

**SPECIMINA NOVA
PARS PRIMA
SECTIO MEDIAEVALIS**

XII.



*Dissertationes historicae collectae per
Cathedram Historiae Medii Aevi Modernorumque
Temporum Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*

*A Pécsi Tudományegyetem Középkori és Koraújkor
Történeti Tanszékének Történeti közleményei*

2023

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PREFACE

In the more than two decades of the journal's history, it has been relatively rare for a single issue to focus on a single theme. The current issue falls into this, even more modest, category.

On 7–8 April 2022, the conference "*Negotiating Authority: Models of Governance in Medieval and Early Modern Times*" was organised jointly with the Faculty of Croatian Studies of the University of Zagreb and hosted by the Historical Collections Department of the University Library and Knowledge Centre, of the University of Pécs.

To constitute an authority was and is a timeless concept or action which shape human societies. Various fields of research tried and are trying to understand it from diverse interpretative angles, posing different questions in effort to understand why human societies submit to authority and/or how institutions serve to legitimize authority. Our wish is to present the papers dealing with models of governance from medieval times to nineteenth century. More specifically we are interested in: structures of governance in centres and sub-centres, activities of negotiation and communication between centres and sub-centres, within or between groups, including a question of institutionalisation and/or personalisation of government and finally conflicts in ecclesiastical, religious or secular institutions. These questions will be discussed with the concrete goal – namely, we would like to know whether dynamics in making models of governance were inspired by and led to changes, enabled stability to institutions, or served for the conservation of old structures.

The conference is a part of bilateral cooperation between University of Pécs, Institute of History – Department of Medieval and Early Modern History and University of Zagreb – Faculty of Croatian Studies. In the last five years the cooperation was manifested in scientific activities, and various faculty and student exchange programs. This is the second small conference organised by research groups of the two Universities. The first one took place in Zagreb on 29 May 2018, and was hosted by the Faculty of Croatian Studies. Its results are recently published in the collective volume *Institutional Aspects of Church and Social History*. Ed. Marko Jerković, Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2021. We plan to make these kind of venues – of the two research teams, together with their guests – traditional gatherings and a fruitful forum for a discussion on the institutional history.

The volume contains selected papers from the international conference. In addition to these, and according to the tradition, there are also contributions on other topics, as we continue to consider it important that the journal provides publication opportunities for colleagues from other research institutions and PhD students alike. In addition, we also offer reviews and reports for our readers, as well as a table of contents of previous volumes and a list of works published related to the department.

Pécs, 14 November 2023

Gergely Kiss

STUDIES

Marko MARINA

Authority as a Challenge: A Study of the Valentinian Gnostic School

The early Christian world was diverse. Various groups of Christians held opposite views on crucial theological and social elements while claiming to be the true followers of Jesus Christ. In this diversity, two streams of Christianity were particularly popular: proto-orthodox Christians and Valentinian Gnostics. These groups were included in the sharp polemical discussions and battles, as they tried to gain a monopoly in the early Christian world. In the end, proto-orthodoxy won thus marginalizing Valentinian Gnostics. In that process, Church authors, such as Irenaeus and Justin Martyr reclaimed the history of Christianity by defining themselves as the guardians of orthodoxy. Furthermore, they put the label of “heresy” on Valentinians claiming that they are not real Christians, but a subversive group that had corrupted the original message of Jesus and his disciples. In this paper, I have tried to demonstrate that one of the crucial reasons for the triumph of the *Great Church* was related to the concepts of authority and organization. To show that, I have analysed what kind of attitude Valentinian Gnostics had toward authority and organization. As sources reflect, Valentinian Gnosticism was an anti-structural movement that emphasized an individual approach to the divine through esoteric knowledge. Furthermore, their belief in the threefold division of humanity affected their attitude toward bishops and apostolic succession. Consequently, they rejected the authority of bishops and presbyters and put the emphasis on the small philosophical circle of students that would gather around influential teachers. Eventually, such a spiritual and religious perspective made it impossible to create a network of connected communities whose sense of universal identity would transgress local and regional borders. In the end, Valentinian Gnosticism was a conglomerate of independent communities scattered across the Mediterranean. In other words, Valentinian’s theological beliefs that modelled their attitude toward authority and social structure were a crucial factor in their marginalization within the early Christian world.

Keywords: Valentinian Gnosticism, Early Church, authority, structure, social organization



Introduction

Writing about the social landscape of the early Christian world at the end of the second century, bishop Irenaeus asserts:

“For the Ebionites, who use Matthew’s Gospel only, are confuted out of this very same, making false suppositions with regard to the Lord. But Marcion, mutilating that according to Luke, is proved to be a blasphemer of the only existing God ... Those, again, who separate Jesus from Christ, alleging that Christ remained impassible, but that it was Jesus who suffered, preferring the Gospel by Mark, if they read it with a love of truth, may have their

errors rectified. Those, moreover, who follow Valentinus, making copious use of that according to John, to illustrate their conjunctions, shall be proved to be totally in error by means of this very Gospel.”¹

As a zealous opponent of those he deemed heretical, Irenaeus proceeds to explain that the only truthful way of practicing Christianity is to use all four of the Gospels mentioned-above.² Besides the fact that it represents the earliest external evidence of the authorship of the four New Testament Gospels, this passage clearly illustrates diversity as an important element of early Christianity.³ As scholars came to realise several decades ago, during the second and third centuries, various streams of Christianity were often at odds with each other. As the quoted paragraph shows, one area of disagreement was different views on the Scripture. However, a wide range of issues separated the numerous groups of Christians: from the number of gods they believed in to the way they practised their devotion and organised their communities. Among the various streams of Christianity, two are of the utmost importance for this paper. The first one is the so-called “proto-orthodoxy” with church leaders and intellectuals such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria.⁴ This is a stream of Christianity that eventually developed into an organised church with councils, decrees, and moniscopacy.⁵ As Larry Hurtado explains: “By ‘proto-orthodox’ faith, I mean early examples and stages of the sorts of beliefs and practices that, across the next couple of centuries, succeeded in becoming characteristic of classical, ‘orthodox’ Christianity, and came to be widely affirmed in Christian circles over

¹ Iren. *Adv. haer.* III.11.7. Irenaeus’ citations are taken from: SCHAFF 2002.

² Iren. *Adv. haer.* III.11.8. Terms such as “orthodoxy” and “heresy” are not objective reflection of the past reality. As Nicole D. Lewis explains: “*They were developed by certain second-century figures to characterize themselves and differentiate them from outsiders. They are what sociologists and anthropologists call emic terms, labels developed only within a social group. In other words, many people might have considered themselves to be orthodox and others, heretics. The terms are subjective and therefore not very useful.*” – LEWIS 2013, p. 21.

³ See: KING 2008, p. 66–86; LUTTIKHUIZEN 2012; KÖSTENBERGER – KRUGER 2010.

⁴ I do not find this term appropriate. Justin or Valentinus did not consider themselves proto-orthodox authors. They both were convinced that they were bearers of the orthodoxy. Furthermore, scholars have abandoned the term “orthodoxy” (“right belief”) because it implies the value judgment similar to “heresy” (“wrong belief”). It is not the task of a historian to evaluate which of the streams of Christianity had right or wrong beliefs. Moreover, the term even presupposes a teleological view of history. By calling Justin “proto-orthodox”, we associate him with a later theological development. In what follows, I will refer to this stream as the *Great Church* (or simply “the Early Church”) since it was apparently used by pagan critics (e.g., Celsus) in their polemic against Christians. Celsus was aware of the different streams of Christianity. Yet, he criticized those that he called the *Great Church* whose members confess that the God of the Old Testament is the same God that Jesus prayed to. See: Orig. *C. Cels.* 5.59. Celsus’ quotations are taken from: CHADWICK 1980.

⁵ Even though Bart Ehrman is widely considered to be the first scholar who suggested “proto-orthodoxy”, the earliest use of this term was in 1987 by Bentley Layton who also used it to denote the stream of Christianity during the second and third centuries that anticipated “orthodoxy”. See: LAYTON 1987, p. xx–xxiii.

against the alternatives.”⁶ The second group was the *Valentinian Gnostic School*.⁷ Regarded by Irenaeus as the most oppressive and dangerous heretical group, the Valentinians represented a mixture of classical Gnostic ideas, Platonism and Christianity.⁸ Their name derived from an actual person, a teacher and philosopher called Valentinus who preached his message and attracted people in Rome during the second century. According to some early

⁶ See: HURTADO 2003, p. 494.

⁷ Since there is a mountain of research on the Valentinians, it is impossible to list all of the studies conducted. Probably the most influential one was that of Einar Thomassen. See: THOMASSEN 2008. See also: DUNDERBERG 2008. Interestingly enough, the two scholars are at odds when it comes to how one designates “Valentinianism”. Thomassen asserts that they should be viewed as a church, but Dunderberg claims that the best course of action is to think of them in terms of philosophical schools with developed dimension of liturgy. My opinion is that the sources allow us to side with the latter thesis. Bishop Irenaeus asserts that Valentinus was the founder of a school (*διδασκαλείον*). He also refers to the “Valentinian School” (*Οὐαλεντίνου σχολή*). Other patristic evidence (e.g. Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Rome, and Eusebius) supports that conclusion. See: Iren. *Adv. Haer.* I.11.1; I. praef. 2; I.30.14; II.19.8; Clem. Al. *Strom.* III.92.1; IV.71.1; Hipp. *Haer.* VI.29.1; X.13.1; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* IV.30.3. Clement’s quotes (books I – III) are taken from: FERGUSON 1991. Hippolytus’ quotes are taken from: LITWA 2016; Eusebius’ quotes are taken from: MANDAC 2004. Einar Thomassen claims that the term “school” was used among the authors within the *Great Church* as a metaphor designated to degrade the heretical enemies – in this case the Valentinians. He also points to the fact that Valentinians themselves identified as members of the “church” (*ἐκκλησία*). Cf. THOMASSEN 2020, p. 32–44. In an earlier study, the Norwegian scholar expressed the necessity of caution when categorizing the Valentinians as a of “church”. See: THOMASSEN 2013, p. 88–89. However, one has to consider the fact that the Valentinian documents discovered at Nag Hammadi (Egypt) emphasize the notions of knowledge and education. For example, Jesus is portrayed as the one who goes to school and teaches disciples. See: *GTr.* 19: 17–30. In a “Valentinian Exposition” (also discovered at Nag Hammadi) the whole world is described as a teaching room where Gnostics can receive their knowledge from the teacher who came from above. See: *Val. Exp.* In the “Gospel of Philip” there is a clear difference between the basic instructions given to new converts and the more complex knowledge one can gain if they are deemed worthy of it. See: *GPh.* 100; LITWA 2016:12–13f. The elements of knowledge, school, education and a teacher-disciple relationship are present both in the Valentinian texts and the writings of the heresiologists, such as Irenaeus. Therefore, it seems appropriate to categorize Valentinian Gnosticism as a school. Needless to say, every sharp distinction is useful only as a heuristic tool, and not the exact replica of past events. In other words, there were probably a lot of “grey areas” between those two categories (“church”, and “school”) in the early Christian world. Nag Hammadi sources are quoted from: LAYTON 1987; MEYER et alii 2009.

⁸ Gnosticism is a modern designation probably coined in the eighteenth century. It denotes a group of religious movements that flourished in Late Antiquity (especially during the second and third centuries). Since it was an extremely diverse phenomenon, modern scholars are inclined to speak about “Gnosticisms” (plural) or to even abandon the term all together. Whatever theoretical position one takes, the Gnostics certainly claimed to possess a superior type of knowledge (*γνώσις*). The origin of that knowledge was in a heavenly world where they all belonged. According to the classical gnostic myth, the spark of that knowledge accidentally fell into this lower (material) world of evil, and illusion. Most Gnostics were proponents of what Cal B. Smith called “anti-cosmic dualism”. They believed that there were two separate divine beings: the one ultimate and supreme God and the lower, ignorant, and even evil divine being that was responsible for the creation of the material world and whose goal was to keep people ignorant of their ultimate origin. However, only the Gnostics had a divine spark in them that represented their true “self” which belonged to the divine realm or *Pleroma*. To save the divine spark from the shackles of the material world, a Gnostic person had to gain knowledge of the ultimate God, the creation of the world, and their true identity. See: KING 2003; SMITH 2004; WILLIAMS 1996; LOGAN 2000, p. 907–928.

church sources, he almost became a bishop before he was strictly declared a heretic with a perverted view of God, creation, Scripture, and Jesus.

In the latter part of his remark, Hurtado hinted at the particular issue that has to be introduced here. Despite the diversity of early Christian movements, only one stream eventually triumphed. But why was that? Why did the *Great Church* manage to marginalise other “heretical” movements such as the *Valentinian Gnostic School of Thought*?⁹ Certainly there were numerous reasons that are beyond the scope of this paper. However, I think that probably the most important cause was the attitude towards the concepts of structure and authority. Unlike the *Great Church*, the Valentinians never developed anything close to moniscopacy or a strong ideal of a universal community that exists beyond the limits of a city, region or even the empire.¹⁰ Similarly, they never created an idea of apostolic succession that certainly represented a helpful tool in the polemics the *Great Church* engaged in with its opponents. The main purpose of this paper, therefore, is to probe into the question of the authority and structure among the Valentinians. To do that, one first has to introduce the basic features of the *Valentinian Gnostic School* with a special focus on Valentinus as the founder of the movement.

1. Valentinian Gnosticism: basic features

The first mention of Valentinus and his community appears in Justin’s *Dialogue with Trypho*, written around 155 CE.¹¹ While listing heretical movements that emerged within the Church, Justin explicitly refers to a group he calls “Valentinians” (οἱ Οὐαλεντινιανοί).¹² We learn more information about Valentinus from the Bishop Irenaeus who claims that he arrived in Rome during the pontificate of Pope Hyginus (c. 138–142 CE) where he stayed until the beginning of the pontificate of Pope Anicetus (c. 157–168 CE).¹³ In other words, Valentinus was active in Rome for approximately 30 years. Irenaeus does not mention anything about his place of origin, but Epiphanius, writing several centuries later, claims that Valentinus came from Egypt, where he learned about the Greek philosophical tradition.¹⁴ Epiphanius even asserts that he was a successful teacher in Egypt with a considerable number of students.¹⁵

⁹ It is an extremely complicated question I have tried to answer in a dissertation entitled *The Social and Religious Capital of the Great Church and the Valentinian Gnostic School in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries*, Zagreb, 2022. This article was derived from twelfth chapter of that dissertation. Certain aspects were changed in light of new research theories and conclusions.

¹⁰ I have dealt with the issue of the authority and structure in the *Great Church* in a recently approved paper that is still in the process of publishing. The article entitled *Charisma and Authority in the Early Church: Coexistence or Conflict* is an end product of a paper I presented at the conference “Biography, Hagiography, and Charisma” held in Zagreb (May 2021).

¹¹ See: LAMPE 2003. p. 260.

¹² Just. *Dial.* 35:6. Justin’s works are taken from: BODROŽIĆ 2011; BODROŽIĆ 2012.

¹³ Iren. *Adv. haer.* III.4.3.

¹⁴ Epiph. *Adv. haeres.* I.31.2.2.3.

¹⁵ According to Clement of Alexandria, Valentinus’ pupils asserted that he had been a student of Theudas, who had been a disciple of Paul. See: Clem. Al. *Strom.* VII.106.4. It is very difficult to know whether this is true, since there is no additional information about Theudas. Christoph Marksches

Given that the city of Alexandria was a melting pot of the ancient world and that Clement knew the work of Valentinus and his disciples, one can postulate that Valentinus was truly of Egyptian origins. However, the claim that Valentinus ended up in Cyprus where he went mad is probably a later invention with a clear motive of degradation. The popularity that Valentinus gained in Rome is illustrated best by the fact that Irenaeus wrote his *magnum opus* primarily to educate fellow Christians on the dangerous aspects of Valentinian heresy.¹⁶

Based on the available sources we can conclude that, by the middle of the second century Valentinus was a popular and charismatic teacher and head of his own philosophical school. Even though all of the “proto-orthodox” authors, from Justin and Irenaeus to Tertullian, and Epiphanius, accused him of heresy, he was not officially excommunicated from the Church in Rome during his lifetime.¹⁷ The basic reason for that was the fact that the structure of the *Great Church* was not fully developed by that time. To put it more bluntly, the level of centralisation was not that high. The *Great Church* was still marked by the existence of several loosely connected communities that were probably held together by the force of their concept of universal identity and the council of presbyters who were responsible for the well-being of the whole Church.¹⁸ Even though Justin attacked the Valentinians for being heretics, we cannot be sure how much popularity he gained in Rome. According to his own testimony, Justin spent most of his time in one house where he tutored other Christians about their faith and philosophy. He explicitly states that he did not know of any other gathering place of Christians in Rome.¹⁹ Therefore, it seems highly problematic to just assume that Justin spoke for most of the Christians in Rome.²⁰

The parting of the ways between Valentinus and the *Great Church* probably culminated at the beginning of the third century with the writings of Tertullian. In his work *De Praescriptionibus Adversus Haereticos* Tertullian claims that, at first, both Valentinus and Marcion were full members of the *Great Church*, but later on, they were excommunicated because of their “restless curiosity”.²¹ However, in a later work Tertullian gives a different story. He asserts that

concludes that the Egyptian roots of Valentinus are a likely hypothesis that cannot be proved with any certainty. See: MARKSCHIES 1992, p. 330. Quotations from the fourth book of Clement’s *Stromata* are taken from: SCHAFF 2004.

¹⁶ Irenaeus asserts that his personal encounter with the member of the *Valentinian Gnostic School* sparked the writing of a multivolume book originally entitled “*Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*” (“On the Detection and Overthrow of the So-Called Gnosis”). See: Iren. *Adv. haer.* 1. praef. 2.

¹⁷ See: THOMASSEN 2004, p. 241–256.

¹⁸ See: THOMASSEN 2008, p. 420.

¹⁹ *Acta Iustini* 3. Quotes are taken from: MUSSURILO 2000.

²⁰ See: LAMPE 2003, p. 390–391.

²¹ Tert. *De praescr. haeret.* 30.2. We can only assume that “restless curiosity” refers to his overwhelming urge to question some of the beliefs of the *Great Church*. Quotations of Tertullian’s works are taken from: SCHAFF 2006.

Marcion and Valentinus left the Church on their own accord.²² To make things even more complicated, Tertullian also wrote a treatise *Adversus Valentinianos*. In it the church author explains that Valentinus became a “heretic” only after he was passed for the position of a bishop in Rome which eventually led to his excommunication.²³ The first two accounts can be associated with Marcion. In other words, it seems as if the original story that reached Tertullian referred only to Marcion and Tertullian inserted Valentinus’ name into it.²⁴ The third account is difficult to understand because it contains what Lampe has called “the classical polemic against a heretic”.²⁵ It is virtually impossible to differentiate between genuine information and the polemical rhetoric aimed at the “heretical enemy”. It is indicative enough that Irenaeus, who was closer to the described events, does not mention the failed attempt at gaining the position of a bishop as the prime source of Valentinus’ heretical teachings. Instead, Irenaeus claims that the reason for heresy was that Valentinus “adopted the principles of the heresy called ‘Gnostic’ to the peculiar character of his own school”.²⁶ Considering that Irenaeus is probably the pioneer of the idea of apostolic succession, and that he was among the first to provide a detailed (although not entirely reliable) list of Roman bishops, it remains unclear why he did not, in a work primarily focused on Valentinus and his followers, mention an important “ecclesiastical” episode in Valentinus’ life.

However, even if we accept the notion that Valentinus was not excommunicated from the Church in Rome during his lifetime, that does not mean that his theology was in accordance with that of the *Great Church*. As one can see from the surviving sources, early on Valentinus became an archetype of heresy that could jeopardise the stability and unity of the *Great Church*. With that we arrive to the burning question of his theology. What did Valentinus believe in? The following chapter will explore the worldview of Valentinus and his followers.

1.1 Valentinus’ Gnostic Myth

When attempting to reconstruct the basic theological elements of Valentinus and his school scholars can turn to two types of available sources.²⁷ On the one hand, we have the words of early church authors who obviously stood against the Valentinians and everything they represented. Because of that, these sources are filled with stereotypes and polemical tools that are of little help to historians interested in genuine information. However, some of the church authors quote Valentinians themselves. For example, Clement quotes from the works of Theodotus on five occasions. He was a well-known Valentinian teacher who taught in Asia Minor during the last quarter of the second

²² Tert. *Carn.* 1.3.

²³ Tert. *Adv. Val.* 4.1.

²⁴ See: LAMPE 2003, p. 391.

²⁵ See: LAMPE 2003, p. 391.

²⁶ Iren. *Adv. haer.* I.11.1.

²⁷ For more about the available sources see: DESJARDINS 1986, p. 342–347.

century.²⁸ Furthermore, other church authors quote certain fragments from Valentinus. Probably the most important example is Hippolytus of Rome who quotes Valentinus' psalm followed by his interpretation of it.²⁹ On the other hand, we are fortunate enough to have several Valentinian texts discovered at Nag Hammadi. However, they are also burdened with methodological difficulties. First and foremost, none of them claims to be of Valentinian origin. In determining the Valentinian origin of those texts, scholars must rely on the vocabulary and style of narrative which are then compared with all the information gathered from heresiologists and their accounts. This presents a particular conundrum that calls into question the aspirations of some scholars such as Kurt Rudolph who think that the Nag Hammadi texts should be the most important sources on Valentinian Gnosticism.³⁰ In other words, it is highly questionable to attach greater importance to the Nag Hammadi texts when they cannot be related to the Valentinians without the help of the information gathered from church authors.

In reconstructing Valentinus' theology and cosmology, I will look at three separate accounts: Valentinus' psalm quoted by Hippolytus of Rome, the summary of Valentinus' Gnostic myth according to Irenaeus, and the Valentinian treatise entitled the *Gospel of Truth*. The authorship of the latter text is still a debated issue. At the end of the second century, Irenaeus claimed that the *Gospel of Truth* emerged within the Valentinian school and that the text completely disagrees with everything written in the New Testament gospels.³¹ Discovered in Egypt, the *Gospel of Truth* contains the following prologue:

“The proclamation of the truth is a joy for those who have received grace from the father of truth, that they might learn to know him through the power of the Word that emanated from the fullness that is in the father's thought and intellect – the Word, who is spoken of as ‘saviour’: for, that is the term for the work that he was to accomplish to ransom those who had fallen ignorant of the father; while the term ‘proclamation’ refers to the manifestation of hope, a discovery for those who are searching for him.”³²

²⁸ These quotes are significant because they represent the only surviving traces of the Eastern branch of the *Valentinian Gnostic School*. See: THOMASSEN 2008, p. 28–29.

²⁹ Hipp. *Haer.* VI.37.7–8. Dunderberg thinks that the interpretation of the psalm is actually a work of unknown Valentinus' disciple. Cf. DUNDERBERG 2008, p. 62–63; HOLZHAUSEN 1993, p. 66.

³⁰ Cf. RUDOLPH 1987, p. 3. See also: DESJARDINS 1986, p. 343.

³¹ Iren. *Adv. haer.* III.11.9. The basic problem in dealing with Valentinus' theology is the differentiation between his original teaching and the teachings of his successors. See: SMITH 2004, p. 143. Bentley Layton translates Valentinus' poem as the *Summer Harvest*. Cf. LAYTON 1995, p. 246. Einar Thomassen and Christoph Marksches claim that the original title of the poem was *θέρπος* (Summer). I concur with the latter thesis. See: THOMASSEN 2008, p. 479; MARKSCHIES 1992, p. 218. See a detailed analysis of the poem in: MCGOWAN 1997, p. 158–178.

³² *GTr.* 16:31 – 17:1. See: PEARSON 2007, p. 152–153.

Already the first analysis of the *Gospel of Truth* concluded that the author was Valentinus.³³ Later generations of scholars raised their suspicions claiming that there is simply not enough evidence to associate this text with Valentinus.³⁴ However, there are still scholars such as Birger Pearson and David Brakke who think that the author was indeed Valentinus.³⁵ In my opinion, the evidence is not clear enough. Nevertheless, the fact remains: The *Gospel of Truth* was written before 180 CE which makes it chronologically very close to the time of Valentinus.³⁶

Despite the particular interest the *Gospel of Truth* brings to the discussion, I will start the analysis of Valentinus' theology with his poem "Summer"³⁷:

I see how all depends on spirit (1)
 I perceive how all is borne by spirit: (2)
 Flesh suspended on soul (3)
 Soul clinging to air (4)
 Air suspended from ether (5)
 But from the depths, fruits being brought forth (6)
 From the womb, a child being brought forth (7)

The first thing to note is the personal and direct religious experience emphasised in the poem. Unlike classical Gnostic texts (e.g. *The Secret Book According to John*) where a specific third person is put into the midst of the narrative (e.g. Adam, Paul, John, etc.), in this poem Valentinus' personal religious experience is put forward. This is not an exception, but a pattern visible in the Valentinian corpus. Take, for instance, the *Gospel of Truth*, where the author himself (maybe Valentinus?) claims that he was in "the place of repose".³⁸ In one of his surviving fragments, Valentinus refers to a mystical experience in which Word (Logos) appeared to him in the form of a child.³⁹ According to Valentinus, the knowledge of the Supreme God is equated with the self-knowledge.⁴⁰ The structure of the psalm can be divided into two separate parts. In the first five verses Valentinus emphasises the dependence

³³ Probably the first scholar who reached that conclusion was Gilles Quispel. Cf. QUISPEL 1955. p. 91–101.

³⁴ See: MARKSCHIES 1992. p. 339–356. In his conclusion (p. 356) the German Scholar asserts: "Da uns auch kein einziger Hinweis im Text selbst veranlaßt, Valentin als Autor zu diskutieren, besteht aus meiner Sicht kein Grund für eine solche Zuschreibung des Textes".

³⁵ Cf. PEARSON 2004. p. 152–153; BRAKKE 2010. p. 100. Despite the title, the *Gospel of Truth* is not similar at all to the New Testament gospels. It does not contain a narrative of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. The word *εὐαγγέλιον* from the beginning of the prologue is better understood as the *good news* or the *proclamation* to evade the possibility of any confusion. As for the genre, the *Gospel of Truth* is a type of homily topically oriented towards the role of Jesus and the knowledge he brings to chosen disciples. See: ROBINSON 1963. p. 234–243.

³⁶ Interestingly enough, Irenaeus claims that this text was highly appreciated among the Valentinians. Does this provide a piece of further evidence of the authorship of the *Gospel of Truth*? Unfortunately, this question goes beyond the scope of this paper.

³⁷ Hipp. *Haer.* VI.37.7. Greek text available in: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 479.

³⁸ *Gtr.* 43:1–15.

³⁹ Hipp. *Haer.* VI.42.2.

⁴⁰ See: BRAKKE 2010. p. 103.

of everything that exists on the spiritual realm. The vocabulary he uses points to the strong influence of Greek philosophy.⁴¹ The first five verses suggest the unity and stability of the cosmos, but also a particular hierarchy. Nevertheless, the last two verses indicate that a dynamic change has occurred. Stability was abolished by the act of creation. In the end the reader is left in a sort of cognitive dissonance. On the one hand there is a notion of stability and connectivity, but on the other, there is a strong emphasis on the spiritual force that can create a new life.

The psalm is too short to be a fruitful ground for an elaborate reconstruction of Valentinus' cosmology and theology. However, if we were to compare the psalm with other information about Valentinus and his theology, we would not discover a clear contradiction. Despite the opinion of some scholars, the psalm does not suggest a positive evaluation of the material world.⁴² One could even argue that the last two verses represent eons emanating from Depth (a Valentinian expression for the supreme God) which are different from the material world because the latter strongly depends on the spiritual realm. If that really is the case, it is justifiable to conclude that Valentinus' psalm is an expression of a strong differentiation between the material and divine realms. That is indeed close to classical anti-cosmic dualism which is the basic feature of Sethian Gnosticism.⁴³ Moreover, the basic notion of the psalm is that everything eventually depends on the divine realm which means that a positive evaluation has to be connected to the divine, and not to the material world.⁴⁴ Finally, the nature of the material world and its

⁴¹ The influence of Greek philosophy (especially Platonism) on the development of Valentinian theology is a common prevalent conclusion among the scholars. It is backed up by numerous references in the primary source. See: Hipp. *Haer.* VI.16; Epiph. *Adv. Haeres.* I.31.2.2. Einar Thomassen draws attention on the similarity between the Pythagoreans' philosophy and the Valentinian theology, especially in the case of the first part of Valentinian cosmological myth topically related to the nature of the divine realm. See: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 195–198. Furthermore, the role of Demiurge as the lower divine being who creates material world can be closely connected to the platonic tradition. See: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 428–429. Valentinus' cosmological myth where the world is described as the inferior copy of the higher (spiritual) world is also a strong indication of the Platonic influence. This is most clearly illustrated in one of the preserved fragments of Valentinus' writings (fragment D, according to Bentley Layton's classification). See: Clem. Al. *Strom.* IV.89.6–IV.90.1; PEARSON 2004. p. 151. David Dawson asserts that Valentinus used the Platonic and Jewish tradition while creating his own cosmological myth. See: DAWSON 1992. p. 135–144.

⁴² Thomassen justifiably asserts that the picture of the whole material reality that depends on higher aspects is not an expression of admiration, but only of understanding how the cosmos is structured. See: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 482. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that a particular contradiction is avoided if one accepts the conclusion of a Norwegian scholar. Namely, one of the surviving fragments of Valentinus' writings (fragment C) talks about the creation of Adam and it gives a strongly negative portray of angels who created the first man.

⁴³ This interpretation corresponds with another Valentinus' fragment where he explains that the material world is an inferior copy of the divine realm. See: Clem. Al. *Strom.* IV.89.6.

⁴⁴ Andrew McGowan sees in the elements of esoteric thought and the lack of transparency of the psalm the foundations of the later Gnostic redaction of the original teachings of Valentinus whose Gnosticism is significantly greater than the one present in, for example, Philo. By doing this, McGowan tries to "save" the theological gap between Valentinus and his disciples which is

creation in the psalm does not at all contradict with what one finds in the Valentinian corpus that belongs to his disciples (e.g. *Tripartite Tractate*).⁴⁵

The summary of Valentinus' myth according to Irenaeus represents a certain synthesis between the Christian tradition and classical or Sethian Gnosticism.⁴⁶ Like other Gnostics, Valentinus thought of the supreme God as a complex structure of eons who emanated from him. Besides, Valentinus postulated a series of eons who originally dwelt in the divine realm called *Pleroma* which is placed within two distinct boundaries: the first boundary separates divine beings from two principles called Abyss and Silence; the other boundary separates an eon called Achamoth from both the divine beings in the *Pleroma* and the two principles mentioned above.⁴⁷ But unlike the classical Gnostic myth, the names of eons in the Valentinian cosmological system are based on the biblical tradition ("Truth", "Life", "Logos", "Church"). Furthermore, while the Gnostics referred to the eternal realm as fulness, Valentinus called it "Pleroma". He probably derived that name from the beginning of the *Gospel According to John*.⁴⁸ Valentinus agreed with the classical Gnostic myth in that one of the eons made a terrible mistake. However, amid the cosmic drama was not Sophia but Mother who created a series of divine beings such as the Christ, and the Demiurge. The latter is portrayed as the God of the Old Testament and the creator of this world.⁴⁹ Valentinus, thus, agrees with the classical Gnostic myth when it comes to the belief that the creator of the material world is an inferior divine being. However, he does not call him Yaldabaoth but Demiurge (*δημιουργός*) – a concept taken from the Platonic tradition. Moreover, the Demiurge is characterised as an inferior divine being, but he is never called evil or ignorant like Yaldabaoth.

undoubtedly present if one accepts the idea that Valentinus was not a Gnostic in any sense at all. See: MCGOWAN 1997. p. 171–172.

⁴⁵ It is worth pointing out a particular ambiguity in the basic details of the creation of the first man. According to one of the preserved fragments of Valentinus' writings (fragment C), the creation of the first man is the work of evil angels. However, in the tradition of Valentinus' successors, the Demiurge is the one depicted as the creator of the first man. This ambiguity can be resolved by postulating angels as those who help the Demiurge. This notion cannot be excluded *a priori* from the fragment since it is incomplete. Besides that, *Tripartite Tractate* contains the picture of angels as helpers of Demiurge in the creation of the first man. See: *TriTrac*. 105. Finally, one cannot exclude the possibility that Valentinus developed his theology and cosmology during his lifetime. Maybe the first version of his theology included only evil angels as creators, but later on Valentinus posited Demiurge as the principle creator of the first man. See: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 433–434.

⁴⁶ There are heated debates among the scholars about the reliability of Irenaeus' account. Einar Thomassen certainly belongs to the "sceptical camp" even though he is open to the possibility that certain elements of Irenaeus' account is genuine. The problem is that the strong conclusion cannot be made without the comparison of that account with Valentinus' writings. Since everything we have from Valentinus is fragmentary, it is impossible to make a full comparative analysis. Unlike Thomassen, Gilles Quispel and Simone Petrement assert the genuine authenticity of Irenaeus' account. Cf. QUIPEL 1996. p. 346–347; PETREMENT 1993. p. 368–369.

⁴⁷ Iren. *Adv. haer.* I.11.1.

⁴⁸ Jn 1, 16.

⁴⁹ Iren. *Adv. haer.* I.11.1.

The last example of how Valentinus revised the classical Gnostic myth is connected to the nature of the saviour figure. In the *Secret Book According to John*, Sofia and Barbelo work together to bring knowledge about the supreme God to chosen people. In contrast to that, Valentinus did place so much emphasis on the return of the divine spark that is trapped inside the human body. He was more oriented toward the idea of the divine essence that is located in humans and that presents a bridge between them and the supreme deity. Interestingly enough, the saviour figure in Valentinus' theology is Logos incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth. To put it bluntly, God has revealed himself, *via* Logos (or his son), to humans who are now, through knowledge, able to "see" God. Valentinus believed that salvation unlocks the divine potential in people, enabling them to supersede the corruption of the material world. This notion is clearly illustrated by one of Valentinus' fragments where he encourages his students to renounce the material world.⁵⁰ If Valentinus was the author of the *Gospel of Truth*, that would be the only systematic presentation of his theology. One of the essential aims of this text is to equate sin with the lack of knowledge. The primal fall is not a moral but an intellectual category. In other words, people have forgotten about God; they do not comprehend him anymore. Therefore, salvation is defined as the process of getting to know God once again through the intermediate help of the Saviour (Logos within the person of Jesus), who shares the knowledge about the Highest God, the creator of all. In the *Gospel of Truth*, the material world that people inhabited is the direct consequence of ignorance. Interestingly, the author introduces Error that takes over the role Wisdom and Yaldabaoth had in the classical Gnostic myth. To put it more bluntly, the material world is the product of ignorance shaped by Error. Jesus Christ is the primal bridge of knowledge. As the author states:

"It is to the perfect that this, the proclamation of the one they search for, has made itself known, through the mercies of the father. By this, the hidden mystery Jesus Christ shed light upon those who were, because of forgetfulness, in darkness. He enlightened them and gave them a way, and the way is the truth, about which he instructed them."⁵¹

This passage clearly illustrates the Valentinian soteriology. Jesus came to Earth to enlighten others and bring them closer to knowledge, which is the only way to a full salvation. Error persecuted him and caused his crucifixion.⁵² However, instead of the cross, Valentinus (or the unknown author) uses the metaphor of the tree. On that tree, Jesus becomes a "fruit of the father's acquaintance".⁵³

⁵⁰ Clem. Al. *Strom.* IV.89.1–3. This was originally a sermon that Valentinus used as the way of teaching his students the real truth about the God and the world. See more about this fragment in: THOMASSEN 2008, p. 460–465. Furthermore, this fragment could indicate that Valentinus believed his community was predetermined for the salvation that would come.

⁵¹ *GTr.* 18:11 – 18. The "perfect" are the Valentinians. They are the ones who possess the *gnosis* or the knowledge. See: LAYTON – BRAKKE 2021, p. 254.

⁵² *GTr.* 18:21 – 26.

⁵³ This represents a clear reference to the *Book of Genesis* and the tree of knowledge. See: *Gen* 2, 5.

However, eating from this tree is not a forbidden, but a desirable thing to do. By accepting the *gnosis* Jesus teaches, people are opening themselves to the knowledge that brings salvation.⁵⁴ Interestingly enough, the *Gospel of Truth* interprets the sacrament of the Eucharist as valuable means of obtaining knowledge – a viewpoint that contradicts the ideology of the classical Gnostic myth.⁵⁵ Where is God located? The spark of Him is located inside the Valentinians because they are the emanation of the Highest God. Through salvation, man unlocks the divine potential that enables him to overcome the corruption of the material world that, in turn, leads to liberation from it.⁵⁶ It does not come as a surprise that Irenaeus saw Valentinus as a great danger for the stability and the future of the *Great Church*. After all, he used similar concepts, pictures, and metaphors, but he added a certain amount of Gnosticism with an “esoteric flavour” that the *Great Church* could not accept.⁵⁷ Moreover, Valentinus was a highly skilled theologian and philosopher. In the first stage of the development of his school, the Valentinians were definitely a part of the *Great Church*.⁵⁸ In other words, it is not suitable to talk about Valentinus as a founder of a separate religion. The process of separation happened gradually during the second and third centuries.

However, I do not think that we should speak about the *Valentinian Gnostic School* only as one of the variations within Christianity because this notion implies a lack of clear classification differences between the Valentinians and the *Great Church*. It is worth noting that the *Great Church* had core theological views from the beginning of the new religion decades before the emergence of any Gnostic communities.⁵⁹ In other words, by defining the Valentinians solely as a variation within the early Christian world, we are in danger of losing our “eye of the ball”.⁶⁰ The postmodern view shared by scholars such as Karen King

⁵⁴ The soteriology based upon the idea of knowledge is the fundamental element of the classical gnostic myth and this idea is consistent in every stream of Valentinian Gnosticism. The words of Theodotus illustrates this the best: “*It is not the bath alone that liberates, but also the acquaintance: Who were we? What have we become? Where were we? Into what place have we been cast? Where are we hastening to?*”. See: *Exc. Ex. Th.* 78:2. “Extracts from the Works of Theodotus and the So-Called Oriental Teachings at the Time of Valentinus” are taken from: LAYTON 2021. p. 501–534.

⁵⁵ See: KASSER – MEYER – WURST 2007. p. 20–21.

⁵⁶ The interpretation of salvation as a process of liberation from the material world is a feature of one of the surviving Valentinus’ fragments. It is probable that this fragment was initially a sermon Valentinus used in front of his pupils. See: Clem. Al. *Strom.* IV. 89.1–3.

⁵⁷ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* III.15:2.

⁵⁸ James McCue analysed the extensive use of the New Testament literature by the Valentinians. He saw this as the additional indicator of their attempt to present themselves within the existing structures of the *Great Church*. See: McCUE 1979. p. 123.

⁵⁹ See: GATHERCOLE 2016. p. 407–456.

⁶⁰ According to Karen King, any study of early Christianity that starts with an acceptance of the differences between the *Great Church* and all other early “Christian” groups in fact accepts the traditional paradigm of the relationship between heresy and orthodoxy. The main feature of this paradigm is the notion that heresy is a secondary phenomenon, a corruption of the original truth embodied in the *Great Church*. Cf. KING 2003. p. 2–3, 164. By way of reply, I can state that the acceptance of the core ideological (or theological) differences between the various early “Christian” groups does not mean that there were clear-cut boundaries. Of course, there was a

which tries to reject any distinction within the Christianities because it represents an apology of heresiology, becomes the opposite radicalism. By rejecting the distinctions, we forget about the real differences that existed among the different early Christian groups. Therefore, it is possible to talk about the *Valentinian Gnostic School* as a group that, during the first several decades of its existence, became a separate community without accepting the traditional and Christian notion of the relationship between heresy and orthodoxy. In other words, by adapting the Gnostic system in their own theological framework, the Valentinians created a distinctive community. If we accept the postmodern viewpoint, we can easily neglect the core differences between the various Gnostic groups and the *Great Church* during the second and third centuries.

Thus, Valentinus was an influential (Christian) philosopher whose public ministry in Rome reached its peak in the middle of the second century. There, he attracted a number of followers. Valentinus successfully adapted certain aspects of the Gnostic myth to the existing Christian theological ideas so that he could easily appeal to the proto-orthodox Christians. Simone Petrement asserts that Valentinus' theology represents a departure from the classical Gnosticism towards the partial "rehabilitation of Judaism".⁶¹

1.2 Valentinians after Valentinus: cosmology and soteriology

We are not quite sure how Valentinus taught his students. The common presupposition is that he was in charge of a philosophical school where the participants tried, guided by the basic features of Valentinus' theology, to penetrate into the original meaning of biblical tradition.⁶² Some of his disciples became prominent teachers in charge of Valentinian communities who extended their activity beyond the life of their founder. Interestingly enough, they seem to have moved a step closer to the classical Gnostic myth. According to Hippolytus, the Valentinian school was divided geographically into the Italian and eastern branches. This division was caused by the different views about the nature of Christ. The Italian branch believed that Christ had a material body into which his spirit entered at the moment of baptism and the eastern branch held that his body was purely spiritual.⁶³ Hippolytus also

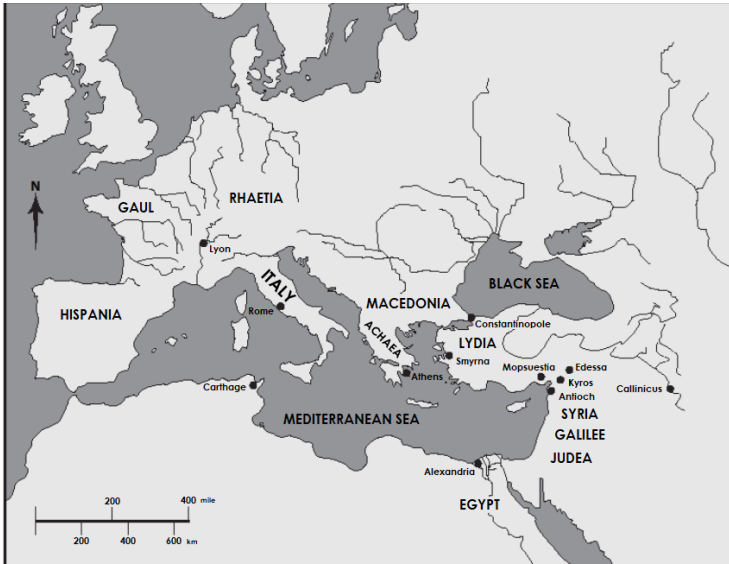
certain amount of fluidity between the groups, but the basic ideological features were different from the beginnings. It is hard not to see the crucial difference between the groups that devalues the Old Testament and believe in two different Gods (e.g, Marcion, and partially the Valentinians) and the *Great Church* that shares the idea of ideological continuity between the Old and the New Testament and believes that there is only one God.

⁶¹ See: PETREMENT 1993, p. 370–378. Bentley Layton concurs with this reasoning. See: LAYTON 1995, p. 217–222.

⁶² See: THOMASSEN, 2013, p. 183–197. One of Valentinus' fragments asserts that there are truthful claims in other philosophical traditions (beyond the Judeo-Christian world). Because of that, it is highly likely that Valentinus used non-Christian texts in his lectures and sermons. See: Clem. Al. *Strom.* VI.52:3–4.

⁶³ Hipp. *Haer.* VI.35.5–7. Tertullian confirms that the Valentinians were divided into two schools (lat. *duae scholae*). Unfortunately, he provides no details about their respective differences. He only

informs us about two important Valentinians that belonged to the Italian branch: Ptolemy and Heracleon.⁶⁴ Moreover, Clement of Alexandria describes the title of the teachings of Theodotus: *ἐκ τῶν θεοδοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί* (“Epitomes from the Work of Theodotus and the So-Called Eastern Teaching at the Time of Valentinus”).⁶⁵ As the member of the “Italic” branch, Heracleon is notable for having written the first commentary on the Gospel of John.⁶⁶ We do not have a lot of biographical information about these teachers but we have enough to reconstruct their basic teachings. Map 1.0. illustrates popularity and the dispersion of Valentinianism.



Map. 1.0. The diffusion of Valentinianism in the Roman Empire⁶⁷

As one can see from the map, a series of schools emerged on the backs of Valentinus' theology all across the Roman Empire. Briefly, Valentinianism was a distinctive and Gnostic form of Christian theology primarily oriented toward educated Christians who could understand deeper truths and become

states that Valentinus' disciples deviated from the original teachings of Valentinus. See: Tert. *Val* 11.2; 4.1–2.

⁶⁴ Hipp. *Haer.* VI.35.6. It seems that the eastern branch is closer to Valentinus' teachings. See: THOMASSEN 2008, p. 41.

⁶⁵ The work is known today in the Latin version as *Excerpta ex Theodoto*. Joel Kalvesmaki questioned the authenticity of this division by arguing that both Hippolytus' and Clement's testimonies are unreliable at best. Cf. KALVESMAKI 2008, p. 79–89. Einar Thomassen accepts the division and points to particular theological differences between the two branches. The Norwegian scholar argues that the eastern branch believed that Jesus (as a figure of a saviour) needed salvation as well. See: THOMASSEN 2008, p. 31–32, 34, 38.

⁶⁶ The commentary is available only in fragmentary quotation by the Church author Origen who had a polemical discussion with Heracleon. See: PAGELS 1989.

⁶⁷ The table is taken from: LEWIS 2013, p. 70.

members of the spiritual class (*πνευματικοί*).⁶⁸ The sources illustrate how certain Valentinians at first participated as the members of *Great Church* structure.⁶⁹ Irenaeus claims that Valentinians approached other Christians and offered them a chance of advancement in understanding the true message of Christ.⁷⁰ What was the basic theology of Valentinus' successors?⁷¹ In answering this question, I will be using Irenaeus' summary of Ptolemy's myth and the document called *Tripartite Tractate* discovered in Nag Hammadi.⁷² The latter represent the only available example of systematic description of Valentinian gnosis.⁷³

Instead of a detailed analysis of both narratives, I will present the distinctive features of the Valentinian cosmology by emphasising the key differences between the two narratives.⁷⁴ Like classical Gnostic systems and their teacher, the Valentinians believed that everything emerged from one and ultimate divine being they called Depth.⁷⁵ This divine being is represented according to the principles of apophatic theology, which is a basic feature of the classical Gnostic myth.⁷⁶ Moreover, God wanted people to understand him so he, with

⁶⁸ See: BRAKKE 2006, p. 256.

⁶⁹ Eusebius mentions Florinus, a presbyter under bishop Victor at the end of the second century. The bishop excommunicated him after finding out his true ideology. See: Euseb. *Eccl. hist.* V.20.1–8.

⁷⁰ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I. praef. 1.

⁷¹ The theology of Valentinus' successors can be reconstructed based on Irenaeus and other church authors who describe their theology, cosmology, and soteriology. Sometimes they even quote their works (e.g. Ptolemy's "Letter to Flora"). Besides, we have a corpus of Valentinian texts found at Nag Hammadi. See: LEWIS 2013, p. 81–83.

⁷² In the prologue of his first book, Irenaeus emphasizes that his main goal is to describe and discredit the basic theological beliefs of Valentinus' disciples, especially those who followed Ptolemy and his school. See: Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I. praef. II. *Tripartite Tractate* probably dates to the middle of the third century, approximately 70 years after Irenaeus wrote his *magnum opus*. Given the time gap, one should not be surprised by differences in the description of the Valentinian myth. This also illustrates the fact that Valentinians tended to rewrite and revise their basic myth. To learn more about the *Tripartite Tractate* see: THOMASSEN 1980, p. 358–375.

⁷³ See: PEARSON 2004, p. 184.

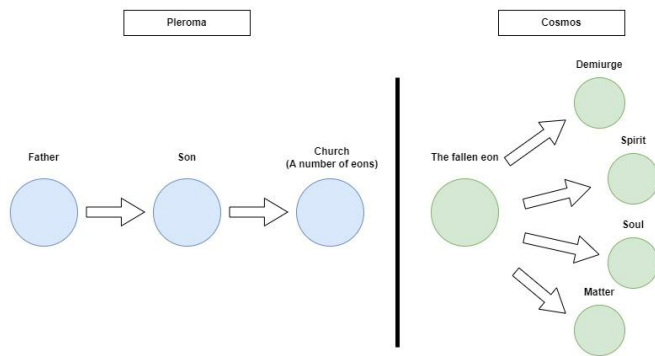
⁷⁴ Einar Thomassen thinks that the differences between the *Tripartite tractate* and Irenaeus' version of Ptolemy's myth is important in understanding the basic social features of Valentinianism. In the introduction of the latest translation, he asserts: "*The importance of this tractate is above all that it contains a version of the Valentinian system that is distinctly Valentinian at the same time that it differs on many points from the well-known systems reported by the church fathers. For this reason, it helps us understand better what are the constant and indispensable features of the Valentinian system and what are individual and local variations.*" – THOMASSEN 2009, p. 57–58. Moreover, these variations are both the indications of the constant revision of the cosmological myth and the inherent differences between particular schools within the Valentinian tradition. In other words, variations are a constant reminder that the schools within the Valentinian tradition did not develop in the same sense that the *Great Church* did. The latter also had a degree of local differences but remain fully aware of the one community bound by certain ideological ideas from the beginnings.

⁷⁵ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I.1.1.

⁷⁶ Thus, the *Tripartite Tractate* explains the infinite complexity of the highest God in the following way: "*But the way he is in himself, his own manner of being – that no mind can conceive, no word express, no eye see, and no body touch, so incomprehensible is his greatness, so unfathomable his depth, so immeasurable his exaltedness, and so boundless his extension.*" See: *TriTrac.* 54.

the force of his mind, created eons that dwell with him in the highest realm called Pleroma.⁷⁷ In the *Tripartite Tractate*, eons are without numbers and names.⁷⁸ The Father and Son are located in the middle of the Pleroma and after them comes the set of eons that together creates a church.⁷⁹

According to Ptolemy, there are exactly thirty eons divided into groups of eight, ten, and twelve.⁸⁰ Every eon has a name related to the Judeo-Christian tradition: Truth, Word, Hope, etc. The last one is Wisdom (or Sophia). In Ptolemy's myth, the thirty eons exist in male – female pairs, which is also a standard feature of the classical Gnostic myth. The Valentinians probably valued the idea of stability and harmony within the divine realm. This stability is achieved precisely through the male – female pairs that are also a convenient metaphor in explaining of the contradiction between the unity and multiplicity of the highest God. Irenaeus claims that the Valentinians (including Valentinus!) believed that the highest God also has a female “partner” called Silence (*σιγή*).⁸¹ As is the case with the classical Gnostic myth (best represented in the Secret Book According to John), the creation of the world was the consequence of an error that occurred in the divine realm – one of the eons broke the perfect stability and harmony in the Pleroma. To be more precise, one of the eons tried to comprehend the highest God fully (without permission) and by doing so, started the process that would eventually lead to the creation of the material world. Picture 1 illustrates the creation of the world according to the *Tripartite Tractate*.



