the very first to prepare vernacular sermon collections printed for the devout reading of the laity. This subchapter is closely related to the first of the two appendices

[2] Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones quadragesimales de peccatis* (Venice: Andream de Toresanis de Asula, 1488), c. 157v: "Predicavi et illos [sermones Bernardini] quandoque, licet postmodum alios ego confecerim. Quod utique non ex presumptione, sed charitate ac necessitate temporum volui temptare: nam et propter studia humanitatis, quibus iam completa est omnis Italia, et propter virorum doctissimorum in qualibet facultate copiam, ac etiam propter subtilitatem populorum, qui quodammodo propter multarum praedicationum frequentiam effecti sunt curiosi, consulte visum est mihi agere, ut sermones illos contexerem."

that follow chapter two, which provides an improved catalogue of the editions of Roberto's works. Since the success of a text or of its author in the fifteenth century cannot exclusively be limited to print only – since it took several decades for the printing press to completely supplant manuscript transmission of texts – the third subchapter is dedicated to some hints of the manuscript diffusion of Roberto's sermons. This not being one of the primary goals of the dissertation, it was not possible to give a systematic census of all manuscripts containing sermons by this extremely famous preacher, especially considering the numbers and the vastness of the geographical dissemination. This subchapter is also closely connected to an appendix, the second to this chapter, which contains a tentative – since it was made without any pretension of completeness and relying primarily on extant descriptions and catalogues – list of extant manuscripts containing excerpts, single sermons, or even whole collections from Roberto's repertoire. This is a tentative list, which in any case already counts over one hundred manuscripts. One last subchapter is dedicated to the first study of the readers of Roberto's printed and manuscript sermon collections, as they can be identified from library catalogues, printers' selling catalogues, and manuscript evidence from extant copies. This has been a particularly fruitful investigation, which could lead to even more important results with a more systematic prosecution (again, the number of exemplars and testimonies prevented a complete study of all copies).

I have divided the second part of the dissertation into three chapters, each dealing with a specific group of issues and debates addressed by Roberto in his sermons, opened by a general introduction and followed by an epilogue. The introduction is a thorough and detailed discussion of the reasons I believe could have led scholars to explore sermons as a source for religious and cultural debates and an explanation of the traces of these debates we can find in sermon collections. Following this, the first chapter is dedicated to the relationship between friars and learning, a seminal, almost stereotypical, topic of Renaissance historiography. In the three sections of this chapter, I discuss Roberto's position in the debates (1) over pagan and profane literature, (2) over culture inside the Franciscan Order, and (3) over different ways to approach popular preaching.

The following chapter, number two, possibly the most elaborate one, concerns ideas on Hell and damnation. It is well known how the concern for damnation raised, over the centuries, a number of consoling or threatening ideas. Here I discuss some of the ideas that are documented as particularly diffused in Italy during the fifteenth century: (1) on the proportions between saved and damned souls, (2) on the injustice – and thus incompatibility with God's mercy – of an eternal punishment for a finite sin, (3) on the final salvation of all creatures,

(4) on the inexistence of Hell, and, finally, (5) on the possibility for infidels to reach salvation. This chapter is followed by a brief appendix dedicated to a peculiar opinion on repentance that I have met while reading Roberto's sermons, unfortunately reduced to a small section because of the scarceness of sources: the idea, contrasted by Roberto, that penance for a sin could not be reiterated, that is, that anyone who sinned again after a first absolution was irreversibly destined to damnation.

The third and last chapter is dedicated to more "popular" issues, namely, superstition, which includes a variety of suspicious beliefs and practices, the most worrying of which was surely constituted by magic and witchcraft, and the occurrence of false prophets and eschatological preachers. Scholars have already dedicated much attention to such issues, also as far as Roberto is concerned, but I believed it necessary to include a new discussion of it here because of some new sources that have emerged over the years and in order to have a full picture of them all. The first subchapter offers a detailed description of Roberto's three extant sermons on superstition – one of which in manuscript and previously scarcely known – while the second subchapter deals with the contextualization and analysis of some specific cases. The chapter on superstition, then, also includes a third subchapter on false sainthood, only treated in a few instances by Roberto, but which I have included here because of its importance in the time's intellectual debate and because of its connections with the general theme of the chapter.

Finally, an epilogue to the dissertation's second part collects all those hints and mentions of widespread ideas and debates – of very different natures – that I have collected from Roberto's sermons, but that I have not developed for various reasons. I believe this can be useful in the perspective of further research, for further comparisons with similar and different sources and further elaboration.

With this dissertation, I believe I have provided the scholarly world with an improved and updated study of Roberto's life and works and I have succeeded in shedding some light on a yet little known and underexploited typology of sources for the history of religiosity and culture of fifteenth-century Italy.