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Edited by
Judith A. Rasson and Katalin Szende



Central European University
Budapest
Department of Medieval Studies

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Mithras slaying the bull, tondo from Salona, CIMRM 1861
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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 21 of our *Annual* presents highlights of the Academic Year 2013–2014. As usual, we offer a selection of works by student authors as well as information on departmental activities in the last year in the Report by Daniel Ziemann, Head of Department. We also include abstracts of all the MA theses and PhD dissertations defended at the department during the last year.

The first section, arranged chronologically from oldest to youngest, has articles based on MA theses from the last school year. The dates span from the ninth to the sixteenth century and the geographical areas range from the Byzantine capital across Central and Eastern Europe to the Low Countries. The topics also vary widely, covering areas where political history, church history, and art history overlap.

We also include three thematic groups of papers by our students and invited guests. The first group is comprised of papers dealing with topics connected to the Late Antique period, with an introduction by Volker Menze, director of CEU's Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. The second group is the result of a student initiative coordinated by Mihail Mitrea to translate the ninth-century letters of Theodore the Stoudite to Eirene the Patrician from the Greek. The translation was accomplished at an International Doctoral Workshop organized in October 2012. The English and Greek texts are usefully given in parallel for easy comparison. Papers by invited guests Alexander Riehle, Foteini Spingou, and Alexey Stambolov, participants of the workshop, accompany the translation and add to understanding the literary and social context of the letters.


The third thematic group is papers based on MA theses that explore different approaches to the spatial component of history. The methodology ranges from hagiographic approaches to natural sacred places through medieval settlement archaeology, with wayside visits to how the Pauline Order shaped the space of their devotion and livelihoods in Croatia and a sophisticated Geographical Information Systems' approach to Pauline activities in the Pilis Royal Forest in Hungary. These papers combine traditional research into charters and other documents with varying levels of reference to maps and digital tools.

As usual, we offer our thanks to all the contributors, as well as to two of our PhD students: Mihail Mitrea for coordinating the block on "Spiritual Guidance in Ninth-Century Byzantium," and to Sandro Nikolaishvili for checking the proofs; and to the flexible and efficient staff of Archaeolingua Publishing House for turning the manuscripts into a handsome volume.

PART 1
Articles and Studies



DYNAMICS OF MONASTIC PATRONAGE IN CONSTANTINOPLE, 1081–1182 AND 1261–1328

Elif Demirtiken 

This article presents a comparison of the Komnenian and the early Palaiologan periods in Constantinople. The Komnenian dynasty was founded by Alexios I Komnenos in 1081 and remained in power until 1185; it is seen as a high point in Byzantine history, frequently referred as the Komnenian revival. This distinctive period was followed by less glamorous events, such as the Fourth Crusade, the fall of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople (1204–1261). From the Byzantine perspective, this meant an interregnum period of 57 years in their capital city. Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Palaiologan dynasty came to power with in 1259 when they re-conquered the capital; they revived the recently re-claimed city. It is intriguing to compare these two periods, both known as “revivals” or “renaissances,” in this case in terms of monastic (re-)foundations to see whether one can distinguish any patterns or preferences among individuals of distinctive social status to lay their foundations in particular areas in the city, and if so, the reasons behind such decisions.

In the prologue to the *typikon* of her monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, Eirene Doukaina Komnene¹ states that she provided the nuns settled in her monastic complex with “an absence of distraction from all sides in the matter of their holy way of life”² (τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ πανταχόθεν περὶ τῆν ἐρᾶν πολιτεῖαν). In order to achieve this goal of helping the nuns to live an angelic life, the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene clearly shows that the *augousta* herself was involved with various earthly concerns such as construction of the buildings, the endowment of the convent, and the regulation of pure life in the monastery.³

¹ *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) (hereafter *ODB*) s. v. “Irene Doukaina” empress 1081–1118.

² Robert Jordan, tr., “*Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople*,” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ “Typika” and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington, DC; Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 666 (hereafter *BMFD*).

³ This article is based on: Elif Demirtiken, “Mapping the Meaning: Monastic Topography of Constantinople, 1081–1204 and 1261–1341,” MA thesis (Central European University, 2014).

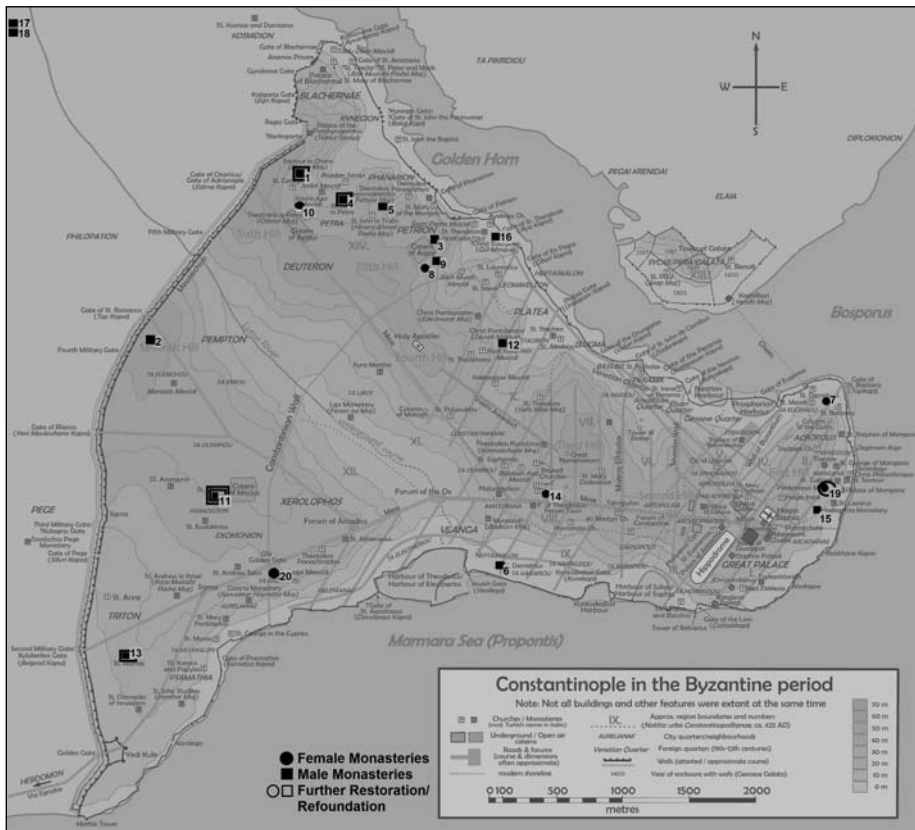


Fig. 1. Monastic (re-)foundations in Constantinople, 1081–1198 (adapted from Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine 1, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, 3: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969 [1953])

Judging from the surviving evidence, Eirene Doukaina was only one among many members of the Byzantine ruling stratum and aristocracy who founded monasteries in the city.⁴ Already increasing in the early tenth century, this tendency became the preferred form of charity under the Komnenoi and reached a peak

⁴ Paul Magdalino, “Medieval Constantinople,” in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), I, 27–31.

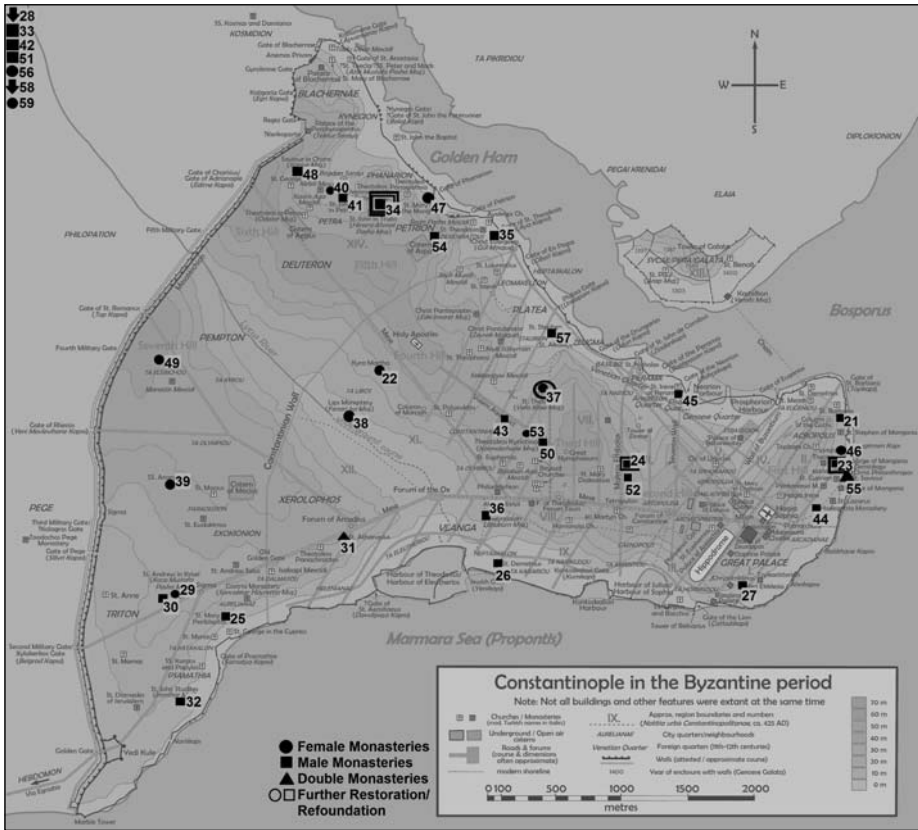


Fig. 2. Monastic (re-)foundations in Constantinople, 1261–1328
 (adapted from Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine 1*)

under the Palaiologoi (Figs 1–2).⁵ Numerous reasons lay behind it; founding a monastery was surely a pious act to “grant a portion of their possessions to God.”⁶ Yet besides the religious motive behind commissioning a monastery, a monastic foundation was also a measure to secure the economic wellbeing of family members or a way of protecting the family estates by transforming them

⁵ These figures are extracted from the written sources, but in order to avoid possible duplications do not include unidentified ecclesiastical structures in modern Istanbul like Vefa Kilise Camii or the so-called Manastır Mescidi at Pazartekke near the gate of Romanos.

⁶ *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, (207.23–4), trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 118 (hereafter Choniates).

into *res sacra* while keeping the family name attached to the properties. It was also a manifestation of wealth and economic power of the patron(s),⁷ a materialized imprint of prestige on the cityscape. Whatever specific reasons the founders had to commission a monastery, the process of foundation was also determined by numerous factors such as the founders' ability to commission a foundation, receiving the emperor's permission for imperial foundations, donation by the patriarch (as in the case of the monastery of *ta Kellaraia*s given to Eirene Doukaina), or simply financial matters regarding the construction work, and their choice or the availability of a site.⁸ The seemingly individual act of founding a monastery must also have been shaped by "others," i.e., other founders, the emperor's initiatives, social trends, and political strategies at the time.

This article seeks to interpret monastic patronage in Constantinople in relation to one of the Byzantine political strategies which was widely employed during the periods in question, i.e., marriage arrangements. Although marital arrangements were always a means of political alliance, not by any means peculiar to Byzantium, it was the founding emperor of the Komnenian dynasty, Alexios I Komnenos, who arranged several marriages between his family and the aristocracy in a way that transformed the state mechanism into a dynastic system, a huge *oikos* of the emperor, as Magdalino states.⁹ I argue here that the marriage arrangements which were used to reinforce the emperor's power resulted in empowering his in-laws and the women who accepted these marriages, allowing them to be increasingly visible as monastic patrons in the capital.

Founders and Their Monasteries in the City

When Alexios I Komnenos usurped the Byzantine throne, Constantinople already had a history of more than seven centuries with a strong monastic tradition.¹⁰ Among at least nineteen foundations/refoundations in Constantinople that were recorded in sources between 1081 and 1182, the vast majority belonged to

⁷ Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (London: Longman, 1999), 26.

⁸ John Haldon, "Towards a Social History of Byzantium," *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009), 1–30; Philip Ethington, "Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History," *Rethinking History* 11 (2007): 465–93.

⁹ Paul Magdalino, "Innovations in Government," *Alexios I Komnenos, 1: Papers. Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14–16 April 1989*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 146–66.

¹⁰ Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350–850* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 257–63.

imperial family members. Although Alexios I was preoccupied with his grand project, the Orphanotropheion (*Fig. 1*, no. 7), which also hosted monastic communities,¹¹ he was also the co-founder of the Philanthropos (*Fig. 1*, no. 9) with his wife, Empress Eirene Doukaina.¹² John II Komnenos (also a co-founder with his wife) commissioned the Pantokrator (*Fig. 1*, no. 12).¹³ Even though Manuel I despised the idea of urban monasteries (seen as corrupt) within the city walls,¹⁴ he is mentioned along with his father and grandfather as founders of the St. Mokios (*Fig. 1*, no. 11).¹⁵ While the Komnenian emperors did not show a special interest in the northwestern area of the city, others did. Empress-Mother Maria of Bulgaria founded the Chora (*Fig. 1*, no. 1)¹⁶ and another empress-mother, Anna Dalassene, founded the Pantepoptes (*Fig. 1*, no. 3);¹⁷ Empress Eirene Doukaina founded the Kecharitomene (*Fig. 1*, no. 8) and the *ta Kellaraias* (*Fig. 1*, no. 10) there.¹⁸ Maria of Antioch founded the Pantanassa (*Fig. 1*, no. 19)¹⁹ after Manuel's death, presumably due to the emperor's discontent with urban monasticism at the time. Alexios' brother, Adrian Komnenos, is commemorated on a funerary inscription at the Pammakaristos (*Fig. 1*, no. 5) with his wife²⁰ and

¹¹ Magdalino, "Innovations in Government," 156–61.

¹² Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine 1, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, 3: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1969 [1953]), 525–7.

¹³ For the latest thorough study on Pantokrator, see Sofia Kotzabassi, ed. *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).

¹⁴ Choniates, (207–208.1–10), 117–8.

¹⁵ Codex Marc gr. 1524 fol. 46^r; Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 226–7.

¹⁶ Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 81.

¹⁷ Janin and Kidonopoulos identify the Pantepoptes as Eski İmaret Camii. See Janin, *Les églises*, 513–5; Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328 Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau and Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), 28–30; cf. Cyril Mango, "Where at Constantinople was the Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes?" *Δελτίον XAE* 20 (1998): 87–8. Mango argues that *Pantepoptes* must have stood where the Sultan Selim Camii stands today. For the patronage of Anna Dalassene, see Hill, *Imperial Women*, 161–5.

¹⁸ Kecharitomene was mentioned in the sources by 1107, Janin, *Les églises*, 188–91; Hill, *Imperial Women* 165–9; Jordan, "Kecharitomene," 649–724. *Ta Kellaraias* was donated by Patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos to serve as an additional mausoleum for the nuns of Kecharitomene, probably also in the same neighborhood, Janin, *Les églises*, 188.

¹⁹ Janin, *Les églises*, 215–6.

²⁰ Paul Magdalino, "The Foundation of the Pantokrator Monastery in Its Urban Setting," *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, ed. Sofia Kotzabassi (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 38–9.

John II's brother, Isaac the *sebastokrator*, was involved in the restoration of the Chora.²¹ Furthermore, at least three other Komnenoi founded monasteries in the city.²² During the reign of Alexios I, only the top stratum of hierarchy, the inner imperial family, was visible as monastic founders, except at the St. Demetrios in the southern part of the city, founded by George Palaiologos, who was married to Empress Eirene Doukaina's sister.²³ Under John II, John Iokalites *protasekretis*, a member of lower aristocracy who did not have marital ties to the Komnenoi, founded the Petra,²⁴ while under Manuel I such a figure as the father of Gregory Antiochos founded the Basil, George Kappadokes *mystikos* was able to found the Mamas; and George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos *mezas betaireiarches* and *sebastos* founded the Hodegetria.²⁵

The Latin presence in Constantinople (1204–1261) was catastrophic for the monasteries; most of them were abandoned, robbed of their roofing systems or wooden structures and left in ill-repair.²⁶ The large number of monasteries founded under Palaiologan rule, therefore, should not come as a surprise.²⁷ Emperor Michael VIII²⁸ is known to have founded at least three monasteries (the Peribleptos, the Mangana, and the St. Demetrios), all in different parts of

²¹ Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I, 78.

²² John Komnenos *protosebastos* who founded the Evergetes (a nephew of Alexios or Manuel), an unknown grandson of Alexios I, who founded the monastery of Botaneiates, and Andronikos Rogerios *sebastos* and *prokathemenos* (cousin?), who founded the Chrysokamarotissa, were all members of the extended imperial family.

²³ See *Fig. 1*, No. 1. Chora, 3. Pantepoptes, 4. John the Baptist at Petra, 5. Pammakaristos, 8. Kecharitomene, 9. Philanthropos, 10. ta Kellariai, 16. Evergetes.

²⁴ Although George Palaiologos served the emperor as a high military official and although he was a brother-in-law of Alexios he did not enjoy higher dignities like another brother-in-law, Nikephoros Melissenos, did as *caesar* or another brother-in-law, Michael Taronites, did as *panhypersebastos*. Peter Frankopan, "Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium," *English Historical Review* 122, no. 495 (2007): 1–34.

²⁵ So far, eighteen out of the nineteen monasteries marked on *Fig. 1* have been mentioned. The only remaining one was the later *Prodromos/Kyr Nikolaou* of Patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos (*Fig. 1*, no. 2), which is not included in the discussion as the patriarch was not a part of the inner or extended imperial family.

²⁶ Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 247–8 (hereafter *DOP*).

²⁷ This is, of course, based on what survived and was recorded in the written sources; the actual number could be higher. The founders of five monasteries during the early Palaiologan period (St. Nikolaos the Wonderworker, Pertze, Myrelaion, St. Nikolaos tes Opaines, and the Hyperagnos tou Plynariou) are unknown. They cannot be included in the discussion, but are still included on *Fig. 1* as no. 21, 28, 36, 40, and on *Fig. 2* as no. 58.

²⁸ *PLP* no. 21528.

the city, while Emperor Andronikos II (re-)founded the Nea Mone and the Pantepoptes.²⁹ During the reign of Michael VIII none of the imperial family members were involved with monasteries except his sister Martha,³⁰ while under Andronikos II, Empress-Mother Theodora Palaiologina founded the Lips and the Anargyroi (*Fig. 2*, no. 38 and 39);³¹ Andronikos' sons, *despotes* John founded the Prodromos (*Fig. 2*, no. 42)³² and Ateuemes-Bartholomaios the Evergetes (*Fig. 2*, no. 35),³³ the emperor's brother, Constantine *porphyrogenetos*, restored the Stoudios (*Fig. 2*, no. 32),³⁴ and the emperor's half-sister, Maria-Melane,³⁵ founded the Panagiotissa (*Figs. 2 and 4*, no. 47).³⁶ In addition to these inner family members, under Andronikos II three female cousins and two of their daughters founded monasteries (*Fig. 2*, no. 29 and 30).³⁷ Also, Maria Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa,³⁸ Andronikos II's cousin's daughter, and her husband, Michael Tarchaneiotis *protastator*, founded the Pammakaristos, the *tes* Glabaina, and the Atheniotissa

²⁹ PLP no. 21436. Vassilios Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era," *Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah T. Brooks, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art & Yale University Press, 2006), 98–117; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 329–43, eadem, "The Restoration," 243–61. See *Fig. 2*, no. 25, 23, 26, 27 and 54.

³⁰ PLP no. 21389. She was a supporter of Arsenios. Her foundation, the monastery of Kyra Martha, is shown on *Fig. 2*, no. 22.

³¹ PLP no. 21380; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992): 295–303.

³² Kidonopoulos identifies the founder as the third son of Andronikos II. PLP no. 21475. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 43–4.

³³ Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 25–8; Janin, *Les églises*, 508–10.

³⁴ PLP no. 21492; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 49–51; Janin, *Les églises*, 432.

³⁵ PLP no. 21395.

³⁶ Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 88–90; Janin, *Les églises*, 195–6. Maria-Melane Palaiologina is known to have made donations to Chora. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 18–25. The other known illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII was wed to another Mongol khan. See Talbot, "Empress Theodora," 296.

³⁷ Theodora Raoulaina's (PLP no. 10943) St. Andrei in Krisei and the Aristine, her daughter, Anna Komnene, Raoulaina Strategopoulina's (PLP no. 26893. According to Talbot, she may have been the daughter of Theodora Raoulaina. See Talbot, "Building," 332) Krataios (see *Fig. 2*, no. 46), Theodora Synadene (PLP no. 21381) and Euphrosyne Synadene's (PLP no. 21373) Bebaia Elpis (see *Fig. 2*, no. 37) and Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina's (PLP no. 21368) unknown foundation (see *Fig. 2*, no. 56).

³⁸ PLP no. 27511.

(*Fig. 2*, nos 34, 53 and 33).³⁹ Outside the blood ties of the Palaiologan family, five individuals founded monasteries; they belonged to rising urban elite and had established marital ties with the ruling dynasty, namely, George and Konstantinos Akropolites, Nikephoros Choumnos and his daughter Eirene Choumnaina, and Theodore Metochites. At the same time, the lower aristocracy who had neither blood nor marriage ties to the Palaiologoi, was able to commission monasteries. In parallel with the high frequency of monastic patronage, their appearance in the monastic topography of Constantinople was at an unprecedented level.⁴⁰

A comparison of the monastic cityscapes before 1204 and in 1328 shows that the Komnenian dynasty inhabited a city with a Byzantine past of centuries, therefore, it was important for them to create a sort of Komnenian-ness in the capital. They held the power which enabled them to achieve this goal – focusing on an area in the northwestern part of the city meant to be remembered after them. While Alexios was mentioned as the co-founder of the Philanthropos, and John II preferred the Pantokrator to be constructed somewhat closer to the northwestern part of the city, it was mainly the inner imperial family who chose this area for their patronage venues. Perhaps these foundations provided the founders with the visibility they desired in proximity to the Blachernai palace and other aristocratic *oikoi* in the neighborhood, something that they needed more than the emperor. The foundations of the emperor's in-laws and the lower aristocracy, however, were not located in the Komnenian core of the city. In contrast, the Palaiologoi did not found a single monastery in the northwestern part of the city during the first decade after the re-conquest – none of the eight monasteries⁴¹ founded during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos was located there.⁴² Rather, the northwestern part of the city seems to have been allocated to

³⁹ Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 67–8, 80–6, and 41–2; also Alice-Mary Talbot, trans. “*Bebaia Elpis: Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople,” *BMFD*, 1512–78.

⁴⁰ The monasteries (re-)founded by the patriarchs and monks are marked on *Fig. 2* in order to offer a complete map of Constantinople at the time, yet they have little of relevance for the discussion. See Mangana, no. 23; Xerolophos, no. 31; Hodegetria, no. 44; Kyr Antonios, no. 45; Kyriotissa, no. 50; and the Monastery of Nikandros, no. 52.

⁴¹ See *Fig. 2*, nos 21–28 (St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, Kyra Martha, St. George at Mangana, Anastasis, Peribleptos, St. Demetrios, Nea Mone, and Pertze).

⁴² Three members of the inner imperial family, Maria-Melane, Andronikos II Palaiologos, and Bartholomaios later founded three foundations, the Panagiotissa, the Pantepoptes and the Evergetes, respectively. Concerning Bartholomaios, *PLP* no. 1641 mentions him only as a monk related to the imperial house. Kidonopoulos suggests that he might have been

members of aristocracy or to those who were climbing the hierarchy during the early Palaiologan period (*Fig. 2*, no. 34 [Pammakaristos], no. 35 [Evergetes], no. 41 [Petra], no. 47 Panagiotissa, no. 48 [Chora], no. 54 [Pantepoptes]). It seems that the Palaiologoi preferred another part of the city as a focus of their patronage: the southern belt. Monastic patronage in this area during the early Palaiologan period was almost exclusively reserved for the imperial family (see *Fig. 2*, no. 25 [Peribleptos], no. 29 [St. Andrew in Krisei], no. 30 [Aristine], no. 32 [Stoudios] and no. 39 [Holy Anargyroi]). The exception is the monastic foundation by a member of the lower aristocracy, Phokas Maroules. In contrast, the Komnenian initiative in the southwest included Nikolaos Grammatikos' and a *mystikos*' foundations, a monastery founded by the sister of Alexios III, and the donations of three Komnenian emperors (*Fig. 1*, no. 2 [Prodromos/Kyr Nikolaou], no. 11 [Mokios], no. 13. [St. Mamas], and no. 20 [Dalmatios]). The continuing Palaiologan interest in the southern shore of the city was started by George Palaiologos under the Komnenian dynasty at a time this area had not attracted much attention in terms of patronage. Although George Palaiologos served the emperor as a high military official and although he was a brother-in-law of Alexios, he did not enjoy higher dignities like another brother-in-law, Nikephoros Melissenos, did as *caesar* or another brother-in-law, Michael Taronites, did as *panhypersebastos*.⁴³ The emperors, especially Michael VIII, received much praise for monastic foundations; it was almost a collective act to turn Constantinople into a Byzantine city again. All in all, as the early Palaiologan emperors did not have enough economic power to found such a large number of monasteries, the inner imperial family shared the cityscape with members of their extended family, with wealthy aristocrats connected to the Palaiologoi through marriage, and those who were outside the ruling clan. It is intriguing to evaluate the changes in the social status of the monastic founders within the context of the marriage policy of the Byzantine emperors.

The Outcomes of Marriage Policies: In-laws and Women as Monastic Founders

Starting with Alexios I, the Komnenian emperors elevated their kin to the top stratum of the state, rewarded their supporters by appointing them to high military offices, bestowing dignities on them, and establishing marital ties with their rivals. In addition to the marriage arrangements, the inner family members also played

the son of Andronikos II and his second wife, Eirene-Yolanda, as the imperial couple had a son named Bartholomaios. *Bauten*, 25–8.

⁴³ Frankopan, “Kinship,” 1–34.

an important role in the Byzantine state organization after the Komnenian period. The emperor elevated his close kin group above any titles and dignities. The monastic patronage of the kin group by affinity, i.e., marriage alliances, is detailed above. Concerning the foundations of the family by blood, Alexios I's brother Adrian and John II's brother Isaac *sebastokrator* should be noted as being granted high military posts but later deprived of their power. During the early Palaiologan period, Michael VIII did not share monastic patronage with his extended family members except his sister, in contrast to the foundations of Andronikos II's brother and two sons. There were three members of the extended Komnenian family by blood (cousins and nephews of emperors), but the source material does not allow us to evaluate the location, size, splendor, and importance of their foundations. There is no record of such a monastic founder under Michael VIII and, surprisingly, no record of male members of the Palaiologan family by blood under Andronikos II.⁴⁴ Being a relative of the emperor counted as much as, if not more than, an office or dignity.⁴⁵ With the exception of the rule of Theodore II Laskaris (1254–1258), the later emperors continued to benefit from marriage alliances with the Byzantine aristocracy.⁴⁶ As the status of a person came to be measured by his kinship/closeness to the emperor, those who were not able to establish marital ties with the ruling clan were at a disadvantage. Others who did not belong to the aristocracy by birth but were married a member of the ruling clan, i.e., the rising urban middling stratum, acquired high positions.⁴⁷

Internal marriage arrangements can be examined within the context of monastic patronage. What brought Alexios I to the Byzantine throne was a Kommeno–Doukas alliance, realized with Eirene Doukaina and Alexios I's marriage. During these turbulent years, Anna Dalassene, mother of Alexios I, was active in civic administration, as well as in patronage; among numerous other good works, she helped a monk named John the Faster to restore the Petra in Constantinople as well as herself founding the Pantepoptes (*Fig. 1 no. 4*).⁴⁸ Maria

⁴⁴ Magdalino, "Innovations in Government," 156–61.

⁴⁵ Paul Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 180–202, 217–27.

⁴⁶ Angeliki Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaiologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1992), 131–51.

⁴⁷ Niels Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): Paideia and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II. Palaiologos (1290–1320)," (forthcoming 2015).

⁴⁸ Magdalino, "Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople," *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), XI: 9; ODB s. v. "Petra Monastery;" George Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth*

of Bulgaria, the other empress-mother, was less visible on the Constantinopolitan stage, but she refounded the Chora, an imperial monastic foundation dating back to the sixth century.⁴⁹ Empress Eirene Doukaina is known to have been involved with three monastic foundations. The marriage of Adrian Komnenos and Zoe porphyrogenita Doukaina⁵⁰ is another example of the Kommeno–Doukas alliance, although whether the wife or husband founded the Pammakaristos is unknown as it was common to have both names commemorated. Eirene-Piroska and Maria of Antioch were both foreign brides to the Byzantine court – Eirene’s untimely death eliminated any political action she might have taken, although her grand monastic co-foundation, the Pantokrator, was impressive. Maria, in contrast, fought for the regency of her son in an unstable period during which she also acted as a monastic patron (*Fig. 1*, no. 19).⁵¹ The Komnenian imperial women were active in monastic patronage in the capital, thus, it is surprising that the Palaiologan empresses did not found monasteries in Constantinople, especially considering Theodora’s active involvement with the monastic communities on Patmos and in the region of Smyrna before Michael VIII’s death.⁵² Theodora Palaiologina, then empress-mother, founded two monasteries only after Michael VIII’s death. The wives of Andronikos II, Anna of Hungary and Eirene-Yolanda, were also of foreign origin and, thus, might not have had enough power to found monasteries.

Unlike the Komnenians, during the early Palaiologan period the women of the highest social status, i.e., empresses, did not play a more prominent role as monastic founders than sisters, nieces, and female cousins of the emperors.⁵³ Michael VIII’s sister, Martha, founded a monastery in the immediate years after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 and later the half-sister of Andronikos II, Maria-Melane, an illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII who was wed to the Ilkhanid ruler Hulegu in 1265, founded the Panagiotissa in the northwestern part of the city. Despite being an illegitimate child of the emperor, Maria-Melane

Centuries (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984), 339–45.

⁴⁹ Magdalino, “Medieval Constantinople,” I: 81.

⁵⁰ Cyril Mango et al., *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978). Zoe porphyrogenita was the stepsister of Nikephoros Diogenes. See Frankopan, “Kinship,” 23.

⁵¹ Janin, *Les églises*, 215–6.

⁵² Talbot, “Empress Theodora,” 295–303.

⁵³ Alexios I’s beloved daughter, Anna Komnene, resided in her mother’s monastery, yet she never showed interest in founding one herself. I think when she realized that she would not hold absolute authority at the court, she had no need to create a venue somewhere else to show her power. The *Kecharitome* might have sufficed for her needs.

played an important role in Byzantine politics upon her return to Constantinople. As Pachymeres records, Maria-Melane was involved in a negotiation which took place in Nicaea between Byzantium and the Ilkhanids – a kind of power she held as a result of Byzantine marriage policies.⁵⁴ The marriage arrangements that were meant to strengthen the authority of the emperor and imperial power resulted in empowering all those who married, both in-laws and the blood relatives. During the Komnenian century, it was more about “husbands” than “wives” as only one foundation by an in-law, that of George Palaiologos, Alexios’ brother-in-law, appeared in the monastic cityscape.⁵⁵ George Palaiologos was married to a high-ranking Komnene, but there is no sign of her as a monastic founder. The same is true for the wife of Adrian Komnenos and to an even further extent for the wife of George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos. Similar marital ties were established during the early Palaiologan period, for instance, between Michael Tarchaneiotos and Maria Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa,⁵⁶ also to a lesser extent between George Akropolites and Eudokia Palaiologina, a distant member of the Palaiologoi, yet in this case women were visible as monastic patrons to an unprecedented degree in Byzantine history. Theodora Raoulaina⁵⁷ the *protobestiaria*, a cousin of Andronikos II who was wed to George Mouzalon first and then John Raoul the *protobestiarios*, founded the female monastery dedicated to St. Andrew in Krisei after the death of her husband and Theodora-Theodoule Synadene,⁵⁸ another cousin of Andronikos II, wife of the *megas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, founded the famous Bebaia Elpis again in her widowhood.

The novelty of Andronikos II was that he deliberately chose to marry the male members of his family to the daughters of the middling stratum men in his service, as in the cases of Nikephoros Choumnos, Constantine Akropolites, and Theodore Metochites.⁵⁹ As argued by Gaul, this can be read as a deliberate act to keep these learned men, key figures in manipulating public opinion, content and close to the emperor.⁶⁰ This makes the sudden appearance of the middling

⁵⁴ A. Failler and V. Laurent, ed., *Georges Pachymères. Relations historiques*, 2 vols. CFHB Parisiensis 24.1–2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984): 1:3–325; 2:329–667; ii, 620–1, 637 (hereafter Pachymeres).

⁵⁵ Another George Palaiologos refounded the Hodegetria – he must have been related to the Komnenian clan somehow, but his relation to Manuel I is unknown.

⁵⁶ However, George Palaiologos was married to the empress’ sister while George Akropolites and Michael Tarchaneiotos were married to distant relatives.

⁵⁷ *PLP* no. 10943 – Theodora Raulaina Palaiologina Komnene Kantakouzene.

⁵⁸ *PLP* no. 21381.

⁵⁹ Niels Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men.”

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

stratum as monastic patrons understandable. Perhaps imperial foundations like the Chora and the Pammakaristos were given as a favor to in-laws and rising favorites.⁶¹ The marriage policy of the Palaiologoi not only increased the visibility of the Palaiologan higher aristocracy and its share of power, but also put great emphasis on the women who partook in these marriages. Except for Martha, sister of Michael VIII, and Maria-Melane, half-sister of Andronikos II, the Byzantine women who founded monasteries in Constantinople were fourth-degree relatives of the Palaiologan emperors who were wed to members of aristocracy, and their daughters.⁶² In only one case did the daughter of a rising courtier of low aristocratic background, Eirene Choumnaina *basilissa*, who was married to Andronikos II's son, also found a monastery.⁶³

The fortunate outcome of unfortunate widowhood can be seen in the cases of empress-mothers in both periods.⁶⁴ Combined with marriage arrangements with the powerful members of the aristocracy, the women of the extended imperial family were more likely to be able to found monasteries in their widowhood. That was how Theodora Raoulaina and Theodora Synadene left imprints on the cityscape – during their widowhood. Maria Glabaina Tarchaneiotissa was another such woman, who co-founded Pammakaristos with her husband, Michael, and after Michael's death extended the monastic church with a *parekklesion* and founded another monastery that came to known by her own name, *tes Glabainas*. The law that a *femina Byzantina* could manage her own dowry after her husband's death must have provided the women with financial freedom;⁶⁵ combined with their imperial blood, these imperial women were enabled to make their names visible in Constantinople. It is not possible to discover the exact reason why an imperial female who was wed to an aristocrat was more likely to be a monastic

⁶¹ Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, 166–93. Concerning the Kecharitomenē group (with the Philanthropos and *ta Kellaraias*), despite the fact that it was functioning at least when Zosima visited Constantinople in the 1420s, the sources do not mention whether it attracted any patronage from the Palaiologoi. In addition, Nikephoros Choumnos founded the Gorgoepekoos close to the so-called Valens' aqueduct and Constantine Akropolites founded the Anastasis on the Makros Embolos.

⁶² Theodora Raoulaina, Theodora Synadene, Maria Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa, Euphrosyne Synadene and Anna-Antonia Komnene Raoulaina.

⁶³ See *Fig. 2*, no. 55, Philanthropos.

⁶⁴ Dowager empress-mothers – Anna Dalassene, Maria of Bulgaria, Maria of Antioch, and Theodora Palaiologina.

⁶⁵ It was a phenomenon in Byzantium that women became patrons of charitable organizations, monasteries, and the arts after they were widowed and held the property rights to their dowry, and morning gifts. See Angeliki Laiou, *Women, Family and Society in Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), especially no. II: 122–60 and V: 51–75.

founder than an aristocratic woman who was married to a male member of the Palaiologoi. It may have been due to the size of the dowry, the nature of the marital arrangement, or the political ambitions of these women. Apparently, the marriages of daughters of middling stratum men empowered their fathers rather than the women themselves. Only in the case of Eirene Choumnaina do her letters reveal how she could not accept the untimely death of her husband, *despotes* John, despite her high social status.⁶⁶

The fact that female members of the inner and extended imperial family founded monasteries in the city does not necessarily mean that they attempted to benefit from proximity to the emperor's palace or power. Already hinted at above, Michael VIII faced strong opposition due to the way in which he usurped the Byzantine throne and his Unionist policy. For instance, Michael VIII banned Theodora Raoulaina from Constantinople as she showed explicit discontent with his Unionist policy.⁶⁷ She returned to the capital after Michael VIII's death and founded two monasteries in the city.⁶⁸ It is reasonable to think that she did not stop expressing her thoughts about the current politics after Michael VIII's death. A monastery might have provided her with everything she needed: an *oikos* for the rest of her life and a stage on which she could express her opinion about the current religious or political situation. The cries of Eirene Choumnaina to have her spiritual father visit her or hosting an abdicated patriarch in the monastery are all testimonies to how female founders expressed themselves and increased their visibility in Constantinople. Byzantine court culture was limiting for women, therefore, they had to – and they did – find another venue to express themselves and leave their names.⁶⁹

Conclusions

Any city is a social and organic formation; so is a cityscape. Each and every building constructed in a city alters this cityscape, but in return, the building itself gains

⁶⁶ Angela Constantinides Hero, *A Woman's Spiritual Quest for Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1986).

⁶⁷ Alexander Riehle, “Καί σε προστάτιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιγράφομεν σωτηρίας, Theodora Raulina als Stifterin und Patronin,” *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), 299–315.


⁶⁸ Pachymeres ii. 132; Gaul, “All the Emperor's Men,” Riehle, “Theodora Raulina.”

⁶⁹ Liz James, “Making a Name: Reputation and Imperial Founding and Refounding in Constantinople,” *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett, and Michael Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 63–72.

a different meaning from its interaction with the topography and surrounding buildings. Just as the density of monastic (re-)foundations in the northwestern part of Constantinople must have been a deliberate attempt to mark an area of the capital as “Komnenian,” (re-)founding monasteries all over the city in the early Palaiologan period was an attempt to re-claim the city as “Byzantine” after the re-conquest in 1261. Although the same level of information is not available for all the monastic foundations during the Komnenian period, the emperor was the prime patron of monumental buildings. The Palaiologan emperor’s role as a monastic patron, however, appears to have been shared by many other founders in the capital. Including monastic foundations in a discussion of marriage alliances and kinship networks, this article argues that marriage alliances resulted in an increase in the number of imperial in-laws who left their imprints on the monastic topography of Constantinople – although in both periods several courtiers who did not have marital ties to the ruling family were also able to found monasteries.

Marriage alliances, which were used cleverly by both the Komnenoi and the Palaiologoi, worked to the advantage of women to leave their imprint in the cityscape. The Komnenian women who were able to commission a monumental building project were exclusively empresses and empress-mothers, while in the early Palaiologan period, women of the extended family, i.e., sisters, cousins, and nieces, also became monastic patrons. These women, who, on the one hand, belonged to the ruling clan and who, on the other hand, were married to wealthy members of the aristocracy, must have enjoyed significant power. Although it was a different kind of power than the political power a high-status man could exercise at the emperor’s court, it still enabled female founders to leave their materialized imprints on the cityscape and express themselves from a privatized venue in a political and public arena.

DOMINICAN INFLUENCES ON AQUINAS' NOTION OF MIXED GOVERNMENT

Dóra Kis-Jakab 

Aquinas' Role in Dominican Governance

The young Thomas Aquinas, against the wishes of his noble family, joined the Dominican Order in 1244. He sympathized strongly with the order and after becoming a member he took an active part in its governance and development.¹ In 1260 Thomas was appointed a preacher-general in the order's Roman province. This office meant the beginning of his deeper involvement in Dominican government; as a preacher-general he was expected to attend all the provincial chapters of the Roman province and he was also obliged to participate in all the general chapters held in Rome.²

He participated repeatedly in the workings of the Dominican general chapters, the supreme governmental unit. First, he attended the 1259 general chapter in Valenciennes, where he was part of a commission for studies along with his master, Albert the Great.³ Thomas also attended the 1263 general chapter in London, Holborn,⁴ which is noteworthy because it was the one that accepted the resignation of the fifth master general of the order, Humbert of Romans, as is attested by the *acta* of the chapter.⁵ This is evidence that Thomas had first-hand knowledge of the power the general chapter held in the Dominican government; it was authorized to remove even the highest official. Presumably, he, with the other *diffinitors*, discussed the relevant *inchoatio* of the 1241 general chapter⁶ while they

¹ M. Grabmann and V. Michel, *Thomas Aquinas: His Personality and Thought* (London: Longmans, Green, 1928), 2 and John Finnis, *Aquinas. Moral, Political and Legal Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5.

² Finnis, *Aquinas*, 7. On the rights and duties of the Dominican preacher-general, see G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order: 1216–1360* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), 168–170.

³ P. Conway, *Saint Thomas Aquinas of the Order of Preachers (1225–1274). A Bibliographical Study of the Angelic Doctor* (London: Longmans, Green, 1911), 50.

⁴ Conway, *Saint Thomas Aquinas of the Order of Preachers*, 57–58.

⁵ *Acta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, ed. B. M. Reichert, *Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica*, vol. 3 (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1898), 121. All English translations of the *Acta* are made by the author from the Latin original.

⁶ *Acta Capitulorum generalium*, 20.

were evaluating Humbert's appeal. It emphasized the notion already developed in the 1241 Constitution by Raymond of Peñafort,⁷ stressing that deposing the master general was a most extreme measure. At the 1241 general chapter, after the resignation of Raymond, the *diffinitors* called for strict observance of this rule. Therefore, Thomas was most likely familiar with the notion that the removal of the head of the community should only be allowed as a solution under extreme circumstances.⁸ Finally, Thomas was also a member of the 1267 general chapter in Bologna.

Thomas was strongly involved in the government of his order, up to the highest levels of organization. This ensured his familiarity with the basic Dominican governmental ideas and their practical application as well. Still, like other historical developments of his time, his works do not directly mention his experiences with the government of the Friars Preachers.⁹ Nevertheless, it is possible that these observations influenced his ideas, and at least indirectly influenced his notions of politics and government. In this paper I discuss this possibility.

Elections

Election is a central concept in Aquinas' theory and in Dominican governance. Election manifests the democratic element of government. By practicing election, members of the community are enabled to choose their rulers and, in this indirect way, to constitute part of government. Thomas applies this concept in the *Summa* when he identifies the democratic element of mixed government, a governmental form that he thinks to be the best for human communities. Mixed government for Thomas consists of the mixture of the elements of the pure governmental forms in the Aristotelian sense, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Aquinas argues that the democratic element of mixed government is that in it the rulers are chosen by all and from all the people.¹⁰ In a similar manner, election was a

⁷ *Acta Fratrum Praedicatorum. Constitutiones ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum secundum redactionem sancti Raimundi de Penafort*, ed. R. Creyten "Les constitutions des frères Prêcheurs dans la rédaction de s. Raymond de Peñafort," *Acta Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948): 58. All English translations of the *Constitutiones* are made by the author from the Latin original.

⁸ William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order. Origins and Growth to 1500*, vol. 1 (New York: Alba House, 1965), 224.

⁹ Finnis, *Aquinas*, 3, 7–8.

¹⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I–II. 105. 1. The English translations of Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* cited in this paper can be found at: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/> (last accessed November, 2014). For the Latin

central procedure for the Dominicans, manifesting a similar democratic element of government. Due to the intricate system of representation, each friar had at least indirect influence and control over the way the order was governed.

For both Thomas and the Dominicans the aristocratic and monarchic elements of government were elected. Election of individuals constituting the aristocratic group of governmental officials is explicitly referred to in Aquinas' description of mixed government. In the *Summa*, he states that the aristocratic element in the Mosaic government was constituted by the seventy-two elders, chosen by the people according to virtue. Similarly, in the Dominican government the rulers were elected by all and from all the people, especially in the case of the provincial chapter's members, who were elected and delegated by their houses, that is, by the "people of the province." Each house sent its conventual prior and one elected representative of the house to the provincial chapter. Both officials were elected by the friars of the house and they had to be members of the house that they were representing.¹¹ This system is an exact parallel of the one described by Aquinas, even though he never directly refers to the Dominican system of election as his inspiration for the notion of choosing the aristocratic element of mixed government.

In the government of the Friars Preachers not only were the *diffinitors*, the conventual and provincial priors, chosen, but also the head of the order. The master general, representing the monarchic element in the order's government, was elected by the electoral general chapter.¹² Aquinas in the *De Regno* mentions several possible sources of a king's power. The context of this discussion is the question of whether subjects have the right to remove the monarch if he becomes a tyrant. Thomas states that the answer to this question depends on the source of the monarch's power. He declares that the tyrant's subjects only have the right to rise against their monarch and remove him; "to provide [themselves] with a king belongs to the right of a given multitude."¹³

Thomas in this case pictures the possibility of a contractual relationship between the king and his subjects; if the king were elected by the multitude for

original, see: Thomas Aquinas, *Corpus Thomisticum: Summa Theologiae*, <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/iopera.html> (last accessed November, 2014) (hereafter ST).

¹¹ *Constitutiones*, 55–56.

¹² Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 178.

¹³ Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship. To the King of Cyprus*, trans. G. B. Phelan, rev. I. Th. Eschmann (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982), I. 6. 49. For the Latin original, see Thomas Aquinas, *Corpus Thomisticum: De Regno ad Regem Cypri*, <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/orp.html> (last accessed November, 2014). *Ad ius multitudinis alicuius pertineat sibi providere de rege* (hereafter DR).

a certain purpose (presumably, the attainment of a common good), then, if he fails to fulfill his side of the contract, his subjects have the right to take back the governmental power bestowed on him.¹⁴ The monarch is pictured as the highest governmental official, whose authority stems from popular consent and is limited according to the requirements attached to his office.

This picture of the head of a community recalls the master general's position in the Dominican Order. The master was popularly elected by the general chapter, whose members were elected by the provincial chapter, with *diffinitors* delegated by the individual friars of the order. Also, the master general's power was not unlimited; just like in the case of Aquinas' tyrant, his authority could be suspended by the community (or its representatives).¹⁵

Popular election of the head of the community implies both in Thomas' theory and in the Dominican practice that the subjects retain the right to withdraw this office if need be. Aquinas, in a similar manner to the Dominican practice, seems to assume that the election of rulers assures that the subjects have a kind of safeguard against the tyranny of their superiors. Still, Thomas, just like the friars, is cautious when it comes to deposing the community's ruler.

Removal of Rulers

In his early writing, the commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Thomas declares a different stance on the removal of tyrants than the one proposed in his more mature works. In the commentary he discusses whether the tyrant's subjects are bound to obey him and states that they are not obliged to follow the orders of a ruler who abuses his authority, in fact, he argues that the tyrant can be justly removed and even murdered.¹⁶ In cases where the tyrant obtains his power unlawfully and there is no higher authority who could remove him, Thomas declares that "he who delivers his country by slaying a tyrant is to be praised and

¹⁴ DR, *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 136, *Constitutiones*, 57.

¹⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Corpus Thomisticum: Scriptum Super Sententiis*, II. 44. 2. 2. *Utrum Christiani teneantur obedire potestatibus saecularibus, et maxime tyrannis*. <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/> (last accessed November, 2014): For the English translation, see Thomas Aquinas, "Scripta super Libros Sententiarum, II, d. 44. q. 2. a. 2," in *St. Thomas Aquinas' Political Writings*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 72–75 (hereafter *Sent*).

rewarded.”¹⁷ Thomas’ early radical stance, however, is noticeably different from the one that he later developed.

Aquinas also discusses at some length the right of the tyrant’s subjects in the *De Regno*. In this work he manifests a more cautious view and declares:

If there be not an excess of tyranny it is more expedient to tolerate milder tyranny for a while then, by acting against the tyrant, to become involved in many perils more grievous than the tyranny itself ... If the excess of tyranny is unbearable, some have been of the opinion that it would be an act of virtue for strong men to slay the tyrant and to expose themselves to the danger of death in order to set the multitude free.¹⁸

Here Thomas notes that in common sense it is not advisable for subjects to revolt in the case of milder tyranny, since this action might result in a worse situation. He only suggests taking measures against the tyrant if his rule is absolutely intolerable and emphasizes that a criterion which renders the removal of the tyrant acceptable is the excessive misuse of power. In the second part of this passage he presents an opinion similar to his own in the commentary on the *Sentences*. His attitude towards this in the *De Regno*, however, is quite different. He declares that it is not right for an individual, only for a public authority, to commit tyrannicide:

Should private persons attempt on their own private presumption to kill the rulers, even though tyrants, this would be dangerous for the multitude as well as for their rulers ... it seems that to proceed against the cruelty of tyrants is an action to be undertaken, not through the private presumption of a few, but rather by public authority.¹⁹

Although his opinion expressed here is in clear contrast to his earlier one, it does accord well with the Dominican practice concerning similar matters,

¹⁷ Sent. Ibid. *Tunc enim qui ad liberationem patriae tyrannum occidit, laudatur, et praemium accipit.* This view is similar to the famous one maintained by John of Salisbury. See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

¹⁸ DR, 6. 44–45. *Si non fuerit excessus tyrannidis, utilius est remissam tyrannidem tolerare ad tempus, quam contra tyrannum agendo multis implicari periculis, quae sunt graviora ipsa tyrannide ... Et si sit intolerabilis excessus tyrannidis, quibusdam visum fuit ut ad fortium virorum virtutem pertineat tyrannum interimere, seque pro liberatione multitudinis exponere periculis mortis.*

¹⁹ DR, 6. 47–48. *Esset autem hoc multitudini periculosum et eius rectoribus, si privata praesumptione aliqui attentarent praesidentium necem, etiam tyrannorum ... Videtur autem magis contra tyrannorum saevitiam non privata praesumptione aliquorum, sed auctoritate publica procedendum.*

especially considering the notions on the intolerable misuse of power and the application for public authority.

The Dominicans emphasized that the master general, the head of the order, could be deposed. This fell within the scope of the general chapter's authority, which could supervise, punish, and remove the head of the order,²⁰ a provision included in the 1241 Constitution.²¹ Still, the Constitution, in a similar manner to that manifested by Thomas in the *De Regno*, attempted to ensure that the removal of the master general was only applied as a most extreme measure. The Constitution also adds that even in the most serious cases deposing the master should only be implemented if his transgression cannot be endured any longer without great harm to the order, a cautious phrasing reminiscent of Thomas'. The Constitution declares that it is better to tolerate the transgressions of the master unless it brings "dissolution and destruction on the order."²²

The 1241 general chapter further emphasized this stance, especially fueled by the previous general chapter's acceptance of Raymond of Peñafort's resignation. It stressed that the master general's resignation must only be accepted as an extreme measure, applicable solely if the master manifests such a fault that it absolutely excludes him retaining his office.²³ The members of the 1263 general chapter, Thomas Aquinas being one of them, were faced with the issue when the master general, Humbert of Romans, submitted his resignation to the chapter.²⁴

Did the stance of the Dominicans influence Aquinas in the formation of the notion of removing a tyrant? Although direct evidence is lacking, several indications suggest that it could have done so. There is a striking difference between Thomas' stance as outlined in his commentary on the *Sentences* and in *De Regno*. The latter work was written in about 1267, a couple of years after the general chapter that absolved Humbert. It is likely that Thomas, if he had not been familiar with the Dominican notion on the conditions of the master general's absolution before, familiarized himself with it at the 1263 general chapter, which probably debated the admissibility of the master general's resignation. Aquinas' later stance on the conditions under which the removal of the tyrant is permissible lists criteria similar to those established by the Dominicans. Although the impact of Dominican practice on Thomas' theory cannot be identified directly, there are strong indications for the possibility of such an influence.

²⁰ Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 136.

²¹ *Constitutiones*, 57.

²² *Ibid.*, 58. *Ordinis dissolutionem et destructionem inducat.*

²³ *Acta Capitulum generalium*, 20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

Unity in Monarchy

Thomas' main argument for the excellence of monarchy is that it secures the unity of the political community the most efficiently. He declares that: "the more efficacious a government is in keeping the unity of peace, the more useful it will be ... what is itself one can more efficaciously bring about unity than several ... Therefore the rule of one man is more useful than the rule of many."²⁵ A similar view is expressed in the *Summa*, where, discussing the government of the world, he concludes that a multitude is best governed by one ruler. This is because, in Aquinas' opinion, one ruler can ensure the unity of the community better than several. For him the best characteristic of monarchy is that the king, the head of the community, unites his many subjects in peace, governing them towards a common end.²⁶

In mixed government, although more than one person shares the governmental power, the element of monarchy is also present. Actually, Aquinas, in his description of a mixed constitution in the *Summa*, identifies the monarchic element of government exactly by referring to this. He states that the monarchic element of mixed government is that: "one is given the power according to virtue to preside over all" and that: the "best form of polity [is] partly kingdom, since there is one at the head of all." Similarly, he identifies the monarchic element in the Mosaic mixed government in that: "Moses and his successors governed the people in such a way that each of them was ruler over all; so that there was a kind of kingdom."²⁷

Thus, the monarchic element of mixed government is manifested by the greatest strength of monarchy; there is one head of the community who has authority over each and every individual. Still, it is not clear how Thomas conceived that while in mixed government there is a supreme ruler, there are also other people (i.e., the members of the aristocratic group) who share in the government. Maybe the relations between those sharing in political government can be clarified by a reference to the Dominican government, which had a similar organization.

²⁵ DR, I, 2. 17. *Quanto igitur regimen efficacius fuerit ad unitatem pacis servandam, tanto erit utilius ... Manifestum est autem quod unitatem magis efficere potest quod est per se unum, quam plures ... Utilius igitur est regimen unius, quam plurimum.*

²⁶ ST, I, 103. 3.

²⁷ ST, I–II, 105. 1. *Unus praeficitur secundum virtutem qui omnibus praesit ... est optima politia, bene commixta ex regno, in quantum unus praeest... Moyses et eius successores gubernabant populum quasi singulariter omnibus principantes, quod est quaedam species regni.*

In the Dominican government, as Galbraith notes, the master general was the most important single individual. For instance, the master was assigned several bureaucratic functions that no one else in the order could perform. Moreover, no one had to confirm the initiation of the master, no individual in the order had the authority to do so, no single person wielded more power than the master.²⁸

The master general was the symbol of the order's unity, which was well exemplified in the oath of fealty taken by Dominican novices. The formulation of the oath, as codified in the 1241 Constitution, reveals that each new member of the order swore obedience directly to the master general, thus submitting himself to the master's authority.²⁹ That is, just as in Thomas' notion on the monarchic element of mixed government, each individual member of the Dominican Order was directly subject to the rule of the master general, the supreme head of the community, thus contributing to the centralized and unified nature of the Order of Preachers.

However, even though the Dominican master general was the greatest individual member of the order, his authority was in many ways tempered, the most important limitation being the authority of the general chapter over him. The chapter as a collective was the master's superior, although the friars constituting the chapter were subject to him individually.³⁰ Thus, the Dominican government manifested an intricate system consisting of the rule of one person who unified and centralized the otherwise diverse order, but who did not wield power single-handedly. Thus, although the order had one head to unite it, others also had a share in governing the community.

Accordingly, it is possible to interpret Thomas' notion as suggesting that in mixed government the head of the community, ruling all individuals, was fulfilling a similar role to that of the master general: He was the single greatest individual member of the community, but his political power was not absolute. Although Aquinas never specifies it, the role of the members of the aristocratic group sharing in political government can be interpreted with the Dominican general chapter in mind. This interpretation, as well as fitting the government of Aquinas' order, is also in accordance with his notion on tempering the ruler's power.

²⁸ Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 133–35.

²⁹ *Constitutiones*, 41.

³⁰ Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 136.

Legal Limitations

Thomas in the *De Regno* mentions that the king's power must be tempered so that he does not have the chance to deviate into a tyrant. Still, the exact method of tempering the ruler's power is not explicated there.³¹ In his commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*, however, he outlines one kind of limitation on the ruler's power in political governments.

Aquinas states in the *Libri Politicorum* that in political, in contrast to regal, government: "the ruler partially rules, namely, regarding things subject to his power, and is partially ruled, insofar as he is subject to law."³² That is, according to this arrangement, in political government there are two spheres; the sphere of things over which the ruler has authority and the sphere of things that are not subject to him. This division is not present in regal government, where the ruler has authority over all fields of life, that is, the ruler is sovereign.

The section of the *Summa* on mixed government suggests that Thomas considers this constitution to be a political, not a regal one, stating that originally God "did not set up the kingly authority with full power," but rather gave the Jews the Mosaic mixed government, and he only set up a king with *plena potestas* when the people of Israel begged him to do so.³³ In the *Libri Politicorum* Thomas explains that the division between the things that pertain to the ruler's authority and the things that do not are regulated by "scientific rules, i.e., according to laws established by political science."³⁴ Thomas further qualifies this somewhat obscure statement when he declares that in political rule the ruler partially rules, i.e., he rules the things that are subjected to his power, but is also partially ruled, in so far as he is subject to the law.³⁵ Briefly, here Aquinas argues that in political government the head of the community is subject to the laws of the community.

This statement is in apparent contradiction with one of the passages of the *Summa*. In this section Thomas discusses whether the head of a community is subject to the community's laws.³⁶ He argues that the ruler only has a moral

³¹ DR, I. 6. 41–43.

³² Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Politics*, trans. R. J. Regan (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2007), I. 1. 4. For the Latin original, see Thomas Aquinas, *Corpus Thomisticum: Sententia libri Politicorum*, <http://www.corpusthomicum.org/cpo.html> (last accessed November, 2014) (hereafter LP).

³³ ST, I–II. 105. 1. *Et ideo dominus a principio eis regem non instituit cum plena potestate, sed iudicem et gubernatorem in eorum custodiam. Sed postea regem ad petitionem populi, quasi indignatus, concessit.*

³⁴ LP, I. 1. 4. *Secundum sermones disciplinales, idest secundum leges positas per disciplinam politicam.*

³⁵ LP, Ibid.

³⁶ ST, I–II. 96. 5.

obligation to subject himself to the laws, but he is not subject to them “legally.” That is, he suggests that if the ruler fails to act according to the laws only God can charge him with this; no one else can pass judgment on him.

This notion of the ruler’s moral obligation to subject himself to the community’s laws, i.e., to willingly limit his own authority, was present in the Dominican governmental theory as well. Humbert of Romans, for instance, formulated this thesis. The idea was that the master general of the order had a customary, but not legally binding, obligation to restrict the exercise of his authority voluntarily. The expectation was that the master would not interfere in issues that fell within the scope of authority of other officials in the order, even if he was legally authorized to resolve such issues.³⁷ The Dominican practice of the master’s self-limitation is similar to Thomas’ notion that the ruler should subject himself voluntarily to the laws of the community; in neither case is there a legal obligation, but in both the proper conduct is required by a moral and customary obligation.

Still, in that section of the *Summa* Thomas states that the ruler is only subject to law in this moral, non-legal manner. The core of Thomas’ argument is that the ruler cannot be subjected to the law, since the laws originate from him, and, thus, they are not binding on him. He adds that there is no authority higher in the community than the ruler, thus, there is no one who could pass sentence on him. The Dominican practice was quite dissimilar. In the Order of Preachers the supreme legislative authority was not the master general (i.e., the head of the community), but the general chapter.³⁸

It is remarkable that Aquinas, who was definitely familiar with this structure of the Order of Preachers, did not reflect on the possibility of a group being the community’s legislative authority in this section of the *Summa*. This is especially striking since he does state that in political government the ruler is bound by the laws of the community (i.e., he admits there is a way in which there can be a single head of the community who is at the same time limited by the law). Moreover, he evidently had serious reluctance about bestowing too much power on a single ruler. But what could vest more power in a single person than the arrangement that he should hold the totality of legislative authority, combined with his dispensation from the obligation to obey the community’s laws?

A quite probable answer is that Thomas incorporates two distinct conceptions of monarchy into his theory and these passages refer to separate notions. In some

³⁷ Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 136; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 197.

³⁸ *Constitutiones*, 57 and Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 96.

sections of the *Summa* Thomas refers to regal monarchy, in which “the ruler rules absolutely and regarding everything.”³⁹ This is the rule of a sovereign, the ruler has plenary power in his dominion, as in the case of the universe’s government by God. In this kind of government the ruler is the sole legislative authority and the only obligation he has regarding the laws of the community is to subject himself to them voluntarily. If he fails to do so, there is no one who could supervise him, since he holds the totality of political power. But this is not the kind of monarchy that he outlines when he talks about mixed constitution or monarchy in the *De Regno*; both passages suggest that the king does not have full power.

It is most likely that for Thomas mixed government was a political rather than a regal constitution, and in political government the ruler is indeed subject to the laws of the community. There is evidence for this stance in one section of the *Summa*, where he deals with the types of human law, stating that there is a typical law corresponding to each governmental form. He declares that the law of mixed government is a law sanctioned by both the higher- and lower-born, that is, a law approved by practically all members of society.⁴⁰ In this section it is not clear whether he is speaking about the active act of legislation or only about the wide popular passive consent that laws receive in a mixed government. Nevertheless, the text clearly suggests that law-giving in a mixed government is not the work of a sovereign alone.

With a look at the Dominican government a more definite interpretation might be reached. The Friar Preachers, in a way, established laws sanctioned by the higher- and lower-born members of the order. The *diffinitors* attending the Dominican chapters were elected and they represented their fellow friars with *plena potestas*. That is, all their decisions were binding for all members of the community and they were carefully chosen so that they indeed represented “the common” members of the order. The legislative activity of the general chapter resulted in laws that ruled all friars up to the master general.

It is quite possible that, when speaking of the laws of mixed government, Thomas had something like this framework in mind. As the aristocratic group of government is supposed to be elected, ideally they represent the interest of their electors. The head of the community shares in the legislative work, but does not wield this right alone. Decisions reached in this way are binding for all members of the community, since laws are not enacted by a single individual, but by a group, with the, at least indirect, approval of all. This interpretation of the legal

³⁹ LP, I. 1. 4. *Ipse homo praeest simpliciter et secundum omnia, dicitur regimen regale.*

⁴⁰ ST, I–II. 95. 4.

system of mixed government parallels that of the Dominicans and offers a good explanation of Aquinas' sometimes confusing observations.

Conclusion

Aquinas' political notions, especially his somewhat obscure theory of mixed government, share suggestive similarities with the governmental practices of the Dominican Order, the religious organization Aquinas was a member of all his adult life. The government of the Friars Preachers can be interpreted as a mixed government in the Thomistic sense, manifesting elements of monarchy (the master general), aristocracy (the provincial and the general chapters), and democracy (the intricate representative system and electoral practice of the friars), where the admixture of these elements served as a check on misuse of governmental power.

The Dominican government could have been a real-life example of an actual, working mixed constitution for Thomas and its potential influence can be traced in several aspects of his ideas. Still, in his writings there are no direct references to his order's government, and, as a consequence, scholars have rarely and only briefly tackled the Dominican impact on Aquinas' political theory. The scope of this paper only allowed for the posing of a limited number of the potential influences, although further research could identify more.

CLERICAL REFORM IN CENTRAL EUROPE FOLLOWING THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL

Igor Razum 

Introduction¹

When thousands of clergymen, including hundreds of bishops, flocked to the Lateran in November 1215 they became part of the largest ecclesiastical assembly ever held up to that time in medieval Europe in terms of impact and scale. The Fourth Lateran Council was led by Pope Innocent III, arguably the most powerful pope in the Middle Ages. In concert with the Roman curia and taking into account two and a half years of communication with the ecclesiastical provinces of Latin Christendom, he created a program of reform defined in seventy canons.² This reform dealt with a wide range of matters: Defining the faith in the face of contemporary heresy and schism, administering ecclesiastical domains, new forms of devotion for the laity, defining the relationship between the clergy and laity, and institutionalizing the issue of saints' relics. The council also set about a reform program for the clergy based on the reform of morals and education.³

The Lateran reform's focus on a morally upright and educated clergy envisioned a strong presence of *magistri* and *scholastici* at cathedral schools throughout Latin Christendom that would alleviate problems such as priests not knowing the formulae they were saying during mass.⁴ The other side of the coin was the moral standing of the priests (and bishops). Behavior such as drunkenness,

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis "Tradition and Reform: The Impact of the Fourth Lateran Council in Central Europe" (Budapest, Central European University, 2014).

² For a general overview of the Fourth Lateran Council and Pope Innocent III see Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 417–451; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 170–187; Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2003), 201–250; Harald Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum im Mittelalter. Eine Papstgeschichte im Spiegel der Historiographie. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Päpste vom 4. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1981), 153–158.

³ John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root up and to Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 237–251; Raymonde Foreville, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV* (Paris: Éditions de l'Orante, 1965), 275–279, 287–306.

⁴ D. W. Robertson, Jr., "Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 24, no. 3 (1949): 376–388.

luxurious living, participating in secular pursuits (hunting, entertainment) had been a problematic issue in the ongoing Gregorian reform that had started in the preceding century. The actions of various provincial councils in England and France point to these practices, and one can assume that the ecclesiastical situation in Central Europe was similar to a degree.⁵

Hungary and Poland, two realms that began their story in Latin Christendom around the turn of the millennium, were firmly a part of Latin ecclesiastical structures by 1215. At the time of the Lateran council, they were perhaps no longer a part of “new Christendom,” more a kind of vanguard of Christianity on its eastern European frontier. In the thirteenth century this was an area that encompassed missionary work and crusading in the Baltic as well as encountering migrant non-Christians such as the Mongols and Cumans.⁶

During the first half of the thirteenth century – between 1213 and 1254 – the reform agenda was formed and implemented with varying success throughout Latin Christendom. Studies have thus far focused on smaller-scale issues revolving around single canons,⁷ although several key studies deal with the implementation and impact question on a broader level, engaging with the impact in England,

⁵ Ross William Collins, “The Parish Priest and his Flock as Depicted by the Councils of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *The Journal of Religion* 10, no. 3 (1930): 313–332.

⁶ For more on some of the aspects of the regional outlook of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia in the thirteenth century see Nora Berend, “Hungary, ‘the Gate of Christendom,’” in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 195–215; for an account of Hungary as a frontier society and the place of non-Christians in the kingdom see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and Pagans in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁷ Scholars have been interested in topics that range from the position of Jews in Latin Christendom, the theological issue of transubstantiation, crusade and conversion narratives in the aftermath of the Council, the development of law, the practice of confession and penance, the development of institutional Church hierarchy on a continental and local level, and the subject of ordeal; James A. Brundage, “Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law,” *Jewish History* 3, no. 1 (1988): 25–40; Joseph Goering, “The Invention of Transubstantiation,” *Traditio* 46 (1991): 147–170; Jessalynn Lea Bird, “Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): Oliver of Paderborn’s and James of Vitry’s Missions to Muslims Reconsidered,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004): 23–47; Alain Boureau, “How Law Came to the Monks: The Use of Law in English Society at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century,” *Past & Present* 167 (2000): 29–74; Joseph Goering, “The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession,” *Traditio* 59 (2004): 175–227; Anthony Perron, “Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier: Transforming the Danish Church around the Time of the Fourth Lateran Council,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (2003): 182–212; John W. Baldwin, “The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals,” *Speculum* 36, no. 4 (1961): 613–636.

Spain, and Germany.⁸ A general study of the council by Raymonde Foreville remains the standard reference work for any study dealing with the council's effects.⁹ Her study puts the council into the framework of the three previous Lateran assemblies and gives a view into the differences and parallels among the Lateran councils.

This discussion will focus on the ecclesiastical connections revolving around the issues of clerical education and morals in Poland and Hungary up to 1254, examining if there was any impact in the period and, if so, to what extent it engaged the attention of the local episcopates and clergy, as well as visiting papal legates. First I will elaborate on the educational impetus emanating from Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateran Council and the practical results it had on cathedral schools, and then move to an examination of the moral aptitude of priests as presented in ecclesiastical correspondence and the acts of provincial councils.

This consideration will include the correspondence of local clergy, often bishops or archbishops, with the pope, as well as the few items of legislation that have been preserved from provincial councils. Approaching such a topic requires engaging the scarce source material dealing specifically with the matter of reform in a detailed way and providing results while viewing the material as it reflects a long-term process.

Clerical Education

The institutional focus on education by the Fourth Lateran Council shows the papacy's continuing agenda to promote edification within the Church, whether directed at clergy or laity. Canon 11 of the council states:

Zeal for learning and the opportunity to make progress is denied to some through lack of means. The Lateran council therefore dutifully decreed that 'in each cathedral church there should be provided a suitable benefice for a master who shall instruct without charge the clerics of the cathedral church and other poor scholars, thus at once satisfying the teacher's needs and opening up the way of knowledge to learners.' This decree, however, is very little observed in many churches.

⁸ For three studies dealing with England, Spain, and Germany analyzing the period of reform see Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215–1272* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934); Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216–1245* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

⁹ Foreville, *Latran*.

We therefore confirm it and add that not only in every cathedral church but also in other churches with sufficient resources, a suitable master, elected by the chapter or by the greater and sounder part of it, shall be appointed by the prelate to teach grammar and other branches of study, as far as is possible, to the clerics of those and other churches. The metropolitan church shall have a theologian to teach scripture to priests and others and especially to instruct them in matters which are recognized as pertaining to the cure of souls. The income of one prebend shall be assigned by the chapter to each master, and as much shall be assigned by the metropolitan to the theologian. The incumbent does not by this become a canon but he receives the income of one as long as he continues to teach. If the metropolitan church finds providing for two masters a burden, let it provide for the theologian in the aforesaid way but get adequate provision made for the grammarian in another church of the city or diocese.¹⁰

From the wording of the canon it is observable that as early as 1179 the Third Lateran Council had seen it fit to legislate on the issue of education in cathedral centers.¹¹ This decree was apparently not received well, however, and by 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council had to reiterate the previous statement about a financial support system for cathedral schools. The focus here is on the position of *magistri* and *scholastici*, suitable masters for the purpose of raising the quality of the clergy in Latin Christendom. It was the bishop's duty to settle the affairs of the master so as to lessen the financial burden of his stay at the school with an adequate benefice. The provisions give the insight that the responsibility for the financial stability of the school was a communal affair, not limited to the cathedral, but at times the entire territory of the diocese.

The general issue concerning the realms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia is the paucity of source material on educational matters. Therefore, a piece of research such as that by Paul Pixton on the impact of Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateran on German schools would find this region an ill-matched area for its specific methodological implications.¹² Central Europe offers far fewer mentions

¹⁰ Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 240.

¹¹ Tanner, *Decrees*, 220

¹² Paul B. Pixton, "Pope Innocent III and the German Schools: the Impact of Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateranum upon Cathedral and Other Schools 1216–1272," in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2003), 1101–1132.

of *magistri* and *scholastici* and even fewer references to specific problems of financing masters and schools as defined in the canon.¹³ Therefore, a certain impact apparent in German lands in the thirteenth century cannot serve as a quantitative model for comparison with Central Europe. The sources revolving around the three realms should be looked at as part of a concentrated effort even though they might not yield as many sources as the German lands or Western Europe in general.

The ecclesiastical correspondence up to 1254, mostly between the papacy and local archbishops or bishops, does not often discuss matters pertaining to educational reform. Letters indicate twenty-three men who were of the rank of instructor, five of whom were *scholastici*.¹⁴ This, of course, draws an unbalanced image of any impact of change occurring at this time. Furthermore, the term *magister*, used to denote the masters of grammar in the canon and in the correspondence, do not indicate a clear position at a cathedral school, but might refer to an officer of the court who had attained such a competence but resided in the royal presence and was employed in the service of the ruler.

One finds cases such as in 1216 Pope Honorius III instructing a *magister* on keeping illegitimate sons out of holy orders and calling on a *scholasticus* to observe this interdiction in the diocese of Prague in 1218.¹⁵ Honorius also refers to a *Magister* Arnold, a royal chaplain, thereby revealing the non-educational employment of this learned cleric.¹⁶ A similar situation existed with *Magister* John, who was at the Bohemian court in 1221.¹⁷ In 1226, the bishop of Breslau (Wrocław) assigned a number of judges to investigate the bishop of Olmütz (Olomouc). The *scholasticus* Uldarico of Meissen was part of the investigating group, exemplifying the vibrant

¹³ For a comprehensive list of *magistri* in Hungary in the thirteenth century and an analysis of their engagement in ecclesiastical and secular pursuits see Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] 2nd ed. (Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2007), 33–56; studies of cathedral schools in the medieval realms provide information on the general status of schools, for more see Krzysztof Stopka, “Studia nad geneza szkół katedralnych w Polsce średniowiecznej” [Study on the origins of cathedral schools in medieval Poland], *Studia Historyczne* 36, no. 1 (1993): 3–21; Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [History of cathedral schools in Hungary up to 1540] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910).

¹⁴ Razum, “Tradition and Reform,” 42.

¹⁵ *magistro P., canonico Pragensi...*, Gustav Friedrich, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bobemiae*. vols. 2–3. (Prague: Wiesner, 1912–1942) II, 122 (hereafter: CDB); *...scolastico Wratislaviensi...*, CDB II, 148.

¹⁶ *magistrum A., regium capellanum...*; CDB II, 177.

¹⁷ CDB II, 193; John appears in a later charter as *procurator noster magister Johannes de Scacario*, CDB II, 197.

ecclesiastical connections between German archbishoprics and, in this case, the Bohemian Church.¹⁸

A clear example of the problems put forth by the Fourth Lateran Council arose in 1253, when Innocent IV mandated that the bishop of Győr give a benefice to *Magister* Gerard, then canon of Esztergom.¹⁹ Precisely dealing with the issues of Canon 11, namely, financing the instructors in schools, the letter stipulates that the bishop should take care to arrange for a benefice for the *magister*. The very next year Innocent sent another letter, now to the archbishop of Esztergom, asking him to provide one or more benefices for *Magister* Gerard.²⁰ The pope praises the efforts of Gerard on behalf of the Roman church, making it apparent that the bishop of Győr had failed to respond properly to the papal decree in the previous year.²¹

The case of *Magister* Gerard illustrates several aspects of the Fourth Lateran Council's educational reforms. The financial aspect was a central practical issue and the resolution of any problems regarding the material security of the instructors had to be resolved in a precise and swift manner so as not to delay the instructors or their students at the schools. Another aspect was tying the masters more closely to the various diocesan centers and cathedral schools with either a benefice or a place among the canons. Gerard was already a canon at Esztergom, but this was not seen as sufficient for his needs, and the request for a benefice may have been made to relocate him to the diocese of Győr.

One more interesting fact is known about *Magister* Gerard that portrays him in a different light. He does not appear to have been a local cleric, but rather came from Parma. Moreover, he is said to have been related to Albert, the papal notary who was later chaplain to the bishop of Palestrina.²² His Apennine origin indicates that foreign scholars still appeared in Hungary. However, it is difficult to ascertain, based on a single example, if Gerard's presence was part of a declining trend of resident foreign scholars or a common occurrence. The special attention that he received from the pope was likely because of his standing at the Roman curia, or at least his relative Albert's good word.

What impact did the Fourth Lateran Council have? Were it but one case in two letters then the impact would be dismal and it is doubtful if even *Magister* Gerard would have received papal attention had it not been for his family

¹⁸ CDB II, 291

¹⁹ Ferdinand Knauz, ed., *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis* (Esztergom, 1874), I, 403 (hereafter: MES).

²⁰ MES I, 418.

²¹ *qui in magnis et arduis ecclesiae Romanae negotiis se obsequiosum et devotum exhibuit...*

²² *consobrino Alberti notarii papalis...*, MES I, 403.

connection. This is a local predicament when it comes to sources, yet impact in terms of educational reform does not begin or end with one case. A general pattern of *magistri* and *scholastici* appearing in the source material signifies the presence of an intellectual elite in the first half of the century, either employed at cathedral schools or as part of secular courts.

Any actual impact of the council on clerical education in Central Europe should be analysed in a long-term study taking a nuanced approach due to the lack of sources. It should incorporate the fragments dealing with the financial state of schools, manuscript production, the movement of scholars through the area, and the establishment of the first universities.

The Morals of Clerics

While the educational reform took a different route and was a somewhat novel idea in terms of conciliar legislation, the issue of clerical morals had been a lively topic of debate for centuries, particularly since the start of the Gregorian reform in the mid-eleventh century.²³ The reformers rallied around themes such as simony and clerical marriage. In the twelfth century the reform efforts were hindered by the perpetual conflict between the papacy and the empire. This led to three Lateran Councils (1123, 1139, 1179) being less-than-successful reform assemblies. This lackluster development was remedied at the Fourth Lateran Council where the clarity of the message on what was correct behavior was unambiguous. Canon 14 elaborated on the problem of clerical incontinence (indiscipline with regard to sexual pleasures) and Canon 15 on the drunkenness of clergy as well as the problematic secular practices of hunting and fowling.²⁴ The next canon dealt with

²³ For more on the start of the Gregorian reform see Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 21–33, 79–108; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, “The Papacy and Canon Law in the Eleventh-Century Reform,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (1998): 201–218; I. S. Robinson, “Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085),” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 3 (1985): 439–483.

²⁴ Canon 14: “In order that the morals and conduct of clerics may be reformed for the better, let all of them strive to live in a continent and chaste way, especially those in holy orders. Let them beware of every vice involving lust, especially that on account of which the wrath of God came down from heaven,” Tanner, *Decrees*, 242; Canon 15: “All clerics should carefully abstain from gluttony and drunkenness. They should temper the wine to themselves and themselves to the wine. Let no one be urged to drink, since drunkenness obscures the intellect and stirs up lust. Accordingly we decree that that abuse is to be entirely abolished whereby in some places drinkers bind themselves to drink equal amounts, and that man is most praised who makes the most people drunk and himself drains the deepest cups... We forbid all clerics to hunt or to fowl, so let them not presume to have dogs or birds for fowling,” *idem*, 242–243.

clerical attire, avoiding lavish expenditure on clothing. Moreover, it instructs the clergy to keep out of taverns, secular enterprises, entertainment gatherings, and games of chance.²⁵ Almost twenty canons dealt with reforming the internal morals and discipline of the Church. Clerical misdeeds had been well documented from early on in the reform movement, especially in Western Europe;²⁶ in the thirteenth century this became most apparent through the acts of provincial councils where local problems were brought to the fore.²⁷ The practice of provincial councils was defined in Canon 6. The councils were supposed to be the instrument a bishop used to reform his diocese.²⁸

The success of any reform effort depended on the commitment of the supervisors, be they the local bishop or even the pope. In 1217, Pope Honorius III sent a letter to Bishop Andrew of Prague about observing the reform canons,²⁹ objecting to injustices clerics suffered from laymen in Andrew's diocese.³⁰

²⁵ Canon 16: "Clerics should not practice callings or business of a secular nature, especially those that are dishonorable. They should not watch mimes, entertainers and actors. Let them avoid taverns altogether, unless by chance they are obliged by necessity on a journey. They should not play at games of chance or of dice, nor be present at such games... Their outer garments should be closed and neither too short nor too long. Let them not indulge in red or green clothes, long sleeves or shoes with embroidery or pointed toes, or in bridles, saddles, breast-plates and spurs that are gilded or have other superfluous ornamentation... They are not to wear buckles or belts ornamented with gold or silver, or even rings except for those whose dignity it befits to have them," Tanner, *Decrees*, 243.

²⁶ For more on provincial councils and errors in clerical behavior see Collins, "The Parish Priest."

²⁷ For a detailed example of a thirteenth-century provincial council see Richard Kay, *The Council of Bourges, 1225: A Documentary History* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

²⁸ The Fourth Lateran Council's Canon 6 elaborated on the need and function of provincial councils: "As is known to have been ordained of old by the holy fathers, metropolitans should not fail to hold provincial councils each year with their suffragans in which they consider diligently and in the fear of God the correction of excesses and the reform of morals, especially among the clergy. Let them recite the canonical rules, especially those which have been laid down by this general council, so as to secure their observance, inflicting on transgressors the punishment due. In order that this may be done more effectively, let them appoint for each diocese suitable persons, that is to say prudent and honest persons, who will simply and summarily, without any jurisdiction, throughout the whole year, carefully investigate what needs correction or reform and will then faithfully report these matters to the metropolitan and suffragans and others at the next council, so that they may proceed with careful deliberation against these and other matters according to what is profitable and decent," Tanner, *Decrees*, 236–237.

²⁹ CDB II, 126.

³⁰ *Non tam detestabilis quam abominabilis consuetudo in Boemie partibus inolevit, quod laici quidam contra deum et sacrorum canonum instituta ecclesiasticos viros capiunt et eos carcerali custodie mancipantes*

Ecclesiastical liberties had been a key element of the reform movement for a long time, and the papacy of Honorius III was no different. Honorius referred to the council again in a letter to the abbots and brothers of the Premonstratensians and then to the bishops of Latin Christendom in 1219 in a letter of general support for the reform effort, a project clearly considered part of papal policy.³¹

In 1234, Pope Gregory IX sent a letter to Abbot Peter of Strahov monastery in Bohemia³² in which he related how he had received word that some canons subject to the abbot were manhandling monks and clergy, thus acting against the meaning of the canons (of the Lateran Council). It is plausible that he is addressing matters elaborated on in Canon 7, which explains how to deal with clerical offences; the physical aspect of the source connects it to Canon 18, which limits clerical involvement in sentences involving the shedding of blood.³³ Gregory summoned the Bohemian bishops to a general council in 1240, only to be hindered by Frederick II.³⁴ This was part of a general program, as Archbishop Matthias of Esztergom also received the summons.³⁵ Gregory's efforts were part of the papacy's continuing struggle to uphold the agenda of the reform.

The Polish Church had even fewer instances of the reform agenda being brought up. In 1218 Honorius sent a letter to the archbishop of Gniezno emphasising the need to reform the province of Plock.³⁶ Therein he mentions the Fourth Lateran Council and provincial councils numerous times.³⁷ Documented provincial councils are sparse; in 1233, Archbishop Fulk of Gniezno confirmed a set of constitutions of the council of Syradia (Sieradz).³⁸ The goal had been

presumunt mortis supplicio condemnare, CDB II, 126.

³¹ CDB II, 163.

³² CDB III/1, 76.

³³ Canon 18: "No cleric may decree or pronounce a sentence involving the shedding of blood or carry out a punishment involving the same, or be present when such punishment is carried out...", Tanner, *Decrees*, 244; this decree in theory stipulated that ecclesiastical power required the aid of secular authorities in promoting justice although its initial intent seemed to be abolishing such practices, for more see Baldwin, "Canon of 1215 against Ordeals," 613–636.

³⁴ CDB III/2, 327–328; the bishops of Prague and Olomouc (Olmütz) were summoned to the council in Rome.

³⁵ MES I, 336.

³⁶ Societas Literariae Poznaniensis, ed. *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* (Poznań, 1877), no. 102 (hereafter: KDW).

³⁷ *Concilium in provincia tua..., ante generale Concilium..., in Plocensi ecclesia Syndoum celebrans..., Sicque in nullo servata generalis Concilii forma edita super corrigendis excessibus subditorum..., presertim iuxta constitutiones Concilii generalis...*

³⁸ KDW, no. 150.

a better reform of the Polish Church, building upon the previous prelates' work. The council stresses again the example of the Fourth Lateranum and also contends with such important issues as clerical indiscipline and clerical marriage.³⁹

Several elements of Church reform come to light in the Council of Syradia. Clerical morals were a continuing problem eighteen years after the Lateran Council, as had been the case for more than a century. Another element is the frequent referrals to the general council and subsequent provincial councils. The decisions taken at Syradia indicate that provincial conciliar activity was an integral part of ecclesiastical life in Poland in the time of Archbishop Henryk Kietlicz and his successors.

In Hungary the decisions of the council were supported and promoted by a letter Honorius III sent to the archbishop of Esztergom in 1216.⁴⁰ The activity of provincial councils remains unclear, although a council was probably held in Kalocsa in 1222 at the time Legate Acontius was visiting Hungary, and later, in 1252, a provincial council was likely held in Esztergom.⁴¹ This information is scant but indicates that the Hungarian episcopate did take reform measures. Throughout the century, the papal position and promotion of the reform was a task for the papal legates, nine of whom visited Hungary between 1213 and 1254.⁴²

The combined efforts of papal legates and councils were supposed to bring about reform, but sources only relate the fact that legations and councils happened

³⁹ The provincial council refers to the Fourth Lateran Council: "...ut secundum constitutionem Concilii Lateranensis and possibly *per statum Synodi reformatam*, the content of the constitutions is also clearly influenced by the Fourth Lateran Council, with matters such as clerical indiscipline: "...super omnia autem districte statuente precipimus, ut omnes clerici sicut tenentur continentiam observant ab omni genere fornicacionis abstinentes...", followed by clerical marriage: "...matrimonia nullomodo eis licuit contrahere...".

⁴⁰ MES I, 211.

⁴¹ Lothar Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn: von der Völkervwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1987), 177–178.

⁴² The legates were Ugolino de Segni, cardinal bishop of Ostia (legate from 1217–1219); Acontius, papal chaplain and subdeacon (1219, 1221–1225 [?]); Robert, archbishop of Esztergom (1227–1232); Aegidius, papal chaplain and subdeacon (1228–1232); Jacob de Pecoraria, cardinal bishop of Palestrina (August, 1232–March 1234); Salvi, bishop of Perugia (1237–1238); Posa, OP, bishop of Bosnia (1238–1239 [?]); John of Civittella, papal chaplain and subdeacon (1241); and Stephen Bánca, archbishop of Esztergom (1253). For more on the issue of papal legates in Hungary see Gábor Barabás, "Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca. 1198–ca. 1241). Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze" (Doctoral Dissertation, Philosophischen Fakultät und Fachbereich Theologie der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen, 2013), 35–100.

– at times not even this is confirmed – thus the content of the councils and legates' activities often remains in the realm of speculation. The clergy, foreign and domestic, were engaged in practical, everyday religious and political matters and though reform was probably part of their discussions, the question remains whether it was worth writing down or commenting on.

The sources present an uneven image of reform; they deal with general matters and rarely move into detailed analyses of clerical morals. Clerical behavior, however, was part of everyday discussion in ecclesiastical circles and it was likely a commonplace topic among parish laity. The Polish council of Syradia shows that clerical indiscipline and morals continued to be an issue in need of reform. As to how many other aspects of clerical behavior such as attire or hunting came into the debate remains unknown. However, reform and council were a continuing aspect of ecclesiastical life and although any real impact on laity or clergy is hard to document, it is clear that the activity of bishops did not dwindle, rather the opposite.