Picture 1. *Tripartite Tractate* and the creation of the world

Unlike the *Tripartite Tractate* where the fallen eon is nameless, Ptolemy gives it a name: Wisdom (*Σοφία*).⁸² Furthermore, in Ptolemy's myth, the role of the creator of the material world is assigned to Wisdom. As the consequence of

⁷⁷ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* 1.1.1.

⁷⁸ See: LEWIS 2013, p. 76.

⁷⁹ *TriTrac.* 51–60.

⁸⁰ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* 1.1.2–3. Tertullian suggests that Ptolemy was the architect of the idea of thirty eons that dwell in the Pleroma. See: Tert. *Val.* 4.2.

⁸¹ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* 1.11:1.

⁸² *TriTrac.* 99–101; Iren. *Adver. Haer.* 1.2:2–3.

a mistake she made, the Highest God expels Wisdom from the divine realm. After that, she emanates three different substances that represent the basic building blocks of the cosmos: matter (*ὑλη/χοῦς*), soul (*Ψυχή*), and spirit (*πνεῦμα*). According to the Valentinian tradition, matter is a physical substance present everywhere: from stones to animals, and people. However, matter is portrayed as the element deriving from the fallen eons called Ignorance, Fear, Terror, and Sorrow. In other words, the origin of matter is pictured quite negatively.⁸³ Soul emerges as the consequence of Wisdom's remorse after she realised how grave a mistake she had made. To put it bluntly, according to the Valentinian tradition, the soul is placed between the matter and the third element. The third element (spirit) was created after the Highest God and other eons in the divine realm accepted the last eon as a member of the *Pleroma*. Spirit is the element that enables (certain) people the ability to insight, which is the *condicio sine qua non* of salvation.

The most important feature of the Valentinian myth is the emergence of the three elements mentioned above. These elements are now mixed and placed in humans (in various amount). At the end of time, they are going to be separated and put where they belong. The spiritual element will return to *Pleroma*, the material element will be annihilated, and the soulish element will be placed somewhere between.⁸⁴ It seems that the Valentinians were especially inspired by a particular interpretation of Paul's theology. To be specific, Paul talks about the nature of people and their relation to God:

“The person without the Spirit (*ψυχικός*) does not accept the things that come from the Spirit of God but considers them foolishness, and cannot understand them because they are discerned only through the Spirit. The person with the Spirit (*πνευματικός*) makes judgments about all things, but such a person is not subject to merely human judgments.”⁸⁵

Based on Paul's words, the Valentinians concluded that there were three classes of people depending on the element that dominates within them. Needless to say, the highest element dominates within the spiritual class or the Valentinians themselves. The lowest element (matter) dominates among the pagans and Jews. They will eventually be annihilated. For them, salvation is unreachable. As the author (Valentinus?) of the *Gospel of Truth* asserts:

“For whoever lacks knowledge until the end, is a modelled form of forgetfulness, and will perish along with it. Otherwise, why do these contemptible persons have no name? Why do they not possess the faculty of speech? So that whoever has knowledge is

⁸³ In the *Gospel of Philip* ignorance is called “the mother of all evils” while knowledge is equated with the freedom and salvation. See: *GPh*. 83:30; 84:10–13.

⁸⁴ David Brakke thinks that both the spiritual and soulish elements will be saved at the end. Cf. BRAKKE 2010. p. 116–117.

⁸⁵ 1 Cor 2, 14–15.

from above: and if called, hears, replies, and turns to be the one who is calling; and goes to him.”⁸⁶

All Christians who follow Jesus Christ, but do not belong to the Valentinian circle are considered to be a part of the psychic or soulful class of people. According to Irenaeus, the Valentinians believed that this category would eventually dwell with the Demiurge in the intermediate (divine) reality, located between the Earth and the *Pleroma*.⁸⁷ It is uncertain whether they accepted the possibility of their salvation and final return to the *Pleroma*. This brings us to the complex question of predeterminism. Did the Valentinians believe that the destiny of all was already decided based on the class they belonged to? Irenaeus asserts that these classes originated from the three sons of Adam: Cain became the father of material people, Abel became the father of psychical or soulful people and Seth became the father of spiritual people whose salvation is already ensured.⁸⁸ Those belonging to the material class are doomed, while the psychical class of people depends on their good work that can bring them partial salvation. It is unclear what the soteriological degree of mobility between these three classes was. The *Tripartite Tractate* explains the threefold division of humanity in the following way:

“Now, humanity came to exist as three kinds with regard to essence—spiritual, psychical, and material—reproducing the pattern of the three kinds of disposition of the Word, from which sprung material, psychical, and spiritual beings. The essences of the three kinds can each be known from its fruit. They were nevertheless not known at first, but only when the Saviour came to them, shedding light upon the saints and revealing what each one was.”⁸⁹

These passages seem to suggest that the Saviour revealed what had already existed. In other words, people were already divided by the dominant element within them, and Jesus only revealed the predetermined reality. In the following passages, it is asserted that every class of people responded differently to the message Jesus preached. The Spiritual class accepted it immediately, the material class rejected it, and the psychic or soulful class hesitated at first but eventually accepted his message.⁹⁰ Based on this, it is possible to conclude that people reacted according to their class and predetermined destiny. By dividing people into three classes corresponding to the basic elements within them, the Valentinians were trying to convey a deep theological message that certain people were saved by their nature while others were not.

⁸⁶ *GTr.* 21:34–22:4.

⁸⁷ *Iren. Adver. Haer.* 1.7:1.

⁸⁸ *Iren. Adver. Haer.* 1.6:1–4; 1.7.5.

⁸⁹ *TriTrac.* 118.

⁹⁰ *TriTrac.* 118–119.

However, sources imply that Valentinians tried to spread their message to other Christians, which would suggest partial upwards mobility between the soulful and the spiritual class of people.⁹¹ Finally, in the Valentinian tradition salvation is equated with the inner discovery of the spirit that lies within the person. This discovery was primarily esoteric and individual which had a profound effect on how the Valentinians interpreted the act of resurrection and (consequently) the idea of authority! This issue will be addressed in the following chapter.

2. The Attitude towards authority and structure in Valentinian communities

As the interpretation of sources reveals, in the Valentinian tradition, salvation is understood as a process of “unlocking” the divine spark within the spiritual person which enables him or her to overcome the inferiority of the material world. In one of his surviving fragments, Valentinus encourages his pupils to renounce the material world, which could suggest a certain degree of asceticism.⁹² With that in mind, it is crucial to note the difference in the interpretation of asceticism between the *Great Church* and various Gnostic communities. In the latter case, the rejection of this world is perpetrated by the belief that it was created by an inferior (or even evil) divine being called Demiurge or Yaldabaoth. After all, the creation of the material world was a consequence of an error and an abrupt disruption of harmony in the divine realm. Furthermore, the classical Gnostic myth takes a strongly negative view of the material world. It seems that most Gnostics even rejected both the traditional (Greek) and Christian concepts of time and the world. Take, for instance, the fact that most Gnostics borrowed the idea of the cosmos filled with divine beings from the Greek philosophical tradition. However, unlike Greeks who divinised heavenly beings, the Gnostics believed they were a personification of evil and associates of the Demiurge. Henri Puech draws a clear picture writing that Greeks talked about “God and the world”, while the Gnostic starting point was “God or the world”.⁹³ From that derives the conclusion that most Gnostics in antiquity held a deeply individualistic and anti-structural view of the world.⁹⁴

This is the view that the Valentinians, in a certain aspect, borrowed and modified to their own worldview.⁹⁵ Regarding Valentinus’ conception of authority and structure, it is worth noting that he legitimised his own position based on of his own eloquence, charisma, and a deeply personal relationship with the divine realm. His poem *Summer* is undoubtedly a great example of that.⁹⁶ Even in the cases where the Saviour (Jesus Christ) appears as the

⁹¹ Take for instance the *Letter to Flora* written by Ptolemy. See: LAYTON 1995, p. 308–315.

⁹² Clem. Al. *Strom.* IV.89:1–3.

⁹³ See: PUECH 1959, p. 60.

⁹⁴ See: PEARSON 1990, p. 132–134.

⁹⁵ In this context, the rejection of fasting in Ptolemy’s *Letter to Flora* could indicate a negative conception of the material world in the Valentinian tradition. See: Ptol. *Ep. Flor.* 5:3; THOMASSEN 2013, p. 184–185.

⁹⁶ See: BRAKKE 2010, p. 104.

“mediator” of salvation, the way he brings the salvation implies an individualistic point of view. What do I mean by that? In the Valentinian tradition, salvation is equated with the discovery of a person’s true identity, with the knowledge of who we are, where we came from, and where we are going. This is the core message that divine Logos incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth brings.⁹⁷

Besides the knowledge and the individualist attitude towards the salvation, distinction between the Supreme God and the Demiurge led the Valentinians to the rejection of the authority and structure that the *Great Church* had fully accepted.⁹⁸ One should bear in mind that the Valentinians did not believe that the Demiurge was an evil, but only an inferior divine being through which Wisdom had created humans and then, without his knowledge, inserted a divine spark.⁹⁹ For example, Heracleon, as one of the most important representatives of the Valentinian tradition, describes explicitly the role of the Demiurge as the (inferior) mediator in the creation of the material world.¹⁰⁰ Elaine Pagels asserts that the early bishops, by insisting on the belief in one God, advocated for a specific system of organisation and conception of authority with one bishop in charge of a community.¹⁰¹ Even though Pagels postulates the existence of a developed monepiscopacy too soon, her theory about the connection between strict monotheism and the development of a structural organisation with the bishops as leading figures in early Christian communities seems to be right on point. As an example, she forgets to mention, we can take Clement’s letter to the Corinthian community written at the end of the first century. While emphasising the unity of God and the continuity between the *Old* and the *New Testament* Clement concludes:

“The apostles were given the gospel for us by the Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. Thus, Christ came from God and the apostles from Christ. Both things happened, then, in an orderly way according to the will of God. When, therefore, the apostles received his commands and were fully convinced through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and persuaded by the word of God, they went forth proclaiming the good news that the Kingdom of God was about to come, brimming with confidence through the Holy Spirit. And as they preached throughout the countryside and in the cities, they appointed the first fruits of their

⁹⁷ *GTr.* 18:11–18. The “perfect” ones are only the Valentinians because they possess the *gnosis*. Only they belong to the spiritual class of people. See: LAYTON 1995. p. 254.

⁹⁸ The authority of the *Great Church* is represented by bishops, presbyters and deacons and perpetuated by a specific ideology called Apostolic succession. This is the idea that bishops are successors of Jesus Christ and his first apostles. This was the “motivational fuel” contributing to the development of church structure. The culmination of that process was the appearance of the monepiscopacy.

⁹⁹ *Exc. ex. Th.* 53.2.

¹⁰⁰ *Orig. In Jo.* XIII.50.336. The quotations of Heracleon are taken from the following edition: HALTON 1993.

¹⁰¹ See: PAGELS 1989. p. 34.

ministries as bishops and deacons of those who were about to believe, testing them by the Spirit.”¹⁰²

In the subsequent passages Clement explicitly justified the existing structure and authority within the *Great Church* by referring to the Old Testament and claiming that the ultimate origin of a bishop’s authority is God.¹⁰³ For our purposes, it is not relevant whether apostles really appointed bishops in all congregations within the *Great Church*. The key point is that monotheism was a major source for legitimising of their position and authority. On the other hand, the Valentinians rejected the pyramidal structure of authority mainly because of their view on salvation and belief in two different divine beings.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the threefold division of humanity and a certain soteriological elitism by which salvation was not a universal category also affected their concept of authority and structure.¹⁰⁵ Valentinian teacher Theodotus claimed that knowledge attainable only to chosen one was is a superior mode of salvation than baptism.¹⁰⁶ Tertullian reported that the process of initiation into the Valentinian congregation took five years which points to an advance and complex system of recruitment.¹⁰⁷ Considering how they conceptualised salvation and the nature of divine realm, the Valentinians developed a particular stance towards the *Great Church*. Take, for instance, Heracleon and Ptolemy who believed that the “proto-orthodox” Christians were part of the psychical or soulful class of humanity that followed the Demiurge without realising that he was not the Highest divine being worthy of worship.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, members of the *Great Church*, Heracleon claimed, were slaves of the Demiurge, blind before the knowledge of the Highest God.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Irenaeus asserted that the followers of Valentinus believed that the faith of the *Great Church* was only an elementary level of insight while their community provided an advanced level of teachings and beliefs that could help a spiritual person to elevate beyond the realms of the Demiurge.¹¹⁰

This kind of belief about the divine realm, creation, and humanity has implications for developing the Valentinian conception of authority. By joining Valentinian community, a person gains spiritual authority based primarily on

¹⁰² 1 *Clem.* 42:1–4. All of the quotations of the Apostolic fathers are taken from: EHRMAN 2003.

¹⁰³ 1 *Clem.* 42:5.

¹⁰⁴ Pagan philosopher Celsus also mentioned the threefold division among the various Gnostic groups. See: Orig. *C. Cels.* 5:54, 61–62.

¹⁰⁵ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* I.3:1. Niclas Forster has analysed Valentinian teacher Marcus and his community concluding that they both co-existed within the *Great Church*, but eventually separated themselves thinking that they were “members of the Christian elite”. See: FORSTER 1999, p. 402. Einar Thomassen resonates similarly in his study of the Valentinian tradition. Because of that, Thomassen analyses the social context of the Valentinian meetings emphasising their special congregation which was only available to the spiritual elite. See: THOMASSEN, 2013, p. 195.

¹⁰⁶ *Exc. ex. Th.* 78:1.

¹⁰⁷ *Tert. Val.* 1.2.

¹⁰⁸ Orig. *Comm. Jo.* XIII.16; Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I.21?1–4.

¹⁰⁹ Orig. *Comm. Jo.* XIII.19.

¹¹⁰ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I.21:4–5.

the knowledge of themselves.¹¹¹ To put it bluntly, given that the basis of individual salvation lies within a person, acceptance of the pyramidal authority and absolute obedience to a superior (bishop) could not develop in the same sense they did within the *Great Church*. The organisation system within the Valentinian tradition was restricted to the personal relationship between a teacher (the bearer of the “good news”) and a student. The knowledge that led to salvation was mystical and esoteric – it was beyond and above the established tradition of the *Great Church*. Essentially, the Valentinians emphasised personal spirituality and direct contact with the divine spark within a spiritual person. Moreover, the division between the Highest God and a lower divine being (Demiurge) contradicts the idea of subordination. As Pagels notes, the Valentinians equated obedience to bishops with obedience to the Demiurge.¹¹² Her thought brings another important implication that she did not notice. According to Valentinian beliefs, the purpose of salvation is to return to the *Pleroma* – a divine space spiritual people came from. In other words, salvation is understood as a process of liberating the divine spark within the spiritual person with the *Pleroma* as a final destination. The return to the highest divine realm where the spiritual person belongs to. Consequently, the destiny of those who receive and accept the knowledge of their origins is that they will eventually rise above the divine realm that the Demiurge inhabits.¹¹³

It is inconceivable that the Valentinians would accept the authority of bishops given that they saw them as proteges of the Demiurge who is beyond the realm they (the Valentinians) belonged to. To put it bluntly, the Valentinians emphasised the superiority of the spiritual class over the divine being that created this world. By doing so, they also rejected the authority of bishops and the social structure of the *Great Church*.¹¹⁴ In other words, Valentinian teachers advocated a belief system where the need to discover a divine spark within a person was of primary interest.¹¹⁵ In contrast, the *Great*

¹¹¹ Perhaps, it would be better to say that by entering the Valentinian community, a person (one?) discovers the authority that lies within him.

¹¹² PAGELS 1976. p. 314.

¹¹³ See: FORSTER 1999. p. 402.

¹¹⁴ See: DECONICK 2013. p. 153–154.

¹¹⁵ April DeConick studies the clash between the *Great Church* and the *Valentinian Gnostic School* within the boundaries of anthropology. The Valentinians emphasised the superiority of (spiritual) men over the creator of this world while the *Great Church* supported the idea of subordination of men to God and his representatives. See: DECONICK 2013. p. 153. By analysing social features of the Marcus' community, Niclas Forster found a similar anthropological perspective in the dimension of prophecy. Forster explains that the gifts of God in Marcus' community were depended on the personal authority of each member since all of them considered themselves a spiritual elite. That would mean that God's gift is inferior in relation to a spiritual person. Irenaeus, on the other hand, strongly rejected this notion and claimed that every gift from God (e.g., ability to prophesize) cannot be inferior in relation to a believer since it comes from the almighty divine being and the sole creator of the entire world. See: FORSTER 1999. p. 130. It is worth noting that Hippolytus refers to a community within the Marcus' tradition that accepted bishop as a leading figure. According to Hippolytus, in charge of this community was indeed a bishop whose main responsibility was to convey a gnostic truth and to lead a ritual aspect of meetings. However, Irenaeus (writing several

Church accepted the subordination of men and life within the organised communities led by bishops whose authority derived from God himself.¹¹⁶ Where Clement of Rome, confident in his belief in a strong continuity between the *Old Testament* God and Jesus Christ, legitimised the authority of bishops as representatives of God and Jesus Christ, the Valentinians saw subordination to the divine being (Demiurge) who is, ranked lower than themselves on the scale of divine importance.

Although, it is worth noting that Clement of Alexandria claimed that the Valentinians tried to legitimise their position by stating that their teachings came from Theudas, who was a disciple of the apostle Paul.¹¹⁷ However, Clement wrote almost two centuries after Paul and there is no supporting evidence for the existence of this Theudas. Even if we accept Clement's claim, this notion has little to do with the classical ideology of apostolic succession that the *Great Church* promoted. Valentinian "succession" did not include other apostles (only Paul) and it was featured by a strict line of particular teachers who transmitted Gnostic truth to those worthy of it. In other words, this cannot be understood as an example of the classical ideology of apostolic succession.¹¹⁸ The Valentinian idea of succession (if it even existed) rejected the hierarchy and system of organisation within the *Great Church* and emphasised a "simple structure" based on the teacher – disciple relationship. Like Protestant communities, Valentinians seemed to have been composed of a number of localized and independent schools that did not share the idea of universal identity that would go beyond the borders of a city or a region.¹¹⁹ Even where one can at first glance find a similarity in social organization and the concept of authority between the Valentinians and the *Great Church*, a closer look reveals essential differences that cannot be ignored.

In the primary sources, specific references to the social structure of their communities are extremely rare. However, based on the sparse information available, it is possible to deduce continuity with the main theological beliefs of Valentinus and his followers. Irenaeus claimed that Marcus' community was accustomed to the practice of drawing lots as a means of deciding which member could prophesy in a given moment.¹²⁰ In other words, each member had the ability to prophesy. Tertullian reports a similar feature of the structure of Valentinian communities emphasising the equal status of all the members

decades earlier) fails to mention this community. It is possible that this was an isolated example that was developed after Irenaeus. See: Hipp. *Ref.* VI.41:4–5; FORSTER 1999, p. 403–404. Still, the fact remains: there is almost nothing in sources that would suggest a strong centralization and the acceptance of bishops in the Valentinian communities.

¹¹⁶ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* IV.16:5.

¹¹⁷ Clem. *Al. Strom.* VII.106:4.

¹¹⁸ We should also bear in mind the lack of a strong ideological/theological connection between Paul and Valentinus. There is not the slightest evidence of Gnosticism in Paul's writings.

¹¹⁹ See: DUNDERBERG 2004, p. 168. The comparison with the Protestant communities was taken from: GREEN 1985, p. 245.

¹²⁰ Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I.13:4. In his careful study of Marcus and his community, Niclas Forster confirms the authenticity of Irenaeus' reports. See: FORSTER 1999, p. 127–128.

and the lack of any structural organisation.¹²¹ Interestingly enough, Pagels asserts that Tertullian's statement implies his belief that any form of discipline and authority always results in the inequality among the members of the community. However, I think that Pagels missed the key difference between the inequality within soteriology and the inequality within the social structure of a community. Based on their theological beliefs (knowledge as a key to salvation, spiritual element in a person as the primary goal of salvation and return to the *Pleroma* as a place well beyond the Demiurge's reach), the Valentinians assimilated "soteriological elitism" into social egalitarianism. In other words, all those who are worthy of *gnosis* (spiritual class) have (by the power of the divine spark within them) an equal position in the community. Consequently, it is highly unlikely that a community of that sort would ever develop the social organization, and the stratification of roles that we can observe in the case of the *Great Church*. Moreover, the *Great Church* kept the idea of universalism in the domain of salvation which means that salvation is available to all because it is primarily based on faith, not special knowledge.

Even for Clement of Alexandria, who wrote a lot about the *gnosis*, faith comes first. In one of his works, Clement explicitly stated that the faith is the foundation of knowledge.¹²² Moreover, the basic theological structure of the *Great Church* in the first century was the belief in the continuity between the historical Jesus and the resurrected Christ.¹²³ It is appropriate to emphasise that the soteriological universalism of the *Great Church* was never transmitted to the level of social organisation. Therefore, Pagels is on the right track when she establishes the lack of an organizational system and points to the equal authority of all Valentinian members. However, she fails to make a clear distinction between soteriological and social equality. Consequently, her analysis leads to the conclusion that the *Great Church* and the *Valentinian Gnostic School* held diametrically opposed ideas on the issues of equality. To put it more bluntly, Pagels' reconstruction implies that the Valentinians were the bearers of equality while the *Great Church* defended the existence of inequality. This is, of course, result of the lack of distinction between soteriological and social universalism. A distinction that Pagels fails to notice.

¹²¹ Tert. *De praescr. haeret.* 41.2.

¹²² Clem. Al. *Strom.* VII.4. One could argue that Clement accepted the idea of advancement in faith through contemplation and education. However, unlike the Valentinians who divided Christians according to the element that prevailed in them (spiritual, and physical), Clement argued that all Christians were on the same path that leads from sin to salvation. In Clement's case, the key is to follow the rule of faith or the ecclesiastical norm as he calls it. This is a major point of departure from the Valentinian tradition. I would even go as far as to argue that Clement represents another example of the ideological flexibility of the *Great Church* which recognised the importance of knowledge and allowed space for those who were willing to study theology in a more advanced way but remain within the boundaries set by the rule of faith. Needless to say, one boundary of the rule of faith was the strict acceptance of the bishop's authority. See: LILLA 1971. p. 142-189; ESHLEMAN 2012. p. 107-108.

¹²³ See: HULTGREEN 2004. p. 92.

In explaining the practice of drawing lots, Irenaeus used the Greek term *κλήρος* literally translated as lot.¹²⁴ It was a customary practice of the ancient Greeks to use a lot in the selection process for a position in a civil office. Perhaps the Valentinians borrowed this practice for their meeting where, according to Tertullian, it was impossible to know “who is a catechumen, and who is (?) a believer”.¹²⁵ Needless to say, this kind of practice prevented the development of an organisational system based on the pyramidal structure and the differentiation of roles. However, it is worth noting that, for the Valentinians, the practice of drawing lots was not conceptualised as a random process but a necessary condition so that the Spirit could lead worship.¹²⁶ It could be that the selection of Matthias (as a replacement for Judas) that happened by casting lots serves as a model for Valentinians.¹²⁷

While the term *κλήρος* in the Valentinian communities was understood as a practice led entirely by spirit, “proto-orthodox” leaders had a different point of view. As the development of hierarchy and structure in the *Great Church* was in process, leading theologians and bishops granted it specific legitimacy. In other words, they found ideological support on a conceptual level for something that was happening in reality. For instance, Tertullian made a connection between the church communities and Roman society which was divided into distinctive social strata with their own rights and obligations. The clerics, argued Tertullian, were like the senatorial class, while the laity was like the plebeian class. Based on their position, clerics had certain rights and obligations such as the right to baptise, teach, and lead the Eucharist.¹²⁸ Irenaeus concurred and claimed that clerics were the guardians of orthodoxy.¹²⁹ The presbyters possessed, Irenaeus argued, “the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father.”¹³⁰ Valentinian communities, on the other hand, used the term *κλήρος* to reject the idea of a developed structure and authority. Consequently, they remained “trapped” within the scope of small independent communities that acted according to the principle of the constant rotation of roles and positions. Among the Valentinians, accepting a “proto-orthodox” structure with bishops as leading figures was understood to be the same as accepting the authority of the Demiurge. That, of course, was contradictory to their basic theological

¹²⁴ LIDDELL – SCOTT 1996. p. 959–960.

¹²⁵ Tertullian noticed that the Valentinians were constantly changing positions and roles within the community which resulted in a total collapse of discipline. See: Tert. *De praescr. haeret.* 41.2.

¹²⁶ See: PAGELS 1976. p. 318.

¹²⁷ Even if that was the case, one cannot overlook strong differences between the Valentinian practice and the preserved memory in Acts. In the latter case, there were strict conditions that a candidate had to fulfil in order to even be considered a potential replacement. See: Acts 1, 21–26. Niclas Forster argues that their practice was modelled on the Greco-Roman temples (e. g. Delphi) where the decision about who would prophesy was made based on lots. See: FORSTER 1999. p. 131.

¹²⁸ Tert. *Exc. cast.* 7, 17; *Bapt.* 1; *Pud.* 21.

¹²⁹ Iren. *Adver. haer.* V.20:2.

¹³⁰ Iren. *Adver. haer.* IV.26.2.

belief that they, as members of the spiritual class, were above the Demiurge and his archons. Another aspect worth bringing into the discussion is the fact that the Valentinians never developed anything like a Rule of faith which was a strong feature of “proto-orthodox” identity during the second and third centuries. Without an ideological norm, such as the Rule of faith, the Valentinians could not centralise and unify their communities. In his careful study of Valentinian communities, Einar Thomassen noticed a constant revision of the cosmological myth within the western Valentinian schools. Within the scope of this revision, the Saviour’s physical aspect was repeatedly emphasised as the idea that the physical (soulful) class (“ordinary” Christians) could be saved grew stronger.¹³¹ This process of revision happened over several decades. Thomassen concludes:

“It seems clear that this course of events is not best understood as a linear development within a unified movement; rather it suggests a decentralised proliferation of groups and teachers, each of them producing their own version of the Valentinian system based on a common pattern.”¹³²

To put it differently, theological divisions within the Valentinian communities were an additional force of disintegration, thus creating a conglomerate of independent (and unrelated) schools where the possibility for the emergence of a developed system of organisation and authority was extremely low.

As the last point of departure, I would like to probe into the relationship between the Valentinian view on resurrection and their concept of authority and structure. Karl Holl was the first scholar to notice that by emphasizing the bodily resurrection of Christ witnessed by an inner circle of people “proto-orthodox” Christians simultaneously legitimised their special position in the community.¹³³ Unlike the *Great Church*, the Valentinians based their view of the resurrection on their belief in a threefold division of humanity based on the element that prevails within each of the class: psychic, spiritual, and material.¹³⁴ Consequently, they could not follow the idea of bodily resurrection that Paul and the apostles preached in the decades following Jesus’ death.¹³⁵ The Valentinian interpretation of Paul’s theology failed to notice

¹³¹ See: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 492.

¹³² See: THOMASSEN 2008. p. 494.

¹³³ Quoted in: PAGELS 1989. p. 10.

¹³⁴ *TriTrac*. 118; Iren. *Adver. Haer.* I.6:2.

¹³⁵ Some scholars such as Elaine Pagels are inclined to argue that Paul preached a spiritual resurrection that, by its own definition, would exclude the body. However, I think that the arguments made by scholars such as Robert H. Gundry and Dale B. Martin settled the issue. Historically speaking, Paul was a Jew, and the Jewish anthropology of his day was not dualistic (material vs. spiritual; soul vs. body). As Gundry, analysing the Jewish view of the nature of the human body concludes: “*The soul has a body and the body has a soul and a man as a whole is both, a psychophysical unity – but a unity, not a monad*” – GUNDRY 1976. p. 124. See also: MARTIN 1995. p. 104–137. Consequently, I do not think that Paul’s view of resurrection can be ideologically associated with the Valentinians. Despite that fact, they certainly interpreted Paul’s words in a way that suited their ideology claiming that their beliefs were also Paul’s beliefs.

anthropological unity as an offspring of the Jewish roots of Christianity. It is hard to believe that individuals such as Paul, Peter, or John would believe in Platonic dualism even though later decades and centuries would certainly show how these influences could shape other aspects of the Christian religion.¹³⁶ The Valentinians emphasised that the spiritual element was the only part of the human body that could return straight to the *Pleroma* from where it originated. I want to probe into this question only by looking at the views of Theodotus. Unfortunately, a more detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. At the end of the *Gospel of Luke*, crucified Jesus uttered his last words: "Father, into your hands I commit my spirit."¹³⁷ Theodotus gave his own interpretation of these words, which can potentially shed some light on the Valentinian conception of authority. According to him, the Spirit that Jesus handed over to God was actually Wisdom, but also the divine spark within a spiritual person.¹³⁸ In other words, Jesus confided Wisdom/ the divine spark to the heavenly father. Furthermore, Theodotus rejects the idea the Jesus really suffered thus neglecting the belief in the doctrine of incarnation.¹³⁹ According to the eastern branch of Valentinianism, Christ represent the body that heavenly (spiritual) Jesus put on as he descended to Earth.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, they believed that only the physical Christ had been crucified. With this belief as a basis for understanding Jesus' nature, Theodotus concluded that the *Gospel of Luke* supported his view thus confirming that the spiritual element (Jesus) left the body (Christ) so that it could reunite with his heavenly father or the Highest God.¹⁴¹ Similarly, Theodotus gave a particular (Valentinian) view of the cross. As he explained it, the cross is actually a symbol of the divide between the inferior material and the superior divine realm. As such, the cross is also the dividing line between true believers (those who follow Valentinian tradition) and unbelievers, who are living by the way of ignorance. By carrying the cross Jesus was in reality carrying the divine sparks of the Valentinians to the *Pleroma* where they initially originated from.¹⁴²

From these theological postulates emerges a belief in the resurrection that clearly contradicts the core beliefs of the first Christians and can be ideologically connected to the belief system of the *Great Church* in the second and third centuries.¹⁴³ Unlike the *Great Church*, Theodotus emphasised

¹³⁶ As a prime example of the way Platonism influenced Christianity, one could point out the Christian belief in heaven and hell. See: EHRMAN 2020.

¹³⁷ Lk 23, 47.

¹³⁸ *Exc. ex. Th.* 1:1-2.

¹³⁹ *Exc. ex. Th.* 61.4.

¹⁴⁰ *Exc. ex. Th.* 59:1-2.

¹⁴¹ *Exc. ex. Th.* 62.

¹⁴² *Exc. ex. Th.* 55.1.

¹⁴³ By this I do not mean that every single belief that the *Great Church* held in the second or third centuries can be found in the New Testament literature. My only contention is that those beliefs constitute the "conceptual expansion of the contents of the Christian faith" that was widespread among the existing Christian communities before the emergence of Gnosticism. See: MCGRATH 2010, p. 28. James D. G. Dunn concludes that the first Christian generation did not produce single and united kerygma, but several different forms sharing a common core belief such as the belief in

discontinuity between Jesus (the Saviour) and earthly Christ that was ultimately created by the God of the Old Testament. During the crucifixion of the earthly Christ, Jesus led the divine sparks of true believers towards the *Pleroma*. According to Theodotus, salvation does not come through faith in Jesus' redemptive death and resurrection. Rather, it is based on the idea of the return of the divine sparks to the Highest God. To put it bluntly, the spiritual element dominated within the Valentinians, and their final destination was also the place from where they originated – *Pleroma*. They could achieve this through the knowledge that Jesus brings. Heavenly Jesus came to Earth as the Saviour to initiate the process of salvation by transmitting the basic postulates of the Valentinian *gnosis*. To know and accept them means to be saved and the determining factor in the process of knowing and accepting is the element that dominates within each individual.

For the Valentinians, the resurrection, interpreted and connected with the knowledge of one's own origin and the return of the divine spark/spirit to the *Pleroma*, presupposes an immediate and personal relationship with the Highest God. By emphasising a spiritual (dualistic?) concept of resurrection that can be gained in present through the experience and knowledge, the Valentinians essentially rejected not only the legitimacy of the special witnesses of Jesus' resurrection but also the future as such.¹⁴⁴ Why would one accept the idea of apostolic succession (which was legitimised based on the idea that twelve apostles saw the resurrected Jesus), and the future resurrection of believers, if the resurrection is primarily understood as a process of liberating the spiritual element from the body that has already begun? Based on that belief, it is unnecessary to postulate the future resurrection. Consequently, those who legitimise their position through Jesus' apostles (e.g. bishops) are to be rejected like any source of authority. In other words, there seems to be a strong link between the Valentinian conception of resurrection and their rejection of the hierarchy and the social organization that was developed within the *Great Church*.

Conclusion

One of the most important features of the early Christian world was a strong polemic and conflict between various communities that considered themselves true followers of Jesus and his apostles. As history undoubtedly demonstrates, the *Great Church*, as one of the streams of Christianity, eventually triumphed. By no means was this outcome predestinated. In this paper, I tried to show *Valentinian Gnostic School*, perceived by the intellectual

the continuity between the historical Jesus and the resurrected Christ. See: DUNN 2006. p. 245. I would even go as far as to say that one has to include the strong continuity between the Old Testament God and God depicted in the New Testament literature in the core belief system. This continuity and respect for the Jewish tradition which was incorporated into the belief in Jesus as the Messiah and the resurrected Son of God represented another important reason for the triumph of the *Great Church*. Unfortunately, this aspect is beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁴⁴ *GPh*. 56: 21-34.

leaders of the *Great Church* as the most dangerous example of heresy, lost the battle in the field of the early Christian world primarily because of the concept of authority and the organisation system they propagated. Unlike the *Great Church*, the Valentinians never developed anything similar to the idea of apostolic succession and monepiscopacy. However, this should not surprise scholars because, as I tried to demonstrate, there was a powerful link between the basic ideological features of the Valentinians (e.g., splitting of divine beings, threefold classification of humanity, and a strong contrast between the soul and the body) and their concept of authority. Consequently, they remained a conglomerate of independent communities based on individual teachers without a strong universal identity. In other words, Valentinian theology was exceptionally subversive in relation to any form of church hierarchy which left them in a disadvantageous position *vis-à-vis* the *Great Church*. Emiliano R. Urciuoli, referring to the various Gnostic groups within the early Christian world, provides an excellent summary:

“These ‘enlightened’ persons held to a triadic anthropology, optimistic soteriology, and a ‘concentric’, soft ecclesiology. Their view of religious knowledge power did not include monopolistic claims on the government of congregations. Personal career plans did not imply exclusive rights to all church leaderships. This weakly-developed conception of governance was a serious challenge to those who, like Irenaeus, were intent on constructing and policing an institution tailored so that they might hold leading positions. Such a programmatic invisibility and indifference to institutionalised prominence, which blurred the ecclesiastical space of representation, was an affront to the church’s emergent hierarchy. Their claimed ‘gnoseo-ontological’ capital infiltrated structures that hierarchs wished to control by means of juridico-apostolic capital. From Irenaeus’ standpoint, these people were worse than enemies: they were false friends and deceivers.”¹⁴⁵

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¹⁴⁵ See: URUIOLI 2017. p. 334.

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Márta FONT

On the Way to a New Structure: Poland, Lithuania, and the Western Parts of the East Slavic Area in the Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries

During the second half of the thirteenth century when the Mongols occupied the centre of the former Kievan Rus' and the princes of the North-Eastern region became dependent on them, Polish and Lithuanian influence increased in the western areas (Galicia, Volhynia, Smolensk, Polotsk). During the first decades of the fourteenth century the dynasties of Poland and Lithuania contended with each other for the hegemony. According to the negotiations in the 1340s, Galicia and a part of Volhynia belonged to Poland, and another part of Volhynia to Lithuania. In the following years, because of the expansion, Casimir the Great acquired Podolia, and the Lithuanians occupied the surroundings of Kiev. The chronicler of the Teutonic Knights pointed out that “omnis Russia ad Letwinos deberet simpliciter pertinere”. Władysław Jagiełło, King of Poland (1387–1434) and Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1392–1430) started to organize the new administration on the East Slavic territory. The part belonging to the Polish Crown voivodships (województwo) were organized, just like in the Polish territory in general. Another part of the territory belonging to Lithuania there were either organized units similar to the Polish system, or the former principality tradition was conserved. In most cases, new administrative centres emerged. The Mongolian-Lithuanian border remained a less organized form of military administration. The Polish-Lithuanian rule contributed to the development of the Belarusian and the Ukrainian identities. The patriarchal Greek and Polish – Lithuanian Latin chancelleries created the terms *Russia Minor* and *Russia Alba*.

Keywords: Mongol conquest, tradition of Rus', administrative organization, border region



Kievan Rus' (Киевская Русь, Kyївська Русь, Kijowska Rusz etc.), a *terminus technicus* used in Slavic literature has slowly gained ground and has been accepted among the Hungarian scientific terms.¹ However, the time frame of its existence is not clear. The beginning of the development of the regions started after the late tenth century, and the tendency for indicating the formation of regions became strong in the first third of the twelfth century. At

¹ See MAKAI 2018, p. 11–15.

the turn of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, the existence of the rival regions was indisputable. The series of Mongol campaigns between 1237 and 1240 brought about a radical change in the rearrangements, the connections, and relations of the regional centres, but the customary law, the written laws, and the ecclesiastical organization of the former Kievan Rus' have survived. It is not unreasonable to look for a living tradition of the Rus' in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries; but the consequences of fragmentation into the new political framework are not insignificant either. In Slavic literature Old Rus' (Древняя Русь) is used as an umbrella term for Kievan Rus' and the regions formed in its territory, as well as the name Rus' is associated with the name of each centre to designate regional units: e.g., Galician (Галицкая) or Galician-Volhynian (Галицко-Волынская Русь), Smolensian Rus' (Смоленская Русь) etc. This practice is also used to name areas emerging after the Mongol invasion, like Moskovskaya Rus' (Московская Русь).² To the persisting peculiarities of Rus' Aleksey Martiniuk³ brought attention.

Eastern Slavs among the Mongols, and in Poland and Lithuania *Regions and the Mongol Invasion*

The fragmentation of Kievan Rus' into regions occurred at the turn of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Since 1136 Novgorod had self-elected (“called”) its princes. Several branches of the Rurikids sought to obtain the “call”. The chiefs of the neighbouring Vladimir – Suzdal were at advantage, but Mikhail Vsevolodovich (1229/1230) from the Chernigov branch and Mstislav Mstislavich (1210–1215, 1216–1218) from the Smolensk branch also made an attempt to do so. From the second half of the thirteenth century the dominance of the Vladimir–Suzdalians prevailed; the members of the Lithuanian dynasty also appeared in the fourteenth century, for the first time in 1332.⁴

During the ruling of the descendants of Yury Dolgoruky (Long-Arm), Andrei Bogoliubsky (God-Loving, 1157–1174) and Vsevolod Bolshoe Gniezdo (Big Nest, 1176–1212) Vladimir–Suzdal *de facto* separated from the southern region,⁵ but asserted its will regarding the person of the Grand Duke of Kiev, which refers to the rank *primus inter pares*.⁶ Its detachment from Southern Rus' is indicated by its reaction to the events of the Battle of Kalka.⁷ In the

² The use of the term 'Litovskaya Rus' is not acceptable, as Lithuania was never part of Rus'; the former Rus' territories under Lithuanian rule became part of a political organization that existed independently of Rus'. This is an East Slavic population under Lithuanian rule and a tradition that continues to live among them. See BARONAS – ROWELL p. 65–71.

³ A conference held in Minsk in 2015 – and a volume published in its wake – dealt with such contexts of the history of the East Slavs in the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries. MARTINIUK 2017. p. 29–37.

⁴ GYÓNI 2018, p. 195–230.

⁵ MAKAI 2015, p. 105–134.

⁶ Between 1194 and 1210 undeniably five times. See MAKAI 2015, p. 132.

⁷ The Vladimir army sent with a low-ranking leader did not arrive at the assembly point; and the chronicler paid only slight attention to the severe defeat. See FONT 2016, p. 56, 61–62.

territory of Vladimir–Suzdal and in the new territories acquired in the north-eastern direction, members of other princely branches did not play a role.

Chernigov's independence began in the late eleventh century, when Oleg Sviatoslavich (1094–1115) and his successors successfully held this centre and increased their territory towards the steppe, where new centres were formed: Novgorod Seversky, Kursk, and Putivl. No other princely branch had a role in this area. From the middle of the twelfth century, a considerable rivalry emerged among the members of the Olgovich clan, just as for the dominance over Kiev between the various branches. From the second half of the twelfth century until the Mongol conquest, the Olgoviches occupied Kiev successfully several times.⁸

The formation of the south-western region differs from the above in several aspects: Galicia–Volhynia was already a two-centred area. Volhynia was in the sphere of interest of the grand princes of Kiev from the beginning, and from the 1110s onwards it fell into the hands of the Monomakh branch, including descendants of Mstislav. The castle of Halych became the centre of the principality in 1141 by merging several smaller centres. Here another branch of the Ruriks set foot. Their independence was maintained only until 1199, when the prince of the neighbouring Volhynia, Roman Mstislavich, merged the two territories (1199–1205). The brief rule of Roman did not create cohesion between the two areas. After his death, other princely branches' eyes were cast on the territory, for instance in the case of the attempt of the Hungarian–Polish expansion.⁹

The Mongol invasion brought about significant changes in the lives of the former Rus' principalities: the supreme power was embodied by the khan. Part of the southern territory (Kiev, Chernigov, Pereyaslavl), i.e., the 'core' of Kievan Rus', was actually taken over, but they did not necessarily want to control the whole of the destroyed area. They accepted the homage of the princes from the northeast region, who were expected to serve their interests. Vladimir–Suzdal remained under the control of a prince subordinate to the Mongols. Novgorod was forced to pay some taxes (*vyhod, chislo*). Galicia–Volhynia was required to pay taxes and deploy its troops. The centre of the Western Mongol Empire (Golden Horde)¹⁰ was in the proximity of the Volga, approximately 100 km north of today's Astrakhan, where the princes of Rus' received the document legitimizing their rule (*yarlik*). The rivalry of the rulers made the situation of the khans easier: it was always possible to find a person who could – and wanted – to meet the conditions. In the northern region, Aleksandr Nevsky (1254–1263) was the one who met the expectations of the Mongols: he ensured the operation of tax collectors (*baskak*) in his own territory and cooperated with the Mongols in the regulations of the rival administrative

⁸ ZAITSEV 2009. p. 45–130.; DIMNIK 2016. p. 348–350.

⁹ FONT – BARABÁS 2017. p. 19–74.; FEDINEC et alii 2021. p. 42–47. (In both volumes the relevant parts are the works of Márta Font)

¹⁰ VÁSÁRY 1986. p. 52–54.

centre, Tver.¹¹ Daniil Romanovich, Prince of Galicia–Volhynia,¹² similarly to other princes who wanted to rule, could not evade the obligatory visit to Sarai, but he imagined the *modus vivendi* with the Mongols differently: he tried to gather military forces for resistance.

The princes of Chernigov (Mikhail and his son, Rostislav) unsuccessfully tried to come to terms with the Mongols. Mikhail died in the court of the khan.¹³ Rostislav wanted to cling to the western part of Rus' with Hungarian help, but he was defeated by Daniil under the castle of Yaroslavl in Galicia (August 17, 1245).¹⁴ After the failure, Rostislav remained in Hungary and the king commissioned him to restore the southern territory of the Hungarian Realm.¹⁵ Bela IV and Daniil made a peace in August of 1247, which was confirmed by the marriage of their children, Lev and Constantia, presumably at the castle of Zólyom (today: Zvolen, SK).¹⁶

Eastern Defense, Western Orientation, and Polish Expansion

After Daniil appeared in the court of the khan, we can assume that he received *yarlik*.¹⁷ However, he could not accept the Mongol rule over his principality. He first joined forces with Andrei from Vladimir–Suzdal (1249–1252) but was defeated. Turning to the West, in return for help, he was willing to accept the ecclesiastical union, of which Pope Ince IV's letters written between 1246 and 1248 testify. In January 1248 the pope mentioned the military power of the Teutonic Knights which could be mobilized against the Mongols. In early 1253, Daniil met with the pope's envoys in Cracow, and the papal legate, Opizo de Mezzano, crowned Daniil in Dorogichin, Volhynia.¹⁸

Daniil battled the Mongols again in 1254–1255, but this venture was not crowned with success. The appearance of tax collectors and the fact that the southern fortifications of the principality (Ushitsa, Bakota and Kuchelmin) had to be handed over to the Mongols suggests stronger ties.¹⁹ After the southern defence system was demolished, the castle of Halych was at a disadvantage. Daniil moved his princely residence to Kholm (today: Chełm, PL), where he also founded the cathedral in 1237. He was buried there in 1264.²⁰ Daniil could

¹¹ Aleksandr Nevsky visited the khan's court several times. His death in 1263 on the way home from the Mongols, was probably caused by poison. FENNELL 1983. p. 109–124; ISHOAHO 2006. p. 3.

¹² The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle maintained a long, gesta-type biography of Daniil. See FONT 2000. p. 149–163.

¹³ PSRL II. p. 795. FENNELL 1983. p. 99; DIMNIK 1981. p. 130–139.

¹⁴ PSRL II. p. 800–805; KHW p. 270–286; BARTNICKI 2005. p. 97–98; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 234–235; DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 253–260; FEDORUK 2013. p. 125–143.

¹⁵ DIMNIK 1981. p. 130–139; FONT 2016b. p. 74–77.

¹⁶ PSRL II. p. 809; MALINIAK 2016. p. 115.

¹⁷ He went to the khan at the end of 1245. See PASHUTO 1950. p. 236; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 228; DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 260.

¹⁸ The coronation took place in the last days of 1253, or the very beginning of 1254. See DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 348–366.

¹⁹ Surrender of the southern line of defense: PSRL II. p. 840–842.

²⁰ STÖKL 1981. p. 526–532.

not escape the Mongol dependence,²¹ and the myth of assistance from the West shattered with his death (1264). His son, Lev Danilovich (1269–1301), despite his Hungarian wife and his Polish–Lithuanian kinship, became more and more dependent on the Mongols, having to join the Mongol army in the campaigns against Poles and Lithuanians.²² The title of *rex Galicie Lodomerieque* has been among the titles of the Hungarian kings since the beginning of the thirteenth century,²³ which after 1245 only indicated a legal claim. From the middle of the thirteenth century Poles and Lithuanians attempted to gain control over Galicia–Volhynia. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century Poland and Lithuania were characterized by a fragmentation similar to that of the Rus’; additionally, in Lithuania the previously existing tradition of unity did not prevail either. The integration of the Polish principalities and the unification of the Lithuanian tribes took place at a time when the expansive power of the Golden Horde seemed to be weakening.²⁴

In the time of Władysław Łokietek (Prince of Greater Poland 1306–1320, King of Poland 1320–1333),²⁵ the power in Galicia belonged to Lev’s son, Yury (Yury Lvovich, 1301–1308). He was married to Władysław’s sister, Euphemia.²⁶ We know the names of their children from 1316 (Andrei and Lev), they were last mentioned as the princes of Galicia in 1323.²⁷ In 1324, Władysław helped the half-Polish Bolesław–Yury (or Yury II) to rise to rule in Galicia,²⁸ and was supported in this endeavour by his son-in-law, Charles I, King of Hungary (1308–1342). Bolesław–Yury married one of the daughters of the Lithuanian Grand Prince, Euphemia. The Polish kinship was expanded with another relationship: Eufemia’s sister, Aldona-Anna became the first wife of Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz III, 1333–1370). In 1340, Bolesław–Yury was killed in a conspiracy. Immediately after his death, Casimir III began his campaign against Galicia.²⁹ The western area of Galicia that was free from the Mongol rule became the eastern province of Poland, known as *Russia Minor*.

Casimir III occupied the western part of the Galician Principality (Sanok), but the title of *rex Galiciae Lodomeriaeque* was still held by the Hungarian

²¹ On the relationship between the Mongols and southern Rus’ recently see STEFANOVICH 2019. p. 116–134.

²² There was an example of this in Daniil’s life, see 1260–1262: Płock and Masovia. Later in 1273: Lublin; 1277: Łęczyca; 1280: Lesser Poland; 1282: Lublin; 1286: Gostynin; 1294: Łęczyca; 1295: Gnojno (Kielce); 1299–1300: Dobrzyn; 1275, 1277: Lithuania; 1280–1281, 1286: Lesser Poland; 1285: Hungary.

²³ FONT 2021a. p. 177–190.

²⁴ VÁSÁRY 1986. p. 130–133; VÁSÁRY 2009. p. 79–80.

²⁵ WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 221–241.

²⁶ “ducissa Eufemia filia Kasimiri ducis et consors Georgii Russiae ducis” – DŁUGOSZ IX. p. 51 See: WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 255; SZCZUR 2002. p. 313; DĄBROWSKI 2002. p. 206–207; BALZER 2005. p. 606–613.

²⁷ MPV nr. 83; DĄBROWSKI 2002. p. 249–255.

²⁸ PASZKIEWICZ 2002. p. 13, 21–22; WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 266; WYROZUMSKI 1997. p. 114.

²⁹ WYROZUMSKI 1986. p. 78–79.

kings.³⁰ The resolution of the contradiction between the actual situation and the title held by law played a major role in the succession negotiations of Casimir III and Louis I the Great King of Hungary (1342–1382). Louis I resigned from the title in recognition of the inheritance, with the stipulation that if Casimir III dies without an heir, the title and territory would return to the Hungarian king without any payment.³¹

The expansion of Casimir III to the west of Rus' led to a conflict with the Lithuanians. According to the division that took place in 1349, Galicia remained in the hands of Casimir III, and the city of Vladimir-in-Volhynia also came under his control. In the 1350s, Casimir III and Louis I joined forces against the Lithuanians several times:³² in the summer of 1351, in the spring of 1352, 1354 and 1355. Louis I the Great was most active in the 1351 campaign, when he commanded the entire Hungarian–Polish army instead of Casimir III, who fell ill in Lublin.³³ The Polish–Lithuanian conflicts mobilized significant forces in the region, as Casimir III turned to the Hungarian king, and the Lithuanians turned to the Mongols for assistance. In the spring of 1353, Lvov (Lviv) was attacked, Halych was raided in the summer, and in September the Mongol army looted around Zawichost. In 1356, Casimir made peace with the Lithuanians for ten years; the expansion of their territories to the east continued, but without disturbing each other's interests. Polish expansion continued along the right bank of the Dniester to Podolia, and Lithuanian expansion along the Dnieper. Between 1366 and 1370, the borders of Poland and Lithuania were finally established, and Galicia became entirely Polish territory.

