

The Fifth Biennial Conference of Medieval Central Europe Research Network
Continuity and Change in Medieval Central Europe

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Abstracts

Alajbeg, Ante (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split)

Noble boys of Biskupija-Crkvina: a herald of a new social order

Being the only early medieval cemetery in Dalmatia where every grave belongs to elite members, Biskupija-Crkvina can hardly be compared to other cemeteries. However, a small cluster of 14 graves reflects significant social rearrangements. While the older group of graves was restricted to male adults only, at least four out of eight graves of the later group belonged to children or sub-adults. The main driver of this shift was a turn in the inheritance strategy. Unlike their forefathers, who had gained power in intra-group conflicts over moveable wealth and control of barter, these boys inherited their status. It was the Church that supported the new inheritance strategy, while the elites in return funded the emergence of the first pre-Romanesque churches.

Antonín Malaníková, Michaela (Palacký University, Olomouc)

Manifestations and Dynamics of Urban Lay Piety in Late Medieval Moravia (Case Study of Brno and Olomouc)

Over the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the urban laity became more involved in religious activities, absorbing and reacting to various kinds of religious reform ideas. This process culminated in Bohemia and Moravia in the 1420s and 1430s, with towns taking various sides in the Hussite religious conflict and constructing their communal identity denominationally, and similar process happened later during the Reformation all around Europe. Various strategies were developed to spread the reform among heterogeneous social groups and religious communities in urban contexts. Urban milieus formed a backdrop to very local religious developments, which in the sixteenth century grew into even more complex denominational urban stratification. These diverse developments were closely related to those of religious houses in the urban and suburban space, which, since the late Middle Ages, played a crucial role in urban religious developments. In the session we are interested in the following questions: how were the reform ideas reflected in lay piety, and how were they implemented in religious practices? How are the transformations of lay piety reflected in the municipal sources? What forms did the interaction between urban communities and local religious houses take?

Consequently, the central question of our session is concerned with the ways the religious reform was reflected and absorbed by urban laity in different Central European regions.

Antonín, Robert (University of Ostrava)

Great Moravian Nobility? From confusion of concepts to the search for continuity of early medieval elites

The proposed paper deals with the formation of the early medieval elite in East-Central Europe, using the situation in Great Moravia in the ninth and early tenth centuries as an example. The author abandons the existing model of the Central European type of early medieval state and replaces it with a hypothesis based on the comparative potential of the social situation in the eastern parts of the empire and the Great Moravian area. On the basis of historical analysis of sources linked to the synthesis of archaeological research findings, the study demonstrates the similar nature of the cultural capital of the Great Moravian and Frankish elites and notes the existence of a Great Moravian nobility independent of the ruler.

Árvai, Tünde (University of Debrecen)

Crowned serpents - Use of the coat of arms in the Garai family (with special focus on the palatine branch)

A modern study of the history of a medieval baronial family needs to examine the representation of power. For this reason, research focusing on the history of the palatine branch of the Garai family of the Dorozsma genus has as its objective the presentation of this toolkit. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the palatine branch of the Garai family gave many outstanding soldiers, diplomats and three palatines to the medieval Hungarian kingdom. It was through the loyal service from Louis the Great to Ladislaus V that they acquired the enormous possessions that placed them at the top of the baronial society of the country.

The crowned serpent holding a golden apple in its mouth is the ancient coat-of-arms of the Dorozsma genus, but it has always remained the dominant motif of its representational devices. It meant continuity, the pillar of the expression of their identity. However, the ways in which this ancient symbol could be used were constantly changing, in line with the family members' activities, their financial possibilities and the trends of the era. Members of the family took an active role in the running of the country's government, which involved active charter-issuing. As a result, they have left rich source material for the study of seal usage. Fortunately, it is not only wax snakes that we can analyse. Books of coats-of-arms from the fifteenth century, the architecture of castles and churches, as well as funerary monuments, all contain some mementos of Garai.

Babinskas, Nerijus (Vilnius University)

Social elite in the early Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the 13th-14th centuries): historiographical collision concerning its origins and sources of power and income

There is a strong historiographical tradition tracing back to Henryk Łowmiański's fundamental work *Studia nad początkami społeczeństwa i państwa litewskiego* (published in the 1930s) claiming that large landownership was absent (the only exception being that of the grand duke) in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) until the turn of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Therefore, it has been argued up to recent Lithuanian medieval literature that the elite's position depended more on one's position in the duke's administration and on central rent redistribution than on individual landownership and on influence within local communities. In addition, it was duke's grand retinue which became the core of duke's administration. The interpretation sketched above was also maintained by some historians of neighbouring countries (Boris Floria, Karol Modzelewski).

Nevertheless, there are some contemporary Lithuanian medieval historians who challenge the prevailing interpretation, arguing that there was much continuity between the pre-state nobility and the elite of the early GDL. Further, they have also argued that the duke's power was not so strong throughout the whole territory of the polity; therefore, the elite's power in the more remote areas was much more based on growing landownership and on influence within local communities.

The paper will discuss the arguments and evidence provided by both sides and will attempt to evaluate whether (and to what extent) the alternative interpretation is a more adequate solution.

Bácsatyai, Dániel (Eötvös Loránd Research Network)

The Service of the Tavnici: Some Observations on the Economic System and Itinerant Kingship in Eleventh-Century Kingdom of Hungary

Around the turn of the first millennium, the new monarchies of Central Europe established strikingly similar economic systems, which were founded on the highly specialised labour of the so-called *Dienstleute* settled in the vicinity of princely centres. Scholars tend to reconstruct the system based on sources that testify to the special services assigned to locals. However, thanks to much richer documentary evidence, the source base in the Kingdom of Hungary is not limited to place names only. There is ample information on villages whose inhabitants belonged to the royal manorial system, even if these settlements were not named after a special service. Although the origin of the system has been the subject of a long debate, my aim is not to argue in favour of one of the possible hypotheses. My goal is to shed light on the real nature of a mysterious type of service, the *tavarnicatus*. I relied on four types of evidence: the etymology of the word, the context of the charters which refer to *tavarnici* (in Hungarian: *tárnokok*), the geographical distribution of the villages where they lived, and finally, the analogues provided by other Central European realms, most importantly by the Kingdom of Poland. According to Hungarian historiography, the special task of the *tavarnici* was to guard and store the goods delivered to the royal manors. The assessment of the charter evidence, however, shows that the various functions of the *tavarnici* stem from their original, internal service in the ruler's tent, later in his chamber. Their settlements were close to the royal manors

along the most important roads, and they took part in the provisioning of the itinerant king and his entourage, including the latter's accommodation and dining. It is noteworthy that from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century, the ruler's most intimate servants, the royal butlers, were also called *tavarnici*, who, in the earliest times, did in fact come from *tavarnici* villages. I also demonstrate that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the classical *cubicularius* and *camerarius* were used instead of the vernacular *tavarnicus*. The *cubicularius/camerarius* Dienstleute also occur in Poland (where their vernacular name is *komornik*), and, similarly to the *tavarnici*, lent their names to many settlements, and were characterised by the same elusive features. Their duties included monitoring the transportation of the goods consumed by the ducal army, and, most probably, the itinerant ducal retinue, which should be considered as an analogy to the tasks of the *tavarnici*.

Barábas, Gábor (University of Pécs)

Canon Law, Papal Delegations and the Tithes in the Thirteenth-Century Hungarian Church

In the thirteenth century, several ecclesiastical litigations emerged in the Church of the Kingdom of Hungary regarding the distribution of the tithes. Several members of the lower clergy tried to validate their rights against the bishops and the members of the cathedral chapters of their dioceses. This was, of course, not a local phenomenon, as the canons of the Fourth Council of Lateran clearly show it. The provisions of the synod intended to regulate the state of the parochial churches, as they prohibited the possession of two benefices with pastoral obligations. This was definitely meant to put an end to an ongoing practice from the episcopal side and to support the lower clergy financially in order to help them to perform their pastoral duties. These measures had an effect on the periphery of the Western Christendom, as well. Hungarian bishops, and afterwards clergymen, turned to the Holy See on several occasions after the Lateran Council. The prelates intended to secure their former measures in favour of the members of the cathedral chapters, while later on the parish-priests tried to make use of the tool of papal delegated jurisdiction to force bishops to acknowledge their rights for a share of the tithes of their parishes. My presentation is meant to introduce the individual petitions and procedures from the thirteenth century to illustrate how the canon law, papal decisions and the activity of papal judges-delegate shaped the Church in Hungary in this matter.

Bárány, Attila (University of Debrecen)

King Andrew II of Hungary's crusade (1217–1218). New insights

King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–35)'s venture in 1217–1218, the first phase of the Fifth Crusade brought forward a change in the history of the crusading campaigns. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 meant an abrupt change in itself, but the subsequent efforts afterwards in the early 1190s were made in the traditional sense and "style" of the *negotium Crucis*, for the recapture of the Holy Sepulchre. After almost 30 years, Andrew was the sole monarch to fight in the Holy Land, but himself and the leaders of the Fifth Crusade soon needed to realize that political reality was completely different. A new understanding was that the Ayubids were not to be overwhelmed at all in their own land. The time of this kind of crusade was over now. A new theatre of war was to be opened in order to get supplies in Egypt. The schemes to take

Damietta were for a long time on the table. Andrew's campaign was to feel out the possibilities in Palestine. The enterprise has scarcely been seen – not even in Hungarian historiography – without a detailed analysis of the international situation. It had preparatory goals. It has to be investigated in the perspective of the Levant, the Franks in the Aegean and the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The crusading enterprise has rarely been explored in the context of the preparatory phase, from the early 1210s. A major focus has to be given to Andrew's negotiations – rather than the very acts of war in the Holy Land – with the main actors of the *negotium Christi*, the Papacy and Latin church of Jerusalem, as well as the very partners at war, the Kingdom of Cyprus, Antioch, the ruler of Jerusalem and the military orders. Andrew's coordination with Pope Honorius III is possible now to investigate through newly published sources (e.g., *Bullarium Cyprium*). The details of the campaign itself will be explored through formerly less known narrative material, e.g., *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*; or, Abû'l-Faraj/Bar Hebraeus. In a way, Andrew's crusade did not reach military results, but with a king in the Holy Land, a ruler with the sign of the Cross as a policy-maker, it did have a role. The crusade was a means to coordinate the efforts of Christendom.

Bauch, Martin (GWZO Leipzig)

The Black Death in Bohemia and Eastern Germany and the role of grain trade

Demonstrating the actual impact of the Black Death plague wave on Eastern Germany and Bohemia is difficult to do. While Czech scholarship has long underlined that there is no reliable evidence to prove that the Black Death actually reached Bohemia (while Moravia was probably affected), the situation for today's Eastern Germany is less well researched and probably more differentiated when it comes to the absence of or reliable hints for actual mass mortality.

In both cases, the reasons why the Black Death did not reach these areas have not been clarified, as trade and people still moved between these areas and the more Western/Northern parts of Central Europe, which clearly were affected by plague. So what made the difference that provided continuity for Eastern Central Europe, at least until later waves reached the area, while many parts of the continent saw a rupture as early as in 1347–50?

Drawing from Mediterranean evidence on the movement of the Black Death from the Black Sea to Italy, a pre-plague climatic anomaly and the subsequent, intensified grain trade has become a key suspect for the proliferation of plague. The paper argues whether a comparable argument can be made for the Central European situation, and on the basis of what sources, to explain the otherwise enigmatic speed and patterns of pathogenic spread during the Black Death.

Bažant, Vojtěch (Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague)

“Abuses” of Medieval History

Analysing various manifestations of historicism in modern and contemporary cultures, we often encounter a scholarly conception of the “abuse” of history. The notion usually appears in semantic pair – uses and abuses. What is considered “uses” and what “abuses”? Are these connected to particular theoretical and methodological approaches? What is the approach of the

“abuse” of history directly telling and implicitly indicating about social roles to be played by scholars? Medievalism holds an important post in diverse central European collective identities; therefore, it should be taken into consideration whether the research of cultural usages of medieval topics and adoptions of “medieval” attitudes has a peculiar position in comparison with other periods treated similarly in historical culture. These questions are asked, and scholarly texts about medievalism will be read closely with the aim of bringing theoretical insight into the issue.

Bećir, Ante (Catholic University of Croatia)

The *Populares* in Late Medieval Dalmatia between Agency and 'Political Fodder'

In many regards, Eastern Adriatic cities functioned as respective Mediterranean city communes, especially similar to Italian cities. The cultural transmission from the more populated and wealthier Italian cities to the smaller and less vibrant Eastern Adriatic cities heavily influenced the social and political landscape. However, it seems that the degree of importance of the commoners and their *popolo* corporations in Italy was not truly replicated in the Eastern Adriatic until the arrival of Venetian rule between 1409 and 1420 on the Eastern Adriatic. This presentation will examine the status of the Dalmatian *populares* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in various Dalmatian cities, ranging from Rab to Dubrovnik. Changes or continuity in supreme authority (Hungarian or Venetian) had an important impact on the social stratification inside the city communities. While Royal Hungarian rule tried to quell any commoner-related social disturbances, Venice encouraged commoner agency to some extent in an effort to contain and control the city nobles. Social relations within the cities, in particular intra-communal factional conflicts, also played a very important role in the blurry and questionable process of defining a commoner identity, because there were always some ambitious *populares* that acted as associates (or a factional periphery) of urban noble factions. Whether the *populares* achieve some level of collective agency or were just “political fodder” for noble factions remains to be seen in this presentation.

Borbás, Benjamin (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Spoils of War as War Trophies. Continuity and Novelty in the Treatment of Prisoners of War in the Age of the Crusades (1096-1291)

Events between 1096 and 1291 abounded in intrigues, battles, sieges and raids and faced various logistical challenges. The challenges of the time encouraged crusading participants to make new technical innovations and adopt different practices already existing in the East, thus providing rich research material for historians of the Crusades. Within this, however, the phenomenon of looting and the spoils of war themselves have thus far received less attention. This is somewhat surprising, since while studying contemporary sources of the era it seems clear that the importance of raiding and looting was enormous and played a primary role in motivating soldiers, financing the marching army, and, more often, in the rapid money-making strategies of powers struggling financially.

It is important to point out, however, that because of cultural and religious antagonism, the spoils taken from the vanquished were in some cases less important for their material value than

for their symbolic meaning. The relics, objects of cultic and religious significance, prominent leaders, soldiers and weapons of the “infidels” who fell into the hands of the enemy could have raised the value of victory to an even higher level. These spoils were often used in theatrical settings. They provided the opportunity to humiliate an already defeated opponent and to increase the value of the military and the moral victory of the victorious party. Among the many uses of spoils, the humiliation of prisoners of war and parading with the weapons and equipment of the vanquished during triumphal marches, which always receive special attention in contemporary chronicles, stand out. These theatrical marches were both inward and outward. They allowed inhabitants of towns to share in victories won on the battlefield, and at the same time served as a deterrent to their enemies.

Fortunately, this period provides rich source material written by Christian, Arab and Byzantine authors, which allows us to answer the following questions:

- 1) What happened to prisoners of war after fighting, but before they were imprisoned?
- 2) What were the Eastern traditions of treating prisoners of war, and what were the practices adopted by Crusaders from Muslims?
- 3) In what different ways were spoils of war used to glorify the victors and what were the most suitable spoils for this purpose?

Božič, Anja (Central European University, Vienna)

Thematic and Classicizing Sermons on St. Jerome in the Renaissance: Continuity, Overlap, or Parallel Universes

Italian humanists are usually thought to have reshaped the existing patterns of religious discourse. As some of the humanist preachers and orators claimed, they moved away from the late-medieval practice of thematic preaching and adopted in its stead a classicizing style of epideictic oratory. In like manner, modern scholarship continues to analyze the two textual formats separately from each other and discuss them in opposition and in sharp contrast. Yet, thematic sermons existed side by side with the ‘novel’ humanist oratory and embraced many of the popular rhetorical innovations. Thus, in actual practice, the two formats often overlapped rather than became more widely diverged. Instead of postulating a stark contrast between the conceptual framework of sermons and that of epideictic orations, I propose that it would be more illuminating to analyze particular works in terms of the contexts in which they were conceived as well as the circumstances under which some of them were also performed. In order to produce an unbiased and inclusive analysis, we should avoid compartmentalizing these works under one of the established labels of oratory or thematic sermons, but emphasize instead the porous boundaries of these generic categories. Along these lines of inquiry, my paper will focus on an unedited panegyric in honor of St. Jerome, composed by Paduan law student Niccolò Bonavia in 1410, and examine the authorities, *exempla*, and other rhetorical commonplaces that the classicizing panegyrics of this kind shared with thematic sermons dedicated to the same saint. I believe that such an examination will illustrate the continuity between the late-medieval sermons and equivalent forms of religious discourse adopted by humanist authors, which was considerably more significant than these authors themselves were ready to admit.

Brylka, Zofia (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

The Purification of Mary? Traces of shaping the concept of the immaculate conception in Old Polish religious literature

The fact of Mary's special holiness has been commonly approved in the Church from its beginnings. However, the question of Mother of God's freedom from original sin was debated until 1854. Discussions on the immaculate conception were distinctly intense in the thirteenth century. Two approaches were of significant importance: immaculistic (related to the Franciscans) and maculistic (related to the Dominicans). The first claimed that Mary was conceived free from original sin, while the second thought otherwise, referring to the universality of original sin and the lustfulness of the act of conception. Eventually, the Church adopted immaculate conception as the orthodox concept.

The traces of theological discussion are present in medieval religious literature. Texts testify to the spread and vitality of the concepts and the provenance of works from specific church environments. In some texts, the motif of Mary's purification in the womb occurs parallel to the concept of her immaculate conception. It seems as though the author did not want to decide or did not see the conflict between theological positions. In others, traces of only one of the concepts are present.

I will investigate how old Polish religious literature testifies to the formation of the concept of immaculate conception. A constant element in the development of theological thought in these texts is the certainty of Mary's purity at birth, expressed in the ways of naming the Mother of God or showing her in the context of physical impeccability. The theological thought justifying this purity and looking for its beginning was changing – because it was forming. Old Polish religious texts were written during this process and can testify to it. In the paper, I will present a significant Marian theological dispute through the prism of Old Polish texts in which it was reflected.

Brzeziński, Witold (Kazimierz Wielki University)

Continuity and change in the legal status of a noblewoman in Poland in late medieval and Renaissance times (the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century)

The objective of my paper is to present the continuities and changes that took place in the legal status of noblewomen in Poland in the period from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. In particular, the analysis will cover such issues as legal capacity, inheritance of landed property, freedom to dispose of one's own property and the legal position of a woman as a wife and mother within the family. The basis for the analysis will be the collections of customary and statutory law (from the Statutes of Casimir the Great through later statutes issued by Polish rulers and legislation enacted by the Sejm to the draft law codification called *Correctura iurium* of 1532) and judicial practice. In relation to the above-mentioned continuities and changes in the status of a noblewoman, their social and cultural determinants will be shown.

Burkhardt, Julia (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich) and **Christina Lutter** (University of Vienna)

Book Presentation: No Crown without Me. Helene Kottannerin and Her Adventurous Journey

Early in 1440, the recently widowed Hungarian queen Elisabeth of Luxembourg was about to give birth to a child. She hoped for a son and heir to the Hungarian throne after her late husband's Albert's II death and was anxious about his succession. Hence, she sent her lady-in-waiting Helene Kottannerin to the castle of Visegrad, where the kingdom's Holy crown was safely stored, to get this important symbol of royal legitimation for her unborn child's later coronation. Helene who originated from the small town of Sopron / Ödenburg at the border between Hungary and the Austrian lands not only successfully mastered the adventure, but later composed one of the most amazing ego-documents written in late medieval Central Europe. Our book presents the first published translation into modern German of Helene's spectacular account, which covers the "crown-adventure" itself, but also provides various insights into Elisabeth's court and family life, the critical political and military situation vis-à-vis the Ottoman threat, the Hungarian opposition against the queen's dynastic plans, and thus Elisabeth's and Helene's agency managing these challenges. In our presentation we will lay out our motives for translating the text, the structure of our own scholarly account that frames Helene's text and the ways we hope to share the text's attraction with both students, academics and a wider audience.