Conclusions

The reform efforts in the fields of clerical education and morals in Central Europe have the issue of fragmented source material providing scholars with a somewhat ambivalent image of reform in the first half of the thirteenth century, immediately after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. However, the few sources do provide a glimpse of certain canons gaining traction amongst the local episcopate and clergy, seen in the instance directly pertaining to the benefice for *Magister* Gerard of Parma and the council of Syradia that reiterated the problems of clerical indiscipline and clerical marriage. The efforts of legates and local bishops combining to effect deep societal change and resolve short-term issues were ripples of the reform and the extreme cases were those which, less frequently than in Western Europe, were recorded in the sources. A long-term analysis of ecclesiastical development in the region would support a more confident interpretation of the Lateran reform, however, even at this point it is clear that there was a certain impact and a perception that a change in the state of affairs should occur. The clerical reform had begun, echoes of the results would only be seen with the passing of decades and centuries.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF HUNGARIAN ROYAL GRANTS TO THE CHURCH IN DALMATIA (1102–1301)

Judit Gál 

This paper deals with royal grants which were given to the Church in Dalmatia by the kings and dukes of Hungary between 1102, when Coloman was crowned king of Croatia and Dalmatia, and 1301, when the last king of the Árpád dynasty died. These sources have received little attention in either Hungarian or Croatian historiography even though they provide rich material for examining the Hungarian royal policy in Dalmatia. The aim of this paper is to examine royal grants in the context of urban society in order to show how cities were treated in royal grant giving and the influence a changing society had on the royal policy in Dalmatia. First, I describe a number of royal grants and examine their major territorial and temporal characteristics. Then I address the reception of royal grants, including the symbolic and political aspects. Finally, I will compare the communal development of the towns and concomitant changes in royal grant giving in the thirteenth century.¹

Royal Grants Examined

“Grants” here (approximately 39; see *Table 1*) are defined as grants made by the kings of Hungary, who were dukes of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, and also grants made by the bans of Slavonia between 1241 and 1267, a time when the bans were also occasionally dukes of Slavonia and *comes* of Trogir and Split. The definition of grant includes lands which were donated to ecclesiastical institutions and new or confirmed privileges given to monasteries and (arch) bishoprics. The royal grants examined here comprise examples from published primary source collections and holdings of the national archives in Croatia. Before further discussion, it should be mentioned that the scarcity of sources is a serious hindrance to answering complex questions about royal grants. The characteristics of the written culture and the number of surviving sources necessitate drawing conclusions carefully, but this group of royal grants still gives the opportunity to acquire a deeper understanding of the relationship between Dalmatia and the royal court of Hungary.

¹ This paper presents one part of my MA thesis “Hungarian Horizons in the History of the Church in Dalmatia: The Role of the Royal Grants to the Church” (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

King Coloman (1095–1116) made the first royal grant to a Dalmatian church in 1102.² Coloman was crowned king of Croatia and Dalmatia in that year in Biograd; during his intervention in Dalmatia he had stayed at the convent of Saint Mary in Zadar. During his stay, the king confirmed the previous privileges of the convent. Three years later he seized Zadar (Zara), Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato), and the islands.³ Coloman confirmed the privileges of the bishopric of Trogir,⁴ and the convent of St. Mary in Zadar,⁵ which he gifted with a tower.⁶ Moreover, from the confirmation of King Béla II (1131–41) from 1138 it is known that Coloman gave the church of Saint Mary to the archbishopric of Split.⁷

This charter of King Béla II also mentions that King Stephen II (1116–31) had confirmed Coloman's grant, which could have been issued after 1105 in one of the years when he visited Dalmatia, as was his custom. This custom meant that after his coronation in Biograd he went to Dalmatia in every third year.⁸ Stephen II's grant was probably given around 1124–1125, when he re-took the city from Venice for a short time.⁹

Géza II (1141–1162) gave grants to the archbishopric of Split at least three times during his reign. He confirmed the rights of the archbishopric over the

² Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Sclavoniae et Dalmatiae*, 18 vols (Zagreb, 1904–1934), II 9. Hereafter CDC.

³ Györffy, György, “A 12. századi dalmáciai városprivilegiumok kritikája” [Critical notes on the privileges of the Dalmatian towns in the twelfth century], *Történelmi Szemle* 10 (1967): 49.

⁴ Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović, *Legende i Kronike* [Legends and chronicles] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977), 119.

⁵ Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney, *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificium* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), 96. Hereafter *Historia Salonitana*.

⁶ The inscription in the tower reads: ANNO INCAR[NATIONIS] . DOMINI . N[OST]RI . IE[S]V . CHR[IST]I . MIL[LESIMO] . C . V . POST VICTORIAM ET PACIS PRAEMIA . IADERAE INTROITUS . A DEO CONCESSA // PROPRIO SVMPTV . HANC TVRRI[M] S[AN]C[T]AE MARIAE . UNGARIAE . D[AL]MAT[IAE] . CHROA[TIAE] . CONSTRVI . ET ERIGI // IVSSIT REX COLLOMANNVS. See Miroslav Marković, “Dva natpisa iz Zadra” [Two inscriptions from Zadar], *Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauke* 36 (1953): 101; Ana Marinković, “«Construi et erigi iussit rex Collomannus»: The Royal Chapel of King Coloman in the Complex of St. Mary in Zadar,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 37–64.

⁷ CDC II 47.

⁸ Györffy, “A 12. századi,” 49.

⁹ Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 20–21.

church of Saint Mary in 1143.¹⁰ In 1158 he gave the church of Saint Bartholomew, the church of Saint Stephen, and the church of Saint Moses to the archbishopric.¹¹ Three years later, Géza II gave a certain property in Solin to the archbishopric.¹² This donation is only known from a short note found in the manuscript heritage of Johannes Lucius.¹³

The same manuscript preserves a note about the confirmation of this grant in Solin by King Stephen III (1162–72) in 1163.¹⁴ The king of Hungary, who had to fight Venice and Byzantium for Dalmatia, also confirmed the privileges of the archbishopric of Split in the same year.¹⁵ It can be stressed that he was also the first king of Hungary to confirm the privileges of the monastery of Saint John in Biograd, which he did in 1166.¹⁶ In 1167, Manuel I Comnenos (1143–80), the Byzantine emperor, seized Dalmatia among other southern territories of the king of Hungary. After Manuel's death, King Béla III regained these territories in the 1180s.¹⁷ He also confirmed Stephen III's grant to the monastery of Saint John in 1188.¹⁸

The year 1197 was a turning point in Hungarian royal policy in Dalmatia. King Emeric (1196–1204) and his brother, Duke Andrew (1197–1205), disturbed the peace of Hungary with their fight for the throne. The struggles between the two brothers and groups of the elite reached Dalmatia as well. Duke Andrew succeeded in getting the rule in Dalmatia, after he had defeated King Emeric in a battle at Mački. The number of royal grants started increasing during the hostile relationship between the king and the duke. King Emeric confirmed the privileges both of the archbishopric of Zadar and the archbishopric of Split in 1198.¹⁹ In the same year, Duke Andrew also confirmed some privileges for both the archbishopric of Split²⁰ and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd.²¹ Two years later King Emeric also confirmed the privileges of the monastery of Saint

¹⁰ CDC II 54.

¹¹ CDC II 87.

¹² Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti [hereafter HAZU], LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40.

¹³ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12

¹⁴ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40.

¹⁵ CDC II 97.

¹⁶ CDC II 106.

¹⁷ Makk, *The Árpáds*, 114.

¹⁸ CDC II 225.

¹⁹ CDC II 310., CDC II 310–311.

²⁰ CDC II 308., CDC II 309.

²¹ CDC II 293.

John in Biograd²² and the church of Saint Vital to the bishopric of Trogir.²³ King Andrew may have confirmed this grant as king between 1205 and 1210, because Matthew, the ban of the maritime region, mentions in his charter from 1210 that Andrew had issued a royal privilege concerning this church.²⁴ Both Emeric and Andrew donated the property of Biać and Gradac to the bishopric of Trogir before 1202²⁵ and King Emeric gave mills on the Jadro River to the archbishopric of Split during his reign.²⁶

Andrew II (1205–35) confirmed the privileges of the archbishopric of Split in 1207 with special regard to the place of the recently subordinated bishopric of Bosnia.²⁷ Later, in 1210, he again confirmed the privileges of the monastery of Saint John in Biograd.²⁸ He gave a grant to the Church of Trogir²⁹ and a certain piece of land in Solin to the archbishopric of Split when he led a crusade and stayed in the city in 1217.³⁰ Before arriving in Split, King Andrew confirmed his previous grant to the bishopric and the community of Trogir.³¹ Coloman (1226–42), duke of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, gave Drid to the bishopric of Trogir in 1226³² and Andrew II confirmed it a year later.³³

King Béla IV, the former duke of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, also confirmed this grant in 1242 while he was exiled from Hungary by the Mongols.³⁴ He also tried to seize back Zadar from Venice, and during that time, also in 1242, confirmed the privileges of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar.³⁵ Two years later he donated Cetina County to the archbishopric of Split when he supported Archbishop Ugrin's election.³⁶ In the second half of the thirteenth century the number of royal grants decreased. Three of them were given to the bishopric of Nin by King Stephen V and Roland, the ban and

²² CDC II 358.

²³ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 27-28.

²⁴ *terram cum omnibus suis pertinentiis confirmatis et corroboratis cum privilegio Domini Regis*, see Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28–29.

²⁵ CDC III. 16.

²⁶ *Historia Salonitana*, 140.

²⁷ CDC III 70.

²⁸ CDC III 99.

²⁹ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28–29.

³⁰ CDC III 160.

³¹ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/13. fol. 29.

³² CDC III 258.

³³ CDC III 278.

³⁴ CDC IV 153.

³⁵ CDC IV 163.

³⁶ CDC IV 243.

duke of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia.³⁷ King Ladislas IV issued the last known royal grant in the thirteenth century when he donated a certain piece of land to the monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar.³⁸

Concluding the temporal characteristics of the royal grants, it can be said that grant giving was most intense during the reign of King Coloman and between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the 1230s. After this period, the number of grants decreased. The territorial distribution of the grants shows that the kings and dukes gave grants to ecclesiastical centers which had great political importance and Benedictine monasteries which were founded by the local elites or the previous royal dynasty of Croatia.

As the main ecclesiastical center in northern and central Dalmatia, the archbishopric of Split received most of the grants.³⁹ It had an important place in Hungarian royal policy and it almost always had a Hungarian archbishop or someone who was closely related to the court during this period.⁴⁰ Both the Church and the city of Trogir enjoyed great favor from the kings, who also took the side of the city many times during its struggle with Split.⁴¹ The bishopric of Nin came to the forefront in the 1260s, but I assume that this process began around 1242, when Béla IV stayed in Dalmatia for several months and a certain Samson from Hungary was elected bishop of Nin.⁴² The fact that Béla IV lost Zadar permanently during the struggle between Hungary and Venice changed the value of Nin due to its location. The convent of Saint Mary in Zadar, founded by Čika, a relative of King Krešimir IV (1059–74), and the monastery of Saint John

³⁷ CDC V 636, 637.

³⁸ CDC VI 533.

³⁹ Josip Buturac and Antun Ivandija, *Povijest katoličke crkve među Hrvatima* [History of the Roman Catholic Church among the Croats] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko književno društvo Sv. Cirila i Metoda, 1973), 43.

⁴⁰ Judit Gál, “Loyalty and Identity of the Bishops and Archbishops in Dalmatia during the Reign of the Árpád Dynasty,” *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): 471–494.

⁴¹ Nada Klaić, *Trogir u srednjem vijeku* [Trogir in the Middle Ages] (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1985), 127–135; Ivo Babić, *Prostor između Trogira i Splita* (Trogir: Muzej grad Trogira, 1984), 72–73.

⁴² Samson was mentioned in sources from 1242 to 1269, see CDC IV 202; CDC V 505–6.

in Biograd,⁴³ founded by King Krešimir IV, had royal freedom.⁴⁴ The monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, founded by the powerful and rich Madius family, played an important role in the life of Zadar.⁴⁵

The Reception of Royal Grants

The royal grants which were given to the Church in Dalmatia can be divided into three groups based on the place of issue. Most of them were given during the personal presence of the dukes or kings, as suggested by either the charters themselves or the historical circumstances of the issuing. Some grants were given at the royal court, far from Dalmatia. The place of issue cannot be determined for a number of grants.⁴⁶ Royal visits to Dalmatia were not spontaneous events, neither were the royal entries, which many times went hand in hand with a royal presence in the region. The subject inhabitants of the ruled land had to participate in these events; the cities and the ruler worked together to organize the rituals and spectacles.

The royal presence laid charges on the citizens; the kings expressed their supremacy over the ruled lands and the subjects had to acknowledge the ruler's power over them.⁴⁷ This recognition occurred on different levels of the communication between the kings and the citizens. They expressed their loyalty to the king in words and in ritual actions.⁴⁸ The cities welcomed the king with honor and solemn acts when admitting him inside the walls. A charter issued after Duke Andrew's entry into Trogir around 1200 depicted the following event: "We went to the coasts of Dalmatia and entered the city of Trogir, where on the one

⁴³ The monastery was ruined by the Venetians in 1125, when they took that territory. The monastery and its monks moved to the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Pašman, which also received grants during this time. See Zvezdan Strika, "Samostan sv. Ivana Evanđelista u Biograd od utemeljenja do 1125. godine" [The Monastery of Saint John the Evangelist in Biograd from its founding until 1125], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesnu znanost HAZU u Zadru* 52 (2010): 149–172.

⁴⁴ Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [Benedictines in Croatia and our other regions] (Split: Benediktinski priorat – TKON, 1964), vol. 2, 216.

⁴⁵ Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, 39–55.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of places the of issues see Gál, "Hungarian Horizons," 7–25.

⁴⁷ Jacoba van Leeuwen, "Introduction," in *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Jacoba van Leeuwen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), xiv–xv.

⁴⁸ Dušan Zupka, "Communication in a Town: Urban Rituals and Literacy in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary," in *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 341–342.

hand, the clergy, on the other hand, the people of Trogir accepted us with honor and joy, and we received solemn praises.”⁴⁹

A similar form of reception appears in Archdeacon Thomas of Split’s detailed description in his *Historia Salonitana* about Andrew II’s entry into Split in 1217, where he depicts the joyous entry of the king:

All the citizens and foreigners and the whole crowd of his army marched out in procession to meet the lord king, loudly sounding his praises. Then all the clergy robed in silk vestments over their surplices proceeded with crosses and censers as far as the Pistura Square, chanting together in a manner worthy of the king’s majesty.⁵⁰

The royal praises, mentioned in both sources, were probably part of the reception of kings and dukes during the Árpáadian age. These praises were symbolic and public recognition of the royal power by the citizens and the clergy.⁵¹ Only one example of royal praise has been preserved from the centuries studied here, in Zadar from around 1114. This royal praise first lauded the pope, then King Coloman, his son, Duke Stephen, Archbishop Gregory of Zadar, and *Ban Cledin*.⁵² The use of Church liturgy was not an unusual tool for rulers to secure their power over the territories they ruled.⁵³ The kings of Hungary also used the influence of the Church to secure the loyalty of the Dalmatian cities. For instance, the archbishops of Split were supposed to represent the interest of the royal court during most of the period under study here.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *ad maritimas Dalmaciae partes accessissemus, Traguriensem civitatem intravimus. Ubi [ab] una [parte] a clero, et universo populo cum honore et gaudio recepti, laude hymnidicas honorabili terre cepimus* (my translation). See Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11, fol. 28–29.

⁵⁰ My translation from *Historia Salonitana*, 161.

⁵¹ Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations of Medieval Rulers* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), 147–157; Dušan Zupka, “Power of Rituals, and Rituals of Power: Religious and Secular Rituals in the Political Culture of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,” in *Historiography in Motion*, ed. Roman Holec and Rastislav Kožiak (Bratislava: Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2010), 34–37.

⁵² Georgius Györffy, *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia (ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196)*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 400.

⁵³ Andrew Brown, “Ritual and State-building: Ceremonies in Late Medieval Bruges,” in *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, 4–5.

⁵⁴ Judit Gál, “*Qui erat gratiosus apud eum*. A spliti érsekek az Árpádok királyságában” [The role of the archbishops of Split in the kingdom of the Árpáds], in *Magister historiae*, ed. Mónika Belucz and Judit Gál (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2014), 54–63.

The detailed reception of kings during their visits was laid down in various orders which had been transmitted from the Carolingian period in Europe.⁵⁵ A royal visit was not only an event to recognize the king's rule, but it also gave a city an opportunity for self-representation. The social hierarchy and the internal political relations of the cities were also apparent during the royal presence. Visits and entries provided a place and time for the local elites to earn the favor of the king. Both the Church and the secular elite of the cities received grants in the presence of the ruler, who rewarded his dependents and received statements of the loyalty of the Dalmatian cities. The kings wanted to take advantage of the political influence of the Church in the cities by engaging them with grants and gifts. The royal grants were tools to express the hierarchy of the realm and the generosity of the almost semi-god king.⁵⁶

Beside grants which were given in their personal presence, the kings gave and confirmed privileges from far away. These long-distance donations and confirmations, as Georg Vogeler shows in his recent study, were not only legal documents, but they were visual proof of royal favor for the Church and the city, and the documents were also part of the communication between the ruler and the ruled city.⁵⁷

The royal grants to the Church were not only issued when the kings felt the need to give a grant, but the citizens and the clergy also applied for them, in both Dalmatia and in other parts of the kingdom. First, they could ask the king personally during a royal visit. Second, they could apply for grants and confirmation in letters, as in 1142, after King Géza II's coronation, when the citizens of Split asked the king to confirm their privileges. Third, when the magistrates and the clergy visited the royal court, they could ask for the favor of the king, as in 1188, when an embassy from Zadar visited the court of Béla III.⁵⁸

The grants were not only tools the royal court used to secure the royal power in the ruled land. The Church and the cities in Dalmatia also used and took advantage of grants to meet their political goals. The example of a struggle

⁵⁵ Ernst Kantorowitz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 208–209.

⁵⁶ Mladen Ančić, "From the 'Demigod' King to the First Ideas about a 'National Kingdom,'" in *Kolomanov put* [Coloman's path], ed. Mladen Ančić and Jelena Borošak-Marijanović (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesne muzej, 2002), 70–109.

⁵⁷ Georg Vogeler. "The Distant Emperor. Communication between European and Mediterranean Towns and Frederic II of Hohenstaufen," in *Towns and Communication. Communication between Towns II*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011), 134–135.

⁵⁸ CDC II 225.

between Split and Trogir from the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1245 shows how the royal grants to the Church were used for such purposes. The cities struggled for jurisdiction over certain lands between Split and Trogir, for territories whose ownership was disputed between the bishopric of Trogir and the archbishopric of Split.⁵⁹ The result was that both the Church and the cities were involved in these fights. First, Archbishop Bernard was able to acquire the villages of Biać and Gradac as a grant from King Emeric and Duke Andrew around 1202.⁶⁰ However, Andrew was more generous towards the bishopric of Trogir while he was the duke. After his coronation he gave grants and confirmations that served the interests of the archbishopric of Split. King Andrew II confirmed land which had previously belonged to the bishopric of Trogir to the archbishopric of Split in 1207. Domald, the *comes* of Split, probably played an important role in this change of Andrew's policy, since he held huge territories in Central Dalmatia and enjoyed the king's favor. Domald's political power could have assuaged the bad personal relationship between the king and Archbishop Bernard.⁶¹ The struggle for the land continued, in 1210, when Matthew, the ban of the maritime region, judged the ownership of the land of St. Vital to the good of Trogir in a dispute between Split and Trogir.⁶²

Duke Coloman gave Drid to the city and Church of Trogir in 1226 when he visited Dalmatia for the first time⁶³ and King Andrew confirmed his grant in 1227.⁶⁴ This territory also lay on the disputed land. King Béla IV's presence during the Mongol invasion fanned the argument between Split and Trogir. He favored the latter city and confirmed Drid to the Church of Trogir in 1242.⁶⁵ War broke out in 1242 over the village of Ostrog and peace was made in 1245 favoring Trogir, which was supported by the king.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Nada Klaić, *Trogir u srednjem vijeku*, 127–135; Ivo Babić, *Prostor između Trogira i Splita* (Trogir: Muzej Grad Trogira, 1984), 77.

⁶⁰ CDC III 16

⁶¹ Klaić, *Trogir u srednjem vijeku*, 78

⁶² Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11, fol. 27–28.

⁶³ CDC III 258.

⁶⁴ CDC III 278.

⁶⁵ CDC IV 153.

⁶⁶ Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita* [History of Split], 2 vols. (Split: Matica hrvatska, 1957), 123–124.

The Communal Development of the Dalmatian Towns and Changes in Giving Grants

The examination of communal development here will be confined to the examples of Split and Trogir, which belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary for most of the period studied, even after the mid-thirteenth century, unlike Zadar. Split and Trogir received most of the grants and these cities provide enough sources to examine their development. The self-organization of the citizens of the Dalmatian cities began in the eleventh century. Great assemblies were organized both in Split and Trogir and probably other Dalmatian cities had similar institutions. Urban society was divided into *maiores* and *minores*, nobles and non-nobles, but the assemblies included all the citizens. These were not standing institutions; whenever the city needed to decide an important question or the presence of the assembly was needed, the *comes* called the citizens together.⁶⁷ They decided about the important local questions; they took oaths to foreign rulers, regulated the life of the citizens, elected the *comes* of the city, and made peace in the name of the city.⁶⁸

The communal development and organization of the commune, which began around the twelfth century,⁶⁹ became more intensive around the mid-thirteenth century.⁷⁰ That was the time when the first statute of Split was put down in writing under the rule of *Podesta* Gargano de Arscindis in 1239.⁷¹ Two years later, for the first time in the history of Split, the general assembly made peace in the name of the city with Count Andrew of Zahumlje.⁷²

The formation of a commune separated the ecclesiastical from the secular powers. While for most of this period the Church was dominant in the life of cities,⁷³ in the second half of the thirteenth century the two powers started to separate. The election of the (arch)bishops was not only the right of the Church; the citizens and canons elected the ecclesiastical leader of their city together. Participation in the election was important because, besides the role a bishop played, the bishops and archbishops held their offices for life and the *comes* only

⁶⁷ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 276.

⁶⁸ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 275–278.

⁶⁹ Ludwig Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1984), 157–159.

⁷⁰ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 279; Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo* [Medieval Trogir. Space and Society] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009), 41.

⁷¹ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 279.

⁷² Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 277.

⁷³ Ivan Strohal, *Pravna povijest dalmatinskih gradova* [Legal history of the Dalmatian cities] (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1913), 305–310.

ruled for a year.⁷⁴ As the laity influenced the election, so the archbishops also took part in secular affairs and the life of the city. In Trogir, the ecclesiastical and secular powers began to take part in each other's worlds during the twelfth century.⁷⁵ In Split, the archbishops were closely connected to the royal court.⁷⁶ The secular influence of the archbishops of Split reached its peak during Ugrin's tenure of office, when he was not only the ecclesiastical but also the secular leader of the city, as *comes* between 1245 and 1248.

After Ugrin's death, the next bishop, a certain Friar John, was elected only by the suffragans of Split without the participation of the citizens in 1248, but he was never consecrated. The next archbishop, Roger of Apulia, was appointed by the pope, also without asking the opinion of the laity.⁷⁷ Roger kept away from the secular administration and dealt mostly with ecclesiastical matters, according to Archdeacon Thomas.⁷⁸ His absence from the political life of the city was probably a sign of a change among the secular and ecclesiastical powers of Split. By the end of the century, the election of the archbishops was only the right of the canons, and the citizens had no official influence in the process.⁷⁹

In Trogir, the Church participated in the secular life of the city; its influence was not confined only to the ecclesiastical life of Trogir. The Church was dominant in communication with the royal court and competed with the secular power in the city. The bishopric of Trogir enjoyed the kings' and dukes' favor, which was materialized in grants. As the separation of the secular and ecclesiastical powers became more and more significant, bishops were expelled from the secular administration of the city by the end of the thirteenth century,⁸⁰ although the separation of the two powers did not happen without conflicts between the Church and the commune. The social topography of Trogir expressed the changing position of the Church. In the second half of the thirteenth century the commune started transforming the main square of the city, which had been dominated by ecclesiastical buildings until that time. The city demolished the church of St. Stephen in 1272 to have a place for building a new communal palace. A new loggia was built on the place of the church of St. Martin and the

⁷⁴ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 373.

⁷⁵ Klaić, *Trogir*, 74.

⁷⁶ Gál, "*Qui erat*," 62–63.

⁷⁷ Mirko Sardelić, *Carmen miserabile: Rogerije iz Apulije* [*Carmen miserabile. Roger from Apulia*] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2010), 106.

⁷⁸ *Historia Salonitana*, 362.

⁷⁹ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 373.

⁸⁰ Benyovsky, *Trogir*, 198.

communal administration also rented the building of the monastery of St. John the Baptist for its purposes.⁸¹ The economic and social changes of the thirteenth century influenced the number of grants given by the citizens, too. After the mid-thirteenth century one can hardly find grants where citizens donated land to the Church. Neither (arch)bishoprics nor Benedictine monasteries received new donations of land in the last decades of the century. The local elites invested in commerce and the salt trade and owning land became more and more important.⁸² Land donated to the Church was removed from economic circulation, since it was a perpetual religious gift.⁸³ Moreover, the citizens of Split and Trogir had to pay city taxes to the commune on land plots that were outside the boundary of the city.⁸⁴ Ecclesiastical institutions were excused; they had to pay only papal and episcopal taxes.⁸⁵

The development of the communes and the new concept of communal property resulted in changes in giving grants. The first signs appeared when the great congregation of Split forbade giving lands to the Church around 1160.⁸⁶ After the mid-thirteenth century, in line with the upswing in communal development, the citizens gave hardly any land to the Church. After examining the sources, I assume that the local elites stopped giving grants around the 1240s and only a few new donations were made until the end of the century in territories where the communes were less developed, like Senj.⁸⁷ The halting of further donations generated more income for the communes, and in parallel with this, they started supplanting the Church in the secular administration of the cities.⁸⁸ There were no further donations, moreover, the Church and the commune struggled over ecclesiastical landholdings. For example, an argument between the city and the bishopric of Trogir began in the mid-thirteenth century over the building of the

⁸¹ Irena Benyovsky, "Trogirski trg u razvijenom srednjem vijeku" [The square of Trogir in the High Middle Ages], *Povijesni prilozi* 16 (1997): 12–14.

⁸² Dusa, *Episcopal Cities*, 116.

⁸³ Ilona F. Silber, "Gift-giving in the Great Traditions. The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 36 (1995): 209–243.

⁸⁴ Lujó Margetić, "Dioba općinskog zemljišta u nekim srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim komunama" [Division of communal land in some Dalmatian communes], *Starine* 56 (1975): 5–36.

⁸⁵ Dusa, *Episcopal Cities*, 116.

⁸⁶ CDC II 93.

⁸⁷ CDC VII 81., 187. etc.

⁸⁸ Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 373.

St. Lawrence cathedral. The city and its bishops struggled over Drid and the land of St. Vital for decades during Treguan's and Columban's tenures of office.⁸⁹

Examining the temporal distribution of royal grants to the Church shows that the number of the grants decreased drastically after the mid-thirteenth century. The last royal grant was given to the bishopric of Trogir in 1242 and to the archbishopric of Split in 1244. Moreover, giving grants to the Church after the 1220s became rarer and neither Andrew II, in the last decade of his rule, nor Béla IV, in the first years of his reign, gave grants to Dalmatian bishoprics or monasteries. In contrast, King Andrew II, Béla IV, Stephen V and Ladislav IV were generous to the local secular elites and the cities through the whole century. For example, King Béla gave a piece of land to Marin Blasii for his service in 1243 after he stayed in Trogir during the Mongol invasion.⁹⁰ This Marin belonged to the Andreis family, which was among the most powerful families of the city.⁹¹ The king also gave a piece of land to Trogir in 1251.⁹² King Stephen V confirmed his father's grant to Marin⁹³ and his son, Ladislav IV, issued two grants to Trogir in 1278.⁹⁴

The kings and dukes of Hungary used grants to the Church for political and representative purposes. They expressed their rule, made political connections, and tried to earn the loyalty of the Church, thereby to influence the cities. When communal development and economic changes led to fewer citizens making grants to the Church, the royal policy changed in the same way. After the Church started losing its influence in the cities, the kings preferred to secure the loyalty of the secular elite and the magistrates with their grants.

Surveying the social characteristics of the Dalmatian cities, one can see that the general social processes of this period led to the formation of communes. The importance and the value of landholdings emerged during the economic changes of this period, which caused conflicts between the Church and the commune. The citizens no longer gave land to ecclesiastical institutions and they argued over the ownership of certain properties. Moreover, the secular and ecclesiastical powers separated from each other; the Church had lost its influence on the administration of the cities by the end of the thirteenth century.

⁸⁹ Benyovsky, *Trogir*, 200–203.

⁹⁰ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 89–90

⁹¹ Mladen Andreis, *Trogijski patricijat u srednjem vijeku* [The patricians of Trogir in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: HAZU, 2002), 202.

⁹² Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 92–93.

⁹³ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/12. fol. 51–54.

⁹⁴ Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/12. fol. 85–88.

The kings of Hungary did not influence this social transformation in the cities, since they only visited occasionally, and the coastal cities enjoyed great autonomy. In my view, the kings needed to secure the loyalty of the cities with favors and generosity. Thus, the kings of Hungary accommodated themselves to the social changes in the region. First, they gave grants to the Church when the prelates had great influence in the secular sphere of the cities and they could help the court to secure its rule. Later, when the role of the Church changed because of the development of communes the kings adapted to the political circumstances.

In my opinion, the number of the royal grants to the Church decreased because of the changing social circumstances in Dalmatia. When the society's customs changed in the thirteenth century, the royal policy followed the same patterns. They gave grants to the secular elite and privileges to the cities, but the ecclesiastical institutions enjoyed little of the kings' generosity. The only exception was the bishopric of Nin after the Mongol invasion; the fall of Zadar demonstrated the importance of this city and explains the kings' changed policy. The social characteristics and communal development of Nin also differed from the examples of Trogir and Split. The formation of a commune began later in cities like Nin and Šibenik which had belonged to the territory of the previous Croatian dynasty.⁹⁵ The communal development was slower, and the influence of the Church was still relatively strong after the mid-thirteenth century, so the kings of Hungary used the policy their ancestors had practiced preceding the communal development of Trogir and Split.

Table 1. Royal grants to the Church in Dalmatia, 1102–1285

Year	Who made the grant?	Who received the grant?	What action was taken?	Reference
1102	Coloman	Convent of St. Mary, Zadar	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 9
1105	Coloman	Convent of St. Mary, Zadar	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 15
1105	Coloman	Bishopric of Trogir	Confirmed privileges	Farlati, <i>Illyricum sacrum</i> IV. 314

⁹⁵ Ludwig Steindorff, "Stari svijet i nova doba. O formiranju komune na istočnoj obali Jadrana" [The old world and a new age. About the formation of communes on the eastern Adriatic], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 16 (1986): 149–150.

Year	Who made the grant?	Who received the grant?	What action was taken?	Reference
1105	Coloman	Convent of St. Mary, Zadar	Donated bell tower	Marković, “Dva natpisa” 101
1105–1116 ⁹⁵	Coloman	Archbishopric of Split	Donated the church of St. Mary	CDC II. 47
1124–1125 ⁹⁶	Stephen II	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed the church of St. Mary	CDC II. 47
1138	Béla II	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed the church of St. Mary	CDC II. 47
1143	Géza II	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed the church of St. Mary	CDC II. 54
1158	Géza II	Archbishopric of Split	Donated the churches of St. Bartholomew, St. Stephen, and St. Moses	CDC II. 87
1161	Géza II	Archbishopric of Split	Donated a certain piece of land near Solin	Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40
1163	Stephen III	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed the grant from 1161	Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40
1163	Stephen III	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 97

⁹⁵ This grant is undated and only known from the confirmation of Béla II. Coloman probably visited Dalmatia in every third year as he surely did in 1102, 1105, 1108, and 1111. His grants were issued at those times, so it seems likely that the undated grant was also issued in one of the years after the seizure of Split (1105).

⁹⁶ This grant is undated and only known from the confirmation of Béla II. Stephen II (1116–31) lost his Dalmatian territories to Venice in 1116. Around 1124–1125 he secured his rule over the region, but Venice soon seized it back and held it until 1136. In my opinion, the undated grant could have been issued either before the first Venetian capture of the city or, more likely, around 1124 or 1125, when the Hungarian king seized Split. Later examples also show that the Hungarian kings confirmed privileges of churches after recapturing territories in Dalmatia. The fact that only a few months elapsed between the death of King Coloman in February 1116 and the success of Venice in May 1116 also strengthens the possibility of a later issue. Moreover, Stephen II surely confirmed the privileges of Split in 1124.

Year	Who made the grant?	Who received the grant?	What action was taken?	Reference
1166	Stephen III	Monastery of St. John, Biograd (Pašman)	Confirmed privileges	CDC II.106
1188	Béla III	Monastery of St. John, Biograd (Pašman)	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 225
1198	Duke Andrew	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 309
1198	Emeric	Archbishopric of Zadar	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 310
1198	Emeric	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 309–310
1198	Duke Andrew	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed the churches of Saint Stephen and Saint Moses	CDC II. 308
1198	Duke Andrew	Monastery of St. John, Biograd (Pašman)	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 293
1200–1204 ⁹⁷	Emeric	Archbishopric of Split	Donated mills next to Jadro River	<i>Historia Salonitana</i> , 140
1200	Emeric	Monastery of St. John, Biograd (Pašman)	Confirmed privileges	CDC II. 358
1200	Duke Andrew	Monastery of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar	Donated Dub	CDC II. 357
1200	Duke Andrew	Bishopric of Trogir	Confirmed the church of St. Vital	Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 27–28
before December 1202	Duke Andrew	Archbishopric of Split	Donated Biač and Gradac	CDC III. 16

⁹⁷ According to Archdeacon Thomas of Split, this grant was issued by the king because his former tutor, Archbishop Bernard, asked him to do so. Bernard became the archbishop of Split around 1200.

Year	Who made the grant?	Who received the grant?	What action was taken?	Reference
before December 1202 ⁹⁸	Emeric	Archbishopric of Split	Donated Biać and Gradac	CDC III. 16
1205–1210	Andrew II	Bishopric of Trogir	Confirmed the church of St. Vital ⁹⁹	Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28–29
1207	Andrew II	Archbishopric of Split	Confirmed privileges	CDC III. 70
1210	Andrew II	Monastery of St. John, Biograd (Pašman)	Confirmed privileges	CDC III.99
1217	Andrew II	Archbishopric of Split	Donated land in Solin	CDC III. 160
1217	Andrew II	Bishopric of Trogir	Confirmed Biać	Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/13. fol. 29
1226	Duke Coloman	Bishopric of Trogir	Donated Drid	CDC III. 258
1227	Andrew II	Bishopric of Trogir	Confirmed Duke Coloman's grant	CDC III. 278
1242	Béla IV	Bishopric of Trogir	Confirmed Drid	CDC IV. 153
1242	Béla IV	Monastery of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar	Confirmed privileges	CDC IV. 163
1244	Béla IV	Archbishopric of Split	Donated Cetina County	CDC IV. 243
1266	Ban Roland	Bishopric of Nin	Donated Četiglavac	CDC V. 636
1272	Stephen V	Bishopric of Nin	Donated Lika County	CDC V. 637
1272	Stephen V	Bishopric of Nin	Confirmed Ban Roland's grant	CDC V. 637
1285	Ladislav IV	Convent of St. Mary, Zadar	Donated a piece of land in Croatia	CDC VI. 533

⁹⁸ Both Emeric's and Andrew's grants are lost; they are only known from the confirmation of Pope Innocent III from December 1202.

⁹⁹ Maybe Andrew II confirmed the previous grant he had issued as duke, but it is also possible that the later mention of this grant referred to the one from 1200.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND PICTORIAL EVIDENCE FOR THE BELT IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

Kármén Anita Baráth 

Information about the belt in Late Medieval Hungary abounds in archaeological, visual, and written sources, which means that its formal characteristics, functions, and symbolic connotations can be examined from many perspectives. People considered belts valuable; they are often found in medieval hoards, metal decorations and belt buckles are often listed in inventories and testaments; they were buried in graves. The belt had a special role in visual representations as well; it is usually the most elaborate object depicted and it is an almost unavoidable accessory in certain iconographic media. Even in such contexts as the fresco, where it is hard to depict small details, the depictions of belts are usually as elaborate and detailed as those of the weapons; belts are often considered part of weaponry in literature as well. This suggests that belts, beyond their normal functions, might also bear important social connotations in visual representations.

The aim of this study is to summarize the main issues related to these objects and compare the archaeological data with the relevant visual representations. These source materials raise a number of chronological questions, which are discussed here, but the final goal of this article is not related only to dating issues. Recently I have been dealing with costume accessories at the intersection of archaeology and art history, studying source material from both fields. In my MA thesis¹ I analyzed the late-medieval belt to identify the research problems of better understanding its chronology and the roles it played in society as a personal article and symbol. This paper also deals with these aspects and addresses the problem of visual representation in the context of a dress accessory. The first part of the article deals with general questions and in the second part illustrative case studies are offered for some exceptionally detailed representations of belts in mural paintings. This comparative approach can lead to a more general conclusion on the character of the visual representations of belts and decorated belt elements.

¹ Kármén Anita Baráth, “The Belt in Late Medieval Hungary: A Comparison of Archaeological and Pictorial Evidence,” MA thesis, Budapest: Central European University, 2013.

Late Medieval Belts in the Archaeological and Art Historical Literature

The Hungarian literature on belts includes important contributions, but it cannot be called extensive.² A publication which would elaborate a typology on belts and arrange them according to their presumed chronology is still lacking. The different source types have been never studied systematically and many research questions are still unanswered or not even posed. It is clear that artifacts alone are not enough to understand contemporary clothing and fashion well, and in Hungarian archaeological research most of the visual sources are ignored and still unknown for the Middle Ages.³ The same visual representations usually appear in publications, the same old miniatures from the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, or the same few mural paintings from the St. Ladislaus-legend fresco cycles. If one reverses the research process and examines images first, then puts the results beside those drawn in traditional archaeological analysis, the outcome is rather interesting, not least because church restorations (mainly in Transylvania) in the past few years have resulted in several new images, which means new source material for research.⁴ This significantly increases the importance of mural paintings for the Angevin period (in the Hungarian context comprising most of the fourteenth century) because there are few other visual representations on such items as statues, tombstones, and panel paintings.

² A few examples from the literature about belt mounts made of metal: Kálmán Szabó, *A pártáöv* [The decorated belt] (Kecskemét: Első Kecskeméti Hírlapkiadó és Nyomda, 1934); László Gerevich, “A csúti középkori sírmező” [The medieval cemetery at Csút], *Budapest Régiségei* 13 (1943): 150; Gábor Hatházi, “A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon” [Cuman archaeological finds in eastern Transdanubia], *Opuscula Hungarica* 5 (2004): 195–197; from literature on belt mounts made of bone: Sándor Varga, “Középkori csontveretes övek a Kárpát-medencében” [Medieval belts with bone decoration in the Carpathian Basin], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Studia Archaeologica* 11 (2005): 277–304; András K. Németh, “Csontosövek a középkori Magyarországon” [Belts with bone decoration in medieval Hungary], *Opuscula Hungarica* 6 (2005): 275–288.

³ As an exception it is worth mentioning Cuman clothing, for which several visual sources – statues, mural paintings of the St. Ladislaus legend – have been involved in the study of fashion. See András Pálóczi Horváth, “Le costume Coman au Moyen Age,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980): 404–405; idem, “Régészeti adatok a kunok viseletéhez” [Some archaeological data on the clothing of Cumans], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 109 (1982): 89–105, and others.

⁴ See Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben* [Medieval mural paintings in Transylvania] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008); Zsombor Jékely and József Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből* [Mural paintings from the northeastern counties of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2009).

The mural paintings from this period are informative on belts in many respects, but instead of clarifying the archaeological problems they just raise more questions and call into doubt a few statements which have been considered norms. Broadly speaking, five kinds of dress accessories can be seen in fourteenth-century mural paintings: headdresses, cloak jewelry, belt accessories, buttons and other beads or mounts for decorative purposes only. From all these categories belt representations have proved to be the most useful for material culture studies.⁵

Due to the ample and spectacular material remaining, a great deal of international literature concerns belts as artifacts and research has been conducted on the visual representations and written documents where this accessory appears. A significant number of publications exist on belts' place in fashion, including their value and meaning in society; the treatment of this artifact is well-developed. A large number of objects has been collected and is represented together, the material is classified, and the typo-chronology is more or less elaborated using a chronology of coins and pottery⁶ or other finds, as in the case of the Fuchsenhof hoard, an outstandingly well-elaborated recent find.⁷ A network of workshops has been drawn, relevant analogies have been gathered, and the whole material is supported and demonstrated by multiple other sources.⁸

⁵ For some basic literature about the methodology of the complex and interdisciplinary research of material culture see Gerhard Jaritz, "The Image as Historical Source or: Grabbing Contexts," *Historische Sozialforschung* 16, no. 4 (1991): 100–105; András Kubinyi, "Bicellus: Adatok egy középkori fegyverfajta meghatározásához" [Bicellus: Defining a medieval weapon type], *Budapest Régiségei* 23 (1973): 189–19; Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in town. Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2004); Elisabeth Vavra, "Kunstgeschichte und Realienkunde," in *Die Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters. Methode – Ziel – Verwirklichung*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 6 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984); Elisabeth Vavra, "Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke – Illustration oder Quelle für die Sachkulturforschung," *Bericht über den 16. Österreichischen Historikertag in Krems/Donau* 25 (1984): 430–448.

⁶ Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c.1150–1450* (London: Boydell Press, 2002), 3.

⁷ Stefan Krabath, "Die metallenen Trachtbestandteile und Rohmaterialien aus dem Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof," in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kühtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004), 231–305.

⁸ See Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*; Ilse Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1971).

In contrast to Western European literature, where one finds classifications regarding only the shape of decoration and material, Hungarian scholarship distinguishes three types of belts from medieval Hungary based on their function: military belts, decorated belts, and belts made only for holding a garment together, which can be either decorated or completely plain.⁹ The military belt, the so-called *cingulum militare*, and the decorated belt show several similar features, and often only the contexts of finds help archaeologists identify them by type. For this reason, publications are not consistent in terminology and often mix the two terms.¹⁰ There is no formal difference between military and decorated belts if one compares the fastenings found in hoards and recovered from cemeteries. Usually archaeologists first analyze the grave of a dead person by examining the finds, trying to define his/her social status, and after that they decide on the type of belt.¹¹ This is a rather weak methodology, but it is still the traditional way of dealing with belts.

In the Hungarian material, a decorated belt is a rather interesting type and its chronology is a great unsolved problem. Pictorial sources might be helpful in dating artifacts or at least can be used to question the old dating traditions. Most works dealing with belts still use the results of László Gerevich's iconic publication on the cemetery of Csút, published in 1943, where he provided an elaborate analysis of the belts from the site using several visual parallels from Western Europe. Mounted belts are not often found, but are not rare either, so analyses of them are present in the literature. In earlier works, written in the first half of the twentieth century, scholars were braver in their dating and in these publications some mounted belts were dated to the Angevin period.¹² Nevertheless, later it became a tradition to date every single metal mount to the fifteenth century and

⁹ László Selmeczi, "A Karcag-orgondaszentmiklósi kun szállásmető első sírjának lehetséges értelmezése" [A possible interpretation of the first grave of the Cuman settlement cemetery in Karcag-Orondaszentmiklós] *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 2006: 260.

¹⁰ Selmeczi, "A Karcag-orgondaszentmiklósi kun szállásmető," 265.

¹¹ In the case of Csút, Gerevich states that since the dead were lower-class people, their belts cannot be weapon belts, see László Gerevich, "A csúti középkori sírmező," 150.

¹² See Ferenc Móra, "Ásatás a Szeged-Öttömösi Anjou-kori temetőben" [Excavation in the Angevin-period cemetery of Szeged-Öttömös], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 26 (1906): 361–371; Gerevich, "A csúti középkori sírmező," 103–166; Kálmán Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei. Kecskemét város múzeumának ásatásai* [The cultural history of the Hungarian people in the Alföld region. Excavations of the Kecskemét town museum] (Budapest: Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1938), 64. However, Kálmán Szabó does not present complete belt sets from the fourteenth century; he identified only certain mounts as possible belt mounts and dated them to the fourteenth century.

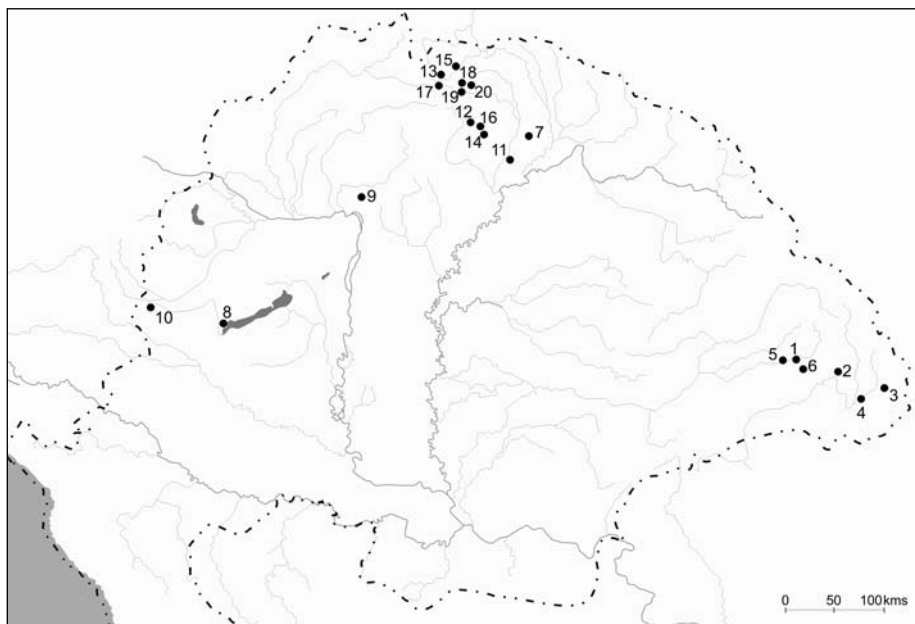


Fig. 1. Mural paintings with representations of belts in the fourteenth century:
1. Mugeni (Bögöz), 2. Filia (Erdőfüle), 3. Ghelinta (Gelence), 4. Chichiș (Kökös), 5. Porumbenii Mari (Nagygalambfalva), 6. Daia (Székelydálya), 7. Füzér, 8. Keszthely, 9. Tereske, 10. Velemér, 11. Vizsoly, 12. Chyžné (Hizsnyó), 13. Veľká Lomnica (Kakaslomnic), 14. Plešivec (Pelsőc), 15. Podolíneč (Podolin), 16. Šivetice (Süvete), 17. Švábovce (Svábóc), 18. Spišská Kapitula (Szepeshely), 19. Vitkovce (Vitfalva), 20. Žehra (Zsegra).
(Map prepared by András Vadas)

only undecorated buckled belts to the fourteenth century.¹³ The dating of belts with bone mounts is disputed although this is the only type of belt which certain scholars dare to date to the fourteenth century. Although Elek Benkő, who studied

¹³ See, e.g., Judit Gádor and Magdolna Hellebrandt, “A Herman Ottó Múzeum 1972. évi leletmentései” [Rescue excavations of the Herman Ottó Museum in 1972], *Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 12 (1973): 599–607; Ibolya Nepper, “Szentgyörgy templomának feltárása” [Excavations of the church in Szentgyörgy], *A Déli Múzeum Évkönyve* 64 (1983–84): 91–114; Béla Kovács, “Nagytálya középkori templomának feltárása” [Excavation of the medieval church in Nagytálya], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 10 (1973): 119–158 and elsewhere.

both metal- and bone-mounted belts,¹⁴ claims that even this belt type should be dated to the fifteenth century, most scholars who have dealt with them recently are of the opinion that they were equally popular in both centuries.¹⁵ At the same time, visual sources show a different tendency. In this time interval, twenty wall-paintings represent the belt as a costume accessory in medieval Hungary, six in present-day Romania (Transylvania), five in modern Hungary and nine in Slovakia (Fig. 1). Among these murals two examples are particularly noteworthy and still have never appeared in archaeological publications.

Belts and their Visual Representations in the Angevin Period

In the Angevin period depictions are often schematic, but it is still possible to distinguish the different belt types depicted. Upper Hungary, present-day Slovakia, shows the most plentiful picture of all the territories examined in the number of frescos, the diversity of the belt types, and in the abundance and precision of details depicted. Certainly the plain, undecorated belt is the most common type both among depictions and artifacts. This type has two versions, worn on the waist or on the hips. The length varied and was purely a matter of fashion. As early as the thirteenth century belts are shown being longer than the circumference of the waist; people wrapped the strap once around their body, then tied it and left a tail to hang down in the front.¹⁶ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it reached almost to the feet of the wearer.¹⁷ Interestingly, in this period belt loops do not appear to have been used. Theoretically, it is possible that they were made of materials that decomposed quickly in the ground, but visual representations make this idea unlikely. Depictions in illuminated manuscripts and on effigies and monumental brasses show different ways of handling the strap end, but always avoiding the use of belt loops. Often the belt was wrapped once or twice around the body.¹⁸ In Western Europe several variously elaborated belt straps have survived and even the formal variants of belts which were not ornamented by anything more than shaping the strap itself are there to analyze. Stitched,

¹⁴ Elek Benkő, "A középkori Nyársapát" [Medieval Nyársapát], *Studia Comitatensia* 9 (1980): 339.

¹⁵ Varga, "Középkori csontveretes övek a Kárpát-medencében;" Németh, "Csontosövek a középkori Magyarországon."

¹⁶ Ronald W. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewelry* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1992), 310.

¹⁷ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 35.

¹⁸ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 36.

stamped, incised, engraved, or punched decoration can be examined on them,¹⁹ but unfortunately Hungarian archaeology lacks this kind of material. During the fourteenth century men often wore broader belts around their hips instead of the long belt at the waist.²⁰ There are also types which represent something between the two, like the belt of the standing St. Ladislaus in Velemér.²¹

Studying fashion, a question emerges whether artifacts or visual evidence reflect contemporary fashion tendencies or not. Clearly many factors influenced both – which one finds in cemeteries and in visual sources. In the case of visual representations, many things affected intention and realization – social background, knowledge, experience, the skills of the artist, the context of the piece, and so on, but there are certain types of depiction where authentic fashion definitely played an important role. The large thematically coherent group of mural paintings which depict certain episodes from the life of the Hungarian royal saint, King Ladislaus I (1077–1095), is one of them. It shows secular characters of several kinds: the king, his knights, the warriors of the Cuman ethnic group, and also a female character, the abducted maiden. Scholars agree that this depiction transmitted a message to contemporaries who went to the church and saw the pictures on the walls. Hidden in these depictions were hints of contemporary events which the audience was supposed to recognize; they had to be aware of the connection between things that had happened in the past and what was happening in their own lives; fashion clearly helped them identify themselves and their lives with those on the frescos. According to Ernő Marosi, the reality of the secular features had an instructive didactic function and showed examples of courageous and knightly behavior as a role model for men.²² Besides the representations of the legend other soldier depictions could also serve this role. That might explain why details are more elaborated on soldier figures than on other characters. It is not by accident that examples I present here depict secular characters or soldiers.

¹⁹ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewelry*, 319.

²⁰ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewelry*, 317.

²¹ Ernő Marosi, *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Hungarian art, 1300–c.1470] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 482.

²² Ernő Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* [Picture and image. Art and reality in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 70.

Belt Buckles and a Standalone but Telling Depiction: the Example of Ghelintă

The buckle is the most common metal or bone element, if there is any on a belt. In her extensive corpus Ilse Fingerlin collected and analyzed high and late medieval buckle material.²³ Since buckles provided a modest opportunity for fashionable expression at every level of society, they were quite diverse in all periods. Since there are no functional differences between shapes, fashion was probably the main consideration. It ranged from plain to highly decorative, from crude to elegantly shaped pieces.²⁴ The form of the frame varied; a unified typology has been developed based on the shapes and width of the frames using examples from different European countries. According to the shape of the frame, scholars distinguish several buckle types and many additional sub-types, considering the presence or absence of an attached plate, further decorative elements, variations in their pins, and so on. The types did not all appear at the same time, but in the Western European late-medieval material most of the variants are present together. The oval and 'D'-shaped buckle frame appeared first; examples occur far earlier than the fourteenth century.²⁵ From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards the plain circular buckle²⁶ and certain rectangular- or square-shaped buckles spread.²⁷

Due to the limitations in fresco techniques, belt buckles are rarely painted. A simple leather-like strap – similar to the previously described type but with a long strap and a bit richer in details – is shown on the figure of St. Ladislaus in the mural painting at Ghelintă (dated to the 1330s or 1340s) in the scene of the battle of Kerlés from the St. Ladislaus legend.²⁸ On one of the Ladislaus figures in the duel scene between the Cuman and St. Ladislaus, the belt has no mounts but at the end of the strap, right beside the dagger, the painter depicted a square-shaped buckle (*Fig. 2*). This is interesting because it is an unusual type. In fourteenth-century Hungarian material, archaeologists differentiate four types of belt buckles by their shapes: two types with rounded (oval-shaped) heads and two with square-shaped heads.²⁹ In paintings, both the oval- and square-shaped types are shown

²³ Fingerlin, *Gürtel*.

²⁴ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 50.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 89–93.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 57–64.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 95–101.

²⁸ István Balázs, Mihály János, *A gelsei Szent Imre templom* [The St. Emeric church in Ghelintă] (Sepsiszentgyörgy: T3 Kiadó, 2003), 42.

²⁹ Varga, “Középkori csontveretes övek,” 286–287.



Fig. 2. Gbelința (Romania), St. Emeric church. Detail of the mural painting, first half of the fourteenth century, showing a square belt buckle. Scene of the duel between St. Ladislaus and the Cuman on the northern nave wall. (Photo by Maxim Mordovin.)



Fig. 3. Veľká Lomnica (Slovakia), St. Catherine of Alexandria church. Detail of the mural painting, first third of the fourteenth century, showing a square belt buckle. Battle scene from the St. Ladislaus legend in the sacristy. (Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, Karel Stejskal, Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku. Bratislava: Tatran, 1978, Fig. 24).

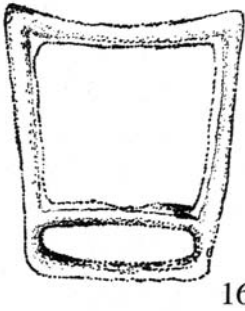


Fig. 4. Belt buckle from Homokmégy-Szentegyházpart (Hungary).
(Lantos, "Középkori temető és temetőrészlet," 172.)

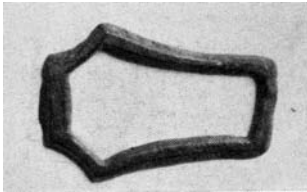


Fig. 6. Belt buckle from excavations of
Kálmán Szabó near Kecskemét (Hungary).
(Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép*, 72.)



Fig. 5. Belt buckle from the castle of
Kisnána (Hungary) (Szabó, "Gótikus
pártaövek a kishánai vár temetőjéből," 28.)

(Fig. 3), but the depictions are rather minimal so it is not possible to distinguish any further types. It is worthy of note that Ladislaus' unusually detailed buckle at Ghelinta represents such a buckle type, which is strangely absent from among both the Angevin- and Sigismund-period artifacts. The head of the square-shaped belt buckle in this period is usually short and flat, not oblong as shown in the painting. A trapezoid belt buckle from the cemetery of Homokmégy was dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but the two sides of the head are not parallel with each other as in the fresco (Fig. 4).³⁰ An elongated buckle with a rounded end, made in the 1520s, from the cemetery of Kisnána is the closest to the depiction (Fig. 5),³¹ likewise a few fifteenth- or sixteenth-century buckles found around Kecskemét (Fig. 6).³²

³⁰ Andrea Lantos, "Középkori temető és temetőrészlet Homokmégy-Szentegyházparton" [The medieval cemetery at Homokmégy-Szentegyházpart], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 134 (2009): 272.

³¹ János Gy. Szabó, "Gótikus pártaövek a kishánai vár temetőjéből" [Gothic decorated belts from the cemetery of Kisnána Castle], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 8–9 (1972): 63.

³² Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép*, 72.

An Early Pictorial Example of Mounted Belts: Spišská Kapitula

As noted above, it is worth recognizing the discrepancy between the artifacts and pictorial sources in the Angevin period. Mounted belts are not rare on frescos, but among artifacts there is no find which can be securely dated to the fourteenth century. Mounted belts are dated to the Árpádian period, which is followed by late fourteenth-century mounted belts, but in-between the material is “missing”, or there are only bone-mounted belts for which the dating is also



Fig. 7. Spišská Kapitula (Slovakia), St. Martin cathedral. Detail of the mural painting, 1317, showing the strap end of a belt. Source: <http://muntor.btk.ppke.hu/etalon2/2518.jpg>. Last accessed: 04. 2014.



Fig. 8. Spišská Kapitula (Slovakia), St. Martin cathedral. Detail of the mural painting, 1317, showing the strap end of a belt. Source: <http://muntor.btk.ppke.hu/etalon2/2518.jpg>. Last accessed: 04. 2014.

intensely disputed. At the same time, however, mounted belts showing relatively wide variability appear in visual evidence for the first time. Probably the very first pictorial example with mounted belts is the mural painting in the collegiate chapter church in Spišská Kapitula, depicting mounted waist belts with long dangling strap ends on two figures, the king and the castellan of Szepes (Figs 7–8).³³ This is

³³ Mária Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben* [Medieval mural paintings in the Spiš region], (Budapest: Méry Ratio Kiadó, 2009), 18.

the only known long-strap belt representation in murals painted during Charles I's reign (1301–1342). The next earliest decorated belts represented visually were all painted decades later, during the reign of Louis the Great (1342–1382), around the mid-fourteenth century. As is written on the fresco, it was made in 1317, so unlike many other cases the exact date when it was painted is known. Considered the first historical painting in Hungary, the image depicts the third coronation of the first Angevin king, Charles, who ascended the throne of Hungary after the last king of the Árpáadian Dynasty – in fact, gained it in a series of military campaigns. The castellan of Spišská Kapitula ordered the work to pay homage to Charles I when he visited the town.³⁴ Scholars agree that the painter must have been Italian or someone trained in Italy.³⁵ The question emerges immediately whether one can draw conclusions regarding the local fashion from a painting not painted by a local person, or from the appearance of a royal person, who also might bring a new fashion. The secular participants of the coronation, like the king himself and the castellan of Szepes, wear mounted belts with long, dangling strap ends following the fashion trends that might have been appropriate for their social layer.³⁶ The damaged state of the painting makes it difficult to read; the decorations are rough, there are simple greyish dots on a yellowish strap which definitely seem to show the material they were produced from.

Donor depictions are one possible field for examining how people understood and represented social status. Donors could be shown in several ways. Their appearance could be symbolic where authenticity was not so important, but in some representations they are clearly marked in the image from the environment. The context and their appearance (in which clothing is a tool) usually help to identify them as donors. The objects with which the artist surrounded the donor could show what people (the artist, the donor or the audience) understood as social indicators. In Hungary, there are very few surviving depictions of donors in mural paintings from the Angevin and Sigismund periods, which is where this fresco's significance lies. Charles I appears in the fresco with his castellan; both of them are wearing decorated belts with mounts painted in yellow, maybe to picture gold. This demonstrates that the higher social strata definitely wore long strap-end mounted belts, not only as accessories to support weapons on armor,

³⁴ Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 18.

³⁵ Vlasta Dvoráková, Josef Krása, Karel Stejskal, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku* [Medieval mural painting in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1978), 143; Radocsay Dénes, *A középkori Magyarországi falképei* [Mural paintings of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 1954), 170; Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 20.

³⁶ Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 20.

but also in ceremonies such as a coronation, where representing their rank was one of the most important features. However, since the king and his follower wear exactly the same belts, this fresco does not help to distinguish further strata among the nobility.

Vizsoly and Žehra – an Outstanding Representation and an Iconic Hoard

On the southwestern wall of the triumphal arch in the Catholic church of Vizsoly, the standing full-length figures of two soldier saints, presumably St. George and



Fig. 9. Vizsoly (Hungary), Calvinist church. Detail of the mural painting, dated to the mid-fourteenth century, showing a belt with mounts. Soldier saint on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch (on the right side, photo by the author).

St. Demetrius, were depicted in the mid-fourteenth century wearing mounted belts, shown in detail (Fig. 9).³⁷ The scene of Judas' kiss, located on the northern wall of the chancel in the church of Žehra, was probably made during the reign of Louis the Great.³⁸ The kneeling soldier being healed by Jesus wears a decorated belt similar to that depicted in Vizsoly (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. Žehra (Slovakia), Holy Trinity church. Detail of the mural painting, 1360s.
Figure of a soldier in the Kiss of Judas scene on the apse wall.
(Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 52.)

³⁷ Jékely, Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 424–425.

³⁸ Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 53; Ernő Marosi, “A falképfestészet” [Mural painting], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában (1342–1382)* [Art in the times of Louis I (1342–1382)], ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1982), 285.



Fig. 11. Gbelința (Romania), St. Emeric church. Detail of the mural painting, first half of the fourteenth century. Figure of St. Ladislaus in the scene of the Departure from Várad on the northern nave wall. (Zoltán György Horváth, Székelyföldi freskók a teljesség igényével [Frescos in the churches of the Székeler land. A full coverage.] (Budapest: Masszji Kiadó, 2001, 159.)

The mural paintings of Vizsoly and Žehra are the most remarkable in their details because they depict something which absolutely stands alone, and is surprisingly elaborated and precise – they are among the significant examples which demonstrate that researching murals from the perspective of material culture is worthwhile. The clothing of these saints is a peculiar paradox in the combination of their archaic-taste cloaks and outstandingly decorated military belts. On the strap ending in an elongated mount the master painted irregularly arranged and shaped mounts, which, unlike the sloppily painted dots in Ghelința (Fig. 11) or Chichiș, must be more than random artistic ornaments. Two finds occur immediately as analogies – the belt from the Árpáadian-age cemetery of Szentgyörgy and the double *fleur-de-lis* mounts from the belt garniture of

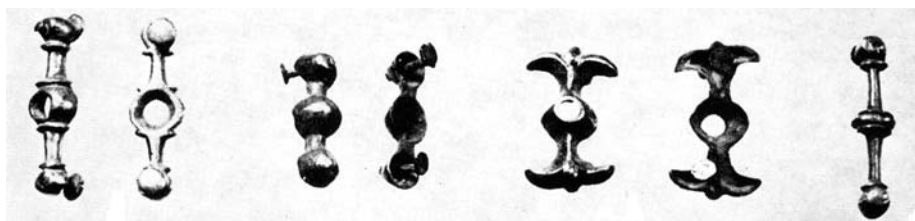


Fig. 12. Belt decoration of a find from Cuban.
(Pálóczi-Horváth, "A felsőszentkirályi kun sírlelet," 194.)

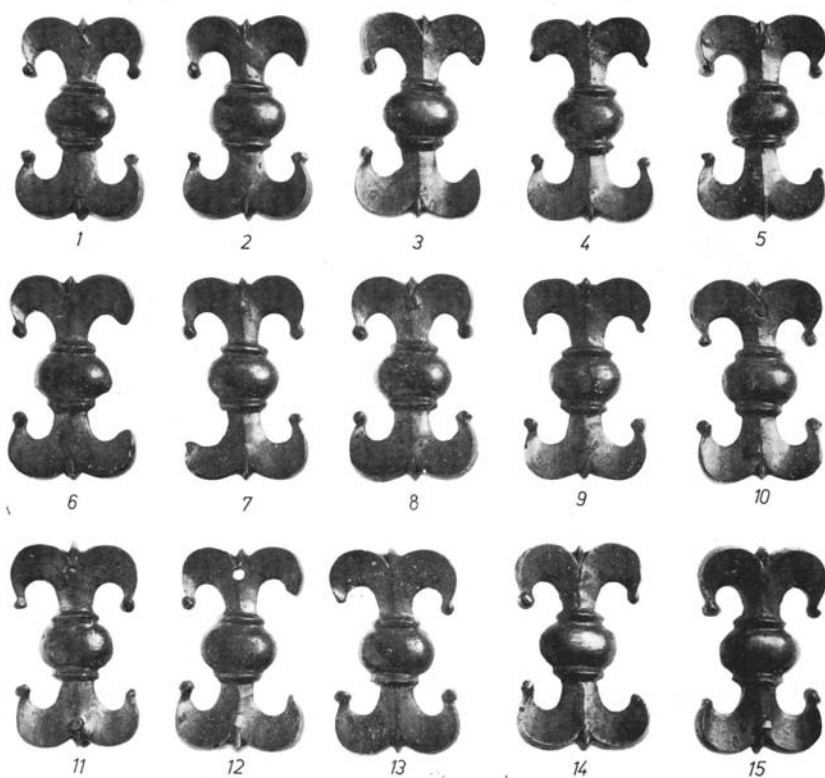


Fig. 13. Belt mounts from Felsőszentkirály (Hungary).
(Szabó, Az alföldi magyar nép, 74.)

Felsőszentkirály, along with oriental parallels (Fig. 12) shown by András Pálóczi Horváth in his publication on the belt.³⁹ Although this find from Felsőszentkirály (Fig. 13) was probably buried in the middle of the fourteenth century, it was made earlier, sometime around the late thirteenth century (the same applies to the Szentgyörgy garniture). Most likely it was a royal gift to a Cuman aristocrat. Similar mounts found in Hungary are all from much later periods, such as those from the graveyard of Zenta-Papfalom, dated to the turn of the fourteenth century (Fig. 14), and another one found in Zagyvapálfalva-Kotyháza (Fig. 15) dated to a rather broad timeframe from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁰ According to Pálóczi, these richly and often uniquely but archaically decorated garnitures were present in Southeast Europe, where the Byzantine Empire had a great impact, and they were worn by members of high society. In Hungary they might have spread through the Cumans and slowly Hungarian workshops also started to produce them.⁴¹ This idea is important to mention because it might explain the specific clothing of the two saints in Vizsoly.

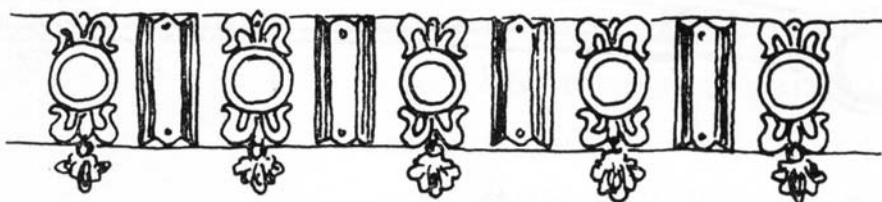


Fig. 14. Belt reconstruction from the fittings found in the cemetery of Zenta-Papfalom (Hungary). (Pálóczi-Horváth, "A felsőszentkirályi kun sírlelet," 192.)



Fig. 15. Belt mount from Zagyvapálfalva-Kotyháza (Hungary). (Pálóczi-Horváth, "A felsőszentkirályi kun sírlelet," 192.)

³⁹ András Pálóczi Horváth, "A felsőszentkirályi kun sírlelet" [Cuman grave finds from Felsőszentkirály], *Cumania* 1 (1972): 190–195.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

Depictions of full-length figures of St. George and St. Demetrius are popular mainly in areas of Byzantine influence. In the murals in Vizsoly their garments are definitely archaic, which, together with this belt, can be considered unusual. If one accepts the presumption that this kind of belt is closely related to the East, however, this might explain the exceptional composition of the clothes and accessories here. At the same time, this type is not absent in Western Europe, and similar thirteenth-century mounts have also been found, for instance, in Hannover and Heilbronn.⁴² The wall painting in the Holy Trinity church in Žehra is even richer in details and unparalleled in the contemporary and even fifteenth-century depictions. The structure of the belt and the shape of the mounts, buckles, and strap ends are clearly visible.

It is often said in the literature on belts, especially regarding the late thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century examples, that the belt consisted only of a strap going around the waist or hips, but other shorter and narrower straps were attached to this main body of the belt. The belt from Felsőszentkirály represents exactly the same type, with one long and several small rounded strap-ends, and thin bar mounts with wider ends and a tiny circular element in the middle (see *Fig. 13*). Neither this depiction nor the ones in Vizsoly have yet appeared in any archaeology-related publication as relevant visual sources. I believe such a shortcoming should be corrected as soon as possible. This representation is unique even in this fresco unit and other figures in Vizsoly are not dressed in similar garments and belts. Did the artist intend to paint Roman soldiers or follow some kind of an oriental tradition? And if so, why? It would be interesting to explore more in detail how and why these depictions appear here.

A Theory of Fourteenth-century Fashion Changes

László Gerevich was the first to hypothesize fashion changes that occurred during the fourteenth century. His statement is generally accepted and scholars consider it an axiom even now.⁴³ He claims that at the beginning of the fourteenth century loose clothes were in fashion, with belts worn on the waist or a little above it. In the mid-fourteenth century, tight clothing following the lines of the body became popular, and stylish people slid the belt further down on their hips. This style fell out of use at the end of the century, loose-cut clothing came into fashion again, and belts, as in the first half of the fourteenth century, were again worn higher on

⁴² Fingerlin, *Gürtel*, cat. no. 105–106, 353.

⁴³ See, e.g., Hatházi, “A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon.”

the garment to gather in loose tunics.⁴⁴ He states that the location of the belt in a grave and also on figures depicted in visual sources has crucial significance for dating a grave or a piece of art. I agree with him, nevertheless this is undoubtedly a slippery area. He refers mainly to mid-fourteenth century analogies and the only local example he mentions is the images from the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*. When he suggests a late fourteenth-century fashion change, he supports the argument with late mounted belts from Csút, which he himself admits should be considered examples for general fashion trends.⁴⁵

After examining a great number of mural paintings, instead of the idea of the an early fourteenth-century fashion change implying that loose garments had fallen out of fashion completely by the mid-fourteenth century, I would rather suggest a slow change, not ending but starting in the mid-fourteenth century. In paintings, loose garments and the long-strap-end belts which held them did not disappear at all, not even in the fifteenth century. They can be considered widespread during the whole fourteenth century, and tight clothes and hip-belts just slowly became dominant shortly after the middle of the century. Tight garments seemed to remain popular during the entire Sigismund period (1387–1437), in contrast to what scholars usually argue, namely, that that loose garment returned around the last decades of the 1300s and once again superseded the tight cut. Since most mural paintings stand against this idea, it was also possible to revisit the date of a few paintings, such as Tereske, which should be a bit younger than what traditional arguments propose in publications.

Conclusion

Research on belts faces many problems and there are many unanswered questions. Archaeology as currently practiced does not make comparative research any easier. As I have attempted to show above, there are some specific object types such as the square-shaped belt buckles and mounted belts decorated with metal elements which archaeologists always date to the fifteenth century, although visual sources clearly show their existence in the fourteenth century, too, which means that the dating of certain belts cannot be aligned with the dating of certain mural paintings such as those at Ghelinița or Vizsoly. This is not recognized in the archaeological research, although it questions some generally accepted statements on belts.

Therefore, perhaps the most important first step in further research is a reconsideration of the dating of late medieval belts, which is a huge task and

⁴⁴ Gerevich, “A csúti középkori sírmező,” 150.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 148.

requires a systematic re-elaboration of the medieval belt material. Extensive re-analysis of each grave and its deposits is needed, noting where belts were found; the artifactual material is no longer small and following the previous dating traditions is clearly no longer appropriate. Even if one does not have the opportunity to revisit the entire chronology, scholars have to be aware of these problems when they compare grave goods with sources of, theoretically, the same time period. In several cases fashion representations have helped scholars to refine the dating of certain paintings and at the same time several belts have been dated by their situation on the dead body.⁴⁶ However, since certain kinds of belts were worn for a long time – in murals there are some types which were present for 150 years – one has to be careful in dating frescos only according to them. In addition it can easily happen, and actually is happening, that scholars date a fresco based on the clothing depicted, then, later, other scholars use these frescos dated according to general fashion trends as evidence for dating certain objects and defining when they spread. The only solution for this circular argumentation is if, in the earliest stage of research, one separates the dating of images and artifacts and relates only those which have a relatively well-defined date, like an inscription on the painting or coins among the finds. Clearly there are perceptible tendencies which certainly help to define the age, but they cannot stand alone as evidence.

This is not the only problematic point; one also has to examine the contexts of the mural paintings. The technique, the origin and background of the painters, the visual and iconographic traditions, the messages and multi-faceted social, ethnic, and moral connotations must all be taken into consideration. Only after all this is done will it be possible to draw further conclusions. Images and, in my case mural paintings, certainly should not serve only as illustrations. They have their own things to tell.

⁴⁶ See the case of Kislán: Szabó, “Gótikus pártáövek a kislánai vár temetőjéből,” 63, or regarding the finds of Csút, Gerevich, “A csúti középkori sírmező,” 150.

**RECONTEXTUALIZING RAPHAEL:
THE FUNCTION(S) OF INSCRIPTIONS
IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY REPRODUCTIVE PRINTS**

Alexandra Kocsis 

Texts and Images in Reproductive Prints

Single sheet prints which depict a work of art (a drawing, a painting, or a sculpture) invented by an artist different from the printmaker constitute a large group in sixteenth-century print production. These prints are often labelled with the term “reproductive”¹ to emphasize their role in the popularization and canonization of certain pieces of art. Since the new medium of engraving allowed making hundreds of copies of one image, it opened the circle of audiences and offered an easier tool for pursuing knowledge about images and style than ever before.² However, images made accessible this way lost their original context, and often became the objects of (re)interpretation. Inserting texts in reproductive prints was one way of manipulating the message of a picture, a practice which became especially widespread around and after the middle of the sixteenth century. The study of the relationship between texts and images in reproductive prints (a surprisingly understudied field of research) can widen the horizon in understanding how these prints were viewed or were intended to be viewed in the sixteenth century. A close analysis would help solve the main concerns about

¹ The use of this modern expression for sixteenth-century prints has sometimes been considered controversial and anachronistic in scholarship, but since the alternatives coined to replace it have not become widespread, recent literature still refers to “reproductive prints”. For a detailed discussion of this terminological issue see chapter 2.2 in my thesis: Alexandra Kocsis, “Text and Image on Reproductive Prints. A Case Study of Sixteenth-century Prints after Raphael’s Design” (MA thesis, Budapest: Central European University, 2014), 6–13.

² There is no evidence about the exact numbers of impressions made from one copper plate in the sixteenth century. Estimates based on technical possibilities, modern experiences, and standards of quality range widely from 200 high-quality impressions up to more than 1000 good impressions. A minimum of 300 impressions was probably needed to recoup the publisher’s investment, Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 47; Joris van Grieken, “Establishing and Marketing a Publisher’s List,” in *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance Print*, ed. Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 23.

reproductive prints. How can they be distinguished from the rest of early modern print production? How do they differ from the referential chain of art works in which every new image reflected an earlier composition, and “copying was the normal way to make new things”?³ The peculiarity of reproductive prints lay in the knowledge of authorship offered by the prints: the indication of the source either by inscriptions or by stylistic compositional references. It can be interpreted as a second (antiquarian or artistic) layer of understanding these prints which was preceded by the first layer, the subject of the image. In the Early Modern period, many more prints could have a “reproductive character” without acknowledging it as their primary function.⁴ In this paper I focus on a few examples from the print production after Raphael’s works – pieces of art which were admired and sought after already in the painter’s lifetime, but even more after his early death in 1520.

Reproduction or Reuse of a Motif?

A usual argument against categorizing prints as reproductive is the lack of acknowledgment of the *inventor*, i.e., the original artist of the composition.⁵ Two Italian prints provide a good opportunity to review this concept; the sheets by Jacopo Caraglio (c.1525, *Fig. 1*) and Giulio Bonasone (c.1545, *Fig. 2*) show the same group of male nudes, a little boy leading a man carrying an elderly man on his back. Both prints are based on a group of figures which Raphael painted in the Vatican as part of the fresco *The Fire in the Borgo*. Inscriptions on both prints tell the viewer that the image mediates the story of Aeneas rescuing his father, Anchises, and his son, Ascanius, from the burning Troy; thus, the group, isolated from the fresco, gained a new Classical meaning instead of the original early

³ Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 18.

⁴ One can support this notion of the different layers of a print with further evidence from the second half of the sixteenth century. Antonio Lafreri’s stocklist from between 1573 and 1577 lists prints primarily according to topic, but indicates the names of the designers (like Raphael, Michelangelo, Baccio Bandinelli, Titian, etc.) in each case after the short title-like description of the subject. For the stocklist see Franz Ehrle, *Roma Prima di Sisti V: La Pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577* (Rome: Danesi, 1908), 56–59. Bury also discusses this issue in Michael Bury, “The Taste for Prints in Italy c. 1600,” *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1985): 14.

⁵ “...a reproductive print not bearing the name of the model’s creator is a contradiction in terms.” David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 167.



Fig. 1. Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio: *Aeneas Rescuing Anchises*, c. 1525, British Museum, London. After Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*, in the *Stanza dell'Incendio del Borgo*, Vatican. © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 2. Giulio Bonasone: *Aeneas Rescuing Anchises*, ca. 1545. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gray Collection of Engravings Fund. After Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*, in the *Stanza dell'Incendio del Borgo*, Vatican. © President and Fellows of Harvard College

medieval story about Leo IV and the fire in Rome.⁶ Because of the manipulation of the topic, one may doubt with good reason whether these prints were ever regarded as depictions of Raphael's fresco.

Both Caraglio and Bonasone attempted to preserve the stylistic unity of Raphael's group with relative accuracy. The fine changes (an additional box in the hand of the boy, Aeneas' beard, and the extended space between the boy and the two older figures) may indicate that Caraglio (and after him Bonasone as well) was working from preliminary drawings rather than the finished fresco.⁷

⁶ On the thematic difference of fresco and print see Jeremy Wood, "Cannibalized Prints and Early Art History: Vasari, Bellori and Fréart de Chambray on Raphael," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988): 217.

⁷ Madeline Cirillo Archer, *Italian masters of the Sixteenth Century*, The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 28, commentary, ed. Walter L. Strauss (New York: Abaris Books, 1995), 196.

This may explain why the group was put in a new context. Caraglio placed the figures into an “unfinished landscape” where only the ground is drawn in detail; the background was left empty, thus they seem isolated not just from the original visual context, but from any narrative. The short vernacular inscription became essential therefore in understanding the depiction by providing the narrative framework for the figures.

*Qvest' e colvi che a Troia / il padre Anchise / trasse del foco et doppo / longo
errore / sotto la ripa Antan/ dra a posar mise //*

This is he who rescued his father, Anchises, from burning Troy and after a long wandering, laid (him) down to rest on the shores of Antandros.

The text identifies the main character without naming him, instead telling some background information of the story depicted, how Aeneas and his father reached the port of Antandros, which is supposedly the location of the scene in the print. The best way to describe the text would be to call it a “poetic label” since it helps the viewer identify the figures but discloses this information in a playful rather than a direct way.

Bonasone may never have seen Raphael’s fresco; he could have created his own version of Raphael’s motif by combining two printed sources without using the original. He probably took the group of figures from Caraglio’s sheet and adapted the image of the burning city in the background from a print by the Master of the Die.⁸ As a third element of this combination, below the margin of the image, he (or his publisher) applied an inscription which is almost identical with the last two lines of the epigram *In gemmam suam* by the Neapolitan humanist, Jacopo Sannazaro.

*Haec est Iliacos pietas spectata per ignes /
cum verita est patrios laedere flama deos. //*

This is the piety beheld amid the flames of Troy,
when the fire feared to harm the paternal gods.⁹

The epigram of sixteen Latin lines is a description of Sannazaro’s own ring with an ancient cameo depicting Aeneas rescuing his father and son.¹⁰ Since the

⁸ Bartsch XV.224.72 (e.g., an impression in the British Museum, number V,5.149).

⁹ The original poem ends *cum verita est profugos laedere flamma deos*. Translation based on Michael C. J. Putnam, *Latin Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 268.

¹⁰ The description of the gem and the poet’s contemplation of it were probably an important part of “the author’s self-definition,” thus it demonstrated his passion for antiquity and collecting. Karl Emenkel, “Introduction. The Neo-Latin Epigram. Humanist

topic of the poem fits the image, one way of interpreting the choice of this text would imply that the intention was to identify the image as the reproduction of an ancient depiction through Sannazaro's description of an antique piece. However, the source of the text is not indicated on the print, so one cannot be sure if all the viewers could have identified the excerpt and evoked the whole poem. These two lines were carefully selected so that they do not contain any direct hint at the gem described; rather, they give the story a summarizing, evaluating conclusion (again without mentioning the main figures). The image-related character of the text must have been an important factor when this particular passage was selected for the print; similarly to the Italian text on Caraglio's sheet, it starts with a demonstrative pronoun and identifies the story in a sophisticated way, referring to Aeneas' heroic rescue of his father.

Could these prints be regarded as reproductive even though they keep silent about Raphael's role? Or did they copy the figures to create new meaning, independently of the fresco? A good argument for the reproductive character is the accurate stylistic reflection. Raphael's *all'antica* vocabulary was an important tool in editing a print of this classical subject using image and text. The prints probably played an important role in the reception of Raphael's fresco as well; the painted figures were at some point identified with the printed ones. In 1550, Giorgio Vasari described this detail as "pictured in the same way that Virgil describes how Anchises was carried by Aeneas."¹¹ It is an open question whether it was Raphael's own intention to read the figures in this way – in which case the prints only adapted and disseminated this idea. However, Vasari may have been affected by the prints as well – in this case, the prints shaped the historical thinking about the fresco.¹² Caraglio and Bonasone used Raphael's composition, probably inspired by Virgil's description, to reconstruct an antique topic, an "imaginary work of art" which never existed in this form.¹³ The labeling character of the inscriptions served to emphasize and enhance this interpretation of the figures.

Self-Definition in a Learned and Witty Discourse," in *The Neo-Latin Epigram: a Learned and Witty Genre*, ed. Susanna de Beer (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), 12.

¹¹ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rossana Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Florence: Sansoni, 1966–87), vol. 4, 193–194.

¹² The identification of the group as Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius was so widespread that in 1610, on his print published about the whole fresco, Philippe Thomassin commented on this issue, emphasizing that it is a misinterpretation. Wood, "Cannibalized Prints and Early Art History," 217.

¹³ For a similar idea, see Madeleine Viljoen, "Prints and False Antiquities in the Age of Raphael," *Print Quarterly* 21 (2004): 235–247.

Multiple Functions? A Publisher's Strategy for Reproducing Raphael

Giorgio Vasari's idea about the importance of prints transmitting artistic inventions across the Alps¹⁴ was realized by Hieronymus Cock's publishing house in Antwerp, among others. Publishing prints after Italian works of art was presumably an important part of his business strategy and indicating the original artists became more important compared to prints from before 1550.¹⁵ All five sheets published by Cock after Raphael's works¹⁶ acknowledge the painter's role as the inventor (the most ambiguous case is the *Adoration of the Magi* where only a capital "R" may refer to the painter). These inscriptions concerning authorship must have played an important part in marketing the sheets, at least one can assume this based on the visual emphasis laid on them. For example, on Giorgio Ghisi's print after Raphael's *School of Athens* (Fig. 4), the inscription *RAPHAEL. VRB. INVENTOR* is put on a pedestal, framed, and of relatively large size. Looking at the sheet, one's eye immediately finds this inscription, located almost in the middle of the composition, right below the main character of the scene. While captions concerning authorship explicitly present the sheets as reproductive, these prints provide evidence of the multiple functions prints had at the same time through the thematic texts. They demonstrate convincingly that the reproductive character was only one aspect of these prints and the rigid distinction between artistic and devotional prints could not be applied carelessly in this period.

The most obvious choice to contextualize an image of a Biblical story is a scriptural quotation. Hieronymus Cock used excerpts from the Bible extensively; however, he seems to have laid greater emphasis on applying more varied sources. Criteria of selection may have been the image-related and summarizing character of texts.¹⁷ A late antique *titulus*, a verse from Prudentius' *Dittochaeum* (or *Tituli historiarum*), was probably selected for the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 3), a print after the tapestry design by Raphael's workshop, because it met these criteria.

¹⁴ Barbara Stoltz, "Disegno versus Disegno stampato: Printmaking Theory in Vasari's *Vite* (1550–1568) in the Context of the Theory of *disegno* and the Libro de' Disegni," *Journal of Art Historiography* 7 (2012): 9.

¹⁵ Timothy Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Garland, 1977), 156–163; *Hieronymus Cock*, ed. Joris van Grieken et al, 125–147.

¹⁶ *School of Athens, The Heavenly Hosts Praise the Trinity, Sacrifice of Abraham, Adoration of the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi*. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, 163.

¹⁷ For example, in the *Sacrifice of Abraham* (after the scene from the ceiling fresco of the Stanza di Eliodoro), a text from a didactic genre, the so-called picture Bible (*Historiarum veteris testamenti icones ad vivum expressae*) was used to popularize Raphael's image.



Fig. 3. Jan Collaert (?): *The Adoration of the Magi* (published by Hieronymus Cock), 1545–1580, British Museum, London. After Raphael's drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 4. Giorgio Ghisi: *Paul's Preaching at the Aeropagus* (published by Hieronymus Cock), 1550, British Museum, London. After Raphael's *School of Athens* in the *Stanza della Segnatura*, Vatican. © Trustees of the British Museum

*Hic preciosa Magi sub virginis ubere Christo /
dona ferunt puero, myrrheque, et thuris, et auri /
Miratur genitrix tot casti ventris honores, /
Seque Deum genuisse, hominem regemque supremum. //*

Here the wise men bring costly gifts to the child Christ on
the Virgin's breast,
of myrrh and incense and gold.
The mother marvels at all the honors paid to the fruit of
her pure womb,
and that she has given birth to God and man and king
supreme.¹⁸

Due to its genre, the verse not only tells the story of the *Adoration of the Magi*, but directly refers to the image by the means of the demonstrative pronoun *hic* and the present tense, namely, it describes not (only) the story but an image of it (a fictive or concrete one which can be replaced with the one by Raphael).¹⁹ The use of a *titulus* in religious painting (in wall painting as well as in book illumination) was a common feature in the medieval period, and Cock's use of Prudentius' verses might be regarded as a continuation of this tradition in print. However, Prudentius' work is a particular case, as it was never applied to any kind of art works in the Middle Ages (nor did it influence other *tituli*) and was probably regarded as a *Biblia Abbreviata* and used as school text from the eleventh century onward.²⁰ The *Dittochaeum* was transmitted in hundreds of manuscripts, always together with other works by Prudentius, and later it was also part of the printed editions of his *Opera* (among others published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1501 and Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in 1563). It is tempting to assume that Cock's use of Prudentius' *tituli* was part of the rediscovery of this ancient text, an

¹⁸ Translation by H. J. Thomson in The Loeb Classical Library, *Prudentius*, vol. 2, ed. T. E. Page (London: William Heinemann, 1953), 359.