Lithuanian Expansion to the East

Lithuanians lived in Žemaitija (Žemaitija, Samogitia, Żmudź = 'plains') and Aukštaitija (Aukštota = 'highlands'), the area later called the Memel region.³⁴ Among the rival Lithuanian tribes, the Jotving tribe (jatwęg, jatvjag) lived neighbouring the Slavs. As early as the twelfth century, the Jotvings led looting campaigns to the territories inhabited by both the Western (Masovia) and Eastern Slavs (Volhynia, Polotsk, Pskov), and began to expand eastward in the first third of the thirteenth century. Many of the Lithuanian dignitaries married into the Rurik family as early as the thirteenth century and held a position in the Rus' centres. The *modus vivendi* with the locals sometimes led to condominium and sometimes to conflict.³⁵ Both held the potential for later Lithuanian domination.

³⁰ FONT 2022.

³¹ WYROZUMSKI 1986, p. 89.

³² KRISTÓ 1986, p. 127–129.

³³ THUROCZI, I, p. 178. (cap. 159–160.)

³⁴ The early history of Lithuanians is obscure in many respects. Their origin story was preserved by their literate neighbours. See ŽENKIEWICZ 2001, p. 11–13.

³⁵ BARONAS – ROWELL 2016, p. 149.

The acquisition of sovereignty over the area and the acquisition of the individual centres needed to be distinguished. Lithuanians expanded in the area belonging to Polotsk from the second half of the thirteenth century, but Polotsk itself was occupied only in 1305. With this, they gained control over the trade along the Dvina. They expanded along the Dvina, acquiring a part of the Smolensk area around 1250 (Toropec).³⁶ They reached the border of Novgorod and the source region of Velikaya (Pskov River). The region to the south, along the Neman, Grodno and Novogorod (Nowogródek), became Lithuanian territory, as well as the area between Neman and Pripiat', called Black Rus'. Crossing the Pripiat' in the 1320s, Pinsk, Turov and Brest, an area called Polesie, also became Lithuanian. Heading east, they occupied Minsk in 1326, surrounded by parts called the White Rus', and continued towards the Dnieper. In the 1340s, Gedimin (Gediminas, 1316–1342) set foot along the middle reaches of the Dnieper. Gedimin's son, Olgerd (Algirdas, 1345–1377) continued the expansion, acquiring Smolensk in 1352. Following the Dnieper, his troops reached the border of the Mongol-ruled Tver and Moscovian Rus' (Muscovy) under the fortress of Rzhev, in the River Volga's source area. Battling with the Mongols, they expanded to the southeast, where, by agreement, Prince Gedimin's brother, Fedor received Kiev. In the 1360s, Chernigov, Novgorod Seversky and Briansk³⁷ along the Desna fell into Lithuanian hands. In 1362–1363 Lithuanians won a significant victory at Sinie Vody against the Mongols. The remarks of the chronicler of the Teutonic Knights stated this time that "all of Russia belongs to the Lithuanians".³⁸ During the expansion to the west, they battled with the Kingdom of Poland in the years of 1340–1350 to acquire Volhynia and Galicia.³⁹

It is clear from the above-mentioned events that it was Gediminas who made Lithuania dominant in the region:⁴⁰ he united the tribes and significantly increased their territories. He expanded his empire mainly due to a successful marriage. Through the marriage of his sons, his power was solidified in Polotsk, and Pinsk (Narimantas–Gleb), Lubart gained influence in Volhynia (Vladimir, Lutsk), and Koriat married in Novgorodok (Nowogródek). Olgerd married the daughter of the last prince of Vitebsk. Among Gedimin's daughters, Anna-Aldona became the Queen of Poland as the wife of Casimir the Great, Elisabeth became the wife of the Prince of Płock, and Eufemia became the wife of Bolesław–Yury of Galicia. Maria was married to Dmitry Mikhailovich of Tver and Anastasia was married to Semion Ivanovich, a rival of Ivan Kalita. Olgerd, the next ruler, married twice, his second wife, Uliana Alexandrovna descended from the Tver branch of the Ruriks.⁴¹ We know of Olgerd's eight children from

³⁶ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 179–181; The whole territory of Smolenskan Rus' was occupied in the 1380s. See MOUCHARD 2015. p. 189–200.

³⁷ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 200–204.

³⁸ "omnis Russia ad Letwinos deberet simpliciter pertinere" See WYROZUMSKI 1986. p. 90–101; HELLMANN 1981. p. 747.

³⁹ BARONAS – ROWELL 2016. p. 149–153; KELEMBET 2018. p. 72–113.

⁴⁰ ROWELL 1994. p. 49–53.; KRAUTSEVIACH 2013. p. 36–80.

⁴¹ KLUG 1994. p. 170.

the first marriage and fourteen from the second. This populous family continued to create a favourable position for gaining power and territory through marriage. Olgerd's daughters became wives in Serpukhov, Gorodets, Novosil, Kozelsk, Tver, and Riazan'. Their dynastic policy became successful in Poland as well, as some of the daughters married the princes of Czartoryjsk, Oświęcim, Słupsk, and Masovia.

Olgerd's younger brothers also played a role in the expansion. Keistut (Kestutis, † 1382) and Lubart (Liubartas, † 1384) participated in the battles with the Poles,⁴² Koriat (Kariotas, † 1358) moved to Podolia during its south-eastern expansion. Olgerd was succeeded by his eldest son from his second marriage, Jagiełło (Jogaila), who reached an agreement with his uncle, Keistut. When Jagiełło ascended the Polish throne – and was baptized as Władysław – Kiestut's son, Witold, became the *supremus dux* of Lithuania.⁴³ The sons of Koriat were in the service of the Hungarian king.⁴⁴ The Polish–Lithuanian relationship developed similarly during the fifteenth century. The first half of the century was marked by peace while Jagiełło (1434) and Witold (1430) was alive. The victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald on July 15, 1410, was a great success of their alliance,⁴⁵ in which Russian and Mongol armies also took part in Witold's convoy. After the military success, the Polish–Lithuanian union was reaffirmed in Horodlo (1413).⁴⁶

The Western Parts of Rus' in the Context of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Principality of Lithuania

Polish Government at the East Areas

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is no longer accurate to talk about Galicia–Volhynia. By this time, the area of the former principality had shrunk under the grip of Mongolian and Lithuanian attacks, and its internal division had changed. Instead of Volhynia, other centres had become important almost a century earlier: Vladimir, then Belz; Halych ceased to be a centre in the second half of the thirteenth century, and the southern part of the principality was subjected to a complete Mongol rule. Conceptually, what might have meant belonging together was the tradition of belonging to Rus', which in the Latin phraseology was called Russia / Ruthenia.⁴⁷

After being introduced to the Polish crown in several steps during the fourteenth century, a unified system of government in the area developed

⁴² ROWELL 1994. p. 86–87.

⁴³ HELLMANN 1981. p. 753, 757; OCHMAŃSKI 1990. p. 75–76; ZERNACK 1994. p. 123.

⁴⁴ In 1395 Vazul and Theodor (Todor/Fedor) sided with King Sigismund of Luxembourg against Jagiełło and Witold. After that, they acquired their first positions in Hungary. See FONT 2021b. p. 84–87.

⁴⁵ KUCZYŃSKI 1985; FONT 1997.

⁴⁶ OCHMAŃSKI 1990. p. 81.

⁴⁷ Yury I is referred to as “sigillum Georgii regis Ruthenorum”, Yury II could be “natus dux totius Russiae Minoris”; whereas Casimir the Great used the title of “dux Russiae Minoris”.

slowly.⁴⁸ Until the end of Casimir's reign, these areas were not organized into provincial framework; until 1362, Casimir transferred their control to the descendants of Siemowit of Masovia. We only have little information about the Polish service of the Koriat sons of Lithuanian descent and their involvement in the war. It is certain that their presence has helped the expansion towards Podolia.⁴⁹ During the Polish–Hungarian personal union, King Louis annexed *Russia* to Hungary and placed the area under the control of a voivode, creating the office of *Rusciae vojvoda*, which existed until 1387, until Jagiełło reclaimed the area. During the time of belonging to the Hungarian kingdom, control fell into the hands of barons. Between 1370 and 1380, Ladislas (Vladislaus, László) of Opole held this title and other positions in Hungary.⁵⁰ Between the death of Louis I and the accession of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1382–1387), Mary, Louis' daughter as Queen of Hungary also ruled in Galicia.⁵¹ The area became Hedwig's (Polish Jadwiga, the younger daughter of Louis) in 1386, and since then the name *Russia Minor* has become permanent to designate the former Principality of Galicia and Volhynia and it became part of Jagiełonian Poland.

The government of the Kingdom of Poland was built on voivodships with the following centres: Cracow, Sandomierz, Poznań, Kalisz, Łęczyca, Sieradz, Brześć and, without general Polish rights, Dobrzyń. On the territory of former Galicia voivodships were organized with headquarters in former Peremyshl, Lvov and Halych (Polish: Przemyśl, Lwów and Halicz.⁵² At the time of Jagiełło, parts of *Russia Minor* were under separate control around Belz and Kholm (today Chełm), and Podolia was controlled from Kameniets. In Podolia, the administration of the Koriatovichs remained until 1393, when Jagiełło handed it over to the voivode of Cracow,⁵³ and in 1411 to Witold. Podolia was organized into a voivodship after Witold's death.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the centre of the former Galician Principality was no longer in Halych but in Lvov. Since Lvov came under Polish rule, settlers arrived from the west as well: Poles and Germans. Their first privilege was granted by Casimir III the Great in 1356. The name Lemberg was born from a word German citizens used, which later became known in European history. The population of cities under Polish and Lithuanian rule was generally very diverse, not only exclusively in Lvov/ Lemberg. In addition to the Eastern Slavs, Poles, and Germans, there were also Armenians, Jews, and

⁴⁸ WYROZUMSKI 1986. p. 93–94; ZERNACK 1994. p. 120–121; FONT 2007. p. 74; DĄBROWSKI 2009. p. 244–269.

⁴⁹ The Koriatovichs are descendants of the son of the Lithuanian prince, Gedimin, named Koriat. We know Koriat's (after †1358) nine sons by name. Konstantin, Yury and Aleksandr operated in Podolia and Moldova, Dmitro was in the service of the Prince of Moscow, and Theodor (Todor, Fedor) won office in the Kingdom of Hungary after marrying Stefan Kotromanić's daughter. In 1352 Yury Koriatovich took part in Lubart's war against Casimir the Great, who ruled the eastern part of Volhynia. See VOITOVICH 2006. p. 668–675.

⁵⁰ CZARNKOW, In: MPH II. p. 680. See ENGEL 1996. I. p. 4; SPERKA 2006. p. 113–150; MARZEC 2017. p. 148–159.

⁵¹ ENGEL 1996. I. p. 4, 35.

⁵² SZCZUR 2002. p. 539–541.

⁵³ SAMSONOWICZ 1990. p. 13.

Mongols forming separate neighbourhoods. Political unification in the Polish state had an impact on the development of settlements: through Polish practice, city law from Magdeburg was also introduced in the cities of *Russia Minor*. Lvov/Lemberg was the first city which was granted this right in 1356, Kameniets-Podolsky the second in 1374, followed by Lutsk (1432) and Kiev (1494).⁵⁴

Government Structure in Lithuania

In the territory of Lithuania, Witold organized voivodships with centres in Vilnius and Trockai (Trakai) following the Polish model. Novogorodok (Nowogródek), Volkovisk and the territory of 'Black Rus' was divided into these voivodships. Another was organized in the late fifteenth century (1471) with Kiev being its centre.⁵⁵ In Volhynia (Vladimir, Belz, Lutsk) under Lithuanian rule, the old East Slavic customary law prevailed, reminiscent of the regional period of Kievan Rus', where princely power could also be acquired by inheritance or "election" (calling of the prince). The princely seat was mostly occupied by individuals belonging to the Lithuanian princely family. E.g. in Smolensk, Yury Sviatoslavich was the last member of the local dynasty at the turn of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries.⁵⁶ In the southern part of Volhynia and the eastern part of Podolia (Vinnitsa, Khmelnik), a significant family of boyars (Niesvizhskie) ruled during the fifteenth century. According to Ukrainian researcher, Stanislav Kelembet, they were the descendant of the "Bolohov princes" who were mentioned earlier as living along the lower reaches of the Dnieper.⁵⁷ The smaller areas did not fall into the hands of the members of the Lithuanian princely family in the form of a partial principality but as an estate.

The status of the nobility of the voivodships was different from that of the Poles, as was the status of the nobility of Lithuania and Russia. These differences were eliminated by Jagiełło in several steps (1387, 1413). Then, in 1434 a privilege granted by the sons of Jagiełło provided a similar status to the Polish and Russian boyars. In 1447 Casimir IV (1447–1492) guaranteed the right to choose the *starosta* and committed himself to preserving "old rights" (*starina*), also in the case of Volhynia.⁵⁸ The left bank of the Dnieper was a sparsely populated area; stable administration did not develop due to the continuous, multi-directional struggle in the territories bordering the Golden Horde (Pereyasavl, Chernigov, Novgorod Seversky, Putivl). Kelembet mentioned that this area was called a "Mongol" principality, a territory considered a "wild field" in Polish–Lithuanian sources.⁵⁹ In the Lithuanian

⁵⁴ GÖNCZI 2021. Credit to the author's consent to the use of his manuscript.

⁵⁵ OCHMAŃSKI 1990. p. 88–89; SZCZUR 2002. p. 540.

⁵⁶ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 250.

⁵⁷ KELEMBET 2021. p. 197.

⁵⁸ GÓRSKI 1987. p. 9–17.

⁵⁹ KELEMBET 2021. p. 199; FEDINEC et alii 2021. p. 120–122.

borderland in the direction to Muscovy, the former territory of the principality of Smolensk (Viazma, Dorogobuzh and Briansk)⁶⁰ was considered peripheral.

Conclusion

The Mongol conquest contributed to the division of the former western and southwestern territories of Kievan Rus' into the formation of new states. The status of the East Slavic territories, which came under Polish and Lithuanian rule at different times, in different ways and under different conditions, was heterogeneous from the beginning and remained so during the fifteenth century.⁶¹

Integration into the new statehood created new names: *Russia Minor* and *Russia Alba*, but this was only for the areas organized in the voivodships. The Magdeburg city law was introduced in *Russia Minor* and *Russia Alba*,⁶² as a consequence of the privileges granted by the King of Poland, and it did not only have legal, but also economic and cultural influences. The authorization of 'old rights' (*starina*) conserved Rus' customs and laws – with the changes required by the circumstances – and the descendants of the Russian princely dynasty retained their position by marrying Polish and Lithuanian nobles. In the immediate vicinity of the Mongols the readiness to battle was constant, and the insecurity of the border region is shown by the lack of a stable administration. All this contributed to the formation of different identities within the East Slavs.

Translated by Alexandra Hatter

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⁶⁰ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 208–209.

⁶¹ See LIUBAVSKY 2004; SHABULDO 1987.

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Gergely Kiss

When the Papal Legate Is Not Well Received: Confrontations Between the Papal and Royal Governments in Thirteenth Century Hungary*

The Papacy became the supreme authority of the Latin Christianity at least at the turn of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Papal delegates, especially *legati a latere* were the “long arm” of the popes to settle and negotiate both ecclesiastical and political issues. In theory, papal representatives should have been given a warm welcome in the places where they were sent, however, as the examples in the paper show, this was by no means always the case. The paper aims to discuss this process by analysing the activities of the papal legates in the Kingdom of Hungary, the form of representation and the procedures of the negotiation (cooperation, contestation, refusal) of this authority in the context of the Hungarian Kingdom in thirteenth–fourteenth centuries.

Keywords: Papacy, Hungary, legates, reception, confrontation, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries



Before the creation of the nunciature, the form of permanent representation of the papacy from the 1530s onwards, the Roman pontiff could rely on his envoys to make his voice be heard: these men were real tools of government. The bishops of Rome had been claiming universal power since the middle of the eleventh century, but they needed representatives to bring a redefined form of representation to the whole of Christendom and to introduce it into the daily life of ecclesiastical and secular government. The popes opted for envoys with full powers whose role was to mark their presence and set in motion the reform of the Church. The *alter ego domini pape* maintained an unbreakable link with his principal; the latter took the form of a legate sent to the pope's side (*legatus a latere*). He became his ears and eyes and represented

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the word of the Roman pontiff.¹ These legates gave an omnipresent corporeal dimension to the pope who usually validated in advance the measures they were to take during their missions. The explanation was as follows: it is the pope himself who makes his own decisions through his plenipotentiary representative.²

The Gregorian reform gave a universal dimension to the church, which soon had to face practical obstacles that proved to be difficult to overcome. How to govern a church that was geographically so vast, stretching across all Europe at the time? How could one pope be present, or even omnipresent at the same time? It goes without saying that such situation calls for the strengthening of the system of representation. The governability of a huge and complex organisation depended on several factors, of which the acceptance of Roman primacy, the ability to dialogue with local ecclesiastics and laity were paramount. When the successors of St. Peter invested a representative with full power and sent him to any region of Christendom, it was above all a question of showing the importance of the delegation of their authority on which the government of the Church rested. Therefore, the successful reception of a legate *a latere* was the acceptance of Roman authority.

The effectiveness of the papal representative, and thus of the pope, rested on their ability to cooperate with the local clergy and the secular government. The friendly tone with which the bishops of Rome addressed the prelates and the secular elite in letters of recommendation was not a mere sign of politeness. The safe-conducts through which the Roman pontiffs obtained the safe passage of the envoy were an opportunity to win the goodwill of those whom the latter would meet. These letters had the function of overriding the neglect, contempt or even refusal of the legate (*legatus a latere*) sent by the pope. Hospitality, cordial reception and respectful treatment were essential to safeguard the pope's interests.

This new system – full powers to papal representatives – highlights the existence of difficulties and did not prevent conflicts. Many of the formulas in the mandates addressed to the *legati a latere* refer to the Old and New Testaments and use a condescending and authoritarian tone.³ It were often

¹ SCHMUTZ 1966. p. 161–171; SCHMUTZ 1972. p. 441–463, here p. 448; BLET 1982. p. 92.

² “*Quoniam igitur pluribus Ecclesiarum negotiis occupati, ad vos ipsi venire non possumus, talem vobis virum destinare curavimus quo nimirum post nos maior in Romana Ecclesia auctoritas non habetur, Petrum videlicet Damianum Ostiensem episcopum, qui nimirum et noster est oculus et apostolicae sedis firmamentum. Huic itaque vicem nostram pleno iure commisimus, ut quidquid in illis partibus, Deo auxiliante, statuerit, in ratum teneatur et firmum ac si speciali nostri examinis fuerit sententia promulgatum. Quapropter [...] monemus, et insuper apostolica vobis auctoritate praecipimus ut talem tantumque virum, tamquam nostram personam, digna studeatis devotione suscipere, ejusque sententiis atque judiciis, proptert beati Petri apostolorum principis reverentiam, humiliter obedire*”. – PL. CXLVI, col. 1295–1296.

³ The first is from the Book of Jeremiah (Jer, 1:10): “*Look, I appoint you this day over the nations and kingdoms, that you may pluck up and pull down, that you may ruin and destroy, that you may build and plant.*” Two differently worded passages from the New Testament coincide on the same subject: “*He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him who sent me.*” – Mt,

included in letters of recommendation, so they did not remain shrouded before those who were to receive the envoy of the Roman pontiff. Similarly, Gregory VII developed a thesis that was incorporated into canon law from the middle of the thirteenth century. This states that "the legate precedes all the bishops at the council, even if he has a lower rank than them, and that he can take a sentence of deposition against them".⁴ This passage from the *Dictatus papae* argues not only for the primacy of the legate's rank, but also for the legate to preside over the council, the fundamental institution of local church legislation and jurisdiction. Hildebrand, a former monk of Cluny, was also innovative in using the term "Roman" to describe the church's freedom from secular influence, which he also applied to his envoys (i.e. the "Roman legates"). He did this in order to emphasise that his legates represented the universal authority of the pope and introduced the Gregorian reform.⁵ Nevertheless, the latter would not have been complete without the commitment of papal representatives recruited from the local clergy. This solution had at least two advantages: it provided knowledge of local conditions and channels of local communication. The curia successfully tried to collect and 'romanise' this clergy, which it could put at the disposal of the reform service.⁶

This desire to 'romanise', i.e. to 'liberate' the church, was a problem for the contemporaries, both for the strong opponents of any reform aimed at removing secular influence and for the many ecclesiastical communities who saw it as the abrogation of their privileges.⁷ And let us not forget that the papal

10:40. "He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me; and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me." Luke 10:16.

⁴ „*Quod legatus eius omnibus episcopis praesit in concilio etiam inferioris gradus et adversus eius sententiam depositionis possit dare*". RGVII. II. nr. 55a; SCHMUTZ 1966. p. 173–174; SCHMUTZ 1972. p. 449; BLET 1982. p. 97; ZEY 2008. p. 86–87.

⁵ The Pope explains in a letter to Archbishop Manasses: "*Quodsi vos Romanos legatos intelligere videremini quoslibet cuiuslibet gentis, quibus Romanus pontifex aliquam legationem iniungat vel quod maius est vicem suam indulgat, et laudaremus sane petita et petitis libenter annueremus. Sed quia premittendo 'Romanis' continuo subiungitis 'non ultramontanis', ostenditis vos tantum eos velle Romanos habere legatos, qui vel Rome nati vel in Romana ecclesia a parvulo edocati vel in eadem sint aliqua dignitate promote*". – RGVII. VI, nr. 2; SCHMUTZ 1966. p. 178–181; SCHMUTZ 1972. p. 448–451; ZEY 2008. p. 85, 88–90.

⁶ "*Quod quia nobis tum propter longinquitatem terrarum et maxime propter ignaras linguas valde difficile est, rogamus vos, sicut et regi Danarum denuntiavimus, ut de iunioribus et nobilibus terre vestre ad apostolicam aulam mittatis, quatenus sub alis apostolorum Petri et Pauli sacris et divinis legibus diligenter edocti apostolice sedis ad vos mandata referre non quasi ignoti, sed cogniti et, que christiane religionis ordo postulaverit, apud vos non quasi rudes aut ignari, sed lingua ac scientia moribusque prudentes digne Deo predicare et efficaciter ipso adiuvante excolere valeant.*" – RGVII. VI/13, 416; ZEY 2008. p. 88.

⁷ SCHMUTZ 1966. p. 76; ZEY 2008. p. 81–83. The quarrel of Amatus d'Oléron and Hugues de Die with the clergy of Bordeaux in 1081 provides a good example. The clergy refused to welcome the legates in the procession, referring to their privilege. They fiercely defended their right not to receive any other prelate except the pope and the archbishop of Tours on the occasion of a *processio*, the latter being admitted only once in his life. The legate Amatus excommunicated the clerics of Bordeaux. This *alter ego* of the pope invoked that the Roman pontiff is present in his person, which they cannot refuse to accept even with reference to the privilege in question. For the activity of the two legates see: SCHMUTZ 1966. p. 189–193 (Hugues de Die), p. 200–203 (Amatus

envoy could count on the procuration of the local churches, which had to contribute to financing the trip and especially the stay of the legates. This constituted a considerable burden in relation to the annual income of the dioceses in charge of receiving these legates. The sources keep track of numerous prevarications and, sometimes, of the refusal to simply pay the expected payment. Conciliar decrees attempted to remedy the problem: in 1179, the Third Lateran Council granted only 25 horses to a legate.⁸ In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council moderated the number of participants in the procession of papal legates.⁹ Although exact data are not available before the early fourteenth century, it was not uncommon for this burden to constitute a serious financial strain. For example, John XXII had to mandate his collector, Rufinus, whom he sent in 1317 to Hungary to collect the remains of the procuration of Gentile of Monteflorum, papal legate to Hungary in 1308–1311.¹⁰ In 1349, Pope Benedict XII ordered the archdiocese of Salzburg to pay 6,000 gold florins as for the stay in Hungary of his legate, Guy de Boulogne, which represented 60% of the annual income of the archdiocese.¹¹ In comparison, in 1303, Niccolò Boccasini received 120 Vienna Marks from the same archbishopric as a procuration of passage.¹²

The papacy had to demonstrate a skill in avoiding the indignation of those under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. On the financial side and in measures to restrain procurations, the Roman pontiffs tried to calm hostilities. And they were not insensitive to the problems of competing jurisdictions, which included the sending of legates *a latere* of lower rank than the prelates who were to receive and obey them. From the middle of the thirteenth century, the Apostolic See found an effective solution: the solemn nuncios, who were also the pope's messengers, whose competences were limited to well-defined causes (*pro certis negotiis*) and, above all, their rank was never considered superior to their hosts. Unlike their colleagues, the *legati a latere*, these nuncios were not the pope's *alter ego*, their mandate was limited to carrying out the order of the principal, the Roman pontiff. Likewise, recruited mainly from cardinals, they had the right to take their share of the revenues devolved to

d'Oléron); SCHMUTZ 1972. p. 448, 455 and note nr. 44. (Amatus d'Oléron); BLET 1982. p. 94–95, 102–110.

⁸ HEFELE – LECLERCQ 1907–1921. V/2. p. 1091–1092.

⁹ Especially the canons 26 and 29. HEFELE – LECLERCQ 1907–1921. V/2. p. 1354–1358; KALOUS 2017. p. 129.

¹⁰ Gentile's account book contains valuable information. For the mandate addressed to Rufinus, see: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Registra Vaticana, 67, ep. 85; AOkt. V. 1318–1320. nr. 162; MALÉTH 2020. p. 338–339 (nr. 185).

¹¹ MALÉTH 2019. p. 180; HCI. p. 432.

¹² Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Salzburg, Erzstift AUR 1303 II 17: http://monasterium.net/mom/AT-HHStA/SbgE/AUR_1303_II_17/charter (accessed: 30 June 2020). For the payment of the procuration see: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Salzburg, Erzstift) AUR 1303 III 12: http://monasterium.net/mom/AT-HHStA/SbgE/AUR_1303_III_12/charter?q=ostia (accessed: 30 June 2020).

their college.¹³ However, Clement V's decree issued in 1312 deprived the legates *a latere* of their portion of income during the time of their mission.¹⁴

It must be stated that, despite the efforts of the popes, papal representation led to conflicts in the government of the universal and local church, which had consequences for the general relations between the secular world and the papacy.

The relations between the kings of Hungary (the Árpádians) and the papacy intensified and became more complex from the thirteenth century onwards. They were not only diplomatic, but they also concerned the ecclesiastical government and jurisdiction (hierarchy, prerogatives and privileges of the clergy) and the question of faith (heresy, non-Christian population, mission, etc.), as Hungary lied on the borders of Latin Christendom facing the Orthodox (considered schismatics) and pagan peoples (Cumans, Tartars). All these issues were the subject of the activity of the pontifical representatives, who had become increasingly numerous since the early 1200s.¹⁵

The present study is limited to an analysis of the cases of the *legati a latere*, which are better documented and makes possible to demonstrate the somewhat hidden side of papal representation and the possible causes of the government's difficulties. The three legations discussed below, cover a period of more than half a century (from the 1230s to the beginning of the fourteenth century), which includes a series of crises: confrontations between the king and the elite the king's abuses, the planned reform of the Hungarian Church and the legitimisation of Charles I of Hungary.

From the 1220s onwards, King Andrew II (1205–1235) had to face heavy political and social tensions, especially the growing indignation of some barons, as well as a rebellion of the prelates. The famous royal 'Golden Bull' of 1222 was intended to put an end to the claims.¹⁶ In some years, the prelates repeatedly denounced the non-respect of their prerogatives. They claimed both the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in any legal proceedings concerning a cleric, and their economic privileges (the near monopoly of the salt trade, the collection of tithes *in naturalia*, etc.). The avalanche of complaints led to the drafting of a solemn privilege in 1231.¹⁷ The latter had no effect, the return of the "reform" party to the royal court provoked a new confrontation in 1232, which then resulted in the sending of the *legatus a latere*, James of Pecoraria, cardinal-bishop of Preneste. The situation was very serious – the archbishop of Esztergom had issued an interdiction on the kingdom and excommunicated the king and his family – and the legate was urged to meet the king to force him to put an end to the abuses and restore the prerogatives of the ecclesiastics.¹⁸

¹³ KYER 1979. p. 37–55, 61–66.

¹⁴ BAUMGARTEN 1898. p. XXXVII, 1–2; LUNT 1939. p. 544.

¹⁵ KISS 2010; KISS 2011.

¹⁶ ZSOLDOS 2019.

¹⁷ DRMH I/1. p. 34–41.

¹⁸ KISS 2011. p. 50. Concerning James of Pecoraria's curriculum see: <http://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/148> (accessed: 26 August 2019).

James of Pecoraria arrived in Hungary in August 1232¹⁹ and remained there for almost two years before leaving the kingdom to return to Lombardy in March 1234.²⁰ As Hungary was in a state of emergency, the meeting between the legate *a latere* and the king could not have been delayed, at least from the point of view of Gregory IX's envoy. This influential pope was well informed by the king: in 1217, the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, then called Hugolinus de Segni, had conducted negotiations with Andrew II on the preparations for the Fifth Crusade.²¹ When he became pope, he had to see how the situation in Hungary was worsening. The archbishop of Esztergom, who in 1227 was granted a legacy to carry out the conversion of the Cumans²² openly abused the legal frameworks of his mandate when he issued the interdiction and excommunication of the kingdom and the royal family²³

With the arrival of James of Pecoraria,²⁴ the pope was represented by a legate sent from his side with full powers. He was to prevail over the two Hungarian archbishops, notably those of Esztergom and Kalocsa. The relation of the two prelates were characterized by several quarrels since the mid-twelfth century. The archbishops of Kalocsa were hostile to the prerogatives and to the long-contested primacy of Esztergom.²⁵ However, the activity of the cardinal-bishop was not opposed by the Hungarian prelates, who were more interested in the legate's support to secure their privileges. For example, the legate suspended the bishop of Pécs, Bartholomew of Brancion (or de Gros), for being absent from his episcopal see because of a royal diplomatic mission.²⁶ Pecoraria conducted an investigation to verify the complaints against the Bosnian bishop.²⁷ The legate took measures in the litigation of the election of the bishop of Várad (today: Oradea, RO) and tried to persuade the king to accept the Teutonic Order to return in the kingdom.²⁸ James also passed a sentence in the trial of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma concerning the abuse committed by certain laymen.²⁹ He confirmed in Esztergom the act of union of the collegiate church of Hájszentlőrinc and the archdeaconry of Bodrog at the request of the archbishop of Kalocsa. He also convened a legatine synod to put into effect the treaty concluded with the king.³⁰ Finally, just before

¹⁹ RGIX. nr. 1498–1500.

²⁰ RGIX. nr. 3177, 3179, 3180, 3362.

²¹ <http://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/103> (accessed: 30 June 2020).

²² <http://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/43> (accessed: 30 June 2020).

²³ <http://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/43> (accessed: 30 June 2020).

²⁴ <https://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/148> (accessed: 11 September 2022)

²⁵ Kiss 2013.

²⁶ RGIX. nr. 2322; KOSZTA 2007. p. 38.

²⁷ RGIX. nr. 1377; THEINER I. p. 113, nr. 192. ALMÁSI 1993. p. 134; GANZER 1968. p. 132–133; Kiss 2009. p. 49; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 219–220; WEIGL 2002. p. 177–178.

²⁸ RGIX. nr. 559, 935, 1096, 2882, 3304; ALMÁSI 1993. p. 135; HUNYADI 2008. p. 154–156; ZIMMERMANN 2000.

²⁹ In 1233: POTTHAST. nr. 8968, 10847. In January 1234: MARSINA I. p. 315, 324.

³⁰ The meeting of the Hungarian prelates took place on 24 January. The Archbishop of Esztergom and several Hungarian prelates confirmed the Treaty of Bereg *in the presence* of the legate James

leaving the kingdom, the legate also defined the benefits and services of the hospital in Bács and the collegiate church in Székesfehérvár.³¹

Nevertheless, these acts, which were typical of the activity of a legate *a latere* who was at the same time an ordinary judge acting on behalf of the pope, were secondary to the main reason for sending James of Pecoraria to Hungary, namely to reinstate the prerogatives of the ecclesiastics, formulated in the “Golden Bull” of 1231, and have them approved by the king.

Andrew II, for his part, did his utmost to hide his intention to any personal meetings with this *legatus a latere*. James of Pecoraria had to resort to delegates who hurried to seek out the king, who was absent on the pretext of the campaign to be conducted in Galicia. On 20 August 1233, the bishop of Veszprém, Bartholomew, and the canon of Esztergom, Cognoscens, forced Andrew II to accept the treaty of Bereg.³² In September, Andrew II was obliged to take an oath and approve the treaty measures³³ Finally, the legate had this agreement confirmed by the prelates at the above-mentioned synod of Esztergom.³⁴ The king’s strategy of postponing an agreement that would have undermined his competence in ecclesiastical matters was a failure. It consisted of not receiving the legate in order to get rid of any constraints. Nevertheless, the king’s geopolitical room for manoeuvre was very limited: the legate dominated Hungary’s “zone of authority”, known as the *medium regni*.³⁵ The itinerary of James of Pecoraria³⁶ confirms that the legate was aware of his power and was able to take advantage of the control he had over the area and the influence he had over the Hungarian prelates.

Some forty years later, on 22 September 1278, Nicholas III sent Philip, Bishop of Fermo, his legate *a latere*.³⁷ The pope was informed by Hungarian prelates who lamented that Hungary was on the verge of a civil war: he king, who had only recently reached the age for independent action (1277) was still unable to control the opposing parties of the oligarchs who were fighting each other (Kőszegi, Gutkeled, Csák, Kán, Rátót genus), not to mention the difficulties posed by the Cumans. The Rákos Diet held in 1277 to consolidate the royal power was initiated by the same ecclesiastical dignitaries have formed a narrow group having university degrees, and who were in possession of the high direction of the kingdom’s government by virtue of their office: Stephen Bánca, archbishop of Kalocsa (chancellor of Queen Isabella of Anjou, the nephew of the first Hungarian-born cardinal of the same name),

of Pecoraria. This meeting appears to be a legatine synod. Gregory IX approved the document on 1 February. THEINER I. p. 122, nr. 205–206; RGIX. nr. 1749; ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 109–110.

³¹ Bács: POTTHAST nr. 9460. Székesfehérvár: RGIX. nr. 1969; ALMÁSI 1993. p. 137.

³² ENDLICHER 1849. p. 436–442.

³³ THEINER I. p. 116.

³⁴ See above, note nr. 32.

³⁵ A region which includes the area bounded by the cities of Esztergom, Buda, Veszprém, Székesfehérvár in Transdanubia. Cf. ALTMANN – BICZÓ – BUZÁS – HORVÁTH – KOVÁCS – SIKLÓSI – VÉGH 1999; Kiss 2021. map nr. 1.

³⁶ KISS 2021.

³⁷ THEINER I. p. 327–336, nr. 544–552.

Bishops Lodomerius (Várad), Timoteus (Zagreb), Póka (Sirmium), Job (Pécs, royal chancellor), Demetrius (provost of Székesfehérvár, vice-royal chancellor), Thomas (provost of Hanta, vice-royal chancellor), Paul (provost of Veszprém), John (provost of Óbuda, *comes capelle* of the king).³⁸ This attempt failed,³⁹ prompting these prelates to turn to the pope.

The stay of the legate Philip, far from providing a remedy, aggravated the crisis. Several factors played a decisive role: ignorance or neglect of the balance of power and the political climate, authoritarian intervention in the most sensitive issues of the kingdom (the situation of the Cumans, the introduction of an ecclesiastical reform). The attitude of Ladislas IV also prevented the legate from carrying out his duties. The king's attempt to escape a meeting with the legate,⁴⁰ like his predecessor Andrew II, further encouraged Philip to find the rare occasions when he could expect to obtain results in accordance with his authorisation. From the geopolitical point of view, the legate had a promising advantage: he mastered the 'zone of authority' of the kingdom, the *medium regni*.⁴¹ As far as the Cumans were concerned, the legate had to force the king to sign the 'Cuman laws' which prescribed their conversion and creating permanent settlements. With these acts, Philip deprived Ladislas IV of the main support he had against the oligarchs and contributed to the outbreak of a political crisis that was much more serious than before his arrival.⁴² The decrees of the synod convened by the same legate (14 September 1279 in Buda) were for long considered by historiography as the reaction to the lamentable state of morals and customs of the Hungarian clergy, which they tried to remedy. Recent research questions this interpretation and places more emphasis on the fact that Philip of Fermo arrived in Hungary already with an elaborate programme of reform in his suitcase.⁴³ As for the king, he absented himself from the synod of Buda both to express his disagreement with the reforms envisaged by Philip and to regain the support of the Cumans. The presence of the king at the synod could have given him additional authority. Ladislas IV's stance was to encourage the Cumans and the oligarchs to react. At the turn of the year 1279–1280, the Cumans arrested the legate, whom they accused of being the "cause of all evils", as he urged the king to publish the laws that deprived them of their freedom. Soon after, it was the turn of the oligarchs to capture the king. The purpose of this action was to have a hostage as leverage against the Cumans and the legate. The kingdom was again on the verge of a civil war. And although through the intervention of the king's godfather, Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, and the pope, Ladislas IV and Philip of Fermo were released and reconciled, the rest of the legate's stay revealed the same problems as before: the king's negligence and even contempt for the

³⁸ Szűcs 2002, p. 387–409, 418–419.

³⁹ Szűcs 2002, p. 410–417.

⁴⁰ Kiss 2021.

⁴¹ Kiss 2021.

⁴² Kovács 2019.

⁴³ Kovács 2019, p. 135–136.

legate, who blamed him for the whole crisis. Finally, Philip had to leave Hungary in early autumn without having achieved the expected results (*nichil in rege proficiens*).⁴⁴

The legation of the bishop of Fermo began unfavourably and resulted in a failure, which can be attributed as much to the political crisis in Hungary as to the measures that had nothing to do with the political-religious situation of the kingdom. The legate's authoritarian actions – secular and ecclesiastical legislation – deprived him of an acceptance worthy of the rank of an *alter ego* of the pope and generated the negative reception, the abuses he had to suffer and even the expulsion from the kingdom in 1281. The only positive result of the presence of the legate *a latere* in Hungary was the jurisdictional and judicial activity it generated: Philip, as an ordinary judge, was much sought after during his stay in Hungary, without being unaware of the measures concerning the government of the Church.⁴⁵

However, public opinion at the time was more concerned with the failure of Philip's mission. From the beginning, his mission was unfortunate. The king tried to prevent the legate from entering the kingdom, then tried to avoid meeting him. For his part, Nicholas III did not hide his dissatisfaction with the king's behaviour.⁴⁶ Philip of Fermo was received with great suspicion, and the papal envoy even had to endure a physical threat during his stay in Hungary. Shortly after the publication of the "Cuman laws", at the end of 1279, the Cumans captured Philip, as the Austrian chronicler Ottakar related. He adds that the Cumans threatened the legate with death.⁴⁷ Philip's departure also caused a stir, which attracted the attention of contemporary witnesses. The author of the *Annales Polonorum* noted that the legate was captured and humiliated by being taken out of Hungary for having committed several insults against King Ladislas.⁴⁸ The same Ottakar states that Philip swore never to return to the kingdom.⁴⁹ Ultimately, the vicissitudes of the legate are similar to the problems of James of Pecoraria's mission. Philip tried to control the

⁴⁴ Szűcs 2002. p. 419–429; Kovács 2019. p. 123–131.

⁴⁵ Kovács 2019. p. 133–147, Annexes 2, 3.

⁴⁶ "*Licet itaque in primo ipsius Legati progressu displicuerit nobis et merito, quod sicut audivimus, tu eius reformidans adventum et ingressum, forsitan dubitans, illum dicebaris, quod invite referimus, impedire [...] Et demum audito, quod te improvide appellationis refugio, immo potius diffugio commiseras, et pretextu appellationis huiusmodi, quasi baculo harundineo incautus inherens, non solum legato non parebas eidem, sed te ipsum, necnon et alois ab eius prelatorum sibi adherentium obedientia non absque note macula, interdum comminationibus, inductionibus, interdum penarum inflictionibus rerahebas [...]*". – THEINER I. p. 342.

⁴⁷ "*They snatched him and brought him to the place where they used to shoot at the target with the arrow, there they wanted to kill him with arrow shots and shed his blood [...]*". – Translation by the author. For the edition, see: OTTOKAR p. 327.

⁴⁸ "*a rege Ungarie captus est et extra Ungariam turpiter in curru eductus, eo quod in officio sue legacionis multas iniurias intulit eidem regi nomine Wladyslao*". AP p. 646.

⁴⁹ "*When he arrived in Zadar he vowed to God [...] that he would never set foot on Hungarian soil again, the king could fall back into paganism with all his followers, but he would not stick to it. So he left the kingdom.*" – Translation by the author. OTTOKAR p. 329.

medium regni in order to achieve results. In reality, his inability to understand relations of power and authoritarian measures led to his failure and rejection.

After the extinction of the male branch of the Árpádians with the death of Andrew III, another *legatus a latere*, Niccolò Boccasini, arrived in Hungary in 1301 to pacify the Kingdom of Hungary. The death of King Andrew III opened the way to different candidates to claim the throne based on rights of dynastic descentance from the female branch. The Angevin pretender, Charles I, son of Charles Martel and Clemence of Habsburg claimed the succession established by the marriage contract concluded in 1269 between Isabella of Anjou and Ladislas (the future king Ladislas IV) on one hand, and Mary of Hungary (daughter of the Hungarian king, Stephen V) and Charles II of Anjou on the other. Another candidate was present and the same time, Wenceslas of Bohemia who proclaimed himself king of Hungary as a descendant of the female branch of the Arpadians. The papacy avoided to confirm one or another candidate at this time, emphasising the exclusive right of the pope to decide the case of the rulership. The fight for the throne of the candidates resulted in a civil war, therefore, the papal legate's activity focused on the normalisation of the situation and the re-establishment of the peace, and especially on the prerogatives of the ecclesiastical institutions.⁵⁰ Boniface VIII reserved for himself the exclusive right to decide the royal succession in Hungary. He followed his predecessors, Nicholas IV and Celestine V, in approving by a solemn act the right of the Angevins to the Hungarian throne. However, it happened only after the end of Boccasini's legation on 31 May 1303. The legate sent from his side was therefore to execute Boniface's decision, which proved to be the justification for papal supremacy. The legate, this *alter ego* of the pope, found himself in the awkward position of having to represent this supremacy in a kingdom where the real political actors, the oligarchs, undoubtedly subscribed to the idea of the right of free election of the king.⁵¹ The failure of the legate, who had to leave Hungary in 1303 without having achieved his aims, was a refutation of this papal supremacy.

Boccasini, like his predecessors, did not hesitate to impose himself in the *medium regni*⁵² However, the legate's action was condemned for various reasons. The pope left the archiepiscopal see of Esztergom vacant and did not confirm Gregory of Bicske. This were part of the postponing policy of the pope, who tried to gain the highest possible number of supporters among the prelates. It is not surprising that Boccasini reserved as soon as possible the archbishopric office of Kalocsa after the death of John, who had crowned one of the candidates, Wenceslas. At the moment when Boniface VIII took the solemn decision and proclaimed Charles of Anjou king of Hungary (31 May 1303), only a few numbers of archbishops and bishops were present in Anagni:

⁵⁰ <https://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/119> (accessed: 11 September 2022); MALÉTH 2020. p. 143–150, 325–326, nr. 156.

⁵¹ Generally see: KIESEWETTER 2006; CSUKOVITS 2013; ZSOLDOS 2013; KISS 2011. p. 101–116. Cf. KISS 2020a.

⁵² See generally: KISS 2021.

Stephen of Kalocsa, Benedict of Veszprém, Theodore of Győr and Michael of Zagreb. In addition, two cathedral chapters, Vác and Transylvania and two collegiate chapters, St. Thomas Becket of Esztergom and Vasvár were represented by their provosts.⁵³ Thus, it is to be stated that Boccasini's activity aiming to gain the support of the Hungarian prelates to the papal policy achieved moderated results. It clearly reflects the resistance of the major part of the Hungarian prelates to the papal supremacy.

A major part of the two years long stay of Pope Boniface VIII's legate is characterised by jurisdiction acts, taken occasionally or in the frame the two synods he held during his legation in Hungary. His decisions dealt with the restoration of the prerogatives of the clergy (*electio canonica*, tithe, defense of abuses, etc.).⁵⁴ Even in this field, Boccasini had to face difficulties.

The *Illuminated Chronicle* or the Fourteenth century *chronicle composition* fits into this context, even if the narrative does not always appear clear. The chapter entitled "*The Pope Excommunicated by the Priests of Buda*" is already revealing. It very briefly relates Niccolò Boccasini's activity in Hungary (which, as it says, had no results), his return and the fact that he was elected pope (under the name of Benedict XI) after the death of Boniface VIII. The chronicler does not shy away from expressing the hostility of the commune of Buda to the papal intervention. He notes that Boccasini left Buda, one of the major cities of the *medium regni*, under the threat of an interdiction. However, some pseudo-priests and perfidious traitors (traitors) did not respect this ecclesiastical censure and continued to administer the sacraments, celebrated masses and even dared to excommunicate the pope, the prelates and clerics of the Hungarian kingdom.⁵⁵

The story refers to some real elements: the legate had to move first to Pozsony (Bratislava, SK) instead of residing in Buda. He obtained the tiara in 1303 and took the name Benedict XI. The synod held in Udvard in 1307 confirms only part of the story: the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of masses by schismatic priests under the aegis of the citizens of Buda, one of whom was Peturmann.⁵⁶

⁵³ Kiss 2020b, table.

⁵⁴ <https://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/119> (accessed: 11 September 2022); Kiss 2011. table; MALÉTH 2020. p. 366–368, table nr. 5.

⁵⁵ "*Papa per sacerdotes Budenses excommunicatur. Eodem tempore frater Nicolaus de ordine Fratrum Predicatorum, episcopus Hostiensis cardinalis, apostolice sedis auctoritate suffultus in Hungariam pro Carulo advenit. Qui Bude residendo diebus plurimis, aliquot, videns se nichil posse proficere, reversus est in curiam et ibi mortuo Bonifacio VIIIo in summum pontificem eligitur et creatur et Benedictus [XI] appellatur. In suo autem recessu cives civitatis Budensis pro quodam casu in interdicto reliquerat. Interdictum quippe religiosis et plebanis stricte servantibus surrexerunt quidam pseudo-sacerdotes et perfidi, qui manifeste divina populo celebrabant et sacramenta ecclesiastica ministrabant publice interdicti. Insuper malum malo comulantes perniciosius convocato populo, accensis lucernis summum pontificem, Christi vicarium, archiepiscopos et episcopos universos regni Hungarie ac viros religiosos communiter excommunicatos altis vocibus promulgabant. Hoc factum est castrum Budense quodam dicto Preturmano (Peturmanno !) regente, quem pro Ladizlao captivato rex prefecerat Vencezlaus". – SRH I. cap. 190, p. 481–482.*

⁵⁶ AOkkt. II. 1306–1310. nr. 172.

The account is the work of a chronicler belonging to the convent of the Friars Minor in Buda,⁵⁷ who was probably frightened by this religious movement opposing all ecclesiastical authority. The protagonist, Peturmann, belonged to the city's patriciate of which he was rector. This small group of citizens had long-standing quarrels with certain prelates and religious establishments, all of whom wanted to profit from the lucrative wine production and trade of the area around Buda.⁵⁸ Furthermore, on 30 December 1301, the legate mandated the parish priest of Buda, Albert, to warn Peturmann and three other citizens of Buda to pay the rental of the tithes to the bishop of Veszprém on pain of ecclesiastical censure.⁵⁹

The legate took a similar decision in the spring of 1302.⁶⁰ The rejection of the sentence of prohibition could be the reaction of a religious movement of the community or the patriciate of the city of Buda in which economic interests (under the effect of the lawsuits concerning the wine trade and which did not bring the anticipated success for the merchants of Buda) and the refusal of the hierarchy.⁶¹ The story of the excommunication of the pope presented by the chronicler therefore refers to real events. It is unlikely, however, that the commune had the audacity to excommunicate the Roman pontiff. However, the chronicler had all the elements that were applicable to create such an account. The election of the pope following his legation to Hungary was to serve as a subject for the chronicler to express the two pieces of information that concerned him: the rejection of Boccasini's interdiction and the excommunication. Although no source attests that the excommunication took place, the story was intended to be much more symbolic. The aim was to express the rejection of papal authority marked by the presence of a *legatus a latere* in the city.

The cases we have just analysed underline that the quasi-personal presence of the pope in the Kingdom of Hungary could fuel indignation. The Gregorian reform redefined the juridical content of papal representation, and the legates sent from the pope's side with full powers acted in person on behalf of the Roman pontiff; they became his *alter ego*. Their presence in the various regions of the Latin Christendom sometimes gave rise to conflicts, with the *legati a latere* taking precedence over the local prelates, even though their rank was inferior to that of their hosts. Indignation and resistance could also arise from the charges of procuration, the financial maintenance of the papal envoys during their passage and especially during their stay in the political-administrative district of their authorisation.

These last two types of conflicts had obviously very little impact in Hungary. Refusal of procuration payments does not appear until the 1310s, and

⁵⁷ KRISTÓ 2002, p. 82–83.

⁵⁸ KUBINYI 1961, p. 7–8.

⁵⁹ AOKlt. I. 1301–1305. nr. 136–137.

⁶⁰ AOKlt. I. nr. 220.

⁶¹ GALAMBOSI 2018.

complaints by Hungarian prelates about the presence of a *legatus a latere* of lower rank are also absent for the eleventh–thirteenth centuries.

If we consider the papal delegates – legates and nuncios – sent to Hungary during the period, an interesting trend can be observed. It seems that the popes increasingly preferred nuncios instead of *legati a latere*, no doubt to avoid the expected conflicts.