Carr-Riegel, Leslie (Käte Hamburger Kolleg)

A World Soon Undone: Pepper, Reprisal, and the Rules of Law, between Poland and Pera a Year Before the Fall (1452)

This paper takes as a case study a trade dispute that occurred in 1452 between Genoese, Polish and Wallachian merchants in the Latin enclave of Pera Constantinople. Examining events just a year before the city fell to the Ottomans, this study offers a snapshot into the dying days of the tangled web of relationships and legal processes that underlay the trade route from Lviv to the Bosphorus. The paper explores the unhappy travels of Johannes Simiefal, a burgher of Lviv, who sought to ship a load of black pepper from Bursa. While transiting through Pera, his journey was interrupted by a group of enraged Genoese merchants. These men seized Simiefal's property in an act of reprisal for a load of furry hats which they claimed had been stolen from them by his countrymen. The legal case that then wound up before the Podesta of Pera revealed a series of misidentifications, interlocking ownership agreements and illegal seizures that exposed much about the way trade was conducted between Eastern Europe and the Black Sea at the time. By reading between the lines of the byplay of interests and accusation, the framework of trade and law adhered to by merchants is unveiled. The paper then concludes with a brief overview of the changes that occurred upon the arrival of the Ottomans. It will describe the new players who entered the market and the transformations of the legal structure which underpinned new trading relationships.

Carta, Francesco (Palacký University, Olomouc)

Commenting the Franciscan Rule in Bohemia. Johannes Wohlgemuth and the issue of Observant Italian models

During the second half of fifteenth century the Italian Franciscan Observant reform (*observantia more italico*) had great success in Central Europe thanks to the polyhedric figure of the papal legate, preacher and inquisitor John of Capistrano. With the reform, the Italians also introduced a new way of interpreting Franciscan Rule, the normative text – approved by Honorius III in 1223 – at the heart of the Franciscan way of life. They did it by writing new commentaries on Franciscan Rule in which they presented their vision on every aspect of the Franciscan *forma vitae*: from the habit to the possession of things, from preaching to the correction of the brothers, from the reception of novices to the liturgical office. One of these commentaries was written by the Italian Christopher of Varese, John of Capistrano's friend, who addressed it to the friars of Vienna. His text spread to Bohemia, where it was read by the provincial minister, doctor in theology Johannes Wohlgemuth (Ludovicus de Prussia). Probably between 1487 and 1494 he wrote his commentary on Franciscan Rule based on Christopher of Varese's text.

The paper analyses and compares the two texts in an effort to understand how Johannes used Christopher's commentary. Was Johannes's a slavish rewriting of Christopher's text or did he bring in original elements? This analysis will allow us to reflect in general on the reception of Italian models and any peculiarities of Franciscan Observance in Bohemia.

Cermanová, Pavlína (Centre for Medieval Studies, Prague)

Alexander and Aristotle: An exemplum in the ancient, Islamic and Christian worlds

The development of universities in Central Europe intensified the exchange and circulation of learned texts and books of knowledge in this area. Many of these works contained knowledge traditionally acquired from pagan authors, whether from ancient times or the Arabic cultural space. Their dissemination carried with it translations and also adaptations to the society in which the texts were read and reciprocated. This phenomenon of adaptation of texts and interaction with "ancient" texts with Christian authors is not only true of academic works and texts discussed in the universities but also of those that mediated knowledge towards other cultural circles. The papers in this panel will focus on the narrative possibilities of tracing the reception of these texts in extant manuscripts in Central Europe and will ask what such an analysis can yield. We will outline both the reflected search for continuity with the ancient tradition and the un-reflected or not openly acknowledged continuity with older, in our case Arabic, authors. We will ask whether the open reception was due to a consensus on the texts' authority or whether their (non-)reflected reception had other causes.

Cholewicki, Paweł (University of Leeds)

Franciscan Bosnian vicariate embraces Observance: change or continuity?

My presentation will address the issue of the adoption of the Observant identity by the Franciscan Bosnian vicariate. While there is a consensus that the friars of the vicariate embraced

the reform relatively quickly, the historiography remains divided in assessing when and how it happened. One can learn of the founding of the Bosnian vicariate as the original backbone of the Observant movement, even before Paoluccio of Foligno returned to Brugliano, but in other works, one can read that the vicariate became Observant only at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or even later. While some claim that the Observance was somewhat “native” to the friars of the vicariate, who supposedly planted the seeds of reform in the hearts of some of its Italian forerunners, including Bernardino of Siena, others say that it was introduced in the vicariate by outside forces, be it the Council of Constance or James of the Marches and likeminded reformers of the Quattrocento. My paper will be a fair attempt to clarify the intricate problem of the adoption of the reformed identity in the Bosnian vicariate, based on my recent research. I am going to juxtapose the two conflicting medieval narratives – those of the Hungarian Observant Chronicle and the chronicle of Bernardino of Aquila – on the Observance’s origin. Finally, I will call for a more balanced understanding not only of the Observant movement in the Bosnian vicariate, but of the Franciscan Observant movement as such.

Coulter, Matthew (University of Cambridge)

‘Dÿ alt gewonheÿt, dÿ sÿ fur manch hundert jarenn gehabt habenn’: Transylvanian Saxon Court Diplomacy in Jagiellonian-era Hungary

My paper proposal centres on the three main Transylvanian Saxon towns (Sibiu, Braşov and Bistriţa) during the decades when Hungary was ruled by the Jagiellonian dynasty (1490–1526), an era which can rightly be described as exhibiting both continuity and change. Though subject to continued evolution, the focal point of the Saxons’ legal identity continued to be their direct relationship with the geographically distant king, whose favour remained indispensable for the preservation and extension of their privileges. One common theme of Saxon appeals to the king concerned the defence of their rights during their perennial disputes with members of the Transylvanian nobility, despite attempts in these years to strengthen the mechanisms of dispute resolution between the three Transylvanian estates (most notably the 1506 renewal of their union). Simultaneously, the increasingly precarious financial state of the Hungarian crown entailed ever more frequent royal demands for extraordinary payments (*subsidia*), for which Saxon envoys frequently sought to obtain reductions. In my paper I will focus on the concrete diplomatic means through which Saxon authorities sought to navigate these challenges and achieve their political objectives. These include the selection of personnel known to enjoy standing and influence at court and the targeting of lobbying efforts towards officials known to have the ear of the king – including through the use of gifts. In so doing, I will demonstrate how the leading strata of this privileged estate sought to preserve what they considered to be their ancient liberties in the face of change.

Curta, Florin (University of Florida)

Aging Levee. On the 25th anniversary of Gottfried Schramm's Ein Damm bricht

The German historian Gottfried Schramm (1929–2017) based his *Ein Damm bricht*, which was published a quarter of a century ago, primarily on linguistic evidence. His main thesis was that

the dispersal of Romanians was made possible by the rise of early medieval Bulgaria, with “vigorous waves” of Vlachs coming to the lands north of the Danube only after the rising of the Second Bulgarian Empire. Against Schramm’s Neo-Roeslerian tenets, one could easily summon the results of recent linguistic research. However, any historical interpretations based on linguistic evidence is fraught with many problems, the most important of which is the inability to date any phonetic and/or linguistic changes with sufficient precision for a historical reconstruction. The Hungarian archaeologist István Bóna (1930–2001) was therefore right: there are many problems that cannot be resolved by archaeology, but archaeologists are definitely in the best disciplinary position to tell whether or not a region was inhabited at any given time. In this paper, I therefore intend to evaluate the historical reconstruction proposed by Gottfried Schramm 25 years ago in the light of the archaeological and historical evidence accumulated in the last 25 years. In doing so, I will shift the emphasis from ethnicity to migration: while, as Schramm was quick to observe, archaeologists cannot “read” linguistic changes in material culture, Bóna was equally right when noting that they are in a privileged position when it comes to tracking movements of a population.

Dąbrowski, Franciszek (Institute of the Military History, War Studies Academy; Institute of National Remembrance Archives)

Territorial organisation of the Piast monarchies in 10th-13th centuries: factors of continuity, factors of change, change of historiography concepts

The recognised aspects of the territorial organisation in the Piast monarchy are reflected in the state of the remaining sources: from the mainly material sources concerning the tenth–eleventh centuries, to written mentions dating from eleventh through the twelfth centuries (offering limited insight into its organisation and competences) up to well-documented functioning and entitlements of the castellan organisation in Piast sovereign monarchies in the thirteenth century. The continuity factors of the organisation (apart from the material existence of the castles) seem to originate from the assumed continuity of the model of territorial rule, relying heavily on twelfth and thirteenth century sources. The entitlements (mainly fiscal and military) of the castra governors were only indirectly documented in the twelfth century. The castellan rule of the thirteenth century combines judicial, fiscal, military and economic entitlements. The turning point of the territorial organisation seems to be connected with the apparent reception of patterns of monarchical rule from the Reich (however marked mainly in entitlements of the monarchs), and the emergence of the *castellanus* title at the turn of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both contemporary to the fall of the grand-ducal system. The Polish thirteenth century saw the decline of castellan organisation due to the expansion of immunity privileges and Teutonic law and a shift of essential entitlements to the monarchs’ courts. The rise of *districtus* organisation in Silesia and *capitaneus* office in the renovated Kingdom of Poland in the early fourteenth century practically abolished the system, leaving only the honourable character and residual entitlements of the castellan offices.

Dienstbier, Jan (Charles University Prague)

The case of Charles IV. Images of a medieval emperor in the 21st century

Roman Emperor Charles IV, who, in 2005, won the popular vote for the greatest Czech of all time, belongs among the widely popular figures of the Czech national pantheon. The problematic aspects of the life of the medieval ruler, who was only partially of Czech origin and identified himself with different ethnicities, are often whitewashed. Occasional complaints about the monarch's support for the Inquisition mercilessly persecuting "heretics" in southern Bohemia or about the parcelling of the Nuremberg Jewish town in anticipation of a pogrom the ruler had simultaneously turned a blind eye to can hardly harm his popularity. And so, cheesy monuments to the good king and "father of the nation" continue to be created. Similarly, spectacular exhibitions and books appear to celebrate his life and times. In this contribution, I will try to show the most obscure realisations of these tendencies occupying the public space and how these ideas make their way into the work of medievalists. Even in professional accounts, the monarch is omnipresent, as exemplified by the remarkable number of "hidden portraits" of the ruler, which have been identified thanks to the erudition and imagination of uncountable historians and art historians in the artworks of the given era.

Dincă, Adinel Ciprian (Babeş-Bolyai University)

German Literacy in Transylvania. Contexts and Strategies around 1500

Transylvania is constantly praised both in academic circles and in larger contexts as a multi-ethnic and multilingual environment, a generous, appealing but superficial statement that is rarely substantiated through investigations of circumscribed case studies. Such a critical assessment fits especially in the Middle Ages, when this cultural plurality was indeed established. Furthermore, a brief examination of the evolution of written communication in this easternmost province of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary suggests the undisputed supremacy of Latin literacy, in dissonant tones with the alleged multifaceted patterns of writing.

Although not entirely new as a perspective of investigation, my paper attempts to raise fresh queries over old and new sources, confronted in their original form of transmission. The analysis scrutinises beyond the chancery-generated texts, including handwritten and printed books, as well as informal administrative records and epigraphic testimonies. The purpose of this enterprise is to start understanding why the use of the (German) vernacular was so limited within the communities of the so-called "Transylvanian Saxons", originally mixed groups of Western colonists who developed a thriving urban civilization in Transylvania and, consequently, the most complex landscape of literate behaviour. The following concepts will be the focus of my proposed paper: the importance of writing and reading for the Transylvanian Saxons, the textual circumstances for using German, and, lastly, if the use of German or Latin (or both within the same textual unit) reflect a deliberate choice or motivation of the author.

Doležalová, Lucie (Charles University Prague)

Innovation and Inertia: The End of Medieval Manuscripts

Among the many ways of defining the end of the Middle Ages, the invention of the printing press is significant: it did not have an immediate impact but did initiate a cultural transformation, similar to the current transition from print to the digital space. Print radically reduced the costs and the time needed for text production and eventually brought about the end of hand-copying. It is baffling that the innovation was not embraced faster: scribes continued to copy with unprecedented intensity until the end of the fifteenth century and beyond. This paper aims to begin to explain the complex process of implementing this innovation. Rather than the (rather well researched) gradually growing diffusion of print, it focuses on analysing the activities and products of scribes in 1450–1500, searching for reasons why so many of them stuck to hand-copying. This is only the beginning of a larger project, which, elaborating on the concept of inertia in this particular case, should lead to a more generally applicable model of the complex reasons behind any resistance to innovation and its implications for other fields, such as resilience theory.

Druga, Marek (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

***Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum* as a historical source on the period of cultural and power confrontation between Christianity and paganism (heresy) in early Hungary**

This presentation will briefly introduce the work of St. Gerard of Venice (ca. 1080–1046, Bishop of Csanád 1030–1046), *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*, as well as those aspects (ideas) of Gerard's work that deal critically with Christian gnosis and heresy and with paganism. Gerard's work is primarily understood in older historiography as a socio-religious tractate towards heretical movements in Hungary, especially in the bishopric of Csanád in the eleventh century (in the first place towards the Bogomils). We will show that *Deliberatio*, unlike the well-known Anti-Bogomils writings, is a considerably more complex and intricate historical source, which can be classified as part of a broader corpus of exegetical literature. *Deliberatio* is thus a rather complex hermeneutical and theological-philosophical work. Gerard's writings are nevertheless an exceptional historical source, quite unique in Hungary, which can be one of the aids for revealing the background of the cultural, political and governmental confrontation between the emerging Christian Church in Hungary and its opponents – the representatives of the older “paganism” as well as adherents of unorthodox, from the point of view of the official Church, heretical directions. It should be emphasised that *Deliberatio* contains the authentic thoughts of a Hungarian prelate who lived, worked and ultimately perished in an unstable time of existential threat (even if only temporary) to the early Christian structures in Hungary, during the period of the pagan reaction or the “Great Pagan Revolt” in 1046. The presentation will be designed as an introduction to the issue and an outline of research possibilities.

Éliás, János (University of Debrecen)

The Spread of Protestantism in Central Hungary in the 16th Century

Historical tradition dates the beginning of the Reformation to 1517, when Martin Luther, professor at the University of Wittenberg, posted his 95 theses in which he criticised the Catholic Church and made suggestions for its reform. The spirit of the Reformation rapidly expanded throughout Europe as a result of the campaign of Luther and his students.

In my paper, I focus on Central Hungary, primarily examining the spread of Protestantism on the basis of contemporary sources. Mezőtúr, a borough of the region, played a cardinal role in the conversion of the region's inhabitants, since we already know of faith renewal activities in the area in the 1530s. By this time, the local school had already been founded in the new Protestant spirit.

The Protestant spread was hindered by György Martinuzzi (1482–1551), the Roman Catholic Bishop of Várad (today Oradea, Romania, 1534–1551) and later Archbishop of Esztergom (1551), who supervised the area as the local prelate, but it was undoubtedly helped by the Ottoman conquest. Afterwards, the Catholic Church lost its authority over the area, though the Ottomans left the inhabitants in peace, if obligatory taxes were paid. The Second Helvetic Confession, a fundamental document expressing the common belief of Calvinism (1562), was adopted at the 1567 Synod of Debrecen, accepting the Calvinist branch of the Reformation. Shortly afterwards, the first Reformed diocese was established in the region, which made the Reformed religion the dominant faith in the area until the end of the eighteenth century.

Fedorčák, Peter (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice)

The Pedagogical Work of Leonard Cox: Signs of New Approaches

Leonard Cox, an academic travelling from England through European countries, became a respected scholar and teacher thanks to his stay in Poland and Hungary, during which he taught at the Kraków University and at town schools in Levoča and Košice. He was a member of a new generation with the desire to reform educational methods. What kinds of changes – how deep and in which direction – was Cox willing to make practically (teaching methods) and theoretically (published works) in accordance with the continuity of the local cultural and didactic habitus, and in comparison with general changes being applied by the humanists? As a teacher, Leonard Cox was active in Poland, Hungary and England, where, following the general changes in education advocated by the leading humanists of the era, he promoted reforms in the education system. The analysed traces in the primary sources reveal a mixture of continuity and change in the theory and praxis of Leonard Cox regarding the actual political and religious situation and regarding the local cultural and educational heritage.

Fedorčáková, Mária (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice)

Continuity and change: urban elites of Bardejov in the late Middle Ages

The development of elites in the town environment was influenced by many conditions. Urban elites in Bardejov had been developing since the early fourteenth century and in this period they

were connected to the reeve, who held judicial and administrative power over the townspeople. An administrative change in 1376 opened the way for new urban elites, represented by successful tradesmen and craftsmen, who enforced their positions in elected municipal government and became the founders of new burgher elites. This paper aims to examine the origin of burgher elites in Bardejov, strategies for maintaining political power in the city and forms of representation. The author will explore the most powerful families, with an emphasis on marriage policy, trade contacts, patron–client relations, the building of social networks and representation in the city environs. Written sources witness continuity in some burgher families’ political representation in the city over years, as well as examples of unsuccessful careers in the town polity. The paper summarises the main characteristics of the town’s elites in the late Middle Ages and their impact on the social and cultural life of the city.

Ferenczi, László (Charles University, Prague)

Cistercian landscapes in Central Europe – continuity and change from environmental archaeological perspectives

There is an increasing amount of paleoenvironmental research – mainly in the British Isles, Austria, France, Germany and Norway – pointing to the transformative roles of monastic orders in land clearance, in arable and pastoral farming, or in the introduction of new agricultural species (Silva-Sanchez, 2022). As has been underlined, paleoenvironmental studies frequently rely on archaeozoological and archaeobotanical evidence (from excavations), and less typically on other types of paleoenvironmental samples, particularly lake sediments and peat cores, although these latter are considered as important archives of past human activities, documenting natural climatic factors, as well as anthropogenic land use changes related to water level fluctuations. Despite the significant advancement in this field, however, the overall environmental impact of Cistercian expansion and colonisation remains poorly understood, especially in more peripheral regions, i.e. in the Baltic or in Central Eastern Europe.

Our paper problematises the results of paleoenvironmental studies in connection to historical topographical evidence on Cistercian colonisation – relying on a few relevant examples, where such evidence is available – to illustrate the ways environmental reconstructions approach the possible impact of the Cistercians and to discuss changes and continuities in Cistercian strategies of manorial farming and colonising activities. The scale and geographical scope of such activities will be addressed, illuminating how they were dependent on the physical local landscape conditions.

Figurski, Pawel (University of Regensburg & Polish Academy of Sciences)

Holy War in the Unknown High Medieval Pontifical from Wrocław

The paper examines a newly discovered pontifical of the 12th century. The codex of presumably Central European origin, hitherto unknown to the academic community, was found by me in February 2020 in one of the ecclesiastical archives in southern Poland. The book contains prayers for occasional needs and benedictions of various objects, including the sword and the sandals. Since some of the manuscript’s elements include the liturgies of war, this posits a link between the codex and the military campaigns against the non-Christians conducted by the Piast

ruling dynasty in the High Middle Ages. This paper argues that the manuscript aptly fits the context of crusades emerging on the Baltic rim in the 12th century.

Filipova, Snežana (SS. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje)

Continuities and changes in the visual and material culture on Macedonian land in the Middle Ages

Culture and art represent and preserve the spirit of the land and form the curriculum vitae of the land and the people. The continuity of high-quality art values, the cohesion of cultures and art styles and valuable works of art make us very proud. Macedonian territory is in some cases the only region where some of the most important works of medieval styles have been preserved. Certain monuments are inevitable when giving an art history survey.

Developed city life predates the Roman period. The importance of the municipium Stobi is proved by the visits of Emperor Theodosius, while the importance of Heraclea is demonstrated by the 7 visits of Manuel II Komnenos. Since the time of Tzar Samuel, Skopje had importance as strategic point for Byzantium, the Serbian State and the Turks. Macedonia was very important for the Roman Empire, as shown by the roads, theatres, aqueducts, beautiful palaces and mosaics, and also for Byzantium. Since the Komnenos dynasty had lands and authority here, they invested in new churches and residencies. After the beautiful, marble Roman-era portraits, there was a continuation in the art of royal portraiture in icon painting and within the Komnenian-era churches. Since the fifteenth century there has mainly been a late Byzantine art influence. Later, some features of late European Baroque art were introduced. In the late nineteenth century Macedonian architects built large churches in the Balkans, and Macedonian sculptors were engaged in Serbia and Moldavia. Thus Macedonian artistic genius had a large impact on Balkan art. Ohrid, as the seat of the Archbishopric, was another mighty artistic centre. Some researchers think that Theodor Duka (1224-1230) was elected tsar here by the Archbishop Demetrius Homatianus. During the Middle Ages the Church became the main creative institution. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Macedonian churches were painted by the best painters of Palaiologan era, Michael and Eutihus. Art continued to flourish to a lesser extent under Turkish rule. Still, the Bishopric of Ohrid managed to order new art works and objects and to receive gifts by town guilds or rich orthodox citizens.