¹⁹ It is widely debated whether the verses were composed as fictive *tituli* (i.e., only a literary genre, abbreviated Biblical paraphrases without any practical purpose) or as an explanatory text for a concrete image cycle. Recently Arwed Arnulf has accepted the latter interpretation, even if the cycle of the images is no longer surely identifiable, whereas Christian Kaesser regarded the work as an attractive epigrammatic adaptation of the biblical content. Arwed Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas. Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1997), 102; Christian Kaesser, "Text, text, and image in Prudentius' Tituli Historiarum," in *Text und Bild: Tagungsbeiträge*, ed. Victoria Zimmer-Panagl (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 164–165.

²⁰ Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas*, 105.

attempt to use it in the way originally intended. Interestingly, four more prints²¹ were published by Cock with the appropriate verses from the *Dittochaëum*.

Cock probably had the text at hand in a printed or manuscript version and discovered that the summarizing character of short texts fitted single sheet prints with biblical subjects well. He could simply have applied the verses as a useful version of an abbreviated Bible. However, he may have been aware of the original function of Prudentius' work and wanted to revitalize the antique tradition of *tituli* in connection with reproductions of Italian art; maybe he planned to apply all the verses to a series of prints. The use of an antique image-related text could have been meant to emphasize the reproductive character of the printed sheets.

In other instances, the publisher's strategy with inscriptions was to reach a wider audience beyond the connoisseurs. Making the image more accessible also implied manipulating the topic, as in the case of Giorgio Ghisi's print after Raphael's *School of Athens* (Fig. 4). All the original inscriptions of the fresco (book titles, diagrams, handwriting, and drawings) which had served to identify the figures as ancient philosophers²² were omitted and a new inscription was added explaining the story, depicted as Paul preaching in Athens, with the help of a scriptural paraphrase, a summary of a section from the Acts of the Apostles.²³

PAVLVS ATHENIS PER EPICVRAEOS /
 ET STOICOS QVOSDAM PHILOSO- /
 PHOS ADDVCTVS IN MARTIVM VICVM, /
 STANS IN MEDIO VICO, SVMPTA OC- /
 CASIONE AB INSPECTA A SE ARA. /
 DOCET VNVM ILLVM, VERVM, IPSIS /
 IGNOTVM DEVM. REPREHENDIT IDO-

²¹ Another *Adoration of the Magi* after Maarten van Heemskerck, *The Crossing of the Red Sea* after Bronzino, the *Baptism of Christ* after Andrea del Sarto, and *The Building of Solomon's Temple* after Frans Floris.

²² Plato and Aristotle hold their most important works on the fresco with the captions *Timeos* and *Etica*. Suzanne Boorsch, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 63.

²³ It has been noted several times that there was general confusion about the subject of Raphael's fresco; even Vasari commented on its topic erroneously as a syncretistic depiction of philosophers and evangelists. The fact that an engraving, published by Philippe Thomassin in Rome, even sixty years later identified the subject of the image as Saint Paul and Saint Peter is quite remarkable regarding the reception of the fresco. Konrad Oberhuber, *Polarität und Synthese in Raffaels Schule von Athen* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 1983), 54. For further bibliography see Wood, "Cannibalized Prints and Early Art History," 216; Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 147.

LOLATRIAM, SVADET RESIPISCENTIAM. /
INCVLCAT ET VNIVERSALIS IVDICII /
DIEM, ET MORTVORVM, PER REDIVI/VVM /
CHRISTVM / RESVRRECTIONEM. / ACT. / XVII //

Paul in Athens, brought by the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers to the Areopagus, standing in the middle of the hill. Taking the opportunity from an altar he had seen, he teaches of the one great, true God, unknown to them. He censures idolatry and exhorts them to repentance. He also teaches of both the day of universal judgment and the resurrection of the dead through the reborn Christ. Acts 17.²⁴

The reinterpretation of Plato as Paul was probably based on the depiction itself: the bold, long-bearded figure could easily be mistaken for traditional depictions of the apostle. His finger pointing upwards must have played a major role in this confusion. There are important connections between the explanatory text and particular motifs of this image; the text may have been deliberately composed to link the visual motifs and replace the missing attributes. The inscription begins with saying that Paul is standing in the middle of the Areopagus (on Mars Hill, as the Romans referred to it), which helps the viewer identify the protagonist at first glance with the associations about Paul's iconography in mind. There is also a hint at the setting of the image; the word idolatry could easily be connected with the life-size naked sculptures of Apollo and Athena in the niches. The last sentence may refer to the gesture of Plato/Paul, as the pointing upwards could be associated with Christ's gesture in depictions of the Last Judgment (although it is not exactly the same). Therefore, by means of the text, particular parts of the composition gained new meaning; a new context was created for Raphael's image. The inscription served as a precise explanation, leading the viewer's attention to the essential parts of the composition.²⁵ In this sense, the text can be regarded as a hint at the devotional use of the print. The change in meaning may have been an effort to extend the range of the potential audience. Besides the well-educated, highly positioned individual collectors for whom Raphael's composition was important because they were aware of the original fresco, a larger group of people could become interested in the print

²⁴ Translation from Boorsch, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, 61.

²⁵ As Elizabeth McGrath remarked, the inscription made Raphael's allegorical image to a *historia* (a narrative image). Elizabeth McGrath, "Von den Erdbeeren zur Schule von Athen," *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 2 (1998): 154–166.

alone. The image, completed by the text, was no longer an exclusive object but visual evidence of a syncretistic view of the world (as it only reserved the original topic partially and replaced the originally pagan protagonist with a Christian one).

The Inventor, the Printmaker, and the Poet: Reproductive Prints around 1600

While acknowledging the inventor became an almost unwritten rule towards the end of the sixteenth century, additional texts did not disappear but gained new importance. Composing an elaborate textual framework for images, moreover competing with the visual by giving additional layers of interpretation, was a challenging but at the same time familiar task for humanists around 1600. Jacob Matham's print after Raphael's fresco, the *Parnassus* in the Vatican, carries three signatures, those of the painter, the engraver, and the poet of the thematic inscription (*Fig. 5*); this sheet is no longer "only" a reproduction of Raphael's masterpiece but presented by the inscriptions as the complex result of collaborative work. The illusionistically painted paper fixed to the window frame reflects on the *cartellino* of Marcantonio Raimondi's earlier print (ca. 1510–1520) after the fresco, which carried the signature of Raphael.²⁶ Matham put the indication of Raphael's invention on the window embrasure, while his new, bigger *cartellino* is filled with a Neo-Latin poem. Thus, the inscription related to authorship became more directly related to the depiction itself, it is no longer an "addition," but became part of the composition in the form of a fictive painted signature. Matham's name (*Maetham effigiavit, et sculp. Roma*) appears right next to Raphael's, with an emphasis on the fact that he created the print in Rome, probably after having seen the original. Indeed, all the details are given accurately after Raphael's work. However, because of the elongated format of the sheet, one feels that the figures do not have enough space around them; they are robust and pressed into the reduced rectangular area. The printed image is still far from the original from a modern photographic point of view.

Placed on the *cartellino*, the thematic inscription is presented as a supplementary explanation, a commentary, even in its form, a piece of paper added later which extends the meaning of the depiction on a poetic level. The *cartellino* plays an important role in creating a twofold artistic illusion. It connects the space of the painted figures with the real space of the room, thus referring to them as mere depictions on the wall. By revealing the illusionistic nature of the figures' space,

²⁶ Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 94.



5. Jacob Matham: *Parnassus*, ca. 1596, British Museum, London. After Raphael's fresco in the *Stanza della Segnatura*, Vatican. © Trustees of the British Museum

the whole sheet is presented as a reproduction of the fresco. The form of the *cartellino* is the first level of interpretation, while the poem inscribed on the piece of paper interprets the depiction of the fresco on a second, poetic level. The author, Cornelius Schonaeus, a Neo-Latinist from the so-called Haarlem Latin School, produced epigrams extensively for various printmakers, in collaboration with both Hendrick Goltzius and his pupil, Jacob Matham,²⁷ thus he had an elaborated idea about what fits on a mythological sheet.

*In coetu Aonidum residens, et dulcia tangens /
Fila manu Phoebus, recreat presentia vatum //
Ora suo cantu, Musis mirantibus ipsis /
Threicium blando pulsatum pectine plectrum. / C. Schonaeus //*

Surrounded by the band of the Heliconians (the Aonian Muses) and touching with his hand the sweet-sounding chords, Phoebus fills the faces of the surrounding poets

²⁷ Julie L. McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562–1638). Patrons, Friends, and Dutch Humanists* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1991), 319.

with delight by means of his song and gently touching his
Thracian lute with the plectrum as the Muses admire him.²⁸

The text seems to be a simple description of the scene at first glance, although it reflects rather the effort of completing the image on another level. Beyond applying sophisticated mythological names, for example, the one he uses for the Muses (*Aonides*) from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (V.333), Schonaeus laid special emphasis on speaking about Apollo's song and music, which amazed the Muses and the poets. It was a vivid topos of early modern theoretical discourse that legends and inscriptions can make images speak, or sing, in this case. The interaction of the text and image could convey a more complex message than either alone by addressing a different sense than seeing and by referring to textual knowledge (in this case to Ovid) at the same time.²⁹

As demonstrated through these examples, texts played a crucial role in the reception process of prints by guiding the viewer's attention in the image or providing additional information about the topic and authorship. Through the combination of image and text, single sheet prints became a more complex product, full of references to different kinds of information and to different traditions of knowledge. Having a print after Raphael in hand (or pasted in an album), the sixteenth-century audience not only received an image, but a particular image fitted into a rich (con)textual framework compiled and edited by printmakers and publishers.


²⁸ The translation was created with the great help of Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar.

²⁹ Jochen Becker, "Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973): 52; Margriet Hoogvliet, "Mixing Text and Image. French and Italian Theories from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Sixteenth Century," in *Multi-media Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margriet Hoogvliet (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 75–103.

Religion and Science in Late Antiquity



MITHRAS, MIRACLES, AND RABIES: RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Volker Menze 

Studies on Late Antiquity have become vibrant in the last decades, and “Late Antiquity” has been established as an academic field in its own right. Positions in late antique studies have been created at universities and journals have been dedicated to it – *L’antiquité tardive* in France since 1993, and the *Journal of Late Antiquity* in the United States since 2008. The first volume of the *Journal of Late Antiquity* is partially dedicated to analyzing the establishment of the subject, and reviews the concepts behind this development, which is intrinsically connected to the name of Peter Brown, who created the field in the Anglophone world with his seminal book on *The World of Late Antiquity*, first published in 1971.¹

It is not the place here to review scholarship on Late Antiquity for the last four decades, but it is with satisfaction that I present here three contributions by recently graduated students from the Medieval Studies Department at Central European University. This shows late antique studies as a flourishing branch of studies among other well-established fields in the Department as well as within the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS) at CEU. These three contributions in particular offer the reader quite different aspects of the diverse and culturally rich world of Late Antiquity.

Nirvana Silnović offers in her “*Soli Deo Stellam et Fructiferam*: The Art of Mithraic Cult in Salona (Split)” an art historical study on the establishment of the Mithraic cult in the capital of Dalmatia (second to fourth and fifth century). Although local in focus, her results have broader implications for the study of Mithras and thereby contribute to the lively debate on this still mysterious cult. Branislav Vismek discusses three fifth-century Greek texts in his contribution “Women in Distress: Three Perspectives on Healing Miracles.” He shows how healing miracles can vary greatly depending on the context of their narratives, thereby touching central questions on the development and shape of literary genres as well as on the influence of Christianity on rhetoric and literature. Iuliana Soficaru singles out a very different but crucial aspect of life in Late Antiquity

¹ The *Journal of Late Antiquity* covers the late and post-classical world 200–800 CE, including the early Islamic world in the East and up to the Carolingian period in the West; cf. the editorial in the first issue (2008) by Ralph Matthesen. Peter Brown’s *The World of Late Antiquity* is available in many reprints.

in her paper on “Fighting the Incurable: Rabies in the Medical Work of Paul of Aegina.” Focusing on a particular late antique medical author, she analyzes how rabies was described and defined and what treatments were proposed to deal with this deadly disease for the well-being of late antique communities. All three contributions add to our understanding of late antique religion and science, and prove with their different approaches and agendas the vitality of late antique studies at CEU.

**SOLI DEO STELLAM ET FRUCTIFERAM:
THE ART OF THE MITHRAIC CULT IN SALONA**

Nirvana Silnović 

Among the various Roman religions and beliefs that flourished in Salona (Solin, near Split, Croatia), the cult of Mithras stands out as one of the most prominent. Altogether fifteen bas-reliefs and seven votive inscriptions have been discovered both *intra* and *extra muros*, and traces of the cult have been identified on two archaeological sites in the territory surrounding Salona (*ager Salonitanus*). Ejnar Dyggve, a Danish archaeologist who conducted research in Salona from the 1920s to the 1960s, briefly mentioned the existence of a total of five mithraea dispersed both *intra* and *extra muros*.¹ The wealth of material, the status of Salona as the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, and the occurrence of the cult almost immediately after its first appearance in the Roman world make the Roman province of Dalmatia and its capital an indispensable part of the wider Mithraic mosaic and are therefore an invaluable source for the study of the Roman cult of Mithras.

This article presents a brief survey of the rich material evidence of the Mithraic cult in Salona.² The plausible location of five mithraea and their role in the urban structure of Salona will be discussed, along with the social background of the members of the cult based on the epigraphic data. Establishing the typological and iconographic patterns of the reliefs will help determine a possible chronology and artistic influences. Salonitan Mithraic communities created a specific local artistic idiom which helped them establish a recognizable local identity. I will argue that the cult was not adopted passively, but was subject to creative rethinking, wherein Salonitan Mithraic art shows a high degree of originality and uniqueness. It has been assumed that Salona functioned as an artistic center and that there was a local workshop which produced some of the innovative Mithraic reliefs.³ Based on the following analysis I will argue in favor of this assertion.

¹ Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1951), 8.

² This article is based on my MA thesis, “*Soli Deo Stellam et Fructiferam: The Art of the Mithraic Cult in Salona*,” Budapest: Central European University, 2014.

³ Julijan Medini, “Mitrički reljef iz Banjevaca” [A mithraic relief from Banjevci], *Diadora* 8 (1975): 39–83.

Salonitan Mithraea: Illusion Versus Reality

Ejnar Dyggve suggested that a total of five mithraea existed, dispersed both *intra* and *extra muros*.⁴ One was near the theater, the second near the amphitheater, the third in the eastern part of the town, and two outside the city walls, but so far there have been no certain archaeological confirmations of them. The recent discovery of a map showing the exact position of Dyggve's mithraea allows one to visualize and contextualize their location approximately within the urban structure of Salona (Fig. 1).⁵

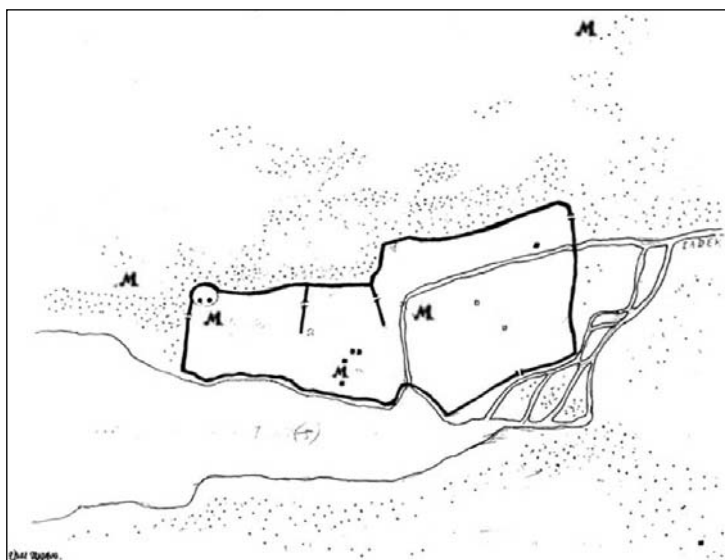


Fig. 1. Map showing the position of Salonitan mithraea according to Ejnar Dyggve (sites marked with M)

Although the map's legend has not been preserved, it is easy to recognize the main features. The map shows only the essential topographical details; the perimeter walls of the city (bold black line), the Salon River running through the eastern part of the town, and the beginnings of the wall that once surrounded the center of the Salona. The small squares probably mark the main sites of Dyggve's

⁴ Dyggve, *History*, 8.

⁵ Ejnar Dyggve's notes and sketches are preserved at the Croatian Ministry of Culture in Zagreb.

research, while the capital letter M is used to indicate the location of the five mithraea. It is clearly visible that two mithraea were located outside the city walls, one was in the immediate vicinity of the amphitheater, another near the theatre, while the remaining mithraeum was located near the road running through the western part of the city.

The topographical pattern provided by the map can already give some insight into the role of mithraea in public and private space in Salona. Mithraea were only accessible to those initiated into the cult, and secrecy and seclusion were therefore desirable when choosing the location. The theatre and amphitheater were public buildings near the center of the city with a high frequency of people passing by, and such locations, according to Bjørnebye, point to the growth and prosperity of the cult.⁶ Unfortunately, nothing can be said about their size, structure or layout.

Generally, mithraea are easily identifiable because of their recognizable ground plan, which consists of a rectangular room with flanking podia. The distinct structure and uniformity testify to the stability and continuity of some of the central elements of the cult, but as has recently been shown, not every mithraeum-shaped structure can be, without further evidence, interpreted as a mithraeum.⁷ What made Dyggve suggest these specific locations remains uncertain. Did he discover archaeological remains or possibly other traces of Mithraic activity at those exact spots? Since Dyggve was known for his meticulous and precise research methodology, there must have been good reasons for him to suggest this exact number of mithraea and their locations. Taking into consideration the general estimates of an average community consisting of 30 Mithraists per mithraeum,⁸ yields a total of 150 Mithraists in Salona, a number which is not certain and conclusive.

The Epigraphic Evidence for Mithraic Communities in Salona

Although Salona boasts altogether 6000 to 7000 inscriptions from antiquity,⁹ only seven inscriptions are associated with the cult of Mithras out of 35 from the

⁶ Jonas Bjørnebye, “*Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus.* The Cult of Mithras in Fourth-century Rome,” PhD dissertation (University of Bergen, 2007), 75.

⁷ Darius Frackowiak, “‘Star Talk,’ and the Archaeological Evidence: Critical Aspects and New Perspective,” *Pantheon* 7, no. 1 (2012): 26–31.

⁸ Jonas Bjørnebye, “*Hic locus est felix.*” 182.

⁹ Dora Ivanišević, “Fourth-Century Epitaphs from Salona: Religious and Social Identity,” MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2010), 3–4.

whole province of Dalmatia.¹⁰ Six of them are found on votive altars, while one, partially preserved, runs along the bottom of a relief showing the tauroctony (CIMRM 1862–1863).¹¹

With only one exception, an altar erected in honor of the birth-giving rock (referring to Mithras' birth), all of them are personal votives erected for personal benefit and safety or to benefit a friend, showing that Salona was part of the wider picture of the province.¹² Some were simply erected in honor of Mithras, in one case for both Mithras and other immortal gods and goddesses.

Mithraic inscriptions from Salona do not offer much information on the socio-legal status of the persons listed on them. More importantly, no data on Mithraic grade-structure and hierarchy is recorded in any inscription,¹³ which is not surprising taking into account that only 15% of the epigraphically recorded Mithraists carry explicit ranks.¹⁴ For a more general picture of Mithraic communities, the extensive study of Manfred Clauss provides a survey of the social catchments of the cult's adherents.¹⁵ Of 997 Mithraists catalogued, elements of status, rank, and occupation can be deduced for about one third: 11 senators; 37 equestrians; 18 municipal decurions; 123 military personnel, including 25 centurions, 52 *principales*, 28 common soldiers, and 18 veterans; 15 imperial freedmen; 23 imperial slaves; 32 other freedmen; and 64 other slaves.¹⁶ Most of the remaining inscriptions – 416 altogether – display the *tria nomina*; 129 have single names, and 24 are *peregrini*.¹⁷ In general, it was a cult of petty bureaucrats, soldiers, successful freedmen, and slaves.¹⁸

¹⁰ Manfred Clauss, *Cultores Mithrae: die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992), 141–152.

¹¹ Mithraic monuments are usually marked by their specific CIMRM number derived from the only existing catalogue of Mithraic monuments, Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* I–II (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956–1960).

¹² Goranka Lipovac-Vrkljan, “Posebnosti tipologije i ikonografije mitrijskih reljefa rimske Dalmacije” [Typological and iconographical particularities of the Mithraic reliefs in the Roman province of Dalmatia], PhD dissertation, (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2001), 243.

¹³ The same is valid for the whole province of Dalmatia, in Lipovac-Vrkljan, “Posebnosti tipologije,” 236.

¹⁴ Roger Beck, “The Mysteries of Mithras,” in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson (London: Routledge, 1996), 180.

¹⁵ Clauss, *Cultores Mithrae*.

¹⁶ Beck, “The Mysteries of Mithras,” 178.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁸ Roger Beck, “Four Men, Two Sticks, and a Whip: Image and Doctrine in a Mithraic Ritual,” in *Theorizing Religions Past. Archaeology, History, and Cognition*, ed. Harvey Whitehouse and Luther H. Martin (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2004), 88.

Since Salona was a station of the Roman customs service (*publicum portorii Illyrici*), it seems logical to assume that a substantial number of adherents were members of the bureaucratic system. According to Richard Gordon, the cult's early "colporteurs" to the provinces were Italians recruited into the legions and agents of the *conductores* of the road tolls, who also came from Italy.¹⁹ Altogether five names are recorded on Salonitan Mithraic inscriptions, four of them consisting of *tria nomina* (Sextus Cornelius Antiochus, Lucius Cornelius Apalaustus, Marcus Vivius Crestus, Terentius Dalmata Mantius). Aurelius, mentioned in another inscription, was probably from the equestrian class, suggested by the formula *a milit[us]*.²⁰ Pamphilius and Fortunatus, *dispensator* and *arcarius* mentioned in one inscription, were probably imperial slaves or freedmen belonging to the administrative staff of the financial and customs offices.²¹ Petar Selem and Inga Vilogorac-Brčić consider Lucius Cornelius Apalaustus and Marcus Vivius Crestus to have been of Eastern origin because of their eastern cognomens,²² although the methodology for deducing a person's socio-legal status and origins based on onomastic evidence is without prosopographic grounds, and as such, has long been criticized.²³ Anemari Bugarski-Mesdjian argues that the usual assumption about "Oriental slaves" belonging to the Roman customs service spreading the cult of Mithras on the territory of Dalmatia is no longer valid, as these people were part of the Roman bureaucratic system, which means that they were Romanized.²⁴ Probably Lucius Cornelius Apalaustus and Marcus Vivius Crestus had the status of freedmen.

The conclusions offered by such scarce epigraphic evidence are far from conclusive, but, nevertheless, they offer some hints about the social positions of Salonitan Mithraists. Two of the inscriptions probably record slaves or freedmen holding administrative offices. On one inscription a person belonging to the equestrian rank is mentioned, which would fit with the previous conclusions

¹⁹ Richard Gordon, "Who Worshipped Mithras?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 463.

²⁰ CIL III 8677; Petar Selem and Inga Vilogorac-Brčić, *ROMIS. Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones Salonitani*, Znakovi i riječi. Signa et litterae III (Zagreb: FF Press, 2012), 171.

²¹ CIL III 1955; Claus, *Cultores Mithrae*, 149; Selem and Vilogorac-Brčić, *ROMIS*, 173.

²² Selem and Vilogorac-Brčić, *ROMIS*, 174.

²³ Lily Ross Taylor, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome," *The American Journal of Philology* 82, no. 2 (1961): 113–132.

²⁴ Anemari Bugarski-Mesdjian, "Les 'cultes orientaux' en Dalmatie Romaine," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 96 (2003): 672.



¹ Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 89.

² The authorship and the date of the composition of *VPorph* has provoked a long debate among scholars. The text is commonly referred to as a hagiography, see Claudia Rapp's introduction to the partial English translation of Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry of Gaza*. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland Press, 2000), 56. According to the text itself, the author is a certain Mark the Deacon. What is known about his life is based mainly on his own text. He was allegedly ordained a deacon about 397. He was a calligrapher, a follower of Porphyry. Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre*, ed. and trans. Henri Grégoire and M. A. Kugener (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1930), xi–xii, the healing narrative discussed here is situated in Gaza between 398 and 401.

³ The author of the *VProcli* is Marinus of Neapolis, who lived ca. 450–500. He was probably a Samaritan who later converted to paganism and became a Neoplatonist philosopher, see Henri Dominique Saffrey, Alain-Phillipe Segonds, ed. and trans., “Introduction,” in Marinus, *Proclus ou Sur le bonheur* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001), ix–clxxvi. The *VProcli* was composed in 486, around one year after Proclus' death. The text has been variously described as a biography, a panegyric, and a funeral speech, see Mark Edwards, *Neoplatonic Saints. The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students*, 1–lv. The narrative is located in Athens, probably between the 450s and 470s. See the introduction to the newest critical edition of the text in Saffrey and Segonds, ix–clxiv.

⁴ The author of the *HPb* is Theodoret of Cyrrhus who lived between 393 and 460. There has been a debate over the exact date of composition; *HPb* was probably written

Silvanus is well-attested in Salona in both figural representations and epigraphy,³¹ and the mere fact that both examples of their pairing were discovered on the territory of the *ager Salonitanus* (Cavtat marked its eastern limit) could speak in favor of such an argument.

The dating of Salonitan Mithraic inscriptions is far from clear, but it is generally thought that dedication formulae bearing the epithet *Invictus* can be dated approximately to the second half of the second century or first half of the third century AD (*Soli Deo*; *Deo Invic(to)*; *D(eo) Inv(icto) M(ithrae)*), while those that include the solar aspect of Mithras' name are from the second half of the third century AD (*Soli Deo*; *D(eo) I(invicto) S(oli) M(ithrae)*), which would correspond roughly to the two phases of the spread of the cult.³²

Salonitan Mithraic Reliefs

Among the Salonitan reliefs there are outstanding examples of Mithraic art distinguished either by the good quality and/or rare and specific iconographic motifs. Most of the Salonitan reliefs show strong iconographic uniformity and homogeneity (as Mithraic reliefs tend to do in general), but by looking at the circular relief (CIMRM 1861) (*Fig. 2*), which is unique in the whole corpus of Mithraic art, it is already evident that the cult of Mithras in Salona was subject to imaginative rethinking. Based on the original iconography, stylistic and media preferences, I argue that Salonitan Mithraic communities created a specific local mode of expression which gave them the sense of a distinct local identity.

One can distinguish between three basic types of Salonitan Mithraic reliefs according to their different functions: cult icons (eight examples), secondary/personal votive reliefs (four examples), and "house-reliefs" (three examples). Most of them have the usual rectangular form, while two examples have circular forms (CIMRM 1861, CIMRM 1870) (*Fig. 2* and *Fig. 3*). The cult icons are predominantly of a simple type (showing the scene of the tauroctony) (CIMRM 1860, CIMRM 1866, CIMRM 1868, CIMRM 1869, CIMRM 1871, relief from the *thermae*), although one was presumably of the complex type (the tauroctony surrounded by subsidiary scenes) (CIMRM 1865) and one was circular (CIMRM 1870) (*Fig. 3*). All four examples of secondary/personal votive reliefs are of the

Cognition?" in *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, ed. Giovanni Casadio and Patricia A. Johnston (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 282, 286.

³¹ Silvia Bekavac, "Silvan u Saloni" [Silvanus in Salona], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 104 (2011): 151–166.

³² Lipovac-Vrkljan, "Posebnosti tipologije," 247–248.



Fig. 2. Salonitan tondo, CIMRM 1861 (Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Split)



Fig. 3. A fragment of a circular relief with zodiac signs, CIMRM 1870 (Photo by N. Silnović, 2013)

simple rectangular type (CIMRM 1862, CIMRM 1864, CIMRM 1867, CIMRM 1909). Two of the “house-reliefs” are simple rectangular (almost square) reliefs (CIMRM 1859, the miniature relief from the Archaeological Museum, Split), while the remaining one is circular (CIMRM 1861).

The apparent contrast in the style of execution among the Salonitan reliefs allows one to establish two principal stylistic tendencies.³³ The first can be described as a Classical tendency, where the Classical canons of proportion, plasticity, and realistically rendered anatomy are applied. Three reliefs show features of Classical expression (CIMRM 1860, CIMRM 1868, CIMRM 1869). The second stylistic tendency can be described as provincial in the full sense of the word, where mediocre quality is expressed in a schematic, sometimes awkward, treatment of figures and their proportions. These can be considered standard products of local workshops.

Based on the stylistic preferences, a further conclusion about their approximate chronology can be deduced. Since classicizing features are characteristic for the first phase of the spread of the cult in the province of Dalmatia, with the earliest monument of this type dated to the middle or second half of the second century AD (CIMRM 1879), it can be concluded that three Salonitan reliefs showing Classical tendencies belong to this period. Some authors have suggested that reliefs belonging to this phase were under the direct or indirect influence of Italic workshops, primarily Aquileia.³⁴

Most Salonitan reliefs, however, belong to the second phase of the cult’s spread. The second phase is marked by the more prominent influence of the Danubian region, with Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia) and Siscia (Sisak, Croatia) playing an important intermediary role starting in the third century AD.³⁵ Although it is

³³ Salonitan Mithraic reliefs belong to the sphere of provincial art and therefore the style needs to be evaluated by a different set of parameters. Since most provincial artistic production shows no ambition to express the stylistic trends of the epoch and could therefore be called a-stylistic, minor details can help establish the chronology.

³⁴ Branimir Gabričević, “Mitrin kult na području rimske Dalmacije” [The Mithras cult in Roman Dalmatia] PhD Dissertation (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1951), 43, idem, “Iconographie de Mithra tauroctone dans la province romaine de Dalmatie,” *Archaeologica Jugoslavica* 1 (1954): 37–52; Željko Miletić, “Mitraizam u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji” [Mithraism in the Roman province of Dalmatia], PhD dissertation (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1996), 18–19; Goranka Lipovac-Vrkljan, “Arheološke potvrde mitraičke religije na prostoru rimske provincije Dalmacije. Pitanje kontinuiteta” [Archaeological confirmations of the Mithraic religion in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The question of continuity], MA thesis (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 1997), 136; eadem, “Posebnosti tipologije,” 195.

³⁵ Gabričević, “Mitrin kult,” 43, idem, “Iconographie de Mithra,” 37–52; Miletić, “Mitraizam,” 28; Lipovac-Vrkljan, “Arheološke potvrde,” 136; eadem, “Posebnosti tipologije,” 196.

impossible to distinguish exact “Danubian features” on reliefs of such mediocre and provincial quality (besides Danubian influence exercised in the form of small and miniature “house-reliefs,” and in the existence of the complex type of cult icon), the fact itself that local workshops turned to a different set of stylistic and typological features means that they abandoned the initial Italic influences, which points to a desire to create a distinct local mode of artistic expression and identity.

This resulted in the creation of innovative circular reliefs (CIMRM 1870, CIMRM 1861) (*Fig. 2* and *Fig. 3*). Namely, the Salonitan circular reliefs are the only two examples of the so-called zodiac-frames which are not inserted into a rectangular relief but are instead free-standing sculptures. The fragment showing the two zodiac signs (CIMRM 1870) has some similarities with the relief from Banjevci³⁶ (although the zodiac frame in this case is inserted inside the rectangular relief) in the segmentation of the frame itself. The second Salonitan circular relief (CIMRM 1861) shows some liberty in its iconography without segmentation of the frame. This pair of circular reliefs has led some scholars to conclude that they are of Salonitan provenance,³⁷ which seems possible. Circular zodiac frames can be found inserted inside the rectangular relief on examples from Sisak (CIMRM 1472), London (CIMRM 810), Stockstadt (CIMRM 1161), Dieburg (CIMRM 1247), and Trier (CIMRM 985). An oval zodiac frame can also be found on the rectangular relief from Modena (CIMRM 695), and as a free-standing but oval frame on the example from Housesteads (CIMRM 860). The closest parallel can be drawn between the relief from Banjevci and rectangular reliefs with zodiac frames inserted. Since they do not have segmented frames, one can see this as a regional feature. Further, it is clear that the fragment from Salona borrows this same feature, but it developed, or rather it became, an independent type of cult-relief.

The Salonitan tondo (CIMRM 1861, *Fig. 2*) took over the idea of a circular form, but the iconography is different, showing artistic originality and imaginativeness. The central field, encircled by a simple semicircular profile, depicts the standard scene of tauroctony. At the top of the frame, marked by

³⁶ Medini, “Mitrički reljef.”

³⁷ Julijan Medini was of the opinion that they were of Italic or Dalmatian origin in idem, “Mitrički reljef,” 64; Miletić, “Mitraizam,” 13; idem, “Typology of Mithraic Cult Reliefs From South-Eastern Europe,” in *Religija i mit kao poticaj rimskoj provincijalnoj plastici: Akti VIII. međunarodnog kolokvija o problematici rimskog provincijalnog stvaralaštva* [Religion and myth as an influence on Roman provincial sculpture: Acts VIII of the international colloquium on problems of Roman provincial creativity], ed. Mirjana Sanader and Ante Rendić-Miočević (Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, 2005), 269–274; Goranka Lipovac-Vrkljan follows Medini’s conclusions, in eadem, “Posebnosti tipologije,” 155.

the rim profile, a recumbent male figure representing Oceanus is depicted. The figure is flanked on the left by a bust of Sol with a radiate crown of six rays, and on the right by Luna with a crescent. Four aquatic animals follow clockwise: lizard, dolphin, lobster, and snail; this sequence is interrupted at the bottom of the frame, where a hydra flanked by two snakes is depicted.

Celebrated for their healing properties, aquatic animals appear to have been chosen in order to enhance the apotropaic powers of the tauroctony. Being both terrestrial and aquatic animals, they point to the Ocean as a place of transition, i.e., souls' genesis and apogenesis. Also, their life cycle is deeply dependent on the Invincible Sun. During cold weather they usually hide in stony and rocky places, recalling Porphyry's description of the cave as a place of rocky and watery substance where the soul's transition happens; the Sun's warmth gives them a new breath of life.³⁸ They all need sunny and warm weather to regenerate and reproduce, symbolizing the life-giving power of the Sun/Mithras/Oceanus. They symbolize fertility, opulence, (re)birth, and the cyclical rhythm of life in the cosmos, which is in perpetual motion.³⁹

The exclusive use of stone can be regarded as another local characteristic. The stones used are the local limestone (six reliefs) and marble (eight reliefs). Since marble was more expensive and often reserved for the more important pieces of sculpture, it is a telling indication of the value communities attached to these reliefs. An interesting case is offered by the fragment showing the bust of Luna with a crescent (CIMRM 1869), made of marble unavailable in Roman Dalmatia. It either came as a direct import or local workshops imported an un-worked block of marble.⁴⁰ The second option seems more plausible, as another example of a fragment showing the bust of Luna almost identical to the Salonitan one was discovered in Pharos (present-day Stari Grad on the island of Hvar).⁴¹ The high artistic quality led some scholars to call it "the most beautiful depiction of Luna on the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia."⁴² Given the number of Mithraic reliefs, the evidence of Luna from Pharos, and the innovative circular

³⁸ Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, revised text with translation by Seminar Classics 609, State University of New York at Buffalo (New York: Arethusa, 1969), 9–10, 11–13.

³⁹ This analysis is a summary of the extensive research on the iconography of Salonitan tondo, which can be found in Silnović, "Soli Deo Stellam et Fructiferam," Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ Goranka Lipovac-Vrkljan, "Some Examples of Local Production of Mithraic Reliefs from Roman Dalmatia," in *Religija i mit*, 253.

⁴¹ Ante Rendić-Miočević, "Skulptura" [Sculpture], in *Pharos, antički Stari Grad* [Pharos, Ancient Stari Grad], ed. Jasna Jeličić-Radonić and Biserka Rauter-Plančić (Zagreb: Muzejsko galerijski centar, 1996), 122.

⁴² Lipovac-Vrkljan, "Some Examples," 254.

reliefs, it is apparent that a local workshop not only met local needs, but makes it possible to regard Salona as a regional Mithraic center on the eastern Adriatic coast.⁴³

Despite the seeming uniformity, stereotypic typology, and iconography, Salonitan Mithraic communities were able to create their own local identity through pursuing their particular preferences and by establishing “Salonitan features” (the exclusive use of stone as a medium, innovative circular reliefs, local artistic expression, original iconography). The importance of art in this process of self-affirmation and creating of a strong sense of cultural and religious identity cannot be overemphasized.⁴⁴

Conclusions

Given the nature of the evidence, the beginning and end of the cult's existence in Salona cannot be established with certainty. However, as the discussion of the epigraphic evidence and of the reliefs' typology and iconography has shown, the cult of Mithras appeared in Salona with the first wave of its spread in the territory of the province of Dalmatia during the second half of the second century AD. As Salona was the capital city, one of the main harbors, and a *caput viae* of the province, it seems only natural that it would be among the first contact zones and receptors of new religious flows. Salona was not a passive recipient of the new cult, but showed remarkable creativity and ingenuity in its further development. The most impressive evidence is the Salonitan tondo. Thus, the cult of Mithras in Salona broke the local boundaries and participated fully in religious currents of the time. The apogee of the cult of Mithras in Salona can be dated to the third century AD, the date of most of the material evidence presented here. The reliefs abandoned the initial Classical expression and embraced new influences arriving from the Danubian region. As the examination has shown, reliefs did not follow their models blindly; as the cult reached its full adaptation and independence, a more local expression was created characterized by the typical provincial, mediocre quality of handicrafts. In this sense the epithet 'provincial' should be taken as a geographic rather than qualitative category. The lower quality of Salonitan Mithraic reliefs does not mean that local workshops were unable to

⁴³ Lipovac-Vrkljan, “Posebnosti tipologije,” 87.

⁴⁴ Jaś Elsner, *Roman Eyes. Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 255; Jonas Bjørnebye reached a similar conclusion about the creation of local identity through art in his interpretation of Mithraic cult icons from Rome, in idem, “*Hic locus est felix*,” 160–168.

produce high quality reliefs. On the contrary, it points to a specific local will that found its mode of expression in this specific artistic idiom.

The climax of the Mithras cult in Salona has been attached to the influence of Emperor Diocletian.⁴⁵ According to one tradition, the emperor was born in Salona in AD 243⁴⁶ and later in life returned to the vicinity of his native city to spend his retirement in a palace built around AD 300 in Aspalathos (present-day Split).⁴⁷ The imperial conference held at Carnuntum (present-day Petronell, Austria) in AD 308 shows that the emperor cultivated a special affection toward Mithras. Diocletian proclaimed Mithras protector of the empire (*fautor imperii sui*) and commissioned the renovation of the existing mithraeum in Carnuntum.⁴⁸ Some scholars have been eager to see the remains of a mithraeum in the emperor's palace⁴⁹ and recent studies on the solar aspects of the palace

⁴⁵ Miletić, "Mitrazizam," 55; Nikolina Uroda, "Prilog poznavanju lokaliteta Crikvine u Rupotini" [Identifying the locality of Crikvine in Rupotina], *Tusculum* 1 (2008): 73–74.

⁴⁶ Stephen Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (London: Routledge, 2000), 22.

⁴⁷ Ivan Basić, "Spalatum – ager Salonitanus? Prilog tumačenju pravno-posjedovnog položaja priobalja Splitskoga poluotoka u preddioklecijanske razdoblju" [*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus? Understanding the property law status of the coastal region of the Split peninsula in the pre-Diocletian period*], *Povijesni prilozi* 42 (2012): 10.

⁴⁸ CIL III 4413.

⁴⁹ According to several authors the mithraeum was situated below the cryptoporticus of the palace, Branimir Gabričević, *Studije i članci religijama i kultovima antičkog svijeta* [Studies and articles about religions and cults of the ancient world] (Split: Književni krug, 1987), 167; Jerko Marasović, Tomislav Marasović, "Pregled radova Urbanističkog biroa na istraživanju, zaštiti i uređenju Dioklecijanove palače od 1955. do 1965. godine" [A survey of works conducted by the Urban Bureau on the examination, protection, and organization of Diocletian's palace from 1955 to 1965], *URBS: Istraživanje i uređenje Dioklecijanove palače* 4 (1961–1962): 27; Jerko Marasović, "Znanstveni projekt Graditeljsko naslijeđe Splita" [Research project on the architectural heritage of Split], *Obnova povijesne jezgre* 2 (1997): 36; Snježana Perojević, Katja Marasović, and Jerko Marasović, "Istraživanja Dioklecijanove palače od 1985. do 2005. godine" [Research in Diocletian's palace from 1985 to 2005], in *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača o 1700. obljetnici postojanja: zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija održanog od 18. do 22. rujna 2005. u Splitu*, [Diocletian, the tetrarchy and Diocletian's palace at about 1700 years of existence: A collection of works from the international symposium held 18 to 22 September, 2005, in Split] ed. Nenad Cambi, Joško Belamarić and Tomislav Marasović (Split: Književni krug, 2005), 58; Jerko Marasović, Sanja Buble, Katja Marasović, Snježana Perojević, "Prostorni razvoj jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače" [Spatial development of the southeast part of Diocletian's palace], *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam* 8, no. 2 (2000): 179; Stanislav Živkov, "Varia Diocletiana," in *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača*, 510–511, 517–523.

design might indicate Diocletian's preoccupation with Mithraism.⁵⁰ However, one should be aware that until solid evidence is found everything remains speculation. It is up to future research to bring more insight to the question of the emperor's relationship with Mithras.


The end of Mithraic activity in Salona is even more unclear than its beginnings. However, a relief found built in the wall of the eastern apse of the so-called "Large Salonitan Thermae," taken over by the bishop in the fifth century AD,⁵¹ could point to the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century as the approximate chronological framework of the cult's gradual disappearance from the Salonitan religious landscape.⁵² Whether the advent of Christianity played a role in it cannot be said with any certainty, as the nature of the evidence does not allow such conclusions.

⁵⁰ Mladen Pejaković has conducted thorough measurements of the palace showing that the whole structure was adjusted to solar events, especially equinoxes and solstices, and has argued that it speaks in favor of the emperor's worship of Mithras, in idem, *Dioklecijanova palača Sunca* [Diocletian's sun palace] (Zagreb: Litteris, 2006); other archaeoastronomical measurements were undertaken on the so-called Romula's mausoleum at Gamzigrad and at the mausoleum at Šarkamen, allegedly commissioned by Galerius and Maximinus Daia. The author concluded that they "evoke Mithras through their alignment to the constellation Orion," in Dragana Mladenović, "Astral Path to Soul Salvation in Late Antiquity? The Orientation of Two Late Roman Imperial Mausolea from Eastern Serbia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 113, no. 1 (2009): 94. These examples clearly point to the Tetrarch's interest in solar phenomena, but one should be cautious in connecting it with Mithras without any specific evidence. However, they can serve as a good starting point for the further inquiry.

⁵¹ Nenad Cambi, *Antička Salona* [Ancient Salona] (Split: Književni krug, 1991), 471–472.

⁵² The question of the end of the cult of Mithras is still the topic of scholarly debate. For example, Eberhard Sauer has argued that in the northern provinces (Belgica I, Germanis I, Lugdunensis I, and Sequania) the cult ceased its activity in the third quarter of the third century AD, in idem, *The End of Paganism in the North Western Provinces of the Roman Empire: The Example of the Mithras Cult* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996); Richard Gordon rightly observes that his conclusions are based on the evidence from a selected area, and are therefore inconclusive, and that this pagan cult survived well into the fifth century AD, in idem, "The End of Mithraism in the Northwest Provinces," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999): 683, 688.

WOMEN IN DISTRESS: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON HEALING MIRACLES

Branislav Vismek 

Christianity was a religion with a story. Indeed, it possessed several different kinds of stories. But two were preeminent: *Lives*, biographies of divine or holy personages; and *Acts*, records of their doings, and often of their deaths. Narrative is at their very heart; for whatever view one takes of the evolution of the Gospels, the remembered events and sayings from the life of Jesus were in fact strung together in a narrative sequence and ever afterward provided both a literary and a moral pattern.¹

In this article I examine healing narratives and their function(s) in several late antique texts, comparing their structure(s) and the agenda(s) behind them. The three healing episodes I discuss here are taken from the *Life of Porphyry* by Mark the Deacon (*VPorph*),² the *Life of Proclus* (*VProcli*) by Marinus,³ and the *Philotheos Historia* (*HPb*) by Theodoret of Cyrhus.⁴

¹ Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 89.

² The authorship and the date of the composition of *VPorph* has provoked a long debate among scholars. The text is commonly referred to as a hagiography, see Claudia Rapp's introduction to the partial English translation of Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry of Gaza*. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland Press, 2000), 56. According to the text itself, the author is a certain Mark the Deacon. What is known about his life is based mainly on his own text. He was allegedly ordained a deacon about 397. He was a calligrapher, a follower of Porphyry. Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre*, ed. and trans. Henri Grégoire and M. A. Kugener (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1930), xi–xii, the healing narrative discussed here is situated in Gaza between 398 and 401.

³ The author of the *VProcli* is Marinus of Neapolis, who lived ca. 450–500. He was probably a Samaritan who later converted to paganism and became a Neoplatonist philosopher, see Henri Dominique Saffrey, Alain-Phillipe Segonds, ed. and trans., “Introduction,” in Marinus, *Proclus ou Sur le bonheur* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001), ix–clxxvi. The *VProcli* was composed in 486, around one year after Proclus' death. The text has been variously described as a biography, a panegyric, and a funeral speech, see Mark Edwards, *Neoplatonic Saints. The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students*, 1–lv. The narrative is located in Athens, probably between the 450s and 470s. See the introduction to the newest critical edition of the text in Saffrey and Segonds, ix–clxiv.

⁴ The author of the *HPb* is Theodoret of Cyrhus who lived between 393 and 460. There has been a debate over the exact date of composition; *HPb* was probably written

FIGHTING THE INCURABLE: RABIES IN THE MEDICAL WORK OF PAUL OF AEGINA

Iuliana Soficaru

Rabies is a drama with three actors: the rabies virus, the biting mammal, and the infected human. Rabies is one of the oldest infectious diseases known, affecting humans and animals alike, and equally deadly for both. Byzantine medicine is a well-studied topic in recent scholarship and a few articles even deal with rabies, however, some questions are left unanswered: Were those infected isolated? Did physicians prescribe medicines or were patients just abandoned to their fate? And if that was the case, what were the reasons behind it? Was the environment controlled in such a way as to avoid contact with rabies? Because it was a disease impossible to cure until the end of the nineteenth century, I followed rabies in my research as a constant. It offers the opportunity to study ancient views on human–animal relations, magic, health, healing, intellectual discourse, literary characters, public space, public health and urban health. Here I will examine several aspects of the treatment of rabies in the work of the Byzantine medical writer, Paul of Aegina:¹ the definition of rabies, in the framework of Late Antique medicine, the main symptoms, and the treatment of the disease.²

The main primary source I use in this research is the *Pragmateia*, or *Epitome of Medicine*, a medical summary in seven books, which deals with the main medical practices and procedures, written by Paul of Aegina, precisely the third chapter of the fifth book tackling rabies. The genre of this primary source is compilation. Paul of Aegina was a seventh-century compiler who used earlier authors as sources; details of his personal medical experience must be inferred. Many Greek manuscripts of this medical work survive, in itself a sign of its great popularity

¹ The main primary source I used in this research is the *Pragmateia* or the *Epitome of Medicine*, a medical summary in seven books written by Paul of Aegina which deals with the main medical practices and procedures of the time; the third chapter of the fifth book tackles rabies. The title of the work is unknown; two titles have been assigned by scholars. Here I will use the title proposed by Peter Pormann, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's Pragmateia* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 8 (hereafter: Pormann, *Pragmateia*). The Greek edition is published in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum: Paul of Aegina*, ed. Johan Ludvig Heiberg, vol. 1–2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1921–1924).

² This article is based on my MA Thesis, “The Medical Work of Paul of Aegina: The Case of Treating Rabies” (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), completed under the supervision of Ildikó Csepregi, to whom I am grateful.

and started to convert the local people, Proclus became the leader of the famous Athenian Neoplatonic school of philosophy, which he led until his death.⁸

Two of these texts were written in the highest linguistic register available in fifth-century Greek, while the third one, the *VPorpb*, was written mostly in simple Greek.⁹ All three authors claim to have known the heroes of their texts personally. The three women being cured in the episodes I discuss here were of high social standing; they belonged to the urban aristocracy. There is a question whether these texts, and the healing episodes particularly, could be a result of mutual influence.¹⁰ Further, what can be concluded from the differences between these texts, and their depictions of the healing miracles? The main character of all three texts is a holy man. However, one of them was a Neoplatonic philosopher exercising theurgic activities (Proclus), the next one was an illiterate hermit (Macedonius), and the last one was allegedly a Christian bishop and former hermit (Porphyry). The healings these three holy men performed are depicted with the use of a similar language and imagery, yet there are substantial differences.

The healing episodes I discuss here depict the saving of a woman's life from three different perspectives. The first case is set in Athens, the second in Antioch, and the third in Gaza. These healing narratives display striking similarities in the structure of the narrative, the method of healing, and the vocabulary used. These similarities and polemical references suggest mutual influence and conflict between different pagan and Christian religious ideologies. Yet, on closer examination, the structure of the narrative, the method of healing, and the vocabulary used attest different literary and ideological backgrounds behind these three texts.

Textual Background and Genre

The genre of these three texts can be defined as “hagiobiography,”¹¹ or otherwise belonging to the specific genres of biography, panegyric, or hagiography without

⁸ *VProcli* 36.

⁹ Except the proem copied almost verbatim from *HPb*.

¹⁰ It has been convincingly demonstrated that the preface of Theodoret's text was copied by the author of the extant Greek version of the *Vporpb*, Grégoire and Kugener, *Marc le Diacre*, ciii–cix.

¹¹ Anna Wilson, “Biographical Models: The Constantinian Period and Beyond,” in *Constantine: History, Historiography and Legend*, ed. N. C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (London: Routledge, 1998), 107. All in all, “hagiography” is also a neologism first introduced into general use in French in the seventeenth century. See Martin Hinterberger, “Autobiography and Hagiography in Byzantium,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 75 (2000): 139.

drawing a neat difference among them. Some have argued that these genres are, in fact, very close to each other, if not identical.¹²

These texts drew their inspiration from many different areas: Classical literature, the Hebrew Bible, the Gospels and a wide range of early Christian texts, including the apocryphal literature, various pagan sources, and also oral tradition.¹³ Marc Van Uytfanghe, in his article on the development of types of Christian holy men in Latin Late Antiquity, uses the term “hagiographic discourse,”¹⁴ which he does not understand as solely Christian, but as a specific, although not clearly defined, rhetoric employed in different late antique texts of Jewish, pagan, and Christian origins.¹⁵ Arguably, hagiographic discourse was present in various literary and rhetorical genres, in secular panegyrics, in Christian *passiones*, in private letters, homilies, funerary speeches, travelogues, miracle collections, and even novels and romances.¹⁶

These texts were, according to recent scholarship, in rather intense contact with each other, borrowing a great deal in language and style and engaging in religious and cultural polemic.¹⁷ As Van Uytfanghe argues, the time from when

¹² Elena Giannarelli, “La biografia cristiana antica: strutture, problemi,” in *Scrivere di santi. Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia Napoli, 22–25 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gennaro Luongo (Rome: Viella, 1998), 49–50.

¹³ Wilson, “Biographical Models,” 108. These texts shared *topoi* taken from different kinds of texts; they often shared certain organizing devices, but the way they were used, and for what purposes, varied widely. Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, “Introduction: Biography and Panegyric,” in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. T. Hägg and Ph. Rousseau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1.

¹⁴ Marc van Uytfanghe, “L’Hagiographie: Un «genre» chrétien ou antique tardif?” *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993): 166–179.

¹⁵ Marc van Uytfanghe, “La typologie de la sainteté en Occident vers la fin de l’Antiquité (avec une attention special aux modèles bibliques),” in *Scrivere di santi*, ed. Gennaro Luongo (Rome: Viella, 1998.), 17.

¹⁶ Van Uytfanghe, “La typologie,” 17, mentions specifically: “si la *Vita* est le principal, il y en d’autres tel que la *Passion*, le panégyrique, le roman, la nouvelle, l’*épitaphium*, le recueil de miracles, etc., même si l’on est tenté aujourd’hui d’en globaliser au moins quelques-uns sous le vocable de ‘biographie spirituelle.’”

¹⁷ It does not mean that there were only two sides engaged in these rhetorical clashes and ideological competition, but the dichotomy “we the right ones vs. the others” seemed always to be there, even if more parties were involved, even on the level of one single text. Also, philosophers and Christians were often more preoccupied with competition among themselves than with each other or attacked exotic pagan cults. For philosophers see Gillian Clark, “Philosophic Lives and the Philosophic Life. Porphyry and Iamblichus,” in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. T. Hägg and P. Rousseau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 31.

the famous *Life of Anthony* (written between 356 and 362)¹⁸ was composed (and almost instantly translated into Latin and spread across the different social strata of the empire) to the *Life of Ambrose* (completed between 412 and 413)¹⁹ by Paulinus of Milan, was a fruitful and creative period. It laid the groundwork and set the standards for later texts about Christian saints, especially for hagiographies proper, that is, *vitae* and *bioi*. These later texts were less creative, and instead of creating and portraying “sanctity *sui generis*,” they followed the standards already set up.²⁰ The texts here were written after this period (*HPb* probably in 444, *VProcli* in 486; the date of *VPorpb* has not been established, however, the Greek text I use was not finished before 440–444). It seems that these three texts belong to a transitional period between the creative bursts of the first hagiographic texts about holy men of the latter half of the fourth century and the later multiplication and spread of relatively well-defined texts. Anna Wilson sees this creative period as an unexpected situation which Christian authors responded to differently on the literary level after the “Constantinian change.”²¹

Concepts of an ideal Christian life, striving for perfection, had been elaborated before in the works of Origen (second to third century) or Clement of Alexandria (first to second century), but the author of the *Life of Anthony* translated these ideals into a new, eremitic, setting. Many features of content and concepts in the *Life of Anthony*, a “ἄγιος”²² striving for perfection (ascetic life in the

¹⁸ Athanasius, *The Life of Anthony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. Robert Gregg (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), xi.

¹⁹ Emilien Lamirande, *Pauline de Milan et la “Vita Ambrosii:” Aspects de la religion sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris: Desclée, 1983).

²⁰ Van Uytfanghe, “La typologie,” 18.

²¹ Wilson, “Biographical Models,” 108.

²² In Paulinian terms, everyone in the early Christian community was, theologically, understood as a ἄγιος. The change, which came about during the first four to five centuries developed slowly on many levels: Theological (eschatology, intercession, the state of a person between death and resurrection, etc.), ritual (funerary habits, inscriptions, gatherings, celebrating martyrs), social (privatization of certain cults by the upper class, patronage, the veneration of relics), political (persecutions, legalization of and soon-to-be exclusive status for the Christian cult), and, not least, an emerging discourse on miracle working. Of course, miracles (as wonders) were already present in the Gospels, and in a certain sense in *passiones*, but the fourth and fifth century saw crucial battles over miracles. Theologians tried to establish the grounds for recognizing “true” miracles and whether there could be any in the post-apostolic period; biohagiographers struggled with “legitimate” miracles, “illegitimate” wonderworkers, and magicians, either heretical or pagan. Van Uytfanghe, “L’origine, l’essor et les fonctions du culte des saints. Quelques repères pour un débat rouvert,” *Cassiodorus* 2 (1996), 151–176.

desert, yet portraying contacts with other ascetics, Christians, and even emperors, participating in the life of the church, fighting heretics, disputing with pagans, and especially fighting against demons) became standard stock for later hagiographies. The *Life of Anthony* was a somewhat inflated version of its Biblical patterns;²³ the text adopted extreme asceticism and constant battles with demons on the path to an ideal Christian life, and it influenced later authors to a great extent. It did not really define later hagiographies, however, it rather catalyzed their literary development;²⁴ many later authors based their hagiographic writings on this text, others defined other alternatives in response to it, and yet others, especially in later periods, merely selected, arbitrarily perhaps, a few of its components to pepper and legitimize their own works.

These other texts were also trying to establish the “true” or ideal Christian ascetic life against Jewish, pagan, and heretical lives, often doing so against the prominent type of sainthood as portrayed in the influential *Life of Anthony*. It was seen as commendable and worth following, yet other alternatives to equally praiseworthy Christian ideals were being offered.

Miracles and Magic

Although Christianity had made rapid progress in defining many levels of contemporary society, the religious world of late antique man was still to a large extent based on the religious world described by Plutarch, as “a well-mixed bowl of myths.”²⁵ Wendy Cotter argues that the “evidence supports the fact that magic was a force relied upon by many people from various strata of Greco-Roman society. And to use magical power successfully was no small accomplishment, even though the blueblood *literati* would mock such ideas.”²⁶ The adherence to magic and trust in its efficacy can be induced from the numerous laws against it.²⁷

²³ Van Uytfanghe, “La typologie,” 21.

²⁴ The *Life of Cyprian*, although it remained an isolated text offered a textual interpretation of an ideal Christian life as an addition to a martyrdom narrative. It employed many *synkrisias* and mimetic analogies to biblical texts which later came to be a stable part of many hagiographic texts. Only the *Life of Anthony*, which appeared later and in a changed context, after the persecutions leading to “martyrdoms” were over and Christianity was soon to become firmly established as the only state religion, sparked this new creative period. Van Uytfanghe, “La typologie,” 19–20.

²⁵ Plutarch, *On the Failure of Oracles*, 421.

²⁶ Wendy Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2003), 176.

²⁷ *Codex Theodosianus* 9, 16; 9, 38, 3-4; 9, 38, 7-8; 9, 40, 1; 9, 42, 2; 9, 42, 4; 11, 36, 1; 11, 36, 7; 16, 5, 34.

Contemporary scholarship has proposed various definitions of magic and religion and tried to establish borders between the two.²⁸ In Classical and Late Antiquity, however, these borders were much less clear, although some contemporary authors sought a clear-cut division. As Henry Maguire points out, in principle there are two possible definitions of magic, the internal and the external, and the internal definition is almost illusory to define and agree upon. The external definition leaves discerning what magic was and was not to contemporary authorities; there was no *opinio communis*, however, and it differed in time and space. For example such a clearly Christian symbol as the Christogram could be, depending on various factors, deemed to be a legitimate part of Christian rituals or considered a magical symbol, and therefore, banned. This ban and the decision on what magic is and is not could be made by both the Church and state authorities. Among the most common words describing magic and superstition in the sources are *magia* and *superstitio* in Latin and *μαγεία* and *γοητεία* in Greek.²⁹

It is important to note that Christianity developed in constant antagonism with what it considered magic;³⁰ it defined itself on many levels as being the true religion. Magic admittedly existed, but it was a sign of an inferior “supernatural.”³¹ The New Testament was full of miracles of all sorts, but they were not seen as

²⁸ For a recent discussion of the topic see Cotter, *Miracles*, especially part IV: “Magic and Miracles,” and also Harold Remus, *Pagan-Christian Conflict over Miracle in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1983). Segal claims that in the ancient world this distinction sometimes depended only on the social context, Alan F. Segal, “Some Thoughts on Theurgy,” in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity*, ed. Peter Richardson (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 507. See also Silke Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (London: Routledge, 2007), 5–23.

²⁹ Henry Maguire, “Magic and Money in the Early Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1037–1054.

³⁰ In the *HPb*, Theodoret narrates a story about a girl who was suddenly possessed by a demon. After her father contacted Macedonius, the holy man, he informed him that the demon, whom he cast out with prayer, told him that he did not enter the girl willingly, but was compelled to do so by magic spells. It turned out it was a man in love with the girl who was responsible for the spells. The case ended up before the court, and when the accused man denied using the spells, the very demon was, with Macedonius’ help, brought before the court as a witness, where he admitted this and other crimes he was compelled to do by magic before he was finally cast away, *HPb* 13, 10–11.

³¹ It is interesting that “by the mid-fourth century prophecy had been definitively stamped out in both shrines, leaving only a vague memory of sanctity which was adroitly exploited by the Church; its polemicists, sticking to long-established rhetorical clichés, continued to fulminate against Delphi and Didyma in their anti-pagan attacks, while their real target was home-made oracles and oniromancy.” Polymnia Athanassiadi, “Dreams, Theurgy

magic. Any subsequent miracles had to be justified against the biblical miracles. This defining of the “miraculous” and its place in the world went on among Christians and non-Christians. In my opinion, the biographical and hagiographical texts do not seem to have been the most important platform for this process of defining, although they influenced it significantly. Rather, they seem to work on the background and on the basis of what the authorities as bishops or church councils have to say, arming the holy men for their persuasive mission with “miracles proper” (or at least depicting them carefully, if not timidly, so as not to be suspected of magic or superstition).

Furthermore, apart from their own authorities, the hagiographers needed to persuade the public that what their wonderworkers were doing was not temporary, illusory, or petty like magic.³² Of course, the audience for the different biohagiographic texts differed widely, yet I suggest that most of them, on the whole spectrum from illiterate peasants to the educated elites, were more or less used to, or at least exposed to, miraculous stories, magic, and religious rituals. What a religious authority or an author of a hagiographic text considered petty or ineffective was not necessarily seen as such by their audience. Therefore, the author needed to demonstrate not only the efficacy of his hero, but the inefficacy of everything else.

The Story, Christian Discourse, and the Healings

The texts I discuss here are first and foremost stories narrating the deeds of holy men. Nevertheless, their deeds were governed by the word – the literary rules and *topoi* transmitted through the Classical and Christian traditions. The authors of such texts in the fifth century were no longer really free in their expression. The literary patterns for these texts had already been, to some extent, established regarding both the content and form of the text, and they forced their way into the new texts.³³

The ability to perform miracles was one of the most distinctive features of every holy man, and healings, together with exorcisms, were among the most

and Freelance Divination: The Testimony of Iamblichus,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 115.

³² Ayse Tuzlak, “The Magician and the Heretic: The Case of Simon Magus,” in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. Paul Mirecki and Marvin Mayer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 421.

³³ Willi Braun, “Rhetoric, Rhetoricity, and Discourse Performances,” in *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Christianities*, ed. Willi Braun (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 2.

common types of miracles in Christian texts.³⁴ It seems that Christianity, in its struggle to “appropriate” history, Classical culture and traditions, the society and its structures met a challenge of integrating the old pagan, or rather, traditional, curative practices into its own system of beliefs, for example, incubation (ενκοιμησις).³⁵

The healing miracles are often sensational stories, yet they are constructed carefully to demonstrate the truth and the “authentic” behind the saint, they are also (indirectly) juxtaposed to old wives tales.³⁶ The authors often claim, as the *topos* requires, that their stories are backed up by eyewitnesses. They also demonstrate that the holiness of a saint is real, with real consequences in the real world. They make a case for a particular god, or a philosophical school, not by rational reasoning, but by claiming direct indisputable eyewitness accounts that this way of life really works.

That does not mean that logical argument was absent from the Christian discourse. On the contrary, Christian discourse constantly used, reshaped, and implemented all the best achievements of the traditional culture of rhetoric, including healing narratives, as in the *HPb*. The roles of the “figural” and the “demonstrative” became important strategic tools in Christian discourse to reach the widest possible audience. One finds all through early Christian writings the contrast between the surface meaning and the hidden meaning, demonstrations of seeing in visions, and strong revelatory tendencies. Revelation is indeed central to Christian discourse and, in order to see the things revealed, there is a presupposition of faith. The novelty of this developing manifold Christian discourse lay in combining the specifically Christian elements (signs, proofs, *kerygma* [preaching the gospel in the manner of the early church]) with the best traditions of Classical rhetoric (cf. Eusebius in his *Vita Constantini*).³⁷ Christian discourse demanded claims for originality but at the same time widely used familiar, established, understandable, and appealing notions. In my opinion, this combination of the new, distinctively Christian (stemming from the Hebrew traditions) with the trusted and established

³⁴ As Howard Clark Kee notes, one fifth of the approximately 250 literary units into which the synoptic gospels are divided either describe or allude to healing or exorcism that Jesus and his disciples performed. In the *Gospel of John* and the *Pauline Letters* such references are also frequent, Howard Clark Kee, *Medicine, Miracle, and Magic in New Testament Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1.

³⁵ Ildikó Csepregi, “The Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian: Characteristics of Dream Healing,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 90.

³⁶ *Vporph*, 2.

³⁷ Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 155–188.

components of the Classical, which can be seen in many late antique texts, was often reached with the help of healing narratives.³⁸

In Christian literature, the emphasis is laid on the mystery of the Christian message. There is a strong kerygmatic aspect in the Christian discourse; everything is pointing to some ultimate reality and is meant to proclaim and announce. The statement of faith is an important part of it, and faith is meant to be affirmed through certain signs – proofs. The Scripture was the foremost evidence, not a thorough explanation and justification.³⁹ Healing narratives often embody these kerygmatic, and demonstrative qualities in biographographic texts, and it is specifically Christian biographographic texts which often portrayed healing narratives in this way.

The emerging Christian discourse strove to include society as a whole. These efforts can be seen in the manifold kinds of Christian texts aimed at various audiences. Hagiographic texts are part of the Christian literature, and different hagiographic and biographic texts were aimed at different audiences.

The Stories: Holy Men at Work

These are the healings included in *VProcli*, *VPorpb*, and *HPb*: Asclepigeneia, while still a maid being raised by parents in Athens, was gripped by severe illness. After the doctors failed to cure her, her father, Archiadas, visited Proclus and asked him for help. He went, together with Pericles from Lydia, a philosopher, to the shrine of Asclepius⁴⁰ to pray to the god on her behalf. While he was praying there, Asclepigeneia suddenly recovered from her illness. After that, Proclus visited her personally and checked that she was healthy.

A noble lady, Aelias, who was about to give birth in Gaza, fell into peril and suffered a great deal from pregnancy complications. After the doctors and midwives could not help her, her husband, Heros, together with her parents, called enchanters and soothsayers to help her, but they failed. Meanwhile, a nurse from the household prayed in a church, where she met Porphyry. He told her to

³⁸ In Plato's *Seventh Letter* Socrates is being evocative, not explanatory. This is similar to what Christianity brought to perfection, Gregory Shaw, "After Aporia: Theurgy in Later Platonism," in *Gnosticism and Later Platonism: Themes, Figures, and Texts*, ed. John D. Turner and Ruth Majercik (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 59.

³⁹ Northrop Frye and Jay Macpherson, *Biblical and Classical Myths: The Mythological Framework of Western Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 96–97.

⁴⁰ On Christian borrowings from this cult in imagery and function see Vivian Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 7–8.

go back to the household, gather all its members, and ask them what reward they were willing to give the physician who could cure her.⁴¹ After they promised, and swore with their hands lifted to heaven that they would not deny the physician if he cured Aelias, the nurse exclaimed Porphyry's words: "Jesus Christ has healed her, believe him and live!" At that moment Aelias shrieked and delivered a healthy child, all those around her proclaimed their awe of Porphyry and his God. Then all of them went to him to become catechumens, and eventually baptized, in all sixty-four people.

Astrion, a wealthy woman from Antioch, lost her wits, could not eat nor drink and was delirious for a long time. After many skills applied to cure her turned out to be ineffective, her husband, Ovodianus, approached a holy man – Macedonius. The holy man agreed to help, came to his house, prayed, and let her drink cold water over which he made the sign of salvation. At that moment, she became sane and, recognizing the man of God, took his hand, placed it on her eyes and moved it to her mouth.⁴²

These three miraculous healings are similar, yet they show significant differences in their structure and the literary elements used. Moreover, the actual act of healing seems to point to different influences on the authors: the first one, the Neoplatonist Proclus, stresses the importance of place,⁴³ tradition, ritual, and theurgy,⁴⁴ the second, by the Christian Bishop Porphyry, is based on prayer to the only God and liturgy, and the third, by the Christian ascetic Macedonius, alludes to the Gospel tradition of the active involvement of the holy man in the process of healing.

The Cure

The woman being healed in this episode of the *VPorph*, Aelias, was one of the notable people of the city (γυνή τις τῶν ἐμφανῶν τῆς πόλεως ὀνόματι Αἰλιάς).⁴⁵

⁴¹ A similar healing miracle is depicted in the *Life of Anthony*. Athanasius, *The Life of Anthony and the letter to Marcellinus* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 74-75. In other healing miracles, Anthony again healed by prayer, and faith was again emphasized.

⁴² *HPh*, 13, 13, trans. Price, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus, A History of the Monks of Syria*, 103-104.

⁴³ On the importance of holy sites, see Polymnia Athanassiadi, "Persecution and Response in Late Paganism," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993): 7-10.

⁴⁴ A number of different means could be used in theurgy: prayer, a talisman, revelation, myth, divine names, initiation, and even silence. Sara Rappe, *Reading Neoplatonism: Non-Discursive Thinking in the Texts of Plotinus, Proclus, and Damascius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 193.

⁴⁵ *VPorph* 28.

Asclepigeneia, cured in Marinus' healing narrative, was also of noble origin.⁴⁶ Finally, Astrion, the woman cured by Macedonius, was "of the very wealthiest of the nobility."⁴⁷ Aelias, "being about to give birth to a child, fell into great peril."⁴⁸ Astrion "lost her wits" so she "could recognize none of her household, and could not bear to take food or drink."⁴⁹ Asclepigeneia, "while she was still a maid and being reared by her parents, was gripped by a severe illness (νόσῳ χαλεπῇ κατειχέτο) which the doctors were unable to cure."⁵⁰

The doctors and physicians represent the high attainments of the Classical pagan healing arts. Plato's references to, and attitude towards, medicine points to the social and intellectual prestige of the Greek medical profession in his times, and his writings, in turn, influenced the cultural elites for further centuries.⁵¹ Christianity was not, as such, opposed to these secular achievements. Yet even those Church Fathers who were inclined to secular medical knowledge reserved room for these miraculous healings.⁵² In Christian hagiographic texts, however, the authors established a *topos* frequently employed in healing narratives. The inability of the doctors was juxtaposed to the striking efficacy of, often simple, rugged ascetics, and their mediations. Doctors were the privilege of the noble and wealthy, yet they were defeated by simple but true Christian ascetics.⁵³ Theodoret makes it plain: "When all skill had been expended and no help came from it, the woman's husband – he was Ovodianus, a curial of the highest rank – hastened to this godly person, described his wife's affliction and begged to obtain a cure."⁵⁴ Both Theodoret and the author of the *VPorpb* intensify the inability of the doctors by referring to the long time which passed before the miraculous intervention. Theodoret writes about Astrion that she "continued being delirious for a very long time,"⁵⁵ and the author of *VPorpb* diligently paints an image of misery:

⁴⁶ *VProcli* 29.

⁴⁷ *HPh*, 13, 13, trans. Price, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus, A History of the Monks of Syria*, 105.

⁴⁸ *VPorpb*, 28.

⁴⁹ *HPh* 13, 13, trans. Price, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus, A History of the Monks of Syria*, 105.

⁵⁰ *VProcli* 29, trans. Edwards, *Marinus of Neapolis: Proclus, or On Happiness*, 103.

⁵¹ Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, vol. 3, *The Conflict of Cultural Ideas in the Age of Plato*. Trans. Gilbert Highet (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 3–45.

⁵² Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander," 5. In hagiographic texts, the doctors were not necessarily discredited entirely, but even if their skills were admitted to be of use in this world, the holy man's intercession invariably overcame them.

⁵³ Gilbert Dagron, "Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue: Étude de thèmes hagiographiques à travers quelques recueils de Questions et Réponses des V^e–VII^e siècles," in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IV^e–XII^e siècles)* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 143–56.

⁵⁴ *HPh* 13, 13, trans. Price, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus, A History of the Monks of Syria*, 105.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

But the pain that was upon the woman was unspeakable, since in her throes of her travail she sought to bring forth the child; and her labours increased the more when the second day followed after the first; and the third day likewise was more painful than the second. And her labours endured unto seven days, the evil being ever increased.⁵⁶

Gravidity was a central point in the life of adult women; infertility, as well as too-vibrant fertility, was a source of grave adversity to their health and also, in most cases, to the economic situation.⁵⁷ Cures were recommended for both conditions. I would argue that in the hagiographic texts both infertility and problems with gravidity, as depicted in *VPorpb*, were used rhetorically; the seriousness of the issue and its connection to health, inheritance, and further survival of whole families had the potential to touch both the male and female audience. This seriousness is emphasized in *VProcli* as well: “Archiadas, whose hope of offspring rested entirely in her, was distraught and full of grief, as one would expect.”⁵⁸ The author of *VPorpb* re-introduces this topic in the story later, when Porphyry cleverly uses Eudoxia’s pregnancy and the insecurities connected with it to sway her to his side, even against the will of the emperor, as the author says.⁵⁹ Theodoret himself recounts the story of how Macedonius prayed for his sterile mother to have a son, although she, being “instructed in the things of God,” was satisfied with such a state and did not want to rear children – which greatly distressed her husband, Theodoret’s father.⁶⁰

In Christian hagiographic texts, doctors are usually present to demonstrate the inferiority of the achievements of traditional high culture to the Christian God; aristocratic women are present to show that even their wealth and connections fail to save them. All they needed to do is to have faith and follow the right authorities

⁵⁶ *VPorpb* 28, trans. Hill, *Mark the Deacon, Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 28.

⁵⁷ Diseases and health complications related to childbearing and delivery were commonly attributed to evil powers. There are many extant amulets and magic formulas which were supposed to protect against miscarriages and death of the newborns., Molly Fulghum Heintz, “The Art and Craft of Earning a Living,” in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. Ioli Kalavrezou (Harvard University Art Museums, 2003), 288. Relics and saintly images of Mary soon became important for Byzantine women of all classes as protection and supernatural aid in the issues relating to childbearing and delivery, see Elizabeth A. Gittings, “Women as Embodiments of Civic Life,” in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, 35–42.

⁵⁸ *VProcli* 29.

⁵⁹ *VPorpb* 36.

⁶⁰ *HPb* 16–17.

on their path to salvation. Marinus omits entirely any reference to how long the illness lasted before the holy man intervened. He only says that the doctors were unable to cure the illness; when they gave up, Asclepigeneia's father sought, "as his custom was,"⁶¹ Proclus – his final anchor, or rather, "his benevolent Saviour."⁶² Marinus does not emphasize the inability of the doctors, but his designation of Proclus as the "final anchor" and the "benevolent savior" seems to be a polemic reference to Christian texts.⁶³ When he himself was in physical distress though, this is what Marinus writes: "As for ailments he shunned them, or if they fell on him he bore them meekly, and made them less because the best part of him did not share the suffering."⁶⁴

The change that Christianity brought about did not consist of any revolutionary change of medical practices; the ancient medical authorities were used for many more centuries in both education and practice. What Christianity did change, however, is to be found rather in the medical discourse and its place in the Christian world-view and rhetoric. As the Christian gospel was supposed to save everyone who was willing to accept the message, so the medical care in the first charitable institutions was supposed to be aimed at everyone.⁶⁵ All of the three women in these narratives were of noble origin, yet Proclus was helping the wife of a benefactor of the academy where Proclus taught – socially, help among peers is displayed. Macedonius, however, was helping a noble woman as a rugged old ascetic,⁶⁶ and Bishop Porphyry was helping a noble woman, but she was from

⁶¹ *VProcli* 29, trans. Edwards, *Marinus of Neapolis: Proclus, or On Happiness*, 103.

⁶² ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἄγκυραν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ σωτήρα ἀγαθὸν τὸν φιλόσοφον, *ibidem*.

⁶³ The author of the *VPorph* adds up to the scene also the enchanters and soothsayers, along with the sacrifices offered by the parents of Aelias, just to demonstrate clearly that they all "accomplished nothing." *VPorph* 28. Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, 28. Earlier in *VProcli* though, it is said: "And if any of his associates was afflicted by illness, first he strenuously appealed to the gods on his behalf with words and hymns, then he attended the invalid solicitously, calling the doctors together and pressing them to exercise their skills without delay. And in these circumstances he himself did something extra, and thus rescued many from the greatest perils." *VProcli*, 17.

⁶⁴ *VProcli*, 20, trans. Edwards, *Marinus of Neapolis: Proclus, or On Happiness*, 88.

⁶⁵ While healing the poor and "simple" was not a novelty in itself, Christian authors made fair use of the paradox of the noble and the simple. What might have existed before was now put into the forefront, Christianity used and adjusted the message in different texts to the audience so as to reach the poor and not alienate the rich. On a literary level, the social inclusiveness of Christianity was a prominent feature of the message. The accumulation of all these cues, how often and persistently one can find them in Late Antique Christian texts, was what constituted the change.

⁶⁶ On his way of life see *HPb* 13.

an “idolatrous house, which hardly could be saved.”⁶⁷ Taking into account the frequency and the prominent place of healing narratives in the hagiographic texts, it seems that human health and insecurities connected with it eventually became a powerful rhetorical tool for Christian hagiographers. The noble women in the narratives seem to be appropriate in the texts aimed at an educated, socially privileged audience (*HPh*, *VProcl*), yet their presence makes the point effectively even in texts such as *VPorph* – Aelias’ parents could afford the most expensive doctors, magicians, and soothsayers, yet all in vain, and they were prepared to give all their possessions to the physicians who would cure her, yet all Porphyry asks them to do is to believe their physician – Christ.⁶⁸ Unlike Neoplatonic “pagan” lives of the fourth century, which focused on efforts for the perfection of humans, and the holy man’s life, Christian hagiographic texts emphasized the imperfection of man, even the holy man, and the need for faith to get a cure.⁶⁹

The Effects: Healing, Victory of the Divine, Conversion

The author of the *VPorph* builds up the narrative so as to be able to use this opportunity to direct the healing narrative to the final conversion of the Gaza pagans to Christianity. Not only is the household of Aelias, her husband and parents, said to be pagans, their paganism is directly identified as the reason for Aelias’ suffering. The mediator who contacts the holy man in this case is Aelias’ nurse, a Christian whose name the author does not mention. It is significant, however, that she does not seek Porphyry deliberately; they meet “by chance” while praying in church. However, nothing happens “by chance” in *VPorph* and it is rather God himself, who “being compassionate, turns the race of men through different occasions unto his light that enlightens the mind.”⁷⁰

Porphyry, praying in the same church as Aelias’ nurse, is at this point trying (with a certain cunning) to get new converts to “the only true religion.”⁷¹ He persuades the nurse to go back to the household, to gather all the kinsfolk of the unhappy Aelias at the scene of the dreadful childbirth and:

cause them all to lift up their hands to heaven and give their word that they will perform all the things that they have promised. And when

⁶⁷ *VPorph* 29.

⁶⁸ *VPorph* 28.

⁶⁹ Again, the emphasis is put on faith. While this does not apply to late antique Christianity in all its forms, “simple faith” is repeatedly juxtaposed to the vain (and “sinful”) efforts for “perfection” made by philosophers, pagans, and heretical Christians.

⁷⁰ *VPorph* 28, trans. Hill, *Mark the Deacon, Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, 28.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

they have done this, say unto the woman that gave childbirth before them all: 'Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, healed you, believe on him and live.'⁷²

The nurse does what Porphyry says and tells the parents and husband of Aelias that: "an excellent physician sent me unto you, that you may give me your word that if she be cured you will not deny him."⁷³ After they promised, and swore with their hands lifted to heaven that they would not deny the physician if he cured Aelias, the nurse exclaimed with Porphyry's words: "Jesus Christ has healed her, believe him and live!" At that moment Aelias shrieked, delivered her child healthy, and all around her proclaimed their awe to Porphyry and his God. Then all of them went to him to make them catechumens, and eventually to baptize them all, sixty-four people.⁷⁴

While Porphyry makes sure that everyone will see his miracle so as to get as many converts as possible, Proclus, living at a time when pagan cults were forbidden by imperial law and, thus liable to persecution, had to be more careful: "Such was the act he performed, yet in this as in every other case he evaded the notice of the mob, and offered no pretext to those who wished to plot against him. The house in which he dwelt was in this respect of great assistance to him."⁷⁵

It is not necessarily conversion to Christianity which is expected from those being cured in Christian hagiographic texts. Macedonius himself did not give Theodoret's mother (or, more precisely, his father) a son, despite her sterility, for free – he asked that the child be given into God's service in return, and, as if to secure that this would happen, Theodoret's mother fell into the danger of miscarriage in the fifth month of her pregnancy.⁷⁶ Similarly, Melania is said to have cured an archdeacon of Constantinople who fell ill and out of political favor, but only after he promised that he would adopt the monastic life which he had abandoned.⁷⁷ Conversion in one form or another is often present in hagiographic texts. It does not need to be a conversion from one religion to another, the society the elites moved in was after all, rather fluid. By the fifth century, the differences between what was pagan, Christian or Jewish must have been much more pronounced and clear than in the fourth century, although the religious identities and practices would have varied significantly, certainly not matching the

⁷² *VPorph* 29.

⁷³ *VPorph* 30.

⁷⁴ Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre*, 25.

⁷⁵ *VProcli* 29, trans. Edwards, *Marinus of Neapolis: Proclus, or On Happiness*, 104.

⁷⁶ *HPb* 17.

⁷⁷ Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 38.

clear-cut depictions seen in hagiographic texts. Furthermore, conversion in these texts could be also depicted as changing one's mind (μετάνοια) without changing religion. Thus, Proclus is described as converting from his intended future as a rhetorician to devote himself to the philosophical life, while Porphyry decides to leave the riches and splendor of his noble family in Thessaloniki behind and adapt a solitary life in Egypt.

Nevertheless, conversion in whatever form was ostensibly present in Christian hagiographic texts, and it seems that miracles were tools *par excellence* for instigating conversion – those healed (and sometimes also those witnessing miraculous healings) are depicted as going through μετάνοια, proclaim their faith in the Christian God, and convert, adapting some sort of ascetic life or simply turning away from their sins. Arguably, the same is in turn expected from the audience of these texts. Often closely connected with conversion, miracles were expected to be a part of such a text, but they were not a requirement. They are more prominent in some biohagiographic texts than in others. However, they gradually became a stable part of such texts and their extent and quantity depended on the author's taste and aims. Porphyry, concentrating all his efforts on conversion, used all sorts of means to gain new converts – healing miracles as described above, rain miracles,⁷⁸ prophecy,⁷⁹ and eventually overturning the pagan temple, Marneion.⁸⁰ In contrast, Horapollo, the “soul-destroyer,” compelled many Christians to convert to Hellenism.⁸¹

In relation to conversion, not only in the narrow sense of changing religion, hagiographic texts can be seen as tools used to imprint morals, rules, and patterns of behavior into minds of the audience. The stories and metaphors used generously in such texts might have seemed to the authors the best vehicle for transmitting the new codes and morals effectively and incorporating them into the minds of the audience. Yet, the intense imagery and the striking victories over illnesses, demons, and death depicted in healing narratives, continuing the

⁷⁸ Proclus is also said to have performed a rain miracle: He released Attica from a baneful drought. *VProcli* 28.

⁷⁹ *VPorph* 62.

⁸⁰ According to Theodoret, a hermit, Thalelaleus, destroyed a pagan temple near Gabala and created a Christian one inhabited by martyrs, gathering at this new church, “opposing the false gods with the relics of their [the martyrs] divine bodies,” Van Uytfanghe, “L'origine”, 182. See also Raymond Van Dam, “From Paganism to Christianity at Late Antique Gaza,” *Viator* 16 (1985): 1–20, and Joseph Geiger, “Aspects of Palestinian Paganism in Late Antiquity,” in *Sharing the Sacred*, 3–17.

⁸¹ Polymnia Athanassiadi, *The Philosophical History. Text with Translation and Notes* (Athens: Apamea Cultural Association, 1999), 22.

tradition of Jesus' miracles, crucifixion, and martyrdom stories,⁸² often seem to place the function and meaning of these narratives closer to showcasing the true religion rather than being educational stories promoting particular morals or behaviors. If there is a stable moral in the story apart from the promotional aspect, it highlights the importance of faith in the power of the divinity, and the requirement of obeisance.

Conclusion

Three different sources from the fifth century contain miraculous healing narratives similar in their structures, yet have significant differences in the agenda behind them. These differences, despite the similar vocabulary, even the similar process of healing displayed, stem from differences in the very texts they are part of. These three texts were written based on different literary and religious traditions; they were aimed at different audiences; and they were composed (in the main) for different reasons.


When one reads miraculous healing narratives in the various texts where they appear, one notes how very different these texts are, yet at first, the healing miracles often seem similar in language and structure, even in tone. As other scholars have shown convincingly, miracles were not the defining feature of biographic and hagiographic texts. There are texts which can be considered bio/hagiographic, yet their heroes do not perform miracles and miracles can be found in classicizing histories or invectives. In bio/hagiographic texts, magic was almost invariably portrayed as something negative and juxtaposed to miracles as signifying the victory of and manifesting the real supernatural powers.

Recent scholarship has shown convincingly how stories were a significant part of Christian rhetoric and persuasion in Late Antiquity. I have tried to show how metaphors and kerygmatic language were part of the persuasive discourse in texts whose authors may have had other agendas and reasons for the composition; the persuasion might not necessarily have been the main aspect. Yet, Christian rhetoric came to be, in one form or another, present on different levels even in texts which were not meant to convert to Christianity, exhort turning away from sins, or educate in virtues. This new Christian discourse developed into something powerful and pervasive, with a decisive push for appropriation, which forced itself into the texts even without the author having a deliberate agenda. Although I argued earlier, in line with the recent developments in scholarship,

⁸² See Susanna Elm, "Roman Pain and the Rise of Christianity," in *Quo Vadis Medical Healing*, ed. Susanna Elm and Stefan N. Willich (New York: Springer, 2009), 41–54.

that what used to be understood as conflict and described in rise and fall, win and lose dichotomies, is rather to be understood as a contest, mutual influence, or even cross-fertilization between different traditions. Most spectacular miraculous healings involved a new, culturally prominent, layer of Christian ascetics, who are portrayed as superior to expensive doctors, renowned magicians, and their pagan ascetic counterparts, and who lead everyone they encounter to change. Healing miracle stories especially tend to be pragmatic; they might be bombastic and amazing, yet they target the most vulnerable areas of human life, such as health and pregnancy, which were, in fact, connected with material wellbeing and survival, and spiritual wellbeing (perhaps requiring exorcism), which was a fruitful field for such rhetoric to reach its goals. The miracle stories were not in texts only to amaze their audience or glorify either the authors or their heroes. They were rhetorical tools intended to “make a change” – be it a conversion, penance, or support of Christian institutions (which was the practical outcome of aristocratic converts to monastic life or clerical careers, required from many of those healed or receiving a promise to be healed). Since most of the texts from the fifth century portray Christian holy men, one can say that Christian discourse was successful. Even if magic, superstition, and pagan asceticism continued long after the fifth-century triumphs of Christianity (because that is exactly how it is described in these texts), we will hardly ever know more about them, since as Christ himself became the *logos* and Christianity became the textual narrative of the empire, there is hardly a (kind) word about them afterwards.