Yet the abuse to which the legates James of Pecoraria, Philip of Fermo and Niccolò Boccasini were exposed is clear. In these confrontations, the basic elements present since the Gregorian redefinition are echoed: the authority and supremacy of the popes. While the prelates saw the presence of a *legatus a latere* as a guarantee of their prerogatives, kings saw it as a constraint. Similarly, certain city communities or heretical movements refuted the pontifical authority and the presence of its representative.

In order to get out of this situation, the kings Andrew II and Ladislas IV chose to follow an “escape route” to avoid the papal authority, which already controlled the “zone of authority” of the kingdom, the *medium regni*. The motive of Andrew II was precisely to get rid of the weight of the complaints of the prelates who demanded the respect of their prerogatives, which led to the elaboration of the Treaty of Bereg. Philip of Fermo arrived to restore order and royal authority in Hungary. The king’s policy was to avoid papal supremacy, and Ladislas IV reported on the threats that could lead to the dissolution of his more or less consolidated power shortly before Philip of Fermo’s arrival. The Cumans, constituting the king’s military and political support, regarded the papal legate, whom they arrested and threatened with death, as their enemy. The same motive, the compulsion to keep the support of the Cumans, dictated to the king the expulsion of Philip of Fermo. Finally, the patriciate of Buda was usually the losing party in legal proceedings with the surrounding ecclesiastical authorities, which led them to resist all ecclesiastical authority. This is an idea that some heretical movements may have shared. The appearance of a legate *a latere*, Boccasini, could lead to a refusal of authority, which underwent an extreme transformation under the pen of a Franciscan chronicler who attributed to them the excommunication of Pope Benedict XI, the former papal legate who fulminated the interdict on the city of Buda.

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Péter BÁLING

The Institution of *Consilium* – Obligation or Right?*

In the following short paper, I would like to point out that the concept of *consilium* and *auxilium* proved to be a much more complex phenomenon during the centuries of the Middle Ages than many lexicons or the secondary literature presents. Contemporary sources also make it clear that armed military assistance was by no means the most typical form of assistance. We would also like to emphasize that the *consilium* was not necessarily seen as an obligation, but rather as a privilege, as it was an important political tool in the governance during the Middle Ages.

Keywords: *consilium et auxilium, familia*, Medieval Hungary, Medieval Bohemia, Medieval Poland, political thought



While studying medieval history, the researcher encounters the concepts of the *consilium* and *auxilium* quite often. These notions appear very frequently in various sources, therefore, modern historiography has rightly concluded that oral advice and assistance played a central role in the life of medieval men. These concepts can be found in the glossaries of both encyclopaedias and manuals and are most often considered by scholars as duties of the vassals.¹ This idea was obviously strengthened by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres – one of the most influential ecclesiastical figures of his time –, who, at the request of William of Aquitaine, explained and listed in a letter the obligations of vassals in general, since Duke William had become embroiled in a dispute with his vassal, Hugo of Lusignan. The bishop, going back to ancient texts, stressed the

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¹ For classical interpretation see: BOLCH 1965. p. 169, 222.

importance of advice and assistance.² There is no doubt that Fulbert's writing suggests that the concepts of *consilium* and *auxilium* can be used to describe a certain segment of social and feudal relations of subordination and superiority that were most prevalent in Western Europe, but, as German historiography has pointed out, we are dealing with a much more complex phenomenon.³

It is certain that in medieval political thought listening to wise counsel and seeking consensus were intertwined with the ideal of good governance. To show that this conclusion was not reached by modern historiography, but it was indeed the opinion of the intellectual elite of the eleventh century, we can refer to the historical works of Ademar of Cabanensis and Cosmas of Prague. According to Ademar, it was a fatal error not to appoint advisers, in other words, not to consult those who were worthy or entitled to do so, otherwise it was possible that the ruler's own relatives might turn against him and oust him, since this form of power was considered tyrannical rule.⁴ Cosmas of Prague made a similar statement when he tried to portray the character of Prince Boleslaw I in a not entirely unbiased way. The chronicler compared Boleslaw I to Herod, Nero, Diocletian and Decius, and with all his many sins, he

² "Gloriosissimo Duci Aquitanorum Willelmo, Fulbertus Episcopus orationis suffragium. De forma fidelitatis aliquid scribere monitus, haec vobis quae sequuntur breviter ex Librorum auctoritate notavi. Qui domino suo fidelitatem jurat, ista sex in memoria semper habere debet: incolume, tutum, honestum, utile, facile, possibile. Incolume, videlicet ne sit domino in damnum de corpore suo. Tutum, ne sit ei in damnum de secreto suo, vel de munitionibus per quas tutus esse potest. Honestum, ne sit ei in damnum de sua justitia, vel de aliis causis, quae ad honestatem ejus pertinere videntur. Utile, ne sit ei in damnum de suis possessionibus. Facile vel possibile, ne id bonum, quod dominus suus leviter facere poterat, faciat ei difficile; neve id quod possibile erat, reddat ei impossibile. Ut autem fidelis haec nocumenta caveat, justum est; sed non ideo casamentum meretur: non enim sufficit abstinere a malo, nisi fiat quod bonum est. Restat ergo ut in eisdem sex supradictis consilium et auxilium domino suo fideliter praestet, si beneficio dignus videri velit, et salvus esse de fidelitate, quam juravit. Dominus quoque fideli suo in his omnibus vicem reddere debet. Quo si non fecerit, merito censebitur malefidus: sicut ille, si in eorum praevaricatione vel faciendo vel consentiendo deprehensus fuerit, perfidus et perjurus. Scripsisse vobis latius, si occupatus non essem cum aliis multis, tum etiam restauratione civitatis et Ecclesiae nostrae, quae tota nuper horrendo incendio conflagravit: quo damno etsi aliquantisper non moveri non possumus, spe tamen divini atque vestri solatii respiramus." – Fulberti Episcopi Carnotensis Epistolae. p. 463.

³ ALTHOFF 1997. p. 157.

⁴ "Petrus abbas, singularem principatum optinens, habebat sibi fidelissimum profundissimi consilii Ainarum praepositum ex monasterio Sancti Petri Scotoriensi. Qui Ainarum habuit fratres Abbonem et Raimundum, strenuissimos duces, corpore robustos, animo bellicosos, quorum trium sororem Aldeardem accepit in matrimonium Raimundus Cabanensis, abnepos jam superscripti Turpionis episcopi, frater Adalberti decani incliti et prepositi ex monasterio sancti Marcialis, genuit que ex ea filium Ademarum Engolismensem monachum, qui haec scripsit. Vivente enim supradicto Ainaro, abbas Petrus rem publicam optime administravit, et invidos suae gloriae compressit. Nam eo Romae mortuo, et Raimundo fratre ejus Jherosolime defuncto, et Abbone infirmitate gravato, inclitus Petrus, neminem fidelem consiliarium habens, dum ad suum temere facit arbitrium omnia, et inter suos terribilis ut leo videtur, castrum proprium Mortemarensis concremat, contradicente consilio suorum, et hujus rei occasione propinquus ejus et principibus marchionibus cum Bernardo comite et Willelmo duce, quasi tirannidem praesumeret, in eum insurgentibus, paulatim ex potestate marchionum ejectus est." – Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon. p. 164–165.

also accused him of ignoring his advisers, so ruling according to his own will.⁵ These examples are by no means exceptional or special, because many other contemporary authors have expressed that the just ruler must have had wise advisers. On the occasion of Karlmann II's coronation in 882, Hinkmar of Reims devoted an entire treatise to display the duties of a wise ruler and the desirable palace organisation. In a separate chapter Hinkmar detailed the importance of advice and the practice of choosing the right advisers. Interestingly the archbishop considered it particularly dangerous to have relatives among the advisers.⁶ Nevertheless, it is also necessary to point out that the *consilium* was often intertwined with the practice of maintaining a state of peace.

The institution of *consilium* covered almost all aspects of medieval political life. It can be found in the relations between rulers and sovereigns, the most eloquent example being the imperial assemblies held in the Holy Roman Empire.⁷ Such assemblies also show that the *consilium* was often conducted according to a set of rules and in a particular form.⁸ This institution was also to be found within the Church and was most evident in the case of synods. It is also usual to quote St. Benedict's Rule, which contained specific provisions on deliberation.⁹

⁵ "Fuit enim iste dux Bolezlaus – si dicendus est dux, qui fuit impius atque tyrannus, seuior Herode, truculentior Nerone, Decium superans scelerum inmanitate, Diocleianum crudelitate, unde sibi agnomen ascivit 'sevus Bolezlaus' ut diceretur – tante enim fuit severitatis, ut nihil consilio, nihil ratione regeret, sed omnia pro sua voluntate atque impetu animi ageret." – Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum. p. 38. Cf. ANTONIN 2017. p. 145–146.

⁶ "Consilarii autem, quantum possibile erat, tam clerici quam laici tales eligebantur, qui primo secundum suam quisque qualitatem vel ministerium Dominum timerent, deinde talem fidem haberent, ut excepta vita aeterna nihil regi et regno praeponerent: non amicos, non inimicos, non parentes, non munera dantes, non blandientes, non exasperantes, non sophisticae vel versute aut secundum sapientiam solummodo huius saeculi, quae inimica est Deo, sapientes, sed illam sapientiam et intelligentiam scientes, qua illos, qui in supradicta humana astutia fiduciam suam habuissent, pleniter per iustam et rectam sapientiam non solum reprimere, sed funditus opprimere potuissent. Electi autem consilarii una cum rege hoc inter se principaliter constitutum habebant, ut, quicquid inter se familiariter locuti fuissent, tam de statu regni quamque et de speciali cuiuslibet persona, nullus sine consensu ipsorum cuiuslibet domestico suo vel cuicumque alteri prodere debuisset secundum hoc, quod res eadem sive die sive duobus sive amplius seu annum vel etiam in perpetuum celari vel sub silentio manere necesse fuisset. Quia saepe in tali tractatu de qualibet persona talis interdum propter communem utilitatem agendam vel cavendam sermo procedit, qui ab eo cognitus aut valde turbat eum aut, quod magis est, in desperationem trahit vel, quod gravissimum est, in infidelitatem convertit et ab omni profectu, quem fortasse multipliciter exercere potuit, inutilem reddit, cum tamen nihil obsesset, si eundem sermonem minime sciret. Quale de homine uno, tale de duobus, tale de centum, tale de maiori numero vel etiam de progenie una vel tota qualibet simul provincia, si magna cautela non fuerit, fieri poterit." – De ordine palatii. p. 86–89.

⁷ FONT 2017. p. 11–33.

⁸ ALTHOFF 1990. p. 186–187.

⁹ "Quotiens aliqua praecipua sunt in monasterio, convocet abbas omnem congregationem et dicat ipse unde agitur. Et audiens consilium fratrum tractet apud se et quod utilius iudicaverit faciat. Ideo autem omnes ad consilium vocari diximus, quia saepe iuniori Dominus revelat quod melius est. Sic autem dent fratres consilium cum omni humilitatis subiectione, et non praesumant procaciter defendere quod eis visum fuerit; et magis in abbatis pendat arbitrio, ut quod salubrius esse iudicaverit, ei cuncti oboediant. Sed sicut discipulos convenit oboedire magistro, ita et ipsum provide et iuste condecet cuncta dispendere." – Regula Sancti Patris Benedicti. p. 12.

The famous German medievalist, Gerd Althoff has even stated that advice and assistance proved to be such an important factor in the exercise of power during the Carolingian age, that it was practiced along rituals and strict rules. Accordingly, Althoff distinguished confidential and public consultations.¹⁰ Of course, the assertion that public ritual behaviour was inextricably intertwined with the mechanisms of the exercise of power in essentially oral societies, such as the dominions of the Árpáds, Piasts and Přemyslids of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, is so general that it does not require further justification.¹¹ The measure of rank and social standing and the degree of interpersonal relationships were not only and exclusively the subject of verbal agreement, but was reflected in formalities, traditions and customary law.¹²

However, I believe that it is not certain based on the sources of the region that Althoff's assessment is fully valid for East-Central Europe. The circle of advisers of the rulers and dynastic members of the region was constantly changing without any regularity. Certainly, the elements of ritual communication can be detected in the region, but it would be difficult to prove that this always followed a regular protocol in the advisory process.¹³ In my opinion, all that can be said with certainty is that the advisers were drawn from the secular and ecclesiastical elite, and that members of the dynasty could not have been excluded, otherwise armed conflict was likely to erupt.

Before turning to a concrete analysis of the dynastic families of the Eastern-Central-European region under study, illustrated with examples, it is worth pointing out the potential pitfalls of the research. The main problem – as the sources demonstrate – lies in the fact that the *consilium* was mostly understood as a series of oral deliberations, meetings, or negotiations, which can only be examined through written sources that have remained to posterity. However, these narratives do not necessarily report the events with historical accuracy.¹⁴ Based on this, it is only possible to examine the effects of the absence of *consilium* on the exercise of power, since most of the sources report on turbulent times in details.

So, we must ask whether – in contrast to the classical interpretation according to which it was an obligation to provide oral advice –, this phenomenon can be interpreted as a legal right that belonged to certain members of the royal *familia*.

¹⁰ ALTHOFF 1990. 191–192.

¹¹ For a recent summary on rituals and symbolic communication see: ZUPKA 2016. p. 15–34.

¹² ALTHOFF 1990. 182–186.

¹³ A detailed order of ceremonies covering all aspects of court life was preserved only from the Byzantine Empire at this time. It is customary to credit the authorship of the writing entitled *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae* to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. In addition to church ceremonies, this work contains the protocol prescribed for the ruler in the event of campaigns, triumphal entry march processions and the regulations for receiving foreign envoys. However, the source is not without problems, since the entire work cannot have been written by the emperor himself, because the manuscript remained to posterity is the product of a later compilation. ÁMTBF. 30–31.

¹⁴ On the problem in details see: ALTHOFF 1997. 159. esp. footnote nr. 8.

In the territory of the Central-European dynasties, only in Hungary remained a certain source that belongs to the genre of contemporary political thinking. Furthermore this source shows a high degree of similarity with Hinkmar's work quoted above. The chapter 7 of *Admonitions* – which is intertwined with the name of St. Stephen –, is analogous to the contents of the *De ordine palatii* written by the Archbishop of Reims.¹⁵ As early as the nineteenth century, Hungarian historiography drew attention to the fact that the *concilium* in the *Admonitions* deserved a special role, as its author stated in the prologue of the source: “the role of the royal council is second to the normative of the divine and secular laws.”¹⁶ Both sources take special care when providing guidance on selecting the right consultants. In particular, the terms *clerici* and *laici* used in Hinkmar and the phrase *maioribus et melioribus* in the general sense in *Admonitions* suggest that the members of the council belonged to the wider royal *familia*. This form of deliberation is most noticeable in legislative acts, was made up of members of the secular and ecclesiastical elites, and was then heavily dependent on the royal will, as Albericus,¹⁷ the author of Coloman's statute-book, suggested: “The king has gathered all the nobles of the country and after consulting with the entire senate, he reviewed the laws Saint Stephen [...]”¹⁸ Based on the words of Albericus, we could therefore conclude that it was indeed an obligation.

To discuss further this phenomenon, it is worth briefly referring to the biography of St. Adalbert written by Bruno of Querfurt. According to this, Otto II relied on the “childlike advice” of his Byzantine wife Theophanu, ignoring the suggestions of the elite.¹⁹ The indignation of these noblemen and clergymen is only understandable, if the institution of the *consilium* is not seen as a mere obligation, but as a right. Certain circles of society, therefore, had the right by affinity, by virtue or by their role in the government to be heard by the ruler on certain matters.

¹⁵ “In tribunalibus regum consilium sibi septimum locum vindicat. Consilio quidem constituuntur reges, determinantur regna, defenditur patria, componuntur prelia, sumitur victoria, propelluntur inimici, appellantur amici, civitates construuntur, et castra adversariorum destruuntur. Quando vero consilii inest utilitas, iam a stultis et arrogantibus ac mediocribus, ut michi videtur, non valent componi viris, sed a maioribus et melioribus, sapientioribus et honestissimis senioribus exprimi debent et poliri. Idcirco fili mi cum iuvenibus et minus sapientibus noli consiliari, aut de illis consilium querere, sed a senatoribus, quibus illud negotium propter etatem et sapientiam sit aptum. Nam consilia regum in pectoribus sapientium debent claudi, non ventositate stultorum propagari. Si enim gradieris cum sapientibus, sapiens efficeris, si versaris eum stultis, sociaberis illis fatente spiritu sancto per Salomonem: Qui cum sapientibus graditur sapientum erit amicus, nec stultorum erit similis.” – Libellus de institutione morum. p. 625.

¹⁶ Szűcs 2002. 280. See: “[...] regna, consulatus, ducatus [...] ceterasque dignitates, partim divinis preceptis [...] partim civilibus ac nobiliorum etateque provectorum consilii suasionibus regi, defendi, dividi, coadunari videam [...]” – Libellus de institutione morum. p. 619.

¹⁷ JÁNOSI 1994. 35.

¹⁸ “[...] regni principibus congregatis, totius senatus consultuprefati regis sancte memorie Stephani legalem textum recensuit.” – ZÁVODSZKY 1904. p. 183.

¹⁹ “[...] tandem pudet quia mulierem audivit, tandem sero poenitet quia infantilia consilia secutus sententias maiorum proiecit.” – Sancti Adalberti Pragensis vita altera. p. 9.

Based on the statements of the fourteenth-century Hungarian chronicle composition, the image emerges that mainly high-ranking churchmen – typically bishops – and secular dignitaries were involved in the practice of counselling. Archbishop Desiderius²⁰ advice contributed to the reconciliation of King Solomon and Prince Géza.²¹ Bishop Frank, palatine Radvány, comes Vid from the Gutkeled genus and Ilia played a similar role, as they served their lord with good advice.²² Although we do not always clearly see their exact positions, their historical existence, just as that of Archbishop Desiderius, cannot be doubted. As this short list shows, the advisers surrounding the monarch and the royal family came from the lay elite, high clergy and main officials who could not only serve but could also express their opinions and exercise influence through the *consilium*.

The same phenomenon can be observed in Poland and in Bohemia. We know from Gallus Anonymus that bishops, high ranking officials, nobles, friends, and the so-called sages, including Bishop Franco,²³ archbishop Martinus,²⁴ chancellor Michael²⁵ and voivode Sieciech²⁶ served the ruler as advisors. According to Cosmas' chronicle the same can be said of Bohemia. The princes' advisers consisted of friends, noblemen, and clergymen, such as King Vratislaus' brother-in-law, Comes Wiprecht²⁷ or Bishop Hermann.²⁸

Noblemen who were able to express their views in the court of their ruler held deliberations among themselves. These deliberations were in most cases

²⁰ ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 83.

²¹ "Maxime autem Desiderius episcopus delinitivis ammonitionibus et dulcibus allocutionibus suis mitigavit animam Geysa ducis, ut Salomoni quamvis iuniori regnum cum pace redderet et ipse ducatum, quem pater eius prius habuerat, pacifice teneret. Cuius salubribus persuasionibus Geysa deposito rancore paruit. In festo autem Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani martirum rex Salomon et Geysa dux coram Hungaria in Geur pacem iuramento firmaverunt." – Chronici Hungarici compositio. p. 362. See: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians. p. 186–189.

²² "Sed cum thesaurum dividerent, rex cum consilio Vyđ et Frank episcopi et Radoan filii Bugar et Ilia, generis Vyđ, in quatuor partes divisit, et quartam partem duci (sic), de tribus partibus unam haberet, ut (sic!) omnibus militibus, secundam autem Vyđ, tertiam autem Ilia." – Chronici Hungarici compositio p. 375. See: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians. p. 206–207.

²³ "Hec incessanter illis agentibus, accessit ad eos Franco Poloniensis episcopus consilium salutare donans, eis sic inquiring: Si que dixero vobis devotissime compeatis, vestrum desiderium procul dubio fiet vobis." – Galli Anonymi gesta. p. 57.

²⁴ "Item alio tempore pueri principes et exercitum asciverunt et contra Plocensem urbem ex altera parte Wysle fluminis castra militie posuerunt; ubi etiam Martinus archiepiscopus, senex fidelis, magno labore magnaue cautela iram et discordiam inter patrem et filio mitigavit." – Galli Anonymi gesta. p. 83. See: BAGI 2020. p. 260.

²⁵ "Militibus itaque revocatis ac suburbio spoliato, recessit inde Bolezlauus magni Michaelis consilio extra muros, omni prius edificio concremato." – Galli Anonymi gesta. p. 96.

²⁶ Gall Névtelen. p. 158. footnote nr. 256.

²⁷ "Omnia, fili, fac cum consilio, advocat Wigbertum, suum per sororem generum, virum sapientem et in talibus negociis eruditum valde et perspicacem, cui et ait: [...]" – Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum. p. 167.

²⁸ "Hos inter tantos populi motus Hermannus presul et Fabianus comes, qui habuit in urbe Wissegrad prefecturam – hii quia ceteros sicut dignitate, ita et sapientia preminebant – consilio prevaluerunt et toto annisu effecerunt, ut et sacramenta fierent inviolata et Wladizlaus iura principatus iure adoptata omnibus assentientibus obtineret; elevatus est autem in solum sole morante in nona parte Libre." – Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum. p. 197.

not public, hence German research classifies them among the *coniurationes*, and unlike the previous examples, refers to them as *secretum colloquium*.²⁹

The election of the Hungarian king, Samuel Aba is worth mentioning, which, according to the Hungarian chronicle composition took place after a council of bishops (*consilium episcoporum*).³⁰ It is necessary to emphasize, therefore, that this is not only valid for the election of rulers but also in the exercise of power. For the advisors there were two possibilities for all this: the institution of the *consilium* and the role of mediator. The former is palpable in all segments of the exercise of power: the sources offer many examples of ecclesiastical and secular government, military, and legislative affairs. The lack of consensus may have even led to the retreat of the royal will, as the Hungarian chronicle reports in connection with the conflict between Prince Álmos and King Coloman. In the vicinity of the settlement of Várkony alongside the Tisza River, the nobles refused to risk their lives in the quarrels of the members of the dynasty.³¹ The role of the aforementioned archbishop Desiderius of Kalocsa can be cited as an example of the mediating role. Of course, these cases do not count as specific Hungarian features.

Anyway, the nobles taking part in the oral consultations were interested in gaining some benefits for themselves during the discord between the members of the dynasty, which had obviously financial and political reasons. Therefore, the members of the dynasty had to reckon with the nobles interested in particularism.³² At this point, I would like to refer to the statement that a ruler risked a great deal, if he did not take into account the views of his family members, as the aggrieved party could easily find patrons among the nobility who could have threatened the ruler. The institution of the *consilium* was therefore also suitable for gaining the influence of the elite who accompanied the members of the dynasty. The best example is the case of Comes Vid, who was already mentioned above. The chronicle depicted him almost every time as a wicked counsellor, whose “poisonous words filled the king with hate and rancor.”³³

One more factor should be emphasized here: the concept of *imitatio imperii*. This imitation of princely and royal functions appeared since the eleventh

²⁹ ALTHOFF 1997. p. 175.

³⁰ "Anno igitur regni Petri tertio principes Hungarorum et milites consilio episcoporum convenerunt adversus Petrum regem et sollicitè querebant, si aliquem de regali progenie in regno tunc invenire possent, qui ad gubernandum regnum esset idoneus et eos a tyrannide Petri liberaret." – Chronici Hungarici compositio p. 324–325. See: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians. p. 134–135.

³¹ "Fideles autem Hungari treugas ab ipsis petierunt, et ut colloquium haberent, dixerunt: »Quid est, quod nos pugnamus? Isti nos obpugnant, moriemur; et cum ipsi evaserint, fugient: sicut nudi tertius patres nostri vel fratres cum patribus eorum vel fratribus pugnaverunt, et ipsi mortui sunt. Nec nos, videmus causam pugnæ. Sed eis si pugna placet, ipsi duo pugnent, et quis eorum prevaluerit, ipsum pro domino habeamus.« Quo statuto consilio principes reversi sunt." – Chronici Hungarici compositio. p. 423. See: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians. p. 268–269.

³² KRISTÓ 1974. p. 47.

³³ "Rex ergo venenosis verbis comitis Vyð tragefactus odium et rancorem concepit." – Chronici Hungarici compositio. p. 376. See: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians. p. 208–209.

century among the nobles who were donated land, high offices and who stood close to the members of the ruling dynasty and often served as counsellors.

More interesting for us, however, is the practice of oral advice between members of the ruling dynasties. Obviously, if the secular and ecclesiastical elite regarded the institution of the *consilium* as a right, this was even more true for the members of the dynasty. Even more so, as the family members could reach concord through the institution of the *consilium*, therefore it was essential for the peaceful exercise of power. A good example is provided by Chapter 88 of the Hungarian chronicle, which in fact describes the circumstances of the establishment of the Hungarian *ducatus*. According to the source, King Andrew and his younger brother, Prince Béla held a council and agreed to divide the country into three parts, of which the king would give the prince one. The chronicler used the term *habito consilio* when he was recording the events.³⁴ The narrative in chapter 88 also tells us that during the council, which was clearly initiated by King Andrew I, the brothers agreed upon not only how to divide the exercise of power between them, but also the question of the succession to the throne emerged. This agreement, the consensual exercise of power among the Árpáds, can be traced in later times as well, since the members of the dynasty's following generations regularly concluded similar agreements. The consensual exercise of power based on *consilium*, taking into account each other's interests therefore played a central role in the medieval history of the Kingdom of Hungary.

It is not always clear how the Latin word *consilium* can be translated. In my view, based on the examples above, the *consilium* can mean decision-making, consultation, outlining plans and strategies, and expressing opinions. The phenomenon thus goes far beyond the simplified lexicon-like master-vassal relationship, but rather served as a relationship-building "tool" in which both material benefits and social esteem could be gained. In the case of conflict situations – as it can also be observed in the sources, – the counsellors came from a much wider circle of relatives than during the more peaceful periods, as the latter is mostly characterized by agreements between the nearest kin. In the wider circle of relatives we can find brothers-in-law, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, thus relatives by marriage. To conclude this short paper, we might say that the *consilium* was a much more complex phenomenon than the definitions offered by the manuals.

³⁴ "Post hec autem rex et frater eius Bela habito consilio dividerunt regnum in tres partes, quarum due in proprietatem (sic!) regie maiestatis seu potestatis manserunt, tertia vero pars in proprietatem ducis est collata." – Chronici Hungarici compositio. p. 345. For the interpretation of the narrative see: BAGI 2020. p. 48–76.

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The Hungarian Royal Family and the Delegated Papal Jurisdiction from the Mongol Invasion to the late Thirteenth Century*

This paper is a short contribution to the history of the relations between the Roman pontiffs and the Hungarian rulers, or in a broader sense, the royal family. The focus of the research is on the second half of the thirteenth century, starting with the events after the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241–1242 and ending with the death of the last Árpáadian king, Andrew III. The main question is: how did the members of the royal family get in touch with papal judges-delegate in the realm of St. Stephen? In which cases did they turn to the papacy in order to benefit from the system, and under what circumstances did they appear as participants of a procedure? One of the most interesting sources regarding the attitude towards the papal delegated jurisdiction is a petition of King Béla IV. In his response, Pope Innocent IV forbade – with certain exceptions – the citation of the subjects of the king outside of the realm. The initiative of the Hungarian ruler is clear evidence for his awareness of the extension and the significance of the system of delegated jurisdiction in his kingdom.

Keywords: medieval Hungary, Árpád-era, royal family, delegated papal jurisdiction, medieval papacy



This paper is a short contribution to the history of the relations between the Apostolic See and the Hungarian rulers, or in a broader sense, the royal family. The focus of the research is on the second half of the thirteenth century, starting with the events after the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241–1242 and ending with the death of the last Árpáadian king, Andrew III in 1301. The main questions are: how did the members of the royal family get in touch with the papal delegated jurisdiction in the realm of St. Stephen? In which cases did they turn to the papacy in order to benefit from the apostolic authority, and

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under what circumstances did they appear as participants of a procedure? One of the most interesting sources regarding the attitude towards the papal delegated jurisdiction, and so, the papal authority, is a petition of King Béla IV. In his response, Pope Innocent IV forbade – with certain exceptions – the citation of the subjects of the Hungarian king outside of the realm. The initiative of the ruler is clear evidence for his awareness of the extension and the significance of the system of delegated jurisdiction in his kingdom.

In order to implement a comparative approach, first we have to take a closer look at the characteristics of the papal delegated jurisdiction and its ways of functioning in Hungary in the Árpád-era. Delegated jurisdiction was one of the most important instruments of the papacy to validate its authority from the late eleventh century onwards.¹ The foundation of the system rooted in the willingness of churches and clerics to turn to the Apostolic See for a judicial decision with the aim of having the verdict confirmed by papal authority. The system itself can be linked to the reforms of the papacy (and its power over the Church and its universal claims) at the end of the eleventh century.²

Papal delegated jurisdiction gave an opportunity to local churches to evade the levels of ordinary courts as well. At the same time, it is intriguing to note that the delegated judges came from the circle of local clerics, who, at first, were mostly archbishops, bishops and abbots. Thus, we can conclude that the needs of the parties affected the development of the judiciary system itself. It was in the very best interest of the papacy that local clerics and churches should turn to the pope as the Holy See intended to increase its authority. The system of delegations was a significant instrument of the papacy which helped the popes to shape Western Christianity and influence its regions. The original initiative came from them since they had a say in the selection of the judges.³

The popes dealt with cases of the Hungarian royal family with the help of the delegations as early as the late twelfth century.⁴ Beside ecclesiastical affairs, most importantly the archbishop- and bishop-elections,⁵ papal delegates were empowered to act in connection with the struggle of King Emeric and Prince Andrew,⁶ the quarrel between Andrew II and his son, Béla,⁷ or the issue of the

¹ SWEENEY 1989. p. 26.

² See with further literature: BARABÁS 2013. p. 175–176; MÜLLER 2008. p. 108–131, 109–110; JOHRENDT – MÜLLER 2008. p. 14; DUGGAN 1998. p. 172–199.

³ See HAGENEDER 1967. p. 27; HERDE 2002. p. 22; FALKENSTEIN 1986. p. 37–39; JOHRENDT – MÜLLER 2008. p. 14; DUGGAN 1998. p. 176, 194–195.

⁴ For the Hungarian situation see with further literature: BARABÁS 2013. p. 183–199. For the historiography see BARABÁS 2019. p. 3–23.

⁵ E. g. the case of Provost Gottfried of Arad (ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 107; KOVÁCS 2018. p. 151, 159.), the litigation of Prince Coloman of Slavonia with the Order of the Templars (BARABÁS 2017. p. 41–42.) For the canonical elections see BARABÁS 2021. p. 13–24.

⁶ See BARABÁS 2015. p. 126–130; For the conflict see. SWEENEY 1999; SZABADOS 1999; SZABADOS 2000; KÖRMENDI 2012; KÖRMENDI 2019. p. 18–26; GÁL 2019.

⁷ See BARABÁS 2015. p. 131–133; ZSOLDOS 2018.

Teutonic Order in Hungary.⁸ The intensity of the relations did not decrease after the Mongol invasion.

At first, we have focus on the key document of the selected era, to the charter of Innocent IV issued on 3 December 1252.⁹ It is one of the most important sources in terms of the operation and expansion of the delegated jurisdiction in the mid-thirteenth century Hungary. The pope informed King Béla IV in his letter¹⁰ that he forbade clergymen and laymen from Hungary to be cited outside of the realm, at least not without a special permission of the Apostolic See, as a result of the monarch's former request.¹¹

Nevertheless, it is not completely clear how Béla IV submitted his request: either in the form of a charter or through a verbal statement of his envoys. The latter version seems more plausible since the monarch kept on sending his emissaries to the Apostolic See from the beginning of the Mongol invasion,¹² and, as a matter of fact, he even had an agent, Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs, in the papal court by that time.¹³ Stephen Bánca, bishop of Vác (1240–1242), future archbishop of Esztergom (1242–1252), was the first in the line of royal envoys in 1241,¹⁴ but his role in papal-Hungarian relations was far more important than that.¹⁵ He received several papal commissions after 1243 as a judge-delegate and legate,¹⁶ meanwhile in December 1251, he was promoted to the cardinals' college as the bishop of Preneste, thus becoming its first member of Hungarian origin.¹⁷

A charter of Innocent IV, issued a few weeks prior to the mentioned assurance, on 13 November 1252, must be taken into consideration as well,

⁸ See ZIMMERMANN 2011. p. 131–152.

⁹ This was not the first case when the royal family got in touch with papal delegated jurisdiction. Innocent IV gave permission to King Béla IV and Queen Mary due to their request to confess to any priest of their choosing and to be absolved by them. RPR nr. 1566, RI IV. nr. 1071, 1072.

¹⁰ For the relation of Béla IV to Pope Innocent IV see SENGÁ 1987; SZÜCS 1978. p. 164–171.

¹¹ *“Nos tuis devotis supplicationibus inclinati, auctoritate presentium indulgemus, ut nulla ecclesiastica secularisque persona regni tui possit per litteras apostolice Sedis, vel legatorum eius, extra regnum ipsum a quopiam in iudicium evocari, absque speciali mandato sedis eiusdem, faciente plenam de hac indulgentia mentionem”* – CDH IV/2. p. 129; RPR nr. 14795; RI IV. nr. 6134. With further literature see BARABÁS 2020. p. 131–135.

¹² SZÜCS 1978. p. 165. See e. g., RA nr. 846.

¹³ KOSZTA 2007. p. 41; DAMIAN 2016. p. 20–21. Cf. RA nr. 933b.

¹⁴ See KISS 2015. p. 22–23, 30; SZÜCS 1978. p. 165.

¹⁵ One of the leading Hungarian medievalists in the second half of the twentieth century, Jenő Szűcs, suggested that the motive behind the archbishop's decision could be his personal bias, since after the Mongol invasion, Stephen Bánca – despite the emerging custom – did not receive the position of the royal chancellor. Instead, the title was granted to Archbishop Benedict of Kalocsa, the former provost of Óbuda (later the elected provost of Székesfehérvár). Szűcs admitted though that it was impossible to decide whether the conflict between Béla IV and Stephen Bánca could be traced back to the monarch's decision; in his view, it is also questionable whether the confirmation of the archbishop in 1245 was related to that at all, or the quarrel around the election in Veszprém caused the tension in the first place. SZÜCS 1978. p. 168. See ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 84, 108; KISS 2015. p. 28–29; THOROCZKAY 2019. p. 527–528; THOROCZKAY 2016. p. 179.

¹⁶ It was analysed recently by Gergely Kiss. KISS 2015. p. 30–32.

¹⁷ For his cardinalate see KISS 2015. p. 32–41. Jenő Szűcs thought, Bánca had to leave because of his ongoing conflict with Béla IV. SZÜCS 1978. p. 168.

which can be related to the letter sent to King Béla IV. According to the pope's decision, the tithes from the Csallóköz-region (today Žitný ostrov, SK) belonged to Stephen Báncsa, and he commissioned the abbots of Pannonhalma and Pilis to ensure this provision.¹⁸ On 30 December Innocent IV even appointed the former archbishop as the administrator *in spiritualibus et temporalibus* of the archdiocese of Esztergom, perhaps to help him to cover the costs of his Italian stay.¹⁹ The bishops of Veszprém and Vác were supposed to carry out the decision, but the king and the cathedral-chapter of Esztergom were informed of the decision as well.²⁰ This turn of events certainly did not please the monarch, as his complaint, which was sent to the pope in the following year, clearly shows it.²¹ The king pointed out in his longer letter written on 11 May 1253, that the state of the archbishopric was no longer tenable, and asked for the confirmation of Benedict, archbishop of Kalocsa as the new prelate of Esztergom.²²

It cannot be stated beyond doubt that the papal assurance regarding the prohibition of citing Hungarian clerics and laymen outside of the realm was connected to Stephen Báncsa's situation, yet the chronological proximity makes it presumable: especially because to our knowledge, there is no other papal measure of similar nature from this time, at least not a series of them. Thus, one cannot speak of a universal papal idea.²³ The reason must be sought most probably within the framework of the papal-Hungarian relations. The initiative might have come from Archbishop Stephen himself, or perhaps he was the one who delivered the royal supplication mentioned in the papal charter, if there was such a request at all.²⁴ The pope's intention may have been to please the Hungarian monarch because Innocent IV counted on his anger about the situation in Esztergom. Nevertheless, these assumptions cannot be supported by solid evidence: they are based solely on the chronology of events and on the dynamics of the delegations and the papal-royal connection.²⁵

Members of the royal family appeared naturally in the sources in connection with other issues as well. Béla IV was, for instance, the subject of a papal procedure right after the Mongol invasion. The abbot and the convent of Pannonhalma made a complaint at the Holy See that the king did not merely

¹⁸ RPR nr. 14769; RI IV. nr. 6085. See Kiss 2015. p. 41.

¹⁹ It happened probably due to Báncsa's request, who intended to cover the costs of his Italian stay that way. Kiss 2015. p. 41. Philip of the Türje kindred was elected in January 1262 as the new archbishop of Esztergom and he was appointed at first as administrator as well. RPR nr. 18212; RU IV. nr. 40.

²⁰ RPR nr. 14816, RI IV. nr. 6165; RPR nr. 14817, RI IV. nr. 6166; RPR nr. 14818, RI IV. nr. 6167. See Kiss 2015. p. 41.

²¹ RA nr. 991.

²² See Szűcs 1978. p. 169–170; Kiss 2015. p. 42–43.

²³ See RPR and RI IV.

²⁴ "*Nos tuis devotis supplicationibus inclinati*" – CDH IV/2. p. 129.

²⁵ The papal measure did not cause a definitive censure in the operating of the papal delegated jurisdiction. See BARABÁS 2020. p. 21–24.

fail to help the abbey after the devastation, but he even occupied certain estates and incomes of the Benedictines, too.²⁶

The first papal admonition of April 1244 was followed by two other letters in December, one of them was issued in order to take care of the situation of the Benedictine monastery of Güssing, also following the complaint of Pannonhalma.²⁷ In addition to that, the two archbishops of the realm, Stephen of Esztergom and Benedict of Kalocsa were appointed as executors to convince the king to obey the papal commands.²⁸ Nevertheless, the letters and the mandates given to the prelates were not enough to settle the case for good, that is why Pope Innocent IV repeated the warning in January 1247, again due to the Benedictines' request.²⁹ The connection of the monarch to the abbey of Pannonhalma seemed to get back on the right track again, at least this is what the lack of further papal interventions suggests.

Nevertheless, there are further complaints known that were submitted to the Apostolic See because of the actions of King Béla IV, or to be precise, because of the lack of them. In May 1259, Pope Alexander IV gave Archbishop Benedict of Esztergom the task to convince the Hungarian ruler to fulfil the promise his late father, Andrew II, made to the Hospitallers to pay an appropriate sum for them.³⁰ Beside these tangible tensions, the Holy See also supported Béla IV in his endeavours, for instance, the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa were ordered in 1247 along with the Hungarian bishops to help the preparations of defence against a possible new Mongol attack.³¹

In the 1260s several delegations were assigned to Hungarian clerics due to a 'family affair'³² in strict sense: the conflict of King Béla IV and his firstborn son, the future Stephen V, but not all of them were of diplomatic nature. Nonetheless, the Apostolic See's role and purpose as peacemaker had already appeared in connection with the first agreement between the king and the prince in the Treaty of Pozsony (Bratislava, SK) of 1262. At least Stephen expressed his intention to send the document to the Apostolic See in order to secure it with the pope's authority. Despite the prince's wish, the peace was never confirmed by the Apostolic See, although the Hungarian mission of the

²⁶ "*Cum igitur, sicut ex parte dilectorum filiorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Sancti Martini (de Pannonia) Jauriensis diocesis fuit propositum coram nobis, tu eorum miseris non compatiens, quorum monasterium amissis fere bonis omnibus ab eisdem Tartaris est destructum, ad manus tuas decimas, possessiones, redditus et res alias contra iustitiam receperis eorundem*" – ÁUO II. p. 157. nr. 94; RPR nr. 11358.

²⁷ RPR nr. 11478, 11480.

²⁸ "*Quocirca fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus dictum regem ad id moneatis et inducere procuretis*" – ÁUO II. p. 160. nr. 97; RPR nr. 11481.

²⁹ RPR nr. 12400.

³⁰ RPR nr. 17585. See HUNYADI 2010. p. 36; HUNYADI 2019. p. 47. Bónis stated, this measure caused the withdrawal of the former assurance given to Béla IV. BÓNIS 1963. p. 196.

³¹ RPR nr. 12414; RI IV. 2958. See the letters addressed to the king. RPR nr. 12408; RI IV. nr. 2957. See Kiss 2015. p. 26.

³² Paraphrasing the title of the book of Attila Zsoldos. ZSOLDOS 2007.

papal chaplain Velasco presented a perfect opportunity for that in 1263.³³ It is not the goal of this paper to give a definitive answer to the question whether Pope Urban IV in fact supported the father in his feud with the Hungarian heir to the throne,³⁴ but one thing is certain, namely that Béla IV requested the papal confirmation of his donations to certain family members of his. Probably with the intention to secure the estates for his younger son, daughter and wife in case the heir, Stephen would have questioned the rightfulness of the royal donations afterwards.³⁵

Regarding these donations, the pope did not merely issue charters,³⁶ but he entrusted Hungarian prelates in July 1264 to act in favour of the Hungarian king. Archbishop Philip of Esztergom and Bishop Paul of Veszprém had to act in relation to the donations given to Prince Béla, second son of Béla IV.³⁷ In addition, the archbishop had to engage in measures regarding the situation of Queen Mary,³⁸ while Bishop Paul was entrusted to take care of the estates of Princess Anna, daughter of Béla IV.³⁹ Beside them, the prior of the Hungarian Knights Hospitaller was empowered by the pope as well,⁴⁰ while the bishop of Győr, the archbishop of Esztergom and the bishop of Veszprém were instructed to convince Prince Stephen to restore the estates of his mother.⁴¹ The delegates were ordered to act as conservators of the pope, since they were ought to secure the rights of the members of the royal family.⁴² Archbishop Philip's role as mediator, between king and his firstborn son, was also mentioned in a royal charter in 1267.⁴³ It is to be emphasized that after the war between Béla IV and Stephen, Pope Clement IV, unlike in previous and later cases did not empower any delegates, the confirmation of the new peace happened solely with a papal charter issued in June, 1266.⁴⁴

A charter of Pope Urban IV issued in July 1264 seems to be in connection with the aforementioned family affair, because the two archbishops of the realm were entrusted to engage in actions in order to force the pagan Cumans

³³ See ZSOLDOS 2007. p. 32–33.

³⁴ Cf. DAMIAN 2016. p. 29–30.

³⁵ ZSOLDOS 2007. p. 34–35.

³⁶ RPR nr. 18745; RU IV. nr. 2367; RPR nr. 18746; RU IV. nr. 2368; RPR nr. 18748; RU IV. nr. 2369; RPR nr. 18749; RU IV. nr. 2370; RPR nr. 18972; RU IV. nr. 2762; RPR nr. 18974; RU IV. nr. 2764; RPR nr. 18975; RU IV. nr. 2766; RPR nr. 18981; RU IV. nr. 2773; RPR nr. 18984; RU IV. nr. 2771.

³⁷ RPR nr. 18973; RU IV. nr. 2763; RPR nr. 18976, RU IV. nr. 2765.

³⁸ RPR nr. 18971; RU IV. nr. 2760.

³⁹ RPR nr. 18982; RU IV. nr. 2774.

⁴⁰ RPR nr. 18978; RU IV. nr. 2761; RPR nr. 18977; RU IV. nr. 2767.

⁴¹ RPR nr. 18985; RU IV. nr. 2772.

⁴² *“Nos itaque ipsius ducis et prefati regis supplicationibus inclinati, donationem huiusmodi, sicut provide facta est, ratam et firmam habentes, eam auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandam. Quocirca mandamus, quatenus prefatum ducem non permittas super premissis contra huiusmodi confirmationis nostre tenorem ab aliquibus indebite molestari, molestatores huiusmodi etc. compescendo. Non obstante, si aliquibus a Sede apostolica sit indultum”* – ÁÚO III. p. 97. nr. 66; RPR nr. 18973; RU IV. nr. 2763.

⁴³ RA nr. 1527. See BÁCSATYAI 2020a. p. 1069–1070.

⁴⁴ RPR nr. 19711; RC IV 332. Details of the treaty are unknown. See ZSOLDOS 2007. p. 83–88.

present in Hungary to convert to Christianity.⁴⁵ They were living under the rule of and within territory of Prince Stephen, so it is conceivable that Béla IV was the initiator, especially because it is mentioned in the text of the papal charter that the Hungarian ruler had previously submitted petitions regarding this matter several times. Furthermore, it is to be noted that King Béla IV eventually managed to get the Cumans on his side, and they fought in the royal army during the civil war of 1264–1265.⁴⁶

After the death of King Béla IV, another conflict needed papal intervention: the war between the new Hungarian monarch, Stephen V (1270–1272) and the Bohemian king, Ottokar II (1253–1278).⁴⁷ After the hostilities were finished in 1271, Pope Gregory X confirmed the peace in a charter⁴⁸ due to the request of the Hungarian ruler,⁴⁹ and he also ordered conservators to secure the treaty. On the Bohemian side, the bishops of Prague and Olomouc and in Hungary the Archbishop of Esztergom and the bishop of Vác were entrusted as papal delegates in May 1272.⁵⁰ The peace failed eventually, although not on the prelates' account, after the unexpected death of his Hungarian counterpart, Ottokar II launched a new attack and took several Hungarian counties by force.⁵¹ For his actions he was condemned soon afterwards by the pope, yet, no new delegations were launched by the Holy See.⁵²

In the 1280s, the son of the late Stephen V, Ladislaus IV (*the Cuman*) caused tensions with the Church as his behaviour became non-Christian like, since he acted more and more like the nomadic people of his mother, the Cumans.⁵³ Archbishop Lodomerius of Esztergom was entrusted several times to act in favour of the wife of Ladislaus, Queen Isabelle, at first by Pope Honorius IV (1285–1287)⁵⁴ then after the death of the holy father, during the *sedis vacantia* by the college of cardinals,⁵⁵ and eventually by the new pope, Nicholas IV

⁴⁵ *“fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta in virtute obedientie sub excommunicationis pena districte precipiendo mandamus, quatenus, si premissa veritate nituntur, vos vel alter vestrum uniuersos Cumanos predictos per vos aut alios, sicut efficacius poteritis, moneatis, ut illi ex eis, quibus provenit perceptio gratie baptismalis, fidem Catholicam firmiter et reverenter observent”* – ÁÚO III. p. 92. nr. 63; RPR nr. 18970; RU IV. nr. 2769.

⁴⁶ *“Quare pro parte supradicti regis instanter petebatur a nobis, ut super hiis providere de opportuno consilio et festino subsidio curaremus”* – ÁÚO III. p. 92, nr. 63. See ZSOLDOS 2007. p. 37. There is a recent discussion regarding the time of the war. See BÁCSATYAI 2020a; ZSOLDOS 2020; BÁCSATYAI 2020b; BÁCSATYAI 2021.

⁴⁷ For the conflict see KÁDÁR 2009. p. 420–421.

⁴⁸ RPR nr. 20540.

⁴⁹ RPR nr. 20526.

⁵⁰ RPR nr. 20541; RG X. nr. 7; PR nr. 20542. Cf. CHOBOT 1915–1917. p. 477.

⁵¹ See Szűcs 1993. p. 283–284.

⁵² RPR nr. 20612.

⁵³ See KARÁCSONYI 1910; Szűcs 1993. p. 316–321; Szűcs 2010. p. 28–37.

⁵⁴ 12 March 1287: *“Quocirca mandamus, quatenus si dictus rex predictam reginam a carcere liberatam resumere, ac, ut predictur, tute tractare noluerit, tu eum ad id per censuram ecclesiasticam auctoritate nostra compellas, non obstante, si eidem regi a Sede apostolica si indultum, quod excommunicari, vel terre ipsius interdici non possit per litteras apostolicas non facientes etc. usque mentionem”* – ÁÚO IV. p. 300. nr. 192; RPR nr. 22586; RH IV. nr. 762.

⁵⁵ UGDS I. p. 154–155. nr. 219.

(1288–1292). The young royal spouse, who came from the Angevin dynasty of Naples was mishandled by his husband, King Ladislaus IV. The prelate was authorized to compel the monarch with ecclesiastical censures, if necessary, and to send back a report to the Holy See, if he would have failed in his endeavours.⁵⁶ It is to be underlined regarding this matter that the tension was so crucial that even the *sedis vacantia* did not cause the lack of further delegations. It is also of importance that Archbishop Lodomerius sent a letter to the bishop of Transylvania in December 1287, and while he was referring to himself as the judge delegate of the Apostolic See, he gave the task to the prelate to provide help for the queen's men to collect the taxes of Beszterce (Bistrița, RO).⁵⁷ Furthermore, Archbishop Lodomerius was entrusted to handle the situation of the non-Christians in Hungary as well.⁵⁸ However, Nonetheless, despite all attempts the behaviour of the Hungarian monarch could not have been changed, and he was eventually killed by his beloved Cumans in 1290.⁵⁹

Papal interventions⁶⁰ also happened even during the reign of the last king of the Árpád-dynasty, Andrew III, yet beside legates and nuncios, there is no sign of authorization of judges-delegate regarding the royal family's matters.

A papal charter of March 1299 has to be taken into consideration though, because it gives information on the operation of papal delegated jurisdiction, even though this time was not the king, but one of the realm's barons who turned to the Apostolic See with their grievances. In his letter, Pope Boniface VIII informed the elected archbishop of Esztergom, Gregory of Bicske,⁶¹ that Ivan of Kőszeg, one of the mightiest oligarchs of the realm,⁶² submitted the request to the Apostolic See in which he wished to be absolved with his followers from the excommunication applied against them by the former archbishop, Lodomerius⁶³ and several other prelates in 1297.⁶⁴ The reason for this action can be found in the conflict of Ivan with the king,⁶⁵ therefore, it is not surprising that the pope, who at least passively favoured the Angevins of Naples as they claimed the Hungarian throne for themselves,⁶⁶ ordered the elected archbishop to annul the former censure.⁶⁷ Gregory of Bicske even

⁵⁶ RPR nr. 22765; RN IV. nr. 195.

⁵⁷ "in hac parte a sede apostolica et omnium cardinalium eiusdem sedis iudex delegatus" – DF 277190; UGDSI. p. 157–158. nr. 222.

⁵⁸ RPR nr. 22587; RH IV. nr. 761. and RPR nr. 22766.

⁵⁹ See Szűcs 1993. p. 321.

⁶⁰ See Kiss 2018.

⁶¹ See recently HUNYADI 2021.

⁶² ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 46, 47, 48, 225; ZSOLDOS 2016.

⁶³ Archbishop Lodomerius took part personally in the campaign against the Kőszegis in 1296, and applied interdict against them. Szűcs 1993. p. 329–330.

⁶⁴ Szűcs 1993. p. 341.

⁶⁵ It is remarkable that Archbishop Lodomerius and Ivan of Kőszeg cooperated in 1290 when they invited the later Andrew III to Hungary. See SKORKA 2019. p. 60; BÁRÁNY 2020. p. 50.

⁶⁶ See Kiss 2018. p. 1356–1362.

⁶⁷ "petitio continebat, quod cum ipse olim venerabili fratri nostro Johanni Auximano tunc exinde episcopo et in partibus illis apostolice Sedis nuntio fidem et devotionem sancte Romane ecclesie debitam observare cum reverentia promississet, ita quod nulli tanquam regi Ungarie pareret [...] nisi destinato seu approbato a sede predicta; quia tamen obedientiam et reverentiam Andree, qui rex

remained with the Kőszegi brothers by this time and had an open conflict with King Andrew III.⁶⁸

The so-called fourteenth-century Chronicle Composition even reports that the Kőszegis alongside another baron, Ugrin of the Csák kindred and other lords turned to Boniface VIII and asked him for a new ruler instead of Andrew III, so the pope sent the young Angevin pretender, Caroberto, later King Charles I to Hungary in 1299 as response.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Andrew III managed to come to an agreement with the hostile oligarchs of his realm, among them with the Kőszegi brothers and Matthew Csák. Therefore, it is no wonder that they were not amongst those who welcomed the young Angevin prince in Dalmatia.⁷⁰ These events are related to the topic of papal delegated jurisdiction merely indirectly, yet, it is essential to mention them, as the oligarchs turned to the papacy.

At the end of this short contribution, the following can be stated: the papal delegated jurisdiction and the delegates of the Apostolic See appeared in connection with the royal family in certain cases due to the appeals of Hungarian clerics or laymen, who intended to make use of the authority of the Apostolic See. Nonetheless, in the overwhelming majority of the known cases, the rulers themselves turned to the papacy mostly as a result of matters of diplomacy, e. g., to ask for the assistance of the Holy See as peacemaker, both in internal and external conflicts. It could be formulated that they negotiated in order to make use of the authority of the Holy See.

The provision of Innocent IV in 1252 must be emphasized not only because it does not fit into some kind of general pattern, but also because its truly extraordinary nature. The pope forbade to cite the subjects of the Hungarian king outside of the realm. According to the papal charter, the decision was made due to the Hungarian monarch's petition. If this statement is authentic, and there is no serious reason to doubt it, it clearly shows that Béla IV was fully aware of the relevance of the system of papal delegated jurisdiction and how common it was in Hungary. Perhaps this latter aspect motivated the ruler to act in order to put an end to the practice that could have been interpreted as an offense to his own authority, yet, in the end everything was done in vain.

Ungarie nominatur, ignorans ipsius regimen per sedem approbatum eandem, noluit exhibere, tam idem nobilis vir quam sui complices et fautores per bone memorie L(odomerium) archiepiscopum Strigoniensem, et (Theodorum) Jauriensem et (Benedictum) Vesprimiensem episcopos ac alios suffraganeos fuerunt auctoritate ordinaria excommunicationis sententia innodati.... Mandamus, quatenus, si est ita [...] prefatos nobilem, complices ac fautores a dicta excommunicationis sententia, ad cautelam [...] absolvas' – MREV II. p. 23. nr. XXIX ; RPR nr. 24791 ; RB VIII. nr. 2980.

⁶⁸ SZÜCS 1993. p. 333–341; LENKEY – ZSOLDOS 2003. p. 213–214.

⁶⁹ "In cuius imperio quidam nobiles regni, Iohannes scilicet et Herricus banus filii Herrici ac Vgrinus filius Pouchm de Vylac aliique quamplures in preiudicium regis Andree a papa Bonifacio VIII-o regem ut dicitur petierunt. Quorum instantiam papa admittens quendam puerum XI annorum nomine Karolum anno Domini Mo CCo XCo IXo vivente adhuc Andree rege in Hungariam deatinavit." – Chron. Comp. Saec. XIV., cap. 186–187; SRH I. p. 477–478. See LENKEY – ZSOLDOS 2003. p. 218.

⁷⁰ SZÜCS 1993. p. 346–347; LENKEY – ZSOLDOS 2003. p. 219–220.

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Rudolf BARIŠIĆ

Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena as an Imagined Millet?

During the four centuries of Ottoman rule, the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena was the only institutional structure of the Catholic Church permanently present there. According to tradition, their legal status and security were guaranteed by a document issued by Sultan Mehmed II in 1463, known as the Fojnica Ahdname. Franciscan sources show that they had been constantly using documents of Ottoman provenance to resolve their legal and economic issues since at least the seventeenth century and continued this practise even when Bosnia came under the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1878. In the twentieth century, this led to an overemphasis on the importance of the Ahdname and its placement in an anachronistic framework that corresponded to the image of a “better past.” The paper aims to show the historical context in which this narrative pattern developed in the Franciscan sources. The findings suggest that the Bosnian Franciscans also used their incorporation into the Ottoman legal system for relations with the Catholic West.

Keywords: Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena, Fojnica Ahdname, millet, chronicles, bishop Rafo Barišić.



In 1886, eight years after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the imperial-royal government in Sarajevo issued a decision obliging the Franciscans to pay a certain tax on part of their buildings. As expected, the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena filed a complaint.¹ Their argumentation was quite interesting. The Franciscans claimed that Sultan Mehmed II had personally exempted them from the obligation to pay a property tax. Today it may seem strange that the members of the Catholic Church Order claimed the privilege of a Muslim ruler (who was known as The Conqueror – of Christian land). From a purely legal point of view, they were not wrong. At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was still under Ottoman sovereignty, so their laws were still valid. The Bosnian Franciscans had long awaited the Habsburg rule with great hopes, but as soon as it arrived, these hopes turned into a series of disappointments. In the same year, Franjo Cvjetko

¹ BALTIĆ 2003, p. 429–432.

Nedić published *Privilegia Provinciae Bosnensis*, a compilation of various papal decrees that he had collected and edited to emphasise that the Franciscan Province in Bosnia occupied a position different from the other Franciscan provinces.² The Bosnian Franciscans were more than dissatisfied with the introduction of the regular diocesan hierarchy, as well as with the arrival of members of other religious orders. This simmering discontent from time to time grew into bitter conflicts, the consequences of which are still being felt today. A large group among the Bosnian Franciscans could not come to terms with the fact that their province had lost its exclusive role as the sole representative of Catholics. The zeal with which some of their opponents constantly reminded them that their time was over only intensified their resentment. Regardless of the fact that the odds were against them, the Franciscans continuously tried to defend their position even to the point of invoking Ottoman laws.

This actually reflects the social situation of Bosnian Catholicism up to that point. Unlike the other two confessional communities (i.e., Muslim and Orthodox), there was no significant social stratification among Bosnian Catholics after the great migrations in the last years of the Great Ottoman War. The Catholic community consisted almost exclusively of peasants and some miners, artisans and minor merchants.³ The Franciscans played a special role as spiritual leaders, but also as political representatives within the Ottoman legal system. The situation in which the clergy also had the role of political representation was called the millet system.

The millet system, long disputed, was based on a fairly simple premise: each religious group within the Ottoman Empire formed its own millet, whose religious leaders also functioned as political leaders. The founder of this system was Sultan Mehmed II, who placed its beginnings in the fifteenth century. According to this version, the millet system lasted until the last phase of the Ottoman Empire. It ended when the Young Turks tried to unite all the subjects of the empire on the basis of their national, rather than religious affiliation. Recent research has shown that this version lacks any basis. The main problem is that the Turkish word *millet* can mean both a confessional and national affiliation. A thorough analysis of documents has shown that meaning and usage were not consistent until the nineteenth century. A *millet* could denote groups both inside and outside the empire. Sometimes it referred to confessional groups and sometimes to national groups. Finally, in most cases, the word *millet* referred to the non-Muslim population, but there were cases where it was also used for Muslims. The first millet in the traditional sense was the Armenian Millet, established in 1746, followed by the *Millet-i Rum* in 1757, which included members of the Orthodox Church. Jewish and Catholic millet were both established as late as 1839. But even then, *millet* could mean a nation. In Ottoman sources, Serbs and Greeks were each referred to as a

² NEDIĆ 1886.

³ BARIŠIĆ 2021a. p. 25–26.

separate millet, even though both groups were Orthodox.⁴ On the other hand, there are also strong detractors of the millet system as a whole. Kenanoğlu claims that the Ottoman legal system categorized its subjects as taxpayers. Their status had its roots in their confessional affiliation, but these groups lacked any legal authority which remained preserved for the Ottoman courts.⁵

Nevertheless, it is hard to deny that society in the Ottoman Empire was organised along confessional lines. This is also true for the period after various Balkan states gained their independence, especially in the phase immediately after the liberation. In Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, Muslims within their borders were disenfranchised and gradually forced to leave, even if they shared language and origin with their Orthodox neighbours. On the other hand, members of the Orthodox Church were quickly assimilated regardless of the language they spoke at home.⁶ The case was similar in Bulgaria, but the Muslim minority managed to maintain its presence there. Only Albania and Bosnia maintained a multiconfessional framework, but in a somewhat different way. The Albanians succeeded in building a nation based on a common language and overcoming confessional differences, which in the Bosnian case turned into national identities.

The case of the Bosnian Catholics is a perfect example of how the idea of millets as separate legal entities with religious leaders bearing political responsibility could develop. Its version is set within the next narrative frame: after the Bosnian Kingdom fell in 1463, Sultan Mehmed II faced the problem of mass emigration of the Bosnian population. Following the advice of one of his advisors, he met with Anđeo Zvezdović, the Franciscan vicar⁷ at Milodraž.⁸ Zvezdović pointed out that people would be willing to stay if they were granted religious freedom. The sultan issued the Fojnica Ahdname – a document that guaranteed the Franciscans the right to carry out their pastoral activities. History says that the situation of the Franciscans deteriorated from time to time, but they always managed to reclaim their rights with the help of the Ahdname. For their part, the Ottomans held the Franciscans responsible for the leadership of *raya*. The Ahdname was also instrumental in keeping the Franciscan Province safe from the pretensions of the Orthodox Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But does this image correspond to the reality of the four centuries that Franciscans spent under Ottoman rule? Or is it just a narrative built after the fact? Who created it and when and under what circumstances?

⁴ URSINUS 1993, p. 61–64.

⁵ KENANOĞLU 2011, p. 17–38.

⁶ ROUDOMETOF 2001, p. 101–129 and 179–201. ANČIĆ 2008, p. 182–186.

⁷ According to the tradition, Franciscans first came to Bosnia in 1291. In 1339–1340 they were organised as a Franciscan Vicariate. It was elevated to the rank of the province in 1517.

⁸ During the Middle Ages, there was a settlement under this name. In the later centuries, the place is described as a field (polje) and connected with another settlement (usually Fojnica, Visoko, Kiseljak or Busovača). Today there is a village called Pobrđe Milodraž in the municipality of Kiseljak, but it is not a direct continuation.

It has been often claimed that the case of the Genoese community in Galata ten years earlier served as the model by which Sultan Mehmed II dealt with the Bosnian Franciscans. The Ahdname given to the Genoese in Galata is often cited as a model for the Ahdname of Fojnica.⁹ Therefore, it is worth briefly discussing the position of the Genoese community. Although the Genoese constituted a significant part of the Latin defence contingent during the siege of Constantinople in 1453, their colony in Galata remained formally neutral and was spared Ottoman attacks and looting. Sultan Mehmed II entered into negotiations with Genoa's representatives, which ended with the expected result.¹⁰ Galata acknowledged his sovereignty and undertook to pay tribute. In return, he confirmed their trade privileges, the right to practice religion (with the restriction that they could not ring church bells), spared them from *devşirme*, and even granted them the right to elect a person with the title of "primato". In her analysis, Dauverd places great emphasis on the construction of the identity of the Galatian Genoese on the basis of economic and urban conditions. She describes them as "hybrids" or possessing multiple identities based on dual loyalty: to the Muslim ruler, but also to the Catholic faith.¹¹ However, although she states that the Ahdname granted the Genoese the status of *rayassi*, she describes it as a legal identity rather than a religious one. She also said that the Ahdname had provided the Genoese with economic relations with the Ottomans, not with cultural ones.

It seems that the author's suppression of the religious image should be considered partly within the idea of multiculturalism and tolerance of the Ottoman era. According to Dauverd, Mehmed wanted the Genoese to stay in Galata – and later granted similar privileges to the Jews and Armenians – because of their commercial prestige, as he wanted his new capital to recover from the devastation.¹² It is worth comparing the two texts depending on the context and certain interpretations.

The Galatian Ahdname was originally issued in Greek, and there are later copies written in Turkish. The historical context of the events emerges from the text: the representatives of Galata handed over the keys to the sultan, thus acknowledging his sovereignty, whereupon he reciprocated by guaranteeing religious tolerance as well as personal and property security, confirming

⁹ Srećko Džaja points out that the Fojnica Ahdname could have been modelled after similar documents that the sultans had already issued for the Ragusans in 1442 and 1458. DŽAJA 2009. p. 155. He even leaves an open hypothesis that the Franciscans themselves were conscious of these arrangements and thus motivated not to leave Bosnia, confident that the same would eventually happen to them. Besides, there was also an Ahdname issued in 1462 in Srebrenica. Its original was soon lost, so its copy was issued in 1499. It was kept at the Franciscan Monastery and was last time mentioned in 1624, but it probably perished when the Franciscans abandoned Srebrenica in 1688. DŽAJA 2009. p. 159.

¹⁰ DAUVERD 2015. p. 91–124.

¹¹ DAUVERD 2015. p. 98–99.

¹² DAUVERD 2015. p. 103–106. It should be borne in mind that the author makes the wrong claim that Constantinople had a million inhabitants on the eve of May 1453 and that just after the conquest this number fell to 50.000. In reality, the latter figure corresponded to the situation found by the Ottomans at the beginning of the siege.

earlier trading privileges and introducing *haraç*. Open questions might be who exactly was meant by the Ahdname. Namely, three representatives whose surnames (Babylon Pallavicino, Marchisio de Franchi and Nicola Pagliuzzi who served as an interpreter) in all three cases suggest an affiliation to the Genoese community although a significant part of the population of Galata consisted of both Greeks and Jews. According to Dauverd, Jews were covered by the term *Latin-Rayassi*.¹³ In one of the points, the text speaks of “the people of Galata”, while later the Genoese merchants were highlighted separately. Based on the current state of research, the conclusion is justified that the Ahdname referred to all the inhabitants of Galata, but also that it guaranteed at least a temporary maintenance of the *status quo*, in which the Genoese played a leading role. After all, in the following decades, continuous and unhindered migration between Genoa and Galata can be traced in both directions.¹⁴

The text of the Fojnica Ahdname¹⁵ has long been the subject of debates as to whether it is an original, a forgery, or a subsequent reconstruction, because until recently the prevailing opinion was that the document dates to the seventeenth century.¹⁶ Radiocarbon analysis revealed that the document consists of two parts glued together.¹⁷ The upper one is younger and according to the analysis dates back to the period 1665–1808, while the lower one is older and can be dated to 1430–1465, suggesting that it is an original or a copy that was created at the same time. The bottom part is also the one that contains the main text. It is explicitly addressed to the Bosnian Franciscans and indeed allows them to worship unhindered and guarantees them personal security. The question is whether these privileges can automatically apply to Bosnian Catholics. This is where the discussion on the existence of millet comes into play.

As already said, the records stemming from the sources present a more complex picture of how the Fojnica Ahdname gained its significance. In the Bosnian Franciscan Province, the genre of chronicles experienced a boom in the eighteenth century.¹⁸ The same period is also the beginning of historiography. Writers did not usually begin in their own time. They recorded events from the past that they believed posterity should remember, thus showing what they considered valuable and significant. As one would expect, they devoted much space to the Ottoman occupation of Bosnia in 1463. They put emphasis on the military aspects of the whole event. They also wrote about the execution of the last Bosnian King and the counterattack that King Matthias Corvinus undertook in the fall of 1463. Surprisingly, there is no mention of a

¹³ DAUVERD 2015. p. 100.

¹⁴ DAUVERD 2015. p. 102–103. The author describes the status achieved by the Genoese as follows: “The ahdname conferred special status on the Genoese, who became foreign subjects of the Ottoman sultan.” See the previous footnote.

¹⁵ The Ahdname was not issued in Fojnica or was intended only for the Fojnica Monastery, but since it was kept there, it is often called *Fojnica Ahdname* (*Fojnička ahdnama*).

¹⁶ DŽAJA 2009. p. 160–166.

¹⁷ HORVATINČIĆ – SIRONIĆ – BAREŠIĆ – KOZJAK 2017. p. 1359–1368.

¹⁸ BARIŠIĆ 2021b. p. 65–68.

meeting between the sultan and the Franciscan vicar. The earliest among the chroniclers, Nikola Lašvanin, did not mention the Ahdname at all, and only noted Zvezdović's death and the place of his burial.¹⁹ Marijan Bogdanović, a chronicler of the Kreševno monastery who would later become a bishop, called the Ahdname a "little Hatisherif".²⁰ He added that there was a tradition according to which the Franciscans obtained it during the Ottoman conquest, but he did not note anything about a meeting between Mehmed and Zvezdović. The most comprehensive chronicle comes from the Sutjeska monastery, and its author was Bono Benić. He also associated the Ahdname with the period around the middle of the fifteenth century, but again without details about the entire event.²¹ Filip Lastrić, the author of the first history of the Bosnian Franciscan Province, even included a translation of the Ahdname, but he also recorded nothing about Zvezdović and his role.²² Taking everything into consideration, it becomes clear that the Franciscans of the eighteenth century did not neglect the existence of the Ahdname, but they did not insist on its importance. So far, it has not been possible to indicate when or how a story about the meeting at Milodraž entered the Franciscan tradition, but one of the first descriptions appeared in the *Enchiridion*, written by Mato Kristićević in the first half of the nineteenth century.²³ Nevertheless, his account must be taken with caution. Kristićević did not think much of the Ahdname and wrote that it deserved "the utmost contempt and trampling". Soon the situation was reversed, and the Ahdname took an increasingly important place in the Franciscan tradition. Still, in 1854 Martin Nedić, at the time provincial of the Bosnian Franciscans, submitted a memorial to the Sublime Porte describing the Ahdname. His description contains already a standardised story, yet Nedić omitted Zvezdović and his alleged role.²⁴ Thirty years later he wrote a comprehensive overview of the history of the Franciscans under Ottoman rule. Nedić thought that the Ahdname was issued in 1464 when Sultan Mehmed II returned to Bosnia to face the army of King Matthias Corvinus. Nedić wrote that the Ottoman army retreated to Milodraž, where the Franciscans also came and the sultan issued them – as Nedić denotes it – a contract.²⁵ Nevertheless, Nedić did not question the idea that this contract represented guarantees to the Franciscan position. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Julijan Jelenić called the Ahdname the "Magna Charta libertatum for Bosnian Franciscans",²⁶ and another Franciscan, Luka Markešić, on the occasion of the five hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Ahdname, said that it "represents a part of me".²⁷

¹⁹ LAŠVANIN 2003, p. 266.

²⁰ BOGDANOVIĆ 2003, p. 79.

²¹ BENIĆ 2003, p. 213.

²² LASTRIĆ 2003, p. 128–129. The text of the Ahdname can be found on p. 166–168.

²³ KRISTIĆEVIĆ 2019, p. 310–313.

²⁴ The complete text can be found in DRUJIĆ 1940, p. 147–148.

²⁵ NEDIĆ 2011, p. 7.

²⁶ JELENIĆ 1912, p. 116.

²⁷ MARKEŠIĆ 2004, p. 345–357.

In the case of the Bosnian Franciscans, it seems to have been the establishment of Ottoman rule that led to the final “Bosanization” of the province, since from that point on there were no provincials born outside Bosnia. Both Matthias Corvinus and Mehmed II played the card of the formal restoration of the Bosnian Kingdom after the Hungarian counter-offensive in the fall of 1463, but both attempts failed to get much response. When the Ottoman rule was finally consolidated sixty years later, many monasteries, including the one in Fojnica, fell victim to arson, probably as a kind of punishment for disloyalty.²⁸

The Bosnian Franciscans followed the paths of the Ottoman conquests and expanded the boundaries of their pastoral activity, which was recognised in Rome and Vienna, albeit often reluctantly. They also followed Bosnian trade, on which the Catholics had a dominant influence and share in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Paradoxically, the spillover of competition between different Catholic groups also brought the Franciscans into conflict with other representatives of the Catholic Church. Thus, for much of the seventeenth century, the conflict between the Bosnian and Ragusan merchant communities in Belgrade also took on the contours of the conflict between the Franciscans and the Jesuits.²⁹ Even at a time when the Ottoman Empire was constantly expanding, the Bosnian Franciscans often got into friction with representatives of the Church from the West. These disputes were of course settled in Rome, and in the process, the Franciscans often remained short-sleeved. Also, in the West quite bold ideas were often forged without a proper appreciation of the actual situation within Bosnia itself. One such example is the attempt to lure the Orthodox into union with the Catholic Church. The Franciscans initially declared such plans impossible and did not go along with them.³⁰ All this led to the development of a mentality that they thought they knew best how to treat the Ottoman authorities. Certainly, a strong argument was the fact the Ottomans often blamed the Franciscans for the behaviour of other Catholic envoys.

If we return to Kenanoğlu’s arguments about the absence of a millet system, they are important precisely because of their legal aspect. Kenanoğlu argues that non-Muslims had no legal autonomy or courts of their own. Islamic law also played a role in shaping the social and legal status of non-Muslims, with Kenanoğlu pointing out that there was only one legislative power – the State itself. Laws and ordinances applied to all subjects, and if it was desired to emphasize that something was special to non-Muslims, it was pointed out. Non-Muslim religious leaders did not possess the independent legislative authority to regulate their own communities. On the other hand, chroniclers frequently used the word *millet* as a term for each non-Muslim group, including their own. Moreover, in the 1850s when Omer pasha Latas finally broke the

²⁸ NEDIĆ 2011, p. 10–11 claims that the Ottomans burned the monasteries as an act of revenge for the defeat of their army in 1525.

²⁹ DŽAJA 1999, p. 168–169.

³⁰ DŽAJA 1999, p. 207–208.

resistance of the local Muslims towards central government, he tasked the Franciscans and the Orthodox clergy to collect taxes each from the members of their own community.³¹

It seems that the use of the Ahdname should be seen precisely in this context. Its importance grew during the period of competition with representatives of the Orthodox hierarchy. These disputes were settled in front of the Ottoman courts and according to their legislation, with the Catholic side prevailing each time.³² From the Ottoman point of view, siding with Catholics on this issue perhaps had a more pragmatic reason – by maintaining Franciscans out of the Orthodox jurisdiction they secured that the dispute would take place again and that the relations between the two Christian groups would remain hostile.³³ BeniĆ, himself a representative of the Catholic side during litigation that occurred in 1760, noticed this in his chronicle,³⁴ nevertheless, it is hard to deny that the change in the Franciscan attitude towards the Ahdname at least partly had its roots in their successful use of the documents issued by the Ottomans.

However, there are clear indications that the Franciscans were already familiar with the work of the Ottoman courts. An event from the eighteenth century can illustrate this. In 1757, after the foundation of the Province of St. John of Capistrano, the remaining part of the Bosnian Province was downgraded to the rank of custody and all privileges from earlier times were revoked. Filip Lastrić was tasked with regaining the previous status. As a result of his efforts, the *Epitome vetustatis*, the first historiographical work in Bosnia and Herzegovina was produced. In the introduction to the *Epitome*, Lastrić complains that he could find almost no important documents in the Bosnian archives to substantiate his efforts. Lastrić does not talk about it, but the archives in Fojnica were already very well supplied with various Ottoman documents in his time.³⁵ None of them has the potential of the Ahdname in the sense of becoming a kind of “charter of human rights”, but their number and Franciscan preservation indicate that they had practical application. The memorial written by Nedić (see above) primarily deals with the right of the Franciscan monasteries to own and purchase land, and the Ahdname is presented as a starting point for all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the

³¹ BA-AFSF, X. “Chronologica” 183. Kopija BeniĆa ljetopisa i nastavak Perišića. After BeniĆ died in 1785, there were few attempts for the continuation of the chronicle of the Sutjeska monastery, but with mixed results. Therefore, these parts were omitted from the version published in 2003. In 1876, Bono Perišić, a friar from Fojnica, made a transcription of all parts for his personal use. He also wrote down several events that he personally witnessed. His transcription has yet to be edited and published.

³² BARIŠIĆ 2021b, p. 74–76.

³³ DŽAJA 1999, p. 209.

³⁴ BENIĆ 2003, p. 207–217.

³⁵ SEKULIĆ 2019, p. 933–934 shows that between the Council of Trent and Lastrić’s time the Fojnica monastery gained around 3000 documents issued by the Ottomans. On the other hand, documents of Catholic provenance were much more scarce, mostly registries containing baptismal and matrimonial records. Fojnica Monastery kept a number of documents of the Bosnian Kingdom, but they perished in a fire in 1665. DŽAJA 2009, p. 213, footnote nr. 210.

Franciscans.³⁶ As presented by Ana Sekulić, even the documents of a lesser rank could have been successfully used for the same practical purpose.³⁷ Similarly related to patronage relations and integration into the Ottoman system is the wearing of caftans, which the Ottomans awarded when they wanted to single out individual non-Muslims.³⁸ It is also interesting that Bono Benić, one of the Bosnian chroniclers and the recipient of some type of kaftan himself, claims that this custom was introduced only in 1758, while on the other hand, the Bosnian Franciscan tradition paid great attention to the story that Sultan Mehmed II, in addition to the Ahdname, gave Zvezdović his own mantel, which is also kept in the monastery in Fojnica.³⁹

A turning point in the revaluation of the Ahdname is to be sought in the ever-increasing tensions between the Province and the Apostolic Vicariate of Bosnia after its later foundation in 1735. Inspired by the ideas of the Council of Trent, the apostolic vicars, though themselves Bosnian Franciscans, constantly sought to establish their authority over the province. The Apostolic Vicariate of Bosnia was somehow different from other vicariates organised in areas of Europe where Catholics lived as an often untolerated minority. Rome organised two vicariates: in 1667 Apostolic Vicariate for the Nordic Missions covering Scandinavia and protestant areas of Germany, followed by the Apostolic Vicariate of Scotland in 1694.⁴⁰ The main goal was to make the vicariates self-sustainable in a matter of clergy, but this did not represent an easy task. Scottish vicars mostly stayed within the area of their jurisdiction albeit forced to keep their profile low. In the Nordic case, the title of the vicar was often held by some German bishop from the Catholic parts thus the vicar mostly was not present. During the eighteenth century, the number of Catholics in Scotland was constantly declining, but the majority of the clergy was nevertheless native-born.⁴¹ In the northern parts of Europe, this role was more than often taken by foreign-born missionaries. None of the clerical institutions from the pre-Reformation era survived. On the other hand, Bosnian Franciscans – regardless of some shortcomings – still provided a solid base thus leaving the Holy See “only” with the task of selecting a suitable candidate.

Each of the Bosnian apostolic vicars came into disagreements with the province at some point during his tenure, but tensions erupted into open conflict on two occasions. The first time occurred during the tenure of Grgo

³⁶ DRUJIĆ 1940. p. 147–149. In 1867. Nedić sent a letter to Mijo Gujić, then an actual provincial, reminding him of the similar content. DRUJIĆ 1940. p. 149–151.

³⁷ SEKULIĆ 2019. p. 925–962.

³⁸ KURSAR 2022. p. 143–166.

³⁹ The mantel was also subjected to radiocarbon analysis. The results showed that it also contained two layers. The younger one originates from the approximately same period as the younger part of the Ahdname. On the other hand, the older layer has a possible timespan of production between 1492 and 1641, and therefore probably did not belong to the Sultan Mehmed II. HORVATINČIĆ – SIRONIĆ – BAREŠIĆ – KOZJAK 2017. p. 1359–1368.

⁴⁰ Both were eventually partitioned to smaller ones.

⁴¹ LYNCH 1991. p. 365–367.

Ilijić (1798–1813),⁴² and the tenure of Rafo Barišić (1831–1846) developed into a major conflict with significant consequences for both parties. As mentioned earlier, the Bosnian Franciscans were no strangers to disagreements within their own ranks or with members of the clergy from other Catholic areas. What was new in these two cases was the greater involvement of foreign policy. Both Ilijić and his predecessor Augustin Botoš Okić owed their election to the strong Habsburg influence.⁴³ Botoš Okić returned the favour by enabling an officer in the Habsburg army to conduct a spy mission throughout parts of Bosnia populated by Catholics in 1785.⁴⁴ Ilijić strongly opposed French efforts to spread their influence on the Franciscans. During this period the majority, if not all of the Franciscans in Bosnia held a pro-Habsburg political orientation and hoped for liberation.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Habsburg meddling in the election of the vicars met some opposition. Barišić was elected as a suitable candidate for various groups interested in Bosnian affairs, but very quickly he came into open conflict with a significant part of the province. Barišić held some support both among the Franciscans and the common folk but was unable to break the resistance among the others, so he decided to strengthen his position by involving foreign factors, especially in Rome and Vienna. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith made several decisions in favour of Barišić, and Vienna in a way also turned its back on Barišić's opponents and in 1843 even banned Bosnian Franciscans from coming to the Monarchy.⁴⁶ Unwilling to give in, they sought help elsewhere and found it on the Ottoman side. Instead of exploiting these intra-Catholic tensions, the local dignitaries were suspicious of Barišić's connections and interested in maintaining the status quo. Barišić himself took the whole matter to the vizier's court in Travnik but failed. Undeterred, he moved on to Constantinople, with the same result. Although this was anything but a defeat, Barišić soon gave up and resigned. Instead, he took over the newly established vicariate in Herzegovina.⁴⁷

In the eyes of the province, the struggle against Barišić was strongly reminiscent of the events of 1757, when it was confronted with the loss of its history. But this time they were better prepared. Both during and after the 'Barišić's Affair', his opponents actively wrote various texts – mainly pamphlets (called *gravamina*) – to prove that the apostolic vicar was acting against the "good old customs." The past – or its version as they saw it – became their main argument. Comments such as "never heard of it" and "nobody remembers it" are almost always used to describe the effect Barišić's ideas supposedly caused. The idea that the Franciscans played an exclusive role throughout Bosnian history was gaining ground. This idea itself was not new, for it had existed since

⁴² DŽAJA 1971. p. 189–223.

⁴³ DŽAJA 1971. p. 112–114.

⁴⁴ BARIŠIĆ 2021a. p. 44, 52, 64.

⁴⁵ DŽAJA 1971. p. 90–93.

⁴⁶ BARIŠIĆ 2021a. p. 272–274.

⁴⁷ The 'Barišić's Affair' has represented a heated topic ever since. Among the number of books and papers written about it, the most balanced view can be found in: VRANKIĆ 1984.

at least the sixteenth century. The core idea remained the same, but the description was adapted to current circumstances. The main focus was always on the Bosnian Kingdom and the Franciscans as its preservers until the moment of liberation. Before the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a rather vague idea of the re-establishment of the Kingdom as an independent state, but this was abandoned in favour of the more realistic version, which considered Bosnia as part of the *Archiregnum Hungariae* and therefore granted the Habsburgs the inheritance and the right to liberate it.⁴⁸ These two ideas were in stark contrast to the Ottomans. However, the reality of life put the Franciscans in a position where they found their niche within the Ottoman legal system. As already shown, they were successful in using documents given to them by the Ottoman authorities. Also, earlier experience in dealing with visitors from the West taught them that the Ottomans would always hold Franciscans responsible, even if they did not make any action themselves. Although this caused many nuisances and troubles, it also gradually strengthened their belief that the legal contracts with their Muslim rulers guaranteed them an exclusive position. The struggle against Orthodox dignitaries had already shown that the documents provided to them by the Ottomans can serve the purpose desirable to the Franciscans. The events of the 'Barišić's Affair' further strengthened it, especially as they could have felt that it was exactly their position within the Ottoman legal frame that enabled them to achieve victory. Another important factor was that Rome and Vienna, whom they earlier regarded as their protectors, in a way let them down by siding with Barišić.

A narrative paradigm of this can be found in the short description of the court hearing in Travnik mentioned above, which was written down in the chronicle of the Sutjeska monastery. According to its author, Barišić came to Travnik very confident that he would come as a victor, but things quickly took an unfavourable turn for him. It is worth quoting a short excerpt:

“The bishop endeavoured that the Vizier and the pashas should compel the friars to submit to his rule, but they had nice firmans who would not allow it. And when he was asked if he had a firman that would allow him to do what he wished, he produced the letter of the Prefect of Propaganda and said: « This is the letter of the Pope's Representative. » The Vizier and the pashas were astonished and asked: « How can the Pope interfere with ancient customs and allow you to rule over the Emperor's firmans even if they date from the time of the conquest? »”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ DŽAJA 1999. p. 197–198 and 213–214, especially in the footnotes.

⁴⁹ BA-AFSF, X. “Chronologica” 183. Kopija Beniča ljetopisa i nastavak Perišića. The chronicler uses the term *Emperor* for the sultan. Franciscans used this term for both the sultan and the Habsburg ruler, but in Croatian these terms were different: the sultan was *car* and the Emperor *cesar*. *Firman* is a royal decree issued by a sovereign in an Islamic state. In the English language it is common to use spelling based on Perisan origin of the word. In Turkish it is spelled as *ferman*, and that is a version used by the Franciscan chroniclers.

The story continues how the Ottoman court advised both parties to agree not to interfere with each other's authority – “as it has always been” – which the Franciscans were willing to do, but Barišić refused and declared his intention to take the dispute to Constantinople (as mentioned). Baltić describes the scene in his *Yearbook* in an even more unfavourable way for Barišić: “The Vizier became angry, grabbed the firman and said: « This is what commands here, and not the Pope, Vienna or Muscovite. »”⁵⁰ As it can be noticed, Adhname itself is not particularly mentioned. The vizier and the other members of the court favoured the Franciscans as the owners of the sultan's firmans, which Barišić himself did not own.⁵¹ It was a nineteenth century social climate with a strong emphasis on the past, in a way that combined antiquity with value, that produced the Ahdname as a source for all other documents. This is also evident in other places in Baltić's *Yearbook*. Shortly before the Travnik trial, the province wrote a memorial with six points addressed to both Rome and the sultan. Two of these six points refer to relations with the Ottoman authorities. In the second point, the Franciscans declare their intention to remain loyal to the sultan, as they have done since 1463. In the fourth point, they promise to keep, preserve and defend all the firmans and berats that have been granted to them over the last four centuries.⁵² They addressed another request to the court itself, asking whether it was possible for a bishop to subjugate the Franciscans, since they bear the Ahdname “even if he had received a mandate from Rome.”⁵³ According to Baltić, the greatest fear among Barišić's opponents was caused by the possibility that he would somehow obtain a firman for himself.

In a sense, this was not unjustified. The Franciscans had already experienced what it meant to be left without prior guarantees. Technically, each time the new sultan ascended the throne, he had to confirm the rights, privileges and guarantees of his predecessor. In 1765, Sultan Mustafa III revoked all privileges, including those of the Franciscans. In 1774, he was succeeded by his brother Abdul Hamid I and the province decided to send an envoy to obtain confirmation of the previous rights. In 1775, Petar Alović came to Constantinople, but left again without having fulfilled his mission. In 1779, two friars travelled to Vienna to try to obtain confirmation through the mediation of the Habsburg Court but had to return with the same result. Finally, Josip Tomić travelled to the Holy Land in 1781 and managed to reclaim old privileges on his way back in 1784. He was supported in this by Ragusan, Habsburg and British ambassadors.⁵⁴ Nedić wrote his work according to a

⁵⁰ BALTĀIĆ 2003. p. 169.

⁵¹ “*The turks said to the bishop: « Bring us a firman, and we will act according to it. »*” BALTĀIĆ 2003. p. 169. The author does not use capital letters when speaking of *turks* because he understands them as a religious (i.e. Muslim) and not a national group.

⁵² BALTĀIĆ 2003. p. 154–155.

⁵³ BALTĀIĆ 2003. p. 156–157.

⁵⁴ DŽAJA 1971. p. 124–125. BARIŠIĆ 2021a. p. 46–47. Baltić gives a concise but vivid description of the whole scene. BALTĀIĆ 2003. p. 94–95. Because of his pilgrimage, Tomić received the nickname *Hadžija*, by which he later became known.

narrative pattern according to which the Franciscans always had to restore the validity of the received firmans.⁵⁵

So, did the Franciscan province of Bosna Srebrena constitute a separate millet? Or is it more appropriate to speak of the millet mentality? As shown, this is a narrative pattern that can be placed within the framework of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Just as the millet system was not established in the fifteenth century, the decision of the Franciscans to remain in Bosnia after the 1463 catastrophe should not be seen as an endorsement of such relations. Finally, the question arises to what extent they might have thought of a possible Islamisation of Bosnian territory at that moment. But that is exactly what happened, and furthermore, the shift of the border of the Ottoman conquests far to the west led to the immigration of large groups of Orthodox Christians. The Bosnian Catholics soon found themselves in a situation where they enjoyed tolerance but not full religious freedom. After the great migratory movements in the 1690s, their social structure also changed. Now the Franciscans remained as the only social elite of their denominational group. Although they shared the same space, the members of the three confessional communities lived in a kind of voluntary isolation from each other. The most pronounced area of mutual contact was economic affairs. The Franciscans also participated in this, for their monasteries were also economic subjects. They tried to expand their possessions and secure as many rights and privileges as possible. It seems that the archival activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was mainly aimed at preserving and conserving documents of Ottoman provenance. The Franciscans used them in numerous lawsuits and were thus able to maintain their position, often at a great financial sacrifice. Traditionally, religious leaders were considered to play the role of legal and political representatives in the millet system. The Bosnian Franciscans fit into such a picture. Their prominent position is also reflected in some other symbolic gestures by the Ottoman authorities, such as giving away caftans. Sometime in the seventeenth century, the "repair" of the Ahdname and the mantle with which Sultan Mehmed II allegedly gifted the Franciscan vicar Anđeo Zvezdović happened. However, the story of their meeting does not appear in the chronicles of the eighteenth century. The chroniclers acknowledge the existence of the Ahdname, but do not yet attached any particular importance to it, and some even expressed a negative attitude. The challenges facing the province, however, placed more emphasis on the past.

These challenges did not come from the Ottomans, but from the Orthodox and also from the Catholic West. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Orthodox bishops repeatedly tried to obtain from the Ottoman authorities the right to place the Franciscans (and Bosnian Catholics) under their jurisdiction. For this reason, bitter lawsuits ensued, from which the Catholics always emerged victorious. The first challenge from the western side was the temporary abolition of the province and its downgrading to a lower rank. In

⁵⁵ NEDIĆ, 2011.

both cases, the Franciscans won the victory by arguing with their historical right. Although the Orthodox also received firmans as permission for their trials, the Ottomans decided in court – after a large amount of bribes – in favour of the Franciscans because their firmans were older. It is, therefore, not unusual that the Ahdname was perceived as the source of all others, as the beginning and the main guarantee. This was particularly evident in the events of the ‘Barišić’s Affair’. International factors also interfered in this essentially internal Franciscan conflict. The province felt abandoned by its previous protectors in Rome and Vienna and therefore turned to the Ottomans – relying on conservatism. It could consider Barišić’s resignation from the office of apostolic vicar as a victory and believed that it owed it to the fact that it had firmans but Barišić did not. In the following decades, the tide turned and the province began to lose its exclusive position. The arrival of the Austro-Hungarian occupation was the logical end, but one that many found difficult to come to terms with. The view of the “better past”, so typical of the nineteenth century, already had contours based on experience and became the backbone of the construction of the narrative described. The development of national ideas and movements also led to the need to create an image of the Bosnian past as a story of mutual respect and tolerance, in which the Ahdname could again serve as a solid basis for such arguments.

In the end, the question remains, why “Franciscan” and not “Catholic” millet? Because it is primarily a narrative form, and although they were not the only literate persons within their confessional community, only the Franciscans managed to leave written sources in this period. Already in their writings it is noticeable that they did not always succeed in conveying their image of relations with the faithful, which is expressed above all in the already mentioned pervasiveness of national ideas, which primarily follow denominational boundaries. Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina became confronted with concepts and narratives that originate outside Bosnia itself, which is another point on which they would often differ from the Franciscans. However, the presentation of these movements would require a separate article.

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András FORGÓ

Religious Tolerance as a Political Argument. Debates on the Legal Status of the Protestants of Hungary, 1790–1791

The Decree of Toleration (1781) brought radical changes to the lives of the Calvinist, Lutheran and Orthodox denominations in the Kingdom of Hungary. The most important change was that the private religious practice was substantially extended. Another important element of the decree was that it exempted non-Catholics from the so-called decretal oath and from participating in Catholic rites. Equally significant is the regulation on marriage law, which, among other things, specified the denominational status of children in mixed marriages and after conversions. Following the death of Joseph II (1790), an unprecedented political ferment began in Hungary. As no assembly of the Estates had been convened since 1765, the Hungarian political elite, inspired not least by the French example, felt that the time had come to put into practice the long-matured reform ideas. Among these matters, the religious question was the most prominent. The majority of the Estates supported the equal rights of the Protestant denominations, and only the Catholic clergy and a few secular Catholics maintained the earlier intolerant position. With the legalization of the free exercise of religion by the two Protestant (and Orthodox) denominations initiated the process of dismantling the status of Catholicism as a state religion. A few decades later, this led to the establishment of religious equality, an essential cornerstone of the modern civil state.

Keywords: Decree of Toleration, religious policy, Diet, Estates, Joseph II., Kingdom of Hungary



Less than a year after Joseph II's accession to the throne, on 24 October 1781, the final text of the Decree of Toleration, undoubtedly the most famous and influential measure of his reign, was issued to the subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary. The decree, which was published after prolonged preparation, brought radical changes to the lives of the members of the Calvinist, Lutheran

and Orthodox denominations in the area, even though the changes outlined in its text were only put into practice after a great struggle. “We are convinced that any coercion which is forcibly imposed on the conscience of people is more harmful than anything else, whereas the right kind of patience which Christian charity demands is a source of great benefit both to religion and to the state, and we are therefore resolved to confirm this tolerance in all our imperial and royal hereditary provinces by clear laws.” This is how the need for a regulation is expressed in the introductory lines of the text.¹

On one hand, the measures reinforce the laws and privileges granted to the Lutheran, Calvinist and Orthodox denominations since the Treaty of Vienna (1606)² and the decree of Emperor Leopold (*Explanatio Leopoldina*, 1691). On the other hand, religious tolerance is extended to those areas of the Kingdom of Hungary “where non-Catholics are prohibited by law, [they are denied] privileges for the public exercise of their religion and the benefits of other civil rights.” The decree approaches the issue aligned previous case law, i.e., it continues to interpret the status of the denominations concerned in Hungary by distinguishing between public and private religious practice. According to the text of the decree, public religious practice without restrictions is only granted to their members where it was guaranteed by law and royal privilege. In other places, private religious practice prevailed. In this respect, Joseph also followed the politics of the monarchs, which first manifested in the decree of Leopold I of 1691.³

The radical change in denominational policy was the substantial extension of this private religious practice. In this context it made the well-known provision that private houses of prayer were allowed to be built in all places which had no public religious exercise, and where at least one hundred non-Catholic families lived, in such a way that they had neither steeples, nor bells or entrances from the public road, as public churches have. In addition, it removed all limitations which previously restricted the rights of non-Catholics, either generally or in certain places, in the exercise of office, tenure and other similar areas. Another important and well-known element of the decree was that it exempted non-Catholics from the so-called decretal oath⁴ and from participating in Catholic rites. Equally significant is the regulation on marriage law, which, among other things, specified the denominational status of children in mixed marriages and after conversions.

It is clear from the above that Joseph’s decree was far from aiming to create equality between religions: “On the other hand, the laws and privileges of the country which are in favour of the dominant religion shall be preserved.”⁵ Joseph was convinced of the need for the dominance of the Catholic Church

¹ MÁLYUSZ 1940, p. 269.

² Between Emperor Rudolf II as King of Hungary (1576–1608) and István Bocskai as Prince of Transylvania (1605–1606).

³ FORGÓ 2017, p. 273–287. See also CSEPREGI 2009; KOWALSKÁ 2017; KOWALSKÁ 2018.

⁴ A compulsory oath to be taken by officials in the name of the Holy Virgin and the Saints, in case they wanted to assume their offices.

⁵ MÁLYUSZ 1940, p. 271.

from an early age. Even in his mother's lifetime, he expressed his desire to convert all his subjects to Catholicism, but this could only be done by force. However, this was not the way for the state to function for it would be to judge divine mercy and to rule the consciences of its subjects. Only the Holy Spirit could enlighten hearts, and the state could serve the interests of its subjects by enforcing tolerance. By the application of religious tolerance, discrimination between subjects could be abolished, and thus the state could benefit all who are able, without distinction of religion. But Joseph's belief in the primacy of the Catholic religion was also reflected in his response to Chancellor Kaunitz's opinion in November 1781. Kaunitz expressed concern about the use of the term "true, solely saving religion (*wahre, allein selig machende Religion*)" in the text of the decree and proposed to use the term "Our Holy Catholic Church (*unsere heilige katholische Kirche*)" instead. Joseph, however, rejected the proposal because the text was not intended to be published in print, and he did not consider it necessary to change the phrase which he said gave the Catholic Church its essence.⁶

Like the decrees of the previous rulers, Joseph's measures applied only to the established denominations of the Kingdom of Hungary. As regards other 'sects', he followed the policy of his predecessors, especially Maria Theresa, who also considered their activities harmful to the state. In this context, the Abrahamics or Deists in Bohemia are cited as an example. Even the prominent representative of the Enlightenment in Göttingen, August Ludwig Schlözer, called them a peculiar group because, in addition to proclaiming love for their neighbours, they rejected all the obligations of the state: not only the oath and military service, but also the marriage bond. They did not even consider themselves Christians, but only as a community bound by the Ten Commandments and rejected any ecclesiastical hierarchy. Joseph's decree of March 1783 ordered all men and women of age to settle in Transylvania, and to leave their children under the age of fifteen to the care of the local inhabitants. The harsh decree, however, did little to eradicate the "sect". Even at the end of his reign, Joseph took action against religious groups he considered dangerous: for example, in a decree of July 1789, he banned Mennonites (a group of Anabaptists) from settling down in his kingdom.⁷

The announcement of the program of religious tolerance was, of course, immediately echoed among members of the Catholic clergy. Historiography generally highlights the rigid opposition of the clergy, and more recent works mention resistance as the main feature, especially among the high clergy.⁸ On the other hand, research has long been concerned with the behaviour of those members of the clergy who, influenced by Enlightenment ideas, explicitly welcomed Joseph's policies, at least initially, and supported some or all of his measures.⁹ One of these was Marx Anton Wittola (1736–1797), a parish priest

⁶ MÁLYUSZ 1939, p. 99–100.

⁷ MITROFANOV 1910, p. 725–726.

⁸ BAHLCKE 2013, p. 371–398.

⁹ KOVACS 1979; LEHNER–PRINTY 2010.

born in Upper Silesia, whose work on tolerance was published anonymously in Vienna at the end of 1781, and in Hungarian the following year.¹⁰ It is an interesting fact that the Hungarian translation was made by a Reformed pastor, István Nagy Szerencsi (†1789).¹¹ Wittola dated the work to 24 September 1781, before the Austrian imperial decree of toleration was issued, but it is difficult not to see the impact of the ecclesiastical policy of Joseph II in the text. In addition to the imperial formulation of Christian tolerance, he is also explicitly critical of the monastic orders, especially the mendicants and the Jesuits, which were the most rejected ones by the Josephine policy. Like Joseph II, Wittola does not advocate religious freedom, only tolerance. And it is no coincidence that the Hungarian translation appeared shortly after the publication of the Decree of Toleration in Hungary. Our suspicion is not unfounded: the work was written by Wittola on the order of the Council of State (*Staatsrat*). The reaction of the Holy See was not favourable: almost exactly two years after the publication, on 26 September 1781, Wittola's work was indexed. But the document also had a considerable impact, as it is shown by the fact that the author also produced a second and a third work on tolerance.¹²

In addition to Wittola's work, it is worth mentioning that another anonymous pamphlet was published in 1783, which lists the grievances of Protestants against the power of the clergy in Hungary, especially in relation to the prevention of the implementation of the Decree of Toleration. Although the title suggests that it was written by a Viennese author (*Schreiben eines Wiener...*), previous research has linked the work to József Benczur (1728–1784), a well-known Lutheran thinker of the time in Hungary.¹³ The work has never been published in Hungarian, although a translation was completed, it remained in manuscript to this day.¹⁴ According to the author, it was in the Kingdom of Hungary where the implementation of Joseph II's Decree of Toleration encountered the most obstacles even though almost the half of the population was Protestant. Their religious freedom was not a matter of royal favour, nor did it depend solely on the law, but was guaranteed by treaties between Catholic and Protestant Estates, above all by the peace treaties concluded between the 'sovereign' Transylvanian princes and the Hungarian kings.¹⁵ The author suggested that it was clear from these sources, that the Catholic Estates had no right to restrict the Protestant practice of religion. The influence of the powerful Catholic ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries

¹⁰ Über die Toleranz; See: PETRIK 1891. p. 462.

¹¹ BELLÁGH 1990. p. 419.

¹² BRANDL 1974. p. 101, 103.

¹³ BAHLCKE 2013. 358.

¹⁴ OSZKK Quart. Hung. 253. *Egy Bétsi Embernek Levele, Valamely Római Sz. Birodalomban lakozó Magyar Barátságához, Mellyben a Tolerántzia vagy Vallásbéli Türedelem állapotja s dolga Magyar Országban, s annak előmenetele és akadályai, bátran és szabadon megvissgáltatna*

¹⁵ For example, the aforementioned Treaty of Vienna (1606) and the Treaty of Linz (1647) between Emperor Ferdinand III. as King of Hungary (1637–1657) and György I. Rákóczi as Prince of Transylvania (1630–1648).

extended only to political matters, but the cause of religion could not depend on it. The deplorable state of tolerance in Hungary, the work argues, was primarily the result of the almost unlimited power of bishops and archbishops.¹⁶

It is evident from the text of the pamphlet that Benczur interpreted from the Decree of Toleration as the granting of religious freedom to the established Protestant denominations in Hungary, although, as we have seen, this is not what the text of the decree states. He criticizes the fact that Protestants in the Kingdom of Hungary are treated differently from their Catholic subjects, even though this is explicitly stated in the text of the decree. It is true that Joseph's decrees in the second half of his reign gradually abolished the distinction between the public and private religious practice of Protestant denominations, so that most of the changes demanded by Benczur were slowly implemented. But, as we have seen, Joseph had no intention of introducing equality between the established denominations in Hungary.

The most important lesson of the two pamphlets is that the Catholic and Protestant parties had different interpretations of the denominational relations that had developed as a result of Josephinist policy, and that within the Catholic camp there were different views on the question of the attitude towards non-Catholic denominations. Advocating broad tolerance for Protestants, Wittola took the reformer Catholic position, while the Protestant position, as expressed by Benczur, saw in Josephinist policy the acquisition of unrestricted freedom of religious practice and even freedom of conscience, which was hindered by the hostility of the Catholic clergy. It was therefore expected that after Joseph's death, the political struggle to settle the religious debates would be rekindled.

Following the death of Joseph II (20 February 1790), an unprecedented political ferment began in Hungary. The emergence of this large-scale movement can be attributed to elementary protests against the ruler's decrees, as well as the dissemination of new ideas, partly as a result of his policies. This national activity, previously unimaginable in its intensity, was prompted by the Diet in Buda, convened in June 1790 on the initiative of Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who succeeded Joseph under the name of Leopold II (1790–1792).

As no assembly of the Estates had been convened since the turbulent Diet of 1764–1765, the Hungarian political elite, inspired not least by the French example, felt that the time had come to put into practice the long-matured reform ideas. Although the initial, almost revolutionary mood, was thoroughly cooled by the ruler's extremely skilful (and equally unethical) domestic and foreign policy moves, the Diet of 1790–1791 proved to be a milestone in the history of Hungarian political life. The latter revolutionary atmosphere additionally threatened the monarchy and even meant a challenge with the

¹⁶ Schreiben eines Wieners.

transformation of the political system, as it was conceived in the plans of some radical reformers.

Jean Bérenger, an eminent French scholar on the subject, has described it on the example of the 1867 Austro-Hungarian reconciliation as “the Compromise of 1790–91”.¹⁷ In order to preserve the status quo, i.e. the previous relationship between Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy, the emperor was willing to take gestures such as issuing a coronation charter (of the time of Maria Theresa),¹⁸ or to enacting a law (more symbolic than having an actual political impact) stating that Hungary could only be governed according to its own laws and through its own institutions.¹⁹ By bringing this grand compromise to fruition, it was primarily the officials who were elevated to national politics during Joseph’s time: Chancellor Károly Pálffy (1787–1807), Lord Chief Justice Károly Zichy (1788–1795) and Personalis József Ürményi (1789–1795), also speaker in the lower house. While other traditional actors in the politics of the Estates, including the clergy, took an active part in other matters of equal importance discussed during the Diet.²⁰ Among these matters, the religious question was the most prominent.

The “renaissance” of religious affairs came after a long break of decades in the Diet. Charles VI (1711–1740) decided to take the matter into his own hands after the endless religious disputes of the Diet of 1728–1729, regulating the matter by decree, so that in the following decades the religious quarrels – that had previously poisoned the atmosphere – mostly disappeared from the supreme political forum.²¹ As we will see, this too eventually resulted in the monarch seizing the right to decide, but religion no longer dominated the whole Diet to the extent it had done at the beginning of the century.

Preceding the Diet and continuing in its early stages, religion was a prominent topic also in the district sessions,²² and it also occurred several times during the discussion of the coronation charter. From 12 August, a special mixed deputation (*deputatio mixta*) was set up to discuss the matter and to try to refine the sometimes excessively Catholic and sometimes excessively Protestant wording of the drafts of the district sessions. As expected, the most heated debates were over the regulation of conversions, the religion of children born in mixed marriages and the jurisdiction of courts in mixed-religion marriage cases. The committee sent to the matter could not settle the differences of opinion, and the debates continued on the political stage of the Diet when the religious question was discussed in early September.

¹⁷ BÉRENGER – KECSKEMÉTI 2008. p. 185.

¹⁸ Art. 2/1791: *Diploma regium per sacram regiam majestatem ante felicem inaugurationem, coronationemque suam statibus et ordinibus regni datum, publicis constitutionibus regni inseritur.* CJH 1740–1835. p. 144–150.

¹⁹ Art. 10/1791: *De independentia regni Hungariae, partiumque eidem annexarum.* Ibid. p. 158.

²⁰ BÉRENGER – KECSKEMÉTI 2008. p. 185–189.

²¹ SZIJÁRTÓ 2020. p. 79–91.

²² Before the Diet, the Estates discussed the main topics in district sessions. The country was divided into four districts. SZIJÁRTÓ 2020. p. 198–202.

The clergy stuck to their previous position and only considered it acceptable to strengthen Art. 30/1715, which would have allowed only the highly regulated religious practice of Protestants and would have given the right to decide on controversial issues to the monarch.²³ The majority of the Estates, including the majority of lay Catholics, considered this position to be outdated, and in fact wanted to settle the matter of religion in the spirit of Joseph II's decree of toleration. However, the issue could not be settled satisfactorily, either in September or at the December reopening of the case, and the possibility of drafting the bill was left to the emperor.²⁴

The Protestant Estates, in keeping with previous practice and maintaining their claim to their independent political representation (*status evangelicus*), held separate conferences in 1790. In addition, the question of the Orthodox subjects in Hungary was raised in the debates, but this aroused considerably less emotion than the Protestant issue. The Hungarian Estates were willing to pass a law on the free exercise of religion and the right to hold office for the "non-united Greeks" (i.e., the Orthodox subjects, who have not joined the Catholic Church) without any particular opposition. The Orthodox bishops also asked the monarch for the right to sit and vote in the Diet, and on 11 June, they visited Vienna under the leadership of the Metropolitan of Srmski Karlovci, but the Diet had not yet accepted them.²⁵

Another way of resolving the Protestant question was, as in the previous century, to appeal directly to the monarch. The possibility of this had been raised at the opening of the Diet, but at that time, the majority of the Protestants did not dare to resort to this means. The emperor had not yet been invited, and in the opinion of the opposition, the question of succession to the throne was still open.²⁶ It was only after a lengthy debate in February 1791 that the issue of religion was finally discussed. At the end of the previous year, the clergy had already been on the defensive, as in his letter of 11 November, Leopold II had effectively adopted the position of the mixed deputation on the matter, which had taken the side of the Protestants' emancipation. The clergy was particularly disturbed by the concessions that would not criminalize conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism (i.e., apostasy), that would end the jurisdiction of Catholic diocesan courts in Protestant marriages, and that in mixed marriages, where the father was a Protestant, not all children would be raised Catholic, only the daughters. Additionally, the commission's draft originally went even further: children were to follow the religion of their parents according to their sex. The latter was changed by the monarch's decree.

Finally, the clergy also refused to classify Protestant denominations as established religions, because this – according to them – would have infringed

²³ Art. 30/1715 *In negotio religionis renovantur articuli 25. et 26. 1681, nec non 21. 1687 annorum.*

²⁴ MARCZALI 1907. vol. 2. p. 199, 256–261, 296–300.

²⁵ Krónika. p. 255, 280.

²⁶ *Filum interruptum successionis* (i.e., breaking the thread of succession) was a keyword in the terminology of the opposition, as a result of the "unconstitutional" rule of Joseph II.

the right of the sovereign to be the emperor's general. To enforce their will, the members of the clergy, and the Catholic lay Estates supporting them gathered at the residence of the archbishop of Kalocsa on 30 November, and they drafted a petition there, explaining their position. It was eventually signed by 84 participants and taken to the emperor by a delegation. The petition, drafted without the knowledge of the majority of the Diet, caused a huge uproar among the Protestants and their allied Catholics on religious matters. Dissatisfied protesters published pamphlets and a list of the names of the Estates that had signed or not signed the petition.²⁷

The debate then continued at the Diet. József Batthyány, archbishop of Esztergom (1776–1799), who held the highest ecclesiastical dignity in Hungary as primate of Hungary (*primas Hungariae*), declared at the session of 9 December, that the free exercise of religion by Protestants could be allowed, provided it did not conflict with the Catholic religion. Thus, conversion from the Catholic faith to a Protestant denomination would continue to be prohibited. Similarly, the establishment of Protestant ecclesiastical tribunals and the administration of marriage trials there according to their own rules, and the Protestant upbringing of children in mixed marriages where the father is Protestant, and the mother Catholic would remain to be prohibited. Ultimately, the archbishop stood by what he had said in the 30 November letter. László Kollonich, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1787–1817) and Károly Eszterházy, Bishop of Eger (1762–1799) were of the same opinion. The archbishop of Kalocsa, also in line with the petition, objected to the reference to the Catholic religion as a “*recepta religio*”, as this would call into question the status of Catholicism as a state religion. In addition to the above, Ferenc Splényi, Bishop of Vác (1787–1795) objected to the establishment of consistories among Protestant institutions, which had not been established before. However, he also declared that the clergy was willing to accept the free exercise of religion, the building of churches and schools, the ordination of clergy, and the renunciation of the payment of parish taxes. He then asked the Protestants to accept the agreement on these terms, thus establishing peace.

On the part of the secular Catholic Estates, Károly Zichy, Lord Chief Justice made a similar statement, but he added a few compromise proposals to what was stated: only that the law should not punish converts with imprisonment, that secular courts should have jurisdiction in marriage trials instead of Protestant consistories, and that the requirement that both children of the Catholic father's sex should follow the Catholic religion should remain. Additionally, he advocated that Protestants should refrain from calling the Catholic religion a receptive religion. József Ürményi, speaker of the lower house also made suggestions: apostasy should not be criminalized, but “reckless playing with faith” should be prevented. In other respects, he supported Zichy's proposals. Several Protestants and Catholics contributed to the debate, and it was finally agreed to submit the article as read the previous

²⁷ *Catalogus*.

day to the Sovereign. Thus, in December, the earlier rigid position of confining the Protestant question to the pre-reign of Joseph II was finally overcome.

However, in February, the last meeting on the issue failed to fully resolve the differences. Once again, several county representatives saw the text proposed by the emperor as a violation of the Catholic religion. The most detailed account on this was the speech of József Boronkay, the representative of Somogy county, which was later published in print. However, Alajos Batthyány, a former Jesuit monk and relative of the archbishop of Esztergom, supported the free practice of religion by Protestants, because it was also for the benefit of the country.²⁸

Finally, a clause similar to the one in the Treaty of Linz (1647) was added to the draft law, allowing the dismissal of the opposition from the clergy and certain secular Catholics. The Croatian Estates, however, succeeded in ensuring that neither Protestants, nor Orthodox were granted equal rights in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.²⁹

Unsurprisingly, the main protagonist of the religious dispute on the clergy's side was, Archbishop Joseph Batthyány. It is worth briefly reviewing how the prelate, famous for his role in the Catholic reform movement and his support for Maria Theresa's church policy, became the main opposition politician in the religious debate of 1790, as he was far from being alone among the Catholic clergy in his 'conversion'. Many scholars of Hungarian church history consider the archbishop as one of the most significant prelates of the second half of the eighteenth century. Both his brief tenure as bishop of Transylvania (1759–1760), his activities as archbishop of Kalocsa (1760–1776), and his almost quarter of a century as archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary (1776–1799) are praised by scholars of the period.³⁰

We meet him on the stage of national politics mainly after his appointment as archbishop of Kalocsa. As the second ecclesiastical dignitary of the country, the archbishop of Kalocsa was traditionally considered an important figure in the politics of the Estates, but his status was even more enhanced when the primate was prevented from exercising his functions, or when the See was vacant. Also, Batthyány became a leading figure in Hungarian Catholicism long before his appointment as archbishop of Esztergom. Like so many of his contemporaries, the accession of Joseph II to the throne proved to be a turning point in his career. His political activity before 1790 can thus be divided into two distinctly different periods. From the period between 1760 and 1780, his role at the Diet of 1764–1765, when he tried to mediate between the Viennese

²⁸ Kovács 2013, p. 250.

²⁹ "[...] *contradictionibus dominorum cleri, et alicujus partis secularium catholicorum non obstantibus, imo iisdem in perpetuum nullum vigorem habentibus [...]*" and "[...] *regna proinde Dalmatiae, Croatiae, et Slavoniae, in ulteriori usu municipalium suarum legum relinquuntur, adeoque evangelici intra eorundem regnorum limites, nec bonorum, nec officiorum sive publicorum, sive privatorum sint capaces*" – Art. 26/1790 *De negotio religionis* CJH 1740–1835, p. 168–178.

³⁰ Naponként való 1790–1791, p. 301–303.

court and the opposition of the nobility, to which several members of the clergy joined, stands out.³¹

Even after the Diet was adjourned, he remained a staunch supporter of the emperor. He worked closely with the Chancellery on the diocese's reform, which primarily pertained to his upcoming archbishopric at the time.³² Although he made no secret of his concern that the division of the archdiocese would lead to a reduction in the archbishop's income, Batthyány must be counted among the prelates who supported the court's policy until 1780. The most important proof of this is that in early 1776, Maria Theresa appointed him to the long vacant archbishopric of Esztergom, and two years later, also through the intervention of the empress, Pope Pius VI created him a cardinal.³³

The fact that the new archbishop of Esztergom a few years later was among the leaders of the ecclesiastical opposition to the Habsburg Monarchy was not due to a change in his personality, but the consequence of a radical turn in the church policy of the Viennese court. In 1782, he published a document in several languages protesting against the measures taken in the first years of Joseph's reign, which had a fundamental impact on the life of the Catholic Church. Drawing on the Bible and ecclesiastical tradition, he condemned Joseph II's measures which restricted monasticism. He also criticised the revival of the *placetum regium*, under which papal bulls could not be promulgated in the Habsburg states without the prior consent of the monarch.³⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that as Joseph II's radicalization of Josephinist ecclesiastical policy continued, Archbishop Batthyány's opposition to Joseph II's measures became more and more intense. Although the Catholic clergy as a whole was far from being opposed to Joseph's reforms, and – especially in their initial stages – some church groups even explicitly supported him, the archbishop can be considered as the leader of the Catholic opposition. This was also the view of the Viennese court. This became particularly evident during the visit of Pius VI to Vienna (1782), when the Hungarian episcopate, unlike other, smaller and less organized clerical groups in the Habsburg Monarchy, unanimously condemned Joseph II's measures.³⁵ The court's fear of Batthyány is well illustrated by the fact, that contrary to other prelates, they did not even try to keep him from visiting the Pope in Vienna. Instead, together with another great opponent of Josephinism, Bishop Károly Eszterházy, they awarded him the Grand Cross of the Order of St Stephen, thus trying to persuade the renegade prelates to behave in a loyal manner – with little to no success.³⁶ It is therefore obvious that Batthyány in 1790, not only had a central role in the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy, but also his earlier church politics made him a leading figure in the anti-Josephinist opposition.

³¹ FORGÓ 2021. p. 73–95.

³² BORÓVI 2000.

³³ CZÉKLI 2003. p. 347–354.

³⁴ Untertänige Vorstellung.

³⁵ ROSKOVÁNYI 1856. p. 258–268.

³⁶ BAHLCKE 2013. p. 387.

The prelates also found allies among the lower clergy, as in 1790–1791, similarly to the early years of the century, the representatives of the chapters in the lower house supported the confessional position. The collegiate chapter of Pressburg (Bratislava) was represented at the Diet by Canons János Sóber and László Tompa, who also informed their colleagues at home about the developments. Their reports on the events of the summer and autumn of 1790 have survived, and enrich our knowledge of the first phase of the religious debate. Alongside József Batthyány and Károly Esterházy, they highlight József Bajzáth, bishop of Veszprém (1777–1802), as an important player in the series of events.³⁷ A quarter of a century had passed since the last Diet (1764–1765), but these three ecclesiastical figures were once again in the spotlight. Bajzáth, as canon of Esztergom, was one of the leading figures in the lower house, while Esterházy had been in the bishopric of Eger since 1762. In addition to them, László Kollonich, archbishop of Kalocsa, and János Szily, Bishop of Szombathely (1777–1799), a former representative of the Chapter of Győr, should also be mentioned among the leading figures of the clergy.³⁸ Although in 1790 there was a proposal to change the practice of always having a clergyman lead the delegations of the Estates, this custom was finally maintained, so the role of the clergy remained important in the exchange of messages between the two houses.³⁹

Also, in the early stages of the Diet, József Antal Erdélyi, Canon of Vác and Abbot of Széplak,⁴⁰ presented the position of the clergy of the lower house on the main issues of religion. The speech, delivered on 9 July 1790 at the meeting of the Cisdanubian district, focused on the already mentioned position of the clergy to leave religion out of the points of the *diploma inaugurale*.⁴¹ Erdélyi also argued that the three previous monarchs had not included religion in their diplomas because they were already hereditary kings. Their predecessors also needed the support of Protestants when they were elected kings, so they gave them concessions. However, according to Art. 21/1687, the declared previous agreements were invalid because of the abuses of the Protestants. Furthermore, the clergy could never accept the free exercise of religion by Protestants, because there was only one true religion, Catholicism. Since 1715, there has been no mention of the religious question. The Treaty of Linz was not referred in the domestic laws, only the Treaty of Vienna. But the Acts of 1681, 1687 and 1715 nullified the provisions of the Treaties of Vienna (and Linz), so that Protestants could only receive concessions by the grace of the Sovereign. The Protestant cause is thus a private matter which does not belong in the diploma. If it however got in, the Catholics could put in what they like, which in consequence would create contradictory passages in the diploma. The King of

³⁷ SNA BK Archivum Privatum, Secretarius Acta, Kart. 101., fasc. XII. Pest, 22. July 1790.

³⁸ MESZLÉNYI 1934. p. 56.

³⁹ SNA BK Archivum Privatum, Secretarius Acta, Karton 101., fasc. XII. Pest, 25. June 1790.

⁴⁰ CHOBOT 1917. p. 737–738.

⁴¹ The King's official guarantee of the respect for the privileges of the Estates on the occasion of the coronation.

Hungary is an “apostolic king (*rex apostolicus*)”, and therefore could not be expected to act against the true religion. Finally, they would be acting against the oath they had recently taken,⁴² if they allowed other religions to be free, because the oath stated the unity of souls, and that could only be achieved in the case of one religion.⁴³

In fact, this speech could have been delivered at the beginning of the century, since it had the same objectives as the speeches of the clergy at that time. Particularly interesting is the reference to Art. 21/1687, which does indeed mention the abuses of Protestants, but at the same time confirms the concessions adopted in 1681.⁴⁴ It is nevertheless remarkable that while the Protestants usually invoked the immutability of the earlier regulations – the Treaty of Vienna and Linz – to ensure their freedom of religious practice, the clergy often argued in favour of the immutability of the laws already passed by the Sovereign and the Diet, i.e. the sovereignty of the legislature. Thus, the Protestants, who advocate the ‘progressive’ idea of free exercise of religion and tolerance, use a past-oriented argument, while the clergy, who demanded the ‘obsolete’ exclusivity of Catholicism and the suppression of Protestants, used a future-oriented argument.⁴⁵

Henrik Marczali, as a monographer of the Diet 1790–1791, mentions another interesting case in connection with the struggles. According to his narrative, on the day of the session of 18 June, Dávid Zsolnay, episcopal deputy, the representative of the chapter of Veszprém, spoke out against the fact that Pest and Hont counties were represented by three envoys. The county of Pest had sent one Catholic, one Lutheran and one Reformed representative to the Diet, while Hont claimed that its envoys also represented the county of Kishont, which at that time belonged to the county. According to Marczali, the religious orientation of the speech was obvious, and it was natural that the two parties engaged in an excited debate. In the end, in a compromise proposal by Antal Muslay, *vicecomes*⁴⁶ of Nógrád county, calmed the tempers, according to which the third representative should be considered as a substitute for his counterpart in case of need.⁴⁷ The incident is also reported in the official printed diary of the Diet, as well as by the two canons of Pressburg, but both sources omit the religious edge of the conflict. In fact, the official diary states, that most of the Estates claimed that the three representatives were to the detriment of the other counties, because they had only sent two. It was therefore more likely that the given situation, which was not sufficiently regulated either by written law or by customary law, was the cause of the conflict in the lower house. However, another witness, the Reformed pastor

⁴² See below.

⁴³ Krónika p. 284–285.

⁴⁴ “*Licet quidem in negotio religionis, Augustanae, et Helveticae confessioni addicti, articulis 25. et 26. novissimae diaetae Soproniensis, oppositam iisdem per reclamationem suam abutentes, ipso facto eorundem beneficii participes esse desiissent.*” – CJH 1657–1740, p. 348.

⁴⁵ SZIJÁRTÓ 2020. p. 233–234.

⁴⁶ Elected deputy, head of an administrative unit.

⁴⁷ MARCZALI 1907. vol. 1. p. 388.

József Keresztesi (1748–1812), also describes the incident as being religious in origin, and he also names Zsolnai as the initiator: “When Zsolnai spoke, the Papists shouted: ‘Vivat’. When the Protestants said that these three had one vote, the Protestants shouted: ‘Vivat’.”⁴⁸

According to his account, it was not Muslay but Count János Fekete who finally appease the tempers by saying that if one of the representatives from Pest county was excluded, they would want to exclude others from the meeting. Zsolnay himself mentions the incident in his report to the chapter of Veszprém. As in the official diary, he also refers to a practice contrary to customary law, but he discusses the case in the context of religious disputes and makes it evident in his presentation that the issue had a religious dimension.⁴⁹ Adding a further thread to the story Győző Morvay, drawing on Keresztesi in his biography of János Fekete, also discussed the case. According to him, Zsolnay’s action was not only related to the religious issue, but also to the controversial topic of the disagreement over the compulsory oath for participants of the Diet. According to him, Zsolnay was only concerned about the presence of three representatives to divert attention from the issue of the oath.⁵⁰ The oath was indeed a matter of concern to the clergy during the first weeks of the Diet, and the chapter of Kalocsa corresponded with the county of Pest on the issue parallel to the events in Buda, and also sought the opinion of Archbishop László Kollonich on the matter.⁵¹ According to the official diary and to Keresztesi, it was the Bishop Károly Eszterházy who led the delegation from the upper house, which urged the Estates to postpone the question until the session of 15 June.⁵² However, as the majority of the lower house was of the opinion that the non-sworn individuals could not participate in the work of the Diet, the clergy at the lower house also swore by the formula previously established.⁵³ In the upper house, the oath was not ultimately mandated. However, the majority of the laity and several bishops swore to it, with the exception of the diocesan bishops. Protestants claimed that they had already sworn loyalty to the Pope, which was contrary to the patriotic oath.⁵⁴

The representatives of the counties who called for the oath to be taken, were obviously inspired by the example of the French National Assembly: they not only wanted to unite the whole country politically, but also to make their power and superiority felt by the sovereigns – especially by the prelates. At first glance, the rejection of the Hungarian clergy could be compared to the attitude of the vast majority of French bishops to the civil constitution of the clergy. However, it was an explicit measure to separate the French Catholic Church from Rome and place it under the authority of the state, and it was only

⁴⁸ Krónika. p. 265.

⁴⁹ VÉL III. 1. b) 3. Nr. 41. Buda, 21. June 1790.

⁵⁰ MORVAI 1903. p. 158–159.

⁵¹ KFL II. 1 a. vol. 2. Protocollum Capitulare Actorum Privatum. p. 119–124.

⁵² Naponként való, 1790–1790. p. 41.

⁵³ SNA BK Archivum Privatum, Secretarius Acta, Karton 101., fasc. XII. Pest, 25. June 1790; MORVAI 1903. p. 159.

⁵⁴ Krónika. p. 265.

adopted by the French National Assembly on 12 July 1790, weeks after the events in Buda.⁵⁵ Hence, the affinity of the oath with the spirit of the times, which was rejected by the majority of the clergy, and more particularly with the doctrine of natural law that emphasized sovereignty, may have played a much greater role in the attitude of the clergy. The prelates were directly linked to the Sovereign, and thus could feel loyalty primarily to him, not to the people (the nobility). The oath, however, did not mention loyalty to the monarch.⁵⁶

It is clear from the aforementioned events that during the religious debates of 1790–1791, the majority of the Estates supported the equal rights of the Protestant denominations, and only the Catholic clergy and a few secular Catholics who supported them maintained the earlier intolerant position. In other words, the most salient division was no longer between Catholics and Protestants, but between Catholics who supported religious tolerance and those who opposed it, and thus division appeared within the Catholic camp. Moreover, with the legalization of the free exercise of religion by the two Protestant (and Orthodox) denominations initiated the process of dismantling the status of Catholicism as a state religion. A few decades later, this led to the establishment of religious equality, an essential cornerstone of the modern civil state.

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Abbreviations

KFL	Kalocsai Főegyházmegyei Levéltár [Archives of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa]
OSZKK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár [Hungarian National Library, Collection of Manuscripts]
SNA BK	Slovenský Národný Archív Bratislavská Kapitula [Slovak National Archives Chapter of Pressburg]
VÉL III. 1.	Veszprémi Érseki Levéltár [Archives of the Archbishopric of Veszprém] III. 1. A Veszprémi Káptalan Magánlevéltára [Private Archives of the Chapter of Veszprém]

Printed Sources

Catalogus	<i>Catalogus Catholicorum voto et Sessione gaudentium, qui Repraesentationem Conventus apud Excellentissimum Archiepiscopum Colocensem 30. Novembris 1790. habiti subscripserunt</i> <i>Catalogus Catholicorum voto et Sessione in Comitii gaudentium, qui praeviam Repraesentationem non subscripserunt.</i> S.l.S.a.
CJH	<i>Corpus Juris Hungarici – Magyar Törvénytár 1000–1895.</i> Ed. MÁRKUS, Dezső. Budapest 1896–1900.
Krónika	KERESZTESI József: <i>Krónika Magyarország polgári és egyházi közéletéből a XVIII-dik század végén. Keresztesi József egykorú eredeti naplója</i> [Chronicle of the civil and ecclesiastical public life

⁵⁵ FURET 1996. p. 76, 92–94.

⁵⁶ SZIJÁRTÓ 2020. p. 226–227.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

Gábor THOROCZKAY

Einige Fragen der Kirchenverwaltung des mittelalterlichen ungarischen Königtums

The study deals with four problems of medieval Hungarian church law and church history. Firstly, it describes the debates surrounding the formation and status of the archbishopric of Kalocsa, emphasising the missionary nature of the early archbishopric; secondly, it discusses the relationship between archdeaconries associated with a provostship and collegiate chapters, stressing the primacy of archdeaconries; thirdly, it examines the question of the *Eigenbistümer* in Hungary, agreeing with the view that the bishopric of Nitra was initially such a church. In the fourth place, it interprets a sentence of a fourteenth-century Hungarian chronicle, stating that Gregory of Bicske, the elected Archbishop of Esztergom (1298–1303), was only the governor (*procurator seu administrator*) of the Archbishopric of Esztergom.

Keywords: Archbishopric of Kalocsa, archdeaconries of Hungary, collegiate chapters of Hungary, *Eigenbistümer* of Hungary, Bishopric of Nitra, Gregory of Bicske, Archbishopric of Esztergom, *procuratio seu administratio ecclesiae cathedralis*.



Im Folgenden fasse ich vier der in den Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte öfters erörterten Probleme der frühen ungarischen Kirchengeschichte zusammen, immer wieder betont auch auf meine eigenen Forschungen hinweisend. Nach den Jahren des Staatsozialismus wurde die Betreuung der Kirchengeschichte wiederbelebt, so wurden viele – auch früher erörterte – Fragen ins neue Licht gestellt.

a) Theorien im Hinblick auf die Herausbildung des Erzbistums von Kalocsa

Die meisten Streitigkeiten um die frühe Geschichte der ungarischen Kirche auslösende Frage ist die Tatsache, dass der Staatsgründerkönig, Stephan der Heilige (1000/1001–1038) während seiner kirchenorganisatorischen Tätigkeit¹ zwei Erzbistümer gründete, das Erzbistum Sankt Adalbert im könig-

¹ THOROCZKAY 2001.

lichen Sitz Esztergom (Gran), sowie das Erzbistum Sankt Paul im ebenfalls an der Donau liegenden südungarischen Ort, Kalocsa. In Bezug auf die Entstehung dieses zweiten Erzbistums von Kalocsa gibt es heutzutage vier Theorien.

Die erste ist die Theorie des Bistums nach byzantinischem Ritual. Die Grundlage davon bilden die byzantinischen und altrussischen Quellen, nach denen sich der Stammesfürst Gyula in den 950-er Jahren östlich von der Theiß, wahrscheinlich in Siebenbürgen taufen ließ und einen vom Patriarchen von Konstantinopel geweihten Missionsbischof namens Hierotheos mit sich brachte. Die Fundamente der Kirche dieses Prälaten wurden von den Archäologen in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, RO) gefunden. Dieser Bischof von Turkia soll laut der Mehrheit der Forscher bis zur Kirchenorganisation von Stephan dem Heiligen im Karpatenbecken tätig gewesen sein. Das Problem resultiert daraus, dass das Amt des Metropoliten von Turkia im 11. Jahrhundert aufgrund der byzantinischen Bistümer-Listen (*notitia episcopatum*) und sogar der Siegel in der byzantinischen Kirche wohl existierte. Dies wurde von manchen Byzantinologen (Nikolaos Oikonomidès), von ungarischen Sprachwissenschaftlern (Rudolf Szentgyörgyi), bzw. von griechisch-katholischen Kirchenhistorikern (István Baán) als Teil der ungarischen Hierarchie bewertet, und teilweise mit dem Erzbischof von Kalocsa gleichgesetzt. Der Großteil der ungarischen kirchenhistorischen Forschung weist die Gleichsetzung dieses byzantinischen Prälaten mit dem Erzbischof von Kalocsa ab, und begründet diese Behauptung im Folgenden: die Quellen betrachten die Gründung der Kirche von Kalocsa als Teil der lateinischen Kirchengründung, der am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts freigelegte Dom aus dem 11. Jahrhundert ist vollständig aus der westlichen Kirchenarchitektur abzuleiten, die neuesten – unten zitierten – Forschungen zeigen auf deutsche Ursprünge zurückzuführende Schichten in den liturgischen Traditionen aus der Staatgründerzeit oder von noch früher, usw. meiner Meinung nach kann der *Metropolit von Turkia* ein Anspruchstitel in der byzantinischen Hierarchie gewesen sein, der Titel des Nachfolgers des aus dem Karpatenbecken verschwundenen, mit einer Rangerhöhung versehenen *Bischofs von Turkia*, aber im Ungarischen Königreich nicht mehr existierenden Bischofs.²

Der Ursprung der zweiten Theorie kann im Jahre 1988 erschienenen Werk über die Herausbildung der Komitate von Gyula Kristó gesucht werden. Der renommierte Historiker benennt das Jahr 1009 als Gründungsjahr des Erzbistums, und nachdem er bereits bewiesen hatte, dass die in manchen Quellen vorkommenden sogenannten schwarzen Ungarn auf dem Gebiet des späteren Bistums von Pécs (Fünfkirchen) lebten, wies er ihnen auch das andere Donauufer zu und bestimmte die Kirche von Kalocsa als Bistum dieser geheimnisvollen Ethnie.³ Die Auffassung des angesehenen Kristó wurde ebenfalls von keiner besonderen Anerkennung begleitet, aber eines steht fest: ein bestimmter Zusammenhang zwischen den Kirchen von Pécs und Kalocsa kann über die traditionelle Verbindung zwischen dem Patrozinium des Heiligen

² Zusammenfassend siehe KOSZTA 2014; THOROCZKAY 2016a. S. 50–52.

³ KRISTÓ 1988. S. 442–446.

Paulus von Kalocsa bzw. dem des Heiligen Petrus von Pécs hinaus auch durch die unerwartet neulich aufgetauchte Beobachtung verstärkt werden, dass ein Teil ihrer frühen liturgischen Traditionen auf dieselben Wurzeln zurückgeht.⁴

Die dritte und die vierte Theorie ist die vom sogenannten Titularerzbistum oder autokephale Theorie, die mit dem Namen von László Koszta in Verbindung stand, sowie die damit streitende und am ehesten als Bekehrungstheorie zur bezeichnenden Theorie, die zurzeit vom Autoren dieser Studie vertreten wird. Koszta setzte sich zuerst 1996 mit dem Titularwesen, oder der eventuellen Autokephalie von Kalocsa auseinander, erörterte es aber erst am Ende seiner in tragischer Weise früh abgeschlossenen Laufbahn, in 2013.⁵ In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten widmete ich selber auch mehrere mit Koszta polemisierende Schriften der Herausbildung des Erzbistums von Kalocsa.⁶

Die Auffassung, dass Kalocsa eventuell nur den Titel des Erzbistums aber keine Metropolit-Jurisdiktion ausübende Erzdiözese aus der Staatgründungszeit wäre, war jedoch bereits seit dem 18. Jahrhundert an der Tagesordnung.⁷ Laut László Koszta stand an der Stelle von Kalocsa ein ehemaliges heidnisches großfürstliches Zentrum, wo 1009 ein Erzbistum für Ascherich entstand. Er identifizierte ihn nicht mit Anastasius, dem Abt von Pannonhalma (Martinsberg) und später Erzbischof von Esztergom, obwohl es die frühe Quelle (die Sankt Stephan-Legende nach Hartvik um 1100) belegt⁸ Ascherich kann der Umgebung des Heiligen Adalbert entstammt haben, und in Südungarn Missionserzbischof gewesen sein, wurde dann ab 1009, ab der Gründung der Erzdiözese Erzbischof von Kalocsa, aber kein Metropolit.

Im 11–12. Jahrhundert kommen die Suffraganbistümer von Kalocsa nämlich nirgendwo vor, der Prälat von Kalocsa wird oft als Bischof von Kalocsa erwähnt usw. All das beweist für Koszta das Titularwesen des Erzbistums, es ist aber zu bemerken: die Suffragane von Esztergom werden in dieser Zeit auch nirgendwo detailliert aufgezählt, zahlreiche Quellen nennen den Prälaten von Kalocsa Erzbischof. Eine von den Quellen kann mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit von den Dokumenten entfernt werden, die das frühe Metropolitanwesen von Kalocsa zu beweisen beabsichtigen: dem ältesten, in Rom gefundenen Manuskript nach, konnte der Pallium-Brief⁹ nach Paschalis mit dem Anfang *Significasti frater* eher den Erzbischof von Esztergom (Lorenz) zum Adressaten haben.¹⁰

Koszta folgend war Kalocsa ursprünglich ein Titularerzbistum ohne Kirchenprovinz, dessen Parallelen die sich in der byzantinischen Kirche herausbildenden, aber auch in der westlichen Kirche, in Italien (Piacenza, Siponto usw.) erscheinenden sogenannten autokephalen Erzbistümer waren. Hier geht es aber höchstwahrscheinlich nicht um Autokephalie, sondern darum, einen Erzbischof in den südöstlichen Gebieten Ungarns mit der Bekehrung zu

⁴ KOVÁCS 2018.

⁵ KOSZTA 1996. S. 109–110; KOSZTA 2013a.

⁶ Zusammenfassend siehe THOROCZKAY 2016b.

⁷ Siehe zum Beispiel KATONA 2001. S. 79–84; ERDÉLYI 2008.² S. 67.

⁸ „[...] *eundem Ascricum presulem, qui alio nomine Anastasius dictus est.*“ – SRH II. S. 412.

⁹ DHA I. S. 345–346. (JL Nr. 6570).

¹⁰ BRETT 2007. S. 89–94.

beauftragen, der auch Pallium erhielt (s. z. B. die Erzählung über Ascherich und Kalocsa in der Hartvik-Legende),¹¹ und erst später wurden die Suffraganbistümer zugeordnet. Hierfür dienen tatsächlich als Parallelen die Herausbildungen der Bistümer vom englischen York und vom deutschen Hamburg-Bremen, wegen ihres Verhältnisses mit der Bekehrung ist aber zu betonen: bei diesen geht es auch nicht um Autokephalie.

Nach der Meinung von Koszta gewann das Erzbistum von Kalocsa lediglich aufgrund des aus den Hinweisen bekannten päpstlich-ungarischen Konkordats von 1161 Metropolitanrechte, da das in den 1180-er, 1190-er Jahren entstandene Einkommen-Verzeichnis von Béla III. die Suffraganbistümer aufzählt (Siebenbürgen, Maros [Csanád, heute Cenad, RO], Bihar [Várad, heute Oradea, RO], Zagreb (Agram)).¹² Das ist aber reine Annahme, keine von den Quellen, die mit dem Abkommen von 1161 in Verbindung gebracht werden können, weist auf das Metropolitanrecht von Kalocsa hin. Das stärkste Motiv für die Herausbildung des zweiten ungarischen Erzbistums soll die Bekehrung gewesen sein, und seine Suffraganbistümer wurden nach ihrer Herausbildung allmählich dem Metropolitanrecht untergeordnet.

Seine Position war jedoch tatsächlich in der Kirchenorganisation des 11–12. Jahrhunderts umstritten, die Jurisdiktionsansprüche des Erzbischofs von Esztergom konnten schwer in Frage gestellt werden. Dessen Aufzeichnung bleibt unbestritten der Verdienst von László Koszta. Was mich betrifft, würde ich die Gründung der Kirche von Kalocsa vor 1009 platzieren, um 1002 kann in diesem frühen Zentrum des Árpádenhauses ein Bistum entstanden sein, das einige Jahre später zum Erzbischof- und Metropolit-Sitz wurde, im Sinne des oben genannten Zwecks der weiteren Verbreitung des Christentums.

b) Die Herausbildung der ungarischen Archidiaconate, ihr Verhältnis mit den Propsteien

Die ungarische Geschichtsschreibung hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten bezüglich der Herausbildung des Amtes des Archidiacons das folgende Modell ausgearbeitet: der Priester in den Burgen von Stephan dem Heiligen aufgebauten Taufkirchen (*ecclesia baptismalis*) übte später Aufsicht über die im Burgkreis entstehende weitere Kirchen (das erste Mal wird so ein

¹¹ „*Erat monachus quidam, Sebastianus nomine, cuius probabilis vita et devota in dei servitio religio habebatur. Hunc rex venerabilis miro cepit amore diligere, quia quanto quis religiosior, tanto ei erat acceptior. Illum ergo ob vite merita pontificali honore dignum iudicans, regendo Strigoniensi archiepiscopatu eum prefecit. At quoniam flagellat deus omnem filium quem recipit, predictum Sebastianum ad probandam ipsius patientiam corporalium oculorum lumine ad tempus privavit. Set ne novellus in fide rex absque pastoris regimine a recti tramitis proposito deviare, per consensum Romani pontificis sepe dictum Ascricum Colocensem episcopum in illius locum substituit. Evolutis deinde trium annorum circulis Sebastianus ex dei misericordia recepto lumine rursus per apostolici consilium sue sedi restitutus est et Ascricus ad suam ecclesiam, videlicet Colocensem cum pallio rediit.*“ – SRH II. S. 416–417.

¹² Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Latin 6238, nr. 16. (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52506034f/f53.item.zoom> – angesehen am 27 Juli 2023).

Kreispriester 1067 erwähnt), und anschließend erschienen sie zur Zeit von Ladislaus dem Heiligen als *Archipresbiter* und zur Zeit von Koloman als *Archidiaconus* auch auf den Seiten der Dekrete, aus denen hervorgeht, dass sie Aufsicht-Justiz-Berechtigungen hatten, die ihnen sicherlich auch für ein reichliches Einkommen sorgte.¹³

Die ungarische Forschung hat auf die Stellungnahme keinen besonderen Wert gelegt, die die *Archipresbiter* vom Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts von den später auftauchenden Archidiakonen (*archidiaconus*) unterschieden hat, obwohl diese Forschungsmeinung auch damit gerechnet hat, dass der Wirkungskreis der ersten mit dem der späteren Archidiakonen übereinstimmte.¹⁴

Neulich wurde die Frage auch im ostmitteleuropäischen Vergleich untersucht: in Böhmen und Polen bildeten sich die sogenannten Großpfarreien bei den zentralen Burgen heraus, und in der Mitte, am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts erscheinen auf beiden Territorien die Archidiakonen, so wie auf böhmischen Gebieten die Kollegiatstifte. Nach der Meinung von anerkannten Archäologen, Péter Németh, die Heilige Marien-Kirchen neben den Gespanen-Burgen die Kirchen der Archidiakonen, während die Suburbiumskirchen mit dem Heiligen Michael-Titel und Friedhof die Pfarrkirchen¹⁵ waren, wird nach der neuesten Forschung bestritten, da sie zur Zeit der Staatsgründung noch mit keinen Archidiakonate rechnet, und diese erst ab der Wende des 11–12. Jahrhunderts annimmt, sie rechnet mit Burgkapellen, und darüber hinaus mit Pastoralkirchen als Vorgänger der Archidiakonate (siehe dazu die erwähnten Großpfarreien). Das kann die Erklärung für die, in den ungarischen Gespanen-Zentren (Borsod, Gyöngyöspata, Sopron, Visegrád usw., wahrscheinlich Szabolcs) erscheinenden je zwei Kirchen sein.¹⁶

Mangels der Quellen ist es zwar äußerst schwierig den Prozess der Christianisierung vorzustellen, eines steht aber mit Sicherheit fest: am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts müssen die Archidiakonate als Organisationen mit territorialem Prinzip betrachtet werden, die manchmal die Spuren der ganz frühen, später verfallenen territorialen Aufteilungen (siehe z.B. das Archidiakonate von nordungarischen Pata oder das von Kemej von jenseits der Theiß) behielten.

Eine weitere Frage ist die Herausbildung der Propsteien mit späterem Archidiakonenrecht (Pozsony [Bratislava, SK], Vasvár [Eisenburg]). Aufgrund gründlicher Untersuchungen bin ich zum folgenden Schluss gekommen, nämlich, dass die Archidiakonenkirchen im Verlauf des 12–13. Jahrhunderts den Propsteien der entstehenden Kollegiatstifte angeschlossen wurden. Es ist also nicht im Gegenteil passiert, wie es der angesehene Gyula Kristó in der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung angenommen hat, dass die Leiter der entstehenden Kollegiatstifte im Verlauf des 13. Jahrhunderts die Leitung der

¹³ MEZEY 1963. S. 8–12; KRISTÓ 1988. S. 214–220.

¹⁴ SZENTIRMAI 1956.

¹⁵ NÉMETH 1981.

¹⁶ MORDOVIN 2016.

bereits existierenden Archidiakonate übernommen hätten. Es ist auch deswegen auszuschließen, weil der Archidiakon von Pozsony (Erzdiözese von Esztergom) bzw. der von Vasvár (Diözese von Győr [Raab]) auf diese Weise am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts, als die Archidiakonen Mitglieder des Domkapitels ihrer Diözesen wurden, in den Quellen hätten erscheinen müssen, was aber nicht der Fall war.

Die Archidiakonen-Macht, die Einnahmen (Bußgelder, *cathedraticum*) machten den Erwerb des Archidiakonen-Amtes für manche Kollegiatstift-Propste sehr anziehend. So erging es dem Archidiakon von Bodrog, den der Propst von Hajszentlőrinc 1234 erwarb, es wurde so dem Metropolitenkapitel von Kalocsa eingegliedert, und der Propstei vom slawonischen Čazma (heute Kroatien) wurde bereits zu seiner Gründungszeit, 1232 das Archidiakon von Guscse angeschlossen.¹⁷

Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass es nie die Pröpste der Kollegiatstifte in den Bischofssitzen (wie z. B. die Propstei von Esztergom-Szenttamáshegy oder die von Sankt Adalbert in Győr) waren, die zu Archidiakonen eines Archidiakonats wurden, sondern es wurde immer den Leitern der Propsteien weit vom Sitz der Diözese das Archidiakonen-Amt zugeordnet.

c) Die frühen Kirchen von Nyitra und Pozsony. Eigenbistümer in Ungarn?

Die Kirchenorganisation der Umgebung von Nyitra (heute Nitra, SK) vom Anfang des 9. bis zum Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts wurde vor einigen Jahren von László Koszta überschaut. Er hat festgestellt, dass die Wirkung, das Weiterleben des 880 in Nyitra, in Großmähren entstandenen aber nur kurzlebigen Bistums unmöglich ist, ebenfalls ähnlich wie die *translatio sedis*-Theorien dem Erzbistum von Esztergom bezüglich. Das ab dem Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts in Nyitra erscheinende Patrozinium des Heiligen Emmeram ist ebenfalls nicht mit den mährischen Zeiten, sondern mit Königin Gisella und den deutschen Geistlichen in ihrer Begleitung zu verknüpfen. Im Hintergrund der Bedeutung von Nyitra ab dem Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts soll der Handel gestanden haben.

Die kirchlichen Institutionen von Nyitra wurden dank der Entstehung des Herzogtums (*ducatus*) bedeutend. In der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts kann Herzog Géza hier höchstwahrscheinlich ein Residenten-Kollegiatstift herausgebildet haben, wie es in Westeuropa oft der Fall war (Aachen vor allem, aber auch Altötting, Compiègne, Goslar, Melk in der Anfangszeit, Klosterneuburg, Hainburg, Vyšehrad usw.). Im 22. Artikel des Dekrets, das mit dem Namen Königs Koloman in Verbindung gebracht wird, wird es von den Gottesurteilungssitzen berichtend nicht ähnlich zu Pozsony unter den „größeren Propsteien“¹⁸ erwähnt, obwohl beide nach der Meinung von Koszta Kollegiatstifte sein sollten. Die Erklärung dafür könnte sein, dass es nicht vom König,

¹⁷ THOROCZKAY 2009. S. 20–23; THOROCZKAY 2014.

¹⁸ „*Judicium ferri et aque in aliqua ecclesia fieri interdicimus, nisi in sede episcopali et maioribus prepositoriis, necnon Posanii et Nitrie.*“ – ZÁVODSZKY 1904. S. 180.

sondern vom Herzogen von Nyitra gegründet wurde. Diese Behauptung ist im Wesentlichen anzunehmen.

Fraglich ist jedoch die frühe Propstei von Pozsony. Diese kann mehreren Meinungen folgend eine Gründung des entthronten Königs, Salamon sein. Meiner Meinung nach wurde sie jedoch im 12. Jahrhundert gegründet. Da Salamon nach seiner Vertreibung im Jahre 1074 lediglich Pozsony und Moson regierte, sollten die Güter der Propstei von Pozsony in dieser Region auftauchen. Diese liegen jedoch zum großen Teil in der Mitte der Großen-Schüttinsel, am Fuße der Kleinkarpaten, so wie südlich von Nagyszombat (heute Trnava, SK), dem eventuellen Hoheitsgebiet von Salamon sind lediglich die Güterblöcke von Papfalva (heute Farná, SK) zuzuordnen und im Komitat Moson hatte er nur gegenüber Pozsony Güter, die die Kirche erst am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts bekam.¹⁹ So ist die Gründung des Kollegiatstiftes von Pozsony im 11. Jahrhundert – da es nämlich in den berühmten Gesetzen von Koloman wegen des primären Wesens des Bindewortes *necnon* nicht als Propstei betrachtet werden kann – unwahrscheinlich.

Mit dem Aufhören des Herzogtums am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde das Kollegiatstift von Nyitra umgestaltet, und ein Bistum mit Sitz in Nyitra zustande gebracht. Das Bistum vom 12. Jahrhundert kann nicht nur wegen der vergangenen Jahrhunderte, sondern auch hinsichtlich seiner Rolle und Rechtstellung nicht mit der im Jahre 880 entstandenen Diözese in Verbindung gebracht werden. Das unabhängige Gebiet des Bistums ist bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts unsicher, die Nyitraer Archidiakone von Esztergom beaufsichtigen diese Region ebenfalls, und es scheint kein selbständiges Zehntrecht gehabt zu haben, es hatte zwar Güter, immerhin mit beschränkten Berechtigungen. Abschließend: sein Kapitel hatte keinen Propst, die kleine Körperschaft wurde vom Domscholasticus geleitet. Hier entstand eine weitere Diskussion zwischen László Koszta und dem Verfasser dieser Zeilen. Koszta's Meinung nach wurden die Nyitraer Bischofspfründen aus den Propstpfründen erzeugt, meiner Meinung nach aber wurde der Nyitraer Propst selber Bischof. Laut der untenstehenden, überzeugenden Theorie von Koszta hatte Esztergom einen Eigenbischof und verschwand die Propstwürde deswegen für Jahrhunderte aus dem Nyitraer Kapitel.

Wie es schon vorher vorgestellt worden war, brachte der Erzbischof von Esztergom nach der Meinung von László Koszta anfänglich in Nyitra ein ähnliches *Eigenbistum* wie das von Gurk des Salzburger Erzbistums zustande (1072), dessen Gebiet auch nicht von der Erzdiözese von Esztergom getrennt wurde. Seine Rolle war, die Anwesenheit der Kirche in den nordwest-ungarischen Randgebieten mit immer stärkerer Bevölkerung zu verstärken. Es verhinderte, dass die umgebenden ausländischen Diözesen ihre Jurisdiktion auf dieses Gebiet ausbreiten. In Nyitra wurde erst an der Wende des 12–13. Jahrhunderts ein vom Esztergomer Erzbischof bloß als Suffraganabhängiges Bistum gebildet. Damit lässt sich unter anderen erklären, dass zwei Archi-

¹⁹ C. TÓTH – LAKATOS – MIKÓ 2014. Karte; GYÖRFFY 1963–1998. IV. S. 148.

diakonate namens Nyitra im westlichen Gebiet des Hochlandes entstanden.²⁰ Es muss noch kurz auf die deutsche (österreichische) Analogie eingegangen werden: Gurk blieb trotz aller Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen bis zur Neuzeit *Eigenbistum*, und im 13. Jahrhundert entstanden sogar weitere *Eigenbistümer* auf dem Gebiet des Salzburger Erzbistums: Chiemsee, Seckau, Lavant²¹

Die Existenz von *Eigenbistümern* tauchte auch bei anderen einheimischen Kirchen auf: der Prälät von Szerém (Sirmien, serbisch Srem, kroatisch Srijem) (1229) wird von József Koller bereits Weihbischof von Kalocsa, und das Bistum von József Udvardy als *Eigenbistum* von Kalocsa betrachtet,²² während Bálint Ternovác all das mir Recht bezweifelte (er bezog sich auf die Selbständigkeit widerspiegelnde Aussetzungen der päpstlichen Bulle, auf die Existenz der Propstei des Domkapitels von Szenternye [Sremska Mitrovica, SRB], so wie auf das Folgende: ab 1254 kommen die Bischöfe von Szerém in *series dignitatum* von den ungarischen Königurkunden vor).²³ Als Versuch der Herausbildung von *Eigenbistum* kann betrachtet werden, dass der Propst vom im nördlichen Teil des Erzbistums Esztergom liegenden Szepes (Zips, heute Spiš, SK), Jacob, 1293 zum Bischof geweiht wurde und bis zu seinem Tod von 1301 mit dem Bischoftitel lebte. Jacob wird vom Erzbischof von Esztergom, Lodomarius *vicarius episcopus noster* genannt.²⁴ All das zeugt also eher davon, dass ein königlicher Propst mit territorialem Kompetenzbereich (Pozsony, Szeben [Sibiu, RO], Szepes) in Ungarn noch mehr erhoben und zum Bischof geweiht wird, es bleibt aber ein Einzelfall. Als richtiges ungarisches *Eigenbistum* kann also laut den Forschungen von László Koszta wahrscheinlich nur das Bistum von Nyitra betrachtet werden.

d) Am Schnittpunkt der Chronikforschung und der Kirchenrechtsgeschichte: die Regierung des Erzbistums von Esztergom während der Dämmerung der Angevinenzeit

Im Verlauf des 13. Jahrhunderts beauftragte das Papsttum öfters Gouverneure damit, in Diözesen von Italien aber manchmal auch von anderen Ländern zu regieren.²⁵ Diese Präläten von keinem unbedingten Bischofsordo waren die Vorläufer der „apostolischen Administratoren“ der späteren Regelung des kanonischen Rechtes, und mit ihnen vollzog sich nicht die Übernahme eines bestimmten Bischofsitzes, sondern die vorläufige Regierung im Namen des Papstes.

Der Heilige Stuhl hatte die Absicht, in seinen Verordnungen die Situation von solchen Gouverneuren zu klären. 1298 gab der große Jurist-Papst, Bonifatius VIII. seine kanonische Sammlung *Liber sextus* heraus, um das seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts aufgehäufte Material in Einheit zu ordnen, und um das 1234

²⁰ THOROCZKAY 2009; KOSZTA 2009; KOSZTA 2013b.

²¹ SEIDENSCHNUR 1919; OBERSTEINER 1969; HEINEMEYER 1974; WEINFURTER 1975; RINNERTHALER 2003.

²² KOLLER 1782–1812. II. S. 20–23; UDVARDY 1994. S. 318.

²³ TERNOVÁCZ 2013. S. 460–462.

²⁴ KOVÁCS 1991; LABANC 2011. passim.

²⁵ POTTHAST 1874–1875. II. Nr. 11201., 12042., 24330., 24762., 19183., 25063.

erschienene *Liber extra* zu ergänzen. Im *Liber sextus* findet man an zwei Stellen Verordnungen in Bezug auf die Regierung durch Gouverneure der Kirchenprovinzen.

Im 42. Kapitel des 6. Titels des I. Buches geht es um *in spiritualibus et temporalibus procuratio seu administratio* der bischöflichen Kirchen, die ausschließlich im Auftrag des Papstes auszuüben war. Solche Oberhirten konnten außer der Entfremdung von Immobiliengütern alle zur bischöflichen Jurisdiktion gehörenden Tätigkeiten frei ausüben, und wenn sie nicht zum Bischof geweiht waren, dann sollten sie alle zum Bischofsorden gebundenen Tätigkeiten andere Bischöfe ausüben lassen.²⁶ Im 4. Kapitel des 8. Titels des I. Buches geht es um den durch den Papst auf den leer gewordenen Bischofsstuhl gestellten *visitorator*.²⁷

In Ungarn war der Meistbekannte Gouverneur dieser Art der Sohn von Botond, Gregor Bicskei, ehemaliger Domkustos von Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg), anschließend gewählter Propst, königlicher Vizekanzler, der 1298 durch die Entscheidung des letzten Königs des Árpádenhauses, Andreas III. und des Metropolitankapitels auf das Haupt der rangersten ungarischen Erzdiözese, des Erzbistums von Esztergom gestellt wurde. Der gewählte Erzbischof Gregor bekam jedoch keine päpstliche Bestätigung und wurde nur der Administrator der gegebenen Erzdiözese – im Sinne der oben genannten kirchenrechtlichen Regelung, wie es die Benennungsschrift von 1299 eindeutig beweist.²⁸ Es ist eine alte Feststellung der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung, dass der treue Diener des Königs, Andreas III., Bicskei dadurch zum Wegbereiter der Angevinenkönigen in Ungarn wurde, zum Zweck seiner erzbischöflichen Ernennung mit voller Rechtskompetenz wandte er sich gegen seinen Herrscher und gegen das den König und dessen Politik unterstützende Episkopat.²⁹

Nach der Klärung des kirchenrechtlichen Standes von Bicskei lässt sich ein seit langem umstrittenen Problem der ungarischen Chronikenforschung klären. Die ungarische Geschichtsschreibung bemühte sich und bemüht sich immer

²⁶ „*Is, cui procuratio seu administratio cathedralis ecclesiae plena et libera in spiritualibus et temporalibus a sede apostolica, cui soli hoc competit, est commissa, potest, alienatione bonorum immobilium duntaxat excepta, omnia, quae iurisdictionis episcopalis existunt, et quae potest electus exsequi confirmatus, libere exercere. Illa quippe, quae ministerium consecrationis exposcunt, nisi fuerit episcopus, per alios faciat episcopos expediri.*“ – FRIEDBERG 1881. col. 967.

²⁷ „*Ecclesiae cathedrali vacanti visitorator ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice deputari non potest, nisi forte capitulum in spiritualibus et temporalibus negligenter aut perperam administret. Tunc enim archiepiscopus ob negligentiam vel malitiam capituli, eo vocato, causaeque super hoc cognitione praemissa, visitoratorem seu administratorem eidem ecclesiae licite poterit deputare. §. 1. Huiusmodi quoque visitorator, quanquam spiritualium et temporalium administrationem legitimam censeatur habere, beneficia tamen, quae ad collationem pertinent episcopi, conferre non potest, si ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice fuerit deputatus.*“ – FRIEDBERG 1881. col. 974.

²⁸ „[...] te [sc. Gregorium] ex officio nostro, ex apostolice plenitudine potestatis in spiritualibus et temporalibus procuratorem dicte Strigoniensis ecclesie usque ad dicte [sc. Romanae] sedis beneplacitum ordinamus, tibi administrationem tam eius, quam dicte Albensis ecclesiarum generalem et liberam in spiritualibus et temporalibus committentes [...]“ – THEINER 1859. S. 383.

²⁹ SZENDE 2003. Für die neuere Literatur siehe KISS 2019. S. 48–49; HUNYADI 2021.

noch, um die zeitlichen Schichten der sogenannten ungarischen Chronikkomposition des 14. Jahrhunderts zu trennen. Das Kapitel der Beschreibungen der Ereignisse zwischen dem Jahr 1272 und dem Anfang der 1330-er Jahre der Chronikkomposition war – ähnlich zu den Passagen der Beschreibungen der früheren Zeiten – Gegenstand von inhaltsreichen Geschichtsschreibungsdiskussionen, und bis heute gibt es unterschiedliche Ansichten über deren Entstehungszeit und Autoren.

Die Forscher sind sich allerdings einig, dass dieser Chronikteil, die Passage der kritischen Ausgabe ab dem 181. Kapitel im Budaer Franziskaner (Minoriten) Kloster entstanden sein kann, da es zahlreiche Hinweise, Episode im Zusammenhang mit dem Bettlerorden gibt.³⁰ Die zwar oft anekdotische Erzählung konnte in der konsolidationszeit seine endgültige Komposition bekommen, einige seiner Absätze verhalten sich recht zurückhaltend gegenüber einigen umstrittenen Taten der Herrschaft von Karl I. Es ist sicher, dass die Arbeit von Simon Kézai in dieser Zeit bereits dem ungarischen Chronikstamm eingefügt wurde, aber dessen verherrlichende Passage über Ladislaus IV. wurden durch andere, das ungarische historische Gedächtnis treuer widerspiegelnde, weniger vorteilhafte Texte umgetauscht.³¹

Die wichtigste Diskussionsfrage der Chronikforschung um die Minoritenkomposition in der Karl-Zeit herum bezieht sich bis heute auf den Autor. Selbst Sándor Domanovszky, der große Chronikforscher hat in den Erzählungen der sechzig Jahre zwei Autoren gesehen, die Zäsur lag nach ihm bei 1317. Wesentlich später hat der angesehene Gyula Kristó ebenfalls eine pluralistische Meinung vertreten. Er war der Ansicht, ab dem 181. Kapitel die Werke von vier Autoren nachweisen zu können: der erste soll ein Angevinenfeindlicher Franziskaner mit persönlichen Erfahrungen von der Herrschaft von Ladislaus IV. gewesen sein; der zweite Schreiber soll die Ereignisse zwischen 1305–1312 aufgezeichnet haben, der bereits an der Seite von Karl I. stand; die kurzen Anmerkungen der ersten Hälfte der Jahre 1312–1333/1334 kann ein Franziskaner mit zurückblickendem zeitlichem Abstand aufgezeichnet haben; und es muss wieder ein anderer sein, der die Geschichte des Záh-Attentates bzw. der Niederlage in der Walachei habe aufzeichnen können. Dieser letzte wird von Kristó eher für einen Menschen des Hofes und für keinen Mönch des Bettelordens gehalten.³²

Neben der pluralistischen Stellungnahme wird jedoch eine andere, die den genannten Chronikteil zu einem Autor verknüpfende mit großem Gewicht vertreten: János Horváth jun., der berühmte mittellateinische Philologe vertrat während seiner ganzen Laufbahn diese Meinung, selbst mit den Artikeln von Kristó polemisierend, und seiner Ansicht hat sich auch Elemér Mályusz angeschlossen. Sie haben János Karácsonyi folgend die Identifikation des Autors mit dem ungarischen Minoritenprovinzial Johannes für völlig vorstellbar

³⁰ MARCZALI 1880. S. 51.

³¹ KRISTÓ 2002. S. 79–85.

³² Alexander DOMANOVSKÝ in: SRH I. S. 219–220; KRISTÓ 1967. S. 467–480; KRISTÓ 2002. S. 79–84.

gehalten, der zwischen 1323–1331 seinen hohen Posten bekleidete und später als Diplomat diente.³³

Das von uns untersuchte 188. Chronikkapitel setzt sich mit den Ereignissen nach dem Aussterben des Árpádenhauses auseinander: 1301 wurde nämlich Wenzel Přemysl böhmischer Herzog, der mit den Árpáden auf Töchterseite verwandter Sohn des böhmischen Königs ins Land gebracht, um ihn auf den leer gewordenen Thron zu setzen. Der Königsohn wurde am 27. August 1301 vom Erzbischof von Kalocsa, János gekrönt, da „der Stuhl des Erzbistums von Esztergom damals leer war“, wie der Chroniktext argumentiert.³⁴ Wie wir gesehen haben, war Bicskei der gewählte Erzbischof und mit päpstlicher Ernennung Administrator des Stuhles. Es lohnt sich zu untersuchen, welchen Nachhall die bezügliche Passage in der damaligen und in der modernen Geschichtsschreibung ausgelöst hat.

In der vor 1350 entstandenen und als Auszug der Chronikkomposition aus der Karl-Zeit zu betrachtender Chronik von Pozsony wird der Satz auf die folgende Weise fortgesetzt: „aber der gewählte [Erzbischof] jener Kirche war damals Gregor, der Sohn von Botond, der Domkustos der Kirche von Székesfehérvár“.³⁵ Die Geschichtsschreiber des 20. Jahrhunderts betrachtend muss erstens der Standpunkt von Gyula Kristó bekanntgemacht werden. Er schreibt diesen Absatz – wie schon erwähnt – einem Angevinenfeindlichen, den Text bis 1305 führenden Franziskaner zu, der mit seiner obenstehenden Bemerkung von seinem Parteistand neben Wenzel gezeugt hätte, da er den Stuhl des ungarischen Oberhirten falsch als leerwerdend darstellte. In ähnlicher Weise äußerte sich über die bezügliche Passage auch der die Theorie von mehreren Autoren übrigens abweisende Elemér Mályusz, nach dessen Meinung „die Chronik sich sein Erzbischofsein von Bicske negierend, mit den Oberhirten an der Seite von Andreas III. identifizierte, um zweifellos ihr Verfahren zu rechtfertigen“.³⁶

Nach der Meinung von János Horváth jun. habe der Autor des bezüglichen Chronikteiles keine Angevinenfeindliche Stellungnahme, sondern die Unsicherheit um den durch den Papst tatsächlich leer gelassenen Stuhl von Esztergom formulieren wollen: „mit all dem hatte er nicht die Absicht, die Gerechtigkeit der Krönung zu betonen, sondern er wollte die Entschuldigung dafür finden – was aus dem obigen Grund völlig verschwiegen wurde –, dass die Krönung von Karl I. Robert durch einen gewählten aber vom Papst nicht bestätigten Erzbischof im Jahre 1301 kirchenrechtlich ebenfalls ungültig war“.³⁷

Die Frage ist also der Wahrheitssinn des bezüglichen Satzes, und als solcher, ist er von der Seite des Kirchenrechtes zu beschauen: gilt die Kirche von

³³ HORVÁTH 1954. S. 256–260; HORVÁTH 1971. S. 326–352; MÁLYUSZ 1966. S. 725–747; MÁLYUSZ 1967. S. 57–60.

³⁴ „*Sedes namque tunc archiepiscopatus Strigoniensis vacabat.*“ – SRH I. 480.

³⁵ „*Sedes namque archiepiscopatus Strigoniensis vacabat, sed electus ipsius ecclesie erat Gregorius, filius Wotend, custos tunc Albensis ecclesie.*“ – SRH II. 47.

³⁶ MÁLYUSZ 1966. S. 737–738; KRISTÓ 1967. S. 469–470; KRISTÓ 2002. S. 81. Siehe auch: MÁLYUSZ – KRISTÓ 1988. S. 30–32.

³⁷ HORVÁTH 1971. S. 336.

Esztergom durch den gewählten Erzbischof-Administrator als bekleidet oder nicht? Die Antwort liegt nach der obigen kirchenrechtlichen Regelung an der Hand: mit der Ernennung zum Administrator von Bicskei erfolgte nicht die Besetzung des erzbischöflichen Stuhls von Esztergom.

Danach bleibt nur noch die Stellungnahme in der Frage übrig, ob die Chronikpassage, die den Erzbischofsthul von Esztergom leer werdend behauptet, das Werk eines Angevinenfeindlichen Autors sein soll. Meiner Meinung nach lässt sich vom Autor nur eines mit Sicherheit wissen: er kannte die juristische Regelung von *administratores* und *procuratores*, und dementsprechend schrieb er über der tatsächlichen Sedisvakanz des Stuhles von Esztergom damals. Dass dieser Standpunkt im Ungarn der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts nicht alleinstehend war, wird auch durch den zitierten Satz der Chronik von Pozsony bewiesen, der den Wenzel krönenden Prälaten verurteilend betont, dass Bicskei demgegenüber der gewählte Erzbischof des Oberhirtenstuhles war. Er formulierte die Stellungnahme der Minoriten als Angevinenfeind betrachtend eine Äußerung an der Partei der.

Wir sind hier Zeugen davon, dass die Geschichtsschreiber einer gegebenen historischen Zeit miteinander diskutieren. In den die früheren Epochen der Chronikkomposition aus dem 14. Jahrhundert beschreibenden Texteinheiten begegnet man mitunter Meinungen, die die Teile mit dem Anfang *tradunt quidam, dicunt alii* enthalten. Hier zitiert ein späterer Autor Meinungen aus verloren gegangenen schriftlichen Quellen, mit denen er später ständig diskutiert und denen er auch widerspricht.³⁸

In unserem Fall sind beide Meinungen aufrecht erhalten geblieben: die das tatsächliche Erzbischofssein von Bicskei und die Besetzung des Stuhls von Esztergom negierende Minoriten-Auffassung ebenfalls, wie der das Erzbischofssein des zu Beginn der Angevinenzeit verstorbenen Oberhirten bejahende Standpunkt der Chronik von Pozsony. Somit dient die untersuchte Frage des kanonischen Rechtes sowie der Chronikforschung als bescheidener Beitrag zum Beweis der Lebhaftigkeit des damaligen ungarischen literarischen Lebens.

Die oben erörterten vier kirchengeschichtlichen Fragen – wie in der Einführung erwähnt – beschäftigen seit langen Jahrzehnten die ungarische Mediävistik. Für manche scheint eine endgültige Lösung gegeben worden zu sein, andere werden jedoch – wie es ohne jegliches Risiko vorherzusagen ist – die Vertreter der ungarischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung zu immer neueren Vorschlägen anspornen.

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³⁸ KRISTÓ 1994. S. 104–106.

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Bálint K. BANDI

Methodological Aspects for the Analysis of Transylvanian Censuses in the First Third of the Eighteenth Century*

Throughout history, tax revenue has been a significant source of income for the state. Direct taxes composed a crucial part of the state budget, along with revenues generated from trade and other economic activities. Since the Early Modern Times, taxpayers have been registered before tax collection to estimate income and determine applicable taxes for households.

In the Middle Ages, censuses taken in the Kingdom of Hungary aimed to register the taxpaying population, mainly serfs, while excluding the tax-exempt nobility and ecclesiastical order. The Ottoman conquests led to changes in the tax system, with the occupiers building a well-organized system adapted to local social conditions in the territory under their rule. Despite the Viennese court's financial administration reforms, medieval taxation methods persisted for decades in the remaining part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Tax collection procedures in the Principality of Transylvania also followed medieval customs, although the Transylvanian government introduced changes in defining taxpayers and tax units, similar to the reform in the Kingdom of Hungary.

In my study, I examine the censuses (*conscriptioes, connumerationes*) carried out in Cluj and Turda Counties from 1713 to 1733. My research focuses on the structure and content of these sources, as well as their methodological implications and potential for data interpretation and application.

Keywords: history of Transylvania, censuses, tax assessment, tax system, demography, methodology



Throughout history, tax revenue has been a significant source of income for the state. Direct taxes composed a crucial part of the state budget, along with revenues generated from trade and other economic activities. Since the Early

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Modern Times, taxpayers have been registered before tax collection to estimate income and determine applicable taxes for households.

Taxation and the practice of taxing have been present since ancient times. Early censuses were mainly conducted to determine the number of taxpayers and assess the military power of the state. As a result, many social groups, including women, and children were excluded from these investigations. This approach, which focused solely on economic and military aspects, continued during the Medieval and Early Modern periods.¹

In the Middle Ages, censuses taken in the Kingdom of Hungary aimed to register the taxpaying population, mainly serfs, while excluding the tax-exempt nobility and ecclesiastical order. The Ottoman conquests led to changes in the tax system, with the occupiers building a well-organized system adapted to local social conditions in the territory under their rule. Despite the Viennese court's financial administration reforms, medieval taxation methods persisted for decades in the remaining part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Tax collection procedures in the Principality of Transylvania also followed medieval taxation customs, although the Transylvanian government introduced changes in defining taxpayers and tax units, similar to the reform in the Kingdom of Hungary.²

Following the Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711), tax assessment procedures became more standardized.³ Unlike previous centuries, we have numerous sources related to tax levying practices that provide insight into the tax system and a broader understanding of the economic and social conditions of specific counties and settlements.

In my study, I examine the censuses (*conscriptioes, connumerationes*) carried out in Cluj and Turda counties from 1713 to 1733. My research focuses on the structure and content of these sources, as well as on their methodological implications and potential for data interpretation and application.

¹ KOVACSICS 1957. p. 7; SZÜCS 2006. p. 7–8. Initially, the serf population paid taxes by providing agricultural crops. However, starting from the thirteenth century, this method of taxation was gradually replaced by paying with money. Regarding the development and certain elements of the medieval Hungarian tax system, see SZABÓ 2017. p. 42–44.

² In the sixteenth century, the government considered the financial status of individual households during tax assessments. However, from 1609 on, serf households were no longer taxed based on their financial situation. Instead, the heads of households were required to pay the tax per person (known as head tax). ÁGOSTON – OBORNI 2000. p. 155; DÁNÉ 2016. p. 24–25; MAKKAI – MÓCSY 1986. p. 488–489.

³ The recently implemented “calculus system” brought a change in the method of how the government distributed the levied money. The amount was split into 100 equal parts, which were then distributed proportionally among the three nations, as well as the cities and market towns. For further information, see PÁL 2009. p. 13–14.

Censuses in the Principality of Transylvania in the First Third of the eighteenth century

After the Rákóczi War of Independence, which concluded with the Treaty of Szatmár [Satu Mare, RO] in 1711, a time of peaceful development commenced in both the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania. In the latter province, the Habsburgs implemented governmental reforms aimed at enhancing taxation and census procedures, to optimize the economic potential of the newly acquired territory. In order to impose taxes, it was necessary to have a thorough understanding of the financial status of households, which meant conducting frequent censuses to examine their living conditions.⁴ Despite these considerations, there has been limited research on the censuses in Transylvania during this period. Hence, the interpretation and publication of these censuses are still pending, with only a few exceptions.⁵

In the National Archives of the Hungarian National Archives Section F 49 Mixed Censuses, complete census series for multiple counties are available for the examined period. More than a dozen censuses were conducted in Cluj and Turda counties during the period in question. Each of the censuses was included in a separate volume. The tomes are almost identical in terms of volume, except for one, which only contains a table of the settlements. The volumes are also identical in terms of content and are evenly distributed over time. The first census, which was the most comprehensive, was conducted in 1713 and included both districts of Turda and Cluj County. In 1720, the upper district of Cluj County and the lower district of Turda County were investigated. Censuses were also taken in the lower and upper districts of Cluj County in 1722. In 1723 and 1724, censuses were conducted in both districts of Turda County. Lastly, in 1733, the population of the lower district of Cluj County was recorded.

During the period under study, the national diet ordered the censuses, but the execution was always the counties' responsibility. The census was conducted and the catalogue was prepared by jurors in each county. The commissioners went to every village and summoned their superiors to give recorded testimonies under oath.⁶ During the assessment, the commissioners were required to follow specific guidelines (i.e., *instructio*), but they did not consistently adhere to them.

Structural and content elements of the censuses

The sources present a diverse picture in terms of structure and content. However, there are also many similarities in the structural elements. Although there are differences in their content, each of the censuses that were examined

⁴ MAKKAI – SZÁSZ 1986. p. 894; PÁL-ANTAL 2009. p. 15.

⁵ The data from censuses were primarily used for demographic research. To view published data regarding the censuses of Cluj and Turda, see ACSÁDY 1896. p. 210–212, 214–216. To the potential uses for the data, see DÁVID 1957. p. 159; MISKOLCZY 2013. p. 32; VERES 2002. p. 75–108.

⁶ PÁL-ANTAL 2009. p. 15.

has some form of title page. It is possible that certain volumes were given their titles at a later date, as part of an archival reorganization, such as the censuses of both the lower and upper districts of Cluj from 1713 which only mention the examined county and year.⁷ On the other hand, several volumes provide a detailed title page including the exact name of the area being examined, the year of examination, and sometimes a list of settlements.⁸ In some instances, the volume also includes the decision order. For instance, in 1720, regarding the census of the lower district of Cluj, the decision specifies the administrative unit, the year, and most importantly, the authority that ordered the assessment (so-called Royal *Gubernium*⁹ of Transylvania)¹⁰ Some volumes contain an instruction (*insctructio*) that outlines the process of data collection and investigation criteria. The content of these instructions varies, with some being more detailed than others. For example, the census of the lower district of Turda from 1720 had an instruction that was particularly specific and detailed. It required delegates to assess the impact of a recent epidemic on the number of victims and on agricultural production.¹¹ However, in many cases, the instruction was not included. There are also some differences in the way the tables are presented. As the tables are the most important part of the censuses, they provide the majority of the data. The commissioners usually organized the data in a table format, but there are some instances when they wrote it out in descriptive form instead. Some tables only display the number of specific social groups (e.g., *jobbagiones, inquilini, vagi, viduae, unius sessionis nobiles, nobiles sub taxa, aulici servi, aulici vagi*)¹². However, certain datasets provide not only the number of individuals but also the names of the heads of the household. Some volumes also contain a summary table (*generalis extractus*), which cumulates the data of each settlement in tabular form. On the closing pages, apart from the official general *formula*, in a few cases, we can also find the signatures of the commissioners.

Regarding the content, the tables offer the most pertinent information, but other parts of the volumes also have useful details scattered throughout. For example, the analysis of the instructions can assist in comprehending the tax levying methods and practices of the examined period. Additionally, the guidelines found within provide insight into the unit on which the tax was imposed and help interpret official terms used during the era. It is also

⁷ CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. INF. 1713, CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. SUP. 1713

⁸ CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1713, CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. INF. 1722, CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. SUP. 1722. The title page of the 1713 census of the lower district of Turda includes the following elements: the title (Investigatio Seu Conscriptio Incliti Comitatus Thordensis Processus Inferioris de Anno 1713. Cum legati authentia (sic!)), and the list of the examined settlements. In the 1722 census of Cluj's lower and upper districts, only the title appeared on the title pages. (Conscriptio Comitatus Colosiensis Processus [...] Anno 1722.

⁹ EMBER 1983. p. 70–72; MAKKAI-SZASZ 1986. p. 881–885.

¹⁰ CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. SUP. 1720

¹¹ CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1720.

¹² Serfs, cottars, vagabonds, widows, nobles with one parcel, taxpaying nobles, court servants, court vagabonds

important to underline the brief descriptions included below the table of taxpaying households for each settlement. These descriptions provide valuable context to the data presented in the table by highlighting geographical features, natural landscapes, and economic conditions of the settlements. The summary tables also provide valuable information on legal categories distinguished by contemporaries for different social groups. Last but not least, by analysing the signatures, we can gain information regarding the commissioners, as well as the personal composition of the counties' officials.

Methodological aspects for applying early modern Transylvanian tax censuses in economic and social history research

When evaluating the accuracy of the sources, it is important to consider the motivations of both the government and taxpayers. The government's primary aim was to register the taxpaying population for financial purposes, while taxpayers aimed to pay the least amount of tax possible due to additional military supply costs. This clash of interests can result in biased data, particularly in datasets related to the economic status of households. It is also important to exercise caution when examining population statistics, as the exact number of inhabitants in a household may not be certain. Nonetheless, the data can still be useful for monitoring demographic trends.¹³

Moreover, socio-historical data obtained from censuses can provide useful insights into the social structure of the county and its villages, as well as the internal social relationships and geographical distribution of trades. By analysing these elements, we can gain a comprehensive understanding of demographic changes of that era. Additionally, the descriptions of the geography and agricultural practices of each settlement also offer valuable data. Sometimes, relevant data that could provide new insights is often overlooked in historical research when compared to economic figures. However, it is important to examine data regarding natural resource exploitation, agricultural production, and population conditions. It is crucial to be cautious while using scattered data since they may not be entirely accurate. Nevertheless, incorporating them into the examination could help us gain a more comprehensive understanding of various economic and social phenomena.

Summary

The integration of the Principality of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire brought about new opportunities for the country's economic and social development. Despite retaining many of its outdated features, such as its fragmented public administration system, Transylvania also adapted to meet the needs of the imperial government. The process of tax assessment underwent changes, which were primarily economically motivated, as the

¹³ KOVACSICS 1957. p. 16.

government wanted to conduct a thorough evaluation of the financial situation. However, these changes also provided information about the social circumstances of taxpayers, offering insight into the social history of the era, the agricultural system, and the internal relations of village communities.

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Brigitta SCHVÉD

Discourse on Peace and Balance of Power in Early Eighteenth-Century English Political Sermons*

In the public debate on the English involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession, and over time, on the peace that would end the prolonged war, sermons occupy a special place among the various political mediums of the time. After briefly reviewing the main features of the political controversy, the present study specifically examines two political sermons by the English churchman John Adams (1662–1720), in which the discourse on balance of power is organically present, reinforcing the theme of the need for a “good peace”. In Adams’ sermons, published in 1709 and 1711, respectively, the notion of Christian joy and prosperity as well as the glad tidings of the securing of Protestant succession in the form of a future peace were given explicit emphasis alongside the discourse on balance of power. Both sermons were delivered on thanksgiving days, therefore – while supporting the anti-war, pro-peace Tory propaganda – they have a strong emphasis on predictions of the positive prospects for Christian spirituality. The paper focuses on the conceptual analysis of these delightful promises, showing how Adams considered the effects of a prospective peace on the Christian religion in general as well as on the future of the balance of power both at home and in Europe.

Keywords: political sermons, party politics, Queen Anne, War of the Spanish Succession, balance of power



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Introduction

In the contemporary English political media reporting on the development of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the question of English intervention, and then – especially after September 1710, when Queen Anne’s Whig government was replaced by a predominantly Tory ministry – on the peace to be concluded, one can frequently find reflections on the impact of war and peace on the future of balance of power. The use of a balance-of-power rhetoric was by then far from unusual in the European, and especially in the English political thought, as England had already seen itself as the protector of the balance of Europe since the end of the seventeenth century.¹ The notion became a fundamental principle of the eighteenth-century European politics and political publicism, as well as a key concept in the theory of interstate relations and peace treaties of the period, while in the decades following the establishment of the Utrecht Peace Settlement (1713–1714), balance-of-power politics emerged as a central element of English diplomacy.²

Despite, or perhaps because of all this, several scholars believe that early modern balance of power is “a cloudy and indefinite” concept, “complex, prone to change”,³ misinterpretation and misappropriation, “but popular with contemporaries, thus important and inescapable for us as *useful rhetoric*”.⁴ However, M. S. Andersen argues that it is worth treating the concept as a so-called “practical category” while proposes a “genealogical” conceptual history of it.⁵ When approached in this way, it becomes clear that the term – often used by contemporaries – was not just a rhetorical device, but in many cases a key political concept and an important element of contemporary political discourse, used by many authors as a central concept in their political practice. In this study, therefore, I wish to focus on the themes and contexts in which the concept of balance of power appeared in English political discourse during the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession overheated by political controversy. I wish to analyse specifically the less studied genre of the debate on the end of the war, the sermon literature of the period.

Although sermons did not respond to politics as directly as pamphlets or periodicals, many of them argued for the end of the war and the need for peace, while rhetorically exploiting the idea of balance of power. It is therefore worthwhile to examine more closely the printed products of this genre in terms of the balance-of-power discourse, which historical research has not attempted to do so far. After a brief overview of the English political milieu of

¹ KAMPMANN 1996. p. 328–332; THOMPSON 2011. p. 270–271.

² BLACK 1987. p. 48; DEVETAK 2013. p. 125–127; GHERVAS 2016. p. 404–405, 410–412; more recently: JANŽEKOVIČ 2023. esp. 570–573. On the theoretical foundations of early modern European, as well as specifically English, balance-of-power politics, see, inter alia: ANDERSON 1970. p. 196–198; BLACK 1983. p. 55–58; SHEEHAN 1996. esp. p. 1–24; DUCHHARDT 1997. esp. p. 7–18, 96–114, 259–284, 407–410; ARCIDIACONO 2011. p. 75–200, esp. 135–184; MALETTKE 2012; more recently: ANDERSEN 2018. p. 3–4; GHERVAS–ARMITAGE 2020. p. 11–12.

³ Quoted from ANDERSON 1970. p. 183.

⁴ Quoted from WICKLUM 1999. p. 7, n. 2. (Emphasis from me – B. S.)

⁵ ANDERSEN 2016. p. 5–8, 11–12, 50–52.

the War of the Spanish Succession and the emergence of the concept of balance of power at the turn of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, the present paper shall focus specifically on the printed political sermons of the period. I will discuss two sermons in particular by the English churchman John Adams from 1709 and 1711, respectively, in which the discourse on the political balance of the European states is integrally present, reinforcing the themes of the end of the prolonged war and the urgent need for a suitable peace for Britain.

The political milieu of the War of the Spanish Succession and the principle of balance of power in England at the turn of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries

The War of the Spanish Succession – closely linked to the maintenance of the political order established by the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688–1689 – had a major impact on English politics already from its outset.⁶ As Charles Davenant – whose three pamphlets were published in the first half of 1701 – argued, England’s commitment to another war was necessary to protect the balance of power in Europe and to stop the universal monarchy of France.⁷ In Davenant’s view, who combined the Whigs’ vision of universal monarchy and the balance of power, the most important issue for England was to “maintain” its “Post of holding the Balance”, namely the position of a *balancer* in Europe.⁸

Balance of power was developed as a political model based on ancient, as well as Italian examples by the sixteenth century, and from then on it gradually gained ground in Europe in the period after the Peace of Westphalia (1648),⁹ when the idea of a political balance was becoming an increasingly important guiding principle in European political thought.¹⁰ The balance-of-power principle played an especially significant role in early modern English politics, where the use of the concept became increasingly commonplace from the second half of the seventeenth century in parliamentary debates, pamphlet literature, as well as in political journalism; England saw its position increasingly as the external leader of the continent’s states.¹¹ In terms of English domestic politics, the concept was especially used in the party-political conflicts of the Whigs and Tories, while in foreign politics it was primarily used

⁶ CLAYDON 1996. p. 52–63, 215–237.

⁷ DAVENANT 1701. p. 89–91, 100.

⁸ DAVENANT 1701. p. 87, 99. Davenant, an English economist and pamphleteer, wrote his 1701 pamphlets as a Whig opposition politician, but later became a Tory member of Parliament. For more on Davenant’s pamphlets in question concerning the conceptual relations between balance of power and universal monarchy, see more recently: THOMPSON 2009. p. 61–63; ONNEKINK 2009. p. 71; ANDERSEN 2016. p. 112–115; SCHVÉD 2019.

⁹ LIVET 1976. p. 34–91; SKINNER 1978. p. 6–15; VAGTS – VAGTS 1979. p. 557–560; STROHMEYER 1994; GELDEREN 2007; AUBERT 2008; more recently, with a specific focus on Renaissance examples: JANŽEKOVIČ 2019.

¹⁰ STROHMEYER 2015; GHERVAS – ARMITAGE 2020. p. 7–8; MILTON 2020. p. 104; JANŽEKOVIČ 2023. p. 563–570.

¹¹ SHEEHAN 1988. p. 31–37; DEVETAK 2013. p. 127–136.

against the Dutch during the 1650s, and as a consequence of the War of Devolution (1667–1668) launched by Louis XIV of France, it turned against the French to an increasing extent.¹²

The concept became firmly established after the Treaty of Ryswick (1697); political actors increasingly came to accept it as the norm for establishing the European state system, which was explicitly included for the first time in the Peace of Utrecht (1713–1714), closing the prolonged War of the Spanish Succession.¹³ In the course of the war, English domestic politics largely reverted to the earlier fundamental division between Whigs and Tories, whose growing dichotomy – also evident in religious tensions¹⁴ – continued to dominate party politics throughout the years of Queen Anne’s reign (1702–1714).¹⁵ Whigs and Tories generally held different views on the issue of war, which quite often led to sharply contrasting positions in the public debate on the question of English intervention and, over time, the need for peace. While the Whigs, due to their strong commitment to the Protestant succession, tended to fully support the war on the continent, the more isolated Tories were more suspicious of the English involvement, to which they were often explicitly hostile.¹⁶ Thus, almost from its outset, the War of Succession was a public catalyst for party-political rivalry in England.¹⁷

In early 1701, Robert Harley, the newly elected Speaker of the House of Commons, who later set up an extensive propaganda office to push the Treaty of Utrecht through the Parliament, tried to take a neutral stance on the outbreak of war.¹⁸ Numerous publications, sponsored by Harley, urged the need for domestic peace and a united front in the face of the nationwide challenge of wartime. From the end of 1701, a period of close parliamentary elections and mixed cabinets, the ongoing war was increasingly discussed from a party-political perspective. Although the entry of England into the war in May 1702 was not met with unanimous approval on both sides, and enthusiasm among the Tories was waning by 1704, the victory at Blenheim in the summer of 1704 and the subsequent English successes ensured that the war was widely accepted for the next few years.¹⁹

¹² PINCUS 1992; PINCUS 1995; THOMPSON 2006. p. 36–39.

¹³ LESAFFER 2019. p. 67–68. For a focus on the English diplomatic and intellectual history regarding the balance of Europe around the Peace of Utrecht, see more recently, inter alia: THOMPSON 2011; DHONDT 2015; ANDERSEN 2016. p. 95–133.

¹⁴ IHALAINEN 2009. p. 228–234; IHALAINEN 2011. p. 497–499.

¹⁵ CLAYDON 1996. p. 122–125, 148–190.

¹⁶ HOLMES 1987. p. 20–33, 51–81.

¹⁷ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 29–30.

¹⁸ Robert Harley (1661–1724) started his career as a Whig politician, then became part of the new Tory government in 1710–1711. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1710 to 1711, then Lord High Treasurer to Queen Anne from 1711 to 1714. A key achievement of Harley’s administration was the Treaty of Utrecht with France in April 1713, which ended the English involvement in the prolonged War of Succession. HOLMES 1969. p. 216–237; MACLACHLAN 1969. p. 197–198, 207–208; SPECK 2004.

¹⁹ HATTENDORF 1987. p. 97–110; HOPPIT 2014. p. 9–11.

It was only from 1708 onwards that the prolonged war began to appear as a serious burden in the eye of the public, and the Whigs' demands for a vigorous continuation of the war began to lose support.²⁰ According to Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock's monograph on the public controversy about the ending of the war, it was from the late summer of 1710 onwards that the most contentious issues concerning the outcome of the war were irrevocably placed on the public agenda, even though the publication of the rejected French proposals in 1709 already foreshadowed serious peace negotiations, followed by the increasingly sinister resonances of the Sacheverell trial in early 1710.²¹ The controversy about the end of the war and the urgent need for a suitable peace for Britain utterly appeared in the public media at the decisive stage of the conflict, between 1710 and 1713.²² All genres, even political sermons contributed to the debate so far,²³ sometimes organically applying the concept of balance of power.

During the summer of 1711, Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke – Queen Anne's Secretary of State for the Northern Department – began secret peace negotiations with France, as a consequence of which the preliminaries of the peace were signed in September 1711;²⁴ however, the Whig opposition attempted to round up support against *any* treaty with France. In the public controversy about the ending of the war, one of the most famous anti-war political pamphlets, Jonathan Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies* from November 1711, also explicitly used the concept of balance of power. In Swift's view, "a Change must be made in the Balance"²⁵ to end the war; therefore, reflecting on the recent change of government, a change is also required in the previous Whig policy according to him, in order to achieve a peace satisfactory to both Britain and its allies.²⁶

The British government subsequently signed a peace treaty with France in April 1713 and with Spain in July 1713; the term "balance of power" became part of the official language of diplomacy in an international legal sense with these peace treaties.²⁷ Naturally, the use of the concept is most prevalent in

²⁰ The Tories' "conspiracy" against the Whigs was born here, which Jonathan Swift later exploited relentlessly in his Tory journal *The Examiner*, and in his pamphlet *The Conduct of the Allies* (November 1711), ordered by Robert Harley himself. JACKSON 2015. p. 143–145.

²¹ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 32. As Geoffrey Holmes states, "the Sacheverell affair of 1709–10 was the lurid climax of the Church's entanglement in party politics." HOLMES 1987. p. xxii.

²² HATTENDORF 1987. p. 221–230.

²³ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. esp. p. 157–163.

²⁴ HILL 1973. p. 241–263; DHONDT 2011. p. 370; DHONDT 2015. p. 44.

²⁵ "It is very obvious what a Change must be made in the Balance, by such Weights taken out of Our Scale and put into Theirs; since it was manifest by Ten Years Experience, that France without those Additions of Strength, was able to maintain it self [sic] against us." See: SWIFT 1711–1714. p. 58.

²⁶ Swift's pamphlet achieved extraordinary popular success; by the end of January 1712, it had sold more than 10,000 copies (and has been published at least five times), and Swift's anti-war and anti-Whig arguments also captured parliamentary and popular opinion throughout Britain. GERTKEN 2013. p. 186; JACKSON 2015. p. 149–155.

²⁷ The treaty with France – signed at Utrecht on 11 April 1713 – is the first which has made explicit use of the concept of balance of power in a number of instances and direct references; for example,

treaties, pamphlets and parliamentary debates of the period, but balance-of-power discourse was sometimes also prominently featured in various registers in a wide range of political media during the War of Succession, such as political treatises, reports and newspapers, and sometimes even broadsides, poems or sermons. The further part of the paper focuses specifically on the latter genre, the sermon literature of the period.

The debate on the need for peace in English political sermons in the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession

Among the different genres involved in the debate on the English participation, and over time, in the discussions on the peace that would end the ongoing war, sermons occupy a special place. They had to follow the rhythm of the ecclesiastical year, and in most cases they were written for special occasions, for example thanksgiving celebrations ordered by the monarch; all these factors limited the discursive adaptability of the genre, which, while alluding to certain current political events, did not respond to politics in the same direct way such as pamphlets, periodicals, or broadsides.²⁸ Nevertheless, the concept of balance of power can be found in several printed English sermons in strong conceptual connection with the argument about the end of the war. In this way, it is worthwhile to examine in more depth the printed products of this genre from the perspective of the balance-of-power discourse, which neither Müllenbrock's monograph nor the more recent literature on English political sermons of the period has attempted.²⁹

The introduction (*exordium*), explanation (*explicatio*) and conclusion (*peroratio*) usually formed the framework of a sermon, while the argumentation (*argumentatio*) and application (*applicatio*) formed its centre. Any reference to and commentary on contemporary issues was usually

where the French monarch admits the renunciation of the King of Spain to the crowns of France, and of the Duke of Berry and the Duke of Orleans to the crown of Spain, the peace agreement reads that "[...] by taking care at the same time, in persuance [sic] of the fundamental and perpetual maxim of the balance of power in Europe, which persuades and justifies the avoiding, in all cases imaginable, the union of the monarchy of France with that of Spain, [...]". See: OHT 27 CTS 475. However, the treaty with Spain – signed also at Utrecht on 13 July 1713 – is the most quoted in this regard as the first major European treaty to incorporate the term into its formal provisions, making it the first case when the expression is explicitly used in an international legal sense: the second article of it declared the treaty's main purpose as "[...] to settle and establish the peace and tranquility [sic] of Christendom by an equal balance of power (which is the best and most solid foundation of a mutual friendship, and of a concord which will be lasting on all sides) as well the Catholic King as the Most Christian King have consented, that care should be taken by sufficient precautions, that the kingdoms of Spain and France should never come and be united under the same dominion, [...]". See: OHT 28 CTS 295. For more on the significance of the Peace of Utrecht, see, inter alia: OSIANDER 1994; THOMPSON 2014; SASHALMI 2015; LESAFFER 2019. p. 68–70; 84–88; BURKHARDT – DURST 2021. p. 446; GELDER 2021. p. 953–957.

²⁸ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 157.

²⁹ The most recent study of the sermon literature of Queen Anne's era is Hugh Joseph Claffey's thesis from 2018, in which Claffey mentions and even refers to the use of the concept of balance of power in numerous sermons printed during the reign of Anne for thanksgiving days, but without providing a detailed analysis of the usage of the concept. See: CLAFFEY 2018.

confined to the part of the *applicatio*, in which the theological argumentation could be applied by the preachers to current political situations.³⁰ Despite this structural rigidity, preaching in a political sense had its special place in the public debate on the War of Succession. As Pasi Ihalainen pointed out, spiritual literature in general was highly valued in the period, and as a result, the works of many preachers were printed almost immediately.³¹ Considering specifically political sermons, these were published in large numbers not only in England, but across Western Europe, and they were also available to the interested public at a relatively affordable price, therefore, these products provided an excellent forum for political propaganda and discourse.³² Moreover, Ihalainen also highlighted that political sermons can in many cases be considered a kind of “key genre” of the period, especially “in the popularization and polemicization of ongoing debates on theology and political theory”, while William Gibson stated that “preaching could be deployed for political purposes” in the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries, the “golden age” of British sermon culture.³³

Sermons were able to influence public opinion through their particular rhetoric, and for this reason they played an important role in the propaganda battle leading up to the Peace of Utrecht in two main ways. On the one hand, Müllenbrock’s analysis suggests that they provided a clear statement of general political issues within the formal constraints of the genre and were thus able to influence the political climate and create a certain degree of awareness of new political developments. This function was especially fulfilled by sermons delivered in the House of Commons – such as John Adams’ first sermon from 1709, analysed below – which were quite effective in conveying political messages within the strict limits of the genre.³⁴

Another, less frequently used function of sermons was to participate in overt party-political propaganda. This function places sermons alongside the other political genres of the period, openly complementing the propaganda activities of political parties. Joseph Trapp’s sermon, for example – preached in January 1711 and published in print in 1712 –, openly sides with the Tories, and its polarisation makes it an exception within the genre.³⁵ Trapp seeks to create a sense of a common political cause while he attacks the Whig

³⁰ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 157–158. On the structural conventions of the genre, see for example: LESSENICH 1972. For more on seventeenth–eighteenth-century English sermon culture, see: CAUDLE 1996; CLAYDON 2000; EDWARDS 2009; IHALAINEN 2009. p. 228–234; CLAYDON 2011; DIXON 2011. On eighteenth-century English court sermons and specifically on the preaching culture of London, see: IHALAINEN 2012; FAROOQ 2013; FAROOQ 2014.

³¹ IHALAINEN 2011. p. 496.

³² CLAYDON 2000. p. 213–214; IHALAINEN 2011. p. 496; GIBSON 2012. p. 5–6. On the audience of peace sermons, see: JÜRGENS 2021; of court sermons: FAROOQ 2014. p. 160–161, n. 16. On the connections between English printed sermons and the public sphere of the period, see: CAUDLE 1996.

³³ IHALAINEN 2011. p. 496; GIBSON 2012. p. 5.

³⁴ Because of their effectively official character, these works were gradually and increasingly used by the government as a means of expressing its own political aims, indicating their long-term intentions and political direction in a cautious but quite clear way. MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 158.

³⁵ TRAPP 1712.

arguments vigorously in his sermon. In Müllenbrock's view, Trapp's work fitted integrally in the Tory propaganda network of the period, which – in a religious context – reinforced the general undertone that had been prevalent since 1711, namely the Harley administration's pervasive commitment to end the war.³⁶ Even those sermons whose authors showed more self-restraint than Trapp – such as the pro-government fast sermons delivered in the House of Commons – followed the Tory propaganda line that the continued bloodshed of the prolonged war could no longer be tolerated.

In a speech to both Houses of Parliament on 7 December 1711, the Queen herself made an emphatic reference to the war as having “cost so much Blood and Treasure”.³⁷ In her speech of 21 June 1712, she also effectively linked the promise of an end to the war to the securing of the European balance of power. In this speech, she explicitly stressed the urgent need for peace:

“At the same time that I thank you [i.e., the House of Commons] most kindly for the Supplies you have cheerfully [sic] granted, I cannot but let you know my Satisfaction in the near View I have of a Peace; since it will, in some measure, recompense my Subjects for their vast Expences [sic], and also lighten that heavy Burthen they have borne during the War [i.e., the War of the Spanish Succession].”³⁸

As regards the future peace that will ensure the balance of Europe, addressed jointly to the members of both Houses, Anne even explained that if the peace agreement would fail, the country would miss the only opportunity for a “real Balance of Power”:

“My Lords and Gentlemen, You have expressed how sensible you are of the Advantage and Security which accrue to *Britain*, and our Allies, by the Terms proposed for a Peace; and I need not mention to you the Mischiefs which must follow the breaking off this Treaty: Our Burthens would be, at least, continued, if not increased; the present Opportunity would be irrecoverably lost of *Britain's* establishing a real Balance of Power in *Europe*, and improving our own Commerce; and, if any One of our Allies should gain something by such a Proceeding, the rest would suffer in the common Calamity: But I hope, by God's Blessing, such fatal Designs will be disappointed.”³⁹

Müllenbrock even states that in the crucial stage of the debate, from January 1712, “the sermon – previously only used sparingly for the promulgation of political intentions – was fully integrated into the parties' armoury.”⁴⁰ From

³⁶ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 160–161.

³⁷ JHC 1711–1714: p. 1. and JHL 1709–1714: p. 335–337. (7 December 1711)

³⁸ JHC 1711–1714: p. 275. and JHL 1709–1714: p. 487–489. (21 June 1712)

³⁹ JHC 1711–1714: p. 275. and JHL 1709–1714: p. 487–489. (21 June 1712)

⁴⁰ JHC 1711–1714: p. 275. and JHL 1709–1714: p. 487–489. (21 June 1712)

then on, Whigs tried to fend off the Tories' attack as best they could. An illustrative example of this is William Fleetwood's rhetorically sophisticated fast sermon of 16 January 1712, a clear Whig response to Trapp's above-mentioned politically engaged pulpit rant. Fleetwood states at the very beginning of his sermon that he is speaking "against such as delight in War",⁴¹ which carries on the theme of Queen Anne's speeches to Parliament, as she said the following about the Whigs' "interest" or "delight in war" (referring to the "Whig danger" in line with the imminent prospect of a "good Peace"):

"My Lords, and Gentlemen, I have called you together as soon as the Public Affairs would permit: And I am glad that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the Arts of those who delight in War [i.e., the Whigs], both Place and Time are appointed for opening the Treaty of a General Peace."⁴²

"[...] and I hope, that neither they wo envy the making a good Peace, nor who think it their Interest to continue the War [i.e., the Whigs], will be able to defeat our joint Endeavours for the Honour and Advantage of *Britain*, and the Security of all our Allies."⁴³

The strategy of the Whigs was to deflect the Tories' accusation that they were taking pleasure in participating in the war and they did their utmost to deflect this accusation onto France. The slogan of the Whig's "delight" or "interest in war" in the Queen's speeches – originally directed against the opponents of peace, namely the Whigs – is thus directed against the King of France in Whig propaganda, aiming to remind the public that Louis XIV had notoriously broken not only treaties but also his own promises.⁴⁴ Fleetwood thus capitalised on a slogan that had originally been used to slander the Whigs. The polemical part of his sermon begins with the following terse remark: "And therefore they [i.e., the Tories] who now tell us, that we entered *wrong into it*, are those I doubt, who would have us go *wrong out of it*."⁴⁵ By re-emphasising the justness of war, Fleetwood's sermon is a typical example of the Whig reaction against the Tory propaganda offensive.⁴⁶

According to Müllenbrock, political sermons played an increasingly marginal role in the controversy after the summer of 1712, giving primacy to other forms of political rhetoric.⁴⁷ All this can be slightly nuanced by the fact that on the Whig side there is indeed no significant sermon literature dealing with the questions of the forthcoming peace after 1712, but particularly in the year 1713, and especially in connection with the celebration of the Treaty of Utrecht, a number of Tory political sermons can be identified. These peace

⁴¹ FLEETWOOD 1712. p. 3–4.

⁴² JHL 1709–1714: p. 335–337. (7 December 1711)

⁴³ JHC 1711–1714: p. 275. and JHL 1709–1714: p. 487–489. (21 June 1712)

⁴⁴ FLEETWOOD 1712. p. 19.

⁴⁵ FLEETWOOD 1712. p. 21.

⁴⁶ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 162–163.

⁴⁷ MÜLLENBROCK 1997. p. 163.

sermons, like their European counterparts,⁴⁸ were delivered in national thanksgiving services that were decreed by the monarch as part of the celebration of the Peace of Utrecht. They are similar in that they gave theological interpretation of the achieved peace; according to the authors' interpretation, the War of Succession was God's punishment for the sins of man and thus the peace was portrayed as a mercy, even as God's gift.

A particularly striking example of this is Benjamin Loveling's preaching at Banbury (Oxfordshire) on 7 July 1713, proclaimed by the Queen as a national thanksgiving day to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht.⁴⁹ The sermon, which was later also printed in Oxford, already refers in its title to the fact that the concluded peace was a gift from God. Loveling, the vicar of Banbury focuses specifically on the positive effects expected from the achieved peace, praising the work of the Queen and her government, the latter referred to as "an *Indefatigable Peacemaker*".⁵⁰ After enumerating the positive benefits of the peace, the vicar implicitly refers to the balance of power by saying "[...] you [i.e., the nation] may have, not only Peace Abroad, and Peace at Home", and then concludes with the following thought: "[...] enjoy *the Peace of GOD* in Heaven, that on Earth *passeth all Understanding*."⁵¹ All these confirms that even in 1713, political sermons continued to play an important role alongside other political media products in supporting the concluded peace treaty. Despite this, however, based on my research so far, the authors of these peace sermons from 1713 have not adopted the concept of balance of power, unlike the following two sermons by John Adams from the heat of the public controversy, which explicitly used the concept as part of their theological arguments.

Discourse on peace and balance of power in the sermons of John Adams

Educated at Eton College, and from 1678 at King's College (Cambridge), John Adams (1662–1720) travelled to Spain, Italy, France, and Ireland after completing his bachelor's and master's degrees, and on his return to England, he received a number of highly rewarding appointments.⁵² The clergyman was awarded an applied doctorate in theology in 1705, having previously served William III as honorary chaplain and remained in the service of the monarchy after Queen Anne's accession. He was one of the Queen's favourite chaplains;⁵³

⁴⁸ JÜRGENS 2021. p. 741, 746, 748.

⁴⁹ FARGUSON 2015. p. 207.

⁵⁰ LOVELING 1713. p. 21.

⁵¹ LOVELING 1713. p. 21–22.

⁵² SKEDD 2004.

⁵³ According to Farooq's analysis, the Queen's favourite preachers were all High-Church men, just as Adams himself. In the seventeenth century, "High Church" was used to describe those clergy and laity who placed a high emphasis on complete adherence to the Established Church position, however, over time, the high church position came to be distinguished increasingly from that of the Latitudinarians, also known as those promoting a broad church, who sought to minimise the differences between Anglicanism and Reformed Christianity. Eventually, conflicting views on certain religious, theological, and political questions divided the Church of England (cf. High and Low Churches), and the extensive involvement of the clergy in party-political conflicts as political

according to Swift, who reported in his diaries that he dined with Adams on several occasions at Windsor Castle, he was “very courteous”.⁵⁴ He had been elected Provost of King’s College (Cambridge) in 1712, a position he held until his death on 29 January 1720.⁵⁵

Neither the figure and oeuvre of Adams, nor more specifically his sermons published in 1709 and 1711, respectively, are mentioned in Müllenbrock’s monograph, nor are they thoroughly analysed in more recent literature, such as Jennifer Farooq’s or Hugh Joseph Claffey’s studies of the sermon literature of Queen Anne’s era.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, in several of his printed sermons, the themes of the end of the war and the question of peace, as well as the effectual use of the concept of balance of power can be found. Thus, both in terms of the discourse on the need for peace, and related to that, on the European political balance, Adams’ sermons are worth examining.

Among many other occasions, Adams preached at the public thanksgiving day of 22 November 1709, ordered by royal decree, and delivered his sermon in London’s St Paul’s Cathedral.⁵⁷ However, it remains unclear how the chaplain was chosen to preach, since there is no direct evidence that Adams was overtly political.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, he knew Simon Harcourt,⁵⁹ a close ally of Harley, who was by this time in favour of peace and had formed an alliance with the moderate Tories; therefore, because of his connections, Adams can definitely be seen as a Tory-affiliated preacher.⁶⁰ Harley continued to advise the Queen from time to time after his fall from office in 1708, through carefully encrypted letters, and renewed personal contact with her in early 1710, so

preachers contributed to the mixing of religious and political themes, issues, and questions. Under the reign of Queen Anne, the fortunes of the High Church party were revived along with the Tories, with which it was strongly aligned at the time. See: HOLMES 1975; HYLSON-SMITH 1993; IHALAINEN 1999; CLAYDON 2000; IHALAINEN 2011. p. 497–498.

⁵⁴ FARGUSON 2021. p. 281.

⁵⁵ Adams, considered an eloquent preacher, was often employed at public ceremonies, as we shall see, such as public thanksgivings ordered by the monarch. A total of fifteen of his sermons were published in print between 1695 and 1712. He was chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Anne, and in 1708, also became canon of Windsor. SKEDD 2004; CLAFFEY 2018. p. 265.

⁵⁶ In her study, Farooq only mentions John Adams in a single sentence, without going into any analysis or contextualisation of his works, which is quite understandable, since the author deals exclusively with court-published sermons in her study. See: FAROOQ 2014. p. 164. In his thesis, Claffey mentions almost all of Adams’ works, and in one case he even refers to his use of the concept of balance of power, but without providing a detailed analysis of the usage of the concept in Adams’ oeuvre. See: CLAFFEY 2018. esp. p. 178.

⁵⁷ On the sermon literature of the thanksgiving celebrations during the reign of Queen Anne, see most recently: CLAFFEY 2018.

⁵⁸ According to Julie Ferguson, he was probably appointed because he held the position of the rector of one of the more important churches in London at the time: by 1709, Adams had received a number of important clerical positions, including rector of St Alban’s Church, Wood Street, City of London. See: SKEDD 2004; FARGUSON 2021. p. 280–281.

⁵⁹ Simon Harcourt (1661–1727) was an English Tory politician who defended Sacheverell in 1710. He became Queen Anne’s Lord High Chancellor in 1711, and he also took part in the negotiations preceding the Peace of Utrecht. HANDLEY 2004.

⁶⁰ Adams also dined not just with Swift but occasionally with Harcourt’s eldest son, and Harcourt was even a dedicated patron of Adams. CLAFFEY 2018. p. 19, 165, 265. FARGUSON 2021. p. 281.

they may well have corresponded in secret on this matter.⁶¹ Moreover, since Adams was a royal favourite, and as Queen Anne had been involved in the selection of her chaplains for previous thanksgiving celebrations, Ferguson believes it is entirely possible that the Queen not only recommended Adams for the job, but also influenced the content of the sermon in question.⁶²

The exact day of the sermon, delivered in November 1709, was appointed by the Queen's royal proclamation for a public thanksgiving, and as the full title of it indicates, it was preached before the Lord Mayor of the City of London, and the Court of Aldermen. As I will illustrate below, Adams' sermon clearly reflected the Queen's, therefore Harley's and the Tories' political views at the time. During his sermon on the occasion, Adams preached on Psalm V, Verse 11, the last part of which reads as the following: "let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee".⁶³ Adams told his congregation that "love is the foundation of a Christian's praise" and "only those who truly love God [...] can attain to any great degree of praise and thanksgiving for public blessings."⁶⁴

Since love in its many forms was one of the most frequently recalled motifs in the texts praising Queen Anne, Adams' sermon suggested that the Queen was the most appropriate person to give thanks for public blessings. After telling his audience that "only those who truly love God" are the best prepared for the duty of thanksgiving, Adams described the means and motives that may most effectually stimulate them to the discharge of this duty. According to him, the main motive was "the consideration of the great unworthiness of a guilty nation" [cf. the *topos* of the sinful war – B. S.], but an equally important reason for thanksgiving was the pursuit of the "common good", another term and concept often used by Queen Anne in her speeches.

Adams did talk about the ongoing war, but mainly to compare the conditions of people in Britain with those in countries where the ongoing war had a more direct impact on the population. With reference to the impending peace treaty, Adams, indirectly referring to the peace plans of the government, said:

"Let us see in what that Duty does consist, which is contained in those Words; *I will be joyful in thee*. As the Holy Passion of Religious Joy must rise from a *Worthy Cause*, so it must be directed to its *Proper Object only*. [...] But when the Blessings that we receive are of the highest Importance as to this World; and for our Eternal Welfare as to the World to come: When the *ancient Enemies* of our *Country* and *Religion* are *overthrown*; When *That Torrent of Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, which had over-run great Part of the World, and threaten'd all the rest, has been forc'd to retire so far towards its former Bounds, and to prey only upon the

⁶¹ SPECK 2004.

⁶² FAROOQ 2014. p. 160; FERGUSON 2021. p. 280–281.

⁶³ "But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them: let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee." (KJV Psalms 5:11)

⁶⁴ ADAMS 1709. p. 5.

servile Supporters of them both; When we have so fair a Prospect of a firm Establishment of the Just Rights and Liberties of all *Europe*, as well as *our Own*; These are Great and Noble Occasions for a good Christian's Joy."⁶⁵

By the "Prospect of a firm Establishment of the Just Rights and Liberties of all Europe", the chaplain clearly meant the possibility of a future peace, which shall be "a good peace", thanks to the Queen and her new government. As Farguson points out, the style and content of Adams' 1709 sermon was highly unusual compared to other thanksgiving sermons of the time, and the ideas expressed were clearly intended to make the audience think about the consequences of the prolonged war and the benefits of a future peace. Indeed, Adams pleaded for peace and asked his audience to reflect on "the Common Good", which, he says, "may be Obtained, to *so great a Part* of Mankind, as well as Our Selves, by the compleating [sic] of these Mercies in a *General and Lasting Peace*."⁶⁶

In contrast to other sermons endorsed by the government, Adams basically avoided rhetoric against French machinations and frauds, although he did mention the French threat on occasion. Instead, he concentrated on telling his audience that it was they, first and foremost, namely the people of England, who should strive to create the desired common good through their actions:

"Nothing can enlarge the Heart more, than the Christian Religion, as founded in the Love of the *Saving Name of Jesus*: [...] This will teach us to consider chiefly, how to fix the Balance of Power, and by what Means to secure most effectually, the Liberties and Laws of distant Countries, of all *Europe*, as well as of our own; and with for *such a Peace*, not, as will give us more Leisure and Opportunity to pursue our several Vices; nor such a one as the Luxurious and Cowardly sigh after, but such as Cicero recommends, when he tells us, *Pax est tranquilla libertas*."⁶⁷

Adams successfully combined the idea of the common good and the upcoming peace in a quite innovative way with the idea of "fixing" the balance of power.⁶⁸ On the future peace, he stresses that the most important aspect of any peace treaty is the preservation of the "excellent constitution" of England:

"*The Peace* which every *Wise and Good Man* desires, is *that* which is the *Happy Effect of Liberties* being *Secure* and at *Ease*; *Secure* from the *Encroachment* of *Ambition*, and at *Perfect Ease*, under

⁶⁵ ADAMS 1709, p. 2.

⁶⁶ ADAMS 1709, p. 11.

⁶⁷ ADAMS 1709, p. 11. Adams here quoted the end of line 113 of Cicero's *2nd Philippic*, one of the speeches of accusation against Marcus Antonius, meaning "Peace is freedom in tranquillity".

⁶⁸ However, according to Claffey, Adams was actually defending the war when he said "fix the Balance of Power", as he probably attempted to attack party divisions – namely the political imbalance of the country – in this way, in order to divert attention from Sacheverell's fulminations. See: CLAFFEY 2018, p. 178.

the *Free and Impartial Execution of Good Laws*; and as as [sic] it concerns this Nation in particular, in the *Preservation* of our *Excellent Constitution*, both in *Church and State*.”⁶⁹

The last phrase, together with the lines quoted above, suggests that in the pursuit of peace, other considerations – such as the idea of “no peace without Spain” – have largely been rendered pointless by him.⁷⁰ Adams thus made the Crown’s, and therefore the Tories’ position on the need for peace apparently clear and widely known. The chaplain then concludes his sermon with an enthusiastic eulogy of Queen Anne:

“It is *SHE* that is the Foundation of all our Blessings; *SHE*, who us’d to be the bright Example of True and Fervent Praise in this Holy Place, and would have been so now, had not God thought fitting to mingle Afflictions with her Triumphs, to *compleat* [sic] Her Character, and make *Her* the *most Perfect* Example of every *Christian* Virtue. But more especially is *She* so, for *Her* Piety and Charity.”⁷¹

The modern reader might wonder reading the line “and would have been so now” that perhaps it was not physical or emotional, but actually political difficulties that kept Queen Anne away from St Paul’s Cathedral on 22 November 1709. As the Queen did not order another public thanksgiving in the Cathedral until the country could celebrate peace (which was not until 7 July 1713), Claffey and Ferguson both point out that it is reasonable to assume that her afflictions were primarily political on this occasion.⁷² Adams may have implied this in the above-mentioned line, while, as a whole, his sermon is an early but clear statement of the Crown’s position on the need for peace.

The future of balance of power is also important and exceptionally strong argumentative element in Adams’ other sermon of interest to the present study. This other sermon in question was preached before the House of Commons on 8 March 1710 in St Margaret’s Church, Westminster, published in print in the next year. It was also delivered at a public thanksgiving celebration, held to mark the beginning of Queen Anne’s “happy reign” eight years ago on that day. Adams deliberately begins it with a quote from the Book of Isaiah, which reads: “Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and their Queens thy Nursing-Mothers: They shall bow down to thee with their Face toward the

⁶⁹ ADAMS 1709, p. 11.

⁷⁰ “No Peace Without Spain” was a popular British political slogan during the War of Succession, suggesting that no peace treaty could be agreed with Britain’s main enemy, King Louis XIV of France, which would allow Philip, the French candidate to retain the Spanish crown. The phrase became a political slogan of the opposition to Harley’s Tory government and the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, first uttered in Parliament in December 1711, but soon adopted by the rival Whig political “movement”, who were increasingly seen as the “war party” as opposed to the Tories’ “peace party”. HOLMES 1987, p. 77–79, 95–96, 334–335.

⁷¹ ADAMS 1709, p. 13.

⁷² CLAFFEY 2018, p. 9; FERGUSON 2021, p. 282–283.

Earth, and lick up the Dust of thy Feet, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.”⁷³

The need to settle the balance of power is emphasised in the main part (the *applicatio*) of the sermon, combined with the praise of Queen Anne’s suitability to rule, which naturally permeates the whole thanksgiving preaching:

“Let it therefore be acknowledged with Joy and Thanksgiving in how high a manner we enjoy that Blessing [i.e., the true piety and justice of Queen Anne – B. S.], in the most pious and religious Sovereign [i.e., Queen Anne] that ever worshipped God from the *British* Throne; and because She is so, has God increas’d the Trust She has so well discharg’d, by the happy Union of Her Kingdoms [i.e., the union with Scotland in 1707 – B. S.]; Oh, may he do this still more and more, to the Relief of distant Nations, to the settling the Ballance of Power at Home as well as Abroad, to the Security of the Protestant Succession, and to the delivering down our Constitution both in Church and State, safely to all Prosperity.”⁷⁴

At the end, Adams explicitly refers to the positive results provided by the coming peace, effectively linking the biblical quotation mentioned in the beginning of the sermon, which slowly unfolds throughout the whole text. In this part, Adams implicitly suggests that one of the “nursing Mothers” in the biblical quotation is none other than the ruler of Britain, Queen Anne herself, whose “Succession to the Throne” was “so glorious”. In this paragraph, which is also the end of the sermon, the chaplain furthermore brilliantly connects the advantages of the coming peace using the same biblical image with the hope that

“[...] as *Spain* sunk under one nursing Mother of our Church [i.e., Elizabeth I; reference to the English victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 – B. S.], so *France* is reduc’d so low under another [i.e., Queen Anne]: O may He soon finish this Work, that we may contemplate and imitate those Virtues in a solid Peace, which we have found so beneficial to us in a lasting War [i.e., the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession]; and may this happy Day return often to us, [...]”⁷⁵

Soon after Adam’s thanksgiving sermons, the endeavours for peace were temporarily interrupted as Queen Anne’s reign was threatened by one of the

⁷³ KJV Isaiah 49:23. The image of the Queen as the nursing mother of the nation, as Farooq states, served as a model for many other preachers who dealt with the role of the Queen during her reign. Farooq also cites a case in which the Queen herself chose this exact biblical passage for a sermon, which was none other than the official sermon for her own coronation ceremony (which she had appointed John Sharp to preach). See: FAROOQ 2014. p. 162–163. In the light of all this, it is no coincidence that Adams also chose this text, which he certainly did deliberately, to commemorate the Queen’s coronation sermon eight years earlier.

⁷⁴ ADAMS 1711. p. 18–19.

⁷⁵ ADAMS 1711. p. 22.

most serious political threats since her accession to the throne: the political turmoil caused by Henry Sacheverell's⁷⁶ seditious sermon delivered in London on 5 November 1709.⁷⁷ As Farguson notes, Sacheverell "denounced the dissenting community, linking them with the popish enemy", which "amounted to a denigration of the Glorious Revolution".⁷⁸ Sacheverell's notorious sermon was published in print almost immediately, and it is estimated that within a few months it had circulated in Britain in hundreds of thousands of copies, which was a phenomenal number by the standards of the time.⁷⁹

The controversy over Sacheverell's sermon undermined the authority of Queen Anne and her government and led to a controversial trial accompanied by widespread unrest. More recent literature, such as Farguson, considers that – despite the danger of the situation – Anne showed considerable composure during one of the most volatile periods in British political history, and was largely successful in presenting herself as supporting her government in defending the 1688–1689 Revolution while distancing herself from Sacheverell and his circle. The Queen was inevitably seen as sympathetic to the Tories, but her subjects did not generally associate her directly with Sacheverell or his supporters.⁸⁰

Conclusion

From the spring of 1710, the Tories campaigned to disprove the Whigs' ideology of resistance, paving the way for general elections in Britain. The main aim of their campaign was to call on the public and Queen Anne to dissolve Parliament and call a general election in order to exploit the anti-Whig sentiments aroused by Sacheverell's trial. The elections were eventually called, and the Whig government failed; however, Queen Anne was not an unfortunate bystander to all these events, as previous literature tends to emphasise. On the contrary; she played a decisive role in the fall of the Whig government and the rise of the Tories in 1710–1711.⁸¹ Therein, preachers as loyal to the monarch and her government as John Adams, played a powerful and conceptually influential role.

⁷⁶ Anglican clergyman Henry Sacheverell (1674–1724) gained national fame in 1709 after preaching a seditious sermon on 5 November before the Lord Mayor of London in St Paul's Church, then also printed it under the title *The Perils of False Brethren*. He was subsequently impeached by the House of Commons and, although found guilty, his light sentence was seen as vindication and he became popular in the country, contributing to the Tories' decisive victory in the 1710 general election. See: EZELL 2017. p. 452. On Sacheverell's sermon more recently, see: IHALAINEN 2011. p. 500–505. For more on Sacheverell's character and the scandal of 1709, see, inter alia: HOLMES 1973. and HOLMES 1976.

⁷⁷ HOLMES 1987. p. 47–48.

⁷⁸ FARGUSON 2021. p. 283.

⁷⁹ HOLMES 1973. p. 75; FARGUSON 2021. p. 282.

⁸⁰ FARGUSON 2021. p. 282–283.

⁸¹ FARGUSON 2021. p. 283.

As Jennifer Farooq highlights, the nation's focus shifted towards its Parliament, ministers, and politicians as well as its increasingly vibrant political journalism during Queen Anne's reign, thus sermon literature also faced more competition.⁸² "Official" sermons, such as court or peace sermons, were increasingly challenged by sermons delivered to both Houses of Parliament, the corporation of London or the various universities of the country. The two sermons of John Adams analysed in detail fall into the latter category, as the Queen's favoured chaplain preached one of his examined sermons to the Lord Mayor of the City of London and the Court of Aldermen (November 1709), while his other sermon to the members of the House of Commons (March 1710). In both cases, however, it must be stressed that Adams was Anne's chaplain-in-ordinary, and his sermons were preached on public thanksgiving days ordered and appointed by the Queen herself. Thus, his subtle but nevertheless clear and explicit support for party propaganda, which – especially in the case of his 1710 sermon – shows clear signs of a Tory peace-preparatory orientation, is not fortuitous.

Adams successfully combined the idea of the common good and the upcoming peace in a quite novel way with the importance of fixing the political balance in his sermon of November 1709, and in his another sermon of March 1710 with the importance of settling that balance also in Europe. Thus, the balance of power – both at home and in the continent – is an important and exceptionally strong element of Adams' argument in each of his two sermons analysed, alongside the discourse on Christian joy and prosperity as well as the glad tidings of securing the Protestant succession in the form of a future peace. In this way, Adams clearly and plainly conveyed to his audience and readers the position of the Crown, and thus of the Tories, on the need for a suitable peace for Britain – as did the authors of other Tory political media products of the time.

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REVIEW

István Kovács: Klaniczay Gábor: A boszorkányüldözés története. Balassi Kiadó. Budapest. 2022. 423 p. (Vallásantropológiai Tanulmányok Közép-Kelet-Európából 13) / Klaniczay, Gábor: The History of Witch-Hunting. Balassi Kiadó. Budapest. 2022. 423 p. (Religious Anthropological Studies from Central-East Europe Vol. 13)

The topic of Gábor Klaniczay's volume have been playing a quite important role in the authors academic work. The aim of the book is to compile the author's publications on the topic of witches, witchcraft, and witch-hunting written in Hungarian for the professional audience and the general public alike. The results have been available also in English in this bilingual publication, so to the international academic community.

The volume is structured in four sections, supplemented by an essay: the first section deals the 'General Framework' (p. 11–84), i.e., the theoretical background followed by a discussion of the dynamically changing roles of the religious and magical figures of saints, shamans, witches, and devils (p. 85–210). The third section entitled 'Witch-hunts in Hungary and Central-Europe' (p. 211–316), considers the official and spontaneous 'popular' responses to the phenomenon. Closely related to the third one, the last section summarizes the results of the research on witch-hunting in Hungary (p. 317–364). Finally, the author re-publishes his article from 2011 on the 'philosopher scandal' (p. 365–372). The main part of the volume is followed by a selected bibliography (p. 373–409), which covers the sources and the secondary literature as well as the index and an appendix of pictures (p. 410–420).

The very first paper was originally published in the magazine of popular science in history 'Rubicon', which is intended to attract the attention of the reader who is not familiar with the scientific literature on the topic. Two of the first section's studies were published originally in foreign languages. The first relevant and well-argued paper guides the reader through the fundamental questions such as 'who were the witches' (p. 14–15), 'how the attitude of the medieval church turned from initial scepticism to cruel persecutions' (p. 16–17) and 'how the mythology of the devil's coven and the witches' Sabbath formed' (p. 17–20), 'the difference between saints and witches' (p. 20–22), and 'the religious and social causes of the great European witch-hunts' (p. 22–26). The studies in the first and second sections, although not exclusively addressing the issues raised here, have in common that they all refer to interrelated problems. The author provides a thorough overview of the history of witch-hunts in Europe, well complemented with the knowledge and methodology of the auxiliary and related sciences of history. The twentieth century bring several approaches to the phenomenon of witchcraft. The rapid growth of social science knowledge and methods provided researchers with a newer and more comprehensive perspective than ever before and has produced remarkable results. These perspectives are particularly evident in the chapter entitled 'The Witches' Sabbath – Anthropological, psychological, linguistic, pictorial, and historical explanations' (p. 50–83).

The second section includes five studies focused mainly on the duality of the sacred and the profane and sinner, using the theoretical knowledge highlighted above. Gábor Klaniczay's approach to the study of the cult of the sacred is innovative but it is still in line with the findings of (the secondary) literature. Furthermore, the author asks questions about the medieval and early modern phenomenon of witchcraft and witch-

hunting which are helpful to uncover the structural roots of this practice, which became a widespread practice legitimised by the courts.

The canonisation process of Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231) is of particular importance. The case of the princess of the Árpád dynasty created a new category of saints, and her canonisation trial became a kind of prototype for the new style of the process. Its significance is shown by the fact that it was not the Árpáds but the princess' immediate entourage who initiated the process, i.e., the reasons for canonisation were to be found in the sanctity of the life of the daughter of King Andrew II rather than in well-perceived political interest.

The case of St Margaret of Hungary (1242–1270) differs from this in several aspects: on one hand she was not canonised until the twentieth century, and on the other hand, the research can rely on the abundant sources regarding of a saint who lived in the Kingdom of Hungary and intervened in its political struggles. Klaniczay, analysing one of the miracles of St Margaret, points out that the stories are often telling more than just the miraculous powers of the saint, and have complex social and even metaliterary implications. In addition, the author analyses the structure of the story (p. 89), compares it with common model of anathema narratives (p. 90) and, based on the findings of André Vauchez and Pierre André Sigal (p. 98), constructs an idealised schema of the miracle story (p. 98).

The third and fourth blocks of studies summarise the regional (Hungarian and Central European) specificities of witch-hunting and the results of research on the phenomenon in Hungary. In the third section, we find both discussion-starting papers on the topic and those experimenting with research methodology ('Witch-hunting in Central and Eastern Europe' 'Sketch for a comparative overview' p. 213–233), focusing on the structural causes of conflicts in Hungary ('Witch-hunting in Hungary: social or cultural tensions?' p. 234–255), or even micro-historical studies ('The witches of Halas and the new cultural history' p. 294–316). The variety of the papers is due to the wide time spread of their creation (1989 and 2011), which makes them respond to different challenges in the history of research.

Today it is hardly possible to support the view that witchcraft did not exist in Hungary at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries. This would have been based on the decree of Kalman that "There shall be no provision for witches, for there are none." (*De strigis vero que non sunt, ne ulla question fiat*) has long been prevalent in the region's history of witches. The phrase would suggest that the region, and the Carpathian Basin in particular, had escaped the waves of classical witch-hunts. It is true that, in the light of the 'witch hysteria' of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, the 'wise ruler's' provision certainly seems enlightened, but the text of the law itself was not meant to deny the social threat of magical harm, and even sanctioned its use (p. 213–214). This is a starting point for the author, who is looking for the origins of witch-hunts in the Middle Ages and then describes the waves of aggression against those who were marginalised. The legal background to the atrocities, their religious aspects and, of course, their social causes are also described, and the study concludes with a comparative examination of archaic and modern memories of supernatural powers of destruction.

The paper that examines the causes of the pogroms in Hungary also attempts to give two current explanations for the phenomenon, which had intensified between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, to explore whether social or cultural tensions played a decisive role in the escalation. It can be said that the brief historical overview of the topic, together with the questions posed by auxiliary and co-studies (family history, gender studies, community studies etc.), may indeed help to provide a more

thorough understanding of the reasons for the 'popular anger' against witches. While the complexity of the problem is not questioned anymore, the approach to the topic in the latest academic tendencies offer an exciting perspective, and the methodology adopted must have been very innovative at the time of the original publication of the study (1989).

In a case study in the section ('The witches of Halas and the new cultural history', p. 294–316), the author applies the methods of investigation he has previously discussed, focusing on the witch-hunt in Halas in detail. After a sensuous introduction of the text of the death penalty, the reader is given an insight into the history of the local pogroms. The passages sometimes paint a starkly raw picture of the personal levels of the witch-hysteria unfolding in the centre of the Hungarian Great Plain. The data on mentality, occupation, various aspects of social and local history that emerge from the source excerpts provide an exciting new perspective and are also excellent snapshots of local social organisation at the time. Klaniczay argues convincingly that economic, social, and cultural roots did not rival, but complemented each other in the spread of local witchcraft accusations.

The final section consists of a couple of various texts presenting domestic historiographical milestones in the field. The first is reflecting to a book which summarise Éva Pócs' research (p. 319–335). The review contains important information on the professional collaboration between Klaniczay and Pócs and gives a key of the former's knowledge through number of intertextual references and the contextualisation of Pócs's volume.

In the following article, Klaniczay once again demonstrates his expertise and precise method of analysis 'from the global to the local' perspective. Here he refers to the examinations of Gustav Henningsen, Norman Cohn, Carlo Ginzburg, Paul Boyer, and Stephen Nissenbaum. He also discusses the work of Keith Thomas, Alan Macfarlane, Christina Larnert, and others, which have not been published in Hungarian yet. Hungarian historiographical achievements can be well outlined around the work of the research group established by Éva Pócs and Gábor Klaniczay. The article reviews two monographies: the results of Péter Tóth G.'s book 'Witch Panic and Superstition' (p. 352–358). The second reviewed book by Judit Kis-Halas (p. 358–363) is similar to the previous one, but also uses two new ethnographic and anthropological aspects for the analysis. One of them is the problem of folk medicine, which focuses on the fact that the practice of witchcraft was in fact part of the wider toolkit of medicine. From another point of view, the options available to those seeking healing were so broad that they had a 'market of their own'.

The last, originally a publicist (opinion) article in the volume ('Philosophers' Witch-Hunt in Hungary in 2011', p. 367–372) somewhat tends to shade the positive tone of the celebration of scientific achievements, as the author considers the philosopher scandal that broke out in 2011 to be nothing more than a witch-hunt. Without going into the details of the specific case, we can certainly agree with Klaniczay, that the smear campaign that has been going on for more than a decade – and the increasing number of similar character assassinations of scientists around the world – has many parallels to the 'press' of witch-hunts in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times. This recognition should be a warning to contemporary scholars, since the 'accusation' was often followed by 'action'.

The volume's rich annotations as well as bibliography, its sensitively selected illustrations, and its research methodology should prove an excellent starting point for readers of any level of interest in the subject. Even so, the four-decade interval covered by the first publication dates of the studies, the numerous translations, and the frequent

changes of style due to the different genres of the studies can sometimes throw the reader off the track. However, readers will conclude the volume with satisfaction, as they have been able to discover several research results that were previously difficult or impossible to access for the Hungarian audience. Along with this, they will gain insight into the most important results of interdisciplinary research in the best sense of the word, which can be summarised as witchcraft research, and which is taking place in Europe and Hungary.



Gergely Kiss – István Kovács:

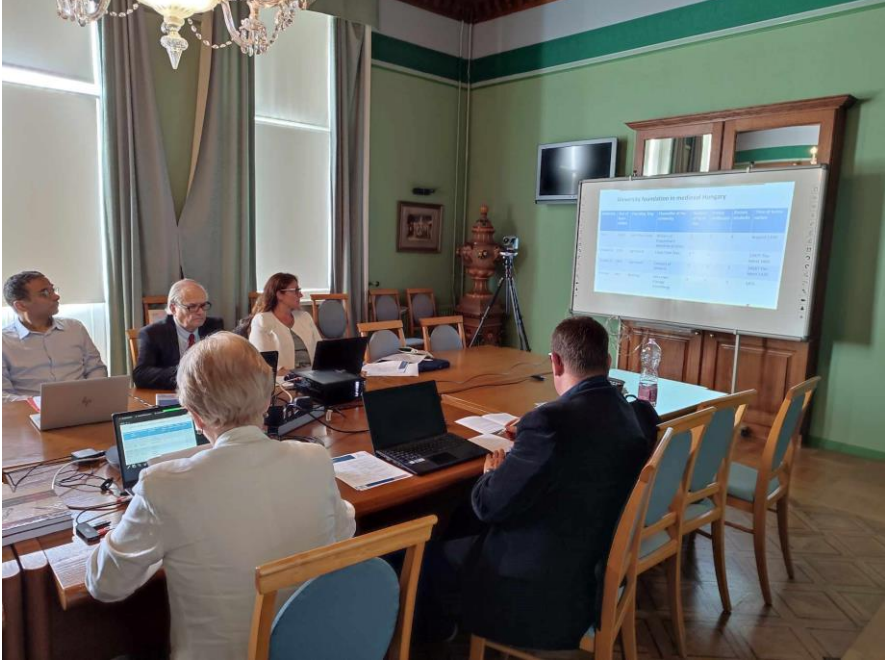
**Héloise (European Network on Digital Academic History) Workshop in Pécs
(31 August 2023)**

A unique workshop discussion was organised by the Centenary Programme Management Committee of the University of Pécs, the Department of Medieval and Early Modern History of the University of Pécs, the Working Committee on Church History of the Pécs Regional Committee II of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Héloise (European Network on Digital Academic History). The event took place in the Lajos Tivyi Hall of the building Pécs Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 31 August 2023.

The participants of the workshop were welcomed by Márta Font, Professor Emeritus of the PTE BTK, who in her opening remarks underlined the importance of the current forum for professional discussion and the genre in general. According to Professor Márta, the event, which grew out of an idea by Bálint Gergely Kiss (Professor, Department of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, University of Pécs), offers a great opportunity for researchers involved in similar research projects to share their methodological and scientific discoveries on a common platform.



The first paper of the event was given by Jean-Philippe Genet (Laboratoire de Médiévisique Occidentale de Paris /LAMOP/ - Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne). In his presentation in French, the professor described the founding of the Paris schools and their origins. Among the many interesting findings, it is noteworthy that less than half of the approximately 2500 students identified between 1160 and 1300 can be proven to have been Parisians. Further identification of about a third of the students is not possible because of the lack of sources.



The second speaker, Thierry Kouamé (Centre Lucien Febvre – Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon), in his paper on the *Studium Parisiense* database, pointed out that the database of Parisian schools and university students contains the data of more than 23,000 individuals. In the present lecture, he described, using the terminology of the time, the nature of the links between masters and students, illustrating the limits imposed by the quality of the source database.



In the final lecture of the first session, Kaspar Gubler (University of Bern – Repertorium Academicum /REPAC/) presented a research project on the creation of a prosopographical database of students at universities founded in the German-Roman Empire. The focus of the paper was on students from Hungary who were included in the Repertorium Academicum Germanicum. The database contains about 400,000 biographical data on some 62,000 individuals, allowing the separation of nearly 24,000 place names or institution names. The speaker presented the database, which is based on the "Nodegoat" system, demonstrating the potential of this digital database for future research.



The opening lecture of the second session was given by Bálint Gergely Kiss and Péter Báling (Department of Medieval and Early Modern History, University of Pécs), leader and researcher of the DeLegatOnline project, who aimed to collect the names of papal envoys who were commissioned to the Kingdom of Hungary between the 11th and 14th centuries. The researchers will make use of any information on the envoys. This will make it possible to create a 'personal datasheet' which will reconstruct as fully as possible not only the identity of each papal legate, but also their family or kinship ties. The interactive interface is freely searchable, once registered, and provides useful information for research into the papal envoys who played a role in medieval Hungarian history.

László Szögi (HUN-REN-Eötvös Loránd University, University History Research Group, project leader) presented the project aimed at collecting Hungarian university peregrines and the main research results achieved so far. The number of medieval students dating from the Árpád period increased significantly over time, a trend that was not interrupted by the catastrophic defeat of the medieval Hungarian kingdom at Mohács (1526). Some 273,000 records covering some 50,000 individuals were collected in the period of the study, which stretched up to 1850. The next stage of the project will be to compile a data archive of the Peregrines between 1850 and 1918. The scale of the research is illustrated by the need to comb through higher education institutions in some 20 countries, compared to the previous period. Accordingly, the volume of data that will be compiled in this study is also expected to be several times larger than in the past.

Péter Haraszi-Szabó (HUN-REN-Eötvös Loránd University, University History Research Group, research fellow) presented the resources available to researchers on the peregrinatio academica of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and gave an insight

into the historiographical characteristics of the topic. The paper pointed out that there are currently about 13,000 known individuals who enrolled in a contemporary university between 1100 and 1526. The post-university careers of about a fifth of them are currently known, but this figure is likely to improve as systematic research progresses. In addition to the approximately 200,000 medieval documentary sources available, 90% of manuscripts and books from the period were lost or destroyed during the Ottoman period. As the research progresses, the team will also examine the proportion of medieval peregrinatio academica that affected which social groups, particularly the nobility, in the medieval period.

Continuing the series of presentations on the history of the university, Márta Font shared her research results on the history of the first Hungarian university. King Louis I (the Great, 1342–1382) of Hungary, as well as the Bishops of Pécs, William of Koppenbach and Valentine of Alsán, were among the founders of the university. The professor presented the establishment of the studium generale of Pécs not as an isolated event, but as an important piece of the mosaic of the Central European university founding trend (Prague – 1348, Cracow – 1364, Vienna – 1365, Pécs – 1367). In the second half of the paper, the focus was on the two-fold founding of the University of Óbuda and the University of Pozsony, founded in 1472. In conclusion, Márta Font evaluated the founding of the Hungarian universities and the reasons for the failure of the founding attempts.



After the presentations, which included medieval and early modern historical aspects, István Lengvári, Director of the Archives of the University of Pécs, and Róbert Acél, Chief Archivist gave a presentation on the process of founding the University Archives, the content and significance of the volumes already published, and the difficulties of preparing the next databases. István Lengvári pointed out that although the research

results are available for now in Hungarian, the aim for the future is to publish the data in English as well. Róbert Acél emphasised that the IT department has played a major role in the creation of the database, which now provides an online, transparent and searchable browsing tool for professionals and the general public.

Stefania Zucchini (University of Perugia) continued the session with a presentation on the results achieved so far and the future plans of the research project *Onomasticon, Prosopografia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*. The database was launched on the 700th anniversary of the founding of the University of Perugia, initially in a working group of a few researchers, joined Heloise in 2011 and in 2015 the database system was restructured. The most important change is that, while between 2008 and 2015 the data collection was limited to professors of the university, since the reorganisation the scope of the data collection has been extended to include medieval students of the university, and now covers maps and various graphs.



Finally, Geert Kessel and Pim van Bree demonstrated the open source software "Nodegoat". The success of "Nodegoat" is illustrated by the fact that some 2,500 colleagues from 160 institutions have already used it for their historical research. A major advantage of the software is that it provides a hierarchical structure of persons and related data, making the large amount of data stored in the database easy to understand. As an example, the lecturers mentioned the fact that the database summarising persons shows individuals attended which universities and, most importantly, with whom they were students in the same institution at the same time. This makes it possible to trace with whom a person met during his studies, with whom he may have built up a relationship, etc. The lecturers explained that transparent, smooth database management is essential for modern data-driven research, which

concentrates all the tools needed for historical research (data repositories, chronological data, maps, etc.) in one user interface.

In his closing remarks, Jean-Philippe Genet praised the event in Pécs and its promoter for creating a forum for the methodological and content coordination of the databases created by the research groups working under the framework of Héloïse and operating in parallel. As the leader of this international collaboration, he has raised awareness of the importance of digitisation and database building, which is not only an opportunity but also a challenge for historians in the twenty first century.



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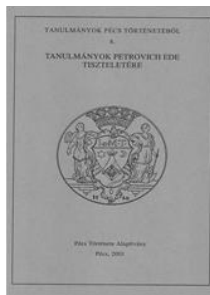
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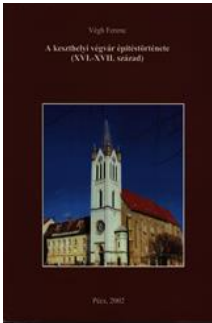
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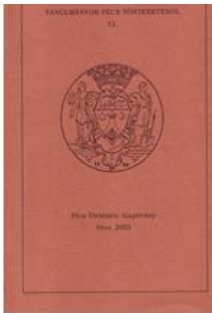
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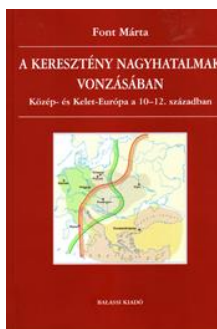
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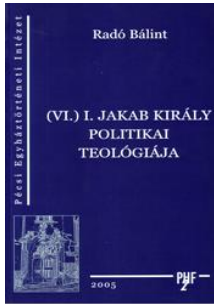
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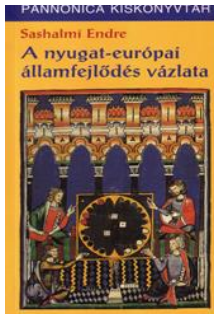
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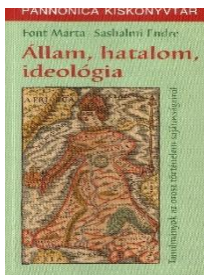
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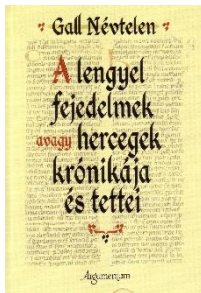


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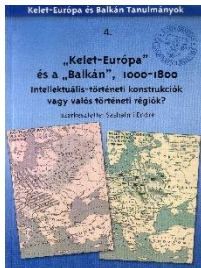
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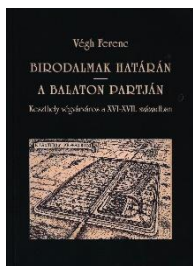
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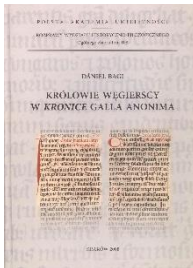
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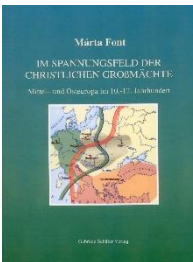
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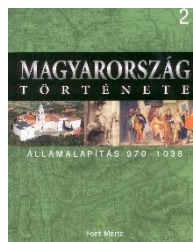
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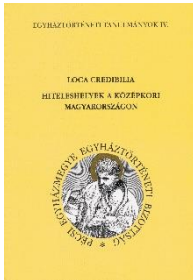
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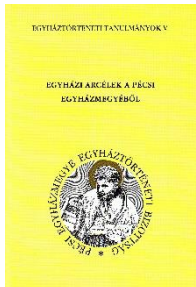
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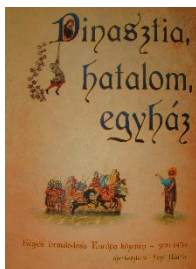
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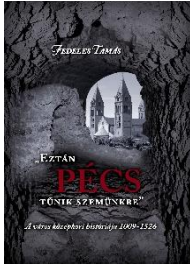
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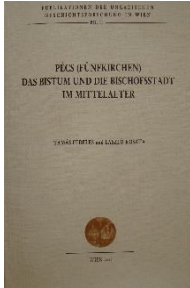


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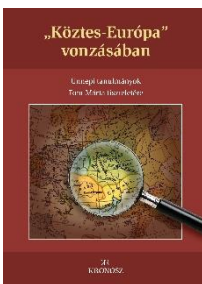


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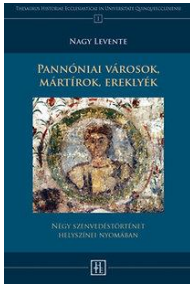
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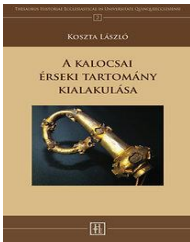


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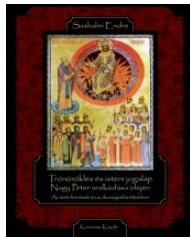


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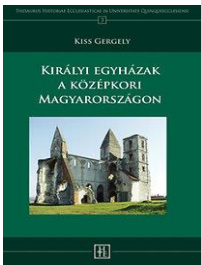


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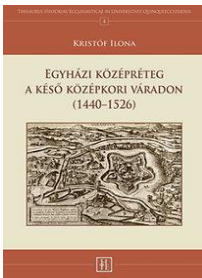
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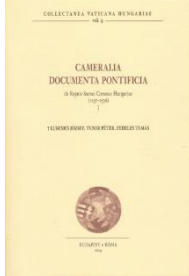
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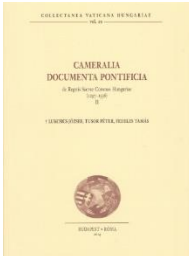
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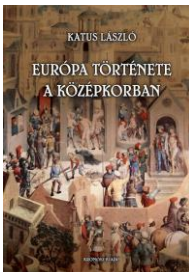
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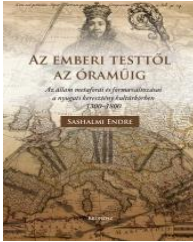
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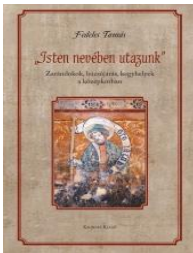


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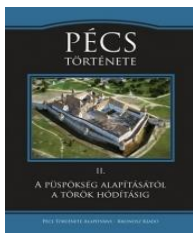


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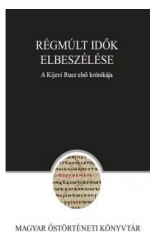
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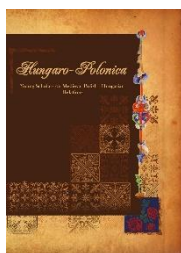
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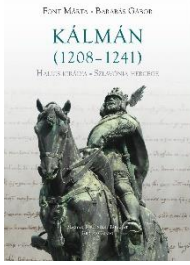
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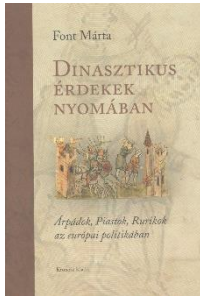


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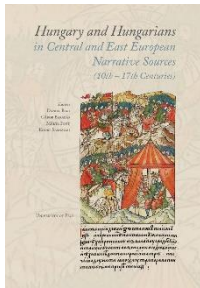


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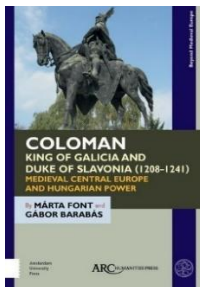
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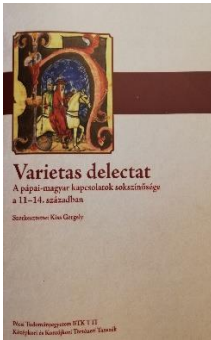


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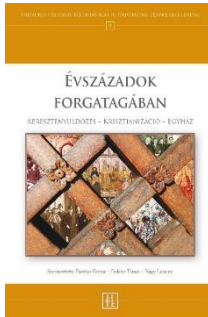
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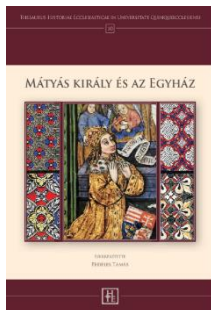
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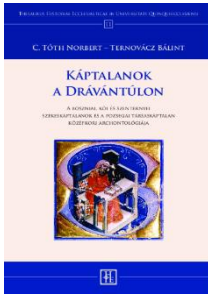
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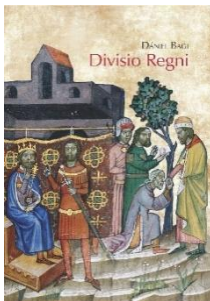


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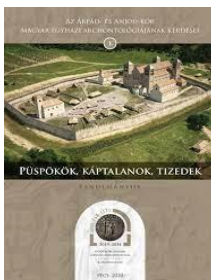


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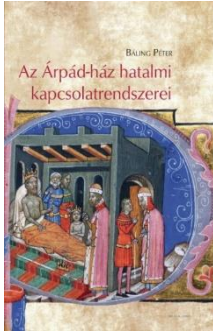
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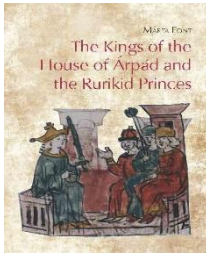


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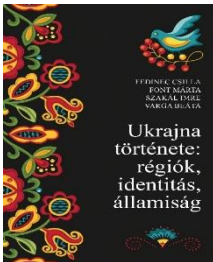


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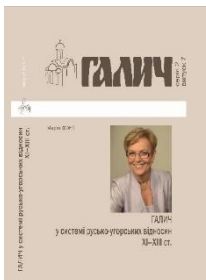


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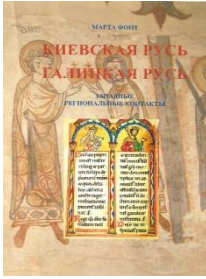


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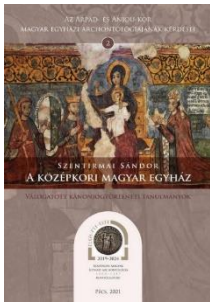
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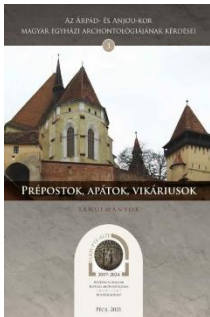
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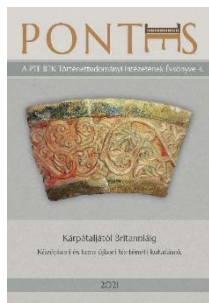
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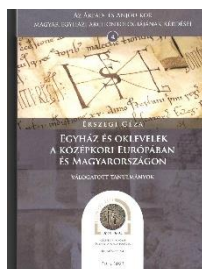
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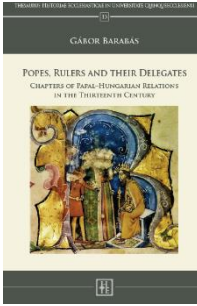
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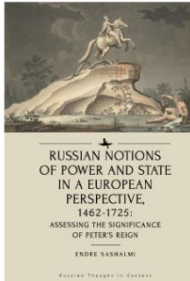
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