To sum up, there has been a continuation in the creation of high-quality orthodox art in Macedonia for over 16 centuries, since the fourth century, CE. Also, the places where a pagan temple and later a church were erected show over two millennia of continuity, which speaks of the continual usage of “holy places”. Sometimes this is related to “holy springs of water”, sometimes to the long-time memory and respect towards holiness as a general state.

Flóra, Ágnes (Babeş-Bolyai University, Romanian National Archives)

Becoming a burger. Continuity and (constant) change in the urban population in Cluj in the medieval and early modern period

There is hardly any other more continuous historical entity than an urban settlement, and yet it is so changing in its evolution. The legal frameworks set by the privileges provided its long-

term stability, but the high mobility of its citizens conferred a permanent transformation. The evolution of citizenship as a legal concept for marking town dwellers with rights and duties towards the community was a long process rooted in antiquity. In the beginning, the status of burghers was defined in the course of urban development and by the acquisition of privileges through which town dwellers became of higher status than the populace of the surrounding settlements. Privileges, parallel with the economic potential or specific advantages of town life, attracted new people whom the towns in their turn needed to balance demographic downturns. In order to strike a balance, towns had to limit the circle of newcomers by imposing certain conditions, while still doing their best to make their urban settlement attractive to them. In my presentation I intend to make a survey on the medieval and early modern town of Cluj from the perspective of changes within the population, focusing on the changes of ethnicity, language, social background and crafts. I will emphasise the privileges, social and political changes, as well as the local decisions that influenced the changes within the urban population.

Font, Márta (University of Pécs)

Sources on the Muscovian Connection of Matthias, King of Hungary

The diplomatic connection between Matthias, King of Hungary (1458–1490), and Ivan III, Grand Duke of Muscovy (1462–1505), is mentioned in Hungarian historiography from the last decades of the nineteenth century. Scholars, however, did not refer to the sources, or if they did, they mentioned them only in translation. The last time an analysis of Matthias’s eastern diplomacy was made was by Magdolna Ágoston back in the 1970s, basing her contribution on the previous literature. In the present paper, the author describes her research concerning the relevant diplomatic documents.

Gaşpar, Cristian (Central European University, Vienna)

***Nomina semper mutantur*: Methodological Reflections on the (Ab)use of Toponyms and Anthroponyms as Evidence for Ethnic Continuity and Change in the Late Middle Ages**

Names of places and people have often been used to prove or disprove the presence of individual ethnic groups in areas contested by competing modern nationalist agendas and the historiographic discourses that try to legitimise them, especially in the absence of narrative or archaeological sources that could be used for this purpose. Historians who (still) resort to such practices usually ignore the professional strictures and limitations involved in handling toponomastic material—increasingly recognised by linguists— in favour of its “evidentiary” value, which can be used to construct a simplistic image of the past, conveniently purged of inconvenient alterities (ethnic, confessional, etc.).

In the present paper, I intend to take a look at several factors that should dissuade modern historians from continuing to use anthroponyms and toponyms recorded in medieval sources as indicators of ethnic continuity or change. First, place names and names of individuals that survive in the written record should not be reified and decontextualised but should be viewed as the result of an entire process of communication, of which the written record is often just the final stage. This process is best viewed as an interaction of actants and factors that conditioned and shaped the transmission of linguistic data in the textual record. Among these, the

circumstances of oral communication and the interplay of the various agents involved in it, their linguistic competence or lack thereof, and the variety of scribal and archival practices could all act as distorting filters.

Second, names of people and of places cannot be treated as univocal markers of identity. The relation between identities and their linguistic expressions is much more complex than most traditional historiographic discourses, which usually operate with an essentialist understanding of identities, are willing to allow. The degree of agency individuals had in the past (as they do now) when naming themselves, others or various places varied, as did their construction of such names as indexed markers of identity.

Last, but not least, interpretation should allow (as traditional historiographic discourses most often do not) for the presence of multiple, multi-layered identities in the same individual/community and for the fact that these could be context-bound, transactional and fluid, especially in contexts characterised by linguistic/ethnic/social/confessional diversity.

To illustrate the methodological and theoretical points listed above, I will rely primarily on a set of anthroponyms and toponyms from the north-eastern part of today's Banat, in Romania, which survive in a rather singular document, a fiscal conscription produced in the second decade of the sixteenth century. This chance survival offers us an instructive and tantalising glimpse into the multi-ethnic and plurilingual milieu of three *districtus wolachales* that belonged to the Hunedoara/Hunyadi estate at the time when it became the property of George, Margrave of Brandenburg. I will also make use of the Ottoman defters for the area, which allow us to trace some of these toponyms and anthroponyms through the later decades of the sixteenth century and better contextualise their first written occurrences.

Gecser, Ottó (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The Letters of John of Capestrano about the Siege of Belgrade

The Belgrade victory over the Ottomans ranked among the most newsworthy events of the fifteenth century, with some 15 eyewitness (or apparently eyewitness) accounts and roughly an equal number of other reports by well-informed contemporaries who could rely on relatively fresh information still gathered in 1456. These accounts and reports were written as letters to specific recipients, but many of them came to be reproduced at some point following their composition and, thus, became accessible to a much broader circle of interested readers and listeners. Most of the letters about the siege by John of Capistrano, one of the main eyewitnesses of the events, had the fate of spreading beyond their originally or formally intended audience. This paper aims to examine the textual history of these letters, focusing on their channels and vehicles of diffusion, in the context of the other eyewitness accounts of the siege.

Grgin, Borislav (Zagreb University)

Croatia at the end of the Middle Ages: Society in Turmoil

In the period from 1490 and 1527, medieval Croatia passed through a difficult period in its history due to the combined effects of ever-growing internal difficulties on the one hand, and the mounting pressure of the increasingly threatening Ottoman Empire on the other hand. This paper will provide an overview and analysis of the main continuities and changes in Croatian society during this period. Various political, military, demographic and economic issues will be at the centre of attention. I will answer or offer plausible assumptions to the following questions: How did Croatian political institutions and circles of power change over the course of the analysed period? What changes were made in military structures and organisations on Croatian soil? What were the immediate, as well as long-term, consequences of the danger the Ottomans posed to economic development in Croatia – but also to the land's population structure – in this and the period that followed?

A separate section will be focused on a critical summary overview of historiography, both Hungarian and Croatian, starting with the traditional historians of the second half of the nineteenth century up until today. I point out the shifting paradigms of these historians' approaches, starting with the integral parts of the heroic grand national narratives, loaded with stereotypes and anachronisms. I then focus my attention on the present-day nuanced and much more in-depth studies of both Hungarian and Croatian, as well as other scholars on the subject. Some conclusive remarks and evaluations will round out this presentation.

Grzesik, Ryszard (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Continuity and Changes in St. Stephen's Image in the Hungarian and Polish Legends and Chronicles

My paper will show changes in the image of Hungary's patron saint, Stephen I. Three legends about him are the main sources about his life. The *Legenda maior* presented him as a contemplative ruler, taking care of Christianity in his Kingdom and doing good deeds for his subjects; the text ends with the description of the illness and sorrows he suffered at the end of his life. The *Legenda minor* changed this portrait, presenting Stephen as an energetic and active ruler who did not refrain from punishing harshly those who contradicted him. Bishop Hartvic created the third Legend, which was a synthesis of both earlier works, but also reflected King Coloman's ideology of a sovereign Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary, independent of the Holy Empire. The image of St. Stephen presented by Hartvic in his putative shorter version was used afterwards by the author of the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle, where it was connected with the Polish *Chronica Polonorum* and a Hungarian chronicle, probably one of the versions of the lost *Gesta Ungarorum*. This chronicle became the basis of the Polish legendary tradition about St. Stephen. While the shorter redaction of the Chronicle, derived from the lost archetype, preserved its hagiographical character, the longer version modified some episodes of King Stephen's life. According to the Chronicle, he had three sons who escaped to Poland after their father's death. This story, however, which refers to the Hungarian civil war from the mid-eleventh century, has nothing in common with the real life of the King.

Gulyás, László Szabolcs (University of Nyíregyháza)

1514, as a turning point? Migration of serfs in Hungary, before and after the prohibition of serf- moving

One of the fundamental privileges of legally unified serfdom (that emerged in Hungary by the middle of the fourteenth century) was personal freedom. A Hungarian serf could freely choose his landlord and, under certain conditions, could leave his former place of residence, moving to another lord's estate or even to a free city.

The legal conditions for the free movement of the peasantry was established by the fourteenth century. From the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg, royal power firmly defended the right of moving, thus securing the interests of the parties interested in the matter with dozens of decrees. This only changed at the end of the Middle Ages. During the reign of Mátyás Hunyadi, the right to move was sometimes restricted by the government. The most important provision in the issue was made after the peasant rebellion marked by the name of György Dózsa in 1514. In the Parliament of 1514, the rebellious peasantry were criminalised by the general deprivation of the right to move. This presentation shows how this affected the migration of serfs, whether the strict provisions were put into practice after 1514, and whether the migration trends of the peasantry really changed compared to before.

Guzowski, Piotr (University of Białystok)

Black Death and economic crisis of late middle ages in Poland and the state of the Teutonic Order

Thus far, the view of the presence or absence of epidemics in the Kingdom of Poland and the state of the Teutonic Order in the mid-fourteenth century has been dominated by chronicle-like sources. The ambiguity of these accounts, especially in the context of source analysis, prompts a search for other materials that can confirm or undermine the concept of demographic crisis. The purpose of this presentation is to draw attention to demographic and economic sources that have thus far remained on the sidelines of interest of historians of the Black Death, or have been used by economic historians writing separately from research of the plague.

Gyalóky, Zoltán (University of Warsaw)

Tradition and novelties in the art of the mid-15th-century Poland

Scholars often consider the mid-fifteenth-century panel paintings in Lesser Poland as highly conventional. The painterly tradition, which presumably originated from the European "beautiful style" around 1400, can be seen as an important, but not an exclusive component of panel paintings in Poland. This paper focuses on innovative aspects, hitherto insufficiently explored in the literature. Prominent graphic sources, especially engravings informed new stylistic approaches.

The most notable iconographic novelty was the appearance of the imagery of St. Bernardine of Siena, a saint, who became very popular in Poland soon after his canonisation in 1450. The years after 1450 saw the rise of his cult, popularised broader in Central Europe by the missions of John of Capistrano. As an effect of his stay in Krakow at the turn of 1453/1454, several churches and cloisters of the Franciscan Observance (in Poland called Bernardine friars) were founded. At this very time, the official portraits of the saint appeared on altarpieces commissioned by communities both in Poland and in the Kingdom of Hungary.

The paper seeks to show how quickly novelties found their way into the painters' workshops and were implemented into their artistic know-how. The use of new components – both in style and iconography – next to traditional aspects will be presented in a wider artistic and cultural context.

Györkös, Attila (University of Debrecen – ELRN)

Patrona Judaeorum? The Jewish population and Anne de Foix, Queen-Consort of Hungary-Bohemia (1502-1506)

The late medieval period was a turbulent time for the Jewish inhabitants of Jagiellonian Hungary and Bohemia. Pogroms, financial deprivations and blood libels made their lives extremely challenging. An analysis of documents from Anne de Foix, the French-born wife of Wladislas, King of Bohemia and Hungary (1479/1490–1516), leads us to examine how the queen-consort might also have performed as the patroness of her country's Jewish population. The description of her marriage celebrations in Buda (1502) mentions the presence of Hungarian Jewish community leaders, with whom she remained in contact after the event. Later, she issued charters to protect the Jewish community of Bratislava (Pressburg /Pozsony) against abuse by urban and royal authorities.

This paper focuses mainly on events in the Kingdom of Hungary while placing the written evidence in a broader context. The charter issued by Anne to Strakonice (about the local blood libel affair in 1503) is a unique example of her diplomatic activity as the Bohemian queen.

Hajdu, Ildikó (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Change and continuity in the allegorical interpretation of psalms: The rhetorical-poetical construction of psalm paraphrases in Péter Bornemisza's "Énekek három rendbe" ("Songs in Three Orders", 1582)

My paper analyses those short Hungarian praises of God in the first part of Péter Bornemisza's religious song collection, which explicitly identify themselves as psalms through their paratextual elements. The lecture focuses mainly on the psalms' connection with the rhetorical and hermeneutical theories of the sixteenth century. By comparing these psalm paraphrases and their sources, the Latin psalms of the Vulgate, it is possible to outline the underlying tendencies of psalm exegesis, textual interpretation and composition, as well as the theory and practice of translation in general. The study of the Psalms and translations of the Psalter may be of particular importance regarding the literary theory of the period, since the Hungarian-language poetry of the mid-sixteenth century was centred around the Psalter: the poetics of the Psalms

can be considered as a reference point, or even as a prototype, of the “lyrical” (i.e., rhetorically constructed) mode of expression. In this paper, I try to prove the hypothesis that the one of the most important antecedents of the

Hungarian psalm paraphrasing in the sixteenth century is the Renaissance practice of metrical Latin psalm translations, which were brought to Hungary from Wittenberg and other Protestant centres, together with the rhetorical theories (the works of Erasmus and Melanchthon) that served as a theoretical background. However, I suggest that, regarding hermeneutics, we can by no means count on the exclusive application of Protestant exegetical principles: there are considerable differences, especially in the field of allegorisation.

Halász, Éva Bátoriné (ELKH)

**The itinerary and the chancellery of King Louis I, King of Hungary (1342-1382).
Continuity, change and connection**

An itinerary in general means the most complete list of the places that somebody visits during his/her professional career or in his/her private life. The itineraries of rulers and main officers mean a unique aid for researchers in several fields, e.g. history, art history, archaeology, etc. Although the first itineraries were made in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, some decades later, in 1861, the first itinerary of Hungarian rulers was published by Károly Ráth in Győr. Mór Wertner compiled the itinerary of King Stephan V, Ladislaus IV, Charles I and Louis I. In 1938, Béla Sebestyén’s work on the itineraries of Hungarian sovereigns was published; it is an expanded version of the above-mentioned book by Károly Ráth. In his unpublished work Pál Engel collected itinerary data on two Angevin kings, King Sigismund and Governor John Hunyadi. Recently, several itineraries have been published either in a separate volume (such as the itinerary of King Sigismund) or as an annex (such as the itinerary of male members of the Korlátkövi family).

The itinerary of King Louis I is based mainly on royal charters. Other types of sources provide the smaller details of the data: the Hungarian chronicles do not contain many specific dates, and the “foreign” ones focus only on a few events. Only the city book of Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) records some data on the itinerary of King Louis I. The royal charters were confirmed by one of his seals. It is important to distinguish which seal was usually used in the entourage of the sovereign and which one was usually used in the chancellery.

In my presentation, I will speak about two topics. First, I will show the connection between the itinerary and the chancellery: how one can help to understand the other. I will also speak about the chancellery of King Louis I, as well as the changes and continuity of the system and the work of the chancellery.

Harvát, Matej (Slovak Centre of Scientific and Technical Information)

Longing for historical continuity. Post-medieval representation of the early medieval (Great Moravian) past in the Slovak national discourse and culture

Mojmirid Moravia, the ninth century principality which disappeared at the beginning of the tenth century, gained significant appeal in national historiographies and public discourse from the nineteenth century onwards. This Middle Danube Slavic polity denoted as the “Great Moravian Empire” (Veľkomoravská ríša, das Großmährische Reich) was not only an important research topic of the Central European historiography, Slavic philology and later archaeology but also an illustrious symbol of the (ostensible) historical statehood and the longevity of the Czech and Slovak (or Czechoslovak) nations. For this reason, scholarly scrutiny was almost without exception situated in the context of the statehood and national traditions of modern states. Therefore, medievalism (perception and actualisation) was concentrated on and bound to this early medieval polity and its emblematic figures (i.e. Mojmirid rulers, saints Constantine and Methodius). The presentation will explore the textual, visual and partly cinematic representations and actualisations of the Great Moravian topic and early medieval past in the Slovak cultural and intellectual milieu. The goal is to illustrate to what extent modern (post-medieval) narratives and images of the Slavic polity from the ninth century functioned as ideological vehicles and legitimising tools, effectively instrumentalising the distant past for the sake of purposeful creation of long historical continuity and at the same time marginalising and downgrading the real historical changes and discontinuities.

Hende, Fanni (Fragmenta et Codices Research Group, Budapest)

A 15th-century Jigsaw: A Constructed Breviary in the Cathedral Library of Kalocsa

During the Middle Ages, codices were valued, because parchment was costly and the preparation and copying of manuscripts was lengthy work. This applies to large-sized liturgical books, as well. They were used for a long time, until – for instance – liturgical reform or a printed version made them superfluous. The long usage left its marks on the leaves: additional songs or the incipits of lectures were entered on the margin.

The ELKH-NSZL Fragmenta et Codices Research Group is currently compiling a catalogue of mediaeval manuscripts preserved in the Cathedral Library of Kalocsa. Within the framework of this project, it is my task to describe Ms. 19, a Breviary that originated from the German language area according to its German rubrics.

This paper summarises my observations on the evolution of this manuscript. I will present how later users reshaped a former breviary into a liturgical book suited to their rites, and I attempt to answer the question of who the religious groups were that used the breviary’s different versions. Most likely a user constructed the *sanctorale* part from two volumes. The *temporale* and *sanctorale* parts were not separated in these volumes, but they were divided into two, one part being for the summer, the other for the winter. Leaves were cut out from the resulting compilation, and a few texts written by the main hand on the remaining leaves were erased and a user’s hand wrote new liturgical items in their place. These were probably more suited to the new user’s needs. I identified four folios excised from the original manuscripts: two in the Handschriftensammlung in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and another two detached from

the bookbinding of the codex Ms 19. I will examine the liturgical use of the thus constructed codex and its four fragments together.

Holeščák, Michal (National Archaeological Institute with Museum of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)

Invaders and refugees: archaeological remains of 13th-century nomads in Balkans

The Mongol invasion of Europe changed the political and partially ethnic structure of Eastern and South-eastern Europe. The Mongol victory at the Battle of the Kalka River and the subsequent thorough invasion of the West dislocated Cuman-Kipchak communities nomadising on the Black Sea steppes. Groups of various sizes initially just moved closer to the neighbouring political powers, such as Kievan Rus, the Hungarian Kingdom and the Bulgarian Tsardom, eventually even crossing the borders seeking refuge. Mongol armies, for which one of the official political aims of the campaign was subjugation of these Cuman-Kipchaks, followed in their wake, resulting in the invasion of 1241–1242. After the solidification of the western Mongol Ulus of Jochi, the second push towards south-eastern Europe occurred under the command of Beylerbey Nogai. The spreading of his influence was made by both military and diplomatic activities, resulting in various political entities of the Balkan peninsula entering a formal vassalage to the Mongol khan.

All of the aforementioned actions have been thoroughly examined from the viewpoint of historians. This presentation aims to collect the often omitted archaeological remains of the post-Mongol nomads in the Balkans. Numerous items, mostly arrowheads, scattered around the collections of north Bulgarian museums, demonstrate the presence of the Mongol army passing through there on the retreat from Hungary, or any other nomadic military activity of the second half of the thirteenth century. Everyday items and jewellery of eastern steppe provenance, on the other hand, prove the influx of cultural influence on the local population. Last, but not least, burials with specific funeral practices or inventory show the actual presence of Late Medieval nomads in the Balkan peninsula, whether they were invaders or refugees.

Homol'a, Tomáš (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

An "Anti-Dynastic Revolt" or a Legitimate Choice of a Monarch? On the Question of the Legitimacy of the Reign of Matthias Corvinus

Matthias Corvinus ascended the Hungarian throne in 1458 under rather non-standard circumstances. After the death of the 17-year-old Ladislaus the Posthumous, he was elected as king of Hungary despite a lack of royal origin. Moreover, Matthias was at the time of the election in captivity of the Bohemian governor, George of Poděbrady. It was Poděbrady – as a representative of the domestic Bohemian nobility – who succeeded Ladislaus to the throne in the Bohemian kingdom. Compared to previous periods, this was a major change that broke down the established rules and principles of succession, as the two elected monarchs had no direct ties to the previously ruling families. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, European monarchies were ruled by representatives of influential ruling dynasties. This well-established principle was disrupted in the second half of the fifteenth century, when in Hungary, Bohemia and Sweden members of the domestic nobility with no family ties to the ruling

families were elected. Czech historian Jaroslav Boubín called the accessions of the so-called national kings to the thrones an “anti-dynastic revolt”. The presentation focuses primarily on the question of legitimacy, using the example of the King of Hungary to trace how Matthias’s kingship was perceived in terms of legitimacy and authority, both by domestic Hungarian circles and by foreign rulers. The presentation also draws attention to the methods and practices by which Corvinus himself defended his own royal legitimacy, how he defined himself against his rivals and how he matched with this problem.