FIGHTING THE INCURABLE: RABIES IN THE MEDICAL WORK OF PAUL OF AEGINA

Iuliana Soficaru 

Rabies is a drama with three actors: the rabies virus, the biting mammal, and the infected human. Rabies is one of the oldest infectious diseases known, affecting humans and animals alike, and equally deadly for both. Byzantine medicine is a well-studied topic in recent scholarship and a few articles even deal with rabies, however, some questions are left unanswered: Were those infected isolated? Did physicians prescribe medicines or were patients just abandoned to their fate? And if that was the case, what were the reasons behind it? Was the environment controlled in such a way as to avoid contact with rabies? Because it was a disease impossible to cure until the end of the nineteenth century, I followed rabies in my research as a constant. It offers the opportunity to study ancient views on human–animal relations, magic, health, healing, intellectual discourse, literary characters, public space, public health and urban health. Here I will examine several aspects of the treatment of rabies in the work of the Byzantine medical writer, Paul of Aegina:¹ the definition of rabies, in the framework of Late Antique medicine, the main symptoms, and the treatment of the disease.²

The main primary source I use in this research is the *Pragmateia*, or *Epitome of Medicine*, a medical summary in seven books, which deals with the main medical practices and procedures, written by Paul of Aegina, precisely the third chapter of the fifth book tackling rabies. The genre of this primary source is compilation. Paul of Aegina was a seventh-century compiler who used earlier authors as sources; details of his personal medical experience must be inferred. Many Greek manuscripts of this medical work survive, in itself a sign of its great popularity

¹ The main primary source I used in this research is the *Pragmateia* or the *Epitome of Medicine*, a medical summary in seven books written by Paul of Aegina which deals with the main medical practices and procedures of the time; the third chapter of the fifth book tackles rabies. The title of the work is unknown; two titles have been assigned by scholars. Here I will use the title proposed by Peter Pormann, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's Pragmateia* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 8 (hereafter: Pormann, *Pragmateia*). The Greek edition is published in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum: Paul of Aegina*, ed. Johan Ludvig Heiberg, vol. 1–2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1921–1924).

² This article is based on my MA Thesis, “The Medical Work of Paul of Aegina: The Case of Treating Rabies” (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), completed under the supervision of Ildikó Csepregi, to whom I am grateful.

and wide circulation. Its popularity was due to the fact that it comprises, in a convenient size, essential medical knowledge.³ The scarce information about Paul's life, with only a short reference to his birthplace – the island of Aegina – makes it difficult to establish a clear context for his activity. The earliest report on his life is from the tenth century, coming from an Arabic source; in 987, Ibn an-Nadim mentioned Paul of Aegina as an obstetrician and the author of a compendium in seven books.⁴ The religious background of his life is also problematic, because his collection of seven books on medicine was written as a legal treatise. J. L. Heiberg, the editor of the first Greek edition of Paul of Aegina, believed that he was a Christian based on a reference to circumcision as a heathen practice.⁵

Late Antique Medicine and Rabies

The first issue is why rabies cannot be a topic of investigation by itself; the answer lies in the history of this daunting and, at the same time, captivating disease. As Mirko Grmek noted in defining the concept of disease, one should consider several levels of understanding, from the biological reality to the collective experience.⁶ According to the modern understanding, rabies is a biological entity, a virus which causes severe inflammation of the brain and spinal cord in mammals. The disease is nearly always transmitted to humans through the saliva of an infected host and, without a vaccine, is invariably fatal. Rabies occurs in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and most of Europe, although it has been eliminated in many parts of the world.⁷ This field of research developed in the nineteenth century, starting

³ The English translation pre-dates the Greek edition, demonstrating the text's popularity; in 1884, a Scottish medical doctor translated the work into English. See Pormann, *Pragmateia*, 8. The English translation appeared in 1884, one year before Louis Pasteur's development of an effective vaccine against rabies. This event stirred interest in rabies again and eight years later Michel de Tornéry published a history of rabies until the nineteenth century, Michel de Tornéry, *Essai sur l'histoire de la rage avant le XIX-eme siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie de la Faculté de Médecine, 1893).

⁴ Pormann, *Pragmateia*, 4.

⁵ His source for this fragment, Oribasius, mentioned the same practice being a sign of godlessness. Pormann, *Pragmateia*, 6.

⁶ Mirko Grmek, "The Concept of Disease" in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Mirko Grmek (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 242.

⁷ *The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: CUP: 2002), 270, *s.n.* rabies. Two collected works tackle all the aspects of this disease, from short chapters dedicated to ancient and medieval authors to topics like microbiology and genetic research: Alan C. Jackson, *Rabies: The Scientific Basis of the Disease and Its Management*

with Georg Gottfried Zinke, Louis Pasteur, and later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Adelchi Negri.⁸

The next level in defining a disease is its conceptualization by physicians. Therefore, I will briefly explore this level of understanding as transmitted by physicians. Surprisingly, this disease is absent from the Hippocratic Corpus. The first extensive description of rabies comes from the first century CE, from Celsus; he tackled rabies as a poisoning, stating that the dog carries a type of venom, though different from snake venom.⁹ Scribonius Largus,¹⁰ also in the first century CE, described rabies in the same way, a zoonosis transmitted by infected dogs, without mentioning the contagion factor.¹¹ Philumenus also treated rabies as a poisoning.¹² Galen mentions rabies as a violent force which causes an obstruction of the flow of humors.¹³ Cassius Felix,¹⁴ in the fifth century, defined rabies as a poisoning that resulted from the bite of a rabid dog. In addition, he mentioned that infected humans will also bite, although without commenting about the infection occurring from a human bite.¹⁵ Oribasius, physician to Emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363 CE), tackled rabies in several works and also described it as a deadly disease, a type of poisoning caused by the bite of a

(Oxford: Academic Press, 2013) and George M. Baer, *The Natural History of Rabies*, 2nd ed. (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1991).

⁸ Alan C. Jackson, *Rabies*, 3–10; Zhen Fang Fu, “Rabies and Rabies Research: Past, Present, and Future,” *Vaccine* 15 (1997): 20–21.

⁹ Celsus, *De Medicina* 5. 27. 1–2, tr. W. G. Spencer, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961 [1938]), vol. 2, 110–115; he made a clear difference between the poison of the snake and that of the rabid dog; the snake carries *venenum* and the dog *virus*, a technical term according to Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, s.v. virus, 740, however, this does not mean that Celsus could be linked with modern virology, see Lise Wilkinson, “The Development of the Virus Concept as Reflected in Corpora of Studies on Individual Pathogens,” *Medical History* 21(1977): 17.

¹⁰ John Scarborough, *Cassius Felix*, in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists*, ed. Paul Keyser and Georgia Irby-Massie (London: Routledge, 2008), 728; J. Garzya, “Cassius Felix,” in *Antike Medizin: ein Lexikon* (Munich: Beck, 2005), 188.

¹¹ Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones* 161, ed. S. Sconocchia (Wiesbaden: Teubner, 1983), 81–82.

¹² Philumenus, *De Venenatis Animalibus Eorumque Remediis*, 1, ed. M. Wellmann, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908), 4–6; Jean Théodoridès, *Histoire de la rage. Cave canem* (Paris: Mason, 1986), 44, 149.

¹³ Galen, *De Constitutione Artis Medicae ad Patrophilum*, 18. 3, ed. Stefania Fortuna, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 120–121.

¹⁴ John Scarborough, *Cassius Felix*, in *Ancient Natural Scientists*, 208.

¹⁵ Cassius Felix, *De Medicina*, 67, ed. Rose (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879), 164–166.

rabid animal, against which he offered several possible treatments.¹⁶ A thorough description of rabies survives from the fifth century CE, from Caelius Aurelianus, a physician from Sicca in North Africa.¹⁷ He is famous for translating Soranus' work into Latin¹⁸ and because the Greek original is no longer extant, his extensive description of rabies¹⁹ could be considered an original work.²⁰ He defined rabies as a deadly acute disease of the body, transmitted mainly by infected dogs or other mammals, different from rage or melancholia.²¹ Aetius of Amida²² and, later, Paul of Aegina,²³ also treated rabies as a poisoning from a rabid dog, for which they offered several possible treatments.

The dimension of the personal experience of the patient is impossible to grasp in the case of ancient rabies. The reason behind this lies in the character of the disease: a debilitating disease which affects the brain causing paralysis, convulsions, and loss of consciousness, rapidly resulting in death. As a consequence, there are no first-person accounts of rabies as experienced by the actual patient similar, for example, to Aelius Aristides' accounts of his suffering.²⁴ Moreover, even the patients and their personal accounts of the disease they

¹⁶ Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eusthatium, Libriad Eunapium*, ed. J. Raeder, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1926), 251–252; Jean Théodoridès, “Rabies in Byzantine Medicine,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38(1986): 152.

¹⁷ John Scarborough, *Caelius Aurelianus*, in *Ancient Natural Scientists*, 201; K. D. Fischer, “Cassius Felix,” in *Antike Medizin*, 182–183.

¹⁸ Soranus of Ephesus was a Greek physician, chief of the Methodic school of medicine, who practiced medicine in Alexandria and Rome during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian; Don Todman, “Soranus of Ephesus (AD 98–138) and the Methodist sect,” *Journal of Medical Biography* 16 (2008): 51; I. E. Drabkin, “Soranus and his System of Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 25 (1951): 503–518.

¹⁹ Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Disease and on Chronic Disease*, 3.9–3.16, ed. and tr. I. E. Drabkin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), 360–389.

²⁰ Philip van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity. Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health, and Disease* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 299.

²¹ Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Disease*, 3.9, ed. and tr. I. E. Drabkin, 360–363.

²² Aetius of Amida, *Libri Medicinales*, 6.24, ed. A. Olivieri, vol. 2, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* (Berlin: Teubner, 1950), 163–164.

²³ Paul of Aegina, V.3, Aetius of Amida, *Libri Medicinales*, 6.24, ed. Olivieri, II, 1950, 163–164.

²⁴ For a patient's perspective on healing, see Ido Israelowich, *Society, Medicine, and Religion in the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 107–109, nevertheless, each patient's perspective on the actual process of healing is personal and subjective, influenced by numerous factors such as education, background, and general state of health.

experienced were constructs of medicine and their self-perceptions are medically contaminated.²⁵

Paul of Aegina's definition of rabies was shaped by his activity in a professional environment stimulated by Galenism, the school of Alexandria, and medical ecumenism. In the introduction to his medical work, Paul of Aegina states that the main aim of his work is to provide a *vade mecum* for practicing and teaching medicine similar to legal synopses used by lawyers.²⁶ He emphasizes once more an interest in the daily practice of medicine compared to theoretical debates.²⁷ Paul of Aegina described the treatment of rabies in the third chapter of the fifth book, which tackles mainly animal-related diseases, poisonings, toxic plants and other substances. The main question arising when one speaks about rabies is: What is rabies for Paul of Aegina? This question leads to his definition of the term "disease."

The definition of a disease is composed by the society affected by it and varies significantly in time and space.²⁸ I wish to emphasize once more the importance of medical research and practice in Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique Alexandria. Normally, in the seventh century, the explanations of the concept of disease were based on the Galenic principles of the bad mixture of humors, yet, quite extraordinarily, Paul of Aegina saw rabies as independent of humoral imbalance.

In analyzing the fragment on treating rabies one must note that Paul's approach to disease seems to stay outside the theoretical debate. He uses a semantically neutral form, *pathos* (πάθος), meaning *what one has suffered or experienced*²⁹ or being affected in the broadest sense. I want to emphasize, however, that despite his neutral use of language, Paul of Aegina depicts disease, in this case rabies, as an outside enemy constantly attacking the healthy body.³⁰ He uses verbs like *haliskomai* (ἄλισκομαι), to fall into the enemy's hands, *sympipto* (συμπιπτω) to meet in battle, *empipto* (ἐπιπτω) to fall, or nouns like *katapeira* (κατάπειρα) attack.

²⁵ Roy Porter, "Introduction" in *Patients and Practitioners. Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 2.

²⁶ Paul of Aegina, *Pragmateia*, Introduction, tr. F. Adams (London: 1847), vol. 1, 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁸ Robert P. Hudson, "Concepts of Disease in the West," *The Cambridge World History of Disease* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 45.

²⁹ Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, *Greek English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), *s.v.* *pathos*.

³⁰ For the interpretation of rabies as demonic possession see Andrea Nicolotti, "A Cure for Rabies or a Remedy for Concupiscence? A Baptism of the Elchasaites," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, no. 4 (2008): 532–534.

His definition takes the inquiry further, to the matter of the cause. The cause of the infection is identified as the bite of a rabid dog which transmits a poison,³¹ thus affecting the entire body. The Greek ὁ ἰός (*ho ios*) and the Latin *virus*, different from the more ambiguous *venenum* or *pharmakon* (τὸ φάρμακον), do not imply virology in the modern sense, but rather exhibit an interest in accuracy and a clear distinction between any venomous snake or toxic plant and the saliva of a rabid dog.³² Celsus used a similar word to describe the cause of contagion.³³ All physicians from Celsus to Paul of Aegina speak about rabies as a poisoning caused by dogs.

Philumenus was the only author before Paul of Aegina to mention the bite of humans infected with rabies, however, he offered a slightly different cure for human bites than for dog bites.³⁴ The fact that rabies was considered a zoonosis transmitted to humans solely by dogs or other small mammals severely impacted the degree of infection among humans. If Late Antique physicians believed that once infected with rabies from a dog a human could no longer transmit it, this means that no measures were taken to prevent contagion from humans; for instance, Caelius Aurelianus spoke about a physician suffering from rabies.³⁵

Given these points I can conclude that, in terms of defining rabies as a poisoning caused by the bite of an infected dog, Paul of Aegina clearly followed a tradition of medical practice from at least the first century CE when Celsus defined rabies as poisoning. In fact, all physicians defined the disease as such because there was nothing more to say about it.³⁶ As a consequence, the problem of defining rabies was no longer a matter of originality.

³¹ Paul of Aegina. V.3 ἡ δὲ τῶν συμπτωμάτων αἰτία τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εὐδηλὸς κατεληφότος τοῦ ἰοῦ πάντα τὰ μέρη (the cause of the other symptoms is obvious, being occasioned by the poison affecting all the parts).

³² For this meaning, here used as saliva, see Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), 466, s.v. ὁ ἰός (*ho ios*), and Meillet, *DE*, 740, s.v. *virus*; Wilkinson, *Virus Concept*, 17.

³³ Celsus, *De medicina* 2.8.43, tr. W. G. Spencer (1961), I, 22–23, *Dixi de iis vulneribus, quae maxime per tela inferuntur. Sequitur, ut de iis dicam, quae morsu fiunt, interdum hominis, interdum simiae, saepe canis, nonnumquam ferorum animalium aut serpentium. Omnis autem fere morsus habet quoddam virus; itaque si vehemens vulnus est, cucurbitula admovenda est.*

³⁴ Philumenus, *De Venenatis Animalibus Eorumque Remediis*, 5, ed. Wellmann, (1908), 9.

³⁵ Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases*, 3.11, ed. and tr. Drabkin, 1950, 364–367, *Item Eudemus Themasionis spectator memorat fuisse hydrophobum medicum, qui cum praenosceret periculum suppliciter ingredients exoraret, et cum lacrimarum fluore guttis destillantibus tangeretur, exiliens vestem consciderit.*

³⁶ In the nineteenth and twentieth century microbiology developed and the virus was discovered, Alan C. Jackson, *Rabies: Scientific Basis of the Disease and Its Management* (Oxford: Academic Press, 2013), 3–10; Fu, “Rabies Research,” 20–21.

Symptoms

In many ancient, Late Antique, and medieval medical treatises there is no significant difference between the disease itself and the symptom, for instance, fever was perceived as an illness itself, not a symptom. Paul of Aegina also followed the ancient medical tradition and defined rabies using a specific symptom, that is, fear of water, and he calls rabies *hydrophobia* in humans in contrast to λύσσα (*lyssa*), the disease in dogs.³⁷

Although from the beginning Paul of Aegina emphasized the close link between canine rabies and human rabies, he made a clear distinction in the language he used. Even though the symptoms were basically the same in humans and dogs, the diseases seemed to be different.³⁸ Late Antique physicians believed that once bitten by a rabid dog, which was highly contagious, the human being would get rabies but no longer be contagious himself. This difference once more stresses the good knowledge of the ancient medical tradition, which described rabies in dogs in detail, but without giving any treatment. Paul of Aegina followed this tradition, stating that: “We have placed the account of persons bitten by mad dogs before all the other because these animals are numerous and domestic, and are frequently seized with madness.”³⁹

In his translation of Soranus of Ephesus, Caelius Aurelianus described approximately thirty-five symptoms associated with rabies, but Paul of Aegina listed only nine. I think that the case of symptoms was similar to that of the cause or definition of rabies. From Celsus to Paul of Aegina seven centuries had passed and physicians had had enough time to observe all the possible symptoms of rabies. There was a standard approach to identifying rabies based on the symptoms (see *Table 1*). I have used Paul of Aegina’s description as the standard for comparison and the results show that three of the symptoms he identified were mentioned by the other authors describing rabies.

³⁷ Paul of Aegina, V.3: “Their bite at first occasions is nothing disagreeable except the pain of the wound; but afterwards it brings on the affection called hydrophobia, which makes its attack with convulsion, redness of the whole body, but especially of the countenance, sweating, and anxiety; and those afflicted shun water when they see it, and some every fluid that is presented to them.”

³⁸ When speaking about rabies in dogs he uses the expression ἀλίσκεται τῇ λύσσει, “seized by rabies,” and when he speaks about the human version of the same affliction he uses the word ὑδροφοβία (*hydrophobia*), meaning fear of water.

³⁹ Paul of Aegina, V.3.

Authors	Symptoms				
	Hydrophobia	Dehydration	Barking	Convulsions	Redness
Scribonius Largus	x		x	x	
Cassius Felix	x	x	x		
Caelius Aurelianus	x	x	x	x	x
Aetius of Amida	x	x			x

Table 1. The number of rabies symptoms common in Paul of Aegina and earlier authors

In the case of symptoms, the issue of originality should be eliminated from the debate whereas the matter of effectiveness provides a better grasp of the case of treating rabies. In Paul of Aegina's selection of symptoms, direct applicability or *utilitas* governed; writing a manual, he needed a short, easy to memorize, and pertinent list of the symptoms of rabies. This list resulted from a targeted intellectual activity which cannot be considered simply copying; he had to select the symptoms which unequivocally diagnose rabies.

Rabies was seen as an event that expanded over time and the physician had to grasp all the phases, an intellectual operation called prognosis. Consequently, the symptoms have no meaning unless put in a temporal context.⁴⁰ Because of its time span, an infectious disease has a dramatic form. It starts at a moment in time, proceeds on a stage limited in space and duration following a plot of increasing tension, moves to crisis and then drifts toward closure.⁴¹ For instance, after the incubation period, in which the disease is latent, a violent attack follows which is always deadly. Physicians frequently overlooked the incubation period;⁴² they approached the disease from the first symptom, not from the time of the contagion. Caelius Aurelianus was the only one interested in the stages of evolution in this disease, naming several phases, such as *antecedens* and *causa passionis*, which in this case is the virus in the dog's saliva *venenum*, followed by *signa et manifestioria*, ranging from *alienatio mentis*, *tremor nervorum* or *contractio* to paralysis and death.⁴³ Paul of Aegina also describes a clear difference between remedies applied during the incubation period and after the violent outbreak of symptoms, which is quite extraordinary and thus demonstrates that he had a complex understanding of

⁴⁰ Mirko Grmek, "The Concept of Disease," 251.

⁴¹ Charles Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 279.

⁴² For instance, Caelius Aurelianus ignored the problem of the incubation period and debated topics such as the nature of the disease, the treatment, and the body part affected most.

⁴³ Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases* 3. 9–16, ed. and tr. Drabkin, 361–387.

the disease and also a good knowledge of earlier sources, probably Soranus of Ephesus.

Paul of Aegina emphasized *metasyneritica*, preventive remedies, such as purging the body (since rabies was an exterior entity attacking the body) or an appropriate diet. Consequently, this medical approach itself raises several questions: Was Paul of Aegina a pioneer in the treatment of rabies? How important were preventive measures in tackling an infectious disease?

One noteworthy measure Paul mentions is eating the liver of the dog that bit a person. This was not an original idea, because Pliny also mentions the remedy of eating salted meat from an infected dog or capsules made with the spinal fluid from a rabid animal.⁴⁴ Despite the appearances, neither Paul of Aegina nor Pliny had discovered the concept of vaccine; this approach was rather magical thinking, since the disease was deadly. Being a compiler and a professor of medicine, Paul of Aegina made a critical and insightful selection of sources. It was not a straightforward list of the remedies he knew of, regardless of effectiveness, but an analytical account of therapies based on success, authority, and practice. Consequently, this means that these cures were not only used, but were also recognized by the medical community as effective. For instance, Paul of Aegina's clinical test for a fast diagnosis, the so-called "walnut test," (see below) taken from Oribasius is almost identical with similar passages in Aetius.⁴⁵

These observations show once again that, at least in the case of rabies, Paul of Aegina did not blindly copy Galen or other earlier authors, but rather made a critical assessment, combining both human and veterinary medicine with natural history. I think that exploring the selection criteria he used is an important contribution to the field of medical history. Equally important in Paul of Aegina's approach was the problem of treatment.

Treatment

A significant part of Paul's description of rabies comprises a long list of pharmaceuticals and procedures prescribed for rabies' infections. Paul of Aegina's list is almost identical with those of his predecessors. However: If all physicians knew that rabies was deadly why did they bother to prescribe a treatment? Moreover, what was the actual effect of this treatment prescribed? Another issue

⁴⁴ Pliny, *Natural History*, 28.27.104, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, VIII, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 248–249.

⁴⁵ Jean Théodoridès, "Rabies in Byzantine Medicine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1986): 149–158, here: 155.

connected with the treatment is the accessibility of the ingredients. Were these ingredients exotic in some way?

The first issue is the futility of any treatment in the case of rabies and in connection with this, the infection path and symptoms. The walnut test was an attempt to diagnose the disease. Even in the case when the dog inflicting the wound was not rabid, the bite lesion nevertheless needed treatment in order to avoid sepsis.⁴⁶ The physician speeded up healing by burning the bite or by using different ointments. In the text, in Greek, he says: “to bring it to the point where it has a scar or a scab” (cicatrization). If the dog was mad the physician had to leave the wound open in order to drain it, as seen in Paul of Aegina’s description:

By the following experiment you may ascertain whether the bite was inflicted by a mad dog or not: pound walnuts carefully and apply them to the wound, and the next day take and present them for food to a cock or hen. At first indeed he will not touch them, but if he is compelled by hunger to eat of them, observe, for if the dog that inflicted the bite was not mad, then the fowl will live; but if mad he will die the next day; and then you must hasten to open the wound, and after a few days repeat the same experiment; and when the fowl does not die you may bring the wound to cicatrization, inasmuch as the patient is then freed from danger.⁴⁷

If physicians considered that the dog that had bitten the patient was mad and the patient would develop rabies, they applied two phases of treatment: care of the skin lesion, which needed specific procedures such as cupping, burning, or cataplasms, and a series of potions or mixtures of plants, some of them toxic. This approach developed from the actual nature of ancient medical practice; for all physicians, healing was a daily routine, a repetitive act performed in order to achieve a final product, that is, health.⁴⁸ Many times, the medical act needed an audience to validate the physician’s performance,⁴⁹ and the success rate also validated his activity. As a consequence, a physician had to be successful in any situation, yet how could a physician be successful in treating rabies?

⁴⁶ Guido Majno, “The Ancient Riddle of σήψις Sepsis,” *Journal of Infectious Diseases* 163, no. 5 (1991): 937–945.

⁴⁷ Paul of Aegina, V.3.

⁴⁸ Alf Lüdtke, “What is the History of Everyday Life and Who are its Practitioners?” in *The History of Everyday Life. Reconstructing historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. Alf Lüdtke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5.

⁴⁹ Susan P. Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 80–83.

The first measure taken was to keep the bite wound open and to clean it periodically, so that the poison could be eliminated. Second, they prescribed purgatives,⁵⁰ which caused severe dehydration in the patient. Lastly, they used mixtures and potions, based on honey, wine, or vinegar, in which they dissolved plants, sometimes toxic like hellebore⁵¹ or buckthorn.⁵² Paul of Aegina's seventh book treated the administration of plant remedies; he recommended hellebore for purging as well as for treating severe paralysis, epilepsy, and gout.⁵³ Considering the severity of rabies symptoms, which included convulsions, biting, loss of consciousness, paralysis, and moreover, considering the effects of these symptoms on the audience, the family or care giver of the patient, the physician was under pressure to heal or subdue a violent patient in order to ease the effects on the patient by hastening his death and the effects on those witnessing the patient's struggle. For instance, other authors mentioned using poppy-seed potions,⁵⁴ evidently to calm patients. Other authors recommend bloodletting⁵⁵ or using leeches,⁵⁶ both procedures causing low blood pressure and weakness, thus calming the patient. In addition, venom from vipers is recommended.⁵⁷ This treatment offered by Paul of Aegina seems rather a merciful way of dealing with a deadly disease with debilitating and frightening symptoms, in which the patient was calmed and subdued with a combination of poisonous plants.

In terms of accessibility to treatment and plants, most of the ingredients mentioned by Paul of Aegina are endemic to the Mediterranean area and easy to obtain.⁵⁸ The potions offered were mainly a mixture of medicinal plants still used today in the pharmaceutical industry such as: mint, germander, chamomile,

⁵⁰ Paul of Aegina, V.3.

⁵¹ Alfred Lucas, "Poisons in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24, no. 2 (1938): 199; for the toxicity of hellebore see David Eric Brussell, "Medical Plants on Mt. Pelion, Greece," *Economic Botany* 58 (2004): 194.

⁵² Charles Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and Its Transmission to Later Ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927): 22.

⁵³ Paul of Aegina, *Pragmateia*, 7.10, tr. Adams 1947, I, 503–306.

⁵⁴ Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones*, 171, ed. Sconocchia, 82; Pelagonius, *Artis Veterinariae Quae Extant*, 29, ed. M. Ihm, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892), 113–115; for opium and poppy seeds see Alfred C. Andrews, "The Opium Poppy as a Food and Spice in the Classical Period," *Agricultural History* 26, no. 4 (1952): 152–155.

⁵⁵ Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases* 3. 16, ed. and tr. Drabkin, 380–389.

⁵⁶ Cassius Felix, *De Medicina*, 67, ed. Rosa, 1879, 164–166.

⁵⁷ Paul of Aegina, V. 3.

⁵⁸ John Scarborough, "Early Byzantine Pharmacology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 228; Vivian Nutton, "Focus: Islamic Medicine and Pharmacy," *European Review* 16, no. 2 (2008): 211–217.

buckthorn, garlic,⁵⁹ salt, and sage, diluted with milk, wine, vinegar, or honey. It is not surprising that the treatment of the bites inflicted by healthy dogs was based mainly on the same basic ingredients, such as honey, salt or vinegar.⁶⁰ For instance, the powder obtained from burnt and pounded river crabs appears to have been a popular remedy for rabies, being mentioned by Cassius Felix,⁶¹ Pliny,⁶² Oribasius,⁶³ and Aetius of Amida.⁶⁴ The only exotic ingredient mentioned was balsam (βάλσαμον), the resin of a rare tree from the Arabian Peninsula, the balm tree or *opobalsamum*, which was expensive and also used in cosmetics.⁶⁵ Even as late as the eighteenth century the plant was still considered exotic; the Niebuhr expedition (1761–1767) to Arabia was particularly interested in the balm tree.⁶⁶

As shown above, the increased interest in the treatment, symptoms, and prognosis of rabies, amplified by attention to previous medical tradition, indicates the effect that rabies exerted on ancient and Late Antique societies. Despite the preventive measures taken, rabies was common in some areas, almost an everyday occurrence. The normative sources which regulated the activity of physicians and the presence of animals in the city emphasize the social response to infectious disease and the practices connected to urban health.

Conclusions

Here I have focused on a single aspect in Paul of Aegina's *Pragmateia*, namely, his understanding of rabies. I have tried to emphasize how Paul of Aegina valorized the experience of previous physicians in his work and his personal medical expertise. The type of experience-based medical exegesis practiced in Late Antique Alexandria favored an effectiveness-oriented approach to disease, as is clearly visible in Paul of Aegina's description of rabies. Moreover, I have also tried to show that by the seventh century conceptualizing a disease like rabies was no longer a matter of originality; rabies was defined as a deadly acute disease

⁵⁹ Christopher Hobbs, "Garlic –The Pungent Panacea," *Pharmacy in History* 34, no. 3 (1992):154, mentions garlic as a remedy preferred by Galen.

⁶⁰ Paul of Aegina, V.3.

⁶¹ Cassius Felix, *De Medicina*, 67, ed. Rosa, 1879, 164–166.

⁶² Pliny, *Natural History*, 32.19.54, ed. and tr. Jones, VIII, 1963, 528–529.

⁶³ Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eusthatium, Libri ad Eunapium*, 8.13, ed. Raeder, 1926, 250.

⁶⁴ Aetius of Amida, *Libri Medicinales*, 6.24, ed. Olivieri, II, 1950, 166.

⁶⁵ Laurence Totelin, "Botanizing Rulers and their Herbal Subjects: Plants and Political Power in Greek and Latin Literature," *Phoenix* 66 (2012): 122.


⁶⁶ Jonathan Sheesan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 187.

of the body, transmitted mainly through the bite of an infected dog or other mammal. However many treatments were proposed, the deadly character was unanimously recognized. Innovations in the definition and prevention of rabies appeared only in the nineteenth century with the development of microbiology as a separate medical field. Paul of Aegina made a critical and insightful selection of his sources based on his practice and on the success of the therapy. He focused on a rapid and correct identification of the disease and a treatment that eased the violent, although deadly, symptoms of rabies.

Spiritual Guidance
in Ninth-Century Byzantium



**SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE IN NINTH-CENTURY BYZANTIUM:
THE LETTERS OF THEODORE THE STOUDITE TO EIRENE
THE PATRICIAN**

Introduced and coordinated by Mihail Mitrea 

Correspondence through letters is a magical thing, for it produces a connection in the souls of lovers in proportion to the frequency of conversation, as if stirring up the sparks of love hidden in them and abundantly kindling their affectionate disposition.

(Theodore the Stoudite, *Letter 55*)

Because in the present turmoil of impiety, when priests fall, archbishops perish, monks are oppressed, rulers are overthrown, subjects are destroyed, men are faint, women are afraid, you alone among women appear as infallible, unmoved, unshaken, fearless, unbending, unbroken.

(Theodore the Stoudite, *Letter 77*)

The letters of Theodore the Stoudite (759–826), a well-known champion of the iconophile cause, have generally enjoyed a good press. More than 550 letters stemming from his pen have survived the wear and tear of time. Unlike most letter writers of his time, Theodore appears to have written extensively to women. Of his surviving letters, 76 were addressed to more than 40 different female correspondents, including empresses, laywomen, and nuns.¹ One of these female addressees was Eirene the patrician (*patrikia*). Only eight of the letters that Theodore dispatched to Eirene have survived (no. 55, 77, 87, 156, 372, 412, 508, and 526), and it is these eight letters that were at the core of the International Doctoral Workshop, “Spiritual Guidance in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Letters of Theodore the Stoudite to Eirene the Patrician,” held on October 19–20, 2012, at the Central European University, Budapest, under the auspices of the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS) and the Medieval Studies Department. The workshop was convened by the coordinator and editor of this section of the *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* with financial support from CEMS and the Henrik Birnbaum Memorial Scholarship Fund. Aiming to

¹ For a list of Theodore’s female correspondents, see Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, “Women and Iconoclasm,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1991/92): 391–408, at 397–398.

produce the first English literary translation of Theodore's eight letters to Eirene, the workshop brought together doctoral students, researchers, and faculty from leading European universities² and consisted of six sessions: the first dedicated to short communications, four reading and translation sessions, and a concluding roundtable discussion.

The communications session started with Sykopetritou's presentation of the political and ideological context of ninth-century Byzantium in which Theodore wrote his letters to Eirene. Following this, Spingou discussed letters as a genre and called attention to a little known medieval theoretical treatise on letter writing attributed to Pseudo-Leo the Wise; this subject has been developed into an article published in this section of the *Annual*. Next, Riehle addressed the topic of letters, letter-collections, and women's participation in epistolary discourse, asking the question of why so few letters penned by women survive from the Byzantine millennium (only 8 by Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina). Riehle argued that the issue of female literacy is not the determining factor for this surprisingly low number. Both respective references in letters addressed by men to women and the evidence of original papyrus letters from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages suggest that women did write letters adhering to the rules of the genre. The case of papyri is particularly illuminating, as original papyri, unlike texts transcribed and perpetuated through manuscripts, owe their survival to chance and not to conscious selection. It is thus a striking fact that letters authored by women make up as much as 11% of the total number of surviving papyrus letters for some periods. Therefore, it is rather men's dominance over literary discourse that is responsible for the paucity of women's letters available today due to misogynic biases concerning the inferiority of the female intellect and women's role in society. The correspondence between Theodore the Stoudite and Eirene the patrician, preserving only the letters of the famous religious authority while silencing Eirene's voice, is thus a case in point. In the second part of the session, Adashinskaya talked about correspondence and network building in the middle Byzantine period, while Stambolov inquired into the social, political and


² Anna Adashinskaya (CEU), Gábor Buzási (CEU, ELTE), Katarzyna Gara (Jagiellonian University), Niels Gaul (CEU), Dora Ivanišević (CEU), András Kraft (CEU), Divna Manolova (CEU), Dimitris Minasidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Mihail Mitrea (CEU), Alexander Riehle (University of Vienna), Foteini Spingou (University of Oxford), Alexey Stambolov (University of Sofia), Paraskevi Sykopetritou (University of Cyprus), and Nikolaos Zagklas (University of Vienna). For more details on the workshop, see <http://cems.ceu.hu/events/2012-10-19/spiritual-guidance-in-ninth-century-byzantium-the-letters-of-theodore-the-studite-> (accessed November 11, 2014).

religious role of the Stoudios Monastery in late eighth and early ninth-century Byzantium; his paper is also published in this section of the *Annual*. Towards the end of the session, Mitrea introduced the figure of Theodore the Stoudite, painting his biographical and bibliographical portrait with broad strokes. Finally, Kraft presented Theodore's epistolary collection with a special emphasis on its manuscript tradition.

This article is the result of the workshop and presents the first English translation of Theodore's eight letters to Eirene the patrician, jointly prepared by all the participants in the workshop, together with the Greek text of the letters as established in Fatouros' critical edition.³ The English translation is preceded by an introductory essay authored by Alexander Riehle and followed by Spingou's and Stambolov's articles.

³ Georgios Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols. (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 31) (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 160–161, 198–199, 207–209, 276–277, 503–504, 575–576, 754–755, 784–785.

THEODORE THE STOUDITE AND HIS LETTERS TO EIRENE THE PATRICIAN: AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

Alexander Rieble 

*Cell, you got hold of me, the stranger, against all hope,
yet I found in you a most beloved abode.
The city of Byzantium throws me in here,
thus liberating me unnoticed from worldly affairs.⁴*

With these verses, which might originally have been inscribed on the wall of his cell,⁵ Theodore expresses the ambivalent feelings he had during his second exile on the island of Chalki in the years 809 to 811. The antitheses Theodore employs create a markedly ironic paradox:⁶ The cell to which he was confined turns into a dwelling place most beloved to him. The second distich gives the explanation for this paradox by means of another: Byzantium unintentionally (λαθοῦσα) does him a favor by punishing him with exile because she liberates him, the monk, from attachment (προσπάθεια) to the pleasures and worldly buzz of the empire's capital. Thus, Theodore composed these verses to remind himself of the monastic ideals of emotional detachment (ἀπάθεια, ἀταραξία) and tranquillity

⁴ Theodore the Stoudite, *Epigrams*, no. 99, ed., trans. and comm. Paul Speck, *Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), 264–265: Ἔσχες με, κέλλα, τὸν ξένον, παρ' ἐλπίδα· / εὗρον δ' ἐγὼ σε φιλότατην παροικίαν. / Βυζαντίς ἢ πόλις με βάλλει κἀνθᾶδε, / λαθοῦσα ταύτη [ταύτη Speck] προσπαθείας ἐξάγει.

⁵ On the inscriptional background of Theodore's epigrams, see Speck, *Theodoros Studites*, 64–66, and Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 70–72. Both Speck and Lauxtermann assume that the autobiographical epigrams composed during his exile were not inscriptions. I wonder, however, why one should exclude the possibility that Theodore inscribed these verses in his cell for himself, just as he had his hortatory epigrams inscribed in Stoudite monasteries for the monks as permanent reminders of monastic ideals.

⁶ By “ironic” I do not mean a “political” irony that aims at (social) criticism (as in satirical writing), but the sort of poetic (or, more specifically, dramatic) irony that results in affection, as so ingeniously described by Nasos Bagenas in his essay on Kavafis' irony: [Nasos Bagenas] Νάσος Βαγενᾶς, “Ἡ εἰρωνική γλώσσα,” *Εἰσαγωγή σπὴν ποίηση τοῦ Καβάφη. Ἐπιλογή κριτικῶν κειμένων*, ed. [Michalēs Pierēs] Μιχάλης Πιερέης (Heraklion: Panepistēmiakes Ekdoseis Krētēs, 5th ed., 2003), 347–358.

(ἡσυχία) and to comfort himself in the difficult time of his exile.⁷ Besides this expressive function, his autobiographical epigrams were most likely intended to encourage his companions in their struggles against imperial power.⁸ In this they stand as a paradigm of Theodore's conflicting *personae* as monk, ecclesiastical leader, and political activist which characterized his entire career.

Born in 759 into a wealthy Constantinopolitan family of high-ranking bureaucrats and court officials, Theodore received a thorough education, including the subjects of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic) as well as theology.⁹ In his early twenties he joined the Sakkoudion Monastery, founded by his family on Mount Olympus in Bithynia (Asia Minor) under the guidance of his uncle Platon (735–814), and in 794 was appointed as co-abbot of this institution. Shortly afterwards, Theodore had his first clash with the imperial power, when he, along with his uncle, fiercely objected to the second marriage of Emperor Constantine VI (*r.* 780–797), which he regarded as adultery (μοιχεία). As a consequence, Theodore and Platon were arrested, the latter imprisoned in Constantinople, the former exiled to Thessaloniki. After Constantine's overthrow by his own mother Eirene in 797, Theodore was rehabilitated and designated abbot of the Stoudios Monastery in the capital, thereby creating a confederation of monasteries under Stoudite supremacy. In the following years, Theodore devoted himself primarily to organizing the monastic life of his community. Yet, this rather peaceful period of his life did not last long. When in 806 the priest who had performed Constantine's second marriage was reinstated, the leading Stoudites protested again and were subsequently condemned and banished to the Princes' Islands, at which point Theodore was interned in a monastery on Chalki, as already noted. In 811, Emperor Michael I (*r.* 811–813) managed to reconcile the Stoudites with their opponents around Patriarch Nikephoros, and henceforth Theodore was not only reinstated as *begoumenos* of Stoudios, but also served as counsellor

⁷ Cf., for instance, Theodore's *Letter* 366, in which he congratulates his disciple, Silouanos, on leaving the city (i.e., Constantinople) to join his (spiritual) brother Loukianos, for they now live in a place "whence ostentation, turbulence and the flame of heresy have fled, while tranquility and serenity prevail, from which springs a beneficial state for the soul" (Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, 499, ll. 4–6: ζητε ἐν τοιούτῳ τόπῳ, οὗ ἀπέδρα κόμπος καὶ τάραχος καὶ ἡ τῆς αἰρέσεως φλόξ, ἐναυλιζέται δὲ ἡσυχία καὶ ἀταραξία, ἀφ' ὧν ἐγγίνεται ἕξις ἀγαθῆ τῆ ψυχῆ).

⁸ See particularly the *memento mori* in *Epigrams*, no. 101, Speck, *Theodoros Studites*, 266.

⁹ On his life, see *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung 1: 641–867* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998–2002), no. 7574; Thomas Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998); Roman Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite. The Ordering of Holiness* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 3–64.

to the emperor in political affairs. Yet a change of policies once more reversed Theodore's fortunes abruptly. With Leo V's (r. 813–820) assumption of power in 813, the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787) were revoked and the ban on the veneration of icons restored. Iconophile monks like the Stoudites suffered severe persecution during this second phase of iconoclasm. Theodore was exiled, first to the Bithynian fortress of Metopa, then to Bonita in the Anatolikon province, and finally to the city of Smyrna. Under Leon's successor, Michael II (r. 820–829), who held onto his predecessor's iconoclastic stance while refraining from violently suppressing its opponents, Theodore was released from prison. Since he could not return to the Stoudios Monastery, he spent the final years of his life at various locations in northwestern Asia Minor. Theodore died on 11 November 826, probably on the island of Prinkipo where he was buried. After the definitive abolition of iconoclasm in 843, his remains were translated to the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople.

Theodore's writings bear the imprint of his tumultuous life as a monk and controversial figure of public life.¹⁰ He was one of the leading, if not *the* leading, exponent of what Alexander Kazhdan has called the "monastic revival of literature" after the so-called "dark age." Classical and late antique genres, like history writing, the letter, and the epigram, which had virtually vanished in the preceding centuries, were revived during this period, and Theodore was a major figure in this revival.¹¹ His vast *œuvre* can roughly be divided along the following lines: sermons (two collections of catecheses to be recited during matins in the Stoudite monasteries, and panegyric homilies on various feasts of the ecclesiastical calendar); liturgical poetry (in various forms: *kanones*, *kontakia*, etc.); dogmatic treatises (mostly refutations of iconoclasts and their doctrines); precepts for the organization of monastic life (besides those found in his catecheses and letters, most importantly his will; further documents, like the *hypotyposis* and the *epitimia*, might not be his own compositions, but later compilations); epigrams (on various objects and persons; cf. above); and, last but not least, letters. These letters have been regarded as the most important of his writings, not only because they constitute an invaluable historical and prosopographical source, but also because they provide insight into Theodore's role as an ecclesiastical leader and spiritual counsellor to a large community of believers. Moreover, Theodore's epistolary

¹⁰ For overviews of his *œuvre*, see Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 21*–38*; Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite*, 65–78.

¹¹ Alexander Kazhdan (in collaboration with Lee F. Sherry and Christine Angelidi), *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)* (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation – Institute for Byzantine Research, 1999), 381–407.

style, which oscillates between rhetorical refinement and colloquialism, is certainly one of the finest examples of literary epistolography in Byzantium.¹²

Of Theodore's original correspondence, 557 letters survive today as manuscript copies in various collections. We know fairly little about the formation of these collections. According to one of his biographers, copies of his letters were originally assembled in five books, comprising at least 1146 pieces. Only one of the preserved manuscripts seems to be derived directly from this collection, while the remaining ones are apparently based on an anthology made from the five-volume corpus. Although Theodore did keep copies of letters and might have assembled them in some kind of dossier, it seems that he was not himself responsible for the compilation of the collection that served as source for all subsequent manuscripts, but rather monks of his community, possibly his disciple and successor, Naukratios.¹³

Theodore's correspondence is at once personal and highly political.¹⁴ He addresses letters to emperors, patriarchs (including the pope of Rome), and aristocrats, but also to simple monks and nuns, and craftsmen. Most of the surviving letters stem from the periods of his exile and their main objective seems to have been communication with and exhortation of companions in their struggle against the imperial power during the "moichean" and iconoclast controversies.¹⁵ In fact, Theodore explicitly established a direct link between the resurgence of letter-writing in this period and the need for communication among the dispersed community of iconodules suffering from persecution. In a letter to his disciple Athanasios he wrote:

¹² On the language and style of Theodore's letters, see Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 126*–128*.

¹³ See Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 42*–44*, 97*–99*, and Peter Hatlie, "Life and Artistry in the 'Publication' of Demetrios' Letter Collection," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 37 (1996): 75–102, at 79–80.

¹⁴ On his letters, see generally Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 39–42; Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)*, 247–254; cf. also Peter Hatlie, "Redeeming Byzantine Epistolography," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 20 (1996): 213–248, at 237–239.

¹⁵ The potential danger of messages being intercepted by state officials prompted Theodore and his correspondents to encrypt the names of senders, recipients and persons mentioned in the text. See *Letter* 41, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 121–122, and *ibid.*, 185*–187*. See also [Paris Gounarides] Πάρις Γουναρίδης, "Ο κώδικας συνεννόησης του Θεόδωρου Στουδίτη," *Η επικαιριότητα στο Βυζάντιο. Πρακτικά του Β' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, 4–6 Οκτωβρίου 1990*, ed. [Nikolaos G. Moschonas] Νικόλαος Γ. Μοσχονάς (Athens: Kentro Vyzantinōn Ereunōn, 1990), 291–302.

Among other things it is also advantageous for us that in these days of our struggles for the benefit of God's truth, we hear more frequently each other's voices through letters and disclose the sentiments of our hearts. For do you see, beloved brother, how letters are like diaries, joining us in friendly bonds?¹⁶

One notable feature of Theodore's epistolography is the fact that a relatively large number of the letters contained in his collections is addressed to women. While other letter-writers of the early and middle Byzantine periods hardly wrote any letters to women, or simply did not include those they had dispatched in their published collections, the percentage of such letters within his surviving epistolary oeuvre is, at 14%, remarkably high.¹⁷ This has been explained by the fact that women played an important role in the iconophile movement. And, indeed, most of Theodore's letters to women contain encouragement for his addressees' continuous struggles on behalf of the veneration of icons.¹⁸

Theodore's letters to Eirene the patrician are a case in point. These letters are the only surviving source for Eirene's biography.¹⁹ Eirene was the wife of a *patrikiios*, i.e., a high-ranking court dignitary (hence the epithet *patrikia* attributed to her in the letter headings), and thus a "woman of senatorial rank" (γυνή συγκλητική).²⁰ According to their correspondence, she was persecuted and exiled

¹⁶ Letter 383, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, 528, ll. 1–6: Πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀγωνιζομένοις ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ, συχνότερον τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλων φωνῆς διὰ τοῦ γραμματος ἀκοῦειν καὶ ἀνακιοῦσθαι τὰς ἐν καρδίᾳ διαθέσεις. ὄρας γάρ, ἀδελφὲ ἠγαπημένε, ὅπως ὡσανεὶ ἐφημεριδὲς αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ὑπάρχουσι, συνάπτουσαι ἡμᾶς φιλικώτερον;

¹⁷ Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," 396–398, and 408. See also Jean Gouillard, "La femme de qualité dans les lettres de Théodore Stoudite," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32 (1982): 445–452; [Katerina Nikolaou] Κατερίνα Νικολάου, "Γυναῖκες ἐπιστολογράφοι στὴ μέση βυζαντινὴ περίοδο," *Ἡ ἐπικοινωνία στὸ Βυζάντιο*, ed. [Moschonas] Μοσχονάς, 169–180.

¹⁸ Kazhdan and Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," 398–400. See also Peter Hatlie, "Women of Discipline during the Second Iconoclast Age," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 89 (1996): 37–44.

¹⁹ Some scholars identify Eirene with her namesake who was abbess of the Kloubiou Monastery in Constantinople and also the recipient of a letter from Theodore (Letter 62, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 173–174). However, some problems with this identification still remain (see *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, no. 1443 and no. 1446).

²⁰ Letter 87, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, 208, ll. 11–12 and Letter 156, *ibid.*, 276, l. 11. The expression τὸ τῆς στρατηγίας ὕψωμα in Letter 508, *ibid.*, 754, ll. 11–12, also suggests that her husband was a στρατηγός, i.e., a provincial governor.

along with her daughter because of their firm insistence on icon veneration. Thus, five of the surviving eight letters (no. 77, 87, 156, 372 and 412) can be safely dated to the years between 815 and 820, when Emperor Leo V revived iconoclasm and enforced persecution of the most prominent among the iconodules, while the last two letters (no. 508 and 526), which indicate that Eirene had returned to Constantinople, probably fall within the reign of Michael II. Letter 55 provides no chronological clues, but given the general arrangement of Theodore's collection, might date from the years before Leo's accession.

From this correspondence, it emerges that Theodore acted as Eirene's spiritual advisor. When her daughter fell ill, Eirene asked Theodore for a (spiritual) remedy (εὐχὴ ἢ ἀπομόρσιμα) and received his prayers.²¹ During their exile, he used every opportunity to write her encouraging letters in order to bolster her, who "alone among women appears as infallible, unmoved, unshaken, fearless, unbending, unbroken."²² Due to her willingness to suffer hardships for the right faith he calls her not only "manly-spirited" (ἀνδρείοφρων / ἀνδρικοπάτη τῷ πνεύματι / ἀνδραιοτάτη) — a regular epithet for brave women in Byzantine sources²³ — but even ranks her among the saints, as she was a true confessor, indeed, a martyr of Christ.²⁴ As a reward, he promises the heavenly kingdom, where she "will shine like the sun together with all the saints."²⁵ If she persists, she will "strengthen and save many" with her example.²⁶ And also future generations of believers will benefit from her, as her life provides a model of virtuous conduct like a (hagiographical) narrative.²⁷

Letter 412 suggests that Eirene had temporarily relinquished her resistance to iconoclasm. The background and details of this incident are unknown, but it might be assumed that it was connected to her husband, who as court dignitary

²¹ Letter 55, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 161. For ἀπομόρσιμα as anointing oil for the sick, see Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite*, 172–173.

²² Letter 77, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, 198, ll. 7–8: μόνη ἐφάνης γυναικῶν ἀδιάπτωτος, ἀσάλευτος, ἀκράδαντος, ἄφοβος, ἀμάθαλκτος, ἀδιάρρηκτος.

²³ Letter 77, *ibid.*, 198, l. 20; Letter 87, *ibid.*, 208, l. 9; Letter 412, *ibid.*, 575, l. 5.

²⁴ Letter 77, *ibid.*, 198, l. 14 – 199, l. 24; Letter 87, *ibid.*, 208, ll. 10–15, 31–32, and 33–35; Letter 156, *ibid.*, 276, ll. 5–17 and 277, ll. 43–44; Letter 412, *ibid.*, 575, l. 9 – 576, l. 33. On the underlying concept of martyrdom, see Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite*, 90–95.

²⁵ Letter 77, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, 199, ll. 24–26: καὶ τί τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς ὁμολογίας] κέρδος; βασιλεία οὐρανῶν, ἐν ἧ ἐκλάμψεις ὡς ὁ ἥλιος μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

²⁶ Letter 156, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 277, ll. 47–48: ἵνα πολλοὺς τῷ οἰκείῳ ὑποδείγματι στερεώσης, καὶ σώσης.

²⁷ Letter 87, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 208, ll. 22–24: βίου εὐκλεοῦς συγγραφήν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις τὴν σαυτῆς ζωὴν ἐγκαταλιμπάνουσα.

presumably supported the policies of the emperor. In this context, letter 508 (probably postdating letter 412), in which Theodore advises Eirene on how to deal with her husband, is of great interest. Instead of writing directly to the *patrikios*, he chooses to use his wife as a mediator, probably because he had already established firm ties with her; her husband may not have accepted advice from the leader of monastic resistance to imperial policies. Theodore acknowledges that, considering his position, the *patrikios* may not be able to openly embrace orthodoxy (as understood by Theodore), but insists that he adhere to the right faith at least “internally” (κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον) and continue to perform philanthropic deeds.

After her release and return to Constantinople, Eirene once again asked Theodore for advice in religious matters. Her daughter, who had passed away in the meantime, had served as abbess of the Leontes monastery, and Eirene now wished to transform this convent into a male monastery.²⁸ Theodore answered that it would be against apostolic order to do so and strongly recommended maintaining the status quo.²⁹

The relationship between Theodore and Eirene was, however, not as lopsided as it might seem at first glance. While Theodore functioned as Eirene’s spiritual advisor, he also seems to have been her protégé. Eirene apparently provided him with material support, as Theodore repeatedly thanks her for her benefices and gifts — though of what sort remains unclear.³⁰ Theodore’s evoking of the epithet “monk-loving” (φιλομόναχος) suggests the inference that Eirene also supported other iconophile monks.³¹ Due to her continuous struggles and support of the iconophiles’ cause, Theodore addresses her several times as his “(spiritual) mother,” thus reversing the role between (spiritual) father and child.³²

²⁸ This monastery does not seem to be known from other sources. Given the reference to the rebellion of Thomas the Slav (821–823) — here labelled as “civil war” (ἑμφύλιος πόλεμος; Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, 785, l. 8; cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, 469*) — which forced the sisterhood of the monastery to leave, we might assume that this monastery was located in the hinterland of Constantinople.

²⁹ *Letter* 526, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 784–785.

³⁰ *Letter* 55, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 160, ll. 10–13; *Letter* 87, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 207, l. 7. – 208, l. 9 and 209, ll. 39–41; *Letter* 156, *ibid.*, 276, ll. 3–4; *Letter* 372, *ibid.*, 503, l. 2 – 504, l. 6.

³¹ *Letter* 412, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 575, ll. 21–22; *Letter* 508, *ibid.*, 754, l. 6.

³² *Letter* 77, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 199, l. 21; *Letter* 87, *ibid.*, 207, l. 4 and 207, l. 4 – 208, l. 19 for Theodore’s explanation for addressing her in this way; *Letter* 156, *ibid.*, 277, l. 47; *Letter* 412, *ibid.*, 575 l. 26 and ll. 26–28 for a similar explanation as in *Letter* 87.

Moreover, in letters 508 and 526, he calls her “(my) lady” (κυρία), an epithet that points to his regarding her as his patroness.³³

It is a telling fact that from their correspondence only Theodore’s part survives, while Eirene’s letters are lost. Theodore’s letters clearly indicate that she sent him letters on a regular basis, and the opening of letter 55 suggests that Theodore — himself a master of epistolary writing, as noted above — regarded Eirene as a skilled writer who was able to depict a vivid image of her soul in her letters.³⁴ Yet, male-dominated literary discourse was not favorable to the preservation of women’s writing, even if it was in no way inferior to texts authored by men.³⁵

Be that as it may, these epistolary documents provide a fascinating view into Theodore’s role as a monastic leader, women’s active participation in ecclesiastical politics, and the communicative dimension of letter-writing in a period of severe religious and socio-political crisis.

³³ Letter 508, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 754, ll. 3 and 7; Letter 526, *ibid.*, 784, l. 3. For *κυρία* as form of address in letters of the middle Byzantine period, see Michael Grünbart, *Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 183, 185, 187, and 290.

³⁴ Letter 55, Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1, 160, l. 2 – 161, l. 17. For a discussion of the erotic vocabulary employed by Theodore in this passage as an expression of love and friendship, see Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, 252. For the “image of the soul” (εἰκὼν ψυχῆς) as fundamental epistolary motif, see Anthony R. Littlewood, “An Ἰkon of the Soul’: the Byzantine Letter,” *Visible Language* 10 (1976): 197–226, at 216.

³⁵ On the transmission of women’s letters (or rather lack thereof), see above the abstract of Alexander Riehle’s paper presented at the workshop. On women’s writing in the middle Byzantine period, see *idem*, “Authorship and Gender (and) Identity. Women’s Writing in the Middle Byzantine Period,” *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*, ed. Aglae Pizzone (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 245–262.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS OF THEODORE THE STOUDITE TO EIRENE THE PATRICIAN

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Letter 55

Φίλτροποιόν τι πράγμα ἢ γραμματικὴ
προσφώνησις, σχέσιν ἐμποιοῦσα ταῖς
ψυχαῖς τῶν ἐρώτων, καὶ τοσαύτην,
ὄσωπερ ἂν καὶ πυνάξῃ ἢ ὄμιλια, οἶονεὶ
ἀνασπαιεύουσα τοὺς ἐναποκειμένους
ἐρωτικὰς σπινθήρας καὶ πολλὴν τὴν
ἀγαπητικὴν διάθεσιν ἀνακαίουσα.
τοιούτων τι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς
ἀπειργάσατο ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς ἐμμελείας
σου, πολυπλασάσασα τὴν πνευματικὴν
φιλιαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τῆς μνήμης
ἐμπυρεύματα ἀμμαιότερα ἐνιζάνουσα.
χρῶ τοιγαροῦν, θεοσεβεστάτη κυρία, τῷ
ἀγαπητικῷ τῷδε φαρμάκῳ καὶ γνώριζε
ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς εὐεξίας καὶ εὐπραξίας σου
(ἴσμεν γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν σου ἀειθαλὲς
καὶ ποριστικὸν εἰς εὐσέβειαν ἐξ ὧν τε
ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀκούομεν καὶ
ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ εὖ πεπόνθαμεν καὶ
πανθάνομεν), εἴτε δανειζομένη τὴν φωνὴν
εἴτε καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας γλώττης φβεγγομένη·
ὡς ἡμεῖς γε ἠδεῖα ταύτην μᾶλλον ἐπαῖτομεν
διαθέσει, οὐ φιλῶ ἤχῳ προσέχοντες καὶ
ἅμα ἐκεῖνο γινώσκοντες, ὡς οὐδεὶς οὕτως
εἰκονίσσει ψυχὴν ὡς ὁ παρ' αὐτῆς προῶν
λόγος κἂν ὁποῖός ποτ' ἂν εἴη.

Correspondence through letters is a magical thing, for it produces a connection in the souls of lovers in proportion to the frequency of conversation, as if stirring up the sparks of love hidden in them and abundantly kindling their affectionate disposition. In such a way, the letter of your grace affected me, the humble one, multiplying the spiritual love towards her and grafting more firmly the embers of memory. Therefore, make use of this affectionate remedy, most pious lady, and tell us that you are healthy and well (for I know of your ever-blooming virtue and generosity in pious matters from which I have heard and still am hearing and from which I myself have benefited and still am benefiting), either by borrowing the words of another person or using your own tongue. For I will listen to [your words] with favorable disposition, without paying attention [only] to the mere sound and knowing that nothing is able to depict the soul like the words uttered by her, of whatever sort they may be.

³⁶ Thanks are due to Zachary Rothstein-Dowden for his comments on the English translation.

Περὶ τῆς κυρίας τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ὅτι γέγονεν οὕτω μαθόντες, ἠνιάθημεν· εὐχὴν δὲ ἢ ἀπομύρισμα ποῖαν ἢ οἶον δῶμεν, ἀμαρτωλοὶ τυγχάνοντες; πλὴν ἐκεῖνο πέπεισο, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται περιεργίαι, εἰ μὴ γε ἡμεῖς δῶμεν χώραν ἀπροσεξία τινί· ὡς γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε τόπον τινὰ ἡλίω περιλαμπόμενον τὸ ἀντίθετον σιότος εἰσδέξασθαι, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον θείῳ φωτί, ἡγουν συνέσει καὶ ἀρετῇ ἐπερειδόμενον, παθεῖν τι τῶν σκαιῶν καὶ δαιμονικῶν μαγγανευμάτων. ἰαθεῖη τοίνυν ἡ παῖς ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, τοῦ θεραπεύοντος “πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν,” καὶ ἔστω χεῖρ θεοῦ περιπτραμένη καὶ ἐπισιαζούσα τὴν αὐτῆς κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀποσοβοῦσα πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν βλαπτικὴν, ὡς ἂν εὐεκτοῦσα σὺν μητρὶ θεοφόβῳ ἀποδοίῃ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῆς χαριστηρίως τῷ Κυρίῳ.

I became distressed when I heard what has happened to the lady, your daughter. What prayer or holy oil should I provide, since I am a sinner? You should furthermore know that such efforts are to no avail, unless we give opportunity to some sort of negligence. For as it is impossible that a place ablaze with sunlight admits the opposed darkness, it is likewise impossible that a person attached to the divine light (wisdom and virtue, that is) could be affected by perverted and demonic trickery. May the child, thus, be healed in the name of the Lord who heals *every disease and every illness* (Matthew 4:23, 9:35)! May God’s hand hover above and overshadow her head and scare away every harmful influence, so that, after having been healed, she may send along with her pious mother her thanksgiving prayers to the Lord.

Letter 77

Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος ἀληθῶς, οὐ παρ’ ἐμοῦ μόνου τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν καὶ παρὰ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ. τίνος χάριν; ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι σεισμῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας, ὀπηνίκα ἱερεῖς πίπτουσιν, ἀρχιερεῖς ὄλλονται, μονάζοντες συντριβόνται, ἄρχοντες καταρρήσσονται, ἀρχόμενοι καταλύονται, ἄνδρες ἐκλύονται, γυναῖκες δεδίασιν, μόνη ἐφάνης γυναικῶν ἀδιάπτωτος, ἀσάλευτος, ἀκράδαντος, ἄφοβος, ἀμάθαλκτος, ἀδιάρρηκτος. πόθεν τοῦτο; ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν πέτρων τὴν σεαυτῆς ψυχικὴν οἰκίαν

Truly, *praise awaits you* (Psalms 65:1), not only from me, the sinner, but also from nearly the entire church of God. For what reason? Because in the present turmoil of impiety, when priests fall, archbishops perish, monks are oppressed, rulers are overthrown, subjects are destroyed, men are faint, women are afraid, you alone among women appear as infallible, unmoved, unshaken, fearless, unbending, unbroken. What is the source of this? You kept firmly *founded the house* of your

τεθεμελιωμένην ἔσχες, ἐκ προλαβουσῶν πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων ἀγαθοεργιῶν καὶ λίθων οἰονεὶ πνευματικῶν συσφιγθηῖσάν τε καὶ καλλιεργηθεῖσάν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔωλοι καὶ ἀνίσχυροι δυνάμει θεοῦ οἱ δαιμονικοὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ οἱ τῶν προσβολῶν νιφετοὶ ἐναπεδείχθησαν.

“Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναίξει,” μεμακαρισμένη σὺ ἐν ἀρχούσαις, δεδοξασμένη σὺ ἐν ταῖς ὑπόζυγιοις. ἤγειρας ὄντως κέρασ σωτηρίας τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἠύφρανας ἀγγέλους, ἤσχυνας δαίμονας, ἐνίκησας κακοδόξους, ἔπληξας λαοπλάνους, ἐστερέωσας σαλευομένους, ἐτραυμάτισας λειποτακτοῦντας, ἐδριμύξας φιλοσαρκοῦντας, ὠμολόγησας Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ, συνηριθμήθης τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὁμολογηταῖς. εὖγε ἀνδρειόφρων ψυχῇ, εὖγε μαρτυρόνους καρδίᾳ, εὖγε ἐμοὶ μήτηρ προσκυνουμένη· ἢ γὰρ Χριστοῦ ποιήσασά τε καὶ ποιούσα τὸ θέλημα, πολλοῦ γε εἰπεῖν ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀναξίου. οὕτως σε θεὸς ἐδόξασέν τε καὶ ὑψωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι δοξάσειεν, ἐάνπερ μέχρι τέλους ἐπιμείνωμεν τῇ καλλίστῃ ἡμῶν ὁμολογίᾳ. καὶ τί τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς κέρδος; βασιλεία οὐρανῶν, ἐν ἧ ἐκλάμψεις ὡς ὁ ἥλιος μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Τῆ συνάθλω σου καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄρηται προσφωνῶ τὰ εἰκότα.

soul upon the spiritual rock [i.e., Christ] (Matthew 7:24–25; 1 Corinthians 10:4; cf. *infra* letter 156), girt and artfully wrought of numerous and various good deeds and spiritual stones, as it were, against which, by God’s power, the demoniac winds and the blizzards of the assaults have proved to be vain and futile.

Blessed are you among women (Luke 1:42), fortunate are you among regents, glorified are you among wives. Indeed, you raised the horn of salvation (Luke 1:69) for God’s church, you delighted angels, you shamed demons, you vanquished heretics, you struck those who lead people astray, you strengthened the unstable, you wounded the deserters, you confounded the lovers of the flesh, you confessed Christ through His holy icon, you were reckoned among His confessors. Well done, manly-minded soul; well done, martyr-spirited heart; well done, my revered mother; for you fulfilled and fulfill Christ’s will, to say nothing of the will of me, the unworthy. In this way God glorified and exalted you, and He would further glorify [us], if we should persist in our best confession until the end (cf. 1 Timothy 6:12). And what is the benefit from this? The kingdom of the heavens, where you will shine like the sun together with all the saints. I extend my due greetings to your companion in your struggles and true offspring.

Letter 87

Ἐγὼ, κἂν οὐ δέχωμαι γράμματα παρὰ τῆς τιμιότητός σου, ὦ κυρία, οὐ διαλείψω ὁπόταν τύχοιμι ἐπιστοληφόρου πιστοῦ ἐπιστέλλειν σοι ὡς μητρὶ μου πνευματικῇ· πῶς γὰρ καὶ μὴ καλέσαιμί σε οὕτως διὰ Χριστὸν πάσχουσαν, διασπασθεῖσαν τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐκβληθεῖσαν οἰκίας, πόλεως, συγγενῶν, φίλων καὶ ἐν ἔσχατιᾷ τινι περιορισμένην; καὶ οὐπω λέγω τῶν ἄλλων σου ἀγαθοεργιῶν τὰ ἐπίσημα, ἔκπαλαι τῶν χρόνων διηनुσμένα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ εἰς ἐμέ τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν γεγεννημένα καὶ ἔτι γιγνόμενα. ταῦτα γυναικὸς ἀνδρικοτάτης τῷ πνεύματι, ταῦτα ψυχῆς μαρτυροφρόνου, ταῦτα καρδίας ζητούσης τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης δυνάμεως. “ἀκουσάτωσαν πρᾶεῖς καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν,” ὅτι γυνὴ συγκλητικὴ ἦρεν ὁμολογίας Χριστοῦ στέφανον, ἀκουέτω ἀνατολὴ καὶ δύσις ὅτι καὶ νῦν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος τῶν μακαρίων θηλειῶν ἐξ ὧν Θεέκλα καὶ Φεβρωνία ἀνατέταλκε. τί γάρ; εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐσφάγης, ἀλλὰ τῇ προθέσει καὶ τοῖς παρακολουθήμασιν εἴλου τὸ πάθος. μακαρία εἶ ἐν γυναιξί, τρισμακαρία εἶ ἐν μητράσι. ποῦ ποτ’ ἂν εἶεν αἱ λοιπαὶ μητέρες; ποῦ ποτ’ ἂν αἱ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀξιώμασι τελοῦσαι; μία ἐκ πασῶν καὶ πρὸ πασῶν σὺ ἠρίστευσας, σὺ δέδωκας καιρίαν πληγὴν τῷ διαβόλῳ.

Even if I do not receive letters from your dignity, oh [my] lady, I will not refrain from sending you letters whenever I chance upon a trustworthy letter-bearer, as you are my spiritual mother. How could I not address you in this manner, since you endure hardships for Christ, after being separated from [your] head [i.e., husband], expelled from home, city, family, friends, and banished to some remote place? And I do not even mention other distinguished good deeds of yours, accomplished for many years, since they happened and are still happening to me, the sinner. These are deeds of a woman most manly in spirit, of a martyr-minded soul, of a heart seeking for God with all its power. *Let the meek hear and rejoice* (Psalms 34:2) that a woman of senatorial rank has raised a crown of Christ's confession! Let East and West hear that also now the golden race of blessed females, from which Thekla and Febronia [sprang], has risen. Indeed! Even if you were not slain, you still chose to suffer in the open and with consequences. Blessed are you among women, thrice-blessed among mothers. Where would the remaining mothers be? Where the women of the highest ranks? You alone from all the others and before all others gained distinction; you inflicted the mortal blow on the devil.

Ἄλλ’ ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἤδη τοῦ καλοῦ μακαριστός, ἀλλ’ ὁ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγὼν τὴν καλὴν ἐργείρησιν,

But since one does not become blessed simply by initiating a good work, but rather by bringing a good undertaking to

δέομαί σου, δέσποινά μου αιδέσιμε, τόνωσόν σου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἀγώνων, βίου εὐκλειοῦς συγγραφὴν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις τὴν σαυτῆς ζωὴν ἐγκαταλιμπάνουσα. τοῦτο δὲ παρακαλῶ καὶ ὑπομνήσκω, πεφεισμένως ἔχειν σε τοῦ σώματός σου τῆς ὑγείας· οἶδα γὰρ σου τὸ ἀκρατὲς τῆς προθυμίας. χρῶ τοῖς ῥωννύειν σε δυναμένους· παρηγοροῦ ἑαυτήν, ἱκανὸν τὸ ἄθλον τῆς στερήσεως πάντων.

Σοὶ μὲν τῇ μητρὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐν βραχέσι. τί δὲ φῶμεν τῇ κυρίᾳ θυγατρὶ καὶ παρομαρτούση σου τῇ ἀρετῇ; ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ῥίζης ἀγαθὸς ἐβλάστησας καρπός. μὴ λυποῦ ὅτι ἐστερηθῆς τοῦ ὁμοζύγου· εἰ γὰρ παρῆν, οὐκ ἂν ἐν οἷς εἶ νῦν κατελαμβάνου, μετὰ μητρὸς μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυρος, μετὰ πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ πλέον μετὰ τοῦ ἄνω καὶ ἀθανάτου, οὐκέτι ὡς ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σάρκα. ἄλειφε τὴν τεκοῦσάν σε μάρτυρα, παρακαλῶ, συνδιάμειβε τὸ τῆς ἐξορίας ἄθλον, καθὰ καὶ ποιεῖς, ὑπηρέτει ὁμολογηστρίᾳ Χριστοῦ. ἀρκεῖ σοι εἰς εὐδοξίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἡ συνοίκησις καὶ συνάθλησις. ταῦτα ἐξ ἀγάπης πνευματικῆς, ἐκ φροντίδος μοι περιπονητικῆς· ἐπεὶ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἴσμεν σοφὴν σε οὖσαν πάντα ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτοίη.

Ἀπεδεξάμην καὶ νῦν τὰς προσφοράς σου καὶ ἕως ποτὲ ἄρτι ἐν ἐξορίᾳ. ἀλλὰ παντὶ ὁ πόθος πρᾶγμα εὐάνυστον. ἀνενεχθεῖσαν

completion, I entreat you, my venerable mistress, brace up your spirit for the completion of the struggles, leaving behind your life as a narrative of a glorious conduct for future generations. I also entreat and remind you to take care of your physical health—for I am aware of your unbridled zeal. Make use of those things able to strengthen you. Comfort yourself, the trial of complete deprivation is sufficient.

This [is] in brief [my advice] to you, the mother. But what shall I tell the lady, your daughter and companion in your virtuous life? From a good root, you sprang forth as a good fruit. Do not despair because you were deprived of your husband. For if he were present, you would not have arrived where you are now—with your mother, who is also a martyr, and with your father, or rather with the heavenly and immortal one, no longer bound to flesh, but beyond flesh. I entreat you, encourage the martyr who gave birth to you; accompany [her] through the challenge of exile—like you already do; serve the confessor of Christ. For your glory and salvation, it suffices to live and struggle together with her. This [is my advice] out of spiritual love and considerate care. For, as has been said, I know that you are wise to do everything that the *Word* demands.

I accepted your offerings now and [I will continue to do so] as long as I am still in exile. But for anyone desire is a thing

πάντα εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας τῷ Χριστῷ.
εὐχέσθε καὶ αὐτὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ
ἀμαρτωλοῦ.

easily accomplished. Let all things be offered to Christ as a *sweet-smelling savour* (Exodus 29:18, Ephesians 5:2). May you both also pray for me, the sinner.

Letter 156

Καὶ γράφοντες καὶ μὴ γράφοντες ἔργον ἔχομεν ἀνεπιλήστως μνημονεῦειν σου τῆς τιμιότητος οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸν τῆς εὐεργεσίας λόγον, ὃν ἐνεδείξω ἔκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν ταπεινωσιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὁμολογίας Χριστοῦ τρόπον, συντάσσοντές σε τοῖς ὧδε ἀκαεῖσε διὰ Χριστὸν περιωρισμένοι καὶ ἐναθλοῦσι· μὴ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ οὐ δεδιωγμένη, οὐκ ἄποικος, οὐκ ἄπολις, οὐ περιωρισμένη, οὐκ ἐμπαράσκευος αἰεὶ πρὸς κινδύνους; καὶ ἀληθῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μακαρία, ὅτι σοὶ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. τίς οὐκ οἶδεν τῶν ὁμολογητῶν ὅτι συνωμολόγησας; ποῦ οὐκ ἠκούτισται ὅτι καὶ συγκλητικὴ ἐν μάρτυσιν; ἐθαύμασάν σε μοναστῶν τάγματα, ἤνεσάν σε λαϊκῶν συνεδρεύματα· τί δὲ ταῦτα; αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀγίων τάγματα εὐφράνθησαν ἐπὶ σοί. καὶ μὴ δοκῆσης κολακείαν εἶναι τὸν λόγον. βλέπε οὖν, ὦ μάρτυς Χριστοῦ, οἷον τετίμησαι, οἷον ὑψώσαι· συγκρινόν μοι πηλὸν καὶ χρυσόν, τοσοῦτον καὶ πολλῷ πλέον οὐ κατέλιπες ἐπιγείου ἀξιώματος τὸ νῦν δωρηθέν σοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀξίωμα ἐπουράνιον, μάρτυρα καλεῖσθαι Χριστοῦ, ὁμολογητὴν ἀληθείας.

When I write [you letters] and when I do not write, I seek to remember and not to forget your grace, not only with regard to the benefaction that you have bestowed on my humbleness for a long time, but, indeed, also in respect of [your] confession of Christ, since I rank you among those who, in various places, are banished and suffer for Christ. For are you not persecuted, not away from your home and city, not banished, not always prepared to be exposed to dangers? Indeed, you are truly blessed also for this, since *the kingdom of the heavens is yours* (Matthew 5:10). Who of the confessors does not know that you became a confessor together with them? Where have people not heard that a woman of senatorial rank belongs to the martyrs? Monastic orders admired you, assemblages of laymen praised you. Nay, what am I saying: the orders of angels and saints themselves rejoice at you. And do not think that these words are mere flattery! Behold then, oh martyr of Christ, how people honor you, how they exalt you! Compare clay and gold, such and much larger is the difference between the earthly rank that you left behind and the heavenly rank that was given to you by God now,

Διὸ ὑπομνήσκω μὴ τραπήναι τὸ καθόλου τῆς ἐνστάσεως, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσάλευτον πέτραν τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἐρηρυσμένην σε, μὴδὲ εὐπτόητον καὶ ἀμφοτερίζουσιν γενέσθαι ταῖς τινῶν καταπτώσεσιν εἴτε λαϊκῶν εἴτε μοναστῶν καὶ δοκούντων εἶναι τι εἴτε ἀπλῶς οὐτινοσοῦν· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ψευδάδελφοί, ψευδαπόστολοι, ἔχοντες μὀρφωσιν εὐσεβείας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἠρηγμένοι. πολλοὶ δοκησίσοφοι καὶ ἀρχιεροφανεῖς καὶ ἀγιόδοκοι ἐν τοῖς πάλαι ἐαλώκεισαν· ἔλαμψαν δὲ ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἀληθινοὶ σοφοί, οἵτινες εἰσι φόβῳ θεοῦ διαζῶντες, ἐπεὶπερ “ἀρχὴ σοφίας φοβεῖσθαι τὸν Κύριον,” καὶ μὴ οἰηθέντες εἶναι πολλοῦ ἄξιοι· ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπος εἰς πρόσωπον, θεὸς δὲ εἰς καρδίαν ὁρᾷ.

Παρακαλῶ ἔτι, στόμωσον ἑαυτὴν τῷ ἄνθρακι τῆς θείας ἀγάπης, κόπτουσα πᾶσαν προσπάθειαν· οὕτω γὰρ συγκόψεις τὰς προσβολὰς τὰς μελλούσας. μὴ γὰρ πάντως οἴου ἀβασάνιστος διαμένειν εἴτε λόγῳ ἢ καὶ ἔργῳ· φθονεῖ σε γὰρ ὁ διάβολος, λαβὼν καιρίαν πληγὴν ἐπὶ σοί. “ὅτι καὶ γυνὴ μου κατεξανίσταται,” φησί, “καὶ ταύτη ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ γε ἐν περιφανείᾳ,” τοιαυτὰ πῶς λέγων· “οὐ φέρω, κινῶ κατ’ αὐτῆς ἔτι μου πολλὰς μηχανάς, τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ τέκνον, τὸ αἶμα ὄλον, τὰς ὁμοσυγκλήτους, τὰς γνωρίμους, τοὺς παῖδας, τὰς παιδίσκας,

[namely] to be called martyr of Christ, confessor of the truth.

Therefore, I remind you—who stand firmly on the unshakable *rock* of orthodoxy (cf. *supra* letter 77)—not to turn away at all from your constancy and to become afraid and doubtful because of the lapses of laymen, of monks who are held in high esteem or of anybody else. For they are false brothers and *false apostles* (2 Corinthians 11:13), who are seemingly pious while denying the power of piety. Many people who seem to be wise, true bishops and holy men fell in the past. But few and truly wise men shone like luminaries in the world. They lived a devout life—for *the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord* (Psalms 111:10, Proverbs 1:7)—and did not think that they were worthy of much. For *people look at the outward appearance, but God looks at the heart* (1 Samuel 16:7).

I entreat you further: steel yourself with the coal of the divine love, cut off all passionate inclination. For, in this way, you will shatter future assaults; for do by no means think that it is possible that you remain unchallenged either in word or deed; for the devil resents you, because he received the fatal blow from you, saying “a woman rises up against me, although she is under a yoke [i.e., married] and well-known.” And he continues like this: “I cannot bear it, I set in motion all my possible trickery against her, [namely] her husband, her child, her entire kin, fellow senators,

τὴν περιουσίαν, πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεεινὰ δάκρυα, παρακλήσεις, ὑποσχέσεις· εἰ δέ γε ἐντεῦθεν ἀποτύχω, μετέρχομαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον εἶδος, προσάγω βασιλικὰς ἀπειλάς, φθόνους τῶν ὁμοαξίων, ‘οὐά,’ λεγόντων, ‘ἐκείνη μόνη ὑπερέξει πάντων; ὅστις καὶ ποία;’ ὕβρεις ἔτι, χλευασμούς, μυκτηρισμούς, καταγέλωτας, ἐνίοτε καὶ ἐμπυσμους, μὴ καὶ ῥαπίσματα, μὴ καὶ κολαφίσματα, μὴ καὶ θάνατον.”

Ὅρα, ἀδελφὴ ἐν Κυρίῳ, μὴ ἐνδώσης ταῦτα Χριστοῦ στίγματα, ταῦτα στέφανοι οὐράνιοι, νέαν σε μάρτυρα ποιοῦντα· μὴ γὰρ κἀκεῖναι οὐχ ὁμοίωσαροι, εὐγενίδες, πολυόλβοι, ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τμηθεῖσαι μαχαίρα τοῦ πνεύματος; οὕτως σε ὁ λόγος παρασιευάσθαι ὑποτίθεται, ἀδελφομήτηρ, μὴ σε δελεάσῃ ἕν τι ὁ πειραστὴς διάβολος, ἵνα πολλοὺς τῶ οἰκείῳ ὑποδείγματι στερεώσῃς, καὶ σώσῃς, ὅπως χορευθῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰώνια. Προσεύχου περὶ ἐμοῦ· ἀσπάζομαι ἐν Κυρίῳ τὴν ὄρηκάν σου καὶ σύναθλον.

acquaintances, servants, maids, her property, and, in addition to these, heartbreaking tears, appeals, promises. If I fail with this endeavor, I will move on to the other kind; I will add imperial threats and envy of peers saying: ‘Woe! Should she alone surpass everyone? Who does she think she is?’ Further [I will add] outrages, mockeries, derision, ridicule, at times also spitting, and why not also blows, slaps, and death.”

Mind, sister in the Lord, do not give in! These are *the marks of Christ* (Galatians 6:17), the heavenly crowns that render you a new martyr. For are these women not of similar flesh, noble, rich in blessings, and cut from man with the sword of the spirit? This is how the *Word* enjoins you to prepare yourself, [my] sister and mother, lest the tempter devil entices you in any matter. In this way, you will strengthen many with your own example and save them, so that you will dance in the kingdom of God for all eternity. Pray for me! I hail your offspring and companion in your struggles in [the name of] the Lord.

Letter 372

Τί σοι κόπους παρέχω, ὦ φιλόθεε καὶ φιλομόναχε; αἱ ἀποστολαὶ σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄξιαν μου. ἤρουν αἱ πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι πολλὰ καὶ ἡλίκα· τί καὶ αὐταί; ἀλλ’ ἔοικας τῇ Σολομωντείῳ βδέλλῃ, τῇ περὶ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ κορεννυμένη, καὶ οἰονεὶ ἐκπιέζουσα τὸ οἰκεῖον αἶμα εἰς τροφήν ἄλλων. καίπερ οὐ τοῦτό σοι μόνον

Why am I giving you troubles (cf. Matthew 26:10), oh, you who love God and are well-disposed towards monks? Your gifts surpass my worthiness. Your former and erstwhile [gifts] were sufficiently abundant and great. And why [are you sending me] also these [now]? Certainly, you resemble the Solomonian leech (cf.

γνώριμον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὰ συντρέχοντα, ζῆλος, πόθος, ἔρωσ εἰς θεόν· κἄν μικρὸν ὑποπεπτώκαμεν, πάλιν οὖν ἀνακλητέον καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου πορευτέον. πάρες τὸ λυπηρόν, ἀνάλαβε χαρὰν πνευματικὴν, ἐπεὶ περ ἐγγὺς Κύριος τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν, ὅς, ἔτι λαλούντων ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς προσευχῆς ῥήματα, ἐρεῖ “ἴδου πάρεμι.” Τῇ κυρία Εἰρήνῃ εἰρήνῃ θεοπάροχος, ἧς ἀπεδεξάμην καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν, ἣν ἐλπίζω εἰς τὸν ὑψηλὸν βίον τῆς μοναδικῆς πολιτείας ἀναδραμήσεσθαι, ὅποτε μεταστρέψειεν Κύριος τὴν καταιγίδα εἰς αὖραν.

Proverbs 30:15), never satiated to make benefaction and as it were squeezing your own blood for the nourishment of others. Yet, not only this is characteristic of you, but many other [characteristics] concomitant [with this], [namely] zeal, longing, love of God. And if we have fallen down a little, now we must revive anew and travel on the way of the Lord. Disregard the distress, receive spiritual joy, since indeed the Lord is near those who suffer for Him, who—while we are still uttering the words of the prayer—will say [to us]: “behold, I am here.” Peace [*eirēnē*] be bestowed by God to lady Eirene, whose blessing I accepted. I hope that she will take refuge in the sublime life of monastic conduct, when the Lord has changed the hurricane into a breeze.

Letter 412

Πρότερον, ἡνίκα ἡ ὑπόπτωσις, λυπηρόν μοι τὸ γράμμα πρὸς τὴν τιμότητά σου, νῦν δὲ καὶ λίαν περιχαρὲς διὰ τὴν ἔξανάστασιν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμῶν σου σαρκῶν ὑπὲρ ὁμολογίας Χριστοῦ μάστιγας. καὶ εὐγε, εὐγε, ἀνδρειοτάτῃ ἐν γυναιξίν, ὅτι τῆς ἥττης περιφανεστέραν τὴν ἀναπάλαισιν ἀπειργάσω, εὐφράνασα θεόν τε καὶ ἀγγέλους καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους. καὶ σὺ ὄντως ἀληθῶς εὐγενής, τῶν ἀφ’ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν ὀρμωμένη· σὺ φιλόθεος καὶ φιλάρετος, σὺ παθοικότος καὶ ἐχθρόκοσμος. ὡς αἰνετόν σου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ διαλαλητὴ σου ἡ μαρτυρία. τί ταῦτα; ἔλαβες τὴν

Earlier, at the time of your downfall, my letter addressed to your dignity was sorrowful, but now it is full of exceeding happiness due to the banishment and the whippings upon your honorable flesh for the confession of Christ. Indeed well-done, well-done, most manly among women, for you made the renewed struggle brighter than the defeat, delighting God and angels, and the most pious of men. And you are truly noble, arising from the East (cf. Job 1:3). You are God-loving and a lover of virtue; you are a murderess of passions and hostile to worldly things. How praiseworthy is

εὐαγγελικὴν μάχαιραν ὡς στρατιῶτις
 Χριστοῦ, διέκοψας ἐν ἐκστάσει τὰς
 σχέσεις τοῦ σώματος, ἀπετμήθης
 κεφαλῆς ὑποκυπτοῦσης, θυγατρὸς
 μονοκλαδούσης, “ἔρρωσθε” φράσασα
 πόλει βασιλευούσῃ, γένει περιβλέπτῳ,
 φίλοις ὑπερέχουσιν, οἰκίᾳ ὑπερλάμπρῳ,
 ἀξίᾳ ὑπερφρεστάτῃ, τῶν κατὰ χθόνα
 οἰκετῶν πλήθει, ὑπάρξει παντοδαπῇ,
 τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς οὐκ εὐμαρῶς μοι λέγειν,
 καὶ ἀραμένη τὸν σταυροφόρον βίον
 ἀπεωρίσθης που μακρὰν, ὡς μεμάθηκα,
 ἐν νήσῳ. εὐλογημένη σὺ καὶ εὐλογημένος
 ὁ καρπὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας σου. καὶ πόθεν
 σοι τοῦτο ὅλον τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ μέγα
 κλέος, ἢ μεγίστη εὐφημία ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐκ τῶν
 προὔπηργμένων σοι κατορθωμάτων,
 ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς σου ἐντεύξεως καὶ
 προσευχῆς, ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης σου
 φιλευποιίας καὶ φιλομονάχου καρδίας;
 οὐκ ὄλλυντο οἱ καρποί, ἂν ἐπὶ μικρὸν
 διεσεισθησαν, οὐ κατέαξέν σου τὸν
 ἀρετῆς πύργον ὁ ἀντικείμενος ὄφις, εἰ
 καὶ δέδακεν· ἀποκέκρουσαι φθόνος τῶν
 ἐπιτωθασάντων, πέπτωκεν ὄνειδιζόντων
 ὕθλος. νενίκηκε Χριστὸς ἐν σοὶ καὶ διὰ
 σοῦ, ὦ καλλίγυναι, ὦ φιλομάρτυς καὶ, τὸ
 τρίτον, ὦ μητέρα ἐμῆ· καλῶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν
 πνεύματι ὡς συναθλον καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σαρκὸς
 γνωρίζομένων σπλάγχων ἐγγύτερον·
 οὕτω γὰρ οἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα συνάπτειν τοὺς
 ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κυοφορούμενους.

your name and [how] illustrious your
 martyrdom. What are these? You received
 the sword of the Gospels like a female
 soldier of Christ, *you pierced in excitement*
 (cf. Habakkuk 3:14) the habits of the
 body, you were separated from your
 head [i.e., husband] bowing to the yoke
 [i.e., in the league with the iconoclasts]
 [and] your only-begotten daughter, you
 bid “farewell” to the Queen City [i.e.,
 Constantinople], [your] highly respected
 family, high-ranking friends, most
 splendid house, [your] extraordinarily
 high dignity, the multitude of household
 servants, various possessions, and other
 things, about which it is not easy for me
 to speak; and having assumed the cross-
 bearing conduct, you were banished
 somewhere far away, as I have learned, to
 some island. *Blessed are you and blessed is*
the fruit (Luke 1:42) of your martyrdom.
 And from where do this whole virtue,
 the great fame, the greatest repute come
 to you, if not from your former good
 deeds, manifold entreaties and prayer,
 from your exceeding inclination to
 beneficence and heart full of love for
 monks? The fruits were not destroyed,
 although for a short time they were
 violently shaken; the hostile serpent
 did not shatter your tower of virtue,
 although it has bitten [you]; the envy
 of those mocking [you] was staved off,
 the nonsense of those criticizing [you]
 collapsed. Christ has prevailed in you
 and through you, oh noblewoman, lover
 of martyrs, and, thirdly, my mother!
 For I call you this [i.e., my mother] in

Οἶδά σου τοὺς πόνους, οἶδα τὰς ἰνοκοπίας τῆς ψυχῆς, πάντα, ὅσα βραγεῖσα κόσμου ὑποίσω. ἀλλὰ θάρσει· πολὺς σου ὁ μισθὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς· νύμφη Χριστοῦ χρηματίζεις, κἂν ἀπὸ ἀνδρός, συμπολίτις τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἁγίων, εἶπερ ἐμμενοῦμεν ταῖς θείαις ὁμολογίαις ἕως τέλους. νῦν δὲ παραινῶ καὶ λιπαρῶ ὑπομονητικῶς σε ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἐξορίαν καὶ ἐρημίαν πάντων, ἀναθεωροῦσαν τὰ οὐράνια, εἰδυῖαν τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς παίγνιον καὶ ὠκύμορον. μετὰ σοῦ ὁ φύλαξ σου τῆς ζωῆς ἄγγελος, Χριστὸς αὐτός, ὁ εἰπών· “ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ’ αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν.” Ἐν δὲ ὑπομνήσω· σεαυτὴν περιποιῶ, δίαίταν παρακλητικωτέραν ἀσπαζομένη· οὐ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας ἄρτι τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τὸ πρότερον. καὶ τέλος προσεύχου περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ὡς ἂν τοῖς λόγοις τὸν βίον συναρμόσοιμι.

spirit as my companion in my struggles and as being closer [to me] than [my] blood relatives; for thus the spirit has the power to unite those who are impregnated through him.

I know your afflictions, I know the weariness of your soul’s sinews, [and] all those things you endured since you were separated from the world. Yet, have confidence! *Great is your reward in heaven* (Matthew 5:12). You are called bride of Christ—although you had a husband [in the flesh]—a fellow citizen of the righteous and the saints, if indeed we remain firm in the divine confessions until the end. But now I urge and beseech you to endure patiently the exile and the lack of everything, considering carefully the heavenly matters, knowing the pettiness and transience of things on earth. The guardian angel of your life [is] with you, Christ Himself, who says “*I and my Father will come [unto him] and will make our abode with him*” (John 14:23). And I remind you of one thing: take care of yourself, embracing a more comforting way of life; for now we do not need as much continence as previously. And finally, pray for me, the sinner, so that I may harmonize [my] life with [my] words.

Letter 508

Ἐπειδὴ προσηγόρευσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς, κυρία, διὰ τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου πρεσβυτέρου, ἀμειβόμεθα τὴν

Since you, lady, greeted me, the humble one, through the most reverend presbyter, I requite your salutation through letters,

προσηγορίαν γραμμασιν, ἀποδεχόμενοι σου τὴν καλὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν θερμὴν πεποιθήσιν, ἐγνωκότες ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαθὴν σε εἶναι ἐν γυναιξίν, φιλόθεόν τε καὶ φιλομόναχον, ὥστε ἀρμόσαι ἐκεῖνο ἐπιφθέγγασθαι τὸ γραφικόν “γυναικὸς ἀγαθῆς μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ.” ὁρᾷς, ὦ κυρία, ὅτι τῇ ἀγαθότητι σου μακαρίζεται ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς ὁ κύριος ὁ πατριῖος καὶ θεόδοτος σου σύζυγος; οὐκοῦν ζηλοῦσα ζήλωσον ἔτι μακαριώτερον αὐτὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι. πῶς δ’ ἂν εἶεν τοῦτο; ἐν τῷ σὲ ἔτι ἀγαθύνεσθαι, ἤγουν ὑπομνηματίζειν αὐτόν, παρακαλεῖν, ἐκλιπαρεῖν τὸ τῆς στρατηγίας ὕψωμα διέπειν θεοφιλῶς, καθὰ καὶ διέπει, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὀρφανούς καὶ χήρας ἐν τῇ θλίψει αὐτῶν, ἄσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ ἀδικίας, φιλομόναχόν τε εἶναι καὶ φιλόπτωχον, ἡμερότητι κεκραμένον, ἐπειδήπερ ἡ ἐξουσία αὕτη ἀριουῶσα ἐστι καταπλήξαι τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ μὴν ἀνεχόμενον ἀπειλῆς καὶ παιδευτικῶς μὲν πλήττοντα, φιλανθρωπῶς δὲ καὶ μεμετρημένως μαστίζοντα· ἐπεὶπερ οὔτε τὸ ἄφετον παντάπασι σωτήριο οὔτε τὸ ὑπὲρ μέτρον πλημικὸν εὐαπόδεκτον καὶ, πρό γε πάντων, τὸ κατὰ πίστιν ὀρθόδοξον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔξω ἔστι λέγειν ἀδυνατεῖν κατὰ τὰ φθάσαντα τοῦτο φυλάττειν (ὅπερ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀρκοῦν εἰς θεοῦ ἀπολογίαν· τῆς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπης οὐδὲν προτιμότερον), ἀλλ’ οὖν γε κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον δυνατὸν τοῦτο παραφυλάττεσθαι καὶ πολλῶν σωτήρα χρηματίζειν αὐτόν καὶ μοναστῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων. Ταῦτα, ἐξ ἀγάπης πνευματικῆς τῆς

acknowledging your good faith and ardent confidence, after coming to know that you are good among women, and God-loving and monk-loving, so that it would be fitting to quote that scriptural passage: “*Blessed is the man of a good woman*” (Sirach 26:1). Do you see, oh [my] lady, that through your goodness the lord patrician and your God-given husband is deemed blessed by the Scripture? Therefore, strive zealously to render him even more blessed. And how would this be possible? By continuing to accomplish good deeds, namely, by reminding, beseeching, entreating him to conduct his high command [i.e., office of *stratēgos*] in a God-loving way, just as he does, to look after orphans and widows in their affliction, to keep himself undefiled from injustice, and to show love to monks and the poor, mingled with kindness—for the authority itself is sufficient to terrify the subordinates—not abstaining from threats and chastising in order to instruct, but whipping mercifully and moderately—for neither laxity warrants salvation nor is excessive severity acceptable—and above all, [to be] orthodox in his faith. For if he says that in respect to the external matters it was impossible to observe this before (although this is not enough [to make] a defence before God, for there is nothing more preferable than His love), at least then with regard to his inner self it is possible to observe this and be a savior of many, of monks and laymen, and of lords and subjects. We took courage to

πρὸς ὑμᾶς κινούμενοι, τεθαρορήκαμεν ὑπομνήσαι, εἰδότες καὶ ἀνυπομνήστως ἔχεσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ καλοῦ.

remind [you] of these things, prompted by spiritual love for you, whilst knowing that even without being reminded you abide by what is good.

Letter 526

Τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου πεποιθήσεως σύμβολον τὸ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς προσαγορεῦσαι, κυρία τιμιωτάτη μοι, διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῦ κυρίου Πέτρου καὶ συγγενοῦς σου· δι' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀντιπροσαγορευόμεν ὀφειλομένως, ἐπαινοῦντές σου τὸ εὐσεβὲς καὶ εὐζήλωτον ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἴσμεν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πολλάκις διδασκόμεθα, καὶ γε ὡς διὰ θεοῦ ἀγάπην καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τιμῆς ἁγίου ἀξίως τῆς ἐνούσης σοι ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολιτείας.

Greeting me, the humble one, through lord Peter, our beloved brother and your relative, is an indication of your good trust [in me], my most honorable lady. Through him I also return duly my salute, praising your piety and zeal for good deeds. For I know this by myself and hear it often from [our] brother; and may you, through God's love, also treat him with respect befitting your virtue and this man's conduct.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἠρώτησας περὶ τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου τοὺς Λέοντας, ὡς εἰ δέοι ἀνδρεῖον αὐτὸ καταστήσασθαι, οὕτως αἰρέσεως ἔχουσα ἐν τῷ μετασχηματισμῷ τοῦ πρὶν γυναικεῖαν μονὴν ὀνομαζομένου καὶ χρηματίσαντος, τοῦτο ἀποκρινασθαι ἔχομεν, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν νωστὶ ἤρκαται σοι καθιεροῦν τὸν τόπον, ἐξὸν ὅπερ αἰρή διαπράξασθαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προκαθιέρωται διὰ τῆς ἐν μακαρίᾳ μνήμῃ τελεσθείσης σου θυγατρὸς ἐκεῖσε καθηγουμένης καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ χρόνοις ἱκανοῖς διακρατησάσης μετὰ καὶ συνοδίας παρθενικῆς, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μετάθεσις γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ προλαβόντος ἐμφυλίου πολέμου τῆς ἀδελφότητος τῶν ἐκεῖσε, αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἡγουμένης δεῦρο κατακειμένης ἐν θήκαις ὁσίαις μετὰ καὶ

But since you asked me about the monastery called Leontes if it can be changed into a male monastery—as you decided for the transformation of this monastery that was previously named and established as a female one—I have the following response: if it had been lately decided by you to consecrate this place, it would have been possible to accomplish what you had decided. But since it was previously consecrated by your late daughter of blessed memory, who was an abbess there and who managed this monastery together with virgin companions for a sufficient number of years—although a translocation of the sisterhood from there took place on account of the

προλαβουσῶν ἄλλων ὁμοταγῶν ψυχῶν, οὐ θεμιτόν, ὡς οἶμαι κυρία, ἐξαλλαγήν ποιήσασθαι σε, μάλιστα τῶν ἀφειθεισῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τέκνων τῆς προηγησαμένης ὧδε αἰρουμένων λατρεῖν θεῷ, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ καθηγουμένη κατὰκειται. ἀποστολικὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν· “ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω.” μονὴ ἐκλήθη γυναικεία· τίς λόγος τῆς μεταλλαγῆς ἀνδρώνυμον γενέσθαι, καίτοι ἀνδρῶν μὴ κατ’ ὄφθαλμοὺς φαινομένων καὶ τῶν ἐκβεβλημένων οὐκ ἀνεχομένων μὴ οὐχὶ ἐκεῖσε διαζῆν; εἰ δὲ ὅτι γέγονε πολλάκις ἐξαλλαγὴ ἔν τισι μοναστηρίοις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ διωγμοῦ αἰτίαν καὶ ὑφαρπαγὴν οὐχ ὅσιαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔνθεσμον. οἷς δὲ καὶ πίστις ὀρθὴ καὶ βίος μὴ ἀνθιστάμενος, τούτοις ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

Διὰ τοῦτο παραινοῦμεν καὶ ἀντιβολοῦμεν, ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς μακαρίας θυγατρὸς σου φωνὴν ἀφείσης δι’ ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν, μενέτω τὸ μοναστήριον οἱ Λέοντες γυναικεῖον χρηματίζον καὶ φρουροῦν τὰς καταλειφθείσας θυγατέρας αὐτῆς ἐν πνεύματι λάτριδας θεῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ σὺν ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ σῆ θεοσεβείᾳ κλέος ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἀνεπιφογον τοῖς ἐπισκήπτουσι τὰ ἡμέτερα. ὅπερ παρεγγυᾷ

previous civil war [i.e., the rebellion of Thomas the Slav]—and she, the abbess, was buried there in blessed caskets together with other souls of the same rank who preceded her, [for these reasons] I think, my lady, it is not right for you to make the alteration—especially since the remaining sisters and children of the former abbess choose to worship God in this place, where also the abbess lies buried. The apostolic word is: “*Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called*” (1 Corinthians 7:20). The monastery was called ‘female.’ What is the reason for its transformation into a monastery called ‘male,’ although men do not come into view [there], and those [nuns] expelled [from the monastery] refuse to live there? If such an alteration often took place in certain monasteries, it was only on account of persecution, unhallowed deception and unlawful authority. But it is in accordance with those who have the right faith and conduct not opposing it, that one should speak and act lawfully and canonically.

This is why I advise and entreat you, as if your blessed daughter were speaking through me, the humble one, to let the Leontes monastery remain ‘female’ and guard her daughters left behind, handmaidens of God in spirit. For this, along with her [i.e., Eirene’s daughter], means utmost glory for your piety and is blameless against those denouncing our cause. This is what the Apostle

ὁ ἀπόστολος, λέγων· “ἀπόσκοποι
γίνεσθε καὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.” ἐπεὶ, ἐὰν μὴ οὕτως
πράξοις, τὸ μὲν δράμα στάσιν οὐχ ἔξει,
ἅπαξ κινήθην ἐκ τοῦ καθήκοντος εἰς τὸ
παρὰ φύσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἔξω κωμωδίας,
προσθεῖην δ’ ἂν καὶ κατακρίσεως,
ἀπενεγκοίμεθα παράπτωμα.

recommends saying: “*Give no offence, neither to Jews, nor to Gentiles, nor to the church of God*” (1 Corinthians 10:32). For, if you do not act in this manner, the drama will have no end once moved from its proper to a perverted place, and we, not without comic effect—and I would also add condemnation—would commit sin.

THINKING ABOUT LETTERS: THE EPISTOLARY OF 'LEO THE WISE' RECONSIDERED

Foteini Spingou 

Letters attracted the attention of Byzantinists from the beginning of the twentieth century and a voluminous scholarship on the subject has been produced only in the last thirty years.¹ The purpose of this paper is not to provide a general introduction to Byzantine letter writing, since recently published articles have already served this purpose.² Instead, my aim here is to highlight the existence of a medieval theoretical treatise on letter writing attributed to Pseudo-Leo the Wise. Although this treatise is a unique source for understanding the Byzantine letter, it has passed largely unnoticed by modern scholarship.

To my knowledge, this is the only Byzantine theoretical treatise on letter writing as someone familiar with late antique treatises would imagine it.³ It

¹ See Margaret Mullett, "Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in *Byzantium and the Classical tradition. Papers of the Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Birmingham, March, 1979*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (B.A.R.: Oxford, 1981), 76–77; eadem, *Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), II.

² In chronological order: Michael Grünbart, "L'epistolografia," in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo. 3. Le culture circostanti. Volume I. La cultura bizantina*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome: Salerno, 2004), 345–78. Margaret Mullett, "Epistolography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 882–93. Stratis Papaioannou, "Letter-writing," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2009), 188–99. See also Michael Grünbart, "Letters, Letter writing, Byzantine," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. R.S. Bagnall et al., (Oxford: Blackwells, 2013), 4027–4028. Selection of earlier overviews see Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1 (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1978) and N.B. Tomadakis, *Βυζαντινή ἐπιστολογραφία: εισαγωγή, κείμενα, κατάλογος ἐπιστολογράφων* (Athens: Myrtidis, 1969). For an extended bibliography on the subject see <http://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/forschung/byzantnische-epistolographie/> (accessed on 24/01/14) and also Alexander Riehle, ed., *Companion to Byzantine Epistolography* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See also Athanasios Markopoulos, "Problèmes relatifs à l'épistolographie byzantine. L'absence de commentaires" in *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: Projets actuels et questions de méthodologie*, ed. W. Hörandner and M. Grünbart (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2003), 55–61.

³ As an exception, one can refer to Byzantine collections of purposely written model letters (in contrast to collections of letters created of anthologies of letters written on different occasions). However, the material in these collections is not arranged like late antique treatises with examples of all kinds of letters. The example of Athanasios Chatzikes' letters collection is instructive; the letters are arranged primarily based on the

survives in two manuscripts: an early fourteenth-century manuscript from the monastery of St. John Prodromos in Serres (northern Greece), but now to be found in the National Library of Greece (EBE 2429),⁴ and a sixteenth-century *mathematarion*, an early modern school textbook, from the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher in Istanbul (*Metochion tou Panagion Taphou* 824) also housed in the National Library of Greece.⁵ Theodora Antonopoulou was the first to call attention to this treatise. She edited the introductory letter which precedes the treatise based on the Metochion manuscript⁶ and soon after she published corrections using the Prodromos manuscript.⁷ An English translation of this introductory text together with the Greek text as published and revised by Antonopoulou (with some further minor revisions) are appended to this article.⁸ Unfortunately, the treatise remains unpublished in its entirety, but I hope that it will be the subject of an extensive study in the near future.

The treatise found a place in the manuscript tradition thanks to its instructional character. Its main role was to provide model letters to serve different purposes; there are letters for advising, arguing, complaining, expressing gratitude, and so on.⁹ Both the Prodromos and Metochion manuscripts have an “educational” character appropriate for containing such a treatise. The Prodromos manuscript

occupation of the recipient and subsequently, but again not without exceptions, of the type of letter. Ed. A. Fagherazzi, *Modeli epistolary di Atanasio Chatzizikis*, Studi Bizantini e Neogreci – *Quaderni* 19 (Padova, 1981).

⁴ Olim Prodromou Serron 333, XIV s. See L. Politis, *Katálogos χειρογράφων τῆς ἐθνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος: ἀρ. 1857–2500* (Athens, 1991), 427–33. On the sixteenth-century binding see Konstantinos Choulis, “Further Notes on the Bindings and Rebindings of the Manuscripts from the Monastery of St. John Prodromos at Serres (Northern Greece). A preliminary study,” in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008); *Bibliologia* 3, ed. Bravo García (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 387.

⁵ *Metochion Panagion Taphou* 824, XVI s., ff. 97–118^v (now in the National Library of Greece, Athens). A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1915), 300. A. Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Τὰ μαθηματάρια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Σχολείων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατία* (Athens: Vivliopoleion tis Estias, 1994), no. 918, p. 834–35.

⁶ Th. Antonopoulou, “An Epistolary Attributed to Leo the Wise,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 47 (1997): 73–79.

⁷ Th. Antonopoulou, “Ἐνα νέο χειρόγραφο του επιστολαρίου του ψευδο-Λέοντος του Σοφοῦ: EBE 2429,” *Ἑλληνικά* 49 (1999): 149.

⁸ I have been able to consult the Prodromos manuscript, but the Metochion manuscript was inaccessible in April 2014 due to preparations for the transfer of the National Library of Greece to a new building. The edition also includes very few emendations.

⁹ See list on p. 191–192.

is a compilation of what the copyist found interesting. The scribe, instead of copying works in their entirety, made selections from extensive instructional works or florilegia of patristic and ancient sayings.¹⁰ The Metochion manuscript is one of the more than one thousand school books, *mathemataria*, written after 1453 and intended to be used in Greek schools around the Balkans and in the Ottoman Empire. Writing letters for every occasion was indeed part of the education for those planning on filling administrative or secretarial positions in local communities.¹¹

The scribe of the Prodromos manuscript assigns the epistolary to “Leo the Wise,” while the Metochion manuscript attributes it to “Emperor Leo.”¹² Although middle Byzantine sources refer to letters attributed to Leo VI (866–912),¹³ such an attribution is rather unlikely. Modern scholarship has justly argued that Leo the Philosopher or the Mathematician, the iconoclast archbishop of Thessaloniki, was confused with the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI because of the latter’s fame as a wise emperor with an erudite education.¹⁴ Moreover, a number of widely circulated oracles has also been falsely attributed to “Leo the Wise” and

¹⁰ For a description of manuscript see Politis, *Katálogo*, 427–33.

¹¹ Skarveli–Nikolopoulou, *Μαθηματάρια*, 79–87.

¹² A table of contents compiled by the manuscript’s scribe is included in the Prodromos manuscript. The work is labeled *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες. Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ*. At f. 196, where the beginning of the work is, it appears as simply *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες*. Theodora Antonopoulou (“An epistolary,” 73) reports that in the Metochion manuscript the introduction is entitled *Ἐπιστολαὶ κῆρι Λέοντος βασιλέως διάφοροι πρόλογος τῶν ἐπιστολιμαίων χαρακτῆρων* and then the treatise *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες*.

¹³ Namely, of Skylitzes’ interpolators and Michael Psellos. Skylitzes’ interpolator states: “καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα πονήματα πάσης παιδείσεως περίπλεα φέρονται, πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον χαρακτῆρα ἀποτετορευμένα,” ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1973), 192, 32–33 = “Letters and other works of his are still extant, very learned and written in the old style,” trans. J. Wortley, *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057* (Cambridge, 2010), 186. See also A. Markopoulos, “Ἀποσημειώσεις στὸν Λέοντα ΣΤ’ τὸν Σοφό,” in *ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, ed. L. Bratzoti, vol. 1, (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1994), 193. Homily 36 also appears to be a letter: *Λέοντος ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνῶν βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς καθολικὸν τύπον τὴν παραινέσαν ἀναφέρουσα*, ed. Th. Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis imperatoris Byzantini* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 459–69. Michael Psellos, *Brief History*, §100, 17–19, ed. W. J. Aerts, *Michael Psellos Historia Syntomos* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1990), 90. On letters attributed to Leo ‘the Wise’ see also Antonopoulou, “An Epistolary,” 76 and eadem, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 21.

¹⁴ See Antonopoulou, *The Homilies*, 22–23, where also all the relevant bibliography can be found.

Leo's prophetic skills were common knowledge up to 1200.¹⁵ Thus, the scribe of the Prodomos manuscript could have ascribed or copied the attribution to Leo the Wise to indicate that this is something worth reading. The scribe of the Metochion manuscript could simply have confused the two authors, as was common for the two Leos.

The date of the treatise is a foggy subject. A *terminus ante quem* is the fourteenth century, which is the date of the earliest textual witness, the Prodomos manuscript. Writing such a text was unusual for Byzantine literary production. To my knowledge, except for the late antique epistolographic treatises attributed to Libanius and Proclus (see below), no other major theoretical work dedicated to letter writing exists other than this treatise. However, a cluster of theoretical treatises that aimed to help students with the development of their rhetorical skills appeared. For example, Joseph Rhakendytes (†1330) adopted Pseudo-Gregorios of Corinth's thirteenth-century treatise on rhetoric.¹⁶ Although Pseudo-Gregorios only dedicates one paragraph to letter writing, he advises the reader to look for examples in collections of letters of late antique and Byzantine authors to find examples of good writing. One of the authors Pseudo-Gregorios judges as worthy of imitation was the eleventh-century author John Mauropous. Mauropous' collection of letters which, indeed follows Pseudo-Leo's treatise in the Prodomos manuscript a fact that highlights further the didactic character of this anonymous treatise.¹⁷ Another late thirteenth-century example that parallels Pseudo-Leo's treatise are the model letters composed and arranged in a collection by Athanasios Chatzikes.¹⁸ Chatzikes refers to types of letters and as criteria for the letters's arrangement he prioritises the addressee's acquaintance with the recipient and the occupation of the latter. Furthermore, Stratis Papaioannou has highlighted the particular interest in copying rhetorical letters in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁹

¹⁵ See W. G. Brokaar et al., *The Oracles of the Most Wise Leo and the Tale of the True Emperor (MS. Amstelodamensis Graecus VI E 8)*, (Amsterdam, 2002).

¹⁶ W. Hörandner, "Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios: Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede," *Medioevo Greco* 12 (2012): 106, l. 120–3. Cf. Joseph Rhakendytes, *Synopsis of the Rhetorical Art*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1834), 558–59, §14.

¹⁷ Ff. 211–278. Politis, *Κατάλογος*, 432. A. Karpozilos, *The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita* (Thessaloniki: Association for Byzantine Research, 1990), 32.

¹⁸ A. Fagherazzi, ed., *Modelli epistolari di Atanasio Chatzīkēs*, Università di Padova, Studi Bizantini e Neogreci, *Quaderni* 19 (1981).

¹⁹ On this subject see the outstanding discussion by Stratis Papaioannou, "Fragile Literature: Byzantine Letter Collections and the Case of Michael Psellos," in *La face cachée de la littérature Byzantine: Le texte en tant que message immédiat*, ed. P. Odorico, (Paris: Centre

That said, references to epistolary types also exist in the eleventh- and twelfth-century rhetorical production. For example, Michael Psellos, in his encomium for John Mauropous, states that his teacher was aware of different letter types²⁰ and treatises on rhetoric were produced throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The acute autobiographical references in the introductory letter could place this treatise’s composition at virtually any point after the eleventh century. Indicative of the evident autobiographical character of the introduction is the fact that the author is not afraid to express his complaints to God or to praise himself. No reference to his modesty can actually convince the reader that the author is indeed modest; it does not sound very modest to complain to God that He did not grant him as much rhetorical talent as he wished,²¹ but even so still he has enough! In other words, the general scholarly interest in epistolary types and the autobiographical elements make the treatise datable at any point between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. Therefore, only its complete publication might help in drawing conclusions on its dating.

Even though this anonymous author speaks about himself, little can really be said about his identity. The reference to his *ἀξία* (l. 15) suggests a dignity. Since he states that his gift (*χάρισμα*) of rhetorical ability (*λόγος*) is connected to his *ἀξία* and it is not as great as he wishes, one could suggest that he had an official position that depended on education. He also claims that he used to be well-off, but, for an unspecified reason, lost everything except his rhetorical skill. Unfortunately, since the question of his position is connected to that of the treatise’s dating, only speculations can be made regarding his status at this point of research.

d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2012), 289–328.

²⁰ “...τούς τε ἐπιστολμαίους χαρακτῆρας ἐγνώκει ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς...,” *Orationes Panegyricae* 17, l. 257–58, ed. G. T. Dennis, *Michael Psellus Orationes Panegyricae* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994), 152. One can find indirect references to types of letter by looking at titles of letters in collections, e.g., Letter no. 4 of Eftymios Malakes (ed. K.G. Bonis, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη μητροπολίτου Νεῶν Πατρῶν (Υπάτης) [δευτέρου ἡμῶν ἰβ' ἔκατ.] τὰ σωζόμενα*, Θεολογικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 2 [Athens, 1937]) is titled “δεητικὴ, οἴκτου δεόμενος.”

²¹ A complaint that can also be understood in the framework of Byzantine *parrhesia*, the habit of freely expressing one’s complaints to God, a topos since late antiquity. See N. Livanos, “Justice, Equality and Dirt in the Poems of Christopher of Mitylene,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007): 56–57; G. J. M. Bartelink, “Quelques observations sur ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ dans la littérature paléochrétienne,” in *Graecitas et latinitas Christianorum primaeva. Supplementa* 3 (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Veegt, 1970), 5–57; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 260–73.

At any rate, the author was surely well educated as his text relies on Pseudo-Libanius' treatise on the same subject (*Epistolary Style*, Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες).²² He was further aware of previous discussions of epistolary theory; for example, he describes the epistolographer as an archer who should skillfully pull his bow so that the arrow will not fall short or overshoot the target. This was a metaphor familiar to the theoreticians of letter writing²³ that soon became a popular proverb. His erudition is further evinced by his familiarity with Aristotelian philosophy²⁴ and his use of Euripidean quotations.²⁵

The treatise addresses an imaginary recipient (κύριε δεῖνα).²⁶ This imaginary correspondent offers a parallel to the popular *progymnasmata*, elaborate rhetorical exercises often used as an instructional tool in Byzantine schools. Indeed, letters were constructed rhetorically as their purpose was not to transfer news – this

²² Pseudo-Libanius' treatise dates from some time between the fourth and sixth centuries and it is transmitted under two different ascriptions, Libanius and Proclus; both ascriptions are unlikely but traditionally scholarship refers to it as Pseudo-Libanius. Antonopoulou, "An Epistolary," 74 and 77, n. 11. A new critical edition of Pseudo-Libanius' treatise, which will take notice of all the available manuscripts is most needed. The text was published by R. Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci* (Paris, 1873), 6–13 under the name of Proclus. Under the name of Libanius it was published by V. Weichert, *Demetrii et Libanii*, 13–66 and R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 27–47 with a discussion of the manuscript tradition on p. 1–26. See also Poster, "A Conversation Halved: Epistolary Theory in Greco-Roman Antiquity," in: *Letter Writing Manuals and Instructions from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. C. Poster and L. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 27–32. The second most influential theoretical treatise on letter writing was that by Pseudo-Demetrius, *Epistolary Types* (Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί). However, it is mostly concerned with the theory related to each type of letter and divides letters into twenty-one types compared to the thirty-two/thirty-three of the author here. Text: ed. V. Weichert, *Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur τῶποι ἐπιστολικοί et ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910), 1–12. For an English translation with facing Greek text see the most useful A. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1988), 30–41. See also C. Poster, "A Conversation Halved," 24–27. See the comparison of the two handbooks in S. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986).

²³ Libanius, *Epistolary Styles*, §49, ed. Foerster, 34. See also Gregory of Nazianzus, Letter no. 51, 1, ed. P. Gallay, *Gregor von Nazianz: Briefe* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), 47.

²⁴ See the distinction between δόναμις and ἐνέργεια. *Analytica posteriora* 86a and *Metaphysica* 1045b.

²⁵ A quotation that could have come from a *gnomologion*, as Antonopoulou has suggested.

²⁶ Addressing a specific person is perhaps an allusion to the treatise of Pseudo-Libanius, where a certain "Heracleides" is addressed.

was the role of the messenger²⁷ – but to keep “friends” together, to enforce the connections of individuals from the same social network.²⁸

From the very beginning, Pseudo-Leo gives practical advice to his reader, even inviting him to read the treatise repeatedly. He establishes the usefulness of his work by saying that it is necessary for the author of a letter to know the epistolary style in which he wishes to write; the style of the letter will determine its length and also its stylistic register; thus, the sender will avoid making his letter too long and complicated or too short and simple. What Pseudo-Leo recommends in this third paragraph of the introductory letter corresponds again to Pseudo-Libanius’ recommendations for good writing.²⁹ The main difference between the two passages is that Pseudo-Leo counts on both the register and the length of the letter to depend on the subject, while Pseudo-Libanius, at the very beginning of the paragraph, proposes “precision”, “excellence of style” and the use of the “Attic style with moderation...” (§46). The anonymous author does not mention using an atticising style, as trends had changed; furthermore, the triptych of conciseness (*συντομία*) – clarity (*σαφήνεια*) – elegance (*χάρις*), prominent among ancient theoreticians of letter writing, is absent altogether. It is hard to believe that Pseudo-Leo, although he was at least aware of the treatise of Pseudo-Libanius (as the cross-references indicate), did not notice the advice to use these three important elements of letter writing.³⁰ It is unclear to me why he decided not to include them; perhaps the three terms as defined in Late Antiquity no longer served the aim of a letter at the author’s time. Instead, Pseudo-Leo retains the caution of “not to expand beyond measure” (*ληρεῖν ἀμέτρος*) that was put forward by Pseudo-Libanius, but he adds “wherever it is not necessary” (*ἐνθα μὴ δεόν*). To paraphrase, the “measure” moderation (*μέτρον*) is ruled by the occasion, and so a good letter is indeed the product of occasional literature.

²⁷ Although exceptions existed, especially when the messenger was unable to speak (proper) Greek, see John Apokaukos, Letter no. 5: “ἄγλωσσος ὁ γραμματοφόρος, κράτιστε Κομνηνέ, καὶ οὐκ ἄγλωσσος τὴν ἑλληνίδα λεκτικὴν καὶ τὸ ὄργανον· γλώσσαν δὲ καλοῦμεν καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ... χρῶμαι γοῦν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὁποῖα καὶ ταῖς περισσεραῖς οἱ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον,” ed. N. A. Bees, “Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropolitens von Naupaktos (in Aetolien),” *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1971-1974) : no. 21.

²⁸ See Papaioannou, “Letter Writing,” 189–93 and Mullett, “Classical Tradition,” 79–82.

²⁹ *Epistolary Styles*, §§45–50.

³⁰ Pseudo-Libanius does not use the word *χάρις* (elegance), but he elaborates its meaning (§46).

Another difference between the two treatises is that although Pseudo-Libanius provides lengthy instructions on modes of salutation,³¹ Pseudo-Leo does not even consider the subject. Carol Poster has suggested for Pseudo-Libanius that perhaps these instructions would have made the treatise useful to non-native speakers.³² The lack of similar instructions in the text here can be read as a sign of the expected literacy of the intended audience: well-educated individuals who had an idea of how to write letters. Most importantly, the ancient forms of greetings had been lost in middle-Byzantine letters and more elaborate ranks were used to address the recipient.

A letter was considered a gift, and as such should please the recipient and also be a sign of the author's erudition.³³ Therefore, it had to meet the cultural demands of the epistolographer's era and any changes in the attitude towards letter writing can be better understood by taking the letter's function as a gift into consideration.

The key definition of a letter in the treatise here remains the same as in Pseudo-Libanius. A letter is:

ἐπιστολὴ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμιλία ἐγγράμματος ἀπόντος πρὸς ἀπόντα γινομένη καὶ
χρειώδη σκοπὸν ἐκπληροῦσα, καὶ δεόν ἐν αὐτῇ γράφειν ἃ καὶ παρόντες
λέγειν ἐμέλλομεν.

A letter, then, is a kind of a written conversation with someone from whom one is separated, and it fulfills a definite need. So it is appropriate to write in it whatever we would say if we were in the company of each other.³⁴

Such a definition underlines indeed the function of a letter as a means of communication which could transport different messages and not be restricted to the words used.³⁵ Contrary to our modern perception of plagiarism, the anonymous teacher invites his reader to use any of provided in this treatise model letters if the occasion is suitable.³⁶ Otherwise, the letter writer should borrow

³¹ See Pseudo-Libanius §51, Foerster, 35–36; Poster, “A Conversation Halved,” 31.

³² Poster, “A Conversation Halved,” 32.

³³ Cf. Papaioannou, *Psellos*, 251.

³⁴ Translation Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, p. 67 (§2) (amended).

³⁵ See Papaioannou, “Letter writing,” 189 and 191.

³⁶ Thus, it does not come as a surprise to find a letter by Synesius of Cyrene (one of the exemplary epistolographers) in the personal collection of letters of, e.g., Eftymios Malakes. See Konstantinos G. Bonis, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη*, letter 2=Synesius, *Letters*, R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris: Didot, 1873), letter 149). The case of Michael Psellos,

the introduction (*prooimion*) from the model letter³⁷ as well as the words of praise. To give a small taste of the treatise, the following text is a model letter of recommendation:³⁸

f. 198^v. Συστατική

Τὸν παρόντα τιμιώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ εὐλεβέστατον ἐμοὶ μὲν ὁ χρόνος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ πείρα παρέστησαν ἀληθῶς, ὑποδείξαντα καλοκάγαθιας πνεῦμα ἀνάμεστον καὶ ὑπολήψεως ὀρθῆς ἐπὶ πάντα ἐχόμενον, σοὶ δὲ τυχὸν ἀγνωσούμενον ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ ποίοις ἤθεσιν ἀξιεπαίνοις ἐντεθραμμένους ἐστὶ καὶ τίνας μετέχει χαρίσματος (ἐπεὶπερ οὖν σοι πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα)· δέον ἔκριναι τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐρχόμενον μεγαλοδοξότητα τῷ παρόντι ἡμετέρῳ γράμματι ἐφοδιάσαι, συνιῶν αὐτόν σοι διὰ τούτων χρηστὸν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς τρόποις καὶ περισπούδαστον, ἐπὶ φρονήσει τε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀμιλλώμενον, καθὰ σὺ τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἀναγνωρίσεις· ἔστι μὲν περὶ τὸ λέγειν δεξιὸς καὶ τοῦ λογιωτάτου Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν παραπνέων ἡδύτητα.

Δέξασθαι τοῖνυν αὐτόν καὶ ξενίσει μὴ καθοκνήσειας· εὐφρανεῖς γὰρ οὕτω [f. 199] καὶ μὲ τὸν ἐμοὶ ποθητὸν ἀποδεξάμενος. σεαυτῷ δὲ πρόποντα πρᾶττων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους φιλεῖσθαι συνήθως ποθεῖς, ἐπιπλεῖστον τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς³⁹ φήμης ἀύξεισας.

A letter of recommendation:

Through time and experience I have truly come to know this most honorable and pious man who displays a mind full of gentleness and has sound judgment in everything. However, you may perhaps, and understandably, not be familiar with him, both what the praiseworthy values are with which he has been raised and what his charm is (since he has many and different virtues profitable to you). I considered it necessary to provide him with this letter for his visit to your Excellency, because I know that he will be most useful to you and much admired [by you] due to his manners as well as for his prudence toward his many competitors, as you will reckon during discussions, for he is skillful in speaking and he breathes the sweetness of the most learned

a later model epistolographer, is also interesting and discussed in Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 254–66, esp. 265.

³⁷ On the Prooimia of Byzantine letters see Hunger, *Prof. Lit.*, 218f.

³⁸ The following edition is based solely on the manuscript from the Prodromos monastery. See note 8.

³⁹ ἀγαθῆς P.

Hermes [the god of epistolographers] and of the Muses [the deities of the liberal arts].

So with no delay receive and host him; for by receiving my most beloved one you will delight me as well. And doing what is right for you – since you usually want to show affection to worthy men – you will increase the feelings of gratitude and your good fame even more.

Pseudo-Libanius though suggests a quite different model letter to be used on the same occasion:

Συστατικὴ

Τὸν τιμιώτατον καὶ περισπούδαστον ἄνδρα τόνδε δεξάμενος ξενίσει μὴ κατοκνήσης σεαυτῷ πρόποντα πράττων ἡμοῖ κεχαρισμένα.⁴⁰

A Letter of Recommendation

Receive this highly honored and much sought-after man, and do not hesitate to treat him hospitably, thus doing what behooves you and what pleases me.⁴¹

The basic aim of both letters is to convince the addressee to accept as a guest the person being recommended. For Pseudo-Libanius, two lines are enough. However, Pseudo-Leo first emphasizes his acquaintance with the person he recommends. Subsequently, he highlights that the man has good ethics, and most importantly, is skillful in rhetoric. This last virtue will offer pleasure to his host. Finally, Pseudo-Leo invites his addressee to receive the man due to their friendship and also because the recipient will secure a good reputation for himself.

The suite of interests that should be included in a text was relevant to the cultural expectations of the author's time. The emphasis on the rhetorical skill of the recommended person is particularly interesting and cannot be attributed solely to the author's profession (if he was a teacher). I take it more as an example of the preoccupations of the author's time with rhetoric. In later Byzantium, rhetoric and education had become a means of social promotion.⁴² Rhetorical *theatra* were an indispensable part of everyday life of the Constantinopolitan society (even in exile). In the *theatra*, rhetorical works were performed, discussed, and judged.⁴³

⁴⁰ Pseudo-Libanius, §55, Foerster 36, 15–17.

⁴¹ Translation based on: Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 75.

⁴² See Floris Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025–1081* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴³ See Emmanuel Bourbouhakis, “Rhetoric and Performance,” in *The Byzantine world*, ed. Paul Stephenson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 175–87. On rhetorical *theatra* see the volume by Michael Grünbart, ed., *Theatron: Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*

In this light, the treatise by Pseudo-Leo aimed to help the future letter writer to be accepted by a “textual community” – a group of people united by a common understanding of textual material⁴⁴ – that also held administrative power.

When thinking about letters, one would soon realise that their theoretical definition is particularly connected to their practical use. Even if, in later Byzantium, letter’s definition as a rhetorical product had not ultimately changed, special attention was given to the occasion for which a letter was composed. In contrast to late antique treatises, the occasion dictated the style (*τύπος*), the register (*ῥφος*), and the length of the letter. The occasional character of the letter gave way to the author’s creativity and granted him the freedom to express “icons of the soul” in a manner that corresponded to his time.⁴⁵

Appendix⁴⁶

*Πρόλογος τῶν ἐπιστολιμαίων χαρακτήρων*⁴⁷ | *Prologue of the Epistolary Types*

Ἐμοὶ μὲν ᾧ προσφιλέστατε ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς καρδίας ἡγαπημένε ⁴⁸	My truly dearest friend, whom I love with all my heart, Mr. X, my aim has
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(Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2007), and especially the overview by Przemyslaw Marciniak, “Byzantine Theatron – A Place of Performance?” 277–85 in the same volume.

⁴⁴ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

⁴⁵ Pseudo-Demetrius, *Περί ἐρμηνείας*. See also A. R. Littlewood, “An ‘Icon of the Soul’, the Byzantine Letter,” *Visible language* 10 (1976): 197–226.

⁴⁶ The Greek text is quoted for the reader’s convenience. The offered text is based on (but does not faithfully reprint) the edition by Theodora Antonopoulou (“An epistolary”, 77–79) and it silently incorporates the emendations that she published in a later article (“Ἐνα νέο χειρόγραφο”, 147–48). Further readings from the Prodrornos manuscript and some minor emendations are discussed in the footnotes. The punctuation of the text is not identical to that offered in Antonopoulou’s edition. As mentioned in footnote 8 I have not been able to consult the Metochion manuscript myself.

Sigla:

P = EBE 2429 olim Moni Prodromou Serron 333 (177) (XIV s.), ff. 196–197^v.

P* = EBE 2429 olim Moni Prodromou Serron 333 (177) (XIV s.), f. 6^v.

M = *Metochion Panagion Taphou* 824 (XVI s.), ff. 97–99^v (as reported by Th. Antonopoulou, “An epistolary”, 77–79, where however the frequent errors due to confusion of sounds, omission of the ν movable, and the mistakes at the accentuation are not included).

Anton = Th. Antonopoulou, “An epistolary”, 77–79.

Anton² = Th. Antonopoulou, “Ἐνα νέο χειρόγραφο”, 148.

⁴⁷ Titl. πρόλογος τῶν ἐπιστολιμαίων χαρακτήρων P ἐπιστολαὶ κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ διάφοροι, μ’ P* ἐπιστολαὶ κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διάφοροι MAnton.

⁴⁸ ἡγαπημένε P.

κύριε δεῖνα σκοπός⁴⁹ ἔστιν αἰεὶ τὸ παντὶ τρόπῳ θεραπεύειν τοὺς φίλους καὶ μάλιστα τούτων τοὺς δεδοικμασμένους ἐν περιστάσεσιν ὅποιος εἶ σύ, μὴ λόγοις καὶ μόνοις, αὐτοῖς δὲ περισσοτέρως τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑποδείξας ἀκριβέστατα διασώζειν⁵⁰ τῆς καθαρᾶς φιλίας τὰ σύσσημα. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ οὕτως ἐπαινετῶς ἔχοντα· τολμήσω γὰρ τι μεγαλαυχῆσαι μικρόν. εἰ δὲ καὶ δύναμις ἐνῆν τῇ καλῇ προθέσει κατάλληλος, μακάριος ἂν ἦμην ἐγὼ καὶ θαυμαστός τοῖς ἔμφροσιν ὡς εἰδῶς φιλίαν κατ' ἄμφω τιμᾶν καὶ τῷ μέλειν⁵¹ περιδεξιῶς παραζευγνύς⁵¹, τοῦτο καὶ ποιεῖν ὡς ἡ βούλησις.

ἐπεὶ δὲ μοι διὰ τὸ⁵² ἀνάξιον καὶ τῶν ἀγνοημάτων τὸ μέγεθος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν δι' ὧν θεραπεύονται φίλοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ ἐν χρήμασιν θεωρούμενα, δικαίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίμασιν ἀφῆρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φίλων κινδυνεύω στερεῖσθαι πολλῶν (τῶν γὰρ πενομένων σπανιάνικις εὐρίσκεισθαι τοὺς φίλους, φησὶ τις⁵³ σοφός⁵⁴), μόνον δὲ παρὰ τῆς θείας προνοίας ἐναπελείφθη [196^v] μοι λόγου χάρισμα πολλοστόν, οὐχ ὅσον ἄρα καὶ βούλομαι, τῇ ἀξίᾳ δὲ πάντως σύμμετρον, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς χρῆζοντας τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων μοι φίλων ἔμαθον

always been to serve my friends in every way (and especially those who have been tested in difficult situations as you are), and not in words alone, but more so in deeds, demonstrating precisely that I preserve the signs of true friendship. Such are my intentions, and so praiseworthy; for I will dare to boast a little. If my [rhetorical] forcefulness was as good as my intentions, I would be truly blessed and worth the admiration of the wise as someone who knows both how to honor friendship and, skillfully combining it with ..., to act upon it as I wish.

Now that most of the things that are agreeable to friends, and especially things of a material nature, have been taken away from me through the just judgment of God because of my unworthiness and my great ignorance, I am also in danger of being deprived of many friends (for, as a wise man says, a poor man rarely finds friends). Only a tiny fraction of my talents at rhetoric has been left to me by divine providence – not as much as I would wish, but certainly in proportion to my worth; it is with these [meager talents]

⁴⁹ ὅδε σκοπός MAnton omP.

⁵⁰ διὰ σώζειν P.

⁵¹ παρὰ ζευγνείς τ<οῦ>τω καὶ P παραζευγνείς. τῷ. M corrAnton.

⁵² διατὸ P.

⁵³ φησὶ τις P.

⁵⁴ Cf. Eur. El. 1131.

ἀνταμείβεσθαι, τούτου κάλλιον⁵⁵, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχων οὐδέν. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σὲ κατὰ δύναμιν δεξιώσασθαι πειραθείην τὸν ἐμοὶ γνησίως φιλούμενον, ἐπωφελῆ τινα προσδιαλεξάμενος – εἰ καὶ τέως πιστευθεῖεν ἔχειν ὠφελείας τινὸς τὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νοδὸς ἀτελῆ τε καὶ ἄμορφα καὶ οἷον ἐξημβλωμένα κυήματα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσω μὴ μόνον λόγοις προσφορικοῖς ἀρκεσθεῖς, ὧν ἄνθρωποι πάντες μετέχουσιν ἐπίσης τῇ δυνάμει λεγόμενοι λογικοί, καὶ καὶ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ἀλλήλων κατὰ πολὺ διαφέρωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν χάρταις καὶ μέλανι προσφορωτάτοις χρησάμενος, ὡς ἂν τῇ συνεχεῖ ἀναγνώσει πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἔνδον τῆς διανοίας ὑπάρχειεν συντηρούμενα καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν, εἰ βούλει, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὡς ἄρτι γραφέντα σοὶ δείκνυται.

πολλῶν τοιγαροῦν ὑπαρχόντων ὅσα τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ λογεμπόροις⁵⁶ ἐς δύναμιν λόγου καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι χρησιμεύουσιν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τοὺς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς τῇ συνθεῖα πιττάκιον προσαγορεύειν εἰώθαμεν, καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐπιστέλλειν, ἀρμόζειν τὴν τοῦ λόγου πλοκὴν πρὸς τὰς ὑποθέσεις συμβαλλομένην, καὶ μήτε μακροτέρας ταύτας ποιεῖν καὶ ληρεῖν ἀμέτρως ἔνθα μὴ δεόν, μῆτ’ αὖ συστέλλειν καὶ

that I learnt to reward my remaining friends who ask for help, because I have nothing better to offer as I have already indicated. Nonetheless, my truly beloved friend, I will try to honor you to the best of my abilities, offering useful instruction – inasmuch, of course, as the imperfect and shapeless and almost miscarried products of my mind can be credited with any usefulness. I shall do this not only in direct speech (the spoken word is common to all men, who allegedly share the potential of rational thought, though in actuality they may differ greatly), but also by using the most useful means of paper and ink, so that, by reading and re-reading, you may preserve (my words) in your mind for a very long time and, if you wish so, may see them before your eyes every day as if they were newly composed.

So, of the many subjects that are useful to the friends of learning and traffickers of words in order to strengthen their rhetorical skills and be admired, that of the types of epistles (which we in ordinary parlance call *letters*) is not the least: it is important to accurately know these “types” and write letters according to the rules of the art. [It is important] to adjust literary compositions to the subjects at hand and make the letters neither too long by unduly expanding

⁵⁵ τοῦτου P κάλιον P.

⁵⁶ Cf. λυσιτέλημα τῶν λογεμπόρων Georg. Akropol. *Prefatio Epist. Theod. Lascar.* vv. 16 – 18, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1903, p. 8.

ταπεινοῦν [197] ἔνθα δέον μακρογορεῖν ὀφείλει γὰρ ὁ γράφων τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς μιμεῖσθαι τοξότας, οἵτινες τὸ βέλος πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀπευθύνειν σπουδάζουσι, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ μῆκος ἀναντινάσσειν, καὶ <μήτε> ναρκώσας χεῖρας ἀπορρίπτειν ἐνδότερον⁵⁷, ὡς ἂν μὴ γέλωτα τοῖς παρεστῶσι πλατὺν⁵⁸ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ὀφλήσωσιν· εὐρήσεις γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐπιστολάς μὲν γράφοντας, τὸν δὲ χαρακτῆρα τούτων ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ ἀντ’ ἄλλων ἄλλα τιθέντας καὶ τὰ ἄμικτα κακοφρόνως μίγνυοντας.

ἔνθεν τοι καὶ χρησιμεύουσαν τῷ βίῳ τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν καὶ μάθησιν καλῶς ἐπιστάμενοι, ἠθέλησά σοι φιλοπονήσας ἐκθέσθαι τινὰς τύπους διαφόρους ἐπιστολῶν ὑποδιαίρησας ἐντέχνως τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐκάστη προσηγορίαν ἐπιτιθεῖς, ἀπ’ ἑαυτοῦ τέ σοι πλασάμενος πολλὰς ὑποθέσεις οὐκ ἄνευ σκοποῦ καὶ ταύτας ἐγκατασπειρας ὡς ἂν σοι προκρίσονται πρὸς παράδειγμα. πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῶν κομψοτέρων λέξεων ἀπεσχόμεν ἔθελοντὶ καὶ τῶν δριμυτέρων ἐννοιῶν, ἃς δὲ ταύτας πλασάμενος καθὼς ἔφην, οὐσας καὶ πρὸς συμφέρον, ὧν ἐνταυθοῖ παρηγμένους.

μέλλων ποτέ πρὸς τινα γραφήν, εἰ μὲν ἴσως εὐρήσεις ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐπιστολῶν οὕτως ἀπαραλλάκτως ἔχουσαν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, χρῶ ταύτη ἀνευδοιάστως

beyond measure, nor too short and too humble where elaboration is needed. For the author should imitate the accurate archers who zealously shoot their arrows to their targets and who neither brandish [the bow] at much length nor send [the arrow] short with numb hands, lest they become the butt of laughter rather than praise from those present. For there are many people who write letters without understanding their “type”, and who put together unrelated styles and imprudently mix the unmixable.

It is for this reason that I, knowing very well how useful knowledge of these things and instruction are, I wished to offer you an exposition of the various epistolary types according to the rules of the art, presenting the fitting label for each kind of letter, inventing many possible kinds of subject matters with good cause and introducing them so that they will serve as models for you. Besides, when I produced the (letters) that I introduce here as such for your benefit, I abstained from overly elegant words and difficult concepts on purpose.

When you are about to write a letter to someone at any point, and if you find that one of the following letters has exactly the same subject, use that [letter]

⁵⁷ Ps.-Liban. §49, Foerster 34.

⁵⁸ πλατὴν P.

καὶ καθ' ὄλον μετάγραφε ἀπροσκόπως· εἰ δὲ καὶ παρηλλαγμένως ἔχουσαν, ὅπερ καὶ πλειστάκις γενήσεται, λάμβανέ μοι τὸ καταρχὰς τοῦ λόγου [197^v] προοίμιον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπαινητήριους τυχόν⁵⁹ λόγους καὶ δεητήριους ἢ καὶ τὸ ὅπως οὖν φιλικῶς, εἴθ' οὕτως ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ κατακολλῶν⁶⁰ ἐπιστημονικῶς τὴν ἀρμοδίαν ὑπόθεσιν κατέρχου πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ τοῦτο συντάσσων καλῶς οὕτω τὸ ταύτης ὄλον ὕφος συμπέρανε. ἴσθι οὖν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁμιλία ἐγγράμματος ἀπόντος πρὸς ἀπόντα γινομένη καὶ χρειώδη σιοπὸν ἐκπληροῦσα, καὶ δεόν ἐν αὐτῇ γράφειν ἃ καὶ παρόντες λέγειν ἐμέλλομεν⁶¹. αἱ δὲ πᾶσαι προσηγορίαι καθ' ἃς ὁ ἐπιστολιμαῖος διαιρεῖται χαρακτῆρ εἰσὶν αὗται·

with no hesitation and feel free to copy the text in full. But even if the subject is different, which often will be the case, take from me the beginning of the letter, the *prooimion*, and then, adding your own words, say of praise or supplication or whatever relates to friendship, skillfully treat the subject up till the end of the letter, and composing this nicely, bring the letter to an end. You should know that the letter is a written conversation between people who are separated the one from the other, and that it fulfills a definite need which is to write what we would say in person if we were present. The categories into which the epistolary types are divided are the following:

Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι λόγοι [after P]

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------|
| i. | 197 ^v –198 | παραινετική |
| ii. | 198 | μεμπτική |
| iii. | 198 ^{f-v} | παρακλητική |
| iv. | 198 ^v | συστατική |
| v. | 198 ^v –199 | εὐχαριστική |
| vi. | 199 ^{f-v} | φιλική |
| vii. | 200 | εὐκτική |
| viii. | 200 ^{f-v} | ἀπειλητική |
| ix. | 200 ^v | ἀπαρνητική |
| x. | 200 ^v –201 | συμπαθητική |
| xi. | 201 ^{f-v} | θεραπευτική |
| xii. | 201 ^v –202 | παραγγελεσματική |
| xiii. | 202 | μεταμελητική |
| xiv. | 202 ^{f-v} | ὀνειδιστική |

Epistolary Styles

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------|
| i. | paraenetic |
| ii. | blaming |
| iii. | requesting |
| iv. | letter of recommendation |
| v. | thankful |
| vi. | friendly |
| vii. | praying |
| viii. | threatening |
| ix. | denying |
| x. | sympathetic |
| xi. | conciliatory |
| xii. | commanding |
| xiii. | repenting |
| xiv. | reproaching |

⁵⁹ τυχόν PAnton.

⁶⁰ κατὰ κολῶν P κατακολλῶν Anton².

⁶¹ Ps.-Liban. §2, Foerster 27.

xv.	202 ^v –203	παρολογοιστική	xv.	contemptuous
xvi.	203 ^{r-v}	ἀντεγκληματική	xvi.	counter-accusing
xvii.	203 ^v	παροξυντική	xvii.	provoking
xviii.	204 ^{r-v}	παραμυθητική	xviii.	consoling
xix.	204 ^v –205	ὕβριστική	xix.	insulting
xx.	205 ^v –206	σχετλιαστική	xx.	angry
xxi.	206 ^{r-v}	προσβευτική	xxi.	diplomatic
xxii.	206 ^v	ἐπαινετική	xxii.	praising
xxiii.	206 ^v –207	διδασκαλική	xxiii.	didactic
xxiv.	207 ^{r-v}	ἐλεγγτική	xxiv.	reproving
xxv.	207 ^v	διαβλητική	xxv.	maligning
xxvi.	207 ^v –208	ἐπιτιμητική	xxvi.	ensorious
xxvii.	208 ^{r-v}	ἐρωτηματική	xxvii.	inquiring
xxviii.	208 ^v –209	παραθαρρυντική	xxviii.	encouraging
xxix.	209	ἀναθετική	xxix.	consulting
xxx.	209 ^{r-v}	ἀποφαντική	xxx.	declaratory
xxxi.	209 ^v	στωπτική	xxxi.	mocking
xxxii.	209 ^v –210	ὕπομνηστική	xxxii.	submissive
xxxiii.	210	λυπητική	xxxiii.	a letter of grief
xxxiv.	210 ^{r-v}	συμβουλευτική	xxxiv.	advisory

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MONKS VS. THE STATE: THE STOUDITES AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE STATE AND ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITIES IN LATE EIGHTH- AND EARLY NINTH-CENTURY BYZANTIUM

Alexey Stambolov 

During the long history of the Byzantine Empire, religious groups, especially monks,¹ played an important role in society. For various reasons the monks were particularly influential in late eighth- and early ninth-century Byzantium, although their relations with the state and church authorities during this period were not always smooth and monks often opposed the official state and ecclesiastical policy.²

Two parties – the Moderates and Radicals or Zealots – were active on the ecclesiastical scene of Byzantium at that time.³ The head of the Moderates, after his election to the patriarchal throne in 784, was Patriarch Tarasios (ca. 730–806), and the leaders of the Radicals were Sabbas and Theoctistus of Symboloi, Plato of Sakkoudion (ca. 735–814), and his nephew and successor, Theodore, later the abbot of Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (759–826). The two parties expressed different opinions for the first time during the Seventh Ecumenical Council on the question of the *lapsi*, i.e., those who, during the first iconoclastic period (730–787), had yielded to iconoclasm. The Radicals, uncompromising, demanded that the backsliding bishops, at least the ringleaders, should lose their sees, while the Moderates adopted a conciliatory policy, which the Radicals finally

¹ The name “Stoudites” is used in the title more or less as an alternative to the term “the monks.” This is because of the distinguished role played by the Stoudites in late eighth- and early ninth-century Byzantium. Other monasteries outside Constantinople and those on Mount Olympus in Bithynia were definitely of minor significance for the political and religious scene of the empire during these years.

² This was one of the reasons that some scholars have used the term “theocracy” to describe the church-state relations in Byzantium. Arguments for and against the characterization of Byzantium as a theocratic state can be found, among others, in the classic book of Steven Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1977), and in the article of Anastasios Philippidis, “Was the Byzantine State a Theocracy?” online at: <http://www.impantokratoros.gr/byzantine-stathe-theocracy.en.aspx> (accessed on 15.4.2014).

³ About the division of the ecclesiastical forces at Constantinople into Moderates and Radicals see Pavlos Niavis, “The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I (802–811),” PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1984, 174f.

agreed to. Other issues on which the two parties were opposed were simoniacs⁴ and the second marriage of Constantine VI (r. 776–797).

The last issue, known as the Moechian controversy (from the Greek word *μοιχεία* – adultery) or Moechian Schism, was even more severe than the previous ones. It arose in 795, when the emperor decided to divorce his lawful wife, Maria of Amnia, to marry one of the empress's ladies-in-waiting (κουβικουλαρέα), Theodote, who had been his mistress for a number of years.⁵ Patriarch Tarasios initially opposed this decision, since a divorce without proof of adultery on the part of the wife was uncanonical, but ultimately acceded.⁶ The wedding ceremony was performed in September of the same year, although not by the patriarch, as would be usual, but by a certain priest, Joseph, steward of St. Sophia and abbot of the Kathara monastery. Maria was persuaded to enter a convent.⁷

Although Patriarch Tarasios himself was not directly involved in this issue and though the new empress, Theodote, was a cousin of Theodore, at the time the abbot of a private family monastery at Sakkoudion (or Saccudium) in Bithynia, a new conflict between the two parties arose. It had two stages – the first in the years 795 to 797, and the second from 806 to 811. During the first period, the Radicals, led by Plato and Theodore, considering the marriage between Constantine and Theodote illegal, abstained from communion not only with the emperor and his court, but also with Joseph and Patriarch Tarasios. They accused the emperor of having committed adultery, calling him the new Herod; then they directed their indignation against the abbot of Kathara for performing the wedding ceremony and also accused Patriarch Tarasios of having refused to forbid Maria taking the

⁴ This term included both those who had paid money in order to be ordained as priests or bishops and bishops who had received money to ordain priests.

⁵ Patrick Henry, "The Moechian Controversy and the Constantinopolitan Synod of January A.D. 809," *Journal for Theological Studies* 20, no. 2 (1969): 495.

⁶ Rumors were circulating that Constantine had threatened to restore iconoclasm unless the patriarch acceded to his demand for a second marriage. These rumors are recorded in three sources, the earliest of which seems to be Theodore of Stoudios, *Epistulae*, I, 36 (PG t. 99, col. 1032 D); then the anonymous *Narratio de sanctis patriarchis Tarasio et Nicephoro* (Patrologia Graeca (hereafter PG) 99, 1852 D), and the *Life of Theodore of Stoudios* (PG 99, 144 A). However, one might argue that if the emperor really made such a threat, Theophanes would not have omitted recording it in order to support Irene's attitude against her own son in August 797. See Niavis, "The Reign," 179.

⁷ Gary Wayne Alfred Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer to Christ: Theodore Stoudite's Defence of the Christ-icon against Ninth-Century Iconoclasm," MA thesis, Durham University, 2003, 19. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3158/>.

veil (clearly against her will) or the wedding (Maria was still alive, so the marriage was adulterous) or to excommunicate Constantine VI after the wedding.⁸

Initially, Constantine tried to reconcile with Plato and Theodore (who, on account of his marriage, were now his relatives). In the name of their kinship, Theodote sent Theodore some valuable presents and the emperor invited them to visit him during an extended vacation at the imperial baths of Prusa in Bithynia. But all this was in vain. The monks refused to accept Theodote's presents and ignored Constantine's arrival in their area.⁹ Such behavior on the part of the monks irritated the emperor enough to order the flogging of Theodore and the most courageous among them (February 797). Plato was imprisoned in Constantinople; Theodore, with ten other monks, was sent into exile in Thessalonica. Bishops and abbots along their way were forbidden to greet them. The other monks of Sakkoudion, numbering about one hundred, were dispersed.¹⁰

The monks arrived in Thessalonica in March 797, but did not remain long; in August of that same year, Irene, Constantine's mother, deposed and blinded her son, taking his place on the throne as sole ruler for a period of five years, i.e., until October 802. The balance of forces changed. The new empress took measures in favor of the Rigorists; she lifted the exile of Theodore and the other monks and released Plato from prison. All of them returned to Sakkoudion Monastery almost immediately. On his return to Constantinople, Theodore was welcomed as a hero. Patriarch Tarasios then hastened to depose the priest Joseph from his office and wrote a letter of apology to Plato; order was restored to the church.¹¹

Soon after that, at the end of 797 or in early 798,¹² Theodore with his brotherhood left Sakkoudion and settled at the ancient Stoudios Monastery inside Constantinople's walls. According to the sources, their move from Bithynia to

⁸ Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer," 19–20.

⁹ Such a refusal to welcome the emperor may sound unbelievable, but there is an explanation; according to Michael, Theodore's biographer, Theodore and the other monks no longer recognized Constantine as emperor. He had lost the imperial throne by committing adultery. See Niavis, "The Reign," 180.

¹⁰ Warren Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 107.

¹¹ Niavis, "The Reign," 181; Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 111; Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer," 20; Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527–1204* (London: Routledge, 2002), 89.

¹² The date of the removal cannot be fixed precisely, but, since it was connected with Arab incursions, it must be noted that Theophanes the Confessor records an Arab raid in the vicinity of Sakkoudion under the year A.M. 6291 (AD 798) (sic). Niavis, "The Reign," 199.

the capital was prompted by an Arab raid in Asia Minor and the gentle pressure of Patriarch Tarasios and Empress Irene.¹³ It seems that Theodore exercised influence on the empress until her fall in 802.

The Stoudios¹⁴ Monastery (now Imrahor Camii), was located in the former Psamathia region, near the Golden Gate, in the southwestern corner of Constantinople.¹⁵ Dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the main church (καθολικόν) of the monastery was erected by a certain Stoudios, a consul in Rome along with Aëtius, in the year 454.¹⁶ Its official name was the Monastery of the Forerunner (τοῦ Προδρομοῦ, i.e., John) τοῦ Στουδίου. According to Cyril Mango, it was founded before 454, most likely in 453 or, as recent archaeological evidence suggests, in 450.¹⁷

About a decade later, probably between 460 and 463, a group of “sleepless monks” (ἀκοιμητοί) was called by Stoudios to establish a monastic community attached to the church. The name “sleepless” does not mean that the members of the community took no rest, but that they were divided into choirs in such a fashion that the liturgical services never ceased in their monastic houses. It seems that the sleepless continued to staff Stoudios until the end of the eighth century and the names of some of their abbots appear in the acts of various synods. In the first three hundred years of its existence, the monastery did not play any important role in Byzantine ecclesiastical life.

During the Iconoclastic Controversy (726–843) it emerged as a bulwark for the iconophile cause. In 765, along with other chief iconophile monks, the sleepless of Stoudios were exiled for about ten years by Emperor Constantine V Copronymos (r. 741–775).¹⁸ At the Seventh Ecumenical Council in Nicaea (787), their abbot, Sabbas, played an important role as one of the leaders of the Radicals.

¹³ J. Leroy has questioned the traditional view that the threat from the Arabs forced them to move. Cf. Niavis, “The Reign,” 196f.; Alexander Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 3. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 2045. (Hereafter ODB).

¹⁴ One may also encounter alternative versions of the name, such as the monastery of Stoudios, Studios, Studium, and the Stoudite monastery.

¹⁵ John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, ed., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 67 (Hereafter BMFD.); ODB Vol. 3. 1960.

¹⁶ Alice Gardner, *Theodore of Studium: His Life and Times* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 67.

¹⁷ Brick stamps uncovered in recent excavations suggest that the building of the church began in 450. ODB Vol. 3. 1960; BMFD, 67. The year 463 can be found in earlier authors.

¹⁸ BMFD, 67; Gardner, *Theodore of Studium*, 69.

The legal and practical details of the transition from the direction of Sabbas to that of Theodore are not clear. Upon his arrival in 798 Theodore inherited about ten Stoudite monks. Miller¹⁹ maintains that monks from the sleepless still resided there, though there is no direct evidence for such a view. The fate of Sabbas after the installation of the new brotherhood from Sakkoudion remains unknown. There is a chance that he was still alive when Theodore became abbot (still in contact with Theodore as late as 797). Hatlie²⁰ maintains that they were relatives, so the transfer of power to the latter was not as unexpected as has normally been assumed based on the sources. Although there is no direct evidence, he infers that in 798 the Stoudios was a private, family monastery whose direction passed from Sabbas to Theodore just as the Sakkoudion had passed from Plato to Theodore four years before. The difference between it and other family monastic communities was that it obtained imperial support around the time of these transfers of power.²¹

In 802, Irene was dethroned and sent into exile and a new emperor, Nikephoros I (r. 802–811), was installed. In 806, Patriarch Tarasios died and Nikephoros took on the difficult task of finding a suitable successor. It was impossible to satisfy the emperor and the various clergy and civil servants. At that time, Theodore the Stoudite was already one of the most distinguished churchmen. He was not only the head of a large and thriving monastic community in Constantinople with four other major monasteries dependent upon it,²² but a

¹⁹ T. S. Miller, “*Theodori Studitae Testamentum*,” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents*, vol. 1, 68.

²⁰ Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 337.

²¹ Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries*, 338.

²² The number of the monks at the Stoudios monastery grew rapidly: seven hundred in 806 (according to Theophanes), almost a thousand in 815 (according to Michael, *Vita Theodore of Stoudios*). See Niavis, “The Reign,” 199. Surely it is an exaggerated figure, unless it includes monks in outlying lodgings (μετόχια) under the direct ownership of the Stoudios, cf. ODB, Vol. 3, 1960. “Exactly how many monks lived in the central house in Constantinople as compared to those of the countryside is difficult to ascertain. The number of 700–1000 resident monks reported in sources would initially seem to point to Constantinople alone, although there are also reasons to suppose that this figure is too high for a single monastic establishment. Archeological remains of the main church of the Stoudios proper indicate, for example, that liturgical services for the whole community of 700–1000 men would have been an uncomfortably cramped affair in such a space. Hence it seems likely that the Stoudios had up to several hundred resident monks in Constantinople and an unknown but still substantial fraction of their community living in one of the formally affiliated houses in Bithynia or in transit at one of the Stoudite

reformer of commanding authority who had introduced a rigorous regime of coenobitic asceticism, hard work, and Christian learning into Byzantine monastic life.²³ Theodore, however, had been accustomed to exercising influence on both the political and the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire. His zeal for maintaining strict standards had not been universally popular among the clergy and his unwillingness to compromise for political reasons, evident in the Moechian controversy, was not what Nikephoros wanted in a patriarch. Yet no other candidate was clearly preeminent.²⁴

The emperor appears to have asked for the opinion of the Stoudites, as seen from the preserved response of Theodore to his inquiry.²⁵ In his highly respectful letter of reply, the Stoudite's abbot professed himself unable to name a candidate who was truly suitable, but he urged Nikephoros to choose the wisest and worthiest man he could find among the bishops, abbots, stylites, and hermits, and certainly no one who was not ordained or tonsured. This letter is a good source for the relations between the emperor and the Stoudites as concerned the relations between the church and state. It throws light on the question of how far Theodore was an advocate of the church's full independence against the state.²⁶

Having no obvious candidate, Nikephoros declared that he would hold a free election for the patriarchate. He spent the early weeks of Lent consulting a number of priests, monks, and civil officials as electors, among them Theodore and Plato. It appears likely that during these consultations Plato put forward Theodore's name. Since the electors distributed their votes among a wide number of candidates, the emperor was free to select whomever he wished. Then, in spite of Theodore's counsel to choose a cleric, the emperor chose a layman, a relatively obscure former civil servant, also named Nikephoros.²⁷

As might be expected, the Stoudite brotherhood expressed their dissatisfaction with the election of a layman to the patriarchate. This reaction should be explained in the light of Theodore's letter to the emperor (noted above) and his zeal for an independent ecclesiastical policy, not for personal reasons (rivalry, for instance). In Theodore's eyes only a clergyman who had spent many

metochia. Whatever the exact distribution of monks within the community, the total number of monks was impressive and the organization in which they lived and worked highly innovative" (Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries*, 324–325).

²³ Cf. Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer," 21–23.

²⁴ Warren Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 141.

²⁵ It is his *Epistula* I, 16. PG t. 99, col. 960A–961A.

²⁶ Niavis, "The Reign," 200.

²⁷ Niavis, "The Reign," 199 ff. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 141.

years in the service of the church, and certainly not a layman, even less an imperial bureaucrat, would be capable of caring for the interests of the church with sufficient courage against the state authorities. Theodore's uncle Plato tried to make the emperor reconsider. In a nocturnal visit to Symeon the Monk, a relative of the emperor, Plato seems to have warned that he and Theodore might feel compelled to organize a schism if a layman were selected. Nikephoros took this warning seriously enough to sequester both Plato and Theodore under arrest until the new patriarch could be safely ordained and enthroned.²⁸

With the election of the "moderate" layman, Nikephoros, the influence of the Stoudites was ignored. This does not mean that they were ready to abandon their hard line and moderate their policy. It would seem, however, that they adopted a conciliatory line towards the new patriarch. Theodore's letters reveal that the Stoudites accepted this appointment. They mentioned the name of Nikephoros as well as that of the emperor in religious services. Such an attitude was dictated not so much by the need for compromise as the belief that a person ordained to the highest level of the priesthood already had God's grace bestowed upon him.²⁹

At the same time, Theodore's brother, Joseph, was chosen to be archbishop of Thessalonica, the second largest city in the empire. Probably in the same year, Theodore was invited to take part in the election of the abbot of the Dalmatou monastery. Theodore attended the election and voted for the winning candidate, Hilarion, and Joseph accepted the archbishopric.³⁰

These two issues, both of which seem to have been of a purely ecclesiastical nature, can certainly be seen as a gesture of goodwill and an effort for reconciliation on behalf the two Nikephori, emperor and patriarch. However, in another case, which might be called "semi-political," Emperor Nikephoros did not show the same readiness for compromise with the Radicals. Probably later in the same year, 806, he requested that Patriarch Nikephoros rehabilitate the priest, Joseph of Kathara, who had officiated at the wedding of Constantine and Theodote, probably because Joseph had contributed to the peaceful resolution of the revolt of Bardanes Tourkos in 803. To settle the matter the patriarch held a local synod in Constantinople. He invited fourteen bishops, and also Theodore the Stoudite, who does not seem to have ever recognized this assembly as a legitimate synod. When the bishops voted to rehabilitate Joseph, Theodore kept silent, finding no

²⁸ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 142; Niavis, "The Reign," 203.

²⁹ Niavis, "The Reign," 204.

³⁰ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 143; Niavis, "The Reign," 204.

one else in the mood to support dissent. Since he was not a bishop he could not vote. Eventually Joseph took up his old position as steward of St. Sophia.³¹

The readmission of Joseph to the priesthood gave rise to an immediate protest from the Stoudites. They broke their communion with Joseph and everyone else who communicated with him, including the patriarch, the emperor, and his court. In the course of the next two years, 806 to 808, Theodore and Plato remained in isolation in their monastery, avoiding taking part in ceremonial celebrations that they were supposed to attend. Perhaps in 808, the emperor realized that they were deliberately avoiding celebrating the Eucharist with him. He took up the case not with the fiercely principled and equally inflexible Theodore, but with Theodore's brother, Joseph, who had shown some flexibility by accepting imperial appointment as archbishop of Thessalonica. Nikephoros sent his most responsible official, the postal logothete, who demanded that Joseph state his reason for not taking communion with the emperor and the patriarch. "I do not have anything against our devout emperor or against the patriarch," Joseph replied, "but only against the steward [Joseph of Kathara] who wedded the adulterer and who for this reason was deposed in accordance with the sacred canons." The logothete, clearly prepared for this reply, told the archbishop that the emperor had no further need of his services.³²

In what appears to have been an effort at intimidation, imperial troops surrounded Studios monastery, so that, in Theodore's words, "the monks could scarcely breathe."³³ Theodore, Joseph of Thessalonica, their uncle, Plato, and an unnamed leading Stoudite, called simply "Kalogeros" (monk), were taken from Studios and held in custody at the monastery of St. Sergius.³⁴

A synod was then convoked in January of 809, which reached four decisions: 1) Joseph's restoration to the priesthood was confirmed; 2) anyone who refused to apply the "economies" (*oikonomiā*) of the saints (clearly Theodore and his followers) was anathematized; 3) the archbishop of Thessalonica was reduced to the rank of priest, and 4) Theodore, Joseph, and Plato were sent into exile to the Princes' Islands.³⁵ The Stoudites rejected the "adulterous" synod. The emperor decided to give them one last chance for compromise. He called the whole brotherhood into his presence and tried to win over the leading monks privately. When this attempt failed, he promised clemency to the whole community, on the

³¹ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 143; Niavis, "The Reign," 205ff.

³² Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 143; 154; Niavis, "The Reign," 210–211.

³³ Niavis, "The Reign," 211.

³⁴ Niavis, "The Reign," 212.

³⁵ About the synod and its decisions see Patrick Henry "The Moechian Controversy."

condition that they would re-establish their communion with the patriarch. As the emperor was standing in the middle, he bade that those who wanted reunion with the patriarch stand to his right side, and those who were with Theodore to move to his left. No one agreed with the emperor, and all of them, guarded by soldiers, were sent to various monasteries, the abbots of which treated them with special hardness.³⁶ The persecution seems to have been extended to some people who did not belong to the Stoudite brotherhood, but simply sympathized with the strict stance adopted by the Radicals on the Moechian controversy. Theodore the Stoudite speaks of a certain abbot in Thessalonica who suffered punishment with his monks just because they had refused to communicate with the person who had succeeded Theodore's brother, Joseph, as archbishop of that city. Another abbot was flogged, also in Thessalonica, probably for the same reason.³⁷

The persecution of the Stoudites and their sympathizers went on for a period of more than two and a half years, until Nikephoros' death and the retirement of his son Staurakios. When Nikephoros' son-in-law, Michael I Rangabe, came into power (October 811), he restored the Stoudites and once more defrocked Joseph of Kathara, thus ending the Moechian Schism. Theodore was reconciled with Patriarch Nikephoros. The radical monks not only came back from their exile, but became influential with the new emperor.³⁸

There are, however, indications about certain dissensions between Theodore the Stoudite and the patriarch in at least two instances. The first, in 812, concerned the persecution of certain heretics in Phrygia and Lycaonia, with Theodore arguing against and Nikephoros for punishment;³⁹ the second, also in 812, concerned a peace treaty proposed by the Bulgarian Khan Krum (r. 803–814) according to which Byzantium and Bulgaria should exchange refugees. The Stoudite abbot argued against extradition as it would require that Christians be surrendered to the hands of barbarians, while Nikephoros urged the emperor to accept the peace treaty.⁴⁰

Michael I was a pious, but far from successful, emperor in terms of foreign policy. In course of two years, from 811 to 813, he suffered heavy losses at the

³⁶ Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer," 25.

³⁷ Niavis, "The Reign," 213–214.

³⁸ Niavis, "The Reign," 214. Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer," 25.

³⁹ On this topic, see, for instance, Hieromonk Patapios, "St. Theodore the Stoudite and the Problem of the Paulicians," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 43, no. 1–4 (1998): 143–154.

⁴⁰ Vassil Gyuzelev, "Studijskiat manastir i bulgarite prez Srednovekovieto (VIII–XIV v.)" [Studios Monastery and the Bulgarians in the Middle Ages (eighth–fourteenth centuries)], *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines* 39 (2001/2002): 55.

hands of the Bulgarian Khan Krum. After a defeat at the battle of Versinikia (22 June 813), Michael was forced to abdicate in favor of one of his generals (στρατηγός), Leo the Armenian.

In the Byzantines' eyes, the previous almost 30 years, since the council of Nicaea in 787, had represented a string of military defeats and stood in clear contrast to the victories of the iconoclastic emperors, their lengthy reigns and peaceful succession. It is the reason, usually stressed by scholars, that the new emperor, known by the name Leo V (r. 813–820), decided to reach back to the religious policy of the more successful Isaurian dynasty and restore iconoclasm.⁴¹ Patriarch Nikephoros, who opposed this initiative, was forced to retire to a monastery (in March 815) and a new iconoclastic patriarch, Theodotus, was enthroned. The change in policy was formalized by a local council in Constantinople in April 815, which re-introduced iconoclasm officially, recognized Constantine V's Council of Hieria of 754 as the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and accordingly repudiating the Second Council of Nicaea of 787.⁴² The Stoudites refused Theodotus' invitation to attend.⁴³

Many monasteries, however, conformed to the imperial policy, so that there was no true monastic opposition of the sort which had occurred under Constantine V. Theodore the Stoudite's letters suggest that nearly all the monasteries in Constantinople yielded to the iconoclast position.⁴⁴ The monastery of Sergios and Bakkhos, under its abbot, John the Grammarian (later, patriarch of Constantinople from 837 to 843), became a center for disseminating iconoclast

⁴¹ John Haldon, "Iconoclasm in Byzantium: Myths and Realities," 8, online at: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/UMICH/classics/Home/News/Platsis%20Endowment/2007%20-%20Haldon,%20Iconoclasm%20in%20the%20Byzantine%20World%20myths%20and%20realities.pdf> (accessed: 17.5.2014); Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850. A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 361–363; cf. Cyril Mango, "Historical Introduction," in *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1977), 5.

⁴² Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 213. Thorne, "The Ascending Prayer," 25; Marie-France Auzépy, "State of Emergency (700–850)," in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 289. For the 815 council, see P. J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (*Horos*)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953): 35–66.

⁴³ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 212–213.

⁴⁴ Haldon, John. "Iconoclasm in Byzantium: Myths and Realities," 9, online at: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/UMICH/classics/Home/News/Platsis%20Endowment/2007%20-%20Haldon,%20Iconoclasm%20in%20the%20Byzantine%20World%20myths%20and%20realities.pdf> (accessed: 17.5.2014).

ideas, and iconophiles who refused to conform to the new dogma were confined there for re-education. Among the monasteries which conformed were also, for instance, those of Medikion (the abbot of which, Niketas, was imprisoned for his resistance to iconoclasm)⁴⁵ and Kathara.⁴⁶ Most of the secular clergy also seem to have been exiled, intimidated, or won over to the other side.⁴⁷

With Nikephoros in exile, Theodore the Stoudite, until his death in 826, played a leading role in the iconophile opposition, organizing most of his fellow abbots in “underground” resistance. Initially, he remained in Constantinople and on 25 March 815, Palm Sunday, he had his brotherhood process solemnly around the Stoudios monastery singing church hymns, each of them holding an icon.⁴⁸

This manifestation elicited a rebuke from Emperor Leo, who quickly realized that Theodore would be uncompromising in his resistance to the iconoclast policy. Thus, he became one of the first targets of Leo’s persecutions of the iconophiles, which continued to the end of his reign.⁴⁹ Not long after the iconoclast council was held, in April 815, Theodore was exiled by imperial command to a Metopa, a fortress in the Opsician theme in Bythynia. It is from there that he probably wrote the *Antirrheticus*, his apology for venerating (προσκύνησις) icons, before being moved farther off, to Boneta in the Anatolian theme in the spring of 816.⁵⁰ Just before his departure, Theodore divided his monks into small groups and recommended that they disperse so as to avoid governmental pressure.⁵¹ Theodore the Stoudite’s exile was followed by other bishops and abbots who rejected conforming to iconoclasm, notably Theophanes the Confessor, Makarios of Pelekete, and Niketas of Medikion from Bithynia.⁵²

A certain Leontios, a Stoudite monk who had shown himself prone to defection in the Moechian Schism, revolted against Theodore again during the Iconoclastic Controversy and was appointed by the emperor as the new abbot of

⁴⁵ *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art: West, Northwest, and Central Asia Minor and the Orient* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 103.

⁴⁶ Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 377.

⁴⁷ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 212–213.

⁴⁸ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 212–213; see “Iconoclasm” in ODB, vol. 3, 976; Auzépy, “State of Emergency,” 289.

⁴⁹ While the emperor clearly wanted to avoid persecution whenever possible, he could not ignore the refusal of the Stoudites (and the iconophile bishops as well) to subscribe to his council’s decree. About Leo’s measures against iconophiles see, for instance, Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 377–383.

⁵⁰ Thorne, “The Ascending Prayer,” 26–27.

⁵¹ Thomas, Hero, *op. cit.*, 68.

⁵² Auzépy, “State of Emergency,” 289.

Stoudios. Thus, the general dissolution of the monastery was avoided. Leontios for a time adopted the iconoclast position; however, he was eventually won back to the iconophile party. That abbots faced similar challenges may help to explain the apparent ease with which the iconoclast emperors won iconophile abbots over to their side. In *Epistulae* 190, Theodore notes that some of the Stoudite monks who had been whipped or threatened with whipping had succumbed to the threat and changed sides. Theodore ultimately lost about twenty monks to iconoclasm, at least two of whom, like Leontios, earned themselves abbeys. Most likely Theodore never regained control of the Stoudios monastery.⁵³ The Stoudite situation mirrored a general trend, with a number of bishops and abbots initially yielding to the iconoclast positions, but then renouncing them in the years between 816 and 819, a movement that was perhaps motivated by the martyrdom of the Stoudite monk Thaddaios.⁵⁴

Theodore exercised wide influence during his exile, primarily through a massive letter-writing campaign. Under his leadership, the iconophiles were in constant communication by letter, recognized the bishops of their party as the real hierarchy, enjoyed recognition by the pope of Rome and the Orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, refused communion with iconoclasts, and demanded strict penance from all their members who lapsed. Everywhere Theodore and the other rigorist clergy could depend upon broad support from the laity. Like their leaders, many ordinary iconophiles venerated icons secretly and avoided iconoclast communion.⁵⁵

On Christmas Day, 25 December 820, Leo V was murdered, and the new emperor, Michael II (r. 820–829), tried to place himself above the Iconoclastic Controversy. He stopped the persecution and recalled iconophiles who had been exiled, but did not restore them to their positions.⁵⁶ This allowed the return of Theodore the Stoudite to Constantinople, but not the restoration of Nikephoros to the patriarchal throne. It was suggested that Nikephoros might return if he agreed to remain neutral on the question of icons.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibidem; Peter Hatlie, "Women of Discipline during the Second Iconoclast Age," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 89, no. 1 (1996): 39.

⁵⁴ Thomas Pratsch, *Theodoros Stoudites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma: der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), 245–246 and 252; Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 377.

⁵⁵ Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 221.

⁵⁶ Auzépy, "State of Emergency," 289.

⁵⁷ Kenneth Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eight and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 14.

Following his release, Theodore returned to the capital, travelling through northwestern Asia Minor and meeting with numerous monks and abbots on the way. At the time he appears to have believed that the new emperor would adopt a pro-icon policy. In fact, in the religious controversy Michael tried to tolerate both Orthodoxy and iconoclasm but personally favored iconoclasm. An imperial audience was arranged for a group of iconophile clerics, including Theodore. However, the emperor showed little interest in the finer points of the controversy, and expressed his intention to “leave the church as he had found it.” The monks were to be allowed to venerate the icons if they so wished, as long as they remained outside of Constantinople.

Having been unable to reach an accommodation with the new ruler, Theodore the Stoudite seems to have retreated into what seems to have been a sort of self-imposed exile, probably in 823, first to the peninsula of St. Tryphon near Cape Akritas, southeast of the city, and later to Prinkipo in the Princes’ Islands. In his final years, he continued to write numerous letters supporting the use of icons, and appears to have remained an important leader of the opposition to imperial iconoclasm. He also denounced the second marriage of Michael II to the nun Euphrosyne, daughter of Constantine VI, which took place about 823, although in a very moderate fashion, and with none of the passion of the Moechian controversy.⁵⁸

Theodore the Stoudite died in Prinkipo 11, November 826, after having his disciple and chosen successor, Naukratios, write down his final testament.⁵⁹ His revival of the Stoudios had a major effect on the later history of Byzantine monasticism. His successor, Naukratios, recovered control of the monastery after the end of the Iconoclastic Controversy in 843, and for the remainder of the ninth century the Stoudite abbots continued Theodore’s course, maintaining an independent position in relation to the church and the state authorities.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See “Michael II” in ODB, 2, 1363.


⁵⁹ BMFD, 68.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Spatial Approaches to Settlement
and Religion in Central Europe



SPATIAL APPROACHES TO SETTLEMENT AND RELIGION IN CENTRAL EUROPE – AN INTRODUCTION

Judith Rasson, József Laszlovszky, Katalin Szende 

All cultures define and use space to suit their ideas and needs. Investigating the spatial arrangements social groups make on the landscape as an additional aspect besides documents, architecture, and artifacts adds a new dimension to historical research. How people used and adapted features of the natural environment to their cultural needs leaves a record in the landscape; besides serving utilitarian purposes, landscape features can also take on spiritual meaning, defined by the cultural groups using it. These ideas have gained prominence as part of the “spatial turn,” a major conceptual innovation in historical studies from the 1980s.

Historical research on medieval Central Europe, especially its eastern part, was in the forefront of collecting spatial data even before this new trend, for instance, through pioneering survey projects on archaeological and historical topography in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. However, these data have seldom been used to answer generic questions about the social uses of space, and their analytical potential has not been fully exploited. Often political reasons, such as the military sensitivity of accurate cartographic information, raised barriers to the acquisition and use of geo-spatial data even for the medieval period. For instance, in the field of urban studies, the production of Historic Towns Atlases only took off in countries east of the Iron Curtain after 1989.¹

The Department of Medieval Studies has been involved, practically since its inception in 1993, in teaching and disseminating methods for approaching and visualizing historic landscapes, the uses of space, and their changes over time. Several MA theses and PhD dissertations have been defended on topics where location or spatial distribution played a major role.² The Summer University (SUN) course *People and Nature in Historical Perspective* in 2002 and the volume stemming from it³ has been instrumental in focusing attention on the interrelatedness of physical and cultural space. Another SUN course in 2010, entitled *Lived Space*

¹ See the studies by Wilfried Ehbrecht, Anngret Simms and Ferdinand Opll in *Städteatlanten. Vier Jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa*, ed. Wilfried Ehbrecht. (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 2013) (Städteforschung A 80).

² See the abstracts of MA theses and PhD dissertations published in this and all previous volumes of the *Annual of Medieval Studies*.

³ *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: CEU Press and Archaeolingua, 2003).

in Past and Present, examined the creation, use, and management of historic townscapes from Roman times to the present.

A recent development in spatial research is to investigate the symbolic uses of space and the interactions of space, place, and sacrality or space and religion. Studies in this vein range from explaining the reasons for the development of particular sites for popular devotion, sanctuaries or religious institutions to mapping complex networks of religious houses and their properties. Whatever scale one chooses, the interdependence of space and society or space and sacrality cannot be overlooked: space is just as much an agent as it is a product of complex relationships. Furthermore, changes over time in the use of space reflect changes in political preferences, ideological shifts, and changes in climate and natural resources.

Technical advances in the “digital age” have further reinforced the new conceptual developments and opened up hitherto unprecedented possibilities of managing huge datasets. New methods such as GIS (Geographical Information Systems) allow for more efficient integration of spatial datasets and thus a better overview of the complexity of different factors. Recognizing the importance of enabling our students to make use of these new methods has led the Department of Medieval Studies to establish contacts with the Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy, where GIS was already on the curriculum, under the guidance of Victor Lagutov, head of the Environmental Systems Laboratory. His courses designed especially for medievalists have been a very welcome addition to our programs.

This group of papers presents examples of a range of approaches to investigating the spatial arrangements of historical social groups. Antonić combines archaeological excavation and field walking (site survey) results with historical maps and charters to add to the cultural understanding of medieval settlements in the Turopolje area of Croatia. Stark takes a comparative approach to the development of religious sites in Central Europe at particular landscape features such as holy wells, springs, and caves. Pető uses a GIS approach to examine how a hermit order, the Paulines, selected the locations for their monasteries in the medieval Pilis Royal Forest not far from Buda(pest). Bertović, also focusing on the Paulines, but in Croatia, explores how the monks and their patrons sought deserted places in Croatia to establish their houses, but how they factored in ways to support themselves economically and to secure protection and donations from noble donors. Each of these studies used geographical space in its own way to define variables for better understanding medieval society and history.

COMBINING DOCUMENTS, TOPONYMS, AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN TUROPOLJE, CROATIA. GIS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Nikolina Antonić 

GIS (Geographical Information Systems) can be a useful tool in historical research; since it enables different kinds of data to be superimposed; it can be used to combine overlapping data gathered from different historical sources with environmental and topographic data. With GIS, researchers can choose the data they want to combine and create maps that can be adjusted to suit their research. Putting different sorts of environmental and historical information together on a map can create completely different solutions for understanding historical environments. At the same time, it can provide a better explanation for historical sources. In this particular case, it helped achieve a better understanding of the environment around the medieval archaeological site of Šepkovčica; new data emerged through the analysis and by using a combination of archaeological data, maps, and written sources.¹ This kind of analysis on a micro level is, of course, possible only in cases when sources are preserved which enable this kind of reconstruction. Luckily, the circumstances are such that the site of Šepkovčica is situated in Turopolje, an area with a great number of written sources preserved.

Turopolje

Turopolje, or *Campus Zagabiensis* as it was called in the medieval period, is situated south of Zagreb in northwestern Croatia; it is part of Zagreb County. This area had a particular historical development. Its inhabitants were lesser nobility, *iobagiones castr*, who succeeded in preserving their status long after the break-up of the *castrum* system.² They formed a special organization – the Noble Community

¹ The site of Šepkovčica was excavated in a project: “Rescue Archaeological Investigations along the Course of the Future A11 Zagreb to Sisak Motorway,” between 2006 and 2008. The project was coordinated by the Croatian Ministry of Culture and directed by Aleksandra Bugar of the Zagreb City Museum. I would like to thank the Zagreb City Museum and Aleksandra Bugar for the opportunity to participate in the excavations as well as for allowing me to work on the material from the medieval horizon in scope of my MA thesis at CEU and PhD thesis at Zagreb University. This article is based on my MA thesis, “A Medieval Village in Northern Croatia through Archaeological and Historical Sources,” (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

² For *iobagiones castr* see Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy. The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1998), 37–38; Martyn Rady, *Land, Nobility and Service in Medieval*

of Turopolje – which was abolished only in 1947, renewed again in 1991, and still exists today (as a cultural organization). Constant struggles with different overlords, as well as the problems that accompanied private possession of land (it was sold, bought, stolen, and inherited) were in a way a lucky circumstance for historians. They acquired documents which, due primarily to the devoted work of the Croatian historian Emilij Laszowski, were preserved in great numbers. Between 1904 and 1908 he published four volumes of a work entitled: *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabiensis" dictae*.³ The edition contains around 1200 documents, mainly charters, both public and private-legal, spanning the years from 1225 until 1895, with greater emphasis on the medieval period.⁴

Emilij Laszowski not only gathered, transcribed, and published the sources, but also published – with his associates, church historian Janko Barlé, writer and lexicographer Velimir Dežalić, and geographer Milan Šenoa – a two-volume book in 1910. This monumental work contains a political, social, and church history of Turopolje, as well as geographical, onomastic, and ethnographic data.⁵ Laszowski was and still is the most important historian of Turopolje, but later other researchers continued to investigate its social and political history,⁶ historical geography,⁷ and onomastics.⁸

Hungary (London: Palgrave, 2000), 79–82.

³ *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim 'Campus Zagrabiensis' dictae*, vol. 1–4 (Zagreb: Plemenita općina Turopolje, 1904–1908) (henceforth MHNC).

⁴ A second source book which contains complementary records was first published by Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić and later continued by Laszowski and others, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiensis*, vol. 1–16 (Zagreb 1902–1939) (henceforth MHCZ).

⁵ *Povijest plemenite općine Turopolje nekoč Zagrebačko polje zvane* [A history of the noble community of Turopolje once called Zagreb Field], ed. Emilij Laszowski (Zagreb: Antun Scholz, 1910), vol. 1 and 2.

⁶ For an extensive bibliography of historiographic secondary literature see Antonić, “A Medieval Village in Northern Croatia.”

⁷ Borna Fürst-Bjeliš, “Historijsko-geografska analiza prostornog pojma tradicionalne regije Turopolje” [Historical-geographical analysis of the area traditionally considered Turopolje], PhD dissertation, University of Zagreb, 1996.

⁸ For onomastics, see Johanna Wippel, *Die geographischen Namen des Turopolje (eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung)* (Berlin: Ernst-Reuter-Gesellschaft, 1963); Marko Lukenda, “Zemljopis na nomenklatura u srednjovjekovnoj toponimiji Turopolja” [Geographical nomenclature in the medieval toponymy of Turopolje], *Kaj* 3 (1984): 55–63. Valuable information about traditions and place names of the village of Donja Lomnica has been gathered by two local writers: Vojko Miklaušić, *Plemeniti puti* [Noble ways] (Donja Lomnica: Matica hrvatska, ogranak Velika Gorica, 1994) and Slavko Stepanić, *Lomnički riječnik* [Lomnica

The Medieval Archaeological Site of Šepkovčica

The site of Šepkovčica was discovered and excavated during preparations for highway construction on a road from Zagreb to Sisak. The excavation was 60 meters wide, limited to the width of the highway right-of-way. The site was one kilometre long where the right-of-way crossed it. Evidence of several chronological periods was found.⁹ The remains of the medieval horizon of the site spread over an area of 15,000 square meters (*Fig. 1*); 823 different features were defined; 75 % of them were postholes; the rest were medium- and large-sized pits, seemingly of various functions (refuse pits, workshops, fireplaces, ovens, wells, ditches).¹⁰

Broadly, the site consisted of two parts, one northwest and one southeast of two adjacent stream/river channels which were not active in the medieval period. It was probably a swampy area.¹¹ Flood layers found on the site confirm that it was occasionally flooded. Each side of the channels shows different traces of human activity. Part of the early medieval settlement was discovered on the southeastern side of the channels. This area (315 meters long and 60 m wide, with 732 recorded features) was settled from the ninth to thirteenth century.¹² Only a few pits containing pottery that could be dated to later periods were found on this side of the stream channels, along the northeastern profile. It is possible that traces of human activity continued on the northeastern side of the site in the High Middle Ages, but not in the highway right-of-way. No later finds were

dictionary], 2012, <https://sites.google.com/site/turopole/Home/turlomnicki-recnik-1> (accessed April, 2015).

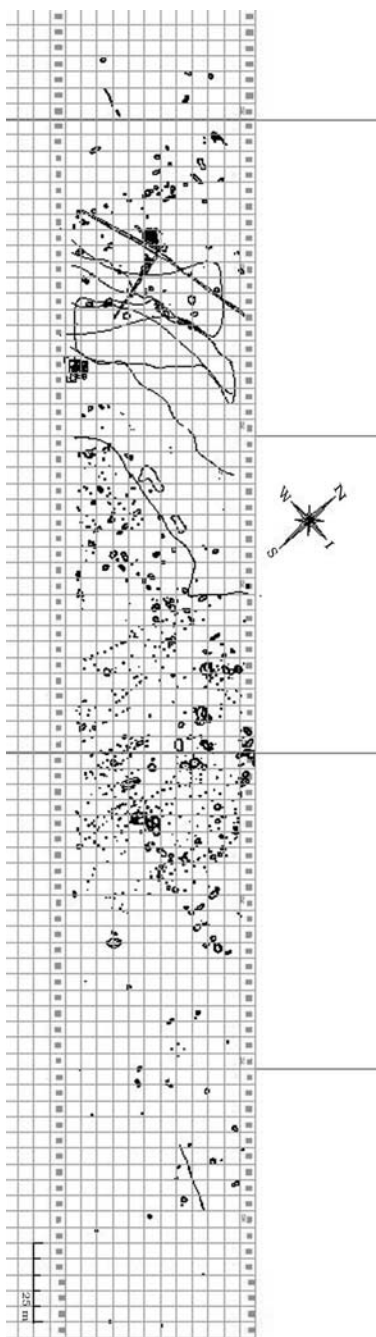
⁹ The site has multi-layered vertical stratigraphy and, in some areas, complex horizontal stratigraphy. Besides medieval artifacts, numerous and varied finds from the prehistoric and Roman periods were discovered.

¹⁰ Aleksandra Bugar, "Preliminarno izvješće – Rezultati arheoloških zaštitnih istraživanja na lokalitetu Šepkovčica" (2008) [Preliminary report – Results of an archaeological rescue investigation at the site of Šepkovčica (2008)], unpublished report kept in the archive of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 4–7; "Lokalitet: Šepkovčica" [Site: Šepkovčica], *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 5 (2008): 269–273.

¹¹ Tomo Novosel, "Geološka i inženjersko-geološka obilježja na lokalitetu Šepkovčica [Geological and engineering-geological characteristics at the site Šepkovčica (2008)]," unpublished report stored in the archive of the Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb (2008), 6.

¹² Aleksandra Bugar, "Naselje ranog srednjeg vijeka Velika Gorica-Šepkovčica" [The early medieval settlement of Velika Gorica – Šepkovčica], in *Zbornik Srednji vek/Arheološke raziskave med Jadranskim morjem in Panonsko nižino*, ed. Mitija Guštin (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije Inštitut za dediščino Sredozemlja Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča Univerze na Primorskem, 2008), 180.

Fig. 1. Plan of the archaeological site of Šepkončica, adapted from: Aleksandra Bugar, "Preliminarno izvješće – Regulatni arheološki zaštitni istraživanja na lokalitetu Šepkončica" (2008) [Preliminary report – Results of an archaeological rescue investigation at the site of Šepkončica (2008)], unpublished report kept in the archive of the Zagreb City Museum



recovered in this area of the early medieval settlement, leading to the conclusion that the site was abandoned after this time.

On the northwestern side of the stream channels the situation was even more complex. On a smaller surface of 85×55 meters, 91 features were defined (two wells, two channels, three ovens with two waste pits, three fireplaces, thirteen postholes, and sixty-seven pits of different shapes and sizes) belonging to different phases. Some of them were used simultaneously with the early medieval settlement on the southeastern side (ovens, some pits); others are younger, dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

Thus, unlike the area on the southeastern side of the stream channels, human activity continued in this area during the thirteenth century and after. However, the character of this activity cannot be understood purely on the basis of pits (only one pit can be interpreted as possibly a craftsman's small workshop, while the primary function(s) of the other pits is not clear), fireplaces (they appear to be temporary), rare postholes, (unlike those from the early medieval period, are not in regular patterns and impossible to date because they mostly contain no finds), the wells, and a ditch (or fence).¹³ All of these features could be on the periphery of one household, on the periphery of a settlement, or even further from it. Keeping all this in mind, the extent to which this area can be seen as a periphery zone of a contemporary rural settlement (village), or as a temporarily used zone far from a permanent settlement, could be examined. This question cannot be answered only on the basis of the excavated archaeological evidence. Since the excavated zone is limited, one cannot say to what extent the zone is connected to the archaeological remains of a permanent settlement or to a zone of agricultural use.

Additional Field Walking

As is visible on the site plan (*Fig. 1*), the northwestern and southeastern borders of the site were determined artificially because they were limited by the excavated zone. That only part of the site was uncovered was clear on the basis of features extending under the northern and southern profiles. The method that can help to determine the extent of a site at least approximately is field walking, i.e., search for

¹³ A more detailed summary of the results of the archaeological research will be published in Nikolina Antičić, "Late medieval village in Turopolje – the example of Donja Lomnica," in: *Noblemen, Intellectuals and Clergymen. Society and its Varieties in Medieval Central and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Kosana Jovanović and Suzana Miljan (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming).

surface finds. Before the excavations, the zone of distribution of archaeological materials on the surface of the site on the right-of way-of the highway, and in a wider zone in some areas, was determined by this non-destructive archaeological method. Intensive field walking was done on the whole track of the highway, as well as geophysical research in places that showed greater archaeological potential.¹⁴ In this case, the site extended to both the northeast and southwest; with a greater density of finds on the southwestern side. On the southern corner of the field walking area it was not possible to determine the limit of the surface finds because this is where the agricultural area stops and the first houses of Gradići village begin, which means that some parts of the site still lie under these houses.

Maps

The next step was to put the archaeological and field walking data on a map. GIS programs allow for the import of both vector and raster data.¹⁵ Using the exact coordinates of several points on the map, these two kinds of data can be connected. This process is called geo-referencing and it locates information accurately in space. The finished map is an accurate overlay of multiple kinds of data.

The first precise maps of the area of Turopolje are Austrian military surveys.¹⁶ Although these maps were made in the second half of the eighteenth (First Military Survey) and nineteenth century (Second and Third Military Surveys), the landscape portrayed is much closer to the medieval period than to the present-day situation, which is the result of large-scale water regulation, transformation of the settlement system, and the expansion of urban settlements.

¹⁴ This preliminary research is reported in unpublished reports held at the Ministry of Culture: Josip Burmaz, "Terenski arheološki pregled, 1. dionica Jakuševac – Velika Gorica" [Surface archaeological inspection, Section 1, Jakuševac – Velika Gorica] (Zagreb, 2005); Branko Mušič, "Geofizička istraživanja na autocesti Zagreb – Sisak" [Geophysical research on the Zagreb-Sisak highway], (Ljubljana, 2005). Some additional field walk was done during and after the excavation.

¹⁵ Vector data uses geographical coordinates to represent spatial data (points, lines and polygons). Raster data are digital images that display and store information at the cell (or pixel) level.

¹⁶ The First Military Survey for the Zagreb County, which will be used in this article, was done in 1783-1784. Hrvatska na tajnim zemljovidima 18. i 19. st., sv. 11: Zagrebačka županija, vol 1. and 2 [Croatia on secret maps of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, book 11: Zagreb County vol. 1 and 2], ed. Mirko Valentić, Ivana Horbec and Ivana Jukić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009).

That is why they are valuable sources for environmental reconstruction. Google Earth and topographic maps published on the internet by the State Geodetic Administration of Croatia are also easily available nowadays, and the latter also contain old names and toponyms of particular pieces of land.¹⁷

The Location of the Archaeological Site of Šepkovića

The result of connecting of the data we have so far (archaeological site, field walking) with the cadastral map is new map shown below (Fig. 2). As is thus visible, Šepkovića is the name of a field noted in the present-day cadaster, situated between two villages, Donja Lomnica and Gradići.¹⁸ The first record of this name that I found is in the cadaster of 1861, where it was written down in the form *Šebkovšćevce* and mapped as agricultural land.¹⁹ Thus, it can be concluded that afterwards the site was abandoned, according to the excavation data in the



Fig. 2. The location of the site on a cadastral map (Digital cadastral plan of Croatia, Geoportal of State Geodetic Administration of Croatia, <http://geoportal.dgu.hr/>)

¹⁷ Geoportal, <http://geoportal.dgu.hr/>

¹⁸ Bugar, "Preliminarno izvješće," 12.

¹⁹ Cadaster plan of Donja Lomnica and Gradići from 1861, stored in the cartographic collection of the Croatian national archives.

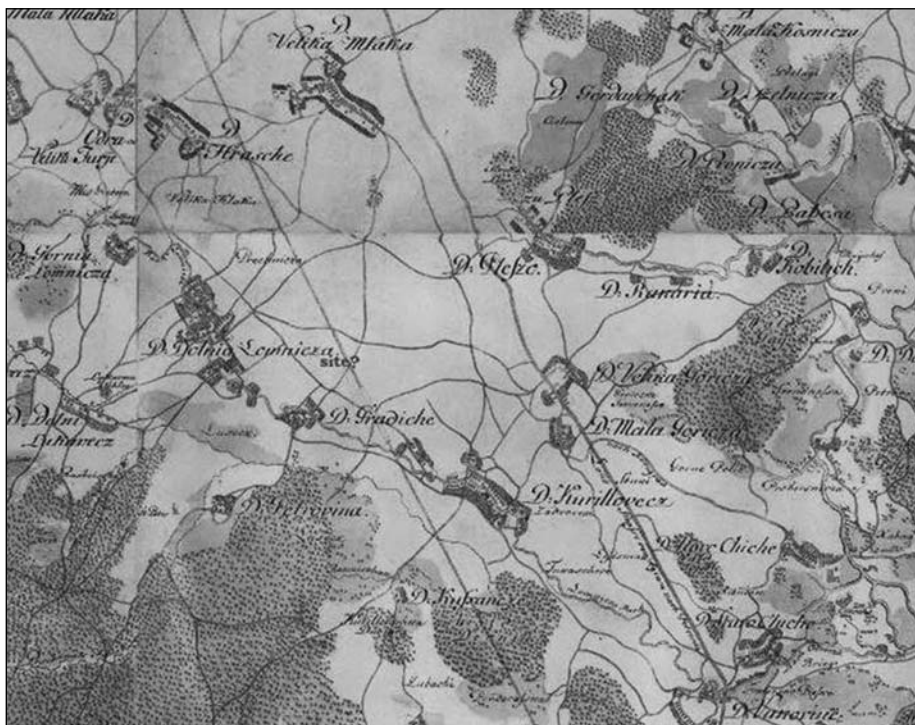


Fig. 3. *The First Military Survey* (Hrvatska na tajnim zemljovidima 18. i 19. st., sv. 11: Zagrebačka županija, vol 1. [Croatia on secret maps of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, book 11: Zagreb County vol. 1], ed. Mirko Valentić, Ivana Horbec and Ivana Jukić. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009)

fifteenth century, it gradually became agricultural land, as it appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century on the first military survey map (Fig. 3).

Analysis of Written Documents – Which Village is Šepkovčica?

Šepkovčica could be a village abandoned in the fifteenth century and never re-populated, but there is no village or a toponym like Šepkovčica in medieval charters. Except for the village of Gradići, however, which was mentioned for the first time by this name only in 1734 (Gradich),²⁰ all the other present-day villages

²⁰ MHNC, vol 4, 610. Authors Johanna Wippel and Marko Lukenda list several charters of earlier origin and connect them with Gradići: *Michaelis de Gradecz*, 1448, MHNC, vol.1, 280; *ad terram Gradische*, 1494, MHNC, vol. 2, 127; *Lychkonych de Gradacz*, 1519, vol. 2,

that surround the site were already recorded in the earliest written documents – Donja Lomnica in 1279, Velika Gorica in 1228, Kurilovec in 1300, Hrašće Turopoljsko in 1256, Velika Mlaka in 1326, and Mala Gorica in 1400, and Pleso in 1377 (*Fig. 6*).²¹ They are also visible on the First Military Survey; the core areas of all of these settlements were in the same places as they are today (*Fig. 3*).

Medieval charters that concern the territory of these villages explicitly state that the land they refer to is part of one of these villages.²² Based on an examination of all the charters from the thirteenth until the beginning of sixteenth century, it can be concluded that the site of Šepkovića was not a separate village, but belonged to one of the aforementioned villages. If one takes into consideration that the surface of the whole area between these villages is approximately four by four kilometers, it is certain that a separate village, or a person from that village, would have been mentioned in at least one of the charters.

The next question is which medieval village the site belonged to. It would be logical to assume that it would be the nearest one – Donja Lomnica. Unfortunately, this cannot be proven with absolute certainty for several reasons. Precise boundaries between villages were not recorded in every case, and the boundaries north of the Lomnica River (the old river bed of the Lomnica River is shown on *Fig. 3*) where the site is situated is one such case. Also, a completely precise mapping is not possible because perambulations generally do not refer to fixed points that still exist in the environment. The boundaries are often trees marked with a cross, swamps, roads (whose exact location is also not certain), and – in most cases – other people's possessions. Moreover, one cannot assume that the boundaries of the villages did not change. As recorded in the charters, boundaries were reasons for dispute.²³

414; *versus Veliki Gradeczy*, 1698, vol. 4, 228; Marko Lukenda, "Zemljopisna nomenklatura u srednjovjekovnoj toponimiji Turopolja [Geographical nomenclature in the medieval toponymy of Turopolje], *Kaj* 3 (1984): 58, Wippel, *Die geographische Namen*, 28. It is, however, clear from the documents that these names are not connected with Gradići, although the place names they mention have same root – *grad*. The noble attribute *de Gradeczy* and *de Gradacz* could have designated the individuals from the *castellum* of Gradec (situated outside the area of Turopolje, south of the present-day city of Petrinja). This is also true for *Veliki Gradeczyin*. *Terra Gradische* is mentioned among the lands that were then in the territory of Gornja (Upper) Lominca. Apparently the authors connected every word that contained different forms of the root *grad* with no further analysis.

²¹ Laszowski, *Povijest plemenite općine*, 310, 332, 365, 392, 400; MHNC, vol. 1, 39.

²² *Inferiori Lompyucha et eius territorio, metis et terries possessionis Also Lompyuczga*, etc.

²³ For example, there were several disputes between people from Lomnica and Petrovina. Laszowski, *Povijest plemenite općine*, vol. 1, 311–312.

As the boundaries moved slightly, theoretically it is possible that Šepkovčica was on the territory of Velika Mlaka, Velika Gorica or Kurilovec. However, this does not change the interpretation of the area significantly, since all these villages, as villages of *iobaiones castris*, were organized on the same property principles.

Toponyms

Since the archaeological site of Šepkovčica was located on or near bordering areas, the question is what kind of properties were situated in this area. Unfortunately, no documents are preserved that refer explicitly to land on the border of Donja Lomnica, but two documents do refer to land in the territory of Velika Mlaka that bordered on Donja Lomnica. They mention this land as *terra arabilis*²⁴ and *terra*,²⁵ probably with the meaning of the former.

However, two other charters mention land in Donja Lomnica north of the Lomnica River, an area that can be placed approximately in the vicinity of the site. This can be seen because sometimes the lands in question can be associated at least approximately with some fixed points that still exist today and situated approximately in the environment. The Lomnica River, was rarely used as a fixed point. Although its flow changed with water regulation projects in the second half of the twentieth century, the old riverbed is still visible on the first military survey, modern maps, and in aerial photos.²⁶ If one thinks of the Lomnica River as a calm plains' river, it can be stated that it has not changed much from medieval period, compared to the Sava River, for instance.²⁷ The other factor that sometimes enables the approximate placement of the land is toponyms.

²⁴ *Item prima meta cuiusdam terre arabilis dictorum Petri et Blassii, penes metam nobilium de Lompniceza Inferiori, incipit ab occidente a quadam meta terrea penes Zepy...* MHNC, vol. 1, 226–229

²⁵ *Ipsi quondam particulam terre eorum ad decem et novem dimensiones wreten dictas se extendentem, a metis et terris possessionis Also Lompnycza et usque quadam vallem prope et penes possessionem Mlaka vocatam se protendentem...* MHNC, vol. 1, 200.

²⁶ The course of the Lomnica-Odra (the full name of the river), was changed when the Sava-Odra canal was built in 1971.

²⁷ For changes in the river bed of the Sava before 1964 see Josip Rogalić, *Fizičko geografska obilježja Zagreba i okolice* [Physical geographical features of Zagreb and its surroundings], (Split: Geografsko društvo, 2007), 11–17, 38; Branko Vujašinović, “Uloga rijeke Save u povijesnom razvoju grada Zagreba” [The role of the Sava River in the historical development of the city of Zagreb], *Ekonomska i ekohistorija: časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša* 3 (2007): 142–153; Mirela Slukan Altić, “Povijest regulacije rijeke Save kod Zagreba i njezine posljedice za izgradnju grada” [History of the regulation of the Sava River at Zagreb and the consequences of it for building the town], *Hrvatske vode* 18 (2010): 205–212.

Again, geo-referencing can situate the site on a modern topographic map which already has toponyms recorded (*Fig. 4*). The result is interesting, as it becomes visible that the site lies between the toponyms Jarčevica and Trebeš, both of which are mentioned in the charters. However, this approach requires caution, for which Trebeš is a good example.

Trebeš or *Trebesyn* is recorded in three charters, from 1343, 1427, and 1428.²⁸ This toponym is not rare in medieval charters in general. There are several explanations for this word; one is that it can be derived from the verb *trijebiti* or *trebiti*, which indicates extinction. It would be connected with clearing of the land, cutting down the woods, and preparing the land for cultivation.²⁹ The second possibility is that it was named by the owner of the land, as is the case with the Trebesyn mentioned in the charter from 1343.³⁰ Some researchers consider that some of these toponyms could have come from old Slavic word *trebište*, sacrifice place, which would be connected with ritual sacrifice and old Slavic paganism.³¹

Two pieces of land called Trebeš/Trebež exist today in the area close to the site (as do others throughout Turopolje). One is located just north of the site, within the boundaries of present day Donja Lomnica, and the other is further north; it belongs to the present-day village of Mičevac (*Fig. 5*). The two earlier charters do not contain perambulations, so which village they refer to cannot be said with certainty.³² However, both present-day toponyms are near the boundaries of Velika Mlaka and the charter from 1428 places the property of *Trebesyn* in Velika Mlaka. The perambulation in this charter mentions Pleskameja, which refers to the boundary of Pleso, a medieval village and today the Zagreb airport. It is more likely that this piece of land lay in the village of Mičevac and not Donja Lomnica, and is therefore not relevant for this reconstruction.³³

Another toponym – Jarčevica – is useful, however. A piece of land called *Jarčevica* on the modern topographical map, and recorded as *Jarčevica* in the

²⁸ MHNC, vol. 1, 54, 210–211.

²⁹ Lajos Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [Etymological dictionary of placenames] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980), 656–657.

³⁰ The charter confirms that the *comes* of Zagreb is returning *dictam possessionem in Trebesyn vocata* to Lucasius the son of Wlchyak and Vidonius the son of Wratislav, *iobagiones castri*, after it had been confirmed as their inheritance. They inherited it from their grandfather, Rodyk, son of Trebesa. MHNC, vol 1, 54.

³¹ Vitomir Belaj and Juraj Belaj, *Sveti trokuti – Topografija hrvatske mitologije* [Holy triangles – Topography of Croatian mythology] (Zagreb: Ibis grafika, Institut za arheologiju u Zagrebu, Matica hrvatska, 2014), 71.

³² MHNC, vol. 1, 228.

³³ MHNC, vol. 1, 54, 210.



Fig. 4. Medieval toponyms around the site (Base map – Topographic map, 1:5000 overlain with a toponym layer, Geoportal of State Geodetic Administration of Croatia, <http://geoportal.dgu.hr/>)

cadaster from 1861,³⁴ is located around 600 meters south of the archaeological site of Šepkovčica. It was mentioned as *terra Iarchenicha* in a charter from 1424. In that year, Damian, son of Fabian, sold a certain *terra arabilis Parua Crachicha, duas dietas citra in se continentem*, on the territory of Donja Lominca, to Antony, son of Peter, and Vrban, son of Paul, son of Peter. This land was surrounded by the lands of Kyrin, son of Philip, Simon, son of Gregory, and Blaise, son of George, son of Nicolas, son of Novak, son of Mark. It also says that *Parua Crachicha* is bordered on the northern side by Damin's land and on the southern side by the *terra Iarchenicha*, the land of Peter, son of Paul, called Vrdug.³⁵ Other charters confirm that possessions of the Vrdug family were near the Lomnica River.³⁶

Comparing it with the present-day field situation, both *Parua Chrachicha* and the lands that border it, especially Damian's land that is north of it, included either the territory between present-day Jarčevica and the site of Šepkovčica or the area of the site itself. The toponym Kračine exists in the area north of the site (Fig. 4),

³⁴ Cadastral plan of Donja Lomnica and Gradići from 1861.

³⁵ MHNC, vol. 1, 195.

³⁶ MHNC, vol. 1, 414–415; MHNC, vol. 1, 129.

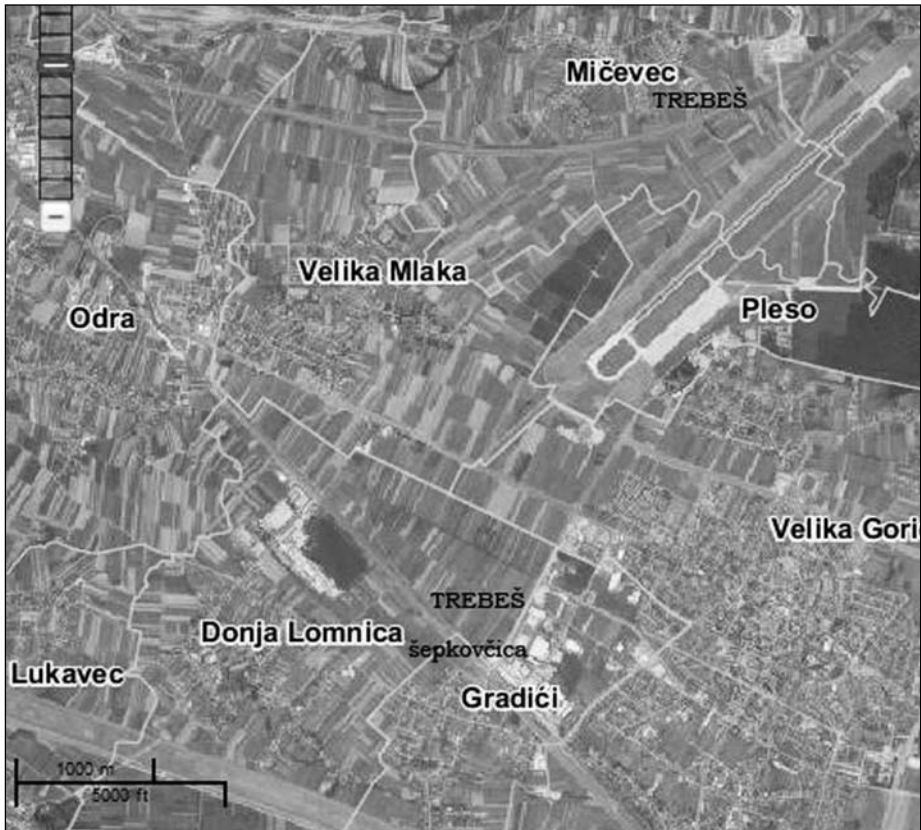


Fig. 5. The toponym of Trebež (Digital cadastral plan of Croatia, Geoportals of State Geodetic Administration of Croatia, <http://geoportals.dgu.hr/>)

but, although *Kračine* and *Parva Crachica* probably mean the same thing, they cannot be connected automatically. The etymological explanation for the word *Kračine* is that it comes from the word *kratko*, which means “short” in Croatian, in this case a “small, short” piece of land.³⁷ In contrast, toponyms like *Dugi slogi* or *Dugave* are noted on the left and right side of Jarčenića (the one on the right side is visible on Fig. 2). *Dugi* means long, while *slog* is an old land measurement. Thus, the etymological explanation for *Parva Crachica* would be “the short [piece of] land.” Both words mean the same, and I assume that the scribe just translated the Slavic word *Kračica* (*Crachica*) as the Latin *Parva*. The toponyms testify about

³⁷ Wippel, *Die geographische Namen*, 46.



Fig. 6. The present-day position of the site among modern villages (Google Earth)

the name-giving pattern and the parceling of the land, but they can be found also all over Turopolje and probably changed over time because of the division or consolidation of pieces of land. In any case, this charter shows that the area north of the land called *Iarchenicha* was an area of plow land, *terra arabilis*.

While in the example above a map with toponyms was useful, the following charter can be nicely illustrated with the First Military Survey map (Fig. 3). Here it should be noted that this map is made without geodetic projection so the geo-referencing is not as accurate as that on the state geodetic map. However, since the exact measurements of the possessions from the charters are unknown, the approximate position is also valuable.

In 1467, a nobleman, Peter, son of Kirin called Czankouicz, sold three pieces of his land (*terram arabilem seu campestem*) situated on the territory of Donja Lomnica to Benedict Krupić.³⁸ Benedikt was a nobleman who had most of his

³⁸ MHNC, vol. 2, 6–8.

possessions in Velika Mlaka and Kurilovec and he was trying to group them together.³⁹

Donja Lomnica, as is visible on the map (Fig. 3), lies half way between Velika Mlaka and Kurilovec. If Benedikt wanted to group his possessions, this would also be a logical area. The borders are, as usual, other people's possessions, but it is also written that they are placed between the road that leads to Mlaka (it is not specific, but since the lands of the sale are in Lomnica this is probably the Mlaka-Lomnica road) on the western side and on the road from Čiče to Hrašće on the southern side. As is also visible on the map, the logical position for this road would be to go through the territory of Donja Lomnica north of the Lomnica River.⁴⁰ A perambulation also mentions that on the eastern side one of the lands borders on *viam vel metham nlgo Nowgarye dictam a parte orientali*.⁴¹ This term is used in six charters, twice mentioned as a boundary (*metas Nowgarzkeamegye dictas*,⁴² *metham nlgo Nowgarye dictam*⁴³) once as a possession (*in possessionibus N(ow)gar vocato*⁴⁴), once as a locus (*terras in loco Nowgaar*⁴⁵), once just as Nowgar (*in Nowgari terras arabiles...et ibidem foenilia*⁴⁶), and once as agricultural land (*terras arabiles Nowgari vocatas*).⁴⁷

In only one charter, from 1551, does the perambulation explain the position of this place. The lands for sale in *loco Nowgar* bordered on the Odra River⁴⁸ on the south and on the road that leads from Petrovina to the *Campum Polye* (to the Field, that is, to Turopolje) on the west and north.⁴⁹ If one compares this data with

³⁹ About the life of Benedikt and the Krupić family see Suzana Miljan, "Plemićka obitelj Krupić iz Velike Mlake," [The noble family Krupić from Velika Mlaka in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti, Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 29 (2011): 83–125.

⁴⁰ MHNC, vol. 2, 6–8.

⁴¹ MHNC, vol. 2, 7.

⁴² MHNC, vol. 1, 104.

⁴³ MHNC, vol. 2, 7. The already mentioned charter with Benedikt Krupić.

⁴⁴ MHNC, vol. 1, 327.

⁴⁵ MHNC, vol. 1, 54.

⁴⁶ MHNC, vol. 3, 381.

⁴⁷ MHNC, vol. 3, 273.

⁴⁸ The Odra is the Lomnica. This river has three different names. It rises at Lomnica on the eastern side of Plješivica Mountain, enters Turopolje beneath Mala Mlaka, and winds through Donja Lomnica, Gradići, and Kurilovec, after which it is called the Odrica, then, after Vukovina the Odra. Milan Šenoa, "Zemljopis i narodopis," [Geography and Ethnography], in *Povijest plemenite općine Turopolje*, vol 1, 6. However, charters in general do not have this strict division, so sometimes the Lomnica is also called the Odra in the area west of Kurilovec.

⁴⁹ MHNC, vol. 3, 237.

that from the First Military Survey, it can be seen that there is a road that goes in this direction straight through Gradići. As seen from this example, it can be suggested with considerable certainty that these lands refer to the area around the archaeological site and maybe even the site itself. In any case, the charters attest that the lands in the area around the site were *terrae arabiles seu campestris*. This term does not imply only plow land but also land that could be used for other activities besides just growing grain.

What these activities were on the land of Benedikt Krupić can be explained by a later charter. In 1555, long after Benedikt had died, his descendants disputed over their inheritance. Female family members were demanding to be paid off with moveable goods, especially animals which had lived on their hereditary (paternal) estates when their fathers (sons of Benedict) were still alive. A large number of pigs is mentioned, fifty of them, along with eight oxen and seven cows.⁵⁰ This was not exceptional. Ethnographic data as well as written documents testify to extensive animal husbandry as the primary economic occupation of Turopolje.⁵¹ In the faunal assemblage from the site of Šepkovčica the most frequent bones are from swine.⁵² A special sort of pig, the Turopolje pig, still exists today and is considered an indigenous breed.⁵³

⁵⁰ *quondam Benedicti Krwupych, veluti in causam attractos mota, nobilis Andreas Mybalych de Kys Mlaka, procurator actricum proposuit, qualiter ipse domine forent filie dicti olim Petri filii antejati condam Benedicti Krwupych, et ob id universa bona et iura possessionaria prefati olim Benedicti Krwupych in Mlaka et alias ubivis habita, concernerent easdem veluti ipsos in causam attractos, peci[erunt] iure mediante porcionem ipsis ex eisdem cedentem, et eciam de rebus mobilibus, videlicet octo bobus, septem vaccis et quinquaginta porcis, que scilicet tem[pore] obitus dicti parentis eorum remanserant, porcionem proveniente[m]; [res] vero predictae mobiles [per] manus violentas ablate essent, sed et isto non considerate ipsi in causam attracti dictas sorores eorum de propriis suis rebus per eosdem in causam attractos acquisitis contentassent, et ob id non debere se ipsis rebus mobilibus, MHNC, vol. 3, 478.*

⁵¹ Josip Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća* [Agrarian relations in Croatia from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century], (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1980), 117, 207–208.

⁵² Zdravka Hincak, “Izvjestaj – Osteološka analiza životinjskih ostataka s nalazišta Šepkovčica (Velika Gorica)” [Report –Osteological analysis of animal remains from the site Šepkovčica (Velika Gorica)] (2007), unpublished report kept in the archive of the Zagreb City Museum.

⁵³ Marija Đikić and Ivan Jurić, “Povijest istraživanja o turopoljskoj svinji [History of research about the Turopolje pig],” in *Turopoljska svinja – autohtona hrvatska pasmina* [Turopolje pig – an indigenous Croatian breed], ed. Marija Đikić, Ivan Jurić, Franjo Kos (Velika Gorica: Plemenita općina Turopoljska, 2002), 41–46.

Gradići

Merging the data from the charter of Benedikt Krupić and the First Military Survey shows that Nowgar was situated somewhere on the territory of the present-day village of Gradići. This village, as already said, was mentioned for the first time by this name in 1734.⁵⁴ However, a charter from 1455 refers to *terram arabilem in possessionibus N(o)wgar vocatam*.⁵⁵ As noted above, without a perambulation it is not certain that all places with this name could be located in the territory of Gradići. Still, the question should be asked whether this means that there was already a separate village on the territory of Gradići in the middle of the fifteenth century. The term *possessio* could have been used for the both village and private property. Sometimes these properties were mentioned separately from the village they belonged to. The form *in possessionibus* is remarkable because it is written in the plural and the charters refer to the land in the property of one village as *in possessione*. I think that even if this charter refers to the area of Gradići, this was still not a separate village, but was just a group of pieces of agricultural land that belonged to different owners. The charter where it is mentioned with a perambulation one hundred years later refers to it as *locus*, not village.⁵⁶ Thus, a proper village would have been mentioned in at least one of the perambulations from Donja Lomnica and Kurilovec (the two villages between which Gradići is located) and so would at least one person from that village. Every time that Nowgaar is mentioned it is connected with selling agricultural lands or hay fields.

This can be supported with the etymological explanation of the word. Nowgaar stands for *nau garu*.⁵⁷ The translation of this term is the “land set aside.” Thus, while archaeological finds testify to settlement on the territory of Gradići in the early medieval period, in the late Middle Ages this was some sort of special territorial unit with agricultural lands owned by different owners; in the early modern period, with growth of the population, a separate village started to develop on this territory.

⁵⁴ MHNC, vol 4, 610.

⁵⁵ MHNC, vol. 1, 327.

⁵⁶ MHNC, vol. 3, 273.

⁵⁷ In her work on toponyms of Turopolje, Wippel lists Nowgaar as the name of a field. She writes that it may have come from the merging of two words *novi*, meaning new in Croatian, and *grad*, town in modern Croatian, but it can also stand for any kind of construction. Wippel, *Die geographische Namen*, 28. This, however, is not the proper reading of the word. I thank Damir Karbić for clarifying this for me.

Conclusion

Putting an archaeological site on a map and connecting it with data from the written sources gave new opportunities for interpreting both the environments around the site of Šepkovčica and the site itself. This made it possible to conclude that this site was not a village that was abandoned in the fifteenth century, but that it was part of a village system that clearly existed from the ninth/tenth century (based on archaeological finds), extended to the thirteenth century (the first written sources) up to the present day. The use of space within the borders of this settlement changed over the centuries and it was used for different sorts of activities, not all of which could be explained by archaeological methods alone due both to the limited area of the rescue excavations and only partial preservation of particular structures.

Due to greater number of preserved documents starting from the last quarter of the fourteenth century, it was possible to learn more about the use of space on the borders of the villages for the later medieval period. Documents connected with Benedikt Krupić attest to keeping large numbers of different animals in the area north of the Lomnica River in the late Middle Ages. These data suggest that in the fifteenth century this zone on the borders of the settlements was used for extensive animal husbandry. Now the archaeological finds can be analyzed in this context.

One more thing should be noted: one should be careful not to imagine this zone as a vast unpopulated area between the villages (*Fig. 6*). By looking at the map, one can see that the distance from the center of Mlaka to the center of Lomnica today is only two kilometers. What can be seen from the written documents is that these villages were densely populated. Even if the houses were scattered, it cannot be assumed that they were distant from the site.

**THE SACRED PERIPHERY:
A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF NATURAL CULT SITES IN
MIEVEAL EAST CENTRAL EUROPE¹**

Karen Lynn Stark 

East Central Europe has many “natural” cult sites – holy sites for which a geographical or natural feature constitutes a major or even defining aspect of the sacred site including hills, mountains, caves, and wells. These features have the potential to reveal much about contemporary medieval popular devotion, the relationship between the Church and the lay community, and personal, communal, and regional identities. Historic sources are a useful and necessary element in beginning to decipher these places, but these sites are still, essentially, places, and how one interacts with and perceives a place is largely determined by its spatial elements. Thus, a spatial approach is equally necessary.

In this study I examine eleven natural cult sites, (followed by the saint with whom they are associated):

- St. Ulrich’s Spring (Austria) – St. Ulrich and St. Clement
- Capistran’s Well (Czech Republic) – St. John Capistran
- Mount Gellért (Hungary) – St. Gerard
- Ivy Well (Hungary) – St. Gerard and St. Günther
- Margaret Island (Hungary) – St. Margaret
- Mátraverebély Holy Well (Hungary) – Virgin Mary
- St. Martin’s Mountain (Hungary) – St. Martin
- Jasna Góra (Poland) – Virgin Mary
- Pool of St. Stanislaus (Poland) – St. Stanislaus
- Marianka (Slovakia) – Virgin Mary
- Skalka nad Váhom (Slovakia) – St. Andrew and St. Benedict²

These sites represent a sample of the natural cult sites of Central Europe for which a medieval heritage can plausibly be shown. While this list is not exhaustive,

¹ This article is adapted from my MA thesis: “Saints, Stones, and Springs: Cult Sites and the Sacralization of Landscape in Medieval Central Europe” (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

² Here I list each site’s location by the modern-day country name. Where possible, I use the Anglicized form of the site name. Also note that the name I use for each site is the one that most closely refers to the natural aspect of the site. Thus, I use “Ivy Well” and not the village name of Bakonybél, to draw attention to the supposed holy nature of the environmental or topographical feature.

it does include cult sites for which there is the most relevant source material. The precise area in Central Europe that is the focus here is within or very near the greatest extent of the Hungarian Kingdom during the Middle Ages, thus constituting a broad, but cohesive geographical area.

Centrality versus Remoteness in Shrine Location

Sacred space, the “sacralization of landscape,” and the relationship between medieval Christianity and nature is a topic that has garnered much attention in Western European scholarship, especially in the past thirty years or so.³ Compared to the West, the topic has been less studied in Central and Eastern Europe, although some substantial research has been conducted.⁴

One such study, completed by Mary Lee Nolan in 1990, entitled, “Shrine Locations: Ideals and Realities in Continental Europe,” is an analysis of over

³ André Vauchez, ed. *Lieux Sacrés, Lieux de culte, sanctuaires*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 273 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000); Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia, ed., *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990); W. Davies, G. Halsall, and A. Reynolds, ed., *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing, 2004); Andrew Spicer, *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006).

⁴ See, for example: Gábor Klaniczay, “Domenicani, eremiti paolini e francescani osservanti ungheresi e i loro santuari alla periferia,” in *Ordini religiosi e santuari in età moderna*, ed. Lucia M. M. Olivieri (Bari: Edipuglia, 2013), 19–34; idem., “Il monte di San Gherardo e Pisola di Santa Margherita: gli spazi della santità a Buda nel Medioevo,” in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, 267–284; idem., “Miracoli di punizione e malefizja,” in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and M. Modica (Rome: Viella, 2000), 109–137; Máté Urbán, *Világon kívüli hely a világ közepén: Remeterendi és ciszterci tájzsemlélet a 11–12. századi elbeszélő források alapján* [A place outside the world in the middle of the world: The eremitic and Cistercian approach to landscape based on eleventh and twelfth century narrative sources] (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem [hereafter: ELTE] Bölcsészettudományi Kar Történelemtud. Doktori Iskola, 2013); Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005); József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó, ed., *People and Nature in Historical Perspective* (Budapest: CEU & Archaeolingua, 2003); József Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban, középkori kolostortájak” [Medieval monasteries in the landscape, medieval monastic landscapes], in *Quasi liber et pictura; Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies in honor of András Kubinyi's seventieth birthday], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE, 2004), 337–349; László Ferenczi, Márton Deák, Balázs Kohán, and Tamás Látos, *Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténeti vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel* [Research on historical pathways in the Pilis: Landscape and archaeological examinations with GIS] (Budapest: Script, 2013).

6,000 sites.⁵ The study examines one of the basic problems of Christian sacred space, the dichotomy between the “celestial center” and the “sacred periphery.” This problem also relates to one of the major issues addressed in this study, that is, how a place becomes sacred and what contribution geography makes to sacrality. Shrines located in “centers” had advantages and attractiveness; they could be reached by a greater number of people and could serve as the spiritual (and often the economic) backbone of a community. This is exemplified in the ultimate spiritual center, Jerusalem, as well as the centers of Christianity, Rome in the West, and Constantinople in the East. But the periphery had its lure as well. It had a multi-layered appeal, representing both the desert of Christ and where the early hermit saints faced temptation, as well as a “Garden of Eden” in the earthly world, unspoiled and separate from the constructed world of humans. Peripheral sites had the additional benefit of distance, for the journey was central to pilgrimage, and the further one travelled the greater the spiritual reward.

In Nolan’s study she considers Christian shrines located in Western Europe that were still active in the later twentieth century.⁶ But how do Nolan’s results compare with medieval Central Europe? Do Central Europe’s shrines uphold the same ideals as those of Western Europe, or is there a pronounced difference? In this study there is the additional element that the holy place is largely defined by a topographical or natural feature, unlike Nolan’s study in which only four percent of the shrines were considered holy solely because of a “sacred environmental feature.”⁷

⁵ Mary Lee Nolan, “Shrine Locations: Ideals and Realities in Continental Europe,” in *Luoghi sacri*, 75–84. The study is described in greater detail in: Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*, Studies in Religion (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁶ Nolan analyzes shrines located in Italy, France, Spain, West Germany, Austria, Portugal, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Norway. Except for Austria, she did not include shrines located in the countries considered in this study. Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 5.

⁷ However, of the shrines Nolan includes, about forty-four percent contain one or more “sacred environmental feature” (in addition to relics or sacred images that the site might host; the environmental feature was not necessarily the focus of sacred power at the site), but there is no indication of when these sacred features began to be considered as such, leading me to believe that many are likely of early modern origin. Nolan, “Shrine Locations,” Table 4, 5, pp. 81, 82.

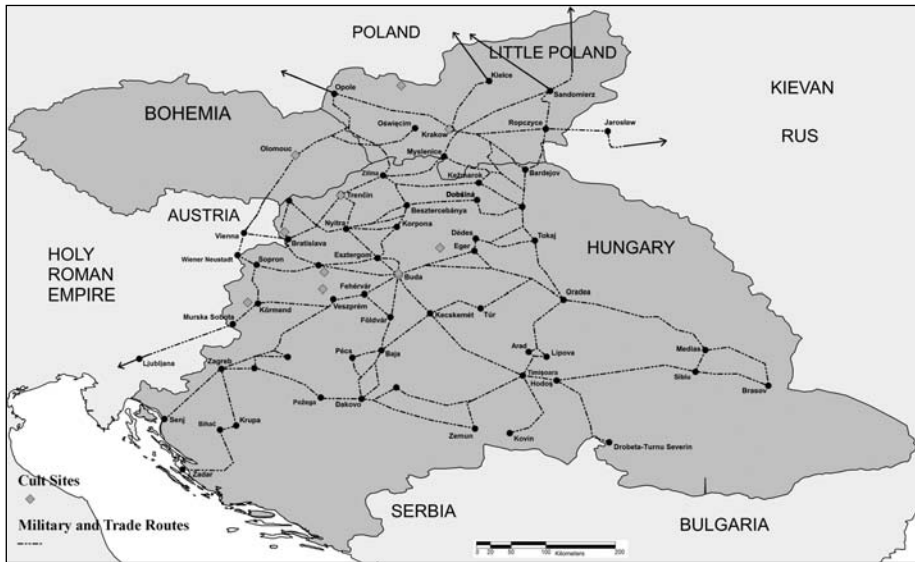


Fig. 1. Major military and trade routes in Central Europe, 13th–14th century⁸

To assess remoteness or centrality I use both historic maps and GIS (Geographical Information Systems) as methods to store, organize, georeference, and visualize geographical information. Perhaps both the simplest and the most immediately indicative way to measure the remoteness or centrality of a site is to analyze its distance from population centers as well as its accessibility. Thus, I examine the relationship between natural cult sites and major towns, cities, and roads of Central Europe (Fig. 1).⁹

⁸ I created this map with GIS referring to several other maps depicting trade and military roads. For the primary military and trade routes in Hungary I used the map created by Attila Zsoldos found in Gyula Kristó, ed., *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon (9–14. század)* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon (ninth to fourteenth century)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994). For the roads extending north of Hungary into Poland I used the following maps from F. W. Carter, *Trade and Urban Development in Poland: An Economic Geography of Cracow, from its Origins to 1795*. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography. Book 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): Fig. 9. Cracow's land routes with northern Hungary in the Later Middle Ages, 72, and Fig. 11. Principal Trade Routes from Cracow, 95. Please note: Cities are given by their modern-day names and in the language of their modern-day country of origin.

⁹ All of the cult sites discussed here except Capistran's Well at Olomouc, had by this time come into existence. At the earliest, Capistran's Well would have been known by the

What is perhaps the most striking is how many of these 15 sites are located in or very near towns or cities. Six are located along roads, five of which are also located in cities, and a further two are within twenty kilometers of a town or city. Only three sites, Bakonybél, Mátraverebély, and Jasna Góra, are located in comparatively remote areas.

The Sacred Wilderness

People often associate natural cult sites with remoteness. There is an assumption that sacred natural features such as mountains or springs are features of the wilderness, of the forest, not something close to our secular world as it is the distance that contributes to their sacredness. This is a concept addressed by Victor W. Turner and Edith L. B. Turner in their definition of pilgrimage in the sense of liminality, as a “movement from a mundane center to a sacred periphery.”¹⁰ But, in fact, what denotes a “wilderness” is subjective. Wilderness might simply refer to woodland or any uncultivated land, regardless of the distance from inhabited areas.

So why is remoteness the exception and not the rule in this case? What makes Bakonybél, Mátraverebély, and Jasna Góra unique? Certainly there is the eremitic element. Bakonybél was the site of the hermitage of both saints Günther and Gerard. There are several hermits’ caves at Mátraverebély carved into the nearby hill and overlooking the holy well. Although these hermits’ caves were not used until the eighteenth century, given the religious climate and romanticism of nature at the time it is not surprising that a remote site was chosen. But one cannot think of these sites as entirely isolated. Bakonybél may have been a hermit’s haven, but it was also the site of a Benedictine monastery founded between 1016 and 1020 by King Stephen and also previously a royal curia, making it a “center” in its own right.¹¹ Mátraverebély, too, while more remote, was less than ten kilometers from the village of Pásztó, the site of both Benedictine and Cistercian twelfth-century foundations.¹² Pásztó was also an important town in its own right — it had the

mid-fifteenth century, however, Olomouc continued to be an important town in Moravia and the road running through Olomouc pictured on the map continued to be used for hundreds of years later, so the map still is valid in the case of Capistran’s Well.

¹⁰ Victor Witter Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 34.

¹¹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 12; Gáspár Csóka, “Bakonybél,” [Bakonybél], in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*, 77.

¹² Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 68.

privilege of a market town from the fourteenth century.¹³ Mátraverebély itself was considered important enough to include in the *Tabula Hungariae* or Lazar Map, the earliest extant printed map of Hungary from ca. 1528, where it is depicted by an image of a church and the label “Werbil.”

Jasna Góra, the northernmost of the sites and the most remote, also had links to eremitism as it was the site of a Pauline foundation. The Order of St. Paul the First Hermit had a mixed character comprised of monastic, mendicant, and eremitic elements, but the eremitic elements were particularly strong, not surprising given their namesake.¹⁴ Therefore it is no surprise that Pauline monks would be attracted to isolated places, ideal for quiet spiritual contemplation.¹⁵ Today Jasna Góra is surrounded by the city of Częstochowa, but before the foundation of the Pauline monastery in 1382, Częstochowa was but a small town and Jasna Góra would still have been a relatively remote location.¹⁶ Adding to the attraction of a remote location is the impressive viewshed of Jasna Góra. At its highest point it reaches 295 m above sea level; although not particularly tall by mountain standards, it is a singular place in the surrounding area, which is comparatively flat.¹⁷ The hermitic character of the Pauline Order at Jasna Góra is more pronounced if compared to other Polish Pauline foundations. For instance, the Pauline monastery at Beszowa, founded in 1421, was in a central location on an important route to the city of Lublin. The monastery “explicitly ministered to the parish whose church they took over,” so site selection in this case was motivated more by the later mendicant character of the order than by landscape features.¹⁸

The Pauline link, however, cannot have been the sole justification for the remote nature of this holy place. Firstly, two other “central” holy places, Marianka and the Pool of St. Stanislaus, are also sites of Pauline foundations and the Pauline

¹³ Ibid., 68; Ilona Valter, “Pásztó, egy Zsigmond-kori mezőváros,” [Pásztó, a Sigismund-period market town], in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437. I Katalógus*, ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, and Tünde Wehli (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987), 271–282.

¹⁴ Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary,” *Periodica Polytechnica* 43 (2012): 53–56.

¹⁵ Máté Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek a későközépkori Magyarországon” [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5, no. 1 (2009): 64.

¹⁶ Jerzy Groch, “The Town-Formative Function of the Jasna Góra Shrine,” *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 204.

¹⁷ Ibid., 203.

¹⁸ Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 132–133.

Order, despite its practice of eremitism, has a history of paradoxically founding monasteries in central locations.¹⁹ The presence of the Paulines at Jasna Góra has more to do with politics than the attraction of a certain kind of geography. Duke Ladislaus of Opole, the founder of the Pauline monastery, was a relative of King Louis the Great of Hungary and spent some time at in his court, where he likely became acquainted with the order. The year before the foundation at Jasna Góra, the Paulines had achieved a major victory for their order when they received the body of St. Paul the First Hermit. Certainly this was a time when the Pauline Order was in vogue.

Cult Sites as Sacred Centers

In the map of *Figure 1* centrality is clearly dominant over remoteness. Capistran's Well, Margaret Island, Mount Gellért, Skalka, and the Pool of St. Stanislaus are all located in major cities. The remaining two sites are neither located in cities nor on a major road, but they are not exactly isolated locations either — Pannonhalma is located about twenty kilometers from the nearest city, Győr, and Ulrich's Spring in Heiligenbrunn is a little over 15 kilometers from Körmend.

Mircea Eliade has referred to holy places as “centers,” saying, “Every temple or palace, and by extension, every sacred town or royal residence is assimilated to a ‘sacred mountain’ [‘where heaven and earth meet’] and thus becomes a centre.”²⁰ Every holy place is a “center” to some extent in the way Eliade describes, being a focal point between the heavenly and earthly spheres, a point where man and God communicate. But did the location of a holy site within an already important secular place contribute significantly to the site's sacrality?

These sites were situated in central locations, making them relatively visible and easy to access, however, it is their precise placement within these locations that is significant to their conception as sacred. The five cult places located in cities were all located on the respective city's periphery. Margaret Island and Mount Gellért frame Buda's northern and southern edges (*Fig. 2*).²¹ Capistran's Well was located in the Observant Convent of Olomouc, which at the time of its

¹⁹ Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 64.

²⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. R. Sheed (London: Sheed & Ward, 1958), 375; Robert A. Markus, “How on Earth Could Places Become Holy?” *Journal of Christian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1994): 258.

²¹ The role of these two sites as the sacred periphery of in Buda is analyzed in detail by Gábor Klaniczay in: “Domenicani, eremiti paolini e francescani osservanti ungheresi e i loro santuari alla periferia,” 19–34, and idem., “Il monte di San Gherardo e l'isola di Santa Margherita,” 267–284.



Fig. 2. Town view from the Ottoman period showing Buda and Pest from the east (Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg. *Theatri praecipuarum totius mundi urbium liber sextus, Anno 1618*)

foundation was at the edge of the town. According to the present tradition at the monastery, the well was located at the walls of the city where the women washed clothes, and situated in two possible locations, either where a grand marble well stands today just outside the walls of the church, or at the site of a more humble spigot in the cloister gardens.²² Similarly, the Pool of St. Stanislaus was located just outside of what at the time was the city of Cracow, in the nearby suburb of Kazimierz (Fig. 3). In the Middle Ages the Vistula River split into tributaries around Cracow, dividing the central area of Cracow – Wawel, where the cathedral and Royal Court are located – from Kazimierz. Lastly, Skalka and Marianka are located about ten kilometers from important cities, Trenčín and Bratislava, respectively, putting them outside the secular sphere but still conveniently close for the casual pilgrim.

²² Personal communication, Dominican Brother Pavel Mayer, chaplain at Klášter Dominikánů Olomouc, April 19, 2014.

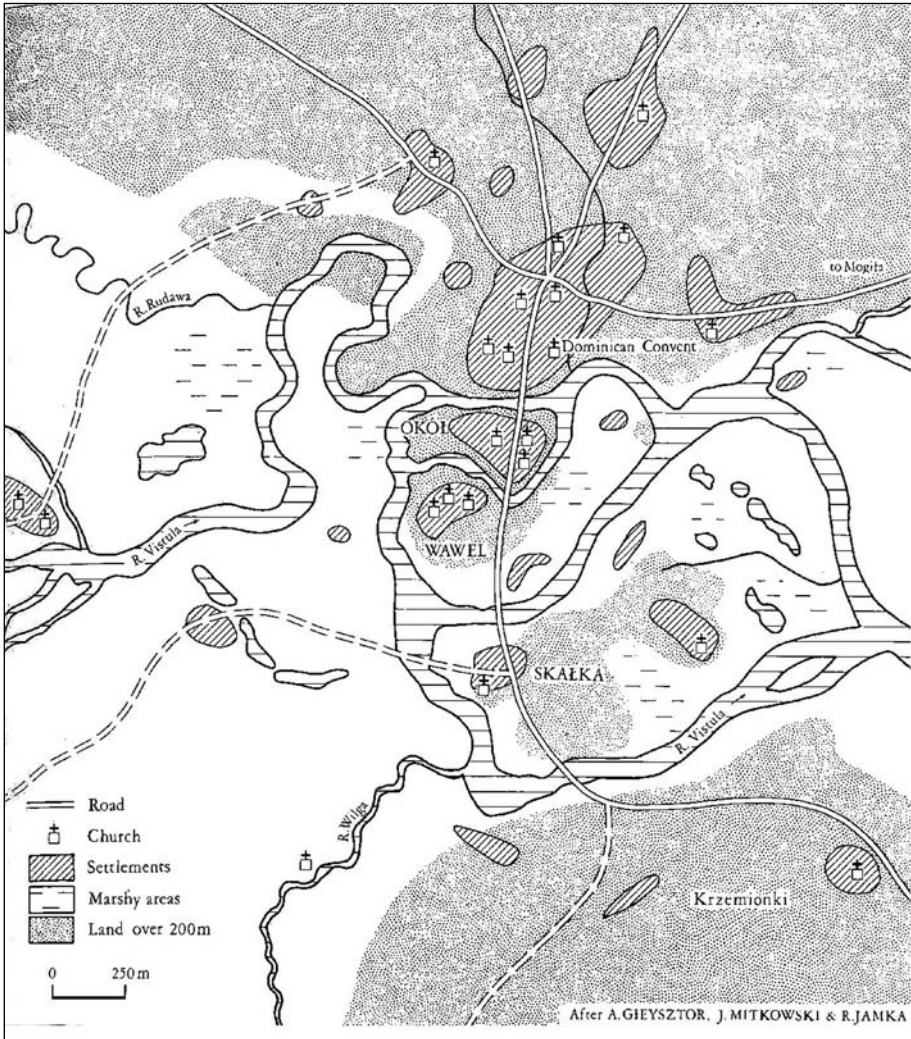


Fig. 3. Map of Cracow in the tenth to twelfth centuries. The church of St. Michael at Skalcka is seen in the bottom center of the map (F. W. Carter, *Trade and Urban Development in Poland: An Economic Geography of Cracow, from Its Origins to 1795*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) Fig. 4, 45)

Sacred Edges: A Spatial Compromise

This spatial trend, the appearance of sanctuaries on the periphery of cities or towns, is concurrent with Nolan's finds.²³ She claims that the opposing ideals of centrality and remoteness found resolution through compromises.²⁴ She states, for instance, that "where topography permits, hilltops overlooking urban centers, have often been chosen for shrines," and that "many other shrines are on the edges of towns and cities, or a few kilometers beyond in the countryside or village."²⁵ This is evident in Buda, where Mount Gellért overlooks the city, although the church dedicated to St. Gerard was built not on the top, but at the base of the hill (*Fig. 4*). In this case the exact spot of martyrdom was favored over a more prominent location and greater viewshed.

The situation at Skalka is the inversion of that at Mount Gellért. In representations of Buda, Mount Gellért rises on the edge of the map, marking the sacred periphery of the city with a distinct natural feature. Maps depicting Cracow, however, show Wawel in the middle, situated on a limestone outcrop dominating the cityscape;²⁶ Skalka lies on the edge of the map, almost unnoticed in the flat, low-lying suburb of Kazimierz. But Skalka, and by extension the holy pool, also represented the sacred periphery of the city. On the day of his martyrdom, St. Stanislaus had come to Skalka to pray as a sort of retreat from the city center. Ten years after his martyrdom, ca. 1088/89, the translation of his body from Skalka to the cathedral at Wawel saw the martyr's return to the city center. Liturgical celebrations beginning in the sixteenth century (though according to some scholars possibly earlier),²⁷ included processions from Stanislaus' tomb at

²³ Nolan classifies about 70% of the shrines she analyzes as "Intermediate Shrines." Nolan, "Shrine Locations," Table 1, 80.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 76–77.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁶ Carter, *Trade and Urban Development in Poland*, 5.

²⁷ Most recently see, for example, Maria Starnawska, *Świtych żywiożyciu Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* [The Life of Saints After Life. The Relics in Religious Culture in Polish Lands in the Middle Ages] (Warsaw: DiG, 2008), esp. 200–203; Eadem, "Dominikanie, św. Jacek i elewacja szczątków św. Stanisława przez biskupa Prandotę" [Dominicans, St. Hyacinth and the elevation of the remains of St. Stanislaus by Bishop Prandota], in *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, Zbiór studiów [Mendicants in medieval Cracow. Collected studies], ed. K. Ożóg, T. Galuszka, and A. Zajchowska, 425–458, *Studia iź ródla Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie 4* [Studies and Sources of the Dominican Institute of History in Cracow 4] (Cracow: Esprit, 2008), 419. For a more detailed bibliography see Stanisława Kuzmová, "Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow and Their Role in the Construction

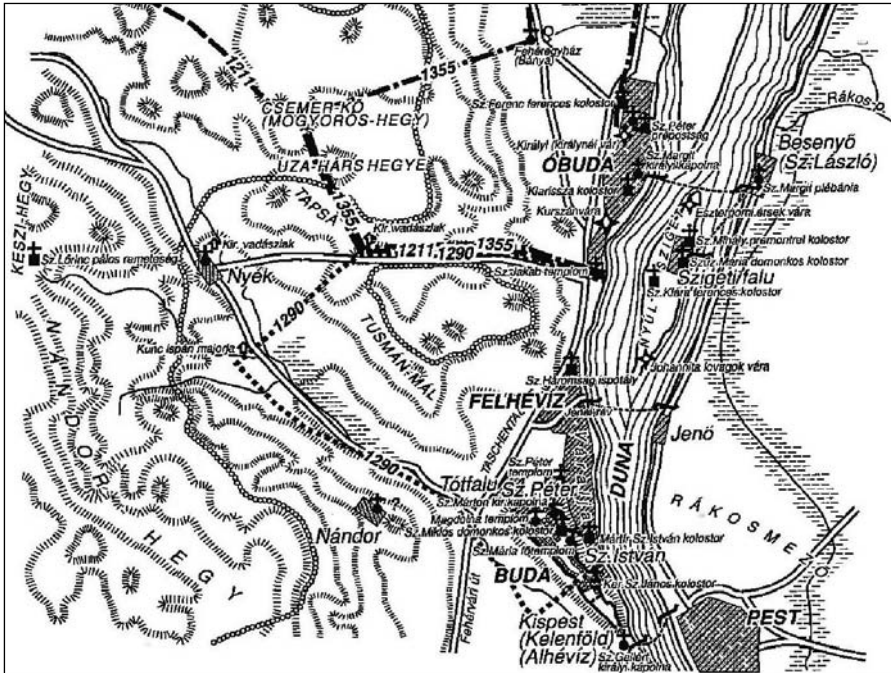


Fig. 4. Map depicting Buda in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
Notice St. Gellért's Chapel at the southern base of the map²⁸

Wawel to the place of his martyrdom at Skalka.²⁹ It also became traditional that on the succession of a new Polish king he would be required to make a procession from Wawel to Skalka before the day of his coronation in remembrance of the Polish patron saint's murder by a Polish king.³⁰

of His Image and Cult" (PhD dissertation, Budapest: CEU, 2010), 17, fn. 19. This thesis has also been published recently: Stanislava Kuzmová, *Preaching Saint Stanislaus. Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow, His Image and Cult* (Warsaw: DiG, 2013).

²⁸ György Györffy, *Pest-Buda kialakulása: Budapest története a bonfoglalástól az Árpád-kor végi székvárosá alakulásig* [The formation of Budapest: The history of Budapest from the Hungarian conquest to its development as a royal seat in the Árpádian Age] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), Fig. 7, p. 95.

²⁹ Kuzmová, "Preaching Saint Stanislaus," 110–11.

³⁰ For more on the pre-coronation process of Polish kings see, for example, Richard Roepell, "History of Poland," *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, 28, part 1 (Hamburg: 1840): 327; Kuzmová, "Preaching Saint Stanislaus," 112; Michal Jagosz, "Procesje kuczci św. Stanisława z Wawelu na Skalkę w okresie prze drozbiorowym" [Processions in honor of

These processions and depictions of Skalka illustrate the character of the cult of Stanislaus at Skalka and Wawel. Wawel was the center of Cracow, prominently displaying Wawel Castle and cathedral, the physical symbols of the state and the sacred. As Stanislava Kuzmová remarks, Wawel became “the centre of the official cult pertaining to the dynastic, episcopal and national patronage; while Skalka became the focus of folk worship.”³¹ This is confirmed by the miracle accounts in Jan Długosz’s life of the saint; twenty-six of the forty-two miracles recorded by Długosz were associated with Skalka, compared to only five with Wawel Cathedral.³²

Not all sites were so close to their patrons and pilgrims. Skalka nad Váhom is located about six kilometers from the neighboring city of Trenčín. The sanctuary of Sts. Andrew and Benedict did not have the same kind of relationship with Trenčín as Skalka did with Cracow or Mount Gellért and Margaret Island had with Buda, but here there was still a thriving local cult. While the site was a sanctuary of both Andrew and Benedict, it was Benedict who was the focus of the cult at Skalka nad Váhom and by 1208 a chapel was dedicated to him at the site.³³ This is not surprising as this was the site of his martyrdom, perhaps the most reliable way for a saint to form a connection with a place. Indeed, his blood is even said to still be visible in the cave paralleling the “staining of blood” at Mount Gellért and contributing an additional, visual attraction element for pilgrims.³⁴

The relationship of Skalka with the nearby city of Trenčín was less important than that between the site and the monastic community which was established

St. Stanislaus from Wawel to Skalka before the partition period], in *Analecta Cracoviensia* 9 (1979): 608–13; and idem, “Procesje kuczci św. Stanisława biskupa imęczennika z Wawelu na Skalkę” [Processions in Honor of St. Stanislaus, martyr-bishop, from Wawel to Skalka], in *Święty Stanisław w życiu kościoła w Polsce. 750-lecie Kanonizacji* [St Stanislaus in the life of the Church in Poland. 750th anniversary of his canonization], ed. Andrzej A. Napiórkowski (Cracow: Skalka, 2003), 161–172; Aleksander Gieysztor, “Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland,” in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 152–162.

³¹ Kuzmová, “Preaching Saint Stanislaus,” 110. For the character of Stanislaus’s cult at Skalka see also Aleksandra Witkowska, *Kulty pątnicze piętnastowiecznego Krakowa* [Pilgrim cults in fifteenth-century Cracow] (Lublin: Towarzystwo naukowe KUL, 1984).

³² Kuzmová, “Preaching Saint Stanislaus,” 110.

³³ Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam, 2008), 186–87.

³⁴ Szilveszter Sólymos, *Szent Zoerard-András (Szórád) és Benedek remetékélete és kultusza Magyarországon* [The life and cult of the hermit-saints Zoerard-Andrew (Szórád) and Benedict in Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996), 19.

there. Jacob, bishop of Nitra, founded a Benedictine abbey here in 1224 and the site selection was largely motivated by the connection with Andrew and Benedict, although the saints' bodies did not rest there.³⁵ Paralleling the translation of Stanislaus' body to Wawel Cathedral, St. Benedict's body was translated from the place of his martyrdom to St. Emmeram's Cathedral in the bishopric of Nitra, which was also the closest city to the site of his first hermitage, Mount Zobor. And like the martyr Stanislaus, Andrew and Benedict became patron saints of Nitra.³⁶ Although the center of Andrew's and Benedict's cult in an official sense was located at Nitra, the saints' popular cult remained almost ninety kilometers away at Skalka.³⁷

Most natural cult sites had some sort of relationship with a monastic foundation. At times, a monastery was founded at a site partly due to the site's already known sacred reputation; at other times the foundation spurred on or inspired the sacralization of a site. Perhaps the most evident example of the latter is at Margaret Island. A Premonstratensian abbey had existed on the island even before King Béla began construction of a Dominican convent there for his daughter, Margaret, in 1246. Béla also had practical motives for choosing the island as his daughter's future home – the queen had a place to stay there. The island was part of Béla's building program in which, after the Mongol invasion, the Danube was central and Margaret Island itself was the site of two military buildings. A Franciscan convent was also established on Margaret Island in 1270, an indicator of the island's presence on the periphery of urban settlement.³⁸ The concentration of religious and royal institutions contributed to the island's importance and its sacred remoteness in the time of King Béla is illustrated by his retirement to the royal curia attached to the nunnery, but this alone did not make the island sacred. The island's definitive sacralization came by way of its connection with St. Margaret. Gábor Klaniczay pinpoints the years 1273 to 1276 as essential to this sacralization process.³⁹ Two canonization trial proceedings

³⁵ Sólymos, *Szent Zoerard-András (Szórád) és Benedek*, 15; Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*, 187.

³⁶ Sólymos, *Szent Zoerard-András (Szórád) és Benedek*, 14.

³⁷ A church was built at Skalka on the presumed exact location of the hermitage and in 1520 Count Thurzó built a chapel on the Váh River where Benedict's body was believed to have been thrown in. The site was particularly famous in the sixteenth century, when it drew pilgrims from across the Váh Valley and Moravia. Miladinov, "Margins of Solitude," 187.

³⁸ Klaniczay, "Il monte di San Gherardo e l'isola di Santa Margherita," 267–284. For a detailed description of the monastic foundations on Margaret Island and a succinct bibliography see: Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társasképtalanok*, 16.

³⁹ Klaniczay, "Il monte di San Gherardo e l'isola di Santa Margherita," 272.

occurred between these years, at which time over 130 people provided testimony of Margaret's sanctity and of miracles connected to Margaret and her tomb on the island.⁴⁰ The cult of St. Margaret proved to be one of the most important in Hungary, even though both of these canonization attempts failed and she was not properly canonized until 1943.

Central shrines only accounted for a little over a tenth of the total number of shrines in Nolan's study,⁴¹ while over half of the sites discussed here can be categorized as such. Despite their "centrality" almost all of these natural cult sites adhere to the concept of the sacred periphery. In the case of medieval Central Europe then, the assertion made by Victor and Edith Turner holds true, that most holy places in major religions are located on the edge or periphery of towns, cities, or other territorial units.⁴²

Conclusion

Collectively, these natural cult sites exhibit some definitive patterns. The contrasting shrine ideals of centrality and remoteness find compromise in the concept of the sacred periphery. Most of the sites discussed here were located near important towns and roads, making them more prominent and accessible. However, they preserved the mystique one would expect to find at natural cult sites by their locations at the edges of towns or centers, "separated" from the mundane sphere in some capacity — by height, like at Mount Gellért or by water as at the Pool of St. Stanislaus (the tributary of the Vistula River).


These sites show that, indeed, the sacralization of landscape in medieval Central Europe was a multifaceted and complex process. In this process a codependent relationship between landscape and religion emerged, with individuals "choosing" and transforming the landscape according to their needs and desires, and the landscape also "speaking" to individuals, suggesting into what it could best be transformed. Most holy sites were not created from one event; the accumulation of spiritual and religious connections garnered the attention of individuals, both lay folk and the ecclesiastical elite, and through patronage and promotion, pilgrimage sites acquired sacred connotations.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Nolan, "Shrine Locations," Table 1, p. 80.

⁴² Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 241. For more on the Victor Turner's views on liminality in major religions see, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).

MEDIEVAL PAULINE MONASTIC SPACE IN A ROYAL FOREST: SPATIAL ANALYSIS IN THE PILIS

Zsuzsa Eszter Pető 

A Spatial Approach to Pauline Research

The Order of St. Paul the First Hermit has been of great scholarly research interest in Hungary since it is the only religious order that was founded there.¹ This primacy gave the order outstanding importance in medieval culture and politics.² Historical interest goes back to the sixteenth century when, taking a traditional perspective, Gregorius Gyöngyösi summarized the history of the Pauline order in his *Vitae Fratrum*.³ Researchers and historians followed this style well into the twentieth century. Present Hungarian scholarship on the Pauline Order takes many different perspectives (liturgical, historical, archaeological, and financial),⁴ but there are significantly more general works available – like the latest summary on Pauline economy by Beatrix Romhányi⁵ and the work of Tamás Guzsik on Pauline architecture⁶ – than individual, small-scale studies.

¹ This article is based on Zsuzsa Eszter Pető, “The Medieval Landscape of the Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis Royal Forest,” MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

² On the historical tradition of the Paulines see Beatrix Romhányi, “A pálos rendi hagyomány az oklevelek tükrében. Megjegyzések a Pálos Rend középkori történetéhez” [The tradition of the Pauline Order as reflected in charters. Remarks on the medieval history of the Pauline Order], *Történelmi Szemle* 50, no. 3 (2008): 289–312.

³ Gergely Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, ed. Ferenc Hervay. Bibliotheca Medii Recentisque Aevorum, n.s. 9 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988); Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Arcképek a magyar középkorból* [Portraits from the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. and trans. Ferenc Hervay (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1983).

⁴ For German, Polish, and Croatian research, see Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte–Geist–Kultur* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010).

⁵ Beatrix Romhányi, *A lelkieket a földieket nélkül nem tarthatóak fenn – Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The spirit cannot be maintained without earthly things – Estate management of the Paulines in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2010). in German: “Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15–16. Jh.),” in *Der Paulinerorden*, ed. Sarbak, 129–200.

⁶ Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építésze a középkori Magyarországon* [Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003).

This holistic view affects every single study on the topic, and usually calls for a comparative approach where general questions help the understanding of single case studies and individual phenomena may modify or at least articulate what is known about medieval Pauline history. The goal of this paper is to highlight an aspect of the history of the Pilis forest (also referred to simply as the Pilis), where three monasteries (Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, and St. Ladislaus), are located in the area that is regarded by Pauline tradition as the birthplace of the order (Fig. 1).

The approach of this study is a particular way of contextualizing historical and archaeological data; it adopts the idea and concept of monastic space developed in England,⁷ but adapted to Hungarian circumstances. The space of a monastery, so-called monastic space, is “a physical impoundment of a territory, which is based on historical traditions and events;” these institutions were “endowed from their first foundation with extensive lands and properties, where they could establish, configure, and develop the elements and conditions of sustenance and incomes to support their community.”⁸ This approach tries to connect landscape features with economic documents.

Although a great deal of research has been done since the nineteenth century and the quantity and quality of the sources is presently regarded as acceptable, research in landscape archaeology and monastic space does not have a long tradition or a well-founded method in Hungary. József Laszlovszky, followed by Beatrix Romhányi, has argued that the Pauline monasteries offer a particularly good case for the study of monastic space and landscapes.⁹ Based on this idea, Károly Belényesy carried out regional landscape archaeological work on the Pauline order, which is the first and still the only monograph on the topic.¹⁰

⁷ E.g., on fishponds see Mick Aston, ed., *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988); and James Bond, “Water Management in the Rural Monastery” in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), 83–112; James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004). A complex collection with an archaeological approach is offered by Graham Keevill, Mick Aston, and Teresa Hall, ed., *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001).

⁸ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 12.

⁹ See József Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban, középkori kolostortájak” [Medieval monasteries in the landscape, medieval monastic landscapes] in *Quasi liber et pictura; Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Quasi liber et pictura; studies in honor of András Kubinyi on his seventieth birthday], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004), 337–349; Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11.

¹⁰ Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj-Hegyalja Region] (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2004).

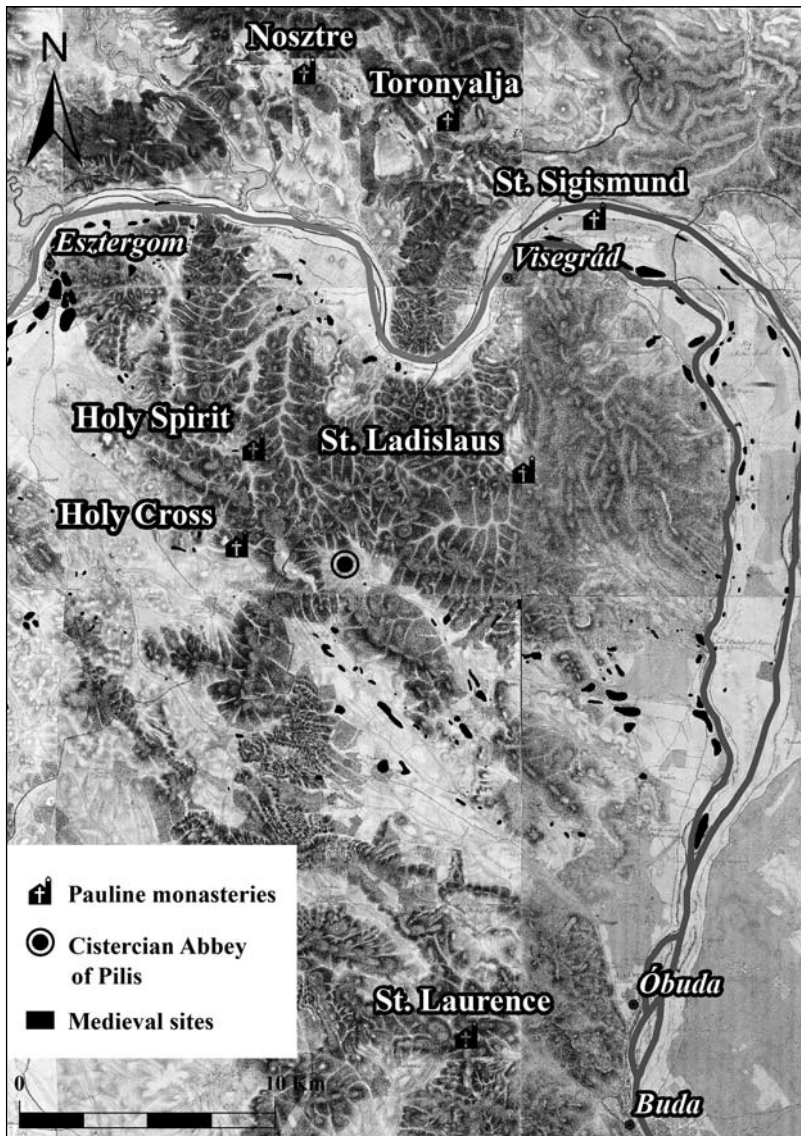


Fig. 1. The main royal and ecclesiastical centers of the medium regni in the Pilis. The base map is taken from the First Military Survey of the Kingdom of Hungary (Első katonai felmérés: Magyar Királyság DVD, Budapest: Arcanum, 2004). I created this map for: Zsuzsa Pető, "The Medieval Landscape of the Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis Royal Forest." MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), 103, Figure 1-1.

My work continues the research on Pauline space in order to widen the previous framework of scholarship and to give a systematic overview of several layers of space – from a monastery up to the entire Pilis Forest – using a variety of sources on a digital platform. A digital platform means to apply to GIS (Geographical Information Systems) methodology to collect, visualize, and analyze historical data. Most of the spatial information – regardless of the resolution – can be managed in a unified system that is the basis of the analytical process at the same time.

My approach starts from two points; first, the extent of the Pauline space itself has to be defined, then the known spatial development and changes of the Pilis royal forest have to be examined. If the use of space is separated into various levels, each level can represent a distinct chance for a historical examination of already revealed or new phenomena, problems, and questions. The framework here has a minimum and maximum spatial resolution: from the entire Pilis to the smallest unit, a monastery.

Research questions can be structured as the following: What is the correlation among the known spatial features of the Pilis (settlements, roads, royal and ecclesiastical centers, other Pauline monasteries)? What kinds of factors were taken into consideration in the siting of individual monasteries or in the site selection process of the order at the level of the Pilis? What other dynamic phenomena can be revealed by examining the religious representation of royal power? Moreover, is it possible to analyze how the regional role of each monastery changed over time?

At a larger resolution the properties and spatial connections of the monasteries can be researched, as well as the closest and direct features of supply. What features show how the landscape and human–nature interaction affected the Pauline monasteries and influenced their profiles in different time periods? What features of each historical period and spatial level of Pauline life are recognizable in the Pilis Forest? As a huge and well-researched written background is already available for a wider synthesis, situating the monasteries in known patterns can also result in formulating general conclusions about the interaction of the order and royal power.

The Pilis and the Paulines – Questions Related to Time and Space

Besides the monastic space approach to research, attention should be paid to the special historical and natural sphere where the three monasteries – the Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, and St. Ladislaus – and the Pauline Order itself were founded. Geographically, the Pilis is bordered on the north and east by a bend in the

Danube, shaping a large triangle (400 km²). The forest is an ideal research area because it preserves all the features which defined Pauline monastic space.

The medieval historical and legal boundaries of the Pilis area changed through the centuries, sometimes encompassing the entire Pilis as a geographical unit, sometimes not – written sources do not define the physical framework of the Pilis Royal Forest. In these circumstances, Pilis means a geographical territory and for historical units the exact terms are used (e.g., Pilis County, Royal Forest, etc.). This topic, along with the medieval environmental and social history of the area is surveyed in an excellent work on the Pilis Royal Forest by Péter Szabó.¹¹

This region was first mentioned as a royal forest in 1187, when it was called “the king’s very own Forest,”¹² and it had the same status throughout the existence of the Hungarian Kingdom. A royal forest (*silva regalis*) was more than an oversized wood; like a Western-type forest (German *Forst*), it was more a legal category which covered wooded areas, but also settlements, meadows, and arable land. Moreover, the Pilis area was located in the heart of the Hungarian Kingdom (*medium regni*) and surrounded by the most important medieval royal and ecclesiastical seats and residences (Esztergom, Óbuda, Buda, and Visegrád were particularly important).¹³ It has always been regarded as a special territory with a unique development and role. Therefore, investigating the spatial features of the Pauline order here means examining the presence of royal power in a space where monasteries were spiritual features of royal representation.

Before 1200 the king had a dense network of royal houses or lodges in the Pilis area and all the main settlements of the period were within one day’s journey of each other.¹⁴ Written sources and limited archaeological data verify the existence of hunting lodges or manor houses near present-day Pilisszentkereszt,¹⁵

¹¹ Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2005), chapters 10–14.

¹² Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93. Most probably, the County of Visegrád/Visegrád county (founded/established before 1009) served as an administrative unit of the royal forests before it has been integrated (in)to a more developed administrative system.

¹³ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 87.

¹⁴ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94.

¹⁵ László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Abbey at Pilis] (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1984).

Kesztölc-Klastrompuszta,¹⁶ Pilisszentlászló,¹⁷ and Pilisszentlélek.¹⁸ Probably these houses did not serve exclusively as hunting lodges. In the Árpáadian era, up until the late thirteenth century, itinerant kingship was the royal practice; the king did not have a single royal seat but traveled almost continuously in his domain. These lodges could also have served as shelters for the king and his retinue when he was just travelling and not hunting.

By the thirteenth century, when the practice of itinerant kingship had ended, some hunting lodges were transformed into monasteries. In 1184, King Béla III (1172–1196) founded the Cistercian monastery at Pilis (today Pilisszentkereszt), which was followed by the three Pauline monasteries – Kesztölc-Klastrompuszta (Holy Cross Monastery), Pilisszentlélek (Holy Spirit Monastery), and Pilisszentlászló (St. Ladislaus Monastery) – in the second half of the thirteenth century. Since these acts are traditionally regarded as the foundation of the order, the development of the Paulines can be examined from the beginning (including the cloudy circumstances of their foundation and emergence), side-by-side with special attention to the relations between the Hungarian kings and the Pauline monks.

The Cistercians and Paulines had somewhat similar relations with the Pilis Forest. The geographical position of the forest made it possible for the two orders to achieve a status peculiar to this region. Namely, the Pilis was hidden enough to be appropriate for religious orders, but at the same time (just like the royal houses earlier) the monasteries were within walking distance of the most important lay and ecclesiastical centers of the kingdom.¹⁹ The fact that all four monasteries were royal foundations, as Péter Szabó notes, demonstrates the royal interest in maintaining control over the monastic orders in the forest. The king

¹⁶ *palatium... quod habebat in insula de Pilisio pro venationis requie*. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 18.

¹⁷ *domuncula lapidea venationi regum preparata*. Györffy, “Adatok,” 284.

¹⁸ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 21; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94; Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki volt pálos kolostortemplom kutatása, 1985–86” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline monastery at Pilisszentlélek, 1985–1986], *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 5 (1997): 493–518.

¹⁹ On the concept of desert-forest, see Jacques Le Goff, “Le desert-forêt dans l’Occident medieval,” *L’imaginaire medieval* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1985); also Mick Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape*. (London: Tempus, 2000), 29–42; Máté Urbán, “Pusztasivatag és Paradicsomkert – Táj és természet a remeterendek és a ciszterciták középkori felfogásában” [Abandoned desert and paradise – Landscape and nature in the understanding of the hermit orders and Cistercians], *Vigilia* 75 (2010): 2–9.

himself visited those monasteries with his retinue, but “these places were more ‘hotels’ than ‘residences’.”²⁰

A Spatial Agenda

As research on the Pauline order goes back for many centuries and a considerable amount of literature has been published on their history,²¹ a critical selection, a strict ranking, and using the most recent and critically evaluated material is essential. Traditionally, Pauline history has been assessed by economic, cultural, social, and political approaches, but less is known about the monastic space itself even though the basic sources are generally the same. Contemporary charters (mainly perambulations and financial documents) are the basic indirect or direct sources in landscape studies on, e.g., different types of properties, prices, and the locations of features like mills, fishponds, and roads. Approximately five thousand charters are available for research on the Pauline order in the entire Kingdom of Hungary, but the chronological and geographical distribution as well as the quality of these documents is not balanced. Almost fifty relevant documents are extant for the three monasteries in the Pilis, most of them related to the St. Ladislaus Monastery.²²

Two major sources written in the sixteenth century help the research.²³ Prior General Gyöngyösi's²⁴ historical work, *Vitae Fratrum*,²⁵ is the best known and most used narrative work; compiled with the help of charters and other documents, it focuses mainly on the prior generals, relating anecdotes and important chronological data. An inventory of the medieval charters (*Inventarium*), also compiled by Gyöngyösi, provides full-text versions and abstracts of documents

²⁰ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95, 117.

²¹ See Belényesy, *Abatij-hegyalja*, 88–91.

²² Of course, not all of the data have been collected nor interpreted, partly because there is no complete catalogue of the documents. Data on the economy has been gathered by Beatrix Romhányi in her articles and book (approximately 1000 charters, see Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11), but this also means a selective collection. For these reasons, the author could use the results and source collections of the secondary literature and intends to do a complete revision of them concerning the Pauline monasteries of the Pilis.

²³ The list is mostly based on the summary of Beatrix Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary,” *Periodica Polytechnica* 43 (2012): 53–56.

²⁴ For more on his life and activity see Gábor Sarbak, “Prior General Gregory Gyöngyösi and the History of the Pauline Fathers in the Early 16th Century,” in *Infima aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009), 250–260.

²⁵ Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*.

confering privileges and property rights.²⁶ Most of these sources (from original charters to later summaries and catalogues) are well researched,²⁷ so it is possible to find relevant points regarding sources and results on Pauline history and economy.

Besides written data, for a spatial topic it is crucial to use modern maps from the beginning of the twentieth century, maps of the Unified National Map System,²⁸ historical maps (especially the Habsburg Military Surveys of Hungary, and cadastral maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries)²⁹ as basic sources. It is equally important to take geological³⁰ and hydrological maps into consideration. Sadly, other kinds of medieval pictorial sources are not available for the Paulines in the Kingdom of Hungary. Only one large-scale map, the *Tabula Hungariae*, depicting the whole country in the Middle Ages, is available for my research that confirms the general landscape of the area.³¹

Archaeological sources – the results of excavations at the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries and field surveys in connection with *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series³² – revealed the ruins of the monasteries to some extent.³³ Previous archaeological research was based on published and archival data. The aims of my study are to follow up and verify past results in the field,

²⁶ It was partly published in the volumes of *Documenta Artis Paulinorum* (DAP). Romhányi, “Pálos élet forrásai,” 324.

²⁷ Especially Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*.

²⁸ Digitized map, projection: 1:10.000, Egységes Országos Térképrendszer (EOTR) [Unified National Map System], Földmérési ésTávérzékelési Intézet (FÖMI) [Institute of Surveying and Remote Sensing] (Budapest, 2010).

²⁹ Stored in the Hungarian National Archives. See *Első katonai felmérés: Magyar Királyság* [The First Military Survey: the Kingdom of Hungary], DVD, (Budapest: Arcanum, 2004); *Historical Maps of the Habsburg Empire – The Second Military Survey*. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum, Eötvös Loránd University, Metropolitan Archive, and Institute and Museum of Military History, 2014, <http://mapire.eu/en/>. I used the online database of the National Archive, Map Collection (all maps of the collection are digitized). <http://mol.arcanum.hu/terkep/opt/a121112htm?v=pdf&a=start>.

³⁰ Digitized version of the Hungarian Geological and Geophysical Institute [Magyar Földtani és Geofizikai Intézet], 2010.

³¹ Lajos Stegena, ed., *Lazarus secretarius. The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work* (Budapest: 1982). See the accepted application for UNESCO World Register (Last accessed 05-19-2014). http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/nomination_forms/hungary_tabula_hungariae.pdf

³² See Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája [MRT] [The Archaeological Topography of Hungary], MRT 5, MRT 7.

³³ On the Monastery of the Holy Spirit see Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki”. On the Holy Cross see Júlia Kovalovszki, “A pálos remeték Szent Kereszt-kolostora (Méri István ásatása

select new approaches, and find additional features (new archaeological data) in the landscape around the monasteries.

Human–nature interaction has left marks and features on the landscape, and these data are the basis for further historical investigation into the economy, politics, and culture. The properties, holdings, and boundaries of a monastic jurisdiction defined monastic space; in the case of the Paulines in the Pilis Forest the landscape holds many important, only partly revealed, historical features. Around a monastery one can find typical spatial features: moats, dikes, fishponds, water supply leats and drains, wells and streams, remains of arable land, boundaries of woodlands and pastures, the remains of market gardening, and the location of mills, other industrial buildings, and roads close to the monastery. These alterations to the natural landscape are well preserved on many sites; moreover, in the wooded uninhabited areas of the Pilis many, mostly undiscovered, features exist.³⁴ Thus, besides gathering and visualizing the previous results, it is possible to find new information about the the structure of the land and its use.

Methods and Levels of Interpretation

Examining historical space means that all kinds of sources are relevant, but their structuring and the perception of the topic involve a special methodological issue which is also affected by the territory being researched. A proper, and probably the clearest, viewpoint is generated by unifying traditional sources and landscape archaeology, where datasets are elaborated on a digital platform. Regarding not only this but the fact that in Hungary there is no existing well-prepared protocol for documentation, including the different origins and scales of the material, it is essential to create an experimental structure and manageable framework of

Klastrompusztán)” [The Pauline monastery of the Holy Cross (István Méri’s excavation at Klastrompuszta)] *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1993): 173–207.

³⁴ During the Ottoman occupation this territory – just as the wider area of Buda – was destroyed and deserted. From the second half of the seventeenth century this territory was resettled by Slavic people (mainly Slovaks and Serbs), but the woodlands of the Pilis were respected, almost until the present day. This indicates that the settlement structure – just as in the Middle Ages – is dispersed. The road network has changed greatly in modern times, but the remains of the medieval *viae magnae* can be reconstructed. For more on this topic see Szabó, *Woodland and Forest*, 2005 and also Beatrix Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben” [Pauline monasteries in the Pilis], in *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára* [Laudator Temporis Acti – Studies in honor of István Horváth on his seventieth birthday], ed. Edit Tari (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 223–227.

datasets for research in the Pilis. Thus, the task here is to create a unified yet flexible model for managing a varied and manifold dataset.

The data structure (Fig. 2), the background of the approach, starts with the smallest physical objects (archaeological material-artifacts, Level 1) and ends with the examination of the whole Pilis area (Level 5), but the focal point of this system is the level of the monastic space (Level 3) in both a chronological and spatial sense.

Level of complexity	Data Item
1	Individual artifact
2	Monastery
3	Monastic space
4	Regional topography
5	The whole Pilis Forest

Fig. 2. The data structure

This data structure provides two mayor ways to view the results: A local approach (Levels 1–3) and a regional perspective (Level 4), which support the framework of monastic space and contextualize the spatial location of a monastery with its surroundings and other properties in light of contemporary topography. This helps to separate (and investigate separately) the different legal, economic, and historical backgrounds of the monasteries, but certain geopolitical focal areas of the Pilis can also be detected that correlate with the Pauline monasteries. On the next level, the entire Pilis region (Level 5) is the largest unit of this system contextualizing the scattered areas of the monasteries. Above all, the Pilis itself as a geographical unit can be interpreted in a wider region, including the surrounding areas (like the southern area of the Börzsöny hills and the Buda hills south of the Pilis). The selected areas were influenced by the central settlements, thus, the historical connections among them play an essential role in a spatial perspective.

How can one apply these approaches to find all discoverable and relevant features of monastic space, collect them into an appropriate database and synthetize the information? The methodology starts with reviewing historical and modern maps, combined with the technique of archaeological field survey. After gathering the available historical and cartographic sources, archaeologists explore the targeted territory using a camera and a GPS (Global Positioning System) unit for recording the condition and location of archaeological objects and features. Such targeted field surveys have been made several times at the Holy Cross, Holy Spirit (using a Total Station), and Pilisszentlászló monasteries. With the methodology based on a digital platform, all types and pieces of information

from the field and from other primary sources (charters, descriptions, maps, and archaeological data) are put into a GIS database.³⁵ A GIS database not only operates as a database of the digitalized data, but – also importantly – it serves as a basis for further research from which results can be synthesized and also visualized.

The spatial datasets and maps form different layers; each of them has to have exact spatial validity. These layers can be superimposed on each other, which helps find new spatial connections between various maps on a digital desktop. Landscape features, unknown constructions or simple spatial connections can be revealed this way, which can sometimes be correlated with medieval written data. Based on layers, further (geostatistical) analyses and models can be developed, but for every analysis a precise digital elevation map or model (DEM) is essential. The more detailed a model is, the more successful the analysis can be.³⁶ On a DEM, slope inclination and slope aspect can be measured for the selected area; landscape units and slope classes can be identified.

In the hilly area of the Pilis, a Least Cost Path (LCP) analysis was used successfully; it defines the most effective route, the shortest and easiest path between two points, based on the rule of minimum effort and maximum effect – here using only the numeric values of digital elevation models. Following the idea that in any time period the easiest paths were ideal for those travelling on foot or by carriage, an LCP analysis can be used successfully to reconstruct historic routes.³⁷

Shaping Pauline Space in the Pilis – The Pauline Character and Impact on the Landscape (A Local Approach)

None of the three Pauline monasteries has ever been examined systematically in a spatial perspective; besides the hermit origins and the Holy Cross Monastery; only the the representation of royal power has been discussed briefly.³⁸ Therefore, the main goal of the work here was to systematically list the known features of monastic space in the Pilis region and to record their conditions. It was also the

³⁵ The demonstration version of ArcGIS Software (ESRI) was used to develop the database and to do trials on the area.

³⁶ The open source layers are precise to 30 m at best, which is sufficient for middle- or large-scale tests. Here ASTER GDEM was used.

³⁷ László Ferenczi – József Laszlovszky, “Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén,” *Studia Comitatus* New Series 1 (2014): 103–124.

³⁸ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

intention to find new features around the monasteries and study them in their historical and environmental context, Level 3 in the data structure.

It became clear that spatial features found in written documents have yet to be correlated with the discoverable existing features of the Pauline space. Of the three monasteries, two were identifiable precisely; the systematic summary revealed some new features behind their foundation, the framework of their lives and local history. Following a chronological order in the discussion helps to situate the Pauline properties and spatial features in the Pilis.

In the Pilis (and in other regions as well) hermitages were established in hidden, hilly areas (the sources refer to these places as *desertum*); as the Pauline tradition says, secluded from the lay sphere, and closely connected to nature (near springs, which were always crucial, and caves) with the wish “to forget the world and by the world be forgotten.”³⁹ Although the primacy of the Holy Cross Monastery is much debated,⁴⁰ it is clear that the Pilis has many features suitable for supporting hermit life, e.g., many small caves are hidden in the region, and at least three of them in the immediate neighborhood of the Holy Cross Monastery can surely be associated with medieval hermits.⁴¹ Along with other natural and often symbolic elements of hermitages (stream heads/wells), these features define not only the hermits’ living sphere, but also their symbolic meaning, as they were identified with hermits even in the late Middle Ages.⁴²

The Holy Cross Monastery seems to have been founded between 1263 and 1291.⁴³ The first part of this period correlates with a special event; King Béla IV

³⁹ Lawrence Butler, “The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries in England and Wales,” in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), 1.

⁴⁰ Romhányi, “A pálos rendi hagyomány”.

⁴¹ MRT 5, 234–236; Szabó, *Woodland and Forest*, 116.

⁴² see the charter by Pope Eugene IV to Archbishop Dionysios of Esztergom in 1440: “...first the order was settled only in deserted, uninhabited, wooded places, far from populated/dwelled-in areas and lived a monkish life in small cells and chapels, which still can be found at some places.” Trans. by the author Hungarian text in Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 17; Original charter: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Hungarian National Archive – Collection of Charters], MNL OL DL 13521.

⁴³ László Solymosi eliminated many false conclusions from the debates and determined the date of foundation as 1263–1291. See László Solymosi, “Pilisziget vagy Fülöpsziget? A pálos remeteélet 13. századi kezdeteihez” [Pilis Island or Philip Island? Early Pauline hermit life in the thirteenth century], in *Emlékkönyv Orosz István 70. születésnapjára* [Studies in Honor of István Orosz on his seventieth birthday], ed. János Angi and János Barta, jr., (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2005), 11–23; also József Laszlovszky, “Ciszterci

moved his royal residence to Esztergom for a while again, next to the archbishop, in the mid-1260s, since he was in a dispute with his son, Stephen (who later became king as Stephen V), the *rex iunior* of Hungary. Thus the king was more aware of certain developments in the area of Esztergom;⁴⁴ he permitted or supported events like the foundation of hermitages/pseudo-monasteries near or in the royal forest.

As Beatrix Romhányi points out,⁴⁵ the nature of this support is known from later written sources; King Béla assured free territories for the hermits around the mid-1260s near the site that later became the Holy Cross Monastery. This was less than support but more than simple permission and answered the need of such hermit-like communities to have their own free and cultivatable territories. This was surely unsuccessful – as it was probably was repeated by King Ladislaus IV (1272–1290) – but it shows that the king respected and personally supported the hermits.

The first donations probably led to the emphasis on the Holy Cross Monastery within the hermit movement; this position may have been the result of its geographical location, namely, proximity to the ecclesiastical and former royal center of Esztergom.⁴⁶ Pauline historical tradition can be called upon here as part of the argument. Gyöngyösi's *Vitae* records that the Pauline order was founded in the hidden wood of the Pilis at the Holy Cross Monastery by Blessed Eusebius of Esztergom (although there were hermit communities and monasteries earlier in the Bakony and Mecsek Forests as the same source and historical studies state). Although this has been convincingly refuted recently and connected to the urgent

vagy pálos? A Pomáz-nagykovácsi-pusztán található középkori épületmaradványok azonosítása” [Cistercian or Pauline? Interpretation of the medieval architectural remains at Nagykovácpusztá, Pomáz], in *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában* [The Cistercian order in Hungary and Central Europe], vol. 5, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 191–208; although it cannot exclude the habitations in caves or huts, because hermits could have lived there unorganized until they were officially constituted.

⁴⁴ The conflict between the king and his son began in the early 1260s; the first battle took place in 1264. Based on this data, the king would have spent more time in the archbishop's seat, Esztergom, rather than in the newly founded Buda, which was occupied by his son. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 224–225. Additionally, it might be a sign of Esztergom's strong connection with the royal presence that King Béla and his closest family members were buried in the Franciscan friary there in 1270.

⁴⁵ Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 224–225.

⁴⁶ However, as Péter Szabó points out, the king may have just fostered a spontaneous process, so the hermits in the Pilis seem to have been in the right place at the right time. Szabó, *Woodland and Forest*, 116. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 224.

need to find (thus create!) *the* founder of the order,⁴⁷ it may refer to the strong correspondence of the early Paulines and royalty which has been documented in the Pilis region.

Northeast of the Holy Cross, the St. Ladislaus Monastery (at Kékes, present-day Pilisszentlászló) was also founded by 1291, as the second inventory of Veszprém Diocese mentions them together in that year.⁴⁸ This might have been a foundation of King Ladislaus IV as the monastery was named after his patron saint.⁴⁹ The foundation of the St. Ladislaus Monastery might have been prompted by a good spatial location, but as the circumstances of its foundation and the precise location are not known only hypothetical ideas can be proposed.

Between the Holy Cross and St. Ladislaus Monasteries, but much closer to the former, the Holy Spirit Monastery might have served as a sub-cloister of the Holy Cross Monastery.⁵⁰ It was founded in 1287, but not listed in 1291. The Holy Spirit monastery seems to have had the least impact on regional Pauline history in the Pilis area, but the site tells a great deal about the circumstances of foundations; here the archaeological and architectural evidence support the existence of an earlier (royal) curia.⁵¹

As a summary of the thirteenth-century tendencies, two dates give focus points: in 1263 the hermit communities were recorded as too poor to ask for a papal allowance, but the next inventory, in 1291, shows the main communities in better condition. Between these two dates at least two monasteries were founded in the Pilis and royal patronage had already had a significant effect in the area through land donations. This period was also the divide between a clear hermit lifestyle and a changing, more developed, economy.⁵²

The beginnings of the order are not well articulated, but it is sure that at the turn of the thirteenth century the hermit monasteries held small pieces of land

⁴⁷ This kind of need has been highlighted by recent studies in the case of the Carmelite order as well. Romhányi, “A pálos rendi hagyomány,” 297–298. Beside the strong arguments of the article, it also says that the Holy Cross Monastery was not even mentioned as a potential for the final resting place of the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit.

⁴⁸ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 10, also 17.

⁴⁹ This kind of name has relevance; in previous examples the religious institution was named after the royal founder, e.g., the Saint Andrew Monastery at Visegrád was named after King Andrew I (1046–1060). Here I thank József Laszlovszky for his suggestion and personal communication. Romhányi “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225.

⁵⁰ As Beatrix Romhányi suggests, see “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225–226.

⁵¹ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 15; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116, ref. 75.

⁵² Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 2010, and also on an English summary on the late medieval period, see Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries,” 53–56.

and other properties (Level 4 of the data structure). Vineyards (the Holy Cross and the St. Ladislaus monasteries owned them⁵³) played a major role from the very first donations, but local conditions, arable land, meadows and pasture land, orchards, woods, and fisheries (most of them can be found among the properties of all three monasteries) also had great importance in the local Pauline economy during the Middle Ages.⁵⁴

Although it is still impossible to date them because of lacking written and archaeological data, the remains of different parts of the water management systems are the most telling features. Throughout the medieval period in general, fish and fisheries were almost as important as forestry and more important than hunting; they were even more important for monastic communities, as fasting and other dietary restrictions were often related to eating fish.

Monastic fishponds had a variety of forms, just as on lay estates, from small single ponds up to complicated sets of ponds.⁵⁵ Summarizing the background of such forms, as James Bond emphasizes, “the slope of the ground and the alignment of existing natural water channels or potential drain courses was one of the fundamental considerations in monastic planning.”⁵⁶ In addition, it was not unusual for artificial watercourses to lead off of natural streams, which seems to have been the case at the Holy Cross Monastery.

Among the seven ponds that have been documented now or earlier at the Pauline monasteries, valley ponds lay in hilly areas, one at the St. Ladislaus⁵⁷ and probably two at the Holy Spirit Monastery.⁵⁸ A small lay-by pond was also found in a small gorge near the Holy Cross Monastery.⁵⁹ In a steep-sided valley a strong dam creates a classic reservoir pond, but also demands careful floodwater control. Usually two types of control features were constructed: surface or sub-surface water inlets and outlets controlled by sub-surface sluices (made of wood).⁶⁰

⁵³ MRT 5, 236; MRT 7, 142, 167.

⁵⁴ Cooperation between the monasteries and the founders or donors was close, but there was a symbiosis with other ecclesiastical institutions as well. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 130.

⁵⁵ Bond, “Water Management,” 100–101.

⁵⁶ Bond, “Water Management,” 91. On the use of canals and rivers see Bond, “Water Management,” 97–98.

⁵⁷ MRT 7, 166–168.

⁵⁸ Pető, “The Medieval Landscape of the Pauline Monasteries,” 143–144, 151.

⁵⁹ Pető, “The Medieval Landscape of the Pauline Monasteries,” 136–137.

⁶⁰ B. K. Roberts, “The Re-discovery of Fishponds,” in *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, ed. Mick Aston (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), 12–13.

Some remains of earthworks, probably dikes, were found in different conditions at all three monasteries. Most of them are just slightly visible because of the great erosion, but relatively large earthworks are still visible at the St. Ladislaus and Holy Spirit Monasteries.⁶¹ Only one vaulted drainage or inlet channel is known (from an archival photo) at the Holy Cross Monastery.⁶² Discovering associated functions is among the variety of questions and problems concerning fishponds,⁶³ e.g., in Hungary, mills were mostly attached to water management systems, whereas in England individual millponds were accommodated beside fishponds.⁶⁴ In the Pilis, ideal places for mills were found near the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries attached to water management systems.⁶⁵ Although only written sources report on the mills of the St. Ladislaus monastery, they also suggest the same connection with the water management system, although probably these mills were not as close to the monastery as those at the other two sites.

The Medieval Pauline World Outside the Walls (Regional Topography)

Although fishponds were undoubtedly used during the Middle Ages, in the mid-1300s the smaller, basically self-sufficient, system started to lose its exclusivity as the Pauline monks broadened their facilities to produce a regular financial income, mainly from wine, vineyards, and mills, e.g., in 1308 the chapter of Esztergom released the Paulines of the Holy Cross Monastery from paying taxes on their vineyard which lay in the foothills of Kesztlőc.⁶⁶

⁶¹ MRT 5, 443 (Table 69, Picture 1).

⁶² István Méri, *A klastrompusztai legendák nyomában* [On the track of legends at Klastrompuszta] (Dorog: József Attila Művelődési Ház, n.d.), 8–9; Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Adattár [Hungarian National Museum – Central Database], II/1960/73.

⁶³ C. C. Taylor, “Problems and Possibilities,” 465–474. He also mentions a problem which might be interesting for the Paulines in Croatia or Dalmatia, namely, the question of sea-fishing. In England, he argues, river fishing, ponds, and weirs tend to obscure the importance of sea fishing.

⁶⁴ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 203; Andrea Kékedi, “Középkori pálos kolostorok környezetalakítása a nagyvázsonyi történeti táj példáján” [Medieval Pauline monasteries shaping the environment of Nagyvázsony, an example of historical landscape], MA thesis, Budapest Corvinus University, 2008, Budapest; Károly Belényesy, *Abaij-hegyalja*.

⁶⁵ In England, individual millponds were located beside fishponds, Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 203. Discovering associated functions is among the variety of questions and problems concerning fishponds, see C. C. Taylor, “Problems and Possibilities,” 465–474.

⁶⁶ Gyöngyösi, *Inventarium privilegiorum omnium et singularum domorum ordinis eremitarum sancti Pauli primi heremite*, unpublished manuscript, 1522. Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár [ELTE

Regarding general (spatial) tendencies, written sources show that the Paulines wanted to consolidate their lands (mostly arable lands, vineyards, mills) close to their monasteries. In the Pilis, this is assumed to have been a regional tendency, where a one- or two-day journey – for a more productive/profitable property – would not have caused problems for the Paulines. This seems to have been the case of the St. Ladislaus monastery, which had a parcel in Visegrád,⁶⁷ vineyards at Borosjenő⁶⁸ and Vác, and a mill with a parcel at Sződ,⁶⁹ in this case more to the south on the other side of the Danube. Mills were a good way of developing small poor monasteries; from the time of King Louis I several monasteries received mills as donations. In the Pilis, only the St. Ladislaus monastery received properties. Louis I gave a ruined mill, Kékespataka (the stream of Kékes), to the monastery at Szentendre, and another upstream site for a mill in 1358.⁷⁰

Based on the extra income, the Pauline monasteries started to systematically develop a money economy in the first half of the fourteenth century. For example, from 1425, the Holy Cross (Prior Andreas) and the Holy Spirit monastery (Prior Matthias) shared the ownership of a house in Buda (Mindszent utca – All Saints' Street) which they bought for 440 florins; their regular income from the rent was 8 florins (the house was mentioned again in 1443). Later, in 1513, the two monasteries rented the house to a skinner, Sigismund Peiniczer, for 100 florins with the stipulation that he should pay 10 florins each year and keep the house in good condition.⁷¹

From the end of the century, there was a clear division in the Pauline economy. On the one hand, there were well-to-do monasteries, but on the other hand, small hermit-like communities existed until the end of the Middle Ages with a small self-sufficient economy for six or ten monks. Many examples fit this category, just like the monasteries in the Pilis.

These examples show clearly that the character of the Pauline order cannot be described using the traditional categories for religious orders: monastic, mendicant, eremitic.⁷² The hermit character indeed described the first few decades

University Library] Cod. Lat. 115 (Liber viridis) f. 85; cited in MRT 5, 236.

⁶⁷ MNL OL DL 10021, cited in Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 50, 145.

⁶⁸ MNL OL DL 4230, 4231.

⁶⁹ They sold a vineyard at Szentendre to purchase one much closer to the monastery.

⁷⁰ MNL OL DL 7121, (copy: DL 15116), cited in Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 75, 147. Regarding the similar status of the monasteries in the Angevin era, the two other monasteries may have built/acquired their mills around the time when the one to St. Ladislaus was donated.

⁷¹ Gyöngyösi, *Inventarium*, f. 82, cited in Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 47.

⁷² Laszlovszky, "Középkori kolostorok," 348–349.

of the order. In the written sources, however, the order's concept had changed by the fourteenth century; Beatrix Romhányi (based on a complex analysis) highlighted the features of the order which were similar to other monastic orders,⁷³ citing the German historian, Kaspar Elm, who referred to the Paulines as an unmade mendicant order,⁷⁴ e.g., they received alms for pastoral work. In 1476, The Holy Cross Monastery owned a house in Esztergom which had been donated by Magister Emeric Lovasi as eternal alms, requesting regular masses for the peace of his soul in return.⁷⁵

The “Spatial Strategy” of the Paulines in the Region: Approaching the Pilis Forest

Despite the environmental attributes of the Pilis, it was not a typical *desertum*; the Paulines were not very far from the lay sphere (small settlements), nor from each other, nor from roads (they were typically situated only a few kilometers from main trade routes).⁷⁶ Besides these generalities, some further important tendencies are revealed by the locations of royal and ecclesiastical centers, particularly the locations of the monasteries along the roads through the Pilis (Fig. 3).

The best known route, the *via magna* (Fig. 3, VM), crossing the settlement of Csaba, was regarded as the main connection among the settlements between Esztergom and Buda. The Holy Cross Monastery, the earliest among the three sites, is close to this main road; it had special importance by reason of permanent royal support.⁷⁷ Another important route led north to the *via magna*, the main Roman road between Brigetio (present-day Szőny) and Aquincum (present-day Óbuda, Fig. 3, R1). Applying the LCP analysis to the track of this road shows that it is aligned to the easiest track on the terrain.⁷⁸

⁷³ Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 139.

⁷⁴ Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries,” 54.

⁷⁵ Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 139, 189.

⁷⁶ Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 102; Szabó, *Woodlands and Forests*, 111; Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül*, 10–12; Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok,” 348–349; Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 67–69, 162.

⁷⁷ Elek Benkő, “*Via regis – via gregis*. Középkori utak a Pilisben” [*Via regis – via gregis*. Medieval roads in the Pilis], in “*Fél évszázad terepen*.” *Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából* [“Half a century in the field” – Studies in honor of István Torma for his seventieth birthday], ed. Klára Kővári and Zsuzsa Miklós (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2011), 116.

⁷⁸ For more on this see Pető, “Roman or Medieval? Historical Roads in the Pilis Forest,” *Hungarian Archaeology*, Autumn (2014) at www.hungarianarchaeology.hu.

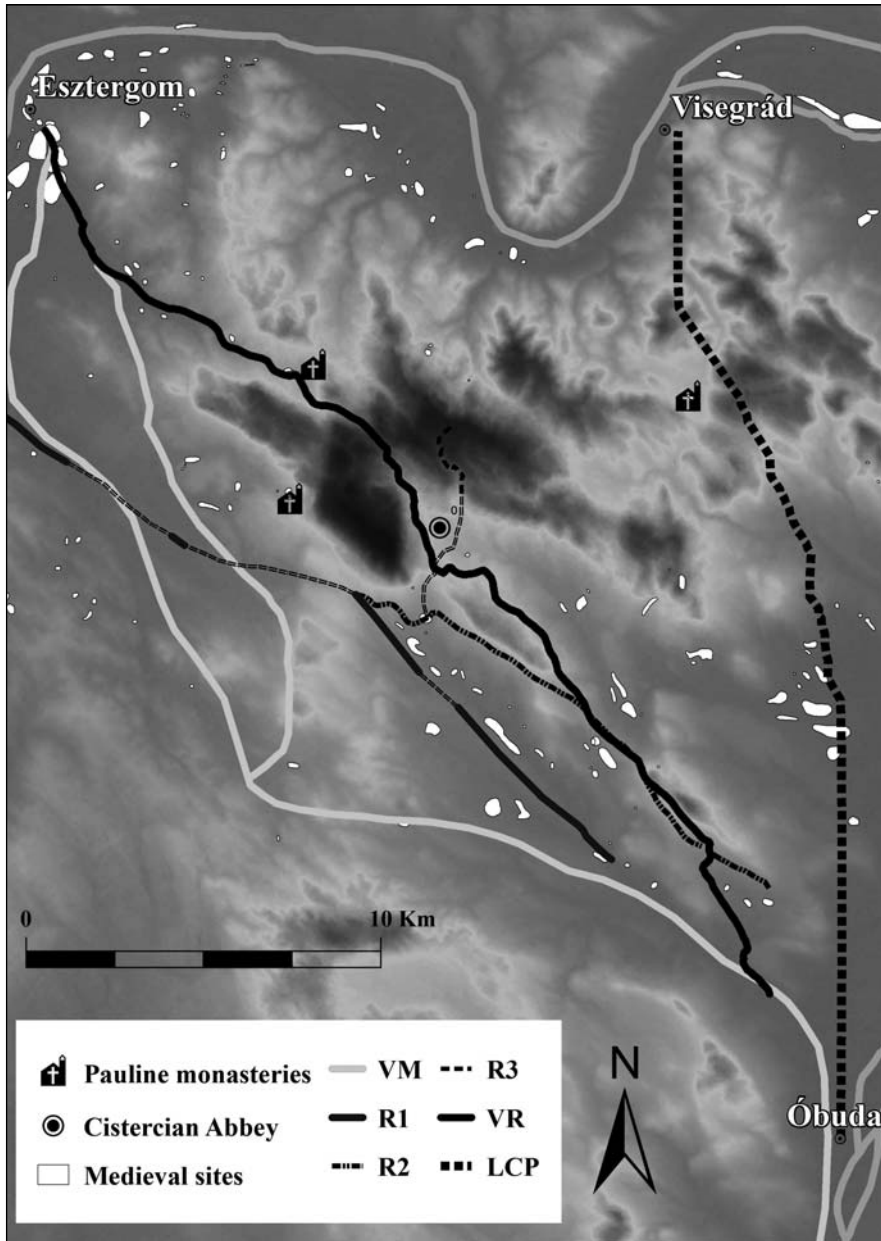


Fig. 3. The known historical roads in the Pilis and the LCP between Visegrád and Óbuda. The base map is an open-source ASTER GDEM2.

Another track was detected from Szántó to Üröm (Fig. 3, R2), following the same orientation as the previous road but north of it,⁷⁹ and a stretch of road was identified by archaeological fieldwork around Pilisszentkereszt and Dobogókő (Fig. 3, R3).⁸⁰ Elek Benkő is convinced that these roads were medieval, and identifies another road, a *via regis*, which was shorter and crossed a relatively uninhabited area of the Pilis. Kings might have used this “royal express road” to get to their manors, later monasteries, and then continued on to Esztergom or Óbuda.⁸¹

This road can be reconstructed from the First Ordnance Map and checked by an LCP analysis. Including the Holy Spirit Monastery as a fixed point, the LCP road follows the route of the main Roman road, but turns north at Szántó and joins the (reconstructed) route of the *via regia* at the Holy Spirit Monastery (Fig. 3, VR). Thus, the model supports, or better, verifies, the validity of such roads in the Pilis when they were necessary for the king in the first half of the thirteenth century.

As the royal power shifted from Esztergom to Buda and Visegrád in the mid-1200s, the Paulines “followed” the movement by their presence at the St. Ladislaus Monastery, halfway between Buda/Óbuda and the newly constructed royal castle of Visegrád.⁸² An LCP analysis shows that the easiest path between the two centers crosses the area of the monastery (Fig. 3, LCP). The importance of the monastery is confirmed by an event that also demonstrates a shift of focus to the eastern region of the Pilis, namely, a political meeting at the St. Ladislaus Monastery in 1308.⁸³

It seems that by the end of the thirteenth century the emphasis of royal power had moved to Buda, which was marked by the foundation of the St. Laurence

⁷⁹ László Ferenczi, Márton Deák, Balázs Kohán, and Tamás Látos, “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténeti vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel” [Research on historical roads in the Pilis: Landscape archaeological – land history investigations with a GIS background], in *Az elmélet és a gyakorlat találkozása a térinformatikában V.* [Theory meets practice in GIS, Vol. 5], ed. József Lóki (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2014), 121–128, http://geogis.detek.unideb.hu/TKonferencia/2014/Konferenciakotet_2014.pdf (last accessed: May 2015).

⁸⁰ Benkő, “*Via regis*,” 115–119; Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak”.

⁸¹ The idea of this *via regia* was unknown in scholarship before it was posed recently. The function and route of the *via regia* between Üröm and Pilis have been researched recently by József Laszlovszky and László Ferenczi. I am grateful for their personal communications. For a recent summary of the field surveys, see Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak,” and Benkő, “*Via regis*,” 115–119; Ferenczi – Laszlovszky, “Középkori utak.”

⁸² Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

⁸³ Romhányi “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225.

Monastery (later also called Budaszentlőrinc) close to this new seat, thus the Pilis was distanced from royal focus. However, the fourteenth century brought many dynamic/intense changes in the royal power and central governance. In 1301, Andrew III died, the last ruler of the Árpáadian dynasty. He was followed by Charles Robert I of Anjou, the first Angevin ruler, (1301–1342) who spent many years stabilizing his reign. During this period his main center was not located in the *medium regni*, but in the southern part of the kingdom. Finally, in 1323, the royal court was moved to Visegrád, where the Angevin kings developed a royal seat and residence. Although King Louis I (1342–1382) moved the royal court temporarily from Visegrád to Buda (to the so-called Kammerhof) in 1347, royal policy was still strong in the area and Visegrád was not forgotten. Seven years later, King Louis returned to Visegrád, which was his center until c. 1377.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, the Pauline network and economy continued to develop in the area as well and tried to follow its earlier strategy and stay in strong correspondence with the royal power. Significantly, in the 1350s, new monasteries were founded (Nosztra and Toronyalja) in the Börzsöny Forest, north of the Pilis and Visegrád, on the other side of the Danube. This suggests that King Louis I intended to use his foundations to enhance the symbolic royal representation through the Paulines by settling them close to the royal court at Visegrád around the Lower Palace, which was built around that time. The translation of St. Paul the First Hermit's body (1381) sheds some light on Pauline hierarchical issues of the time. Gyöngyösi's *Vitae* reports on the translation, suggesting that the Monastery at Nosztra was the pre-selected place for the relics.⁸⁵ By that time the royal curia had been built at Buda, which might have affected the decision about the final place of the relics; in the end they were translated to the St. Laurence Monastery.

The St. Laurence Monastery on the outskirts of Buda dominated not only the Pauline hierarchy but also the royal court. King Sigismund also attempted to create another symbolic center near Visegrád, but seems to have been unsuccessful.⁸⁶ From the mid-1400s, mostly during the reign of King Matthias

⁸⁴ Data adapted from Júlia Altmann et al., *Medium Regni – Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1996).

⁸⁵ The stories in the *Vitae Fratrum* suggest and underline (whether they are true or not) that the king had a special relation with the monastery at Nosztra and also he himself promised the relics to his beloved monks there, but finally changed his mind and gave the relics to the St. Laurence Monastery. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 34, 35.

⁸⁶ József Laszlovszky, "The Royal Palace in the Sigismund Period and the Franciscan Friary at Visegrád. Royal Residence and the Foundation of Religious Houses," in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 207–218.

Corvinus, several monasteries were donated to the Paulines that had been run unsuccessfully by other religious orders earlier. In their “international career” they succeeded in getting the San Stefano Rotondo in Rome.

By the sixteenth century, thanks to their brilliant self-management and strong royal (besides ecclesiastical) support, the Pauline order had stabilized its position and had overwhelming leverage in the Kingdom of Hungary. The spatial attributes of medieval features help articulate, or sometimes rephrase, the meaning and role of the Paulines, their monasteries and hierarchy, in the Pilis and the surrounding area.

Conclusion

Where it has been possible to target the area precisely, the circumstances are good for examining monastic space in the Pilis forest. This work is only a first step in a larger enterprise, which – based on a spatial approach – can reveal new aspects in the research on the entire Pauline order. The Paulines in the Pilis were one of the main attributes of the royal forest. Therefore a more detailed research about them, the more an articulated picture will reveal a better articulated picture of their development and changing role in royal power and the Pauline hierarchy. This correlates with the need for systematic and individual studies on Pauline monasteries, which would also affect the conclusions of general studies. In this case, a relevant way to continue the research is by elaborating the conclusions from the excavated archaeological materials, where the objects of daily life can reveal more about the Pauline impact on the landscape.

THE PAULINE PATTERN OF MONASTERY SITE SELECTION IN MIEVIAL CROATIA UNDER FRANKAPAN PATRONAGE

Kristian Bertović 

The emergence, development, life, and role of the Latin Catholic Pauline order in medieval Croatia were closely connected to the aristocratic Frankapan family.¹ In order to understand the connections, relations, and changes that developed, one has to ask (and answer) several questions and identify the initial Pauline site selections. What was the role of the Frankapan family in the foundation and life of Pauline houses? What landscape features were sought in the environments surrounding their monasteries? If there was a pattern in the landscape features selected, how does it correspond with examples on a wider regional scale? How did the order transform and adapt their initial idea of being hermits in an altered economic and social environment and how did the Frankapans influence that transformation?

For practical and technical reasons, a sample of five monasteries is examined here – St. Nicholas (Sv. Nikola) in Gvozd, St. Helen (Sv. Jelena) in Vlaška draga near Senj, Holy Savior (Sv. Spas) in Ljubotina near Senj, Holy Virgin Mary (Bl. Djevica Marija) near Novi (today Novi Vinodolski), and Holy Virgin Mary in Crikvenica.² As there are still no systematic archeological surveys of the Pauline monasteries in this sample, the backbone of my work is written sources, especially grants and donations different members of the Frankapan family gave to various Pauline monasteries. However, I will not use sources related to the Frankapans exclusively, but also documents connecting the Paulines with other members of the local communities, i.e., the lesser nobility and rich burghers, in order to get a clearer picture of the actual Frankapan influence and role in the life of the Pauline monasteries.

¹ This article emerged from part of my MA thesis, “Between the Cross and the Sword: Frankapan Patronage over the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit” (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

² Besides these monasteries, the Frankapans influenced several other Pauline houses such as the Holy Virgin Mary in Turan near Udbina, the Holy Virgin Mary in Zazično, and the Holy Virgin Mary in Brinje, which will not be included here. There were also Istrian houses that were part of the Gvozd vicariate.

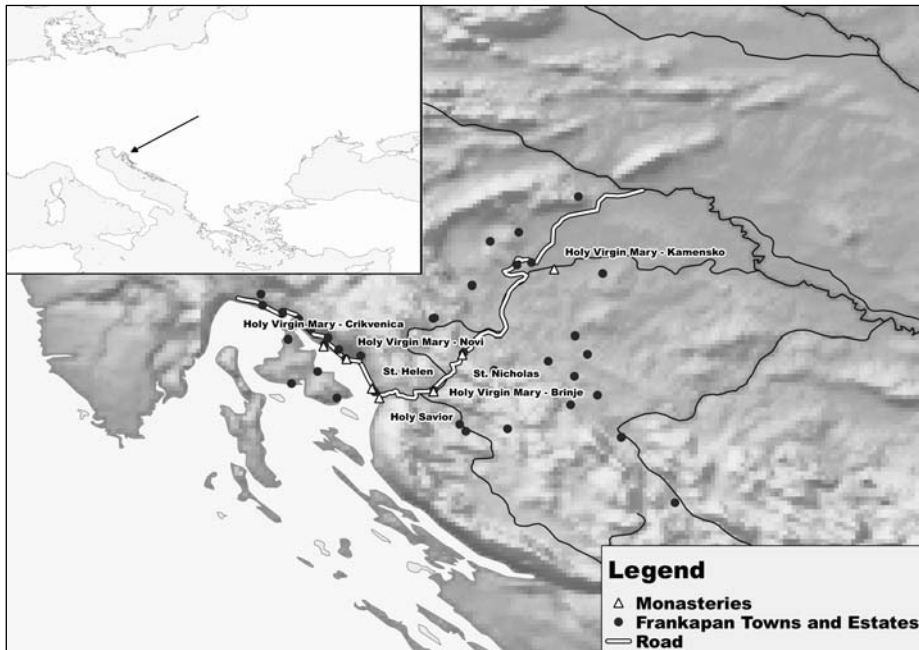


Fig. 1. Pauline monasteries and Frankapan towns/castles (map created by the author)

The topography and spatial context itself can be regarded and “read” as a source (Fig. 1).³ This article offers insights into the Paulines’ active agency in their site selection. It shows their initial hermit *habitus* (houses in desolate locations) and the roots of their later transformation toward the mendicants (houses in proximity to roads and Frankapan towns).

Close reading of the surviving charters regarding the relations between the Paulines and Frankapans is important in my inquiry. This enables me to explore patterns of Frankapan patronage, Pauline economy, and the roles of both parties in contemporary society. The results are set against the wider regional context.

³ Some data for the creation of this map (regarding the road network) were taken and geo-referenced from Lovorka Čoralić, Put, putnici, putovanja – Ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama [Roads, travelers, traveling – Roads and paths in the Croatian medieval lands], Povijesni atlas 4. Sjeverozapadna Hrvatska, Rijeka i Istra (Zagreb: AGM, 1997). Furthermore, this map shows two more Pauline monasteries (Brinje and Kamensko) which were not part of this research due to the technical and practical restrictions of an MA thesis. Pauline houses and Frankapan towns and castles were collected from the sources and secondary literature and then geo-referenced.

Patterns of Site Selection

The Paulines, as the name of the order, *Ordo Fratrum Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae* suggests, were essentially a hermit order. Over time, however, the order evolved and adapted to new social and spiritual circumstances which influenced their existence and shifted their monastic *habitus* towards a mendicant perspective and created a specific hermit-monastic-mendicant character. The foundation and the selection of appropriate sites for their houses were influenced by their initial hermit character. Similar and consistent spatial patterns can be seen on the level of the whole order. As hermits, Pauline monks preferred deserted and desolate locations outside urban communities. Nevertheless, as the map shows, they established their houses in proximity to local road networks and often within walking distance from the nearest urban community.⁴ With few exceptions,⁵ they preferred valleys (*Paulus amat valles*)⁶ or slightly elevated slopes.

These general patterns are attested in several different regions such as the Abaúj-Hegyalja region in Hungary⁷ and medieval Slavonia.⁸ Comparing the situations of the sample monasteries in the Gvozd vicariate, one sees the same spatial patterns repeated with some local variations. The monastery of St. Nicholas in Gvozd near Modruš was the central monastery of the vicariate. The monastery's spatial context was highlighted well by the names and attributes ascribed, such as the Latin *nemus* and Croatian *gvozd*, both meaning wood, forest. The monastery was erected in a hilly area on the flank of Gvozd Mountain (today Kapela),⁹ surrounded by dense forest and near the only water source in the area. It

⁴ For more details on the Pauline spatial context see Beatrix Romhányi, "Die Wirtschafts-tätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15–16. Jh.)," in *Die Pauliner. Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*, ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010), 129–200.

⁵ Such as the St. Peter monastery in Zlat which was established on the summit of Petrova gora (hill). For details see Tajana Pleše, "Monasterium de S. Petri in monte Zlat," *Opuscula Archaeologica* 35 (2011): 319–350.

⁶ Tajana Pleše, "Pregled pavlinskih samostana kasnosrednjovjekovne Slavonije" [Overview of the Pauline monasteries in late medieval Slavonia], *Cris: časopis Povijesnog društva Križevci* 12, no. 1 (2011): 202–220.

⁷ Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [Pauline monasteries in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region] (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2004).

⁸ Pleše, "Pregled pavlinskih samostana," 208.

⁹ *Kapela* means chapel in Croatian. Some scholars, such as Kamilo Dočkal, thought that the new name originated from the Pauline presence. See Kamilo Dočkal, "Građa za povijest pavlinskih samostana u Hrvatskoj" [Archival materials for the history of the Pauline monasteries in Croatia], ms on file, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts under the signature Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 1.

stood near one of the biggest towns in medieval Croatia – Modruš – on the main road that led from medieval Slavonia to the Adriatic coast.

Although clearly situated in a different geographical and climatic environment than the monastery of St. Nicholas in Gvozd and monasteries in medieval Slavonia or Hungary, the monasteries along the Adriatic littoral included in this sample followed the same patterns in their spatial context. All of them¹⁰ were erected on the very seacoast, in desolate locations but at the same time not far from the main road which connected medieval Slavonia with the sea and continued along the coast towards the northwest. They were within walking distance of the nearest Frankapan towns.

The map (*Fig. 1*) shows that the locations of the Pauline houses were not chosen randomly. St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd stood on the slopes of Gvozd (Kapela) Mountain, in close proximity to the largest and most important Frankapan town – Modruš. Holy Savior monastery in Ljubotina near Senj followed the same principle as it was established near Senj and below the lowest mountain pass through the Velebit (Vratnik – 698 m).¹¹ This made Senj the closest and the relatively most accessible town and port on the Adriatic Sea from the perspective of medieval Slavonia.¹² The other three followed the same patterns, even if that meant that the monks had to invest a great deal of time and effort to secure the monastery from storms and waves often damaged the monasteries, as was noted by the Pauline chronicler Ivan Krištovec in the case of the Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Crikvenica.¹³ It is clear that there was a strong connection between the Pauline order, the locations of their houses, the main road network that led from medieval Slavonia to the Adriatic coast and further toward Istria, and the Frankapan family, the dominant political and economic force in the region. Taking this into consideration, the question arises whether the Paulines were simply given those locations as passive recipients from their benefactors or whether they actively participated in finding the locations that best suited their needs and monastic *habitus*. In order to answer this question, one must examine the founding of the Pauline houses.

¹⁰ Monasteries of the Holy Savior in Ljubotina near Senj, St. Helen in Vlaška draga near Senj, the Holy Virgin Mary in Novi, and the Holy Virgin Mary in Crikvenica.

¹¹ Velebit is the longest and largest (although not the highest) Croatian mountain, 145 km long, oriented northwest–southeast (parallel with the Adriatic Sea), with peaks up to 1757 m. It creates a significant climatic, regional, cultural, and historical barrier.

¹² From pre-Roman up to modern times this path was the main commercial and travel route to the Adriatic Sea. Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja*, 114.

¹³ Dočkal, XVI 29a (6), 4.

The foundation of the St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd is still unclear to some extent. Nominally, the first mention of the monastery dates to 1330 when Ivan (Anž) V Frankapan,¹⁴ donated a vineyard in Baška (on the island of Krk) along with a mill and a fulling mill in Švica (near Otočac) to the monastery.¹⁵ The problem with this charter is that Ivan V was probably not even born in 1330. He ruled the family lands from 1358 to 1393.¹⁶ Previous Croatian scholarship agreed that the charter is authentic, considering the wrong dating as a later transcription error.¹⁷ Setting aside this charter changes the *terminus ante quem* for the foundation to 1364,¹⁸ but other evidence suggests that the monastery was founded even earlier. In the confirmation charter from 1461 issued by Stjepan II Frankapan, Count Dujam is mentioned as one of the previous donors.¹⁹ Although the charter does not specify exactly which Dujam was a donor, other data (connections with Senj and already being dead by the time this confirmation charter was written) suggest two possibilities – Dujam II (d. 1317) or Dujam III (d. 1348). This information could push the date of the St. Nicholas monastery to the first half of the fourteenth century, maybe even earlier. Still, the founder of the monastery remains unknown, but taking into consideration the surviving charters and both Frankapan and Pauline traditions, I would argue that the Frankapan family founded the St. Nicholas monastery and with it started the Pauline tradition in medieval Croatia.

¹⁴ This charter was preserved incorporated into a charter of Count Ivan VII Frankapan from a 1454 charter, which was then preserved as a later Latin transcript.

¹⁵ Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 14.

¹⁶ He ruled together with his brother, Stjepan I, until his death in 1390. Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knežovi Frankapani* [The Frankapans – Counts of Krk] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901), 182.

¹⁷ Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 6. Dočkal assumed that this charter had been written in 1392, when Ivan/Anž had owned Modruš and was *ban* of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia (in the charter he was addressed as *Banus Regnorum Sclavoniae, Croatiae et Dalmatiae*).

¹⁸ Besides the fact that the St. Nicholas monastery already existed in 1364, one can also see that it had properties in Senj and that St. Nicholas was in the hierarchy above other monasteries in its vicariate. The prior was called vicar and he had some influence and control over other monasteries in the vicariate of Gvozd. Tadija Smičiklas, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Sv. XVIII (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1915), 399–401, henceforth *CD*.

¹⁹ *Item idem pater noster charissimus dedit duas curias in Plazy, videlicet unam, quae fuit alias Georgii Herich, et alteram, quae fuit alias Petri Dyankovich, quam curiam dedit pater noster charissimus pro 12 ducatis, qui recipiebantur de tributo Segniensi prenotato clauastro singulis annis in perpetuum ex donatione Comitis Dnymi bonae memoriae cum omnibus utilitatibus etc.* Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 12.

As in the case of St. Nicholas, the exact year of the foundation or the founder of the Holy Savior monastery remains unknown. The first mention of the monastery dates back to 1364, in the very same charter that is important for the St. Nicholas monastery. On September 29, 1364, the monastery of St. Nicholas *de nemore Modrusse* gave a house in Senj to Dominik, son of Ivan, in hereditary lease for 4 ducats a year. Brother Florijan (*Florianus*), prior of the Holy Savior monastery, acted on behalf of the St. Nicholas monastery and with its approval.²⁰ Although not focused on the Holy Savior monastery, this charter provides valuable information about this establishment. It is apparent that the monastery existed before 1364 and that it had its own prior and monk(s). Also, one can see that the hierarchy among the monasteries already existed by that year – Brother Grgur (*Gregorius*), prior of the St. Nicholas monastery, was also Florijan’s vicar and superior. Thus far, no one can clearly be connected to the monastery as the founder due to the lack of sources. Previous scholars have mostly left the question of the founder completely open²¹ or, as in case of Kamilo Dočkal, tried to infer it based on later donations. Dočkal argued in favor of either the Frankapans or the burghers of Senj, as they were later frequent donors to the monastery.²² Based on the later donations²³ I would argue that the burghers of Senj should be recognized as the nominal founders of the monastery. The Frankapans’ role in the formation and the development of the monastery was less noticeable than in the case of the St. Nicholas monastery. They helped when necessary or when asked, but were not as generous or as eager to earn the grace of the monks as in the case of the St. Nicholas monastery.

²⁰ *Ibique religiosus et honestus frater Florianus, prior Conventus sive Monasterii sancti Salvatoris in valle Glubotine prope Seniam asseruit se ad omnia et singularia suprascripta et infrascripta habere plenum mandatum a religioso et honesto fratre Gregorio, priore Monasterii sancti Nicolai de nemore Modrussae, eorum vicario, et promittit se facturum et curaturum omni occasione remota, quod dictus frater Gregorius confirmabit omnia et singularia suprascripta et in hoc contractu contenta ibidem presente fratre Vrbanu, tunc fratre dicti Monasterii sancti Salvatoris...* CD XIII – 291, 399.

²¹ I.e., Josip Adamček, “Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi” [The Paulines and their feudal estates], in *Kultura Pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786* [The culture of the Paulines in Croatia, 1244–1786], ed. Vladimir Maleković (Zagreb: Globus – Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989), 41–66; Zorislav Horvat, “Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura na području senjske i modrško – krbavske biskupije” [Pauline medieval architecture in the bishopric of Senj and Modruš-Krbava], *Senjski zbornik* 26, no. 1 (1999): 131–132, Mile Bogović, “Pavlini u Senju” [The Paulines in Senj], *Senjski zbornik* 13 (1988): 110–112.

²² Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 8.

²³ That is, on their donors, frequency, types, and number of donations. A complete list, “Holy Savior (Sv. Spas),” appears in the appendix of Bertović, “Between the Cross and the Sword: Frankapan Patronage over the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit,” 93–95.

One can see the St. Helen monastery in Vlaška draga near Senj as the twin house of the Holy Savior monastery. It also followed the pattern established earlier – a desolate location (Vlaška draga is on the northern side of Senj), on the very coastline, within walking distance of the main road and Senj. Unlike the previous cases, the exact date and the founder of the monastery are known as the foundation charter has survived. The monastery was founded on January 10, 1390, by Archdeacon Radovan, burgher of Senj. It is also clear that the church of St. Helen predated the monastery itself, namely, that the church itself was given to the Pauline monks along with permission to build their monastery in the same location.²⁴ Still, the question remains – when was the monastery actually built? Some indications of the time of the establishment of the monastery can be drawn from the fact that the next surviving charter concerning the St. Helen monastery dates from 1415 – twenty-five years after the nominal foundation.²⁵ Both of the Pauline houses near Senj had fairly similar (except for the time difference of the foundation) initial spatial and economic contexts. The Holy Savior managed to acquire significant properties from the citizens, but the St. Helen was not so successful. I assume that Senj and its citizens were not able to support that many monasteries; the Pauline monasteries were not the only ones in or near the city.²⁶ In a situation like this, the Frankapans played an important role in stabilizing the monastery after its initial phase.

With the pattern of site selection established, I argue that the Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Crikvenica follows exactly the same pattern.²⁷ The original Glagolitic foundation charter of the monastery has not survived, but

²⁴ Elemér Mályusz, “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, 3. közlemény” [The charters of the medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the National Archives of Hungary, Part 3], *Levéltári Közlemények* 6 (1928): 181; National Archives of Hungary, Collectio Antemohacsiana (herceforth MNL OL DL) 35282.

²⁵ The monastery sold a vineyard in Vlaška draga. Mályusz, “A szlavóniai és horvátországi...”, 181. MNL OL DL 35418.

²⁶ During the time frame I am dealing with here (from the fourteenth to the first decades of the sixteenth century) there were six monasteries in Senj or its vicinity – besides the two Pauline monasteries (Holy Savior and St. Helen), two Benedictine monasteries (St. George and Holy Cross), a Franciscan friary (St. Francis), and a Dominican friary (St. Nicholas – in the seventeenth century their monastery was taken over by the Paulines). For more details about the monastic situation in Senj see Mile Bogović, “Crkvene prilike u Senju u 14. stoljeću i status senjskog kaptola” [The ecclesiastical situation in Senj during the fourteenth century and the status of the chapter of Senj], *Senjski zbornik* 13 (1988): 15–28.

²⁷ Even though the monastery is known today as the Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Crikvenica, the town developed only in the late eighteenth century. Before that Crikvenica

an eighteenth-century Latin transcription has. According to it, Count Nikola IV Frankapan founded the monastery in 1412. From the late nineteenth century on some scholars have considered this charter a forgery with “historical truth”, that is, realistic content.²⁸ The latest analysis of the charter, by Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Tomislav Galović, characterized it as a forgery with a trustworthy historical core.²⁹ In favor of this conclusion (related to the trustworthy historical core) is also the fact that the next surviving charter (1419) is preserved in the original and confirms the existence of the monastery.³⁰ Taking this into consideration, one can assume that at least some of the data given in the charter can be seen as truthful. One such item is surely the location of the monastery.³¹ As can be seen from the charter, the Paulines acquired the old church in Crikvenica previously built by the Frankapans. It is also interesting to see that the charter mentions special devotion toward the Paulines as one of the reasons for the donation (besides the dilapidated condition of the church and the transience of life). It appears that the forgers (I would assume the Paulines themselves) wanted to highlight the connection and closeness of the Frankapan family to the Holy Virgin Mary monastery. The question of the exact founder of the monastery remains open, but taking into consideration the further development of the monastery and the

was just a small fishing village that took its name from the church that stood there before the monastery was established.

²⁸ That is the reason why this charter did not appear in Smičiklas’ *Codex diplomaticus* edition of charters.

²⁹ Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Tomislav Galović, *Privilegia fundationis monasterii sanctae Mariae Czriqveniczae*, (Crikvenica: Grad Crikvenica, 2008), 3.

³⁰ “...dah’ tr’se i zem’lju i iošte ča k nemu pristoi svetoj Marii v Cr’kvenici, v ruki fratrom’ reda svetago Pavla prvago remeti, tem patom’, da ja Matei dokle sam’ živ’ i ma žena imave dajati crikvi više rečenoj šes’ti del od’ vinograda vina z dropav’, a od zem’le šes’ti del’ žita; in a konac’ mene i moe žene, komu e pustim’ ja ali ma žena s tem više pisanim’ patom’, da od’govara svetoj Marii... I v to vreme beše preur’ svete Marie v Cr’kvenici Vale’nt’, fratar Mar’tin i fratar’ Blaž’.” Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed. *Acta Croatica. Listine Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Brzotiskom Narodne tiskarnice dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1863), XIX, 49–50. Henceforth: *AC*.

³¹ *Ut sit notum et creditum, qualiter nos videntes nostram devotam antiquam ecclesiam sanctae Mariae Assumptionis penes mare in Vinodol, Czriqveniczae in malo ordine et hoc per negligentiam officiantium eam; ideo considerando nos brevitatem vitae nostrae et vanitatem huius fallacias mundi atque ob specialem devotionem quam nos habemus erga venerabiles religiosos viros ordinis eremitarum sancti Pauli primi eremiteae professoris Regulae beati Augustini episcopi et confessoris, aedificavimus illis monasterium penes eandem ecclesiam nostrum Czriqvenicze ita, ut debeant, administrare, valeantque uti dotibus eiusdem ecclesiae, in eaque Deum exorare pro nobis et nostris praedecessoribus totoque Christianismo perpetuis futuris temporibus.* Matijević Sokol and Galović, *Privilegia fundationis*, 12.

Frankapans' role in it, I would argue that the Frankapan family founded the Holy Virgin Mary monastery.

The Paulines clearly favored the climate, spatial, and social context of Senj and Vinodol. The Holy Virgin Mary in Novi was the last monastery established by the Paulines³² following a site selection pattern almost identical to the others. The monastery was erected near the sea at the location of a previously existing church. Both the main road that ran parallel with the sea and the Frankapan town of Novi were nearby. The foundation charter of the monastery has not survived; thus, the exact year of the foundation remains unclear. The seventeenth-century Pauline historians Andrija Eggerer and Franjo Orosz claimed that the monastery was founded in 1453.³³ It is not clear what they used to support this claim, but one can imagine that they might have had some charter that was lost in the meantime. Manojlo Sladović, a Croatian scholar of the mid-nineteenth century, also claimed that the monastery had been founded by Martin IV Frankapan, but he dated the foundation to 1462 and also listed other donated properties. Even though he did not quote the source for this, at one place he says that they were mentioned in the charter.³⁴ By checking the surviving charters related to the monastery, it can be seen that there really is a charter dated to 1462, although according to Mályusz it is not related to the foundation itself, but to a later donation.³⁵ This charter confirms

³² That is, last in the time scope I am dealing with. At least two more Pauline monasteries emerged during the seventeenth century, St. Nicholas in Senj and St. Cosmas and Damian in Baška on the island of Krk.

³³ Andrija Eggerer stated that Martin de Frangepanibus founded the *monasterium sub Castro Novi honori Mariano anno 1453*. Franjo Orosz, *Monasterium B. Mariae Virginis sub Castro Novi juxta mare Adriaticum anno 1453. Ab illustrissimo Domino Comite Martino de Frangepanibus fundatum*, Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 7.

³⁴ "Povelja napominje..." [The charter mentions...]. He states that the monastery acquired from the founder (zakladnik), Martin IV Frankapan, the church of Holy Virgin Mary, one estate with arable lands, vineyards, forests, and one mill. Also according to him, the monastery acquired the village (selo) Belgrad, the hill "Osep" (Osp), and another village (selište) near Novi with all that belonged to it. Manojlo Sladović, *Povēsti biskupijab senjske i modruške ili krbavske* [Histories of the bishopric of Senj and Modruš or Krbava] (Trieste: Austrianskoga Lloyd, 1856), 223.

³⁵ After Martin IV Frankapan founded the monastery and granted it lands, vineyards, and tenant peasants, he decided (or the monks complained to him) that these possessions were not enough for the monks to have a decent life. Thus, he pleaded with Nikola of Kotor (*Chataro*), bishop of Modruš, to incorporate the *archipresbiteratus* of Bužane into the monastery. Elemér Mályusz, "A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, 1. közlemény" [The charters of the medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the National Archives of Hungary, Part 1], *Levéltári Közlemények* 3 (1925): 188, MNL OL DL 34490.

that Count Martin IV Frankapan was the founder of the monastery and may also indicate that it was founded before 1462.

Taking all this into consideration, I would argue that the Frankapan family played a decisive role in stabilizing the Pauline presence as an order in medieval Croatia. Even though it cannot be proven definitively that the Frankapans founded the earliest Pauline monastery in medieval Croatia, it may be assumed that the Frankapans certainly played a role in the presence of the Pauline order. Another conclusion that emerged is the fact that the Paulines were not just passive recipients of grants and donations starting with the foundations of the monasteries. One can really follow a pattern in the site selection of monasteries in solitary locations, on or near the sea (in the case of the littoral monasteries), but at the same time close to the main road and Frankapan settlements, often in the same place as an already-existing church.

The question arises to whom this pattern can be attributed. Were the Paulines able to negotiate the locations of the monasteries with their future benefactors, or was it just the will of the founders? It is hard to give an unequivocal answer, as the foundation charters have not survived and with them possible written information has been lost about the circumstances of the foundations. But in the absence of explicit written evidence, topography can also be regarded as a source. Taking into consideration the fact that all these monasteries followed this pattern (even though they had different founders – members of the Frankapan family and burghers of Senj), I would assume that they were able to negotiate the locations of the monasteries with their benefactors and choose the ones that best suited their needs and the monastic *habitus*.

The priors played an active role in Pauline agency in the formation of the monastic life and economy.³⁶ The fact that all the monasteries presented here were located close to main roads may also indicate a possible role of the Pauline houses as lodging for travelers. Over time, the Paulines abandoned their strict hermitic tradition and started to gain support from the nobility and with the nobility came landed estates. Later, the Paulines moved closer to mendicant practices, earning a significant part of their income directly from investments such as mills, fishponds, and urban houses.³⁷ All this was an apparent discrepancy from their nominal hermit *habitus*. Adamček states that the Paulines were a hermit order only

³⁶ The best example of this pro-active attitude was Father Stanislav, prior of the St. Nicholas monastery.

³⁷ This phenomenon is also attested on the level of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia (for details see Beatrix F. Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn – Pálus gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The Pauline economy in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat

by the word “hermit” in their name.³⁸ Even though he is right to some extent, I would argue that the Pauline hermit tradition and *habitus* can nevertheless be seen in the monastic landscape they created and the conscious choices they made for the sites of their monastic houses.

Kiadó, 2010) and in the case of these monasteries, with some local peculiarities (for details see Bertović, “Between the Cross and the Sword”).

³⁸ Josip Adamček, “Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi...,” 42.

PART 2
Report on the Year



REPORT OF THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2013-2014

Daniel Ziemann

Remarks on the Departmental Strategy

The academic year 2013-2014 was – once again – a very interesting and productive year in the life of the Department. The department carried out some strategic initiatives in order to increase its visibility and to cope with future challenges. The department constantly tried to adapt its own development to the global changes within the academic environment. Special attention was paid to the following issues:

The department has continued and enhanced its cooperation with universities around the globe. We have invited scholars from the US and Europe for our Spring Session as well as for guest lectures. This year Sylvain Piron from the L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Alexander Riehle from the University of Vienna, Richard Unger from the University of British Columbia, and Bryan Ward-Perkins from the University of Oxford, were our guests for the spring session in June.

The department has increased its Erasmus activities in order to promote the exchange of students and colleagues from other European universities. The Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies entered the final period of its project “The Caucasus in Context, 300–1600” (<http://www.cems.ceu.edu/caucasus>). In the course of this project, faculty members have initiated and intensified cooperative research with universities in the Caucasus (Georgia and Armenia). The project held its fourth annual workshop from August 29 to 31, 2013, at Koç University in Istanbul. Furthermore, our colleague, Alice Choyke, initiated contacts with the School of History at Beijing Normal University in China in order to establish new exchange programs, workshops, and other forms of collaboration. The first workshop was planned for November 2014 and – this can already be mentioned – it was very successful. We agreed that we would organize various activities together with our colleagues from Beijing Normal University,

including the exchange of faculty and students as well as common seminars and conferences in the coming years.

Although other topics have been especially promoted during the past years, the region of Central Europe remains one of the pillars of our activities. The department is aware of its responsibility for academic development in the region, where the humanities in particular have suffered drastic cuts in financial support and face other political, social, and economic challenges. Our department will maintain and further elaborate its focus on Central European topics by combining research initiatives in this field. Some scholars in our department have therefore founded the Medieval Central European Research Network (MECERN—<http://mecern.eu>), where scholars dealing with Central European topics from all over the world will have a place where they can contact colleagues working on similar themes. Our colleagues Katalin Szende, Balázs Nagy, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky, Gerhard Jaritz, and myself in collaboration with János Bak organized a conference entitled “A Forgotten Region? East Central Europe in the ‘Global Middle Ages’” from March 27 to 29, 2014. Over 80 scholars from all over the world attended this conference. Florin Curta from the University of Florida was invited to be the keynote speaker. The conference challenged the neglect of East Central Europe in debates about global history. It assumed that the Global Middle Ages could not be conceived without taking the central and eastern part of the old continent into account. At this conference, the foundation of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network was officially announced. The network plans to continue its activity and to publish a research guide on medieval Central Europe. It will organize a series of conferences together with other departments from neighboring countries. On occasion of the 85th birthday of János Bak, Professor Emeritus and founding father of the Department, several participants of the conference used the opportunity to celebrate his scholarly work and his great achievements.

In recent years the Department has constantly worked on broadening its scope beyond the initial dominant focus on the Central European Middle Ages. While this research field will remain a focal point of the department, it has expanded its horizons and includes other topics, especially the Eastern Mediterranean world, which is the core area of the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. Seven colleagues from our department are currently members of the center, which gathers and enhances research and teaching activities from the wider geographic area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The department has successfully developed its collaboration with the Center through promoting and co-hosting projects, lectures and workshops. It has supported the activities of colleagues who are

active within both the Department of Medieval Studies and the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. The Department continues to foster its collaboration with the Center as well as with other interdisciplinary research centers such as the Center for Religious Studies, the Center for Jewish Studies and many others.

While our department is itself an interdisciplinary unit where cross-disciplinary elements form an essential part of our programs, we have broadened our scope and initiated various forms of collaboration with other academic units at CEU, including departments in the field of natural sciences such as the Department of Cognitive Sciences, the Center for Network Science and many more. We invited Prof. Natalie Sebanz from the Department of Cognitive Science, winner of the prestigious Consolidator Grant of the European Research Council on Joint action expertise to our Faculty Research Seminar, where she gave a lecture on “The Art of Coordination: A Cognitive Science Perspective on Our Ability to Act Together.” The Department also collaborated with the Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy to offer a class in Geographical Information Systems’ techniques applied to historical research material.

The Department took a leading role in establishing the new degree program in Cultural Heritage, which is headed by our colleague, József Laszlovszky. The program involves close cooperation with various units within CEU. The Cultural Heritage Studies Program aims to educate future heritage experts and practitioners through developing aptitudes for critical assessment, the ability to reflect on major and minor, theoretical and practical issues concerned with managing or otherwise treating cultural heritage. The goal of the two-year master’s program, which started in the academic year 2014/2015, is to educate adaptable graduates to work at various levels in cultural heritage and cultural resource management. World Heritage is a key element in the conceptual framework of the Cultural Heritage Studies Program. Once launched, the program has turned out to be extremely successful.

We decided to apply for a change in the title of our degrees, starting with our Two-year MA program for both the American and Hungarian accreditation. The current title, “Master of Arts in Comparative History: Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies,” will be changed to “Master of Arts in Comparative History: Interdisciplinary Late Antique, Medieval and Renaissance Studies.” The new title reflects academic developments within our department in recent years. Some of our colleagues have developed teaching and research fields that have expanded the limits of what is normally understood by “Medieval Studies.”

Since its very beginnings the Department of Medieval Studies has defined the medieval period in a very broad sense. Numerous MA theses and PhD

dissertations that have been supervised by our faculty over the last two decades contain data that goes well beyond the artificial border of 1500, into the sixteenth and sometimes even the seventeenth, century. The same need for temporal flexibility is true for research on the period of Late Antiquity, where some of our colleagues are extremely active.

Events at the Department

The academic year started with the traditional field trip, which led us to central Hungary where we visited Tata, Csesznek, Zirc, Hajmáskér, Várpalota and finally Etyek, where we gathered for a nice wine tasting. During the longer spring field trip, we headed north, starting in eastern Hungary before passing through eastern Slovakia and southeastern Poland. After leaving Budapest, Vizsoly was the first point of interest before entering Slovakia, where we stopped at Seňa (Abaújszina). The beautiful town of Košice (Kassa/Kaschau) marked the first highlight of the trip, where we visited some churches and the center. The next stop was Prešov (Eperjes/Preschau) and its regional museum, followed by Trocany, Hervartov, and Bardejov (Bártfa/Bartfeld), where we stayed for the night. The next day led us to Stara Lubovná (Altublau/Ólubló) before we entered Poland, where our first stop was Stary Sącz. We continued through Nowy Sącz, Tropie, Tarnow, Beszowa, Koprzywnica, and finally arrived at the wonderful town of Lublin, where we spent the night. The next day saw us in Sandomierz, Rzeszów, and back in Slovakia, where we stopped once again in Bardejov. The next day we visited Svinica (Petőszinye), Kráľovský Chlmec (Királyhelmece), and Leles (Lelesz) before finally entering Hungary again, stopping at Sátoraljaújhely and Sárospatak, where we spent the last night.

Twenty-two MA students from our two programs defended their theses successfully in June 2014. The thesis topics included all possible areas from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern period. Our PhD program continued to produce excellent results. Five new PhD degrees were awarded to our students throughout the year. The titles and abstracts of their works can be read in the *Annual* following my report.

One of the highlights of the Academic Year was once again the Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lecture Series. This year it was Peter Burke, famous Renaissance scholar and Professor Emeritus of Cultural History at the University of Cambridge, who took on the task of giving three lectures on one overarching theme. The lectures took place on November 11, 12, and 14, before an audience of many interested colleagues, students, and guests. The topic was “Hybrid Renaissance.” Peter Burke started with “Cultural Hybridity: Problem or Solution?”

followed by “Hybrid Languages and Literatures” before concluding the series with “Translating Architecture.” The lectures will be compiled into a book and published by the CEU Press, joining popular volumes by previous guests.

The Faculty Research Seminar series combined lectures from the field of medieval studies with other topics, including sociology, anthropology and even natural sciences, enhancing cross-departmental dialogue within and outside CEU. It included contributions like that from our former colleague Judith Rasson, who in her lecture, “Dealing with Defters Deftly?”, offered interesting insights into settlement patterns in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Macedonia based on tax records from the Ottoman Empire. Just to show the broad range of topics, here are a few more examples: David G. Hunter from the University of Kentucky, a senior visiting fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, gave a talk on “Priesthood and Politics: Ambrosiaster and a Crisis of Clerical Authority in Fourth-Century Rome.” Diane Watt from the University of Surrey contributed a talk on “Mary the Physician: Women, Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages. Pawel Kras, our alumnus and professor at the Catholic University of Lublin, presented the “Heresy Files: the Records of Hussite Trials in Fifteenth Century Poland.” Aleks Pluskowski and Alex Brown from Reading University gave three lectures on “The Ecology of the Crusades: Environmental Archaeology and the Medieval Landscape” and “Landscapes of Holy War and Colonization. The Ecological Impact of the Crusades in the Medieval Eastern Baltic.” Patrick Geary from the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, who once again served as a chair for our MA defenses, gave two lectures, one on “Genetic History and Medieval History: The example of the Longobards.”

A parallel lecture series was conducted by the project on medieval saints funded by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund called OTKA under the leadership of our colleague Gábor Klaniczay. It is not possible to list all the lectures; I will therefore just select a few of them. The series started with Kateřina Horníčková from the Institut für Realienkunde at Krems. The title of her lecture was “Martyrs of ‘Our’ Faith: Community Identities and the Cult of the Bohemian Martyrs in Post-Hussite Bohemia.” Nils Holger Peterson from the University of Copenhagen gave a lecture on “Saints’ Liturgy, Historiography, and Identity,” and Sebastian Salvadó presented “Sanctifying the Hispanic March: Crusades, Politics and the Twelfth-Century *Historia* of Raymond of Barbastro.”

As in recent years, the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies invited guests from different areas and countries for its lecture series. Some examples will suffice to demonstrate the range of topics: Volker Menze, our colleague at the department and the director of the Center, started with a talk on “You Have

Dared to Burn This Scroll: a Heretical Codex, Book Burning, and Severus of Antioch's Letter to Nonnus the Scholasticus." Just a few of the others were: "The Reasons for Holy-days: Medieval Armenian Collections of Exegetical Gems" by Anna Ohanjanyan from Yerevan State University; "Barbarians in the Service of the Late Roman Empire in the East: Prosopographical Studies" by Adrian Szopa from the University of Cracow; "Confessional Ambiguity and Sufism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire" by Derin Terzioğlu from Boğaziçi University; "Charting the Hellenization of a Literary Culture: the Case of Syriac" by Sebastian Brock and "Byzantium in the Sixth Century," by Roger Scott from the University of Melbourne.

Sad news arrived in September, when we learned that our former colleague, Anna Christidou, who worked at the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, died in a car accident in Athens that also killed her father on Sept. 15, 2013. Our thoughts and sincere condolences go out to her husband and family. To commemorate both the affectionate and caring friend as well as the passionate and enthusiastic scholar, the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies established the yearly "Anna Christidou Memorial Lecture." The first speaker was Anthony Eastmond, AG Leventis Reader in the History of Byzantine Art at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, who spoke about "The After Lives of Byzantine Art."

The newly established Cultural Heritage program organized several lectures. Just to name a few, József Laszlovszky presented "The Concept of Heritage Community and New Publications on Cultural Heritage." The Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management contributed Professor Xavier Greffe from the University Paris I, and Ms. Laura Clayton, the Head of Social and Economic Research at English Heritage, the government agency for the historic environment in England, held a lecture with the title "Measuring Social and Economic Impacts of Cultural Heritage."

The Academic Year 2013/2014 was the last year for our colleague Judith Rasson, who retired after serving in our department for many years. Judith was a crucial member of our department, a kind friend and a dear and congenial colleague. She did an outstanding job at our department combining her fascinating research and teaching in the field of archaeology and social anthropology with her responsibilities in academic writing. She read and corrected an uncountable number of student theses, articles, and publications. The department celebrated her scholarly work and her achievements with a farewell event in June, 2014. The department is very pleased that Judith Rasson is able to continue her work at CEU with the newly established "Cultural Heritage Program" for one more year.

In June, an exhibition of a selection of her photos, called “An Anthropologist’s Eye,” was held in the Faculty Tower.

Colleagues of our department once again organized a good number of workshops and conferences. On October 28 and 29 a workshop on “Military Diasporas and Diasporic Regimes in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean 500–1800” was held in Heidelberg, in which many of our alumni/students and some of our colleagues took part. It was the final meeting of the workshop series “Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and Diasporic Experience in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean 500–1800.”

The board meeting of *Sigillum*, a one-day round-table discussion on research, exhibitions, and projects concerning medieval seals took place on October 28, 2013.

Gábor Klaniczay and József Laszlovszky organized a workshop in the framework of the MARGEC program (Marginality, Economy and Christianity. The Material Running of Mendicant Friaries in Central Europe [c.1220–c.1550]) on “Non-textual Sources for the Mendicant Economy in East Central Europe (ca. 1220–ca. 1550). Architecture, Archaeology, Urban Topography” on November 21 and 22. It continued on November 23 under the title “Franciscan Observants and the Construction of Europe.” Marianne Sághy organized a workshop on November 29, on “Marriage and Celibacy in the Early Church.” The conference on “East Central Europe in the ‘Global Middle Ages’” from March 27 to 29, 2014, has already been mentioned.

Together with the Institute for Advanced Study and the Department of Philosophy, Curie Virág from the University of Toronto and fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study at CEU organized a workshop on “The Self in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Conceptions and Practices in China and the West” (May 22 to 24), in which our colleagues, György Geréby and István Perczel took part. Our colleague Niels Gaul co-organized a conference on “Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium” in Oxford, in which many of our alumni, colleagues, and friends participated.

The Medieval Radio (medievalradio.org) continued its incredibly successful program of interviews with important guests within its series of “Past Perfect,” which are also available on podcasts. The departmental activities did not stop with the summer break. Marianne Sághy organized a CEU Summer University on “*Luminosus Limes*: Geographical, Ethnic, Social and Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity” from June 30 to July 5, 2014. The course explored the dynamic transformation of Classical frontiers between the second and the sixth century

from a multidisciplinary perspective. The course was taught by many well-known international and local scholars.

The department plans to continue its successful way in the future. It wants to remain an active part of global academia that attracts students and guests from all parts of the world. During the past years many people – friends, alumni, colleagues, and students – have supported us in various ways. I would like to thank you for your support and your faithfulness. I hope that you will continue to follow and support us in the future as well. Until next year!

A Medieval Village in Northern Croatia through Archaeological and Historical Sources

Nikolina Antonić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Judith Rasson

External Reader: Miklós Takács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Archaeology, Budapest)

The region of Turopolje in northwestern Croatia is a small but specific area with a particular social development. Its inhabitants belonged to a small group of conditional nobility; they were castle warriors (*iobagiones castr*) of the *Zagreb castrum* that preserved their status long after the end of the *castrum* system, all the way to the twentieth century. They created a special community – the noble community of Turopolje – that marked the medieval as well as modern history of the region. Although this history was a topic of interest for several historians, new archaeological excavations conducted in highway rescue research in the last eight years have brought new and important data that offer the opportunity to expand our knowledge of the history of Turopolje and also a good start for the beginning of research on the settlement system of the area. The aim of this thesis is to explore to what extent these new data, combined with different types of other available sources – historical, topographical, onomastic, historic geographical, and ethnographic – can contribute to a better understanding of the general history of Turopolje.

As a test case for this approach, the focus of the thesis is the area around the archaeological site of Šepkovčica, a cadastral name for a piece of agricultural land that today belongs to two villages of Turopolje – Gradići and Donja Lomnica. Although the results are, due to the present state of research, for now only fragmentary, this approach proved to be valuable. Historical geography, onomastics, and ethnography helped with a better understanding of the environment of the site in the early medieval period. They explained some natural features on the site and suggested a better understanding of how some medieval structures could have looked. Finds from the site also help answer questions

raised by the researchers of other disciplines. Research into medieval documents, combined with identifying some of the place names from the charters with the names of present day land parcels, enabled better understanding of land-holding patterns in the area around the site. It also enabled connecting these parcels with the names of the owners, the real inhabitants of the village of Donja Lomnica, out of which some are interesting for further historical research. Some of these documents connected with Benedikt Krupić might even refer to the site itself. They suggest that the site in the last phase was an area where animals, most likely pigs, were kept, which was also suggested by the structures and animal remains found in the excavation. This is an interesting case of the overlapping of historical and archaeological data for otherwise often-neglected highway excavation sites.

**The Small War in the Late Middle Ages:
A Comparison of the English and Bohemian Experiences**

Samuel Beňa (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisor: László Veszprémy (Visiting Professor; Institute of Military History, Budapest)

External Reader: Lajos Négyesi (Institute and Museum of Military History, Budapest)

Medieval battles between major armies and grand sieges get most of the spotlight in general military history – including that of late medieval Bohemia. They serve as basic case studies for the evolution of military tactics. Yet most military undertakings – as Anglo-American military historians point out – were ravaging operations and small clashes of detached units – the so-called small war. While scholars of the war between Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490) and George of Poděbrady (ca. 1420–1471) acknowledged the presence of this phenomenon, they never performed a tactical analysis of small war encounters.

This thesis thus analyses the small war phenomenon in the Poděbrady–Corvinus conflict (1468–1471). Small war operations involving medieval Englishmen are much better studied; because of this the basic theoretical framework is a comparative approach between the Northwestern European paradigm and vernacular Bohemian didactic and narrative sources. The results of the analysis contradict some of the general conclusions of traditional military history. The alleged degeneration of late medieval cavalry and linear diachronic ascendancy of foot soldiers were not present in the small war. Furthermore, the helplessness of Bohemian foot soldiers in field engagements without the protection of field fortifications (such as the wagon-fort) seems to have been exaggerated.

**Between the Cross and the Sword:
Frankapan Patronage over the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit**
Kristian Bertović (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende

External Reader: Beatrix F. Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest)

The Order of the Saint Paul the First Hermit was one of the most popular monastic orders in the kingdom of Hungary-Croatia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In medieval Croatia, the Paulines established monasteries at Gvozd (St. Nicholas), Brinje (Holy Virgin Mary), Senj (Holy Savior and St. Helen), Crikvenica (Holy Virgin Mary), Novi (Holy Virgin Mary), and several other places. This thesis focuses on the relations between the Paulines and the Frankapan family, one of the most significant aristocratic families in medieval Croatia. Even though well known, this connection has never been fully examined in the previous historiography. By analyzing charters concerning these Pauline monasteries, this thesis discusses the nature of the relations between the Paulines and the Frankapans, their possible emulation of the royal patronage of the Paulines, the main considerations concerning site selection for their monasteries, the role and influence of the Frankapan family in the Pauline shift towards the mendicants, the main aspects of the Pauline economy and changes that occurred in it over the time. It includes comparisons with the Pauline monasteries in medieval Slavonia and Hungary. Lastly, the appendix lists and gives general information about charters related to the monasteries studied.

**Community Problems in Rijeka:
A Study on the *Liber Civilium sive Notificationum* (1437–1453)**
Marta Cuculić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (University of Zagreb)

The medieval period of Rijeka is not well represented in contemporary Croatian historiography. The reasons are a lack of sources and outdated historiography. In this thesis I concentrate on the problems within the community in the fifteenth century, based on the documents from the *Liber Civilium sive Notificationum*, the oldest preserved notary book from Rijeka. The criminal cases and problems

within the community of medieval Rijeka have not been studied before. The research covers the years of the mandate of James Raunacher, captain of Rijeka in the period from 1437 to 1453. The source contains altogether 1493 documents for this period and 140 of them concern problems within the community. Of these 140 documents, thirty-nine record a problem with trade. Other documents regarding community problems describe confiscations, thefts, testimonies, a false testimony, verbal insults, trespassing, and violations of labor contracts. The role of women and strangers in the problems in the community is also addressed. The lack of documents regarding problems within the community cannot be taken to show that Rijeka was a peaceful town. Comparing the documents with the Statute of Rijeka from 1530 and statutes from the other communes on the East Adriatic coast, I conclude that in fifteenth-century Rijeka there must have been more books where town affairs were recorded which have not survived or still wait to be found.

**Mapping the Meaning:
Monastic Topography of Constantinople, 1081–1204 and 1261–1328**
Elif Demirtiken (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul

External Reader: Konstantinos Smyrlis (New York University)

The thesis focuses on the monastic patronage of the members of the imperial family and aristocracy in Constantinople in two distinct periods: 1081–1204 and 1261–1328. It starts with the idea that a city is much more than a cluster of buildings and cityscape is a social construct in which not only tangible imprints of patrons, i.e., the buildings, but also their intangible manifestations of power can be observed. In this study, I depart from the assumption that monastic patronage represents the most tangible part of the power spectrum, and through a cross-reading of the patron's rank and kinship networks, it is possible to reach the most abstract end of the power spectrum, a struggle to gain prestige and visibility. In the first two chapters, the monastic topography of Constantinople during each period is investigated with its own dynamics in order to understand the reasons and motivations a founder had to commission a monastery and to choose the site for his or her pious foundation. The last chapter takes a comparative approach and evaluates the outcomes of marriage alliances and kinship groups in both periods as reflected in the monastic topography of the Byzantine capital.

**Hungarian Horizons in the History of the Church in Dalmatia (1102–1301):
The Role of Royal Grants to the Church**

Judit Gál (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende

External Reader: Damir Karbić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb)

This thesis examines the complex role of royal grants to the Church in Dalmatia during the reign of the kings of the Árpád dynasty (1102–1301). It goes beyond the traditional scholarly approach of the common history of Croatia and Hungary by dealing not only with political history, but examining the royal grants in the context of church history, social history, and the history of rituals, symbolic communication, and representation. In the first chapter I analyze the temporal and territorial distribution of the royal grants. The second chapter examines the royal aspects of giving grants to the Church in Dalmatia. I point out that grants not only had a practical, political role, but they were part of the symbolic communication between the ruler and the ruled land, made social connections, and earned loyalty for the kings. In the final chapter I deal with the recipients of the grants. I emphasize that they had an active role in the process of donating; the recipients could represent themselves, the social structure of their city, and earn advantages from the royal favor. In the conclusion I point out that grants to the Church had various roles in Dalmatia, both for the cities and the kings of Hungary, who accommodated themselves to social, cultural, and economic changes in Dalmatia to keep the loyalty of the Dalmatian cities.

**Marriage Payments in the Venetian Eastern Adriatic:
A Comparative Approach to the Fourteenth-century Statutes of
Shkodra and Budva**

Bukurije Guni (Albania)

Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Damir Karbić (Croatian Academy of Sciences, Zagreb)

This thesis uses a comparative approach to study the two fourteenth-century statutes of Shkodra and Budva enacted in the time of Venetian dominion, when the two towns were part of Venetian Albania. The thesis gives a general description of the legal features of the statutes and studies female agency in several areas of law. It focuses especially on civil law, picturing the female agency

in family law and inheritance law. It pays special attention to the case of marriage payments, mostly represented by dowry. The dowry is understood as an economic transfer, a help for the future family, and a life-long deposit.

**Artistic Transfers from across the Adriatic Sea:
The Thirteenth-century Frescoes in the Church of
St. Chrysogonus in Zadar**

Franka Horvat (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Béla Zsolt Szakács, Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Nikolina Maraković (University of Zagreb)

This thesis explores Byzantine artistic traditions beyond the Byzantine frontier by focusing on a case study of the frescoes in the church of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar. The frescoes preserved in its interior, dated to the thirteenth century, show connections to Byzantine traditions, although the city was by that time no longer under Byzantine rule and despite the fact that the church belonged to a Benedictine monastery. The connections and role-models are to be looked for in the territory of Southern Italy, in the region of Apulia.

Monumental art preserved in Apulia is interpreted as a product of specific social and political circumstances. Being physically remote from Constantinople, this region was subject to influences from other centers. On the other hand, Byzantine traditions remained strong even after the Norman Conquest, which is a complex issue that has to do with audiences and patronage, as well as overlapping cultures. Strong trade connections between Dalmatia and Apulia, as well as evidence of other types of connections suggest artistic transfers between the two.

The exterior of the church of St. Chrysogonus, with parallels in Apulian basilicas, is another clue to the same connections. The resemblance of the frescoes in Saint Chrysogonus and particular fresco-decorated rock-cut churches in Apulia enables a more precise dating of the former. The case of St. Chrysogonus casts doubt on generalizations about Western influences on Dalmatian monuments. Apart from shedding light on artistic tendencies in Zadar, this study also contributes to a better understanding of cultural transfers in the Mediterranean.

**A Case Study of Royal Piety in the Fourteenth Century:
The Story of the Shrine of Saint Simeon**

Anita Jambrek (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Béla Zsolt Szakács

External Reader: Ana Marinković (University of Zagreb)

This study deals with a case of royal piety in the fourteenth century. On the example of the shrine of Saint Simeon, it follows the story of Queen Elisabeth Kotromanić. In the first part, the focus is on the development of the cult of Saint Simeon in the Adriatic Basin, focusing on the comparison of materials in three cities: Dubrovnik, Venice, and Zadar. The second part is dedicated to the cult of Saint Simeon in Zadar; while the third part focuses on the queen's motivation and reasons for the gift of the shrine. Following hagiographical narratives and pilgrimage records and combining them with an interpretation of the images on the shrine suggests possible ways to better understand the shrine.

Wealth, Power, and Lands: Barbara of Cilli's Family Agenda

Sara Katanec (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende

External Reader: Amalie Föbel (Universität Duisburg-Essen)

Barbara of Cilli was one of the most influential queens of the fifteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary. Her person was not thoroughly researched up until the last decade with the increased scholarly interest in topics of gender issues and queenship. Accordingly, as new light is shed on her life and character, this thesis addresses the questions of her role as a substitute ruler, her power and wealth, her influence in political matters, the date and place of her wedding and coronation, and the state of her estates, which, together with their revenues, which would have contributed to her power and authority as queen.

The first chapter contextualizes Barbara's role in the issue of medieval queenship, covering sources and previous scholarship. The second chapter analyzes the date and place of Barbara's wedding and coronation. The third chapter considers the properties Barbara received upon her wedding and their management.

My conclusions are, firstly, that Barbara's wedding happened in Krapina a few days before 16 November 1405 and that her coronation in Székesfehérvár

followed shortly afterwards, on 6 December 1405. Secondly, I conclude that Barbara's authority over her properties and as a queen in general increased after the birth of her only child, and that she successfully managed her estates in accordance with her family's economic politics and her own interests, increasing thereby her wealth and power.

***Multaqā al-Abḥur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī:
A Ḥanafī Legal Text in Its Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Context**
Aamir Shahzada Khan (Pakistan)

Thesis Supervisor: Tijana Krstić

External Reader: Guy Burak (New York University)

This thesis is about *Multaqā al-Abḥur*, a compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) on Ḥanafī law produced by an Ottoman scholar, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1549). The *Multaqā* became the most widely-used legal compendium in the Ottoman Empire in the centuries after its production. I argue that the *Multaqā* wields authority because of the fact that it comprehensively combines the most authoritative texts on Ḥanafī Law. Moreover, the *Multaqā* mentions differences of opinion within the Ḥanafī legal school and hence creates the possibility of adapting the law to changing social and temporal contexts. Therefore the adoption of the *Multaqā* served two important purposes for the Ottoman Empire: (a) it invoked the authority of the Ḥanafī tradition so as to gain legitimacy for the judicial system and (b) it provided a text containing pragmatic legal solutions to serve the goal of good governance in a culturally diverse empire.

**Thomas Aquinas on Mixed Government and the Government of the
Dominican Order**

Dóra Kis-Jakab (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: György Geréby, Matthias Riedl

External Reader: Matthew Kempshall (University of Oxford)

Thomas Aquinas, although he is primarily appreciated for his theological works, is also an important figure in thirteenth-century political thought. His theory of the best government for human societies is a controversial topic. Many scholars have been aware of the apparent inconsistencies in Aquinas' different writings

on the issue and interpreted it in several ways. In this study I argue that Thomas consistently supported political monarchy, that is, a government with one head whose power is limited by the admixture of elements of aristocracy and democracy in the government. The Dominican Order, an organization Thomas belonged to all his adult life, manifests a similar arrangement. This paper proposes the still barely discussed possibility of Dominican influence on Thomas' notion of the best government for actual human societies.

**Text and Image on Reproductive Prints
A Case Study of Sixteenth-Century Prints after Raphael's Design**

Alexandra Kocsis (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács

External Reader: Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo (Hite Art Institute, University of Louisville)

This thesis is intended as a case study of a broader topic, namely, text and image relations on early modern single-sheet engravings. A diverse collection of sixteenth-century prints after Raphael's design was compiled with the purpose of testing the relevance of the main research questions: What changes took place in sixteenth-century printmaking? and What patterns and functions characterize text-image relations on reproductive prints? My aim was to reveal the early modern use and reception of these prints by investigating the strategies of their visualization. In chapter two, a terminological question is examined in detail, namely, whether the use of the term "reproductive" is anachronistic for the Early Modern period. Besides revising the existing alternatives in earlier scholarship, emphasis was laid on how to describe and define the early predecessors of modern reproductions. In chapter three, a multi-level model of interpreting and understanding reproductive prints was worked out and applied to the material. I assumed that the primary role of prints was to transmit the topic of the depiction in a complex way, and secondarily to give a particular visualization. The textual and visual form of inscriptions related to authorship was analyzed to examine how the printmakers and the audiences acknowledged Raphael's role in the creation of the sheet. Chapter four focused on the relation of thematic texts and images; emphasis was laid on the identification of different sources of the texts (Biblical, Virgilian, etc.). The aim of the analysis was to reveal general patterns in the material, such as the summarizing character of the texts or the habit of dramatizing the depicted figures by means of legends. Through the comparative

analysis of texts and images, I intended to reveal the creative process of selecting and matching texts to single sheet-prints and how this selection process was determined by the marketing expectations of the creators. A shift from exclusivity towards availability was seen as the dominant change between 1500 and 1600. The thesis is completed with a catalogue of all the analyzed prints, which includes the transcriptions and translations of the inscriptions; some of these examples are available in English for the first time. With the purpose of making the visual analysis of images and texts clear and easier to follow, additional figures were created in appendices.

The Late Byzantine *Oikeioi*: Prosopographical and Quantitative Analyses

Murat Kıvanç Köroğlu (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul

External Reader: Florin Leonte (Harvard University, Cambridge MA)

My thesis aims to shed light on a certain group in the imperial administration of late Byzantium (1261–1453): the *oikeioi*. In this epoch all or at least most court dignities and high administrative offices seem to have been shared between the high aristocracy, and those who became “related” to the emperor by oath and were described in official documents as *oikeioi*. This study comprises three main parts. The first covers previous scholarship on the *oikeioi* and the nature of oath rendering in late Byzantine politics; the second part is a short piece of textual research intended to demonstrate various usages of the term *oikeios*, excerpted mainly from literary works of middle and late Byzantine authors and archival documents; the third section deals with a quantitative analysis of the data in relation to the *oikeioi* compiled in *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, displaying their sub-divisions, titles, administrative offices, locations, livelihood options and connections. Finally, a case study is offered in order to visualize the life and administrative career of an *oikeios*, George Sphrantzes.

**The Trope of *Kyra* as a Jewish Female Intermediary in the
Sixteenth-century Ottoman Imperial Harem:
Theory and Practice, Fiction, and History**

Daria Kovaleva (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, Carsten Wilke

External Reader: Leslie P. Peirce (New York University)

The thesis problematizes the social category of *kyra*, which in both scholarly and popular literature has come to denote a Jewish female intermediary primarily engaged in commercial activities between the early modern Ottoman imperial harem and the world outside it. It approaches *kyra* as a concept and explores its elements – various Jewish women associated with the palace household, the title, and the Jewish harem intermediary – separately on the basis of a careful juxtaposition and dialogue of the already known and previously neglected early modern European, Jewish, and Ottoman narrative sources and archival material. The work argues that the explanatory framework that developed based on the supposed social category of *kyra* is reductionist because it privileges the notion of mediation while ignoring that Jewish women appeared in the sources in relation to the imperial harem in other capacities (as palace favorites, healers, etc.) that suggests a more deeply embedded institutional relation to the palace household. The thesis, furthermore, points to the fact that the precise meaning of the title *kyra* is in fact unclear, not only in sixteenth-century Ottoman palace parlance, but also beyond the imperial household throughout this period. In addition, the work demonstrates through the juxtaposition of letters written by a heretofore-unknown Jewish *kyra*, her female royal patrons, and Venetian diplomatic and governmental officials, that the theory and content of the *kyra* paradigm and articulation of the category as a harem intermediary are based on her professional activities and biography instead of a well-established time-honored palace practice.

**Passion & Devotion:
Passion Plays and the Performance of Piety on the
Eastern Adriatic Coast**

Marija Krnić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Anu Mänd (Institute of History, Tallinn University)

The thesis examines the corpus of Passion plays from the Eastern Adriatic from the perspective of religious and social history. In contrast to philological aspects of the plays, which are already well examined in the literature, this research focuses on less studied features. The textual level of these plays is thereby explored in a novel way, where texts are used to analyze their implicit theatrical performance. Thanks to this approach, the analysis reveals significant facts on the performing aspect of the plays: the space in which the performance took place, the time frame within which the performance was held, and the acting aspect through which the plays were communicated to the audience. Second, textual analysis is employed to examine a broader social context in which the plays were written and performed. There, the findings on the technical aspects of the performance were used to analyze the hybrid position of Passion plays between civic theatre and religious performance. Finally, my results show that the ritualistic function of the genre, and the constitutive role of the audience in the performance help explain some crucial features of the Passion play genre, primarily related to their contextual variability.

**Codex Mannanam Syriacus 46 and a
Homily by Francisco Roz on Saint Thomas**

Radu Mustață (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Readers: David G.K. Taylor (University of Oxford); Ines G. Zupanov
(CNRS/EHESS)

This thesis focuses on an early seventeenth-century Syriac manuscript (Codex Syriacus 46) preserved in the library of St. Joseph's Monastery in Mannanam, Kottayam District, Kerala State, India. More specifically, it aims to edit, translate, analyze and contextualize an untitled homily in praise of Saint Thomas (between folios 68r and 72r), written in Syriac by a Catholic missionary. The homily is an

important witness to the interaction between the Saint Thomas Christians and Western Catholic missionaries in South India at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.

After a short overview of the Catholic missions in India during the sixteenth century, the thesis provides a philological and exegetical analysis of the text which suggests that the homily is a vivid example of Jesuit accommodationist discourse. It is the result of a complex blending of scriptural, patristic, and literary sources, both in Latin and Syriac, which are gathered together according to the classical canons of the encomiastic discourse. The way the author shaped the homily aims to bring into focus exceptionality of Saint Thomas by putting together a rich exegetical and rhetorical apparatus which gives birth to beautiful speculative and non-scholastic theological thinking. All these elements suggest that the authorship of the text might be ascribed to the Syriacizing learned circle constituted around Francisco Roz at the Vaipikotta seminary in South India at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Medieval Landscape of the Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis Forest

Zsuzsa Eszter Pető (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Readers: Beatrix F. Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest), James Bond (UK)

This research focuses on the identifiable features of Pauline monastic space (Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, and St. Ladislaus monasteries) in the medieval Pilis Royal Forest, which was part of the medieval *medium regni*, the heart of the Hungarian kingdom. Research on the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit has always paid special attention to a historical approach, including archaeological and architectural investigations. Other features, however, which existed around a monastery, e.g., the remains of fishponds, dikes, mills, and roads, were mentioned only marginally. In the past few years Pauline monastic space in the Zemplén and to some extent the Bakony region has been recorded, which proves that these features are still partly recognizable in the landscape.

The thesis argues that in the Pilis Royal Forest, a wooded area until modern times, the features of the Pauline monastic space were preserved, thus they can be described, and have special value for a systematic analysis and a complex approach (historical, archaeological, spatial) on digital platform using GIS software. The spatial dimensions (location, role, circumstances of daily life) of

Pauline monasteries may also be correlated with large-scale dynamic tendencies in the Pilis. The thesis reveals some aspects around the foundation of the Paulines, the symbolic, political, and economic characteristics of their locations, the correlations with the changes in the Pilis (in connection with the most important royal and ecclesiastical centers of the kingdom), and their crucial role in royal policy and representation. A major task was also to record the spatial features around the monasteries and evaluate the local economy through written sources.

**Tradition and Reform:
The Impact of the Fourth Lateran Council in Central Europe**

Igor Ražum (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Marianne Sághy
External Reader: Gergely Kiss (University of Pécs)

Conciliar legislation is an important part of the history of Latin Christendom. The church council as well as papal influence personal connections with local bishops and through papal legates allowed for the formation of an ecclesiastical society in communication, transferring law codes and behavioral patterns throughout Europe.

This study provides a comparative overview of the ecclesiastical situation in the first half of the thirteenth century in Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia as well as an overview of the practical issues and implications of papal influence through reform of the clergy. This entails a focus on primarily ecclesiastical issues. The thesis seeks to show whether the Fourth Lateran Council, as an instrument of Church reform, had any influence on clerical education and discipline in Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. Of primary concern is whether there was a practical or theoretical implementation of the decrees or merely a mention of the ideas; the main question is whether the Fourth Lateran Council had any effect outside of Rome. The third part of the thesis is an analysis of the region as a “frontier of Christendom” in light of the decrees of the council. Matters such as the position of Jews, pagans, and the “others” within the public sphere of the kingdoms as well as the more aggressive outward impact through the Crusades are also touched on. These elements only represent a fraction of the Lateran reform, but provide an interesting perspective on the communication between Rome and the western parts of Latin Christendom and Central Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century.

SOLIDEO STELLAM ET FRVCTIFERAM:

The Art of the Mithraic Cult in Salona

Nirvana Silnović (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Volker Menze

External Reader: Richard Gordon (University of Erfurt)

The cult of Mithras in Salona, the capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia, has long been a neglected topic among scholars. Although numerous works have been dedicated to the cult of Mithras throughout the Roman province of Dalmatia, the questions of appearance, dissemination, and disappearance of the cult in Salona still remain unanswered. The aim of this thesis is to fill this gap by examining the material evidence of the cult: fifteen bas-reliefs, seven inscriptions, and five alleged mithraea.

The rich material evidence is examined according to its typology and iconography (bas-reliefs), content (inscriptions), and archival material (mithraea). According to the analysis, it is argued that the cult appeared in Salona in the second half of the second century AD, reached its apogee in the third century AD, and had probably ended its activity by the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century AD. The so-called Salonitan tondo is given a new iconographic interpretation. Based on the evidence presented, the thesis argues that Mithraic communities in Salona created a specific local idiom that helped them establish a local identity.

The Medical Work of Paul of Aegina: The Case of Treating Rabies

Iuliana Soficarau (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Ildikó Csepregi (Research Fellow)

External Readers: Helen King (Open University, UK); Chiara Thumiger (Humboldt University, Berlin)

This aim of this thesis is to analyze the fragment describing rabies in a medical encyclopedia, *Pragmateia*, written in seventh century Alexandria by Paul of Aegina. The importance of this author lies in the fact that he used early medical sources, many of which are extant, and that he was the last influential Greek physician practicing in the Alexandrian milieu.

First, the thesis focuses on the different levels of understanding rabies as reflected in different medical sources, from biological entity to communal

experience. Following a series of basic key concepts connected with diseases (symptom, cause, prognosis, and treatment) and using a comparative method with other earlier medical sources, some patterns of compiling medical sources in Late Antiquity are highlighted.

Second, the character of the disease offers the opportunity to consider the broader topic of urban health, where dogs played a major role in contagion. The topic of health in an urban environment led to an expansion of the evidentiary basis, to veterinary medical sources both normative, and literary. This made it possible to emphasize the Late Antique means of controlling the urban environment as to avoid contact with rabies. The result suggests that addressing rabies in Late Antiquity as a socio-cultural experience rather than a curiosity of the medical field is a method of articulating the links between disease, cultural transmission, authority, and social practice.

**Saints, Stones, and Springs:
Cult Sites and the Sacralization of Landscape in Medieval Central Europe**
Karen Stark (USA)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky

External Readers: Sofia Boesch-Gajano (Università degli Studi di Roma Tre); Beatrix F.

Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest)

Space is an integral element of any religious expression. Medieval Central Europe was no exception, and sacred space was essential to devotional practice and a reflection of personal, regional, and religious identity. Central Europe offers a plethora of such holy sites that as yet are largely unstudied, especially in a broad, comparative analysis. In this study I identify those cult sites in medieval Central Europe that have a significant “natural” element, that is, holy wells, mountains, hills, or any such site that is largely defined by its relationship with nature, and secondly, answer how and why these natural places became “sacred” while other natural sites and landscapes did not. Finally, I analyze how medieval people interacted with and perceived these sites and what role these sacred landscapes played in the bigger picture of medieval religion in Central Europe.

I examine a representative sample of eleven sites located in modern-day Hungary, Slovakia, southern Poland, eastern Czech Republic and Austria, all within or very near the borders of Hungary at its furthest expansion during the Middle Ages. For this study an interdisciplinary approach is not only helpful, but necessary. Hagiographic texts and historical documents such as charters

and chronicles served as the cornerstone of my research and were supported by a spatial analysis in which I made use of historic maps and Geographical Information Systems (GIS). By looking at both the contemporary sources and the spatial aspects and relationships of these places, a more complete and in-depth picture of the sacralization of the Central European landscape can be developed.

PHD DEFENSES
DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2013–2014

**Florentine Families in Hungary in the
First Half of the Fifteenth Century**

Krisztina Arany (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 13, 2014, consisted of György Endre Szőnyi (Department of History, CEU), chair; Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); István Draskóczy (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest); Zsuzsa Teke (Institute of History, Research Center of Humanities, HAS). The external readers were: Georg Christ (University of Manchester) and Zsuzsa Teke.

The study of the activities of Florentine merchants in diverse geographical regions of medieval Europe has a long historiographic tradition. However, for a number of reasons, in this context East Central Europe has mostly been considered a target area of lesser importance by scholars. The dissertation analyzes the economic activity and social strategies of the Florentines investing and working in the Hungarian kingdom in the first half of the fifteenth century on two levels: a quantitative level and a “micro” level, the latter in the form of case studies. A prosopographic database served as the basis for the quantitative analysis and the quantitative level is understood as a generalized survey of the research questions from the whole data set. Some of the proposed research questions were also addressed in the form of case studies through the reconstruction of a selection of the most characteristic and best documented families. This qualitative analysis is meant to function as a control for the results of the quantitative investigation.

The source basis and the overview of scholarly literature are presented in the introductory Chapters 1–2. The dissertation relies mostly on information from the fond (collection) of the Florentine Catasto, documentation on the direct taxation system newly introduced in Florence in 1427. The documentation in the online *Regesta Imperii* was also researched, particularly for information related to King Sigismund’s Florentine noble retainers (*familiaries*) and I also took advantage

of the digitized archival records and database of Monasterium.net for the same purpose. Both on-line collections proved very useful for my research. Hungarian archival material yielded much less data. Nevertheless, I consider these records very important complementary evidence since the data they provide can be used as valuable control information for the records preserved in Florence. Thus, I also conducted a comparative and complementary survey of the available Florentine taxation-related source materials with the rather scattered Central European records. These records also provide valuable evidence for the Florentines' social and economic integration in this region, something not documented in the Italian archival material.

In the course of the archival research a large and rich set of data was gathered in the form of a database. Considering that its main source basis in Florentine archival material was practically restricted to systematic research in the *Catastos* of 1427 to 1438, this dataset could still be enlarged, in which case further research would be feasible in other rich holdings of the Florentine archives, thus, it is still far from complete. At present, it includes altogether 191 persons belonging to 100 Florentine families who worked or invested in Hungary. Out of this sample, 81 persons (43 families) appeared personally in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary on at least one occasion. The database contains 31 families who had several family members (altogether 94 persons) interested in business on the territory of the kingdom, of which 77 businessmen personally worked in the region. Where there were several family members from the same generation (basically brothers or cousins), 10 families (17 persons) were discovered, along with another nine families (31 persons) who stayed and established themselves in the kingdom for at least two generations. The latter two groups, altogether 19 families with 48 persons, are particularly relevant for an analysis of their attitude towards integration in the socio-economic structures they encountered in the Hungarian Kingdom.

Florentine businessmen played a notable role in the Hungarian royal financial administration and in the commercial life of the country in the first half of the fifteenth century. Therefore, the chronology of the first appearance of these merchants and their main activities in the kingdom were first outlined and analyzed in Chapters 3.1–3.3. Their presence was mainly tied to the collection of papal incomes and to the lease and exploitation of mines for precious metals until the second half of the fifteenth century. The administration of royal revenues was a traditional field of activity for Florentine businessmen working abroad. Written records reveal their presence in the financial administration of a number of countries from England through France as far as the German lands

and Poland. This kind of activity differed in its opportunities and duties from the activity of the papal revenue collectors. Whereas the collectors acted as part of an extended international network which also involved the great banking houses, the activity of the officers of the Hungarian royal chambers was based on their relationship as noble retainers (*familiares*) to the chief officers, in other words, the counts of the chambers who employed them, whereas the leading office holders were also bound as servants to the king himself. The formation of royal monopolies, however, required their prolonged presence in the country and regular interaction with both the royal court and, in the case of second-level “officers” of the royal monopolies, also with the local nobility and citizens. Thus, working in the royal financial administration favored continuous personal presence and integration, and also required great flexibility and an ability to adapt to changing conditions and increased the probability of their settlement in the chamber centers of Transylvania, Zagreb, and elsewhere. The office holders were rather “officers” and financial experts than entrepreneurs, especially in the case of the salt chambers and the offices of the thirtieth custom of the kingdom. This is confirmed by the research on the financial background of officers of Florentine origin. The information gathered shows that most of them, in fact, did not dispose of larger capital.

Chapter 3.4 was dedicated to an analysis of the *Catasto* records submitted by the three Florentine companies operating in Buda. It proposes basic points to investigate showing both the possibilities and limits to analyses of the economic and social historical aspects of Florentine long-distance trade targeting medieval Hungary. The questions therefore mainly focus on their economic and social standing in their homeland, the volume of the business ventures they eventually came to operate in Hungary and (if it is possible to determine) elsewhere as well. Finally, the networks they operated within were addressed in the framework of this chapter. The 1427 *Catasto* provided a set of data about three Florentine companies with Buda as their principal seat (branch) (for the Carneseccchi-Fronte, the Melanesi, and the Panciatichi firms) who seem suitable for such analyses. In the subsequent chapters, however, due to the manifold information and the central position of these three partnerships in the business network of Florentines working in Hungary, social aspects and business forms were also addressed in detail. The members of the partnerships working in Hungary mostly ranked among the merchant-bankers of middling wealth in Florence. Although they worked in a less developed region, they continued involving external capital as was general for Florentine partnerships. Their startup and working capital rank them among the average-size partnerships in Florence. The most important client

of the Florentine investors and partnerships, who at the same time was quite often declared the worst, was usually King Sigismund himself as already briefly introduced in the case of the Buda companies.

Among the Florentine investors present with their capital in Hungary, a few businessmen of medium or greater wealth were identified in Chapter 3.5 (Antonio di Filippo di Piero Rinieri, Giovanni del mess. Niccoló Falcucci, Mariotto di Griffolini, Tommaso di Domenico Borghini, and the partnership founded by Giovanni di Iacopo Baldovini, Giovanni di Iacopo dal Borgho, and Zanobi di Piero di Monte). Their investments show specific features as they were present in Hungary with different investment forms at the same time. Another common pattern is that each of them employed his own agent in the kingdom: Antonio di Filippo di Piero Rinieri, for example, hired Bernardo di Sandro Talani, who brought and merchandized luxury goods to the kingdom on a regular basis. Borghini's employee was Filippo Frescobaldi, who in his turn worked together with Gianozzo di Vanni Cavalcanti, a fellow countryman also active in Hungary. In addition, from time to time these investors also sent cargoes to the stable Florentine companies of Buda. On one occasion I also found a deposit made parallel to other forms of investments. The aim may have been to keep the proportion of long term and more liquid investments at a safe rate. The highest ranking investor entrepreneurs and partnerships in the Hungarian market disposed of notable capital, among them figured Domenico di Antonio Allegri, Giovanni di Bicci di Medici, Niccoló and Tommaso di Lorenzo Soderini, Ridolfo Peruzzi and Partners, Francesco and Simone Tornabuoni. They invested in the Florentine companies of Buda, but their investments made in Hungary were not high compared to their funds in other, more developed, geographical regions. Hungary attracted them with its stock of precious metals and salt and may also have served as a secondary market to attenuate investment risks.

A further question which had to be addressed refers to the volume of these transactions, whether the rate of commercial and money credits was also reflected in their volume. As is shown in my calculations, the volume of commercial credits exceeds by far that of other investments. The proportion of the number of transactions carried out between Florentine-Hungarian business first partners compared to that of Florentine-Florentine partners participating in business in Hungary confirms at the outset the predominance of the latter partners (44 items versus 237). This result can only partly be explained by the motivation of Florentines to hide transactions which were difficult for the otherwise very thorough Florentine taxation authorities to verify. In other words, it was not exclusively related to the tendency to evade taxes on the part of the Florentine

entrepreneurs. Clearly, the reference to Hungarian or local partners in Hungary could easily be avoided. However, if one takes into account that the data are mostly provided by Florentine investors in Florence whose direct business partners were mainly Florentines working in Hungary and who, therefore, rarely had detailed information on their partners' local business contacts/clients nor presumably considered it worthwhile to enter this data into the tax return, the picture is clearer. In only a few cases, particularly in the tax returns of Florentine entrepreneurs employing their own agent in the region, are the names of Hungarian persons encountered, although usually they are registered jointly as "Hungarian debtors."

In Chapter 3.5, after the quantitative analysis, some records of major interest on transactions were analyzed. Altogether, the information on the Florentines' crediting activity revealed in the Florentine tax returns provide hitherto unknown details both on the volume of cargos and the business and banking techniques applied among themselves to supply the Hungarian market. The general lack of references on exchange bills in the Florentine sources and its further confirmation by related Hungarian records also clearly show the limits to international trade and banking provided by the lower level of development of the region. At this point, however, one must also emphasize Venice's role as a banking center and seat of branches of Florentine banking houses, which basically covered the transfer of ecclesiastical revenues, a traditional business of Florentines in Europe. In the activity of the Florentines different forms of commercial credits among Florentine partners prevailed to supply the regional market and also the evolving permanent royal seat. The role of King Sigismund of Luxemburg was of utmost importance for these international-scale merchant-bankers, and in fact, his changing political relations with Florence rendered circumstances unstable for them in certain time periods. The direct relation some of them acquired by entering directly the ruler's service as his noble retainers (*familiars*), however, increased notably the business potential of the region for them. Nevertheless, similarly to the Florentines' situation in England prior to the bankruptcies, some of Sigismund's "bankers," like the Melanesi, faced serious losses against other Florentine investors involved in Hungarian business, in all probability partly due to delayed or neglected rendering of the loans provided to him. The ruler seems to have compensated them for their losses in one way or another, but their legal situation back home was worsened by these circumstances.

At the beginning of this project I hoped that with the research on other target areas of the Florentine families working in Hungary I would also be able to place Hungary in a hierarchy of trading and economic centers or simply areas of interest in a broader European context. This was really tempting, but

in the course of the systematic research I came to realize that we can find many Florentine investors in Hungary and also in other traditional European trading, banking, and consumption centers, like Barcelona, Valencia, London, Bruges, and Venice. Moreover, lacking any account books and having only the list of creditors and debtors at the time of the tax declaration at our disposal, there is hardly any possibility of assessing the volume of trade and business operations in these other geographical areas. Consequently, Hungary's position in this respect in a medieval European context could only be analyzed on the basis of transaction types, the fields of interest, and the Florentine businessmen's eventual tendency to establish a stable economic presence in the country. Of course, Hungary lacked an intensive circulation of money. As in the analysis of transaction types, commercial credit prevailed against money credits. Both credit types were risky due to a lack of necessary capital on the side of most of the potential local (Hungarian/German) business partners. Yet, interests were clearly higher than in Italy in the same period, which made such transactions favorable, nevertheless, relatively high risks were involved. A rather restricted circle of local partners was identified in the records. Clearly, the number of Florentine partners collaborating to supply the demand for luxury goods in a narrow circle of local clients, mainly members of the lay aristocracy and ecclesiastical leading elite, was higher than that of the local partners. The general lack of evidence on transactions with bills of exchange between Florentines and local partners and the few "banking" operations also show Hungary's lower stage of economic development.

The gradually developing database showed clear regional geographical preferences of the Florentines in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Central Europe on a wider, regional scale, and thus led to the conclusion that the Florentines' presence itself, and also the shifts in the intensity of their presence in the regional hubs of Central Europe, may be of interest and would position the Kingdom of Hungary, especially Buda, in a regional context. Thus, Chapter 4 was dedicated to features of Florentine diasporas in the region with particular emphasis on Buda. Buda had a considerable Florentine community in the period. Buda citizenship was also necessary for the Florentines working for the Buda minting chamber and trading in the first half of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, after 1410 Buda became the center of the royal finances (chambers) under the leadership of Filippo Scolari following King Sigismund's centralizing reforms.

The features of the Florentines' coexistence with the South Germans, the other determining foreign merchant diaspora which shaped the regional trade, business, and social network also had to be addressed in a comparative analysis. As a result, it seems that Buda's role in the international commercial network

needs reconsideration based on the patterns identified in the business and social attitudes of the two foreign commercial diasporas operating in the town, and also on the general overview of the patterns of the Florentines' presence in Central European urban centers.

The Germans of Buda were not as unified politically, economically, or socially as it would seem at first sight. The South German newcomer elite covered long-distance trade and one may even assume that, similarly to the distinction between *Gewölberren* and *Kammerherren*, it can be interpreted as a means to differentiate among Germans and other, mainly Italian, businessmen. Further distinctions could be made within Buda's German community, more precisely between the newcomer South Germans of Nuremberg concentrating on the sale of lower value clothes in the long distance trade and more humble German-speaking inhabitants, artisans, and the few remaining representatives of the former German community of the town. In this respect the South Germans' presence and social network has a marked regional character in East Central Europe and thus, despite the differing business and social organization and lower key business operations, it slightly resembles the Italians' presence in Buda.

Buda must be considered and reassessed as the only center in Central Europe where the two most prominent foreign diasporas engaged in regional long distance trade established themselves permanently on a long-term basis. Venice, with its Fondaco dei Tedeschi and large Florentine community, could also have served as such a trade hub, but Venice alone does not seem to have been considered sufficient to seek, find, and finally cover the increasing demands and possibilities provided by East Central Europe during the reign of King Sigismund, also due to the city's serious interest contrasts with King Sigismund. Buda, in my understanding, must have benefited greatly from this controversy. As was demonstrated, the two main merchant diasporas do not appear to have had a stable direct contact elsewhere. Also Nuremberg, homeland of the South Germans, remained outside the Florentine sphere of interest until the last decades of the fifteenth century, and even then at first it was rather sporadic and grew stable only in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Another point in favor of Buda's rise as a regional trade hub was due to King Sigismund's person and the royal court's definite establishment in the city. When addressing the impact of the royal court in Buda, one must also emphasize Sigismund of Luxemburg's rise to imperial title. Thus, Buda also hosted the imperial aula from time to time and became a European political-representational center and thus must have attracted an increasing number of Florentines to the city. Also, the presence of established Florentine companies can be considered

an important indicator when evaluating the position of an urban center in an economic context. The information on the three Florentine partnerships with seats in Buda in the 1420s, analyzed at length in the previous chapter, makes Buda the only Central European trading center with such an intensive Florentine presence in this period. The next town to host a Florentine company was Nuremberg, with the earliest reference from 1512. The presence of Florentine partnerships in Cracow also dates to the sixteenth century. Buda's outstanding role is confirmed by the role the city played as a stable meeting point with the South German merchant diaspora.

As a final step of the investigation in this chapter I looked at the social economic patterns of the communities in a wider geographical context, more precisely, I questioned if these migrational groups can be understood as more or less integrated communities, in other words, diasporas. The Florentine diaspora in Venice played a crucial role in covering the area's business opportunities. The Venetian branches of Florentine banking houses provided the necessary banking facilities for the region. At the same time, no institutionalized Florentine colony seems to have been established in the region: Very few cases of exogamy and integration are revealed in the records. Ethnic provenance appearing in urban toponyms, like *vicus latinorum*, *platea italicorum*, etc. appeared in several towns, although Buda's case shows that this alone must not be overestimated as a crucial indicator of an ethnic clustering of Italians/Florentines in late medieval urban centers of Central Europe. It hints, however, at a relatively dense presence of Italians in this urban environment in a certain (probably early) phase of urban evolution. Therefore, also other factors, like the use of language, political representation in an urban community, and so on, had to be evaluated as possible indicators of a more precise assessment of the possible presence of Italian/Florentine diasporas in regional centers.

Chapter 5 was dedicated to analyzing the main factors of integration. For Florentines living in urban environments, all the related details, such as owning a house, acquiring citizenship, or any other information about marriage or participation in the everyday life of urban society may provide hints about their intention to settle permanently in a town. In the very few cases of ennoblement, the relation of businessmen to the king and the types of services rendered to Sigismund were surveyed. The archival materials preserved in Hungary proved to be particularly rich for these case studies, especially for the investigation of office holders in the royal chamber system and their integration into the local nobility or into a few families, even the Hungarian aristocracy. In the case of families acquiring nobility and estates, their joint possession also secured the perpetuation

of the estate for subsequent generations of the kin group even if one of the ennobled branches became extinct.

The eight families selected for the qualitative survey in Chapter 5 represent a cross-section of Florentine merchant families as regards wealth and social standing, from the Panciatichi, taxed as one of the wealthiest families in Florence at that time, through the Buondelmonti and Corsini families with high social status but a somewhat weakened financial situation at the time of their stay in Hungary, to the Manini and Attavanti families, the last families recorded in the *Catasto* of 1427 as *miserabile* with no taxable wealth at all. I focused on the role that the closer and extended family played in the activity of the Florentine businessmen working in the Kingdom of Hungary in the first half of the fifteenth century. I also investigated the extent and characteristics of co-operation among the members of kin groups belonging to both the same and consecutive generations and compared these features to the business organization of Florentine merchant families operating in their homeland. Finally, the business strategies of earlier generations were considered in order to search for possible ambitions families might have had in choosing to establish their businesses in Hungary.

Finally, as the closing chapter (Chapter 6) shows, the presence of Florentines exerted an influence in various ways, but the migration of skilled and unskilled craftsmen towards the Tuscan city, which I introduced briefly in the last chapter, is a surprising element as it is rarely documented, particularly in such detail. From the isolated information, however, vague evidence of solidarity and co-operation among the Hungarians in Florence can be assumed, although it never matched the extent of solidarity among Germans, with its sophisticated organizational forms around lay confraternities. In fact, in a subsequent period, apparently the German-speaking immigrants coming from Hungary tended to join the institutions of Germans in the Tuscan city, leading to the conclusion that such German-speaking persons from Hungary may be hidden among the householders identified as Germans in the *Florentine Catasto* of 1427. This phenomenon led to another, completely new, point, the question of the levels of self-identification of the members of the multiethnic and multilingual communities of Central Europe. Particular interest in this question arises from the foreign environment in which these Central European immigrants defined themselves. This foreign context lacked an important aspect, the points of reference which the homeland's multiethnic community provided to clearly establish the position of people in the local context. Thus, in Florence these immigrants used a whole range of levels of self-identification, from the wider or closer geographic provenance, be it their home town or a wider geo-political unit, namely, the Kingdom of Hungary, up

to ethnic affiliation and the vernacular they spoke, an identification sometimes seeming vague, although the few related pieces of information in the *Catasto* show the prevailing use of geographical affiliation. In other, later, cases found in recent scholarly literature it seems to have been clearly driven by a conscious use of opportunities the Florentine urban organizations provided for foreign artisans. This may not be so closely connected to the main topic of this dissertation, yet it could be perceived as a starting point for a future investigation to examine the main features of the other extremes of diasporas in late medieval Europe, both the destination and the social cluster involved.

**Coping with the Powerful Other: A Comparative Approach to
Greek-Slavonic Communities of Rite in
Late Medieval Transylvania and the Banat**

Cristian-Nicolae Daniel (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on February 24, 2014, consisted of Tolga Esmer (Department of History, CEU), chair; Niels Gaul (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Ovidiu Ghitta (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca); Grigorios Papathomas (University of Athens/Saint Serge Theological Institute, Paris). The external readers were: Ovidiu Ghitta and Grigorios Papathomas.

The aim of this study has been to analyze the history of the communities of Greek-Slavonic rite in Transylvania by comparing them with other Greek rite communities in regions that I chose to call transitional regions. The timeframe for this research stretches from the first conquest of Constantinople (1204), through the fourth Lateran Council (1215), via the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439) to the Council of Trent (1545–63); the period of the structural development of the Greek-Slavonic rite in Transylvania. By evaluating the existing evidence for late medieval Transylvania with comparable information available in the sources (the vast majority of which were produced by the Latins), I laid the basis for a typology of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in such regions. This was a necessary undertaking in order to expand the knowledge on how these communities functioned.

This was achieved, first of all, by proposing to step away from the historiographic trend which uses labels such as “Orthodox” and “Catholic.” At the same time, sources that underline the peculiarity and originality of the ecclesiastical communities in the transitional regions were identified. For the

purpose of this study, transitional regions are to be understood as territories where rites interact. The ecclesiastical landscape in such transitional regions is characterized by the presence of two or more communities of rite which are living, preaching, performing their rituals, and building in the same region, a situation which has been labeled as co-territoriality. Communities of rite in such geographical and temporal contexts have so far and usually been labeled confessions. This usage further complicates understanding the relations between communities of different rites as, in the case of the ecclesiastical communities in the transitional regions, the term confession has been wrongly attributed in discussing realities that it does not apply to, realities that are outside the chronological coverage of this notion. Confessionalism is a historical trademark that applies much better when referring to an ecclesiological situation from the sixteenth century onwards, when, with the Reformation, the emerging Christian denominations went through a lengthy and painful process of self-definition in relation to other Christian groups.

Much of the historiography of the Orthodox–Catholic relations in Transylvania rests on attempts at proving the separate existence of the two Churches there. These attempts trace this dichotomy as far back in time as possible (sometimes even to the tenth-century bishopric of Tourkia). Without keeping a distance from the confessional mindset that animates most of the debates on the topic and without looking at the details of the often complicated but, all in all, functioning relation between the two branches of Christianity in the transitional regions, further research on the topic has every chance to stall. I have thus challenged opinions in Romanian historiography that reject any possibility of having the clergy and faithful of the Greek-Slavonic rite under the jurisdiction of the Latin hierarchy (on the grounds that they were canonically prohibited from entering into such a relation) or of Latin bishops supporting the erection of Greek rite churches on territory under their jurisdiction (since the faith of the Greeks was often considered a danger for Latin-rite Christians). Taking into account the cases discussed in this study, such an approach has been proven inadequate.

I compared the data about the Greek-Slavonic rite Church in Transylvania with similar information from Crete (a Venetian possession from 1207 to 1669) and Cyprus (under the Latin-rite Lusignan dynasty, 1191–1489; then a Venetian possession, 1489–1571). Crete presented itself as a somehow ideal case for a comparative approach, as it shared (*grosso modo*) the same ecclesiological destiny as Transylvania. An important part of the population in each region followed the Eastern rite, and each was under the rule of a state that was officially part of Western Christianity all the way through the major ecclesiological turning

points that frame my research. Another important point here is that by the end of the Venetian rule on Crete members of the two Christianities had coexisted for almost five hundred years in a relationship whose complexity had no rival in the Greek East.

By means of introduction, I present the advantages of using the comparative method for the study of the history of the Greek rite communities of Transylvania. I also touch upon the lack of terminology and explain how the notion of “transitional region” adds insight to the more familiar and widely used concepts of *conviventia* and “frontier region,” and to the more recent one of “rough tolerance,” while also reviewing the terminology that is used in the contemporary documents referring to Greek-rite Christians. Using the term “transitional region” has some advantages. It allows a much easier, to my mind at least, geographical identification of the regions which it covers and it helps the reader to map the research. At the same time, it does not imply clear-cut borders, and, like the subject it covers, still leaves room for interpretations and later refining. Such regions had characteristics that made them different from more homogenous regions. In contrast to lands where the rite or pattern of jurisdiction was uniform, the regions where Eastern and Western Christianities met, such as South Italy, the former possessions of the Byzantine Empire after 1204 (such as Cyprus, Crete, and Romania), the Crusader States, southeast Poland, Transylvania, and the Banat all experienced an intermingling of rites and theological traditions. My study points out both the differences and the similarities among these regions at the level of the ecclesiastical life of the local Greek-rite communities (with a focus on Transylvania, Crete, and Cyprus, and with more occasional references to the situation in South Italy, the Crusader States and the lands inhabited by the Ruthenians) and analyzes the special conditions for the Greek-Slavonic rite in Transylvania. Understanding the place of the Greek-Slavonic rite in medieval Transylvania required assessing the impact of high Church politics, the way the local ecclesiastical and aristocratic elites reacted to changes in Church policy, and the manner in which the “Orthodox” themselves were perceived when living in a “Catholic” environment before the time of confessionalism.

In the first part of the dissertation, I discuss the ecclesiological landmarks that shaped the life of the Greek rite communities from the thirteenth century up to the Reformation and the Council of Trent. The papal discourse (and that of other officials of the Latin rite) usually moved between schism and union (with some extreme accusations of heresy). I introduce these categories in connection with the transitional regions I am focusing on. At any time during their long coexistence, these ecclesial communities were able to preserve their rite, sacred

language, and other customs due to an ever-adapting Latin canonical regime that had the power to authorize the institutional existence and legal exercise of a public cult. This regime aimed at ensuring a visible communion of the local Churches in the one universal Church, defined as such by the Creed used by both the Greek and Latin Churches and devised by the common conciliar tradition. During the eight to the eleventh centuries the Byzantine emperors were the ones that subjected the dioceses of South Italy to the patriarchate of Constantinople, allowing them to keep their Greek or Latin rites. After the Norman conquest, however, the Church of Rome was in charge of defining the type of union appropriate for the Greek Churches there and in other transitional regions, and tried to accomplish this by ever-adapting its policy. Later, the most important transformations were brought by the councils of Florence and Trent. Although the Council of Florence finally agreed to bring the two Churches together, it was not a full-fledged success. Nevertheless, the results were applied in areas with Greek-rite populations under the control of Latin-rite elites. The period immediately following the Council of Ferrara-Florence brought the Greek-Slavonic communities of Transylvania into the spotlight. With more information about the Greek-Slavonic communities becoming available in the documents in the second half of the fifteenth century, this is a good example of how applying high Church policies locally contributed to increasing the visibility of these communities in the Hungarian kingdom. This historical process ended with the establishment of the Orthodox bishopric (metropolitanate) of Transylvania at Alba Iulia at the end of the sixteenth century: a “natural” option since in ecclesiology sacred geography usually follows political geography. Then again, the presence of two bishops in the same seat was an uncomfortable and non-canonical situation (judged according to the canons of the councils held in the first millennium) that started to perpetuate itself in the Christian *oikoumene* with the Crusades.

In the second part of the dissertation, I look at the activity of the Greek-rite clergy in the transitional regions and the policy of the Latin Church towards this clergy. I analyze the presence or absence of bishops in these regions as this gives vital information about the organization of the Greek-rite Churches under Latin secular rule and the perils of non-residence. I explore the role of the *protopapades* and priests as agents of the integration of local Churches and as interfaces with the Latin authorities. Furthermore, I discuss the destiny of the Greek-rite monastic establishments and their strategies for adaptation and survival.

The similarities with the Latin rite Christians, as well as continuous contacts, led to attempts at a de facto integration of the Greek-Slavonic communities, especially at the level of the hierarchy. The general trend imposed by the Latin rite

Church (based on eleventh-century precedents and decisions taken at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215) was to integrate the Greek-Slavonic-rite bishops into the jurisdictional structure of the Latin Church, while at the same time gradually marginalizing them. Few of the Greek-rite bishops managed to retain their sees and exercise their jurisdiction over a canonically defined territory. Most of those who stayed lost the territorial aspect of their function. They were removed from towns and relegated to monasteries in the countryside or to villages and exercised their jurisdiction over communities of rite rather than including the territory inhabited by these communities. In Transylvania and Crete the Greek-rite bishops were pushed out completely. When they do appear in the sources, they are considered unreliable characters in the eyes of the Latin-rite political and ecclesiastical establishment and were rapidly dealt with, either through reconversion or by being expelled. Even when they were allowed to hold office, as in Transylvania in the aftermath of the Florentine Council, the institutional reflex was so strong that the bishoprics of Feleacu and Vad were erected in villages. The Greek-Slavonic-rite hierarchy in the transitional regions was reduced to a largely monastery-based organization.

The transitional region witnessed the increase of the role of intermediaries at the level of the church hierarchy. Where bishops were unavailable, *protopapades* or archdeacons became leaders of the clergy at the regional level. Although with the exception of a few documents the evidence is largely lacking, I believe that the *protopapades* held a quasi-episcopal status and were responsible for ordinations as well as other duties. With the loss of the territorial function of the bishop's office such a transfer of function was relatively easy to achieve. This shows that coexistence in such a region led the members of the communities of rite to flexibility and adaptation. The monastic environment adapted even faster and was supported by various prominent Latin-rite personages such as the popes or secular rulers of Hungary and Venice.

In the third part of the dissertation, I analyze secular policies towards the Greek-rite communities in the transitional regions. I also discuss the reaction to these policies among the members (mostly the landed elite) belonging to the communities of Greek rite and their tangled religious options. The cultural identity of these communities is then touched upon by exploring some of their external identity markers such as church buildings and iconographical preferences. I further assess the regime of tithes specific to the Latin Church and the ways in which it was used and abused when applied to Greek-rite Christians.

Except for cases which implicated extremists on both sides and created brief moments of tension, the communities of Greek rite in the transitional

regions continued to live mostly undisturbed. The clergy and population in the transitional regions were mostly left outside the grand ecclesiological debates of the late medieval age. The most visible signs of their religious identity were the rite they practiced in its exterior appearances, the rituals and litanies, the language, and religious feasts, which were much closer to the everyday religious experience of the ordinary believer. The picture emerges of linked, cooperating communities, not fully integrated or assimilated into each other, with only limited needs for a shared liturgical language, a model familiar in contemporary cities and on other frontiers.

This coexistence at times involved conflict, as the Latin Church had a superior vantage point due to its institutional support and organization, and together with the secular power usually took the offensive and played the active part in this bipolar ecclesiological landscape. The Latin Church exercised a *de jure* control over territories where the Greek-Slavonic rite Christians lived, and as a maximal aim desired the subordination and assimilation of the Greek-Slavonic, rite communities and churches under its sway and beyond. In hindsight, this policy was unsuccessful overall, which, as observed by Adrian Andrei Rusu, can be also attributed to an efficacious passive force which was well rooted in the life of the Greek-Slavonic (mostly rural) communities. The immobility of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities could also have been the result of a weak and undetermined policy of conversion on behalf of the active Latin Church, as well as of a tolerance that drew its inspiration from the similarities between the two Churches, which overwhelmed the differences, at least during the fifteenth century and in the social contexts discussed above. The differences were mostly resurgent during conflict situations and were usually known only to the privileged few among the theological elite.

Researchers of the relations between the two Churches still have a long way to go before they can clearly explain how the various canonical traditions permitted the existence and perpetuation of such coexistence on the territories of alleged Catholic states and inside the borders of established Latin dioceses a long time after the two Churches had officially separated. Much is still to be done in order to properly define the terminology and to better understand the geographical distribution of such communities, their ethnic/cultural composition(s), and the social changes these communities had to face during their long existence. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the analysis of communities of rite in the framework of transitional regions adds a further tool to the ongoing process of refining and redefining the theoretical tools at our disposal.

**The Matter of Honor. The Leading Urban Elite of
Sixteenth-century Cluj and Sibiu**

Ágnes Flóra (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 16, 2014, consisted of László Kontler (Department of History, CEU), chair; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Marcell Sebők (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Maria Crăciun (Department of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca); Karsten Igel (Historisches Seminar, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster); Teréz Oborni (Institute of History, Research Center of Humanities, HAS). The external readers were: Maria Crăciun, Karsten Igel and Teréz Oborni.

This dissertation focuses on a comparative investigation of two early modern urban centers: Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt). My work has followed a scholarly tradition in elite research, yet developed a new perspective on urban history in Transylvania, since not much has been written lately on early modern urban elites and older scholarly contributions, though important and indispensable, have gradually become outdated. This is an attempt to combine traditional and modern research methods, an approach that was necessary due to the large volume of unpublished data that had to be analyzed in a certain historical context and also the decision to compare two urban centers. The analogies relevant for the research come mainly from German-speaking areas of Europe.

The aims defined for this dissertation were pursued along three main research paths. First, the historical backgrounds of the town elites in Cluj and Sibiu were analyzed, including the development of town autonomy and governmental systems from the medieval period until the end of the sixteenth century. This allowed me to discuss the legal background of urban leadership, to illustrate its continuity, to present the milieu and the conditions under which the political urban elite acted in each town. Second, the findings of the archontological and prosopographical research, the focus on generations, marriage strategies, and professional competence are meant to explicate the character of the leading elite. Finally, an attempt was made to provide insight into their representation and self-fashioning.

The systems of government in Cluj and Sibiu, although each was based on *hospes* privileges, differed markedly in their later development. Both towns had a two-tier scheme of power division between a large representative body, the

centumviri, and a town council of twelve. However, the influence and power of the two institutions followed different principles and had important dissimilarities. In Cluj, the *centumviri* not only elected the town council, but had real control over it, acting like a superior legislative body. In Sibiu, in contrast, the large council had rather a supervisory role besides the fact that it legitimized the town magistrate by election. The council minutes of the *centumviri* in Sibiu did not survive, and therefore there was no opportunity for empirical research on the activity of the large council. Nevertheless, comparing the activity of the *centumviri* in Cluj and the town magistrate in Sibiu, revealed that many attributes of the *centumviri* in Cluj were assumed by the town magistrate in Sibiu. Following the path of logic, and the fact that there are hardly any signs of activity by the *centumviri* until the end of the sixteenth century, one may assert that the power of the larger council in Sibiu was significantly restricted. Consequently, the influence of the town magistrate in Sibiu was greater than that of the town council in Cluj. There were also differences as well as similarities in the distribution of power within the town councils.

In Sibiu the leader of the town was the mayor, while Cluj was led by the town judge. In both towns a royal judge was appointed as well; however the status, sphere of actions, and position of this office within the hierarchy of the urban government was different. While in Sibiu this office was very much a political role of state importance and the highest prestige, in Cluj the royal judge ranked below the town judge and had only moderate political power. The number of councilors was the same, twelve, but in Cluj their seats were split equally between the Hungarians and Saxons according to the parity governing system introduced in 1458. This parity not only divided the seats in the council but introduced a yearly rotation of the two main offices between the two nations. This kind of power division, unique in Transylvania, not only defined political careers within the town, but created an elite that was not only bilingual but had a double identity and yet was politically united.

The principles of creating elites in Cluj and Sibiu were the same – wealth, personal ambition, and family prestige – only the political power of the local elites inside and outside the town and the influence of individuals differed. The basic principle of eligibility for the council was citizenship and its general requirements – property ownership, legitimate birth, and marriage – were applied similarly in most of the urban settlements in Europe, certainly in German towns, although almost every urban settlement set special conditions. Sibiu, for instance, restricted citizenship to native Germans only, regardless of previous social standing, while Cluj was cautious about nobles. In both cases, the key element that fostered these restrictions was the increasing control the governing elite had over new settlers

who might have jeopardized their interests. *En mass* settling of non-Germans, for instance, may have challenged the power of the urban leaders in Sibiu, while nobles in Cluj were always potential generators of conflict through their special privileged status in the society of the country. Multi-ethnicity was no longer a problem in sixteenth-century Cluj.

The case study on the 176 new citizens between 1587 and 1599 in Cluj revealed a relatively steady proportion of ethnic groups; the number of Hungarian new citizens did not go much beyond the number of Saxons, although the immigration of Hungarians shows more consistency in every year. The professions of the newly settled also reflect the realities of the occupational market in the town: goldsmiths and tailors were overrepresented. Goldsmiths were mainly Hungarians, while the new Saxons were involved in the textile industry. Thus, one may assert that the demographic supply of the town populace in Cluj was in accordance with the existing ethnic and professional realities in the sixteenth century and thus preserved the status quo and maintained continuity for the elites. Therefore, the control of immigration was not only a topical measure of the incumbent elite, but also a strategy of power control.

Entering the community of citizens was the first step towards public office, the rest depended on the personal ambition, abilities, family connections/networks, and auspicious circumstances. The archontological comparative analysis of the town leadership in Cluj and Sibiu displays 108 and 134 officeholders. In the period between 1550 and 1600, i.e., when data series are available for both towns, the number of persons registered as councilors in Cluj shows a slightly higher number than in Sibiu. Although fewer in number, the town councilors in Sibiu spent more time in office (8.96 years) than their counterparts in Cluj (4.64 years). The longest period of office holding in Cluj was 11 or 12 years, while some councilors in Sibiu served the town for no less than 35 to 38 years. Yet, these lengthy periods were not a sign of hereditary office-holding. There was no straight line of succession in office holding in one family. That leads to two important assumptions. The position of a councilor in Sibiu was stronger than that of a councilor in Cluj, and individuals had more power in Sibiu than in Cluj. That might have been a consequence of the town council in Sibiu being the administrative body of the whole Saxon community in Transylvania and thus playing an augmented political role. Secondly, the rotation of persons was more frequent in Cluj than in Sibiu. The main competition-generating fact would be the number of citizens: a larger populace meant greater rivalry for offices. The demographic indicators of Cluj and Sibiu, however, did not differ substantially, thus here other reasons must have been acting. The parity system in Cluj might

have created competition for public office more than the non-parity system in Sibiu. The power of individuals and the regional and state importance of Sibiu created longer incumbencies.

Long periods spent in the town council usually meant high offices as well; there are some exceptions that prove the rule, when a person did not access high position within the council even though he spent 30 or even 36 years in the governing body. There were probably particular reasons that kept someone away from top roles that are impossible to comprehend through the obscurity of time. Long careers were conditioned by objective and subjective circumstances. Longevity was irrespective of someone's political abilities, yet it was one significant condition for a long-lasting career. At the same time, the quality of a career depended on the political and social capital of each office holder, as well as his advance through the ranks of the council. The *cursum honorum* of the councilors was reflected by the order in which they sat in the council room. Usually it took around seven or eight years for someone to reach the top seats, and almost without exception each man started his progressive advance in hierarchy from the very back of the table. In Cluj the starting position within the council was the seat of the steward, while in Sibiu new councilors were never entrusted with this office at the beginning of their career. Great differences occurred on the top levels of urban government as well. While in Sibiu mayors were in office even for ten years, the town judges in Cluj rarely exceeded five years. There were also differences in the afterlife of the mayors and town judges. There was a tradition in Sibiu that the resigning top leader stepped back to the first position in the council, i.e., to the deputy mayor's position – a kind of reintegration of power. In Cluj, the substitute position depended greatly on the acting town judge, and in spite of the fact that there were cases when indeed a former town judge was nominated to the deputy position, one finds less consistency in this respect in Cluj.

Yet the most striking contrast has been revealed in the comparison of the royal judge positions. Here the influence of state policy is strikingly stronger in Sibiu than in Cluj. Besides the fact that the kings of Hungary and later the princes of Transylvania often nominated the royal judge of Sibiu, breaking the privilege of the community in this sense, the career of the royal judges also underlines the differences. The average number of years spent in this office in Sibiu was 12 years while in Cluj it was only 1.8. Moreover, almost every second royal judge in Sibiu was appointed to this office without holding any other offices before, while in Cluj there are hardly any such occurrences. That makes even clearer the strong political character of this position in Sibiu. It is not surprising, therefore, that many judges played important roles in state policy as well.

State offices were among the targets in the vertical mobility of townspeople, either on a political or on professional path. Professional state functions were linked to the mining and minting businesses, where mainly goldsmiths and literates were active. The goldsmiths of Cluj were strongly involved in minting, while the councilors in Sibiu were closely interested in mining concessions.

The town councilors in Sibiu managed to reconcile state and urban functions, while in Cluj persons who received high offices in the state administration suspended or abandoned their urban political ambitions either because they fostered vertical mobility through state functions or because the leading elite in Cluj tried to separate town affairs from state affairs as much as they could. However, state officials of local origin had great lobbying potential for the urban governments, as the cases presented in this dissertation also show.

Besides the most important offices, notaries were also presented at length in this dissertation for two reasons; first, because they were part of urban administration and second because they had special roles in urban leadership, so different and yet in accordance with the general features of town elites. Running an urban chancery or carrying out special work was basically wage labor, but the skills this labor required raised the notary among the most respected town servants. Nothing shows the importance of town clerks in town administration more clearly than their high mobility and the endeavors of town leaders to lure the most skillful clerks to their town. Their absence must have created hitches in the town administration, since notaries were not just simple scribes, but literates who could interpret the laws, watch the legality of administrative or legal procedures, and guarantee the authenticity of documents. Moreover, they were propulsive actors of urban political self-fashioning and representation, the producers of canons of local identity. They established links between East and West, and brought new ideas and implemented them in the local context. Peregrinations to Western universities, principally to Wittenberg, were essential in spreading Reformation thought and humanist ideas.

The office of the notary was an excellent position for an ambitious man to enter the circle of the urban elite through education. One rarely finds, however, (exclusively in Sibiu) notaries who entered town council after their appointment to the town chancery had expired. Notaries apparently fostered other types of careers, very differently in Cluj and Sibiu. While the clerks of Sibiu opted for clerical positions after their term expired, in Cluj most of them were to be found in county, state or ecclesiastical functions. Whether they belonged to the political or intellectual elite of the towns remains a subject to debate.

In spite of the many differences in the career-building patterns in Cluj and Sibiu, one important similarity was often present; the councilors often strengthened their positions by advantageous marriages. The marriage strategies of the elite were of great importance in every urban center since matrimonial alliance was the main instrument for perpetuating power or gaining prestige in a family. The simultaneous presence of persons with direct kin relations was prohibited in the councils of Cluj and Sibiu alike. In Sibiu even brother-in-law ties were excluded. In Cluj, where such relations were permitted, the “son-in-law principle” was applied in inheriting and preserving political and economic power within influential families. Of the twelve burghers who held the position of town judge in Cluj between 1580 and 1600, seven were in some family relation to each other. In 1580 two brothers-in-law controlled the whole political life of the town by filling the two most influential positions: the offices of town judge and royal judge.

Widows had an important role in perpetuating political and social power. The case study on Sibiu connected to the history of the Altenberger house, later the town hall, revealed how the distinction of owning prestigious real estate was transferred among important political actors by marrying widows. Passing on political capital was fundamental in such cases. Marriages outside the town followed yet different strategies and economic considerations played a stronger role than political interests. Important merchant families increased their businesses by capital fusion through marriage.

Besides marriage strategies, the relations between generations were likewise key issues in the political life of Cluj and Sibiu. One should not look for features of hereditary positions bequeathed from father to son, but rather for parental/family support for their offspring’s career. There are hardly any cases in either town of the same family being in leading positions for more than two generations because the mobility of the Transylvanian urban societies was pronounced. Important families fostered vertical mobility towards ennoblement.

The frequency distribution of professions among the councilors presents two slightly different patterns in Cluj and Sibiu. While in Cluj goldsmiths were the most influential, in Sibiu tailors were among the most powerful craftsmen after the wealthy but narrow stratum of merchants. This shows again that one cannot make a clear distinction between the economic and political elites.

Concluding these archontological inquiries one may ask whether the political elites of Cluj and Sibiu in the sixteenth century can be labeled as a patriciate. According to the criteria established by patrician research in the 1960s, the political elites in neither of these two towns can be associated with the attributes of a

patrician society, although some distinctive patrician features may apply in certain cases. The whole elite was, however, a leading group distinguished more by social and economic power, and consequently political capital, and less by traditional family ties. Moreover, there were no such preset and closed groups of power as in Nürnberg or Wrocław (Breslau), for instance, but rather generations of power with real political vocations. It is an important distinction that these generations did not have full monopoly over the urban government, especially not in Cluj, where they were incumbents for shorter periods. Thus, they had less or no chance at all to create strong power groups. Such power concentrations started to appear only in the seventeenth century. Both in Cluj and in Sibiu individuals played significant roles. This is the main difference between the two urban governments examined here and a patrician system of town administration.

The more the research on urban leaders in East Central Europe proceeds, the more the hypothesis of patrician governments in this region falls. The findings on Sopron (Ödenburg), Košice (Kassa, Kaschau) and Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya, Neusohl) and now on Cluj and Sibiu do not underline any patrician character in these urban centers. Yet, power groups or generations did exist. In Sibiu the influence of individuals and their grip on power in this sense was greater than of the political elite of Cluj. Comparatively, in Sopron, for instance – according to Károly Goda's research – the change of people in the leading positions was more frequent than in Sibiu. The high frequency of office-holders changing in Cluj resembles the example of Buda, another town with a parity system. Whether the competition for urban offices was a simple question of demographic growth or whether political systems influenced the power concentration in a town would be easy to understand through extended comparisons. Studies on the elites of Žilina (Zsolna, Sillein), where a parity system was in use, and Levoča (Lőcse, Leutschau) or Kežmarok (Késmárk, Käsmark), the two most important centers in the Spiš region, would be the best case studies to compare with Cluj and Sibiu. Such studies are not available yet.

The third part of this dissertation is dedicated to the self-representation of the governing elite, mainly in Cluj (but with references to Sibiu as far as the sources allow). Two separate instruments of self-fashioning are discussed: ceremonials of council election and their symbolism and the town hall as a monument for the public display of governing principles.

The town statute of Cluj adopted in 1537 brought two important changes in the council election procedure; it changed the date and place of the election. The ceremonial act was transferred into a public sphere, to the cemetery. This raised as many questions as answers during the research. Surely, moving the

election process to the open air was a response to a need coming either from the townspeople or the elite to make one of the most important events in town accessible for all. Everything happened in front of the citizens, thus, the council received symbolic investiture from the whole community. Using the cemetery as place for elections was not typical for such purposes, a fact that leaves space for several interpretations. Plausibly the town council turned back to an old medieval tradition, or preferred the graveyard because it was the only fenced central place that afforded protection for the electoral gathering. The symbolic meaning of such a place should not be disregarded either. It could have served as a place of *memento mori*, a site for remembering the forebears or as a space between the church and town hall, between sacred and profane.

The transfer of former church rituals into a secular context was an issue that persisted throughout the whole council election. The procession of the new council through the town was a conversion of religious processions into a secular ceremony, although it might have been a symbolic seizing of the town, a kind of *reambulatio terrae*. Either in terms of religious or legal incentives, the procession of the new council was the first moment of (festive) interaction with the townspeople and thus one of the most important channels for self-representation by the elite.

Even if the source materials are scattered and pieces of information on the council elections appear almost incidentally, one may assert that these events were full of symbols, rituals and signs that were meant to stress the relations between the town and its officials as well as between the officials and God. Although the day of the yearly council elections was the only public secular feast day in town, the sacred and profane spaces of the town also interacted and formed a duality and shift of meanings. What belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical space (e.g., the procession through the town, the burial place, the songs) became scenes of a secular ritual, while secular realities (e.g., the number of councilors, the oath, tolling the bells) entered the sphere of the sacred. This kind of shift in the meaning and use of sacred and profane have also been presented by Dietrich Poeck and Antje Diener-Staekling in their studies on urban council representation. The striking similarities among Cluj, Sibiu, German and French towns create clear evidence that ideas, traditions, and governing principles were transmitted and circulated throughout Europe.

The sparseness of written sources on early modern town halls and even the physical absence of such monuments left little chance for comparative research. Only the rare example of the decorations of the town hall in Cluj could be discussed. The inscriptions on the walls of the early modern town hall of Cluj were both decorations and messages to citizens entering the building, informing

them of the high moral standards of their local government. The decorative scheme, with sentences taken from the Bible and works by Classical authors, attests the cultural background of the designer, but also reflects the demands of civic society – as in other European towns – for a building which displayed the virtues of their town in the spirit of contemporary traditions. This kind of civic ostentation may also be ascribed to the emergence and development of early modern civic awareness. This can be a closing sentence of this dissertation and an opening notion for what will come as a continuation to this research: the formation of civic identity and the role of the elite in shaping it. It points forward to new inquiries.

Generally speaking, the main contribution of this dissertation is that it opens the opportunity for larger central European comparisons, and thus might contribute to a shift in the clear-cut historical paradigm of a border between East Central Europe and the West. There are many different topics to compare: political elite creation, career building, governing systems and traditions, institutional developments, election procedures, and self-representation. Later, these topics might develop into self-standing research that can be extended to other urban centers. On the local level, the database of office-holders in the Appendix of the dissertation will become an instrument for historians dealing with the history of Cluj or Sibiu.

**Contemplation and the Cognition of God.
Victorine Theological Anthropology and its Decline**

Csaba Németh (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on September 13, 2013, consisted of Gábor Betegh (Department of Philosophy, CEU), chair; György Geréby (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Niels Gaul (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); István Perczel (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Dominique Poirel (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris) and Christian Trottman (Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Université François Rabelais, Tours).

The subject of this dissertation is the doctrines of the twelfth-century theological school of the Saint Victor monastery of Augustinian canons, located in Paris. The aim of this work is twofold: first to find and describe the features characteristic of twelfth-century Victorine theological anthropology, and then to describe its

immediate thirteenth-century afterlife and provide a plausible causal explanation for it.

Part I gives a general theoretical background of twelfth-century Victorine theological anthropology by presenting first the elementary patristic doctrines that largely defined the possible models of anthropology (Chapter 1), and then a characteristically twelfth-century problem of epistemology and theological anthropology (Chapter 2).

Part II investigates the theological anthropology of twelfth-century Victorines in its historical context. In order to see what a characteristically Victorine theological anthropology might be, first the relevant doctrines of twelfth-century Victorine authors are investigated. Chapters 1–3 deal with the theories of Hugh, Richard, Achard, and Walther regarding image and likeness, the original (prelapsarian) state, the impact of the Fall on human nature, and contemplation. Their writings share similar doctrinal positions, which are, at the same time, uncharacteristic of other authors. These positions can be summarised as follows. Image and likeness are conceived as the duality of a cognitive and affective aspect of the human soul, also called *cognitio* (*ratio, intellectus*) and *dilectio* (*amor, affectus*). Cognition and love remain separated; conceived as image and likeness, the two aspects cannot be converted into each other or exchange their respective functions. The prelapsarian state is conceived as a contemplation of God through the highest (and inborn) cognitive faculty of man (the *intelligentia*); the Fall is conceived as a loss of this contemplative vision, a fall into darkness (that is, into ignorance and concupiscence). The consequences of the Fall can be overcome in the direct, individual contemplative experience. Contemplation happens through the cooperation of grace and the highest cognitive faculty; it is described by visual imagery as a *vision* of God or of the Truth. These principles, compared with Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry, lead to different spiritual agendas, different rhetorics, different stylistic and literary preferences and different use of (pictorial) images.

In order to see Victorine doctrines in context it is necessary to understand that twelfth-century theology was, to use a term of Marcia Colish, a “theology in flux.” The Victorine theories on spirituality and anthropology were internally connected to doctrinal issues about which no consensual position existed at the time. Hugh gave his own formulation of the prelapsarian cognition of God (and joined his theory to the “eye of contemplation”), while Richard and Achard interpreted the rapture of Saint Paul (2 Cor. 12:2–4) as a paradigm of contemplative ecstasy. The later doctrinal developments on these issues, as they occurred in the urban schools and later at the University of Paris, became authoritative and were

largely independent of Victorine theories. The overview of these developments not only gives a contrast to the Victorines but also explains their reception (or the lack thereof).

Part II, Chapter 4 investigates the twelfth-century doctrinal developments on prelapsarian cognition. Hugh's doctrines were transcribed in the *Summa sententiarum* of Odo of Lucca (c. 1138–1141) and then modified by the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (1156); the latter gradually became the textbook of theological education. The investigation also reveals that the masters of Notre Dame, without being influenced by their Victorine contemporaries, perceived Adam's prelapsarian and Paul's enraptured vision of God as two issues that were extraordinary in the same way. The *Ps.-Peter of Poitiers Gloss* (c. 1160–1165) states that Adam saw God through a "middle" vision, like Paul (*quadam visione mediastina ut Paulus raptus ad tertium celum*); Peter Comestor (*Quaestio* 331, c. 1160–1170) thinks that Adam's condition cannot be formulated in the traditional duality of *via/patria*; Peter of Poitiers states that in his sleep (*sopor*) Adam *non erat in via, neque in patria* (*Sententiae* II, ix, c. 1167–1170); decades later Magister Martinus reports that in his rapture Paul was *nec viator nec civis, nec in via nec in patria* (*Summa*, c. 1195). These efforts at formulating the two extraordinary cases also show that the school theology, by creating a *tertium* besides the usual dual categories, reached a solution analogous to the Victorine one.

Part III investigates the thirteenth-century contexts and afterlife of the Victorine doctrines. The course of investigation here was dictated by the institutional changes of the early thirteenth century. With the emergence of the university, Saint Victor, like the other schools of theology, too, lost its importance. Victorine texts did not have much theological authority in themselves either, and only a few of them exerted an influence on later theology. Before investigating the direct reception of the texts it was necessary to investigate that of the doctrines: in other words, to understand whether twelfth-century Victorine theories were compatible with thirteenth-century Scholastic doctrines at all. In the case of the two issues mentioned, the answer is negative. After the doctrinal developments of the first four decades of the thirteenth century these basic Victorine theories became incompatible with the official and normative ecclesiastical doctrines.

Part III, Chapter 1 investigates the doctrinal development of *raptus*. In Richard's writings, Paul's rapture is coextensive with (or even a paradigm of) contemplative ecstasy. In the school theology, the rapture of Saint Paul had been continuously discussed in theological literature from the 1170s onwards; Biblical commentaries, theological questions and *summae* developed it into an issue itself. Chapter 1 demonstrates that the *visio mediastina* (as a third, separate, form of

cognition reserved for Paul's rapture) had been gradually eradicated from the theological vocabulary by the 1230s. The change is documented, among others, in the writings of Stephen Langton, the *Summa Aurea* of William of Auxerre (1215–1220), the Ms Douai 434 and the *Summa* of Roland of Cremona (mid-1230s?). This change also affected the concepts of theology; after it, only two forms of vision, the mediated and immediate, can belong to the two states of *via* and *patria*. By the late 1230s, the cognition that Paul had in his *raptus* was assimilated to the eschatological vision. *Raptus* is a unique, extraordinary, and exceptional case, an immediate vision of God, a miracle, always exemplified with Saint Paul's case; however, for Richard (and also for Achard), Paul's rapture was the paradigm according to which ecstasy used to happen, a possible spiritual experience that "used to happen" to contemplatives. The thirteenth-century Scholastic separation of the miraculous *raptus* and the possible contemplative experience made the Victorine position unthinkable.

Part III, Chapter 2 investigates thirteenth-century doctrinal development regarding prelapsarian cognition (c. 1220 to c. 1300). This development took place through the exegesis of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and manifested itself in glosses (until the 1240s) and commentaries (from the early 1240s onwards) written on *Sent.* II dist. 23 and IV dist. 1. The text presented a persistent hermeneutical problem, since it stated that Adam saw God *sine medio* (IV dist. 1). The original concept behind the term, the Victorine idea of the original immediate vision of God, was unthinkable; therefore theologians started to find a *medium* (or different *media*) that is present now but was absent before the Fall. The early thirteenth-century *Glosses* written by Alexander Halensis (1223–1227), Hugh of Saint-Cher OP (1231–1232), and Jean de la Rochelle OFM (1236–1245) give the traditional Augustinian meaning *nubes peccati*. The later sources indicate that prelapsarian cognition became a debated issue in Paris at some point in the 1240s. The first *Sentences* commentaries, written by Odo Rigaldi OFM (c. 1242–1245), Albert the Great OP (c. 1246) in Paris, and Richard Fishacre OP (c. 1241–1245) in Oxford, suggest that, for a few years, the question was a subject of free theological opinion; these works offer various and seemingly independent formulations of the problem. The situation changed with the *Summa Halensis* (dated c. 1241–1245): It pronounces theological censures against certain positions and declares the authentic doctrine. One of the rejected positions is based on Hugh's text (*De sacr.* I, vi, 14) and attributes to Adam a vision of God in an immediate and "diminished" way (*diminute*) – which seems to be a contemporary formulation of Hugh's original idea. The declared doctrine, however, teaches that Adam saw God before the Fall, not immediately but through a "clean mirror," and after it

“through a mirror in an enigma” (cf. 1 Cor. 13:12). This declaration, repeated in all the later commentaries, put a stop to doctrinal development and made the Victorine concept practically unthinkable, therefore unintelligible, after the 1240s.

Part III, Chapter 3 covers the direct reception of Victorine texts in the spiritual literature of the thirteenth century. Richard (but also Hugh) was regarded as an authority on contemplation; the last chapter investigates the way in which their writings were used by such later authors as Thomas Gallus, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, Hugh of Balma and Rudolph of Biberach. Most of these authors (with the exception of Aquinas) represent an affective spirituality, where the closest possible experience of God is conceived as an (affective) union with God through an affective faculty; in this context, any intellectual cognition of God can only be secondary and lower in rank. However alien this model was to twelfth-century Victorines, their texts were excerpted and utilised to support it, although the preferences of the single authors varied. Anthony of Padua used Richard’s spiritual writings and, as Châtillon observed, carefully erased his original references to *raptus* and face-to-face vision from the context of contemplation. The writings of Saint Bonaventure (d. 1274) show a combination of the principles of Hugh, Richard, and Thomas Gallus: he takes over Hugh’s theory about three eyes and makes it the basic structure of his own theological anthropology by duplicating the original triple division (see *Brevil.* II, vi, *Itin.* I, 6, *In Hexaem. coll.* V. 24). The most comprehensive use of adapted Victorine material can be observed in the *De septem itineribus* of Rudolph of Biberach. In Rudolph, Richard’s sixfold scheme of contemplation appears as one of several possible models of contemplation (*Iter III*); using passages from Richard’s *De IV gradibus* and Hugh’s *In Hierarchiam*, he demonstrates the superiority of love to cognition (*Iter IV*); Richard’s doctrines on corporeal and spiritual visions (*Iter V*, cf. *In Apocalypsin*) appear as sensual and intellectual revelations, only to be surpassed by the supra-intellectual revelation, the affective union with God.

In sum, what this dissertation has considered as a Victorine theological anthropology is a set of doctrinal positions elaborated first by Hugh and later enriched by other twelfth-century Victorines. This set of positions is characteristic of Victorine theologians, but also set them apart from other traditions, such as Cistercian theology or the school theology of the later twelfth century. This Victorine model, however, did not have much influence on the formation of Scholastic theology. Moreover, due to different premises and the conceptual changes occurring between c.1160 and c.1245, it became incompatible with the new Scholastic model of theological anthropology, thus creating a hermeneutical problem for both thirteenth-century theologians and modern scholars. The

dissertation closes with appendices containing unedited source material on prelapsarian cognition: transcripts from a dozen less well known books of sentences (from c. 1145–c. 1245), anonymous glosses and the commentaries of Odo Rigaldi and Richard Fishacre written on the relevant distinctions of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.

“How the Corpse of a Most Mighty King...”
The Use of the Death and Burial of the English Monarch
(from Edward to Henry I)

James Plumtree (United Kingdom)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 12, 2014, consisted of Victor Karády (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), primary supervisor; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), associate supervisor; Daniel Ziemann (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Paul Hayward (University of Lancaster). The external readers were: Paul Hayward and Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn (Voss, Norway).

The understanding of death in the Middle Ages has been somewhat hindered by modern attitudes towards mortality. This study examines the importance attached to the death and burial of the monarchs of England from Edward (d. 1066) to Henry I (d. 1135). It investigates the division between “good death” (where the dying person, after putting his affairs in order, could be cleansed of his sins) and “bad death” (where the death was sudden – or unprepared for – owing to ignoring the portents, leading to damnation). This study examines how this paradigm, taken from monastic attitudes towards death, was used to explain the death of the monarch.

The first chapter, “‘Joyfully Taken Up to Live With God’: The Altered Passing of Edward,” examines the increasingly embellished accounts of King Edward’s death. The two main contemporaneous sources, MS C and D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (in Anglo-Saxon) and the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (in Latin), both contain two different depictions of the monarch’s demise. Both provide a brief account of the ruler’s death, and then, later, present another. The former text provides a poem that depicts the deceased as an example of heroic kingship; the latter, providing another prose account of details surrounding the monarch’s death, presents the monarch in a more hagiographical mode. This study examines how the second manner became prevalent. After explaining the problematic sources that present Edward’s death in a minor fashion – Sulcard’s *Prologus de*

Costruzione Westmonasterii (understood through conventions of the genre it belongs to), and the Bayeux Tapestry (comprehended through its context in the work and by its visual allusions to other visual sources) – it examines Osbert of Clare’s account of the 1102 translation of Edward’s corpse in his *Vita beati Eadwardi Regis*. Following an examination of how ambivalent attitudes to Edward by half-English, half-Norman historians (Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon) are expressed in the depiction of his death and burial, the study examines the writings of Aelred of Rievaulx that present Edward’s death – and his remains – in a positive fashion following Osbert’s hagiographical account. The chapter shows how the treatment of the death and the cadaver changed as the deceased ruler became a saint.

The second chapter, “‘Thirsting Above All for the Blood of the King’: Killing and Survival Stories of Harold II,” looks at Edward’s short-reigning successor. Although the battle was decisive – or, perhaps, because the battle was so decisive – details of the death of the notable figures of Harold’s army are not clear. The study examines the accounts of Harold’s death, beside his brothers, in two manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicles*, seeing how the event was provided with the motif of punishment for sin (adhering to the earlier writings of Gildas, Nennius, and Wulfstan). It then examines how the the events of Senlac Hill, where the battle took place, reverberated in the historiography, with Harold’s death and burial being a point of contention. In Guy, bishop of Amiens’ *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, Harold is slain by four mounted Normans who also mutilate his corpse. The defeated ruler is buried by the victor, William, Duke of Normandy, whose burial of Harold stresses both his magnanimity, and, by ordering the corpse to be interred by the sea, his victory. The *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers, more conscious of the need to praise the victors, omits the scene of Harold’s demise – in its place is a rhetorical address to his tomb (following Classical models). The study then examines the possible sources for the story that Harold was fatally injured by an arrow in the eye – assessing the problematic sources of Amatus of Montecassino’s *L’Ystoire de li Normant*, the Bayeux Tapestry, and Baudri of Bourgeuil’s *Adalae Comitissae* – before examining the meaning attached to the event in the half-English half-Norman historians (William of Malmesbury; Orderic Vitalis; Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon). It then looks at a text that clearly shows its support for the Anglo-Saxon cause – *De inventione sancte crucis*, written at Waltham Abbey patronised by the slain king – in how it omits the scene of Harold’s death, explains his defeat with miraculous premonitions, and balances its claims to hold his remains while attempting to suppress any emerging cults. The chapter closes with an examination of one of

the curious, ahistorical beliefs attached to Harold: that he survived and became a hermit. After looking at the generic reasons for including such a myth, the study examines the hagiographic *Vita Haroldi*, which provides for Harold the good religious death that he was denied on the field of battle.

The third chapter, “‘Ought Not Rest in a Place He Had Seized By Brute Force’: The Conquest Seen Through William I’s Demise and Burial,” examines how the depictions of William’s death and burial dealt with the issue of legitimacy and authority. The Peterborough Chronicle and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, use the Anglo-Saxon historical traditions of poetry and homiletics to raise contemporary concerns that originated from William’s reign in their accounts of his death. William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and Orderic Vitalis’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, employing motifs taken from earlier historical texts that had been copied after the Norman Conquest alongside biblical and Classical allusions, present the monarch’s death and problematic burial as an *exemplum*. The chapter shows how a death and burial could be crafted for political, pedagogical, and theological reasons.

The fourth chapter, “‘Considering his Squalid Life and Dreadful Death’: The Strange End(s) of William II,” shows how a sudden event – the accidental death of William by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest – was recast in a new light by authors to provide a negative assessment of the monarch’s reign. The Peterborough Chronicle, Hugh of Flavigny’s *Chronicon*, Eadmer’s *Historia Novorum in Anglia* and *Vita Anselmi*, and Gilo of Paris’s *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, all include premonitions to suggest a divine hand in the monarch’s demise. Later historians – Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, and Orderic Vitalis – repeated and embellished such details for further moral edification. Their value system is shown by the different presentation of the monarch’s death and burial in Geoffrei Gaimar’s *Estoire des Engleis*. This work, the oldest surviving historiographical work in the French vernacular, presents William’s sudden death as a “good death,” following the paradigm of a religious demise. In doing this, it is the anomaly that proves the rule; its contrasting presentation reveals its literary features and the ecclesiastical authors with which it differs.

The fifth and final chapter, “‘Then this land immediately grew dark’: Portraying the Close of the Reign of Henry I,” examines the depiction of the death and burial of a monarch who died after the major historical works of the twelfth century had already been produced. It therefore provides the opportunity to see how these events in the monarch’s life were regarded. The influence of his patronage while alive is shown in the sympathetic portrayal of his demise by those he had supported (Peter the Venerable, Orderic Vitalis), which, given his behavior

at times akin to that of his much loathed brother William (II), suggests a “good death” could be bought. Time, also, is shown to be of importance in shaping the depiction, for both sides of the civil war used the account of the monarch’s death for different purposes (*Historia Novella*, *Gesta Stephani*), features shared somewhat by non-partisan viewpoints (the Peterborough Chronicle). Such changes in depiction could also appear in the work of a single author (Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon), and this movement from the detailed to the embellished appears in the use of the monarch’s death in later hagiographical accounts of holy men.

The death and burial of the monarch became key features in historical assessments of his reign. The altering and embellishing of the details reveal the techniques employed and the familiarity of the authors with pre-existing forms of historical writing. That the monarchs were frequently depicted in a manner that fell far short of an idealised death – with the use of motifs that appeared oppositional to how one would depict a saint – reiterates the importance of religious paradigms in the mentalities of the era.