Homza, Martin (Comenius University in Bratislava)

From Regnum Sclavorum to Regnum Pannoniorum and Ungarorum

The question of continuity and discontinuity was foreign to Hungarian Baroque historiography, which, especially in the series of first attempts to synthesise the oldest Hungarian histories (Samuel Timon and others), inserted the older Slavic histories of the Danube Basin into the official concept of the history of the Hungarian Kingdom. Therefore, only an “imaginary bridge” that would connect them was sought. However, the situation changed mainly from the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the influence of the text of the *Gesta Hungarorum* by the Anonymous notary P., a narrative connecting the zero point of Hungarian history with the conquest of the country (Honfoglalás/Landsnahmen), or with the coronation of Stephen I, began to prevail in the Hungarian historical discourse. However, this pre-concept was never accepted by Slovak historiography. The proposed contribution therefore summarises the old and current reasons why history between the Carpathians and the lower Danube should be looked at continuously.

Horeczy, Anna (Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw)

Rhetoric and Eloquence in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Cracow University Speeches as Ma(r)kers of Change

The present paper will address the change in the approach of the Cracow university milieu to rhetoric and eloquence on the basis of academic speeches from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The change concerned, on the one hand, the assessment of the importance of rhetoric and, on the other, the form and style of the university speeches. The Cracow university speeches from the first decades of the fifteenth century followed the structure of medieval sermons. In their speeches from the first decades of the fifteenth century, Cracow professors such as Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Bartłomiej of Jasło and Mikołaj Kozłowski tended to condemn eloquence associated with vain glory and warned students not to waste their time studying rhetoric instead of philosophy. The oration in praise of eloquence (1440) by John of Ludzisko, based on Italian humanist academic speeches that followed Ciceronian patterns, represented a major breakthrough in the Cracow tradition. John regarded rhetoric as the most important discipline of the seven liberals. At the same time, it could be seen as a marker and maker of change, since it preceded the reform of the Arts Faculty of the Cracow University (1449), which allowed for more humanistic lectures. A privileged position of rhetoric in the educational curriculum, as recommended in the Cracow university speeches of the sixteenth century, could be related to the rise of parliamentarism in Poland.

Hudáček, Pavol (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

From royal *populi* to *fili iobagionum* (On the change of the social status of “royal servants” in Liptov in the 13th century)

Although medieval society was strictly hierarchical, some members within particular legal or social groups experienced an improvement in their social status. In the thirteenth century, the Kingdom of Hungary was undergoing social changes that also affected various social groups. Their position most often changed as a result of rulers' decisions, and many times this was an exemption from previous services. These changes could affect both individuals and entire families. One such group was the royal *condicionarii* from the Turiec and Liptov regions (known as *populi regis*) who lived on the royal estates in the northern borderlands of the Kingdom of Hungary. The contribution will discuss the transformation processes that took place in the Liptov and Turiec regions in the thirteenth century, when the monarch promoted some of his *populi* to the group of royal *fili iobagionum*. Although the former *populi* managed to change their social status, they were still halfway between their dependent position and complete freedom. The promotion of royal *condicionarii* to “conditional nobles (not *nobilis regni*)” mostly brought them into the category of *fili iobagionum*. The change in their social status also affected the ownership of the land on which they had previously only farmed. As former *condicionarii*, they had only the use of the land, i.e. they could not sell it or give it to someone else, but after their promotion they were given the land as hereditary property.

Illés, Kornél András (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The Continuity of Threat: Fighting Ottomans as a Constant State of Mind in the Epistolary of John Vitéz of Zredna

John Vitéz of Zredna (†1472), Bishop of Oradea and later Archbishop of Esztergom, who served both Ladislaus V and king Matthias of Hungary as chancellor, became one of the main political actors in the Kingdom of Hungary during turbulent times. In the fifteenth century, Central Europe had to face the military threat imposed by the constantly expanding Ottoman Empire. John Vitéz of Zredna as a close ally and advisor of John Hunyadi, the leader of the struggle against the Turkish advancement in Hungary, was in the frontline of the diplomatic endeavours aimed at forming a European coalition against the Ottomans, as it is attested by his letters collected in his Epistolary composed in 1451, written in the name of Hunyadi and the Royal Council of Hungary, to such international potentates as Pope Nicholas V or Alfonso il Magnanimo. In my presentation I will examine the recurring theme of the military resistance against Ottoman attacks in the mentioned texts. I intend to demonstrate that the antagonistic relationship between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire portrayed in the Epistolary became a historicised state of mind in the examined letters by depicting the constant struggle against the Turks as an immensely long lasting, determinative circumstance for the Kingdom and its people, which caused major trauma and lasting impact on the life of the population.

Izdebski, Adam (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

What do environmental sources tell us about demographic crisis in the middle of the 14th century in Central Europe

The purpose of the paper is to present the possibility of using so-called nature archives in the study of economic history and historical demography. They are formed by sediments from lakes and peat bogs, which constitute an archive of environmental changes in the past. The study of biogenic sediments makes it possible to reconstruct the changes of nature in the past, including the impact of human economy on it. This is especially important for earlier historical eras, which are poor in written sources. Plant (including pollen grains) and animal remains preserved in sediments, when identified and statistically processed, can replace or supplement traditional mass historical sources, such as property inventories, tax registers and even censuses. The use of the results of the work of paleoecologists makes it possible to take a fresh look at the development of the rural economy in the late Middle Ages and address the problem of the crisis on the bases of new source material hitherto unused in historical research.

Jaluška, Matouš (Czech Academy of Sciences)

Deep middle ground. Medieval literature as a catalyst of debate

In my paper, I will explore the extent to which medieval literature can be used in contemporary debates not only as a source of arguments for one side of an issue, but also as a space where both sides have an opportunity to come together and view their dispute from a different angle. Medieval narratives are often strange, “unnatural”, and the moral lessons to be drawn from them seem counter-intuitive – and perhaps because of that and as such they can serve us as a means of immunisation against the paralysing discursive horrors of today and enable us to speak with people from the opposite camp. I will focus on radio programmes, newspaper articles and public discussions that have been produced in the effort to publicise medieval literature. Some of them took shape within the framework of the “Resilient Society for the Twenty-First Century” programme at the Czech Academy of Sciences, the principal objective of which is to mediate and cultivate a culture of social debate over current crisis phenomena and to test innovative forms of such debate. I will continue this line of enquiry, looking for the possibility of a practical use of medieval literature today.

Izdný, Jakub (Charles University, Prague)

Hungarian Hegemony over the First Decades of the 10th Century: Thoughts and Questions about the State and Power in Early Middle Ages

The first decades of the tenth century in Central Europe represent perhaps the deepest discontinuity and change in the political and ethnic picture of the region until now. Hungarian raids resulted in a general hegemony of the tribal union over the whole region, wiped out the power of Braslav’s growing principality in Pannonia, effectively disrupted the Great Moravian Empire and did almost the same with the East Frankish Empire. The fall of these stately formations has attracted the attention of many studies. However, we know very little about the growing power of Hungarians, who, at that time, hardly found an enemy worth their military

forces. But, despite their military dominance, they seemingly barely transformed this hegemony into a vivid political structure. Many historians have already concluded that we must abandon the idea of a thoughtless destruction done by Hungarian armies – they found the traces of negotiations, active diplomacy and even working alliances with the enemy, who was previously considered (with a slightly or openly quasi-colonial thought) uncivilised barbarian, almost unable to create “normal” political bonds or working stately formations. The state was described as being “accepted” from the West to Hungary. My contribution would try to reconsider the situation and look for the possibility that any traces of forming political life in Pannonia could be omitted or even actively obliterated in the sources and thus from the historical discourse. The question of what an early medieval state is will naturally follow.

Jamroziak, Emilia (University of Leeds)

Augustino Sartorio from Osek Abbey: was the early modern monastic history writing in East-Central and Central Europe continuation of late medieval understating to the past?

The paper will explore the monumental *Cistercium Bis-Tertium Seu Historia Elogialis* (1700) by Augustino Sartorio, a monk from Osek Abbey (1663-1733), and an example of the history of Cistercian order (from a Central European perspective) written in the early modern period about medieval and more recent past of the Cistercian world. Whilst these types of text have been dismissed as “order propaganda” and treated as typical examples of an antiquarian approach to history with nothing of value to medievalists, I will explain how this work contains an important continuity of late medieval monastic culture and its approach to the past. I will explore how this and similar texts from East-Central Europe provide a useful perspective on monastic material culture, ideas of trans-temporal community and the concept of “the past as a resource”, which were all very important in the later Middle Ages. Whilst medieval Cistercians, unlike mendicants, did not have wider or provincial chronicles for the order, early modern texts written by the Cistercian monks made efforts to preserve histories and present the times of their individual communities and to create narratives of the history of the order. These continuities and changes in writing monastic histories are useful to consider, if we want to better understand both late medieval monastic culture as well as challenge some of the deeply ingrained periodisation frameworks.

Jankauskas, Vytautas (Vytautas Magnus University)

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14th Century: the searching for a model of statehood

At the end of the fourteenth century, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began its rapprochement with the Kingdom of Poland. This was a cultural incorporation of the state into the area of Central Eastern Europe, which brought about significant changes in the region, as the union of the two states fundamentally changed the situation in the region.

Although the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formally integrated into the region, it is difficult to define what was hidden in the structure of this state. The historiography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania uses a variety of terms to describe it: a barbarian state, a military democracy, a federation, a confederation or even an empire. None of these terms is adequate to represent the

model of statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and we need to try to find out what kind of state it was. Contemporary historiography offers at least a few concepts for describing this type of state formation, which could be productive for the study of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's statehood model. These would be the concepts of a composite monarchy and a multiple kingdom. The aim of this paper is to consider the suitability of these concepts for describing the structure of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fourteenth century.

Janković, Valentina (Catholic University of Croatia)

Continuity and changes in Historical Croatian lands at the turn of the early modern century on the example of the Turopolje micro region in Zagreb County

From late fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, Christian kingdoms in Europe were in immediate danger from the Ottoman Empire. Parts of present-day Croatia (The Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia), which were then in personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary, lost large parts of their territories during the sixteenth century. During that period, the Jagiellon dynasty and then the Habsburgs were the kings of Hungary-Croatia. Historical Croatian lands, and their population and local governments, were therefore at the crossroads of differing geopolitical, legal, cultural and religious influences that emanated from sovereigns, government and religious institutions and social elites of Central Europe and from its Eastern neighbours.

Some of those changes affected Zagreb County as the central part of Slavonia and its micro region, Turopolje, which will be in the focus of this presentation. In the context of the major theme of the Conference, “continuity and change”, the paper will address political, territorial, social and economic changes in Turopolje in the late fifteenth and during the sixteenth century. By using archival documents of the local and central government bodies and their representatives, the topic will give examples of how these changes affected and were reflected on the daily lives of the local population of Turopolje. The main research question will be what the continuity of this local example was, what has changed and how the local population – landlords, military elite, common nobles – reacted to these changes.

Jaritz, Gerhard (Central European University, Vienna)

Promotion and Criticism: Perceiving the Old, the Current State, and the New in Late Medieval Central Europe

A multitude of late medieval sources, both textual and visual, concentrate on the positive or negative assessment of certain situations, objects and people. In this context, the aspects of novelty, tradition or “the good old days” often play a particular role. My paper intends to find patterns that determine such evaluations, starting with the spheres of daily life and material culture, but also with reference to dealing with people and particular actions. The questions of regional and situational differences, chronological developments and occurring influences and adoptions appear to be as important as the comparison with the circumstances in other areas of Europe. All these angles will be at the centre of my analysis, starting with some case studies and then moving over to an attempt to find in this respect specific characteristics, peculiarities and/or patterns for late medieval Central Europe.

Jeż, Jan (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University)

Continuity versus Change - *Domini naturales* versus *Domini novi* or the interregnum after death of king Louis I of Hungary in Poland (1382-1384) and the efforts of Siemowit IV to claim the Polish throne

After the death of king Louis I of Hungary in 1382 an almost two years long interregnum started in the Kingdom of Poland. One of the most important candidates to the Polish crown was Siemowit IV, Masovian Duke of Rawa and Ptock. In this time, Polish magnates had to face the problem of whether they should follow the previous settlements with King Louis and elect his young daughter Jadwiga (Hedwig) of the Capetian House of Anjou as the new monarch or should rather choose one of dukes of the oldest Polish dynasty – the Siemowits. In the Polish nationwide convention of knights and dignitaries in Sieradz, which took place on 28 March 1383, Siemowit was even proclaimed to be the king of Poland, but the coronation never happened. Afterwards, Duke Siemowit IV attempted to rule the Kingdom of Poland, but he did not succeed, and it was Jadwiga of the Capetian House of Anjou, and later Władysław Jagiełło, who came into power. Siemowit IV became their vassal, although in trying to keep the independence of his duchy he was forced to seek a balance between powerful neighbours, inevitably leading to military confrontation. The aim of this paper is to discuss the activity of Masovian Duke Siemowit and his efforts to become elected new king of Poland after the death of King Louis.

Jovanović, Kosana (University of Rijeka)

Romance literature in Central Europe – transference, continuity and change of chivalric literary canons

Although courtly and Arthurian literature is traditionally associated with the French, English, Italian, German and to some extent Scandinavian and Iberian areas, there are cases when it went beyond these “countries of origin” and presented itself in other cultures, influencing them not only from a literary aspect, but also from a cultural one. From the thirteenth century onwards, we have an increasing amount of romance literature appearing in Central and South-eastern Europe, which raises several questions: How were these stories transmitted? For what purpose were they spread? Which works were more predominant and why? Did they adapt their content to new political, cultural and religious circumstances, etc.? In this respect, the presentation will demonstrate which aspect of the chivalric literary canon was adopted in Central Europe, and which one was changed to accommodate its public. This paper will map how these influences came about and what the consequences were of such cultural encounters and exchanges, which include literature as a means of strengthening the nobility, chivalry and the growing merchant classes, especially in the use of national language as a way of demonstrating their independence and individuality. Through the analysis of several medieval romances, this presentation will show the link between the spread of chivalric themes and the strengthening of literary influences, as well as the realisation of cultural exchanges in the Adriatic and Central Europe area and beyond.

Jurić, Matea (Catholic University of Croatia)

Urbarial records as a window to everyday life and social structure of late medieval estate in Slavonia - Steničnjak estate (case study)

Steničnjak Castle is a medieval stronghold (*castrum*) positioned today in a desolate area on the border between Karlovac and Sisak, on hard-to-reach and impassable terrain in modern day Croatia. *Castrum Steničnjak* is still one of less researched, but very important defensive fortifications of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia during the Ottoman wars in the sixteenth century. The Steničnjak estate was one of the largest estates on Croatian historical lands, and it probably included the areas on both sides of the Kupa River, between Karlovac, Petrova Mountain, the Glina, Korana and Mrežnica rivers to the borders of Dubovac and Ozalj estates. Steničnjak is first mentioned in the historical sources in 1278, and over the centuries it changed owners numerous times, among whom the well-reputed Babonić and Frankapan noble families stand out. Even though there are a few serial sources, such as urbarial and tithe (one-tenth tax) records, that directly refer to the period of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is possible to track changes in the estate within the framework of more known and researched historical events. The goal of this paper is to trace the elements of social structure, role, status and obligation of the people living on the Steničnjak estate based on unpublished urbarial records from 1519. Furthermore, by tracking various districts (*judicatus*) that formed the estate and conducting toponymical and anthroponomical analysis, this paper will answer questions about the origin of individual local names in the area, as well as the spread of family names.

Kalashnikova, Olga (Central European University, Vienna)

“The Orthodox Russian lands” VS “Collective West”: Medievalisms in Russian public and militarist discourse, 2014–2022

Although popular culture perceives medievalisms as harmless beliefs about the Middle Ages, some medieval-like clichés can effectively operate as a political medium in contemporary societies. Since the Russo-Ukrainian crisis of 2014, the Russian state has aimed to construct a metanarrative about the restoration of “tsardom” with “traditional values”. The romanticised image of the Russian Middle Ages became crucial in this endeavour, which intensified with the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The paper will focus on the Russian state’s manipulations with the Middle Ages in its public discourse. The paper thus aims to showcase what medievalist commonplaces are reproduced in the Russian milieu and why. My presentation combines the analysis of historical memory politics and discourse analysis of pro-governmental media (Russian newspapers, propagandistic booklets and video games). I argue that the state’s neo-medieval discourse in Russia aims at advocating revisionist anti-democratic transformations. By orchestrating ideas about the sublime medieval past, the state asserts that the “civilizational” model of the Russian Middle Ages is more appealing than Western “corrupted” democracy. Hence, the Russian state’s medievalist memory politics is two-fold: 1) it discredits the concept of modern democracy through the demonisation of Western states, and it 2) it idealises a despotic but just medieval king and thus undermines human rights and promotes social inequality.

Kalous, Antonín (Palacký University, Olomouc)

Utrum religio collapsa a regulari observancia debeat reformari: Legal argumentation for the Franciscan Observance

Franciscan Observance spread throughout Central Europe thanks to the activities of John of Capestrano and his followers in the early 1450s. The province of Austria, Bohemia and Poland was founded and later split into separate provinces of the Observant line of *Ordo fratrum minorum*. Like in other settings, the Observant friars felt the need to defend and justify their position within the Order. There appeared various ways to do it, including linking their present to the Franciscan past, stressing the papal backing etc.

One of the lines of argumentation led through legal argumentation. The authors of the two early sixteenth-century Franciscan chronicles, Eberhard Ablauff and Michael of Carinthia, while building the identity of the Bohemian Franciscan province used the legal arguments for supporting the Observant cause. The contribution will analyse the argumentation of the legal texts, their use of canon law and the commentaries as well as the setting of the treatises in the context of the individual chronicles. A strong Italian influence might be followed by circulation of texts and stressing the active participation of Italian canonists in the process of defending the Observance as seen from the position of a newly emerging province that was being constituted and stabilised at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Kamień, Joanna (University of Gdańsk) – see **Mozejko, Beata**

Karbić, Marija (Croatian Institute of History) and **Petar Seletković** (University of Zagreb)

Living on the border and the nobility of Požega, Vukovo and Syrmia counties. Continuities and changes in the period of Anti-Ottoman wars

Life on a border, in general, and especially in the areas exposed to enemy attacks and pressure, significantly affects all layers of the population. This was also the case on the Ottoman-Hungarian border, in the parts of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia which were exposed to severe Ottoman attacks. How such a situation affected the nobility of three counties (Požega, Vukovo and Syrmia) in the eastern part of the Sava-Drava Interamnum is the question we will deal with on this occasion. We will try to shed light on the fate of the nobility of these counties from the appearance of the Ottomans on the borders of the Kingdom and its active involvement in the defence until the fall of this area under Ottoman rule in the 1530s. What changes occurred in the structure, living conditions and activities of the nobility will be observed, and how the duties in the defence system on the Hungarian-Ottoman border affected the fate of both members of the aristocracy and those belonging to the middle and lesser nobility. We also find in this area members of the elite of displaced Serbs (Rasciani) who immigrated into the region and asserted themselves by holding various positions on the border or in the service of aristocracy; therefore, attention will also be paid to the process of their integration into the nobility of the Kingdom. The end of that period was significantly marked by the dynastic struggles that occurred after the death of King Louis at Mohács, so their influence will also be considered.

Kardasz, Cezary (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)

Continuity or change. Gdansk's trade contacts in the 15th and early 16th century

Colonisation under German law, the development of the location towns and the appearance of Hanseatic merchants resulted in the integration of the Baltic zone, including Prussia, into the European economic system. By the fourteenth century, Hanseatic merchants from Prussian towns and Lübeck dominated trade in the Baltic. Economic integration led to a concentration of long-distance trade in the largest urban centres. The second half of the fifteenth century was a period of the development of hub ports on the southern Baltic coast – cities enabling exchange between economic zones. Gdansk played such a role on the southern Baltic coast. From the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, Danzig merchants consistently strengthened their position in long-distance trade. In the second half of the fifteenth century Gdansk was already the largest commercial centre of the Polish state and one of the most important port cities on the southern Baltic coast. The aim of the paper is to show in quantitative perspective and on the basis of a case studies the changes in intensity, territorial range and commodity structure that took place in Gdansk's trade contacts, in particular in the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to answer the question of the nature of the changes. Was this a continuation of late medieval economic structures, or are we dealing with the birth of a modern trading system in this part of Europe?

Kimpel, Isabel (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften)

The value of conversion and the virtue of confession. Livonia in Caesarius of Heisterbach's exempla collections

The Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–1240) is one of the best-known and most widely read authors of spiritual-didactic literature of his time. After his education at the school of St. Andrew (Cologne) and the Cologne Cathedral School, Caesarius entered the Cistercian monastery of Heisterbach near Bonn in 1199. His affiliation was marked by journeys to Heisterbach's associated monasteries, by the exercise of his position as a novice master and especially by his activity as a writer of theological works. Above all, he is known as the author of the *Dialogus miraculorum*. Far less attention has been paid to his second exempla collection, the so-called "Eight miracle books" (*Libri VIII miraculorum*), which Caesarius compiled around 1226. The rich narrative fund makes the *Dialogus miraculorum* as well as the *Libri miraculorum* a remarkable source for the political and religious history of the thirteenth century.

The proposed paper will examine Caesarius's so-called Livonia exempla, which can be seen in the context of the Livonian mission. At the end of the twelfth century and following merchants from northern German regions, the first church representatives started to arrive at the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea and to missionise the pagan population. With its Christianisation, the settlement area along the river Düna received the Latin name Livonia, referring to the population group of the Livonians, which the missionaries encountered first. In his stories, Caesarius uses various pagan-turned-Christian Livonian protagonists to discuss the value of conversion to the Christian faith, the virtue of confession as a cure for sins and possible infernal

punishments for the non-observance of divine precepts. This thematic focus in Caesarius's collections will be discussed in the paper on the basis of selected exempla.

Klaniczay, Gábor (Central European University, Budapest/Vienna)

John of Capestrano Preaching in Central Europe

John of Capistrano's famous preaching tour beyond the Alps between 1451 and 1456 is one of the most spectacular exploits in late medieval preaching and has been much analysed by historiography. We know much about his activity in Austria, Moravia, Germany and Silesia, but the last five months of his life, when he organised the Crusade against the Ottoman Empire and contributed to the victory at Belgrade, is less discussed from this point of view – no reports of his numerous sermons delivered here survive. In my paper I will reconsider the secondary documentation offered by his biographers (John of Tagliacozzo, Jerome of Udine, Nicholas of Fara and Christopher Varese) and the data of his correspondence from this point of view.

Korondi, Ágnes (ELKH – NSZL Fragmenta et Codices Research Group)

Changing Audiences, Changing Text: Vernacular Versions of a Central European Passion Dialogue

The *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini*, known under several other titles, is a fictional dialogue between the Virgin Mary and Anselm of Canterbury, in which the former narrates the events of Christ's passion. The text supposedly originated in Central Europe, probably in a Franciscan milieu around the middle of the thirteenth century. Its popularity in Central Europe is shown by the numerous manuscript copies and the fact that it was soon translated into vernacular languages. Several Germanic (Middle Dutch, Middle Low German, Middle High German) translations were produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries both in verse and in prose. The dialogue was transposed to Old Czech twice during the fourteenth century; once in verse and once in prose. A new Old Czech rendering was prepared in the fifteenth century. An Old Hungarian prose translation of the dialogue was preserved in an early sixteenth century manuscript. A Croatian translation was also made in the early decades of the sixteenth century.

The paper will compare the Old Czech and Old Hungarian versions of the dialogue. It will present the changes the text underwent as a result of the different audiences to whose needs it was adapted. The interpretation of the differences is facilitated by the examination of the manuscript tradition and context of these vernacular translations as far as it is known today.

Kovács, Annamária (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

From Sickness to Healing: Medical Literature of the 12th-Century Renaissance in a Hungarian Sermon Collection

The so-called University Sermons of Pécs is a sermon collection of Dominican origin composed in the late thirteenth century at the *studium generale* of Buda. The sermons were delivered to literate clerical audiences and contain a remarkably high number of citations from classical

auctors and philosophers connected to the twelfth century renaissance. Among the cited works, there are several Greek and Arab texts translated in the twelfth century (e.g., works of Aristotle, Plato, Avicenna, Abu Ma'shar etc.), as well as works of philosophers of the "school of Chartres" (e.g., Bernardus Silvestris, William of Conches). It is noteworthy, too, that several of the sermons use natural philosophical citations and examples to convey theological teachings.

In the moral-theological argumentation, there are often citations concerning medical issues. From anatomical knowledge to the healing power of herbs and stones, the sermons provide few glimpses of medieval medicine, while they are presenting the virtues of a saint, the sins to be cured or the benefits of listening to a sermon.

In my presentation, I will examine the medical citations of the University sermons of Pécs. On the one hand, I will examine the rhetorical role of these citations in the argumentation; on the other hand, I will explore the sources of the citations.

Kovács, István (University of Pécs)

Century of Transformation. The area of Temesköz in the 15th Century

After the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Serbia (1389) and the battle of Nicopolis (1396), the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary became neighbours. From the early years, the Ottoman Empire constantly organised raids across the borders, as the Kingdom of Hungary also made some incursions into the Balkans. As a result, the population living along the Hungarian borders migrated to the more northerly parts of the Kingdom, and other populations occupied these areas. Because of this, Temesköz became one of the crucial strategic regions, but at the same time the population changed radically, as can be traced in the documents of the collegiate and cathedral chapters of Arad and Csanád. Frigyes Pesty's collection allows us to examine where the newest population lived, what privileges they had, what services they provided to the king, which negotiations they conducted with the king, the royal court and their neighbours, and finally what functions they performed in Hungary. The Vlachs established their own *districtus* and *commitatus* with the help of King Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437) as well as Johannes Ban of Severin. This presentation will point at the main changes and the fixed points in the case of the territory between the Danube, Tisza and Maros rivers in the fifteenth century. From the documents we can reconstruct how the Ottomans' presence affected the population, as well as the economy and institutions. What were the most important changes in regard to the population and were the structure of settlements radically transformed?

Kozubska, Olga (Käte Hamburger Kolleg)

Continuity and Change in the urban landscape of Kievan Rus' during the 13th-14th centuries

The hundred-year period from the mid-thirteenth till the mid- fourteenth century had a profound impact on the history of Kievan Rus', on its town network, functions of towns and the urban fabric itself. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate changes and continuities in the urban development that took place after the Mongol attack and gradual incorporation of some of the Rus' principalities into the Polish kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To what extent did

changes in long-distance trade routes, due to the destruction caused by the Mongols, influence the hierarchy of settlements in the Principalities? How much continuity could be observed in the functions of existing towns? How did the introduction of *ius theutonicum* transform the traditional urban topography? These questions will be addressed in order to see whether political transformations of the given period represented also a break in the sphere of urban development as has been often emphasised in the historiography.

Kras, Paweł (Centre for Medieval Studies, Catholic University of Lublin)

John of Capistrano, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki and King Casimir Jagiellon. Discourses and strategies of political and religious communication in the late Middle Ages

John of Capistrano stayed in Krakow from the end of August 1453 to mid-May 1454. It was the longest period he spent in one place during his transalpine journey in the years 1451–1456. The idea of bringing Capistrano to Krakow was born in the mind of Cardinal Oleśnicki, who knew Capistrano's agenda and carefully followed his steps. On the news of the Franciscan preacher's arrival in Moravia, on 2 August 1451, Oleśnicki addressed his first letter inviting him to come to Poland. Regardless of Oleśnicki's initiative, King of Poland Casimir Jagiellon invited Capistrano on his own behalf. These two letters initiated an intense exchange of letters that lasted for the next three years and concerned various political and religious issues. Nine letters from Zbigniew Oleśnicki and three letters from King Casimir Jagiellon have been preserved. The number of surviving letters sent by Capistrano to both eminent Polish correspondents is much smaller, three and two, respectively. The total number of letters exchanged between these correspondents was much larger and can be multiplied by three, which gives us about 40 letters. The form and content of these letters give insight into the political and religious agenda of Cardinal Oleśnicki and King Casimir Jagiellon, who strove to interest the charismatic Franciscan reformer with their own plans. My paper intends to discuss strategies of religious and political communication which took the form of various discourses, as can be examined in the correspondence exchanged with John of Capistrano.

Kremer, Jan (Centre for Medieval Studies, Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague)

“Promoting our history”. Digital games and Czech historical culture

“Kingdom Come: Deliverance” is an award-winning historical role-playing game set in early fifteenth century Bohemia. It was marketed by its Prague based developer Warhorse Studios as a game with uncompromising historical accuracy and a massive, realistic open world where you can meet real historical characters and experience the genuine look and feel of medieval Bohemia. In fact, the realism itself effectively became the game's main selling point. The paper uses “Kingdom Come: Deliverance” as both an intricate component and an expression of a contemporary Czech historical culture. It analyses the game in relation to national identity construction, accuracy and authenticity constructions and interprets its accents, choices and omissions.

Kucharská, Veronika (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

Visualizing the Hungarian-Ottoman Alliance: The Images of the Royal Zapolya Family in the Post-Mohács Period

The Battle of Mohács, as a turning point in the late medieval history of the Kingdom of Hungary, generated two claimants for the Hungarian royal crown. After his election and coronation as King of Hungary on 11 November 1526, John Zapolya entered not only into his struggle for the Hungarian crown with Ferdinand of Habsburg, but as a crowned head he also entered the space of complicated mutual relations, conflicts and interests of the European powers and the Ottoman Empire. One of the results of mutual diplomacy was the conclusion of an alliance with the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I. John Zapolya thus gained significant support and protection but, at the same time, lost some of his sovereignty as a vassal of the Sultan. The scenes of significant events from the post-Mohács period of Hungarian history are depicted in a set of unique Ottoman miniatures, visual sources for which have no parallel in our environment. Our attention will be drawn to the scenes featuring King John Zapolya, his widow Isabella Jagiellon, their son John Sigismund Zapolya and the main character, Sultan Suleiman. How are the Hungarian-Ottoman alliance and relationship between the King of Hungary, his family members and the Sultan presented? What is visible, and what is “invisible”, hidden in these images? Furthermore, is there anything else the images can tell us besides the written sources?

Kurelić, Robert (University of Juraj Dobrila in Pula)

The Holy Roman Empire and the Croatian Nobility: Influence, Transfers and Changes

This paper discusses the relationship between Croatian noble families and the Holy Roman Empire and the political, social, cultural and symbolic changes that ensued as a consequence of frequent contact with the Holy Roman Empire in the Late Middle Ages. Beginning with the reign of Sigismund of Hungary, Croatian magnates began to intensify their contacts with their German counterparts, resulting in gradual but significant changes being introduced across the centuries. Croatian nobles began adopting titles of Imperial origin, imitating political behaviour and displaying status in the manner of their role models from the more powerful and prestigious neighbour to the north-west. These changes can be perceived in written documents, the material culture, marriage patterns and religious pilgrimages. These transfers and adoptions were neither uniform nor all-encompassing but were carefully selected and implemented by Croatian nobles primarily to further their dynastic goals within Croatia and, to a lesser extent in other regions, especially after the Ottoman threat grew ever larger on the eastern frontiers of the Kingdom and the battered defenders sought to improve their chances by deepening and widening their contacts and relationships with the Empire, which they saw both as a source of aid and as a potential sanctuary in dire times.

Labanc, Peter (Trnava University)

On the Edge of Dioceses. Change and Continuity of the Ecclesiastical Borders during the Middle Ages and Beyond

The borders of medieval dioceses are often perceived as static, conservative, immutable, etc. There is a lot of evidence confirming this point of view, but diverse historical sources force us to doubt the universal validity of this claim. The talk will summarise an in-depth analysis of the formation of medieval ecclesiastical boundaries in the Hungarian Kingdom on the example of the Provostship of Spiš (part of the medieval Diocese of Esztergom). This case is particularly valuable, because it offers insight into this issue during the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century. Research on this period can be done by historians based on a greater number of well-persevered sources. This is a time when the number of charters increased at an unprecedented speed. Just on the basis of a broad heuristic of persevered charters, the different sections of the Provostships' boundaries can be successively analysed. Such analysis reveals major contributing factors in the creation of ecclesiastical boundaries in this region. On the verdant and sparsely populated brinks of the diocese and frontier zone of the Hungarian Kingdom, there was foremost an expansion of the settlement in particular areas. There were also modifications to boundaries in the later period (in the case of the Provostship of Spiš in the first half of the fourteenth century). Borders of the dioceses (but not archdeaconries within the diocese) were aligned with the frontiers of the secular administrative units – kingdoms and counties. This fourteenth century process gave rise to ecclesiastical boundaries which, in most cases, survived several major reforms (e. g. arrogation of new bishoprics in 1776) and have persisted to the present day.

Laszlovszky, József (Central European University, Vienna/Budapest)

Continuity or destruction? Liturgical objects and deserted village churches in the context of the Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241-42)

The Mongol Invasion is one of the major turning points of Hungarian history, as a large part of the country was destroyed during the invasion. As a result, deserted settlements were scattered in different regions, and the church system also suffered significant losses. Abandoned and ruined churches can be documented on the basis of written sources, place-name evidence and archaeological excavations. A new interdisciplinary research project is now focusing on the history of this period, and it also deals with the impact of the invasion. Various indicators have been used to detect the different destruction and recovery processes in different regions of the country. New archaeological finds, many of them connected to community archaeology programmes, indicate the destruction of churches, and the spatial distribution pattern of liturgical objects from village churches can also be compared to other indicators.

The paper deals with the chronological issues connected to these liturgical objects and discusses the archaeological context of these finds. A comparative study of the various indicators of destruction offers a new source basis for the general questions of continuity, change and destruction for the period of the Mongol Invasion.

Lazorík, Eduard (Masaryk University and Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences)

Liturgical fragments in the Košice City Archives

The early modern municipal books of Košice are sometimes bound in the fragments of medieval manuscripts. Recent research discovered that bookbinders used a total of 42 leaves or bifolia from various types of books. Liturgical fragments are prevalent, and they will be analysed in this paper. They were written between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. As only six complete liturgical manuscripts from Košice are preserved, examination of each newly identified folio is important. The fragments carry two layers of information – graphics and content. The shapes of a script and a musical notation represent graphical elements. It is possible to observe their gradual changes. Differences in both graphical systems are not only chronological but also depend on the demands of the purchaser and the abilities of the scriptorium. This means that the presence of specific graphic signs can define the provenance of a fragment. The layout of the liturgical books is stable. Fully notated manuscripts are written *in extenso*, and partially notated or non-notated sources divide the text into two columns. From a content point of view, the fragments contain formularies for different feasts, so it is not possible to compare them with each other. However, various editions of liturgical formularies and preserved manuscripts from Košice can help in content analysis. Numerous generations of clergymen commonly used a once-produced liturgical book. It was a symbol of continuity, but priests did not hesitate to add or change its texts. The fragments are also witnesses of these improvements.

Ledzińska, Anna (Institute of Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Continuity and Change of Meaning in Polish Medieval Latin – *fortitudo* and *humilitas*

The names of values belong to pan-European Latin; they had mostly originated already in antiquity, and generally their meanings were maintained in the following centuries. At the same time, however, the analysis of frequency, syntactic connectivity and collocations of the lexemes bear witness to ongoing linguistic changes and regional differentiation, which are the result of socio-cultural conditions and interference with local vernacular languages.

The main objective of the study is to show these processes on the example of two words – *fortitudo* and *humilitas*. The first step is a short diachronic sketch showing the functioning of the studied lexemes throughout history, from Classical through Patristic to Medieval Latin. Of particular interest is their functioning in the Latin of the Polish Middle Ages, so the second step takes into account the regional variation of the language against the background of the Latin of other European countries. The comparative material is taken from various scientific dictionaries and the Electronic Corpus of Polish Medieval Latin. The collected evidence shows, for example, the metaphorizing of the meaning of the noun *fortitudo*. The third step is to search for interferences with vernacular languages (mostly Polish and Bohemian), as they often transfer unique meanings in the multilingual reality of the medieval world, which is the case of *humilitas*.

The study reveals the process of adaptation of the Latin language to changing circumstances, the transformation of concepts and the world of thought, the adaptation taking place through specification, generalisation, metaphorizing and metonymizing of the ancient lexemes.

Leonte, Florin (Palacký University, Olomouc)

Rewriting John of Capistrano's Life: Biography and Hagiography in Michael of Carinthia's Chronicle

Franciscan chronicles have come down to us in many shapes and with varying intents. They tell the story of the origins and development of the Franciscan Order and also sketch portraits of influential characters from the history of the community. As one of the many iterations of Franciscan historiography, the *Chronica fratrum minorum de observancia provincie Bohemie*, partly penned by Michael of Carinthia (d. 1534), has especially drawn the attention of scholars concerned with the history of Bohemian Franciscan Observance. Similar to other contemporary chronicles, like those of Glassberger or Bernardino Aquilano, the backbone of the text consists of a detailed report of the developments in the Observant Vicariate. However, in contrast to other historical narratives, he offered a substantial and continuous account of John Capistrano's life. No doubt, in modelling this portrayal, Michael of Carinthia drew on the previous Franciscan sources that held the view that Capistrano played a foundational role in the Observance movement. He connected episodes from his biography in a coherent section by summarising and rewriting passages from previous vitae (e.g. Christophorus de Varisio or Nicolaus de Fara). This paper will examine how the chronicler used passages from previous biographies of Capistrano and compare it with other contemporary accounts drawing on Capistrano's life. My contribution will argue that Michael of Carinthia's portrayal of Capistrano not only played a role in the composition of the chronicle but also served him the purpose of promoting a distinct version of Observance.

Lisiecki, Marcin (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

Legitimizing political power in the oldest Polish dynastic chronicles

The aim of the paper will be to show how political power was shaped and legitimised in the oldest Polish dynastic chronicles. Two chronicles will serve as examples for analysis: *Gesta principum Polonorum* (Deeds of the Princes of the Poles, 1112–1118) by Gallus Anonymus, and *Chronica seu originale regum et principum Poloniae* (Chronicles of the Kings and Princes of Poland, 1190–1208) by Wincenty Kadłubek. I will explain what patterns the authors of the chronicles used to legitimise the political power of the Piasts. I will also explain how Anonymus and Kadłubek understood the state as an institution and politics as a sphere of activity. An important part of the paper will also be showing the political myths present in the chronicles and their roots in Slavic mythology.

Lukáč Labancová, Ivana (Comenius University in Bratislava)

Sermon. A model genre of continuity or a genre reflecting trends in society?

Sermon is generally considered a conservative type of source with strong universal character. Preachers followed the intention to write their texts timeless and to create a sermon collection valid regardless of the space and time in which it resonated. The sermon was thus supposed to be resistant to trends. This fact also has a pragmatic aspect. It could be used repeatedly. To make the creation process easier for preachers, entire preaching books were written, which some used more creatively than others. The sermon as a genre was getting more sterile with its precisely defined rules. This leads to the conclusion that the preacher was considerably limited by the topic. But was it true?

Early modern period undoubtedly brought about several crises that led to many changes in society. Perhaps one of the most significant conflicts is precisely the confessional one. Is this the phenomenon which led to the change in the structure of the sermon, or, on the contrary, was its continuity strengthened even more as a symbol of stability? Has the sermon been able to absorb changes in society and respond to them? What did the sermon texts of the late Middle Ages have in common with those of the early modern period, and what, on the other hand, were the differences?

In my paper I would like to answer these questions using the text from the feast of the Seventh Sunday after the Pentecost, which relates to the theme “Beware of false prophets ...” (Mt 7:15 -21), as an example of continuity and changes in this genre. The sermon on this theme was used in the Middle Ages to warn about heresy, and its role did not change during the early modern religious conflict.

Lutter, Christina (University of Vienna) – see **Burkhardt, Julia**

Macháček, Jiří (Masaryk University, Brno)

Elite, nobility or landlords. Who were the founders of Great Moravian churches and how to label them?

Setting aside the ruler, in early medieval Bavaria church builders were recruited both from free and hereditary owners of allodial land and important beneficiaries in service to dukes or kings. Both alternatives could theoretically be taken into consideration in the case of Great Moravia. Michael Mitterauer stated that as early as in the ninth century large, landed estates owned by Slavs were nothing extraordinary. However, his assumption has not been generally accepted. The man from grave H153, which was found in a prestigious position on the main axis of the church in the North-East Suburb of the Great Moravian agglomeration in Pohansko, would correspond to the early medieval noblemen characterised in this way. I will discuss in my paper the hypothesis that this man was probably the castle governor, and the graves in the surrounding cemetery were those of his *familia*, which we take to be a household at the centre of which was the head of the family (*pater familias*) and his closest family relatives, but apart from these, the *familia* was made up of servants, domestics and other dependent people, such as more distant relatives or the members of the personal retinue. The supposed residence of the man buried in the church and his closest family was a building with a stone and mortar underpinning. The adjoining space delimited by palisade trenches and other features and reconstructed buildings

could belong to his residence. What we have uncovered in the North-East Suburb of Pohansko could have been seen as an early form of the manor (Fronhof, *curtis*) of a landlord and/or beneficiary of the duke. If this hypothesis is correct, then the medieval transformation had started in East-Central Europe much earlier than assumed.

Machalski, Michał (Central European University, Vienna)

Becoming Reliable Subjects in Times of Change: Townsmen of Kalisz's Testimonies during the Warsaw Trial of 1339

The reunification of the Polish Kingdom in the first decades of the fourteenth century has been inextricably linked with the creation of a new socio-political order. The political crisis that preceded Władysław Łokietek's coronation in 1320 had been largely underlined by the competition between old aristocracy and politically ambitious urban centres, with the former eventually emerging victorious as the main support base of Władysław's rule. The conflict between the Piast ruler and the patriciate of Polish towns and the political atmosphere of anti-German sentiment it inspired, left a transformative mark on urban power and self-identity in the region.

In the proposed presentation I will investigate how urban communities tried to navigate the changing relationship between towns and monarchs in the aftermath of the reunification of the Polish kingdom. To do so, I will examine the testimonies given by the townsmen of Kalisz during the Warsaw Trial of 1339. I argue that when read together, accounts given by witnesses from this important urban centre of Greater Poland create a persuasive and purposeful narrative of the town's common struggle against the army of Teutonic Knights. By highlighting their steadfast resistance, their refusal to negotiate with attackers despite shared language, and contrasting it with the treacherous attitudes of knights and neighbouring communities, citizens of Kalisz tried to create a positive image of the urban community, one that can be relied upon by the Piast monarchs in the transformed, united Poland.

Maciąg-Fiedler, Agnieszka (Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow)

***Verba quae terram (non) moverunt.* About Cracow's astronomical writings of the 15th century**

There is a Polish saying that Copernicus stopped the Sun and moved the Earth. His treatise *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, published just before his death in 1543, caused one of the most important scientific revolutions since ancient times. The heliocentric theory was seen by many people as a light that shone into the darkness of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, we know that Nicolaus matriculated at the University of Krakow, studying in the heyday of the Krakow astronomical-mathematical school. A high level of teaching, a favourable atmosphere for the development of astronomical and mathematical sciences, the ability to use instruments and creative criticism were undoubtedly stimulating for further research. Copernicus' revolutionary theory grew out of the scientific achievements of previous generations.

I would like to present in my paper the most important people of the Krakow astronomical-mathematical school from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century (e.g. Wojciech of Brudzewo,

Jan of Głogów, Sędziwój of Czechło), their works and new, non-traditional theories that were under discussion, e.g. about the possible movement of the Earth.

Madgearu, Alexandru (Institute for Political Studies of Defence and Military History, Bucharest)

Continuity and change on the Danubian frontier downstream of Durostorum, from the Late Roman period to the Middle Byzantine period

The lowest part of the Danubian limes, downstream of Durostorum, was the most exposed to Barbarian attacks, being placed in front of the gateway of the north-Pontic steppe, and because these attacks were enabled by the existence of several fords (the most important: Dervent, Hârşova, Isaccea). During the third–sixth centuries, this sector of the limes was continuously strengthened with more forts and fortlets up to the Danube Delta, but it was abandoned in the first two decades of the seventh century under the attacks of Slavs and Avars. After the Byzantine reconquest of the region in 971, a new kind of defence was established in this part of the Lower Danube region. The paper will compare the continuity features and the differences between the two periods: the place of this frontier area in the general strategy of the empire, the positions of the fortresses, the restoration of the ruined walls, the use of the fleet along the river, the directions of invasions, the type of habitation in the fortresses, the existence of bridgeheads north of the river, the colonisation of barbarian allies in the borderland and their function in the imperial military organisation.

Madgearu, Sabina (Independent researcher)

The dynamics of change versus the policy to preserve continuity in Central and Eastern Europe in the Late Middle Ages

In this paper I look into the last Crusades waged by Western Europe and Central-Eastern Europe against the increasingly powerful Ottoman expansion in Europe at the turn of and in the former half of the fifteenth century: the Nicopolis Crusade (1396) and the Crusade led by Wallerand de Wawrin (1444). Regarded as the last Crusades, these military campaigns attempted to ensure the continuity of the Christian religion in the context of the fragmentation brought about in the Balkans by the Ottomans in the second half of the fourteenth century both in spatial and temporal terms. By means of these last Crusades Western Latin Europe tried to mend the broken chain with the Eastern Greek Europe, to reunite Catholicism and Orthodoxy, while pragmatically stopping the Ottoman threat. My investigation relies on iconographic materials originating in historiographic manuscripts produced in late medieval Western Europe and the texts of such manuscripts corroborated with other contemporary written sources. Based on a comparison between the two aforementioned Crusades, my paper elucidates the continuity-discontinuity interplay manifested in various aspects of the Crusades, such as the Burgundian leadership of the two Crusades, the contemporary ideal of knighthood and the service of God, the powers making up the anti-Ottoman alliance, their dynasties and loyalties, features and outcomes of key battles (Nicopolis and Varna).

Magdoško, Drahoslav (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice)

Houses and the real estate market in the town of Košice at the end of the Middle Ages

Košice was one of the leading trade centres of the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. In that period, stone buildings became widespread in this town and the number of houses in its walled area stabilised for a while. The ownership of such real estate was linked to the political rights and social status of its owner, all of which represented an aspect of continuity in the development of urban society. On the other hand, the transfer of houses and other real estate was related to the aspect of change, reflecting the varying social and economic conditions and (in the case of recorded transactions) the written culture of the town. In my contribution, therefore, I plan to analyse continuity and change on the example of the real estate market, especially houses, in Košice between the end of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the introduction, the topography of the town and actual knowledge about the appearance of local houses at the end of the Middle Ages will be presented. The practice of recording real estate transactions in writing will then be evaluated. From a social point of view, interest will turn on the origin, employment and social status of the persons involved, as well as on their recognisable social contacts. With regard to the economic point of view, attention will be paid to the frequency of transactions, the topography and prices of traded property and the forms of payment.

Magina, Adrian (Museum of the Highland Banat Reșița) and **Magina, Livia** (West University of Timișoara, Romanian Academy Timișoara)

Demography and Ethnicity in southern parts of the Hungarian kingdom (14th-16th centuries). Continuity and changes

Demographics and ethnic background are difficult and sensitive topics, at least for medieval Central Europe, where different ethnicities lived and interacted. The two questions we started with were: 1. How many people lived in a certain region and how could they be considered from ethnic point of view? 2. In which manner did historical events influence the continuity or discontinuity of the demographics and ethnic background of a territory?

Because the sources are few and not very conclusive, continuities or discontinuities were highlighted by every national historiography and interpreted according to their own interests. The southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom (nowadays province of Banat) was in the Middle Ages, as in the present, a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional territory. However, we analyse data from the first half of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; in the case of the present-day Banat we cannot know the real number of each of the populations mentioned as living in this territory. Demography and ethnic structure of the southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom underwent significant changes towards the end of the Middle Ages, with the Ottoman advance and the South Slavic migrations. The ethnic situation that arose as a result of political and demographic changes at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the following century would remain constant throughout Ottoman rule. While the lowland area of the Timiș (Temes), Arad or Cenad (Csanád) counties would see an amalgamation of populations, with a Romanian or

Hungarian predominance in some areas and Serbian in others, the highlands would remain overwhelmingly Romanian, grouped around the urban centres of Caransebeş and Lugoj.

Majnarić, Ivan (Catholic University of Croatia)

Publica curate: the ruling elite and late medieval Eastern Adriatic town society

The medieval Latin inscription *Obliti privatorum publica curate* still stands above the entrance to the hall of Dubrovnik Major Council. Although the inscription does not originate from Dubrovnik, it most accurately reflects the late medieval political understanding of *communitas*. Nevertheless, the long-term legacy of the class struggle in Central and Southern Europe of the twentieth century led some medievalists to see the inscription in relation to the exploitation and personal gain of the ruling elite at the expense of the rest of the powerless urban population. Such extreme and anachronic conclusions in the case of late medieval eastern Adriatic towns were rejected, but some of them indirectly persisted until recent times. The ruling elite was equated with political power (the patricians/the nobles), and consequently – as the medievalists saw it – those without political agency (the *populares*/the commoners) had no opportunity for social (self-)promotion. Following the late medieval political understanding of *communitas* the presentation will examine whether political agency was central to the accumulation of power and its exercise.

Majorossy, Judit (Palacký University, Olomouc and University of Vienna)

Forms of Lay Presence in Religious Spaces of Late Medieval Urban Communities (Examples of Wiener Neustadt, Ödenburg, and Pressburg)

Over the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the urban laity became more involved in religious activities, absorbing and reacting to various kinds of religious reform ideas. This process culminated in Bohemia and Moravia in the 1420s and 1430s, with towns taking various sides in the Hussite religious conflict and constructing their communal identity denominationally; a similar process happened later on during the Reformation all around Europe. Various strategies were developed to spread the reform among heterogeneous social groups and religious communities in urban contexts. Urban milieus formed a backdrop to very local religious developments, which in the sixteenth century grew into even more complex denominational urban stratification. These diverse developments were closely related to those of religious houses in the urban and suburban space, which, since the late Middle Ages, played a crucial role in urban religious developments. In the session we are interested in the following questions: how were the reform ideas reflected in lay piety, and how were they implemented in religious practices? How are the transformations of lay piety reflected in the municipal sources? What forms did the interaction between urban communities and local religious houses take? Consequently, the central question of our session is concerned with the ways the religious reform was reflected and absorbed by urban laity in different Central European regions.

Maléth, Ágnes (University of Szeged)

Change and Continuity in Papal Beneficial Policy: Tendencies of Granting Expectative Rights in the Kingdom of Hungary (1305–1378)

The Avignon period was a peculiar time in the history of the papacy, characterised mainly by the centralisation of the papal power. This process was based on the creation of an elaborated financial system, precise administration and a vigorous attempt to extend papal authority over every level of local ecclesiastical structures by strengthening control over ecclesiastical benefices. One of the most controversial aspects of the papal beneficial policy was the endowment of expectative graces, meaning the anticipatory grants of those ecclesiastical benefices that would fall vacant in the future. Expectative graces served multiple purposes: for the popes, they offered an opportunity to intervene in the donation of minor ecclesiastical benefices; the kings used them to reward service rendered to the crown, and for the supplicants they meant the possibility of obtaining rights by circumventing the local church hierarchy.

The aim of my presentation is to show how the Avignon popes used expectative graces in the Kingdom of Hungary. I will examine the change of the number of expectative graces during the period and the tendencies that characterised the pontificate of certain popes. I will consider the group of supplicants, the factors that could influence the donation of expectative rights and the success rate of claiming benefices granted by expectative graces.

Maliniak, Pavol (Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica)

The castle as a scene of social rise of regional elites (a look into conditions in the Kingdom of Hungary in the late Middle Ages)

The text focuses on the relationship among the medieval castle, its social background and the careers of castle officials. It is based on present archontological research as well as prosopography approaches. Using the example of six castles in the regions of Zvolen/Zólyom and Tekov/Bars County in the late Middle Ages, it is possible to define the circle of officials of higher and middle degree: captains, castellans and stewards. During 1402–1526, this heterogeneous group consisted of approximately 112 persons. About a quarter of them were castle officials coming from the relevant castle estate or county, as well as officials of foreign origin settled during their service in the given region. Three-quarters of the officials showed no connection with their home region. The post of castellan was held mostly by poor landowners and occasionally by noble burghers. The office of the steward, for which the designation *provisor curiae* was used, did not require a noble title and was also held by subjects. The establishment of officials during their service at the place of work took place through the acquisition of property. Officials who had or were creating a property background in the region worked in their positions longer, including multi-generational service. In contrast, officials showed fluctuation, without ties to the place of work.

Mancini, Andrea (University of Leeds)

Educating Observant friars: Niccolò da Osimo's *Quadriga litteralis*

In 1452, during his tour to Central and Eastern Europe, the Franciscan Italian Observant Friar Giovanni da Capistrano (1386–1456) addressed a letter from Leipzig to the guardian of the friary of Nuremberg, Albert Puchelbach. The letter is well-known to scholars. Albert was dealing with a wave of newcomers willing to join the Observant family in the aftermath of Capistrano's preaching in German lands. In answering Albert, Capistrano expresses his view concerning the education of Observant novices. He advises his religious brother not to spend excessive time teaching them how to sing, but rather on subjects that could help them to obtain the office of preaching. The formation of preachers seems therefore the main goal to be achieved among Observants for the Italian missionary, but what then was the educational programme Capistrano had in mind for Observant novices? In this paper, I will answer this question by discussing the religious treatise *Quadriga litteralis* written in the early 1440s by the Observant friar Niccolò da Osimo (1385–1453) with the aim of providing basic religious instructions for the members of the Observant family. By this time, Franciscan literature for novice training included well-established texts, such as Bernard de Besse's *Speculum disciplinae*, Bonaventure's *Regula novitiorum* and countless preaching aids. My paper will argue that Niccolò da Osimo's *Quadriga* shows the Cismontane Observant view towards religious education and provides us with insights into Capistrano's idea of religious training for the new religious communities he established across the Empire, Poland and Hungary.

Mänd, Anu (Tallinn University)

Continuity and Change in the Livonian Church Furnishings, c. 1525–1550

My paper, based on archival and visual sources, focuses on the question of how the churches in Livonia (i.e. modern Estonia and Latvia) handled the Catholic material objects in the decades immediately following the Reformation, which in Livonian cities culminated with iconoclastic outbursts in 1524–26. What kind of objects were removed? How quickly and in what way (e.g., destroyed, sold or distributed to the poor)? What kind of objects were preserved in their original form? What kind of objects were modified? Another question concerns the fate of the artworks commissioned or donated shortly before or during the Reformation: is it possible to find out which commissions remained in force and which did not and why? When did the first “Lutheran” artworks appear in the churches and who stood behind these commissions? How was the interior of the churches gradually altered to correspond to the needs of the new confession?

Merrigan, Tara (Central European University, Vienna)

Etymology as a Tool for Historical Continuity: The Literalization of Medieval “Prehistory” in John of Marignolli's Fourteenth-Century Bohemian Chronicle

In this paper I examine the use of etymologies related to early, legendary Bohemian history in the fourteenth century universal chronicle of John of Marignolli. I suggest that etymologies play a critical role in Marignolli's writing of early Bohemian history, a period for which the

chronicler would have little original source material and would have had to rely on the chronicles of Cosmas and Dalimil. Using Julia Verkholtantsev's work on medieval etymology as a foundation for this study, I argue that Marignolli's etymologies serve as flexible, potent historiographical/literary tools, for which literary craft is inseparable from the representation of historical truth and, in fact, facilitates the representation of history. Furthermore, I suggest that in the case of Marignolli's rendering of Bohemian mythical history or "prehistory," etymologies function as historical-literary justifications for Bohemian claims to a specific geographic territory, thus providing a crucial "naturalisation" of the territory of the medieval Bohemian nation.

Mikó, Gábor (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Formularies in the Late Medieval Hungary

The oldest formulary compiled in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary was copied in the middle of the fourteenth century but it appears to have only been a separate attempt to establish this literary genre in Hungary. There are more examples written in the fifteenth century preserved to this day, and it is even possible to put them into different categories. Some of the collections derive from the Royal Court, others from chanceries of various types, and a number of the manuscripts have to be linked to a specifically Hungarian organisation, the so-called *loca credibilia*. Every single formulary was an integral part of the institution where it was prepared. This common ground is the result of the primary objective of the collections: to help the work of charter-editing.

This practice-oriented method changed in the last decades of medieval Hungary. There were still formularia which were edited systematically and can be defined as remnants of the old tradition, but at the same time a new kind of formulary developed in the Royal Court, which could be regarded as a novelty in respect of its typical content as well as of its possible goals. These manuscripts are not just simple handbooks used in an office. The collected source material is widely heterogeneous, e. g. donation letters, grants of arms, royal decrees or tax regulations. The distinction between charters and letters (missiles) is no longer clear, the compilers seem to have assessed royal correspondence interesting enough to pick some pieces up to their collections. Thanks to this new approach the formularies became significant sources of the political history of the Jagiellonian Hungary.

The aim of the presentation is to lay out the aforementioned differentiation of the genre in greater detail, using three, to this day unedited, formularies from the early sixteenth century.

Mikulenková, Linda (Charles University, Prague)

Capital script – an indispensable part of Roman heritage

In about the fourth century, the characteristic Roman book scripts, both *capitales* and *cursives*, started giving way to uncial, semiuncial and their derivatives. However, the *capitales* both rustic and square, continued to be used as display scripts throughout the Middle Ages. However, as display scripts, they differ from regular book scripts. They are not used for large swaths of text but for initials, a line or a few lines or as a part of intricate whole page designs. It was *capitalis*

rustica which was used for large swathes of text (barring rare exceptions of manuscripts in *capitalis quadrata*). Its use started to dwindle with the coming of uncial and semi-uncial, but it kept its niche usage in a non-negligible amount of manuscripts of Roman authors (in contrast to Christian works, which mostly used uncial and other scripts). In about the sixth century, *capitales* gave way to other scripts as a text script, and it was practically only *capitalis quadrata* or variant *capitalis* which remained as a display script used for capitals, headings, captions or complex designs, and sometimes paradoxically also for rubrics and similar rather technical bits of text. My paper maps these changes from the heyday of manuscripts in *capitalis* in about the fifth century, the quintessential Roman script, to its relegation to niche usages, the latter being focused on the Central European production.

Molnar, Anna (King's College London)

The Participation of Women in Urban Finances in Late Medieval Vienna

This paper aims to reveal how often, with what intention, and under what circumstances women involved themselves in private annuity transactions and to what extent that involvement was commonplace or extraordinary over the late medieval period. The region east of the Elbe is still under-represented in the literature on medieval financial and economic history, an imbalance this study seeks to correct. The goal of my research is to enhance our understanding of how the newly developed financial instruments and institutions of late medieval Europe affected the life of the urban people, particularly women, through the Viennese example.

Data has been gathered from extensive archival research, supplemented with published sources. The previously not yet edited sources (1388–1450) were transcribed and translated, before they were converted into data points along with the contracts that were available in printed format. The collection includes heritable and life annuity transactions issued by private individuals in late medieval Vienna between 1350 and 1450. The framework of data points enables analysis in several ways, including calculations of ratios, percentages of female buyers and issuers, long term interest rate trends or the popularity of the product during the observed period measured by number of issuances per year.

Based on such an analysis, my paper provides an important avenue of inquiry for understanding the full impact of high medieval economic growth, integration on society and more particularly the transformation in the social position of women.

Molnár, Cintia (Independent Scholar)

Recalling a humanist commonplace. The architecture-based mathematical harmony of lyric volumes

The mathematical mindset of Renaissance art is the very first and incessantly repeated knowledge we receive about the sixteenth century. It is such a cliché that it can get lost in a literary interpretation. The presentation aims to brush this commonplace up in its original complexity, following the footsteps of Alastair Fowler, who catalogued two sorts of numerical organisations in Elizabethan poetry, namely the triumphal and temporal patterns. His system

serves as an excellent context for Bálint Balassi's pseudo-autobiographical poetic cycle. Following Iván Horváth's approach to Balassi, I accept the view that the surviving literary of the poet reflect the poet's intention in their structure and they contain a 3*33 cycle with a symmetrical pattern, based on the golden ratio. In corroboration of the above, the final poem cycle operates a mise en abyme reflecting the whole structure of the volume. In addition to Fowler's taxonomy, Guiraut Riquier's volume also indicates a world literary parallel to the Hungarian one. Both of their pseudo-autobiographic work have similar construction and publishing history. Instead of following the principle of intactness, these artworks are usually edited into thematic and genre sections, respectively. However, if we accept their keeper manuscript's order, we receive two volumes, which are in a three-fold manner and symmetrically structured; plus, both end with a quantitative metonymy that signifies the extensive numerical organisation of the whole composition. My presentation focuses on the continuous presence of lyric volumes structured with highly mathematical premeditation from late troubadours up to poets of sixteenth century.

Morawska, Karolina (University of Warsaw)

***Eos qui sunt publice uxorati non admittatis*. Clerical celibacy in medieval Poland – an unwanted novelty**

In his letter to Archbishop of Gniezno (1207), Pope Innocent III expressed his utmost indignation that the customs of the local clergy were not in line with the provisions of the general councils. The Pope was scandalised mainly by married priests obtaining ecclesiastical dignities. Even though clerical celibacy had been an ideal already in the Apostolic Age, before the eleventh century no consistent attempts aiming at enforcing the observance of this rule were made, except for several bishops deeply concerned about the condition of the Church. The so-called Gregorian reform was also a revolutionary process in the field of sexual norms and Christian morality. Reformers made the introduction of clerical celibacy one of their crucial goals. The most zealous steps were taken by the eleventh-century popes, Gregory VII and his predecessors, who issued provisions aimed at implementing the rule of clerical celibacy in all parts of Western Christianity. However, these regulations were adopted in Poland and other Central European countries with a considerable delay – as is clear from Pope Innocent's letter. Local priests often expressed their resistance and tried to avoid separation with their wives, concubines and families. It is the main object of the current paper to examine the reception of the imposed standards of clerical celibacy by the society of medieval Poland, with a special emphasis of the priests and their families, who did not always intend to adapt to these new standards obediently.

Możejko, Beata (University of Gdańsk) and **Joanna Kamiń** (University of Gdańsk)

The Memling Research Center at the University of Gdańsk

The Memling Research Center at the University of Gdańsk. The mission of the Center is to continue and disseminate research on Hans Memling's triptych *The Last Judgment* and the entire accompanying humanistic context, including restitution matters, the issue of belonging to the triptych, and the place and manner of exhibition. All this in an international context and

with the support of foreign researchers, whom we invite to guest lectures and scientific conferences organized at the University of Gdańsk. In our presentation we would like to inform about what we are doing and invite to cooperation.

Musteață, Sergiu (Valahia University of Targoviste)

The Mill: one of favourite games of the inhabitants of the Soroca medieval castle, Moldova

Archaeological research in recent years at Soroca Castle has brought to light a series of cultural assets, including several boards for the mill game, which proved to be very popular among the inhabitants in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Thus, in my communication, I will present various details regarding the archaeological context of the respective discoveries, the analysis of the game pieces and assessments regarding their use by the inhabitants of the castle. Leisure occupations, gaming preferences and other fun activities are modestly known. Therefore, the exploitation of these discoveries has a direct contribution to the knowledge of the daily life of the late medieval population of Soroca. Comparative analysis with similar finds from other medieval European sites will help us understand the extent of the practice of this ancient game in medieval Europe.

Mutlová, Petra (Masaryk University, Brno) and **Antonín Kalous** (Palacký University, Olomouc)

John of Capistrano and the Letters to the Hussites

Among various reform impulses in the fifteenth century, the preaching of John of Capistrano, a famous Franciscan friar and an ardent preacher, played an important role in spreading strict Observance and Orthodoxy. During his tour through Central and Eastern Europe, which he undertook in the last years of his life between 1451 and 1456, John exchanged several hundred letters with the people in the countries through which he travelled. After publication of letters related to Poland and the upcoming volume illustrating Hungarian matters, an edition of the correspondence between John of Capistrano and various people in Bohemia and Moravia is currently under preparation. The paper will present specific features of his “Bohemian” undertaking and take a close look at the changing strategies that John of Capistrano applied when addressing the case of the Hussite “heretics”.

Nagy, Balázs (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Central European University, Vienna / Budapest)

Comparative Approaches to the Impact of the Mongol Invasions of Central Europe

The Mongol invasions of the 1240s affected many countries in Central Europe. Although the military strategies of the conquerors were similar, the course and impact of the campaigns differed considerably. The operations of the Mongol troops reached Poland, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, Dalmatia and other regions of Central Europe. Some of these areas were only affected by a passing movement of troops; others were occupied by Mongol troops for several months.

The paper addresses the problem of how the Mongol invasions affected the different areas of the territory concerned in different ways. The comparison is based on written and archaeological evidence and includes information from military history, changes in settlement networks and other aspects to assess the consequences of the attacks. The paper draws attention to the very different character of the Mongol presence in the area.

Novák, Ádám (Déri Museum Debrecen)

Two decades in mercenary service – Mercenary leaders in the Upper Territories in the 1440s and 1450s

After the coronation of Władysław III of Poland in 1440, Queen Elizabeth of Luxembourg decided to protect the claim of her son, Ladislaus the Posthumous, to the Hungarian throne. She hired 5,000 mercenaries, mostly Czech, led by Jan Jiskra, who occupied the queen's territories in Upper Hungary, including important mining towns and mints. During 1440–1441 they took control of several large towns, such as Lőcse/Levoča, Késmárk/Kežmarok, Eperjes/Prešov, Bártfa/Bardejov, and Kassa/Košice. King Władysław III sent armies against them several times without any success. After the Battle of Varna, the Hungarian orders accepted Ladislaus the Posthumous as their sole king, yet the mercenaries stayed in the Upper Territories. It was only in 1462 that the mercenary companies were finally disbanded and incorporated into the mercenary army of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.

In my presentation I will outline the history of the mercenary forces that were stationed continuously on Hungarian soil for more than two decades. The constant presence of mercenary soldiers demanded that the mercenary commanders had to make sure to somehow raise the sums needed to keep them in arms. Hence, pledges and loan transactions, small-scale plundering campaigns and prisoner-takings were common. I present in detail the mercenary leaders such as Jan Jiskra, Jan Talafus, Petr Axamith, Pongrác Szentmiklósi, Miklós Barcal and Peter and Miklós Komorovszki. I pay particular attention to the presentation of their seals. At the same time, I also endeavour to point out how the link between the soldiers has changed: it was no longer the principles and doctrines of the Hussite wars that held the combatants together, but we can think of them as a kind of military brotherhood.

Nowak-Pasterska, Ewa (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań)

Representations of women in the Old-Polish apocrypha of the New Testament

The presented topic will be the result of scientific research conducted by me at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań as part of a research project on the medieval New Testament apocrypha, sponsored by the National Science Centre in Poland, entitled “The origins of the Polish language and religious culture in the light of the medieval Apocrypha of the New Testament. A universal tool for research on Polish apocryphal texts” under the leadership of Professor AMU, PhD Dorota Rojszczak-Robińska. The research objective of the project is to extend and broaden studies into Polish religious discourse as well as the spirituality and culture of the past through a multidisciplinary and comprehensive analysis of nine medieval apocryphal texts preserved in Poland.

Polish apocryphal texts, dating from the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, are a valuable source of the past religious culture of the Central European area. They are important for the history of Polish religious language, as well as for the cultures and languages of other Slavic countries, creating a common heritage of Slavdom.

In my presentation I would like to show the results of analyses carried out as part of my grant work. An insightful reading of Polish New Testament apocrypha from the late Middle Ages allowed me to observe phenomena such as: what the role of women is in Old-Polish apocryphal histories; how women are seen by male heroes; how their emotionality and carnality are expressed in language; how the Old-Polish language determines the way of perceiving women – both by a reader who has no scholarly background to read such texts and by a professional researcher dealing with past texts on apocryphal topics. I would like to answer these and other questions during my conference speech.

Okhrimenko, Oleksandr (Independent Scholar)

The Medieval Miscellany from the Library of Daniel Salthenius

In 1752, a huge collection of 22 thousand books – the Library of Daniel Salthenius, a professor of the University of Königsberg – was sold to Józef Jabłonowski, a Polish nobleman. Today this collection is a part of the Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Daniel Salthenius possessed the largest private library in Prussia at his time; it included 300 Bibles, 1500 books of biblical exegesis and over 7500 volumes on the Church and political and literary history. Among Daniel Salthenius's books, the oldest is a manuscript in Latin. In this study, for the first time, all the texts of the collection were dated (around 1100), attributed and described for further research. The manuscript contains information about the purchase of the book in the fifteenth century in Nuremberg and signs of reading by Daniel Salthenius himself in the eighteenth century. This study shows that individual folios are palimpsests containing earlier texts. The paper also investigates the perception of the same manuscript as an object during different epochs: the late medieval, early and later modern. Those three points of view are different. The fifteenth-century bookseller made up a rich history to sell the item. Daniel Salthenius used the book as a source for his studies. Józef Jabłonowski collected it as an old artefact to enlarge his library. In any case, medieval heritage was important in their imagination.

Ónadi, Sándor (University of Debrecen)

Non-combatants in the First Crusade (1095-1099)

My previous research has focused on the clerics involved in the First Crusade, with an emphasis on their relationship with the “moral state” of the army. Christian religion and the Church itself became an integral part of medieval warfare. This was increasingly true in the context of religious wars. However, the First Crusade changed many of the earlier norms of warfare. It was the first, quasi “pan-European” campaign which was able to keep tens of thousands of men in arms outside Europe for years. During the march, the clergy moved beyond their traditional role to become indirect, and sometimes direct, managers of the enterprise. Some of their actions, such as penitential rituals and almsgiving could have had an impact on the army's enthusiasm.

The campaign also brought a crucial change in the social structure of armies. In the Middle Ages, armies were usually accompanied by non-combatants, such as traders, beggars and prostitutes. Battles were usually fought by lords, who acquired tactical skills through years of training. In comparison, tens of thousands of pilgrims set out on the First Crusade with their entire families, and we find that during the campaign they were also to take part in the fighting and supply the army.

My paper will give an outline of the changed role of the clergy, mostly based on narrative sources – the *Gesta Francorum*, the chronicles of Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, Albert of Aachen, Ralph of Caen and Robertus Monachus – and letters. It is also a goal to present an overview of the non-combatants marching with the army and define their function.

Opll, Ferdinand (University of Vienna)

Break or Continuity: Urban Sieges using the Example of Medieval Vienna

The Sieges of Vienna by Frederick the Quarrelsome (1239/40), King Rudolf of Habsburg (1276), King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1485) and the Ottomans (1529) are taken under consideration and analysed. The crucial question is whether after these events, the city – and in what sense (in its physical structure, politically, economically) – encountered proper breaks of its evolution or whether the end of such military attacks had only a small impact on the city's development. Differences as well as parallels between the analysed case studies show how specifically the phenomena of continuity and change are interacting and run up against one another.

Orsós, Julianna (Fragmenta et Codices Research Group, Budapest)

Luther's Late Medieval Arguments? An Interpretation of a Preface

My purpose is to interpret the preface written by Martin Luther to the German translation of Georgius de Hungaria's *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum*. In the second half of 1438, the Turks invaded Transylvania several times. Georgius de Hungaria was captured and taken to Edirne. Released from slavery after more than twenty years, he went to Rome, where he lived as a member of the Dominican Order and died at the age of 80. He devoted a significant part of his work to describing the religion, origin, and customs of the Turks, as well as their army. His intention was to give support and guidance to the Christians captured by the Turks but striving to preserve their faith. Luther considered reaching Christian readers living in territories conquered or threatened by the Turks to be especially important. In his foreword to the German translation, he emphasised his concern that the Turkish conquest would facilitate and increase the number of conversions to Islam. I am looking for reasons why the text of Georgius de Hungaria was neither interpreted nor used by his order as a tool for argumentation, even though prominent Dominicans – such as Albertus Magnus and Ricoldus de Monte Crucis – contributed greatly to the Christian world's knowledge about the Islam.

Pac, Grzegorz (University of Warsaw)

Changing a holy topography. Translation of saints in twelfth-century Poland in the Central European context

In the course of the twelfth century Polish elites changed the holy topography through translations of relics to an extensive degree. Bishops, nobles and rulers used new cults of saints to legitimise their position and elevate the institutions they led. Interestingly, however, instead of creating local cults they tended to use foreign saints and relics, which seems to distinguish Poland from other peripheral polities of the period. In order to explain this phenomenon, which manifested in translations of St. Vincent to Wrocław, St. Henry and St. Sigmundus to Płock and St. Florian to Kraków, the paper will analyse it in the context of the twelfth-century cult of saints in Central Europe. Although the reasons for the preference given to translations instead of the creating of new, local cults are not clear, it undoubtedly gave Polish elites a chance to stress their bond with the older regions of Latin Christendom and formulate their part in the universal Christian history. On the other hand, the translations were possible thanks to already existing ties with the Empire and Rome, from where the new relics came; they might therefore also be seen simply as taking advantage of the opportunity had by members of the elites. It should be noted, however, that the cults of translated saints were successful, if at all, only to a limited extent; one must therefore pose the question of whether they were less willingly accepted by the communities than the veneration of local saints.

Panušková, Lenka (Charles University, Prague)

Continuity and Change: The Issue of the Zackenstil in the Medieval Central Europe

The spread of the Zackenstil in Medieval Central Europe is traditionally connected with the production of the workshop responsible for illuminations of the Missal of Giovanni da Gaibana. Originally based in Padua, this workshop, or at least some of its most ingenious members, moved to Austria to work there on some prestigious manuscripts intended for local monasteries and church representatives, among them the so-called Breslau Psalter, today in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

In my paper, I aim to investigate the activity of the workshop in the area of the diocese of Salzburg to which the monasteries belonged. My key question tackles the migration of the artists from Padua to Salzburg (?). Was this a continuity of the workshop as assembled in Padua or was it only a couple of painters called up to work in new surroundings, where they created a new independent workshop and trained local crafts to cooperate on the commissions? Did this single workshop bring a completely new style into the area?

The proposed paper seeks answers to these and other questions to follow up on the previous research on the topic. Doing so, it develops a new approach, in which it suggests that a group of itinerant artists significantly influenced the artistic production in Central Europe after the mid-twelfth century.

Paskojević, Kristian (Old Church Slavonic Institute)

Continuity and change in the script. Use of the Cyrillic in the medieval Dubrovnik (Ragusa)

Biscriptality, or the phenomenon in which two or more writing systems are used simultaneously for (mostly) one and the same language, is rather rare in the European medieval communities. One such community was the medieval city (and later the republic) of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), which used Latin and Cyrillic script in its everyday communication. Regarding the Cyrillic, it was mainly used in diplomatic correspondence with neighbouring Slavic states (Bosnia, Serbia, Hum...) and different application of it, to a lesser extent, took place at the end of the Middle Ages. The predominantly diplomatic purpose of Cyrillic correspondence generated a lot of morphological changes in the script (regarding the need for faster writing), and as a consequence, the new, minusculed version of the Cyrillic script was created. The goal of this lecture is to present the mentioned changes in comparison to the Ustav (uncial) version of the script which was a predecessor to it and to emphasise the dynamics between the usage of these two versions of the Cyrillic script. Several of the most significant cases of the use of the Cyrillic outside of diplomacy will also be observed and discussed.

Pastrnak, Patrik (Palacký University, Olomouc)

The return journeys of the queen-widows: an upside-down ritual or irrelevant pageantry?

In medieval Europe, inter-dynastic princely unions caused an unprecedented exchange of royal figures. Princely brides travelled back and forth across the continent, accompanied by massive retinues in a choreographically staged cycle of rituals, festivals and routines. Central Europe, too, followed the same pattern, but added the non-Latin realms and dynasties into the system, thus bringing Western-styled rituals into conversation and dispute with Orthodox-oriented cultures. However, because of the death of their consorts or simply the failure of the marital projects, these princely women sometimes ventured back to their natal courts. Unlike the transfers made prior to the nuptials, these journeys have not been systematically studied. While there have been some excellent studies looking into particular cases, a comparative and trans-geographical approach might bring a deeper understanding of such travel. Were these journeys similar to nuptial transfers, i.e., did they involve the same ritual choreography? Or were they just inconspicuous transfers, not attracting any attention? My paper will look into the return journeys of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century queens from Central Europe and beyond. I will show that, generally, there was some level of ritual and festival activities involved, but it did not compare to the splendour of bridal journeys. Moreover, I will trace temporal developments, suggesting a gradual shift towards a greater yet less ritualised pageantry.

Pauk, Marcin Rafal (University of Warsaw)

Saint Adalbert and ‘invented foundations’ of Gniezno archbishopric in the 12th century

False belief in Saint Adalbert as the first Archbishop of Gniezno was firmly established in Polish historiography and hagiography from the thirteenth century. The origins of this historiographical fiction are not sufficiently explained, and Gerard Labuda’s erroneous thesis that it arose only after the pen of Wincenty of Kielcza was well established in Polish literature.

This belief, however, was already marginally present in the chronicle of Anonym s.c. Gall and also in the twelfth century in the Polish Life of Adalbert known as “*Tempore illo*”. It is most likely for this reason that the former omitted the fact of the foundation of the Polish ecclesiastical metropolity at the diet of Gniezno in the year 1000. The task of the paper is to explain the genesis of this invented version of the origins of the archbishopric at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in relation to the conditions of mentality, the strategies used in Western Europe for the construction of the historical identity of ecclesiastical institutions and the interests of the milieu that stood behind the fabrication of false origins.

Péterfi, Bence (Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest)

Collaboration and resistance in the Hungarian-Habsburg wars of the 1480-90s

Although the military campaigns of King Matthias Corvinus on the territories of his Habsburg rivals in the 1470–80s and the “reconquista” of the occupied Habsburg territories by joint Habsburg and imperial troops after the death of the aforementioned Hungarian king (1490–91) are well-known in the literature, our understanding of the events is still heavily influenced by the scholarly legacy of the nineteenth century. This means that a modern critical and detailed deconstruction of the national and regional historiographies would be more than welcome, reflecting not only on the course of events but also on issues such as the financial background of each of the belligerents, the world of military entrepreneurs, the lives of “ordinary people” affected by the war, etc.

In my paper, I will focus on a very specific aspect of human behaviour that turns out to be crucial in times of war: the continuity and change of loyalty to the ruler, or in other words, the collaboration and resistance of the subjects in the occupied territories. By presenting some illustrative cases, I will try to answer the question of what might have led members of the society (1) to pay homage to the “invaders”, (2) to resist them, or (3) to remain “neutral” in the military conflicts.

Popa-Gorjanu, Cosmin (University of Alba Iulia)

Continuity and change in the history of elites medieval Hungary: the nobility and the *knezes*

In this paper I intend to explore the issue of continuity and change in the development of the elites in medieval Hungary. While the main stages of the formation of the nobility in Hungary were outlined in the historiography, by indicating at the earliest stage the circle of high officials serving the monarch as the top layer of the society, the second stage seems to have started in the early decades of the thirteenth century, when members of this circle started to be called *barones*, while the *servientes regis* made their first major move by having their privileges inscribed in the Golden Bull of 1222, together with those of the nobility. During the next decades, the two groups merged within one category called *veri nobiles regni*.

The *knezes* from the Banat, Transylvania and Maramureş appeared in the written sources starting from the thirteenth century. The title of *knez* was widely used among the Slavic populations, but was also applied to the chieftains of Romanian villagers in the fourteenth

century. The existence of the privileged group of the nobility provided to the knezes a model of privileges to be coveted and eventually obtained. The process of ennoblement of the knezes, that is, granting to the *knezes* their own *knezates* as full, inheritable property, enjoying all the rights of the nobility, started in the fourteenth century and went on until mid-fifteenth century.

Pow, Stephen (University of Calgary)

Living Memories of a Battle and its Legacy: Evidence for the Identities of Master Roger's and Thomas of Split's Informants for their Accounts of the Battle of Muhi

Undoubtedly our two most detailed and historiographically crucial European accounts of the Battle of Muhi between the Hungarian royal army and the Mongol army of Batu are the one written by Master Roger, probably in 1243, and another written by Thomas of Split at latest in the 1260s. Both accounts differ markedly in their emphases and descriptions; it cannot be imagined that one is borrowed from the other. Since we can be certain both authors were not present at the battle, it is obvious that they obtained their details from informants with a close knowledge of the battle, perhaps even participants.

This presentation will look at the clues, such as sensory descriptions and details focused on places and persons, which strongly suggest where the information originated in both respective accounts. What we know about the authors' biographies serves to further strengthen several arguments offered here. The identifications offered of likely informants supports the notion that both accounts were indeed based on the eyewitness experiences of surviving participants, but the information that formed the basis of the respective accounts did not come from the same informant or general group of informants. When such perspectives are countenanced, we must accept that the Muhi narratives of high-ranking clergy preserve genuine experiences and reflect the legacy and memory of war trauma.

Pranke, Piotr (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)

“Power networks” and the state – how was the first Piast state created?

The establishment of the state of the first Piasts is a widely discussed research issue. Only relatively recently has more attention been devoted to comparative methods facilitating a study of issues related to the functioning of segmental communities and fiefdoms, or the mechanisms by which institutional forms of exercising power emerged based on hierarchical elite structures applying the apparatus of coercion and supervision, which gave the emerging dynastic power the possibility of gaining and redistributing various types of production surplus within the above-mentioned group. Such structures—referring to state power ‘without a state’—were based primarily on personal and blood relations, creating forms of exercising power that became institutionalised over time and were the source of patrimonial territorial powers. Their ‘state and territorial’ dimension was associated with the formation of the structures of the church organisation, as a consequence of the principle of the indivisibility of the Church's property formulated in the post-Carolingian area, and the system of donations and trade of equivalent goods within it. Thus, it differs from the views present in historiography dictated primarily by the dependence of the inference leading the genesis of the early Piast rule ‘from tribe to state’

in a simplified way under the influence of jubilee research programs, presenting a specific way of elucidating legal and political sciences characterised by the historical vision of the state and Polish nation.

Ptáčková, Kateřina (Palacký University, Olomouc)

Struggle for Continuity or Vision of Change? Construction of Franciscan Observance Sainthood in the 15th-century Bohemian Lands

The Franciscan Observant movement struggled very hard to be accepted as a true follower of the teaching of Saint Francis, as a true *Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* line. The main aim of many actions and texts of Observant friars in the fifteenth century was to anchor the Observance in the collective reception as a natural evolution of the Franciscan Order and point out the continuity of this evolutionary process.

This policy can be studied in the special case of saints as well. What interests me – and what will be the main concern of my contribution – is the construction of the saint models in the Franciscan cultural space of Bohemian Lands and the idea of continuity or change emphasised in them. There are several “official” Franciscan texts: the chronicles of Michael of Carinthia, Ablauff de Rheno, Nicolaus Glassberger, etc. that represent the voices of those who actively promoted the Observance reform in Bohemian Lands and Central Europe as such and who gave to this “*novitas*” their own explanation and meaning. Some of them also used the saints as normative examples, as symbols, through which they could easily pass their understanding of Observance to society. On one hand, they were limited by the hagiographical canon of the first observant saints; on the other hand, they had a lot of other beautiful examples of saintly lives from the Bohemian Lands already. Let us examine their work, aims and message, anchored in the stories of the saints, with a special concern on the continuity or change.

Pysiak, Jerzy (University of Warsaw)

The Carolingian historical memory in 11th-13th-century Poland, Norway and Central Europe

Both the Polish Piast dynasty, as well as the ruling dynasties of Denmark, Sweden and Norway and Central Europe, could not inherit directly from the legacy of the Carolingian Empire, which dislocated and collapsed before all these Kingdoms arose. However, the Carolingian legacy can be clearly seen in the first Polish Kingdom (10th–11th century): Boleslaw the Brave was appointed by Emperor Otto III *patricius Romanorum*, the title given by Pope Stephen III to Pepin the Short and Charlemagne. Boleslaw’s grandson, born of Otto’s III niece, Richeza, is given the Slavic name Casimir (= the ruler of the world) and the Carolingian name Charles (with an evident reference to Charlemagne) – the Emperor of the World according to the 10th–11th-century historic memory – Casimirus Carolus. The French chronicler Ademar of Chabannes (ca. 990–1034) affirms in his Chronicle that Charlemagne’s throne, taken by Otto III from the newly discovered Charlemagne’s grave in Aachen, was given by the Emperor to the Polish Prince Boleslaw the Brave. In Denmark, Sweden and Norway, the royal name of “Magnus” – referring to Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus) became, from the 11th century the

dynastic legacy of Scandinavian dynasties. In addition, in 13th-century Norway, the Carolingian topic in the sagas translated from the Anglo-Norman French epic and romance became a large part of Norwegian literature. The aim of my paper is to synthesise the historical Carolingian legacy, mediated by the German Empire and the Norman or Plantagenet England to the 11th–13th-century Slavic and Scandinavian monarchies.

Quéret-Podesta, Adrien (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

“Se vogliamo che tutto rimanga come è, bisogna che tutto cambi.” Attitudes of the inhabitants of early 12th-century Dalmatian towns towards geopolitical changes in the light of contemporary sources

For the inhabitants of Dalmatian towns, the first quarter of the twelfth century marks the beginning of the fierce and lengthy rivalry between Hungary and Venice for the control of the area: a period of two decades which extends from the incorporation of these cities to the territories controlled by the Arpadian King Coloman the Learned in 1105 until the destruction of Biograd na Moru by the Venetians in 1125 is thus marked by frequent changes of rulers. In this context, one may wonder what the attitude of the inhabitants of early twelfth-century Dalmatian towns was towards this intricate and unstable situation. An examination of the charters issued by Hungarian kings and the Venetian doges tends to indicate that the main concern of the Dalmatians urban communities was to ensure that the succeeding rulers would confirm the rights already granted to them. The existence of this tendency is corroborated by an analysis of the so-called Evangeliary of Zadar, which contains on its last folio an oath sworn by Cledinus, Ban of Dalmatia for Hungarian King Stephen II in 1116, and another oath sworn by Ordelfalfo Falieri, Doge of Venice, in the following year. The study of the contemporary sources seems thus to suggest that the urban communities of Dalmatia adapted rather well to the geopolitical changes that occurred in the region during the early twelfth century in order to achieve their own political objective, which was to secure the continuity of their rights and privileges.

Rácz, Tibor Ákos (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest)

The effect of the Mongol invasion of Hungary on the contemporary settlement structures. Changes in a broad perspective

In many respects the Mongol Invasion may be regarded as a borderline of epochs in Hungary. It meant a direct and destructive intervention on the contemporary settlement system and the rural population. But was it really as fatal and exterminatory as contemporary narrative sources report? It is an often-stressed thesis that this event only accelerated the processes of desertion and settlement integration unfolding in the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century a new order was born; under the rule of the Anjou dynasty we find flourishing lands, newly built castles and towns, an evolving economy, a growing population and strong rule with significant military potential. As a consequence of social and economic changes, stable villages became general, with housing structures built on the surface. How exactly were rural settlements affected by the invasion? Recent excavations call for more complicated narratives than previously conceived. This paper contributes to the debate on the circumstances of the

destruction with the interpretation of new archaeological evidence from the most exposed region of the country.

Rakoczy, Krisztina (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Questions regarding the composition of ‘*Salve benigne rex Ladislæ*’

Scholarly debate about the poem beginning “*Salve benigne rex Ladislæ*” or “*Idvezlegy kegelmes szent laszlo keraly*” has centred to a great degree on the question of primacy. Which language version of the fifteenth century poem is the “original”, and which version is a “translation”? In this paper I will discuss, amongst other things, why the posing of such a question is problematic, when medieval attitudes towards language, translation and authorship across Europe are taken into consideration. A great amount of scholarly attention has been devoted of late to re-evaluating the pervasively single-language focused approach we have on manuscripts of the medieval era, partially as a celebration of tendencies that seem to cross medieval Europe, and because, inevitably, contemporary Hungarian textual analogues of the poem, known as the Song of St. Ladislaus, are not known. I have found insular bilingual texts, as well as francophone ones.

Razum, Igor (Central European University, Vienna)

The synod as an instrument of reform in thirteenth century Hungary-Croatia and Poland

Following the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in line with the initiative of the papacy and the latest legislative agenda by the Roman Curia, synods – provincial or legatine – became the main instrument of eliciting ecclesiastical reform in the region. While the Lateran Council provided the basis for any future reform, the actual application of this agenda entailed a much more complex appropriation of reform, not as a wholesale programme, but rather the local reformers in cooperation with papal legates proceeded to select and develop provincial legislation according to actual needs. The relatively few examples of such local assemblies, for instance Sieradz in 1233, Wrocław in 1248, or Buda in 1279, show the main aspects of this reform agenda and exactly what the problematic issues of contemporary clerical reform were. This paper will show how this relationship between Roman ideals and local modification developed, as well as how the key actors in this process – popes, legates, archbishops, bishops – buttressed the authority of synods to create regular fora for two-way communication, allowing for archbishops to teach their provinces new elements of reform as well as giving the papacy a chance to promote centralised and hierarchical institutionalisation throughout the area. Furthermore, the paper will analyse how specific synodal constitutions – regarding clerical morals, behaviour and liturgy – compared to their Lateran models and what the practical issues encountered by local clergy were in trying to enact reform on any level and the extent of their agency.

Ribi, András (ELTE, University of Pécs)

Central Hungarian Places of Authentication in the Age of János Szapolyai and Ferdinand Habsburg (1526–1543) – Continuity or Change in Pragmatic Literacy during the Reign of Two Kings?

After the defeat of the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Diet of Hungary elected and crowned two kings: János Szapolyai and Ferdinand Habsburg. The medieval kingdom was thus divided into two parts, but the border of the two spheres of influence was unstable: aristocratic families and town councils often changed parties, and both sovereigns led several campaigns against one another.

Obviously, this vibrant period had to affect the activity of the special Hungarian legal institutions, the places of authentication (*loca credibilia*), which got mandates from the kings or their high judges. Unfortunately, our knowledge is very limited about this period, but thanks to the new projects of the National Archives of Hungary, the sources of the beginnings of the Early Modern period have become more accessible. We will present this issue on the example of three centrally located places of authentication: the collegiate chapters of Buda and Székesfehérvár and the Hospitallers convent of Székesfehérvár. These institutions are probably the most interesting, not just because of their location, but because they could operate with countrywide jurisdiction from the middle of the fifteenth century.

Did they operate continuously through the difficult years? Were these ecclesiastical institutions independent political factors or did they rather execute mandates and requests regardless of their sources? Did the reformation affect their everyday activity? Can we speak about countrywide jurisdiction in the age of the Ottoman wars and two kings until the fall of Buda (1541) and Székesfehérvár (1543)?

Richards, Nina (Austrian Academy of Sciences) and **Srienc-Šciesiek, Magdalena T.** (Austrian Archaeological Institute)

Changes in diet and health in the early medieval Jaun, Valley in Carinthia, Austria (with Srienc-Šciesiek)

The fall of the Roman Empire, in particular Roman Noricum, played a pivotal role in shaping the Alpine region. In particular, the early medieval period in the Jaun Valley, located along the south-eastern alpine region in Carinthia, Austria, was deeply affected by this transitional phase. The influx of multiple cultural groups created a melting-pot, but interestingly no settlements have been discovered to date, and all archaeological evidence comes from cemetery contexts or from historical sources. This dependence on cemetery contexts for information emphasises the significance of bioarchaeological and interdisciplinary research in order to answer questions regarding the development, structure and boundaries of human populations during periods of transition.

Assessing diet is integral in the understanding of health and lifeways of past communities. This paper aims to present the bioarchaeological analyses conducted at the early medieval cemeteries in the Jaun Valley: Jaunstein/Podjuna (130 individuals), Hemmaberg/Gora Sv. Heme (30

individuals), and Grabelsdorf/Grabalja vas (13 individuals). All three sites show signs of metabolic disease, such as scurvy, which suggest a diet that lacked variation and a dependence on food sources deficient in nutritional value. Evidence of such metabolic disease may illustrate the relationship that the communities had with their environment, especially during periods of cultural change. Stable isotope (carbon and nitrogen) results confirm that a change in diet during the early medieval period was present. (with Sreńc-Ściesiek).

Rider, Jeff (Wesleyan University)

The Medieval Style

For us today, the Middle Ages are a collection of artifacts created in a certain region over a certain period of time and the ideas we have about them. Historians – including art historians, architectural historians, literary historians, intellectual historians, and so on – develop their ideas about the Middle Ages in a disciplined way that respects certain chronological and physical laws and certain psychological probabilities, and they do so collectively, which is to say that they publish and discuss their ideas, so that they may be evaluated by other historians. For popular culture, however, “medieval” is an aesthetic style that is used creatively and can be mixed with other aesthetic styles. This style is based ultimately on the same artifacts studied by historians and, to some degree, on historians’ ideas about them, but popular concepts of a medieval style are not governed by the same disciplinary concerns as historical ideas about the Middle Ages, and popular concepts of medieval style are used to create new artifacts or experiences, usually in order to make money, rather than to imagine a past world based on existing artifacts. This paper will look at manifestations of medieval style in popular culture in the realms of architecture (the American Collegiate Gothic style found on the campuses, for example, of Yale, Princeton and the University of Chicago), jewellery, haute couture, music and video games. We will see how medieval artifacts provide a kind of resistance that excites the creativity of contemporary artists.

Ritoók, Ágnes (Hungarian National Museum)

Mosaburg – Zalavár: changing forms of continuity

Mosaburg was founded in the late 830s on the largest island in the lower Zala River. It was the largest known centre of Carolingian Pannonia, was abandoned at the beginning of the tenth century, after some 60 years of existence. Over its ruins, a county seat was established and a Benedictine monastery founded in the early eleventh century in the framework of the new Hungarian kingdom. By the end of the Middle Ages, however, only the Benedictine monastery, converted into a border fortress, remained at the southern end of the island, which was mostly protected from Ottoman raids by the surrounding marshes.

Of particular importance is the tenth century, when, it seems, the same problems were answered in the same way both in Mosaburg and in the centres of the Moravian principality. The Moravian centres, however, lost their former importance, but in the eleventh century the sparsely populated Mosaburg regained its central role for a time as “Zalavár” (castrum Zala). Why do the earlier parallel routes diverge from the eleventh century? What is the role of the mysterious martyr Adrian and the newly arrived Hungarians in this process? What natural

factors may have influenced the settlement history of the lower Zala River? The lecture will outline the answers of different disciplines to the questions of the causes and elements of continuity and discontinuity, and the final decline of the site.

Rojszczak-Robińska, Dorota (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

Change and continuity in the creative process. Around translations of the gospels in Old Polish New Testament apocrypha

In the Polish research tradition, the term “Old-Polish Apocrypha” defines not only the translations of those early Christian texts that have not entered the canon of the Holy Scriptures (such as the Gospel of Nicodemus), but also all Old-Polish narrative texts about the life of figures appearing in the Gospels (mainly Mary and Jesus). These texts are not homogeneous in terms of genres – they are often compilations of translations and original texts, containing elements of sermons, prayers and meditations. This is why in the Polish research tradition the collection of Old-Polish Apocrypha also includes those texts which in the European research tradition could be referred to as *Erbauungsliteratur*, devotional works, meditations, Christian romance novels or *Vita*. They are mainly connected by the subject matter and, considering the small number of preserved texts, are studied together. They are based on many different Latin (sometimes Czech) sources, coming from different periods (for example, next to verses from the Holy Bible we have fragments of the *Lentulus Letter* and *Vita rhythmica* from the thirteenth century). We are dealing with the creation of a new text from fragments translated into Polish, sometimes quoted, sometimes paraphrased, often combined at the lowest level – within a single sentence. These texts are also a testimony to the beginnings of Polish vernacular literature.

In the paper I will focus on the ways of creating medieval apocrypha. I will show the strategies of translating the Gospels in the Old Polish Apocrypha (selection, use and translation), some traces of mergers (such as errors resulting from the merging of two texts), some omissions and repetitions. I will ask the question: which fragments of the gospel are never changed in translation and always translated word-by-word? As preliminary studies show, Jesus’s words and verses of the Psalms deal with a formal equivalence, while narrative passages with dynamic equivalence or rather paraphrase). I will also ask what the reason for such a choice is.

Romhányi, Beatrix F. (Károli Gáspár University, Budapest)

Population and church organisation in the Carpathian Basin between the foundation of the kingdom and the Mongol Invasion

The formation of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom around the year 1000 brought basic structural changes that influenced the landscape for centuries. However, the foundation of the dioceses, the building of rural churches and the emerging of the monastic network superposed existing structures (demographic and economic conditions) that are hardly visible for us. Furthermore, the whole ecclesiastic network underwent serious changes, partly due to the emerging of the late medieval parish system, but partly to other factors, such as the Mongol Invasion and environmental changes. The early stages of the process are difficult to study, as written evidence is very scarce before the Mongol Invasion (1241–1242), and it documents mainly the highest levels of the church organisation, while the level of the local communities

remains in shadow. Information on the latter is provided by archaeology (early churches and churchyards), but without a real connection to written sources its interpretation is also problematic. Recent research based on a complex dataset, including archaeological and historical evidence as well as toponyms, aimed to give new insights into the process of Christianisation and of the spreading of the Church organisation between the turn of the millennium and the early-thirteenth century. Based on the analysis of multivariable indicators, the relative population density pattern and the early central places of the Carpathian Basin could be visualised, and the spatial structure of the kingdom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries reconstructed. The research can also give some hints about where the traces of the earlier (ninth and tenth century) Christian missions could survive and influence the shape of the eleventh-century Church organisation.

Rossignol, Sébastien (Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador)

“Divine Power Plays in Human Affairs”: Regulating Watermills in Medieval Silesia

Medieval mills used water as a renewable energy that, in principle, could be used perpetually. As ever more watermills were built on moats, rivers and canals around Wrocław and other Silesian towns, however, various complications arose. The mills and ponds modified water levels, causing prejudices to some mill owners; moats and channels required maintenance work; waste disposal and pollution in the water increasingly had to be monitored. This paper will review for the first time sources about the regulation of watermills in Silesia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including documents about the building of mills, records of conflicts and ordinances about watermills. It will not only discuss solutions devised to accommodate stakeholders, but also analyse the discourse on mills, water and property from a cultural-historical perspective.

The paper will outline, in particular, continuity and change in attitudes towards mills, water and energy as economic resources. Flowing waters were generally considered, in accord with Roman tradition, to belong to everyone; administering them was a regalian right of dukes. Attitudes changed, however, as artificial streams and canals were built on private or common property to bring water to mills. Evidence from municipal books shows that greater value was placed on natural resources that had been modified through human efforts. As mills were multiplied in the surroundings of towns, attitudes also shifted from a concern about equal access to water to fostering a sense of responsibility regarding the maintenance of infrastructures and the cleaning of water. These are some of the questions that will be discussed.

Rózsa, Márton (University of Vienna)

Movement, Presence and Power: Bruno of Augsburg and the Politics of Central Europe

Bruno of Augsburg, the brother of Henry II, the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, was an important figure in early eleventh-century Central Europe. Bruno built an ecclesiastical career which largely conditioned his participation in the politics of the Holy Roman Empire. According to our sources, Bruno made several journeys to Bohemia and Hungary for different reasons, including political asylum and as an ambassador. His mobility was frequently connected to the turbulent events of the time, the internal struggles of the Holy Roman Empire

or military conflict in Central Europe. This paper seeks to reveal how the movements of Bruno of Augsburg served the interests of the political centres of Central Europe, and how these journeys influenced his career. For these aims, the examination carries out an extensive and detailed analysis of different sources: the Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg, the letter of Bruno of Querfurt to Henry II and several official documents. The study deepens our understanding of several major subjects, such as the impact of the Holy Roman Empire on Central Europe, and the political methods of newly established states in the region during the early eleventh century.

Ryier, Yanina (Jesuit University Ignatianum)

From a Chief to a Prince: Evolution of a ruler's role and functions in the forming Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the mid-13th – late 14th century

The study deals with the evolution of a ruler's role and functions in the early Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the process of its state formation. The author focuses her attention on the transformation of a ruler as a chief of a compound chiefdom to the prince (a grand duke) of an early state during the reign of pagan rulers of Lithuania (from Mindaugas to Algirdas). The paper presents a complex analysis of the development and transformation of power in the context of the complicated processes that took place in the lands of the Chronicle Lithuania and the annexed lands of former Rus'. The dualistic nature of the state and the ruler's power (pagan and Christian ones) is pointed out. The role of the religion in the process of a ruler's power establishment and recognition in a Christian world is emphasised. The foundations of a ruler's power are highlighted in a chronological perspective. The perception of a prince, his self-identification and identification in the narrative sources of neighbouring lands, is analysed. The mechanisms of power institutionalisation, legitimisation and sacralisation of Lithuanian rulers are studied. The role of a personal authority of a ruler, his military policy and achieved success, diplomatic negotiations, as well as the place of historical tradition and norms of a throne succession in the process of the transformation of a Lithuanian ruler's role and functions are analysed.

Rzepiela, Michał (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Linguistic Change in Medieval Latin and Reuse of the Models of Ancient Latin

When talking about specificity of Medieval Latin, emphasis is usually placed on the influence exerted on Latin by vernacular languages. This is why in different parts of Europe the dictionaries of "local" Medieval Latin have been composed. Not underestimating the importance of vernacular languages as devices of linguistic change in Medieval Latin, it also is worth asking about the role of Ancient Latin in causing this change. This paper asks why certain moderately productive models of Ancient Latin significantly increased their productivity in Medieval Latin. The linguistic change is interpreted here in terms of the interplay between linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Different levels of language are put into examination. At the morphological one, particular attention is paid to word formation, especially those classes of words that were coined with the aid of some specific suffixes, such as -trix, -atus. At the phraseological one, the analysis is oriented on fixed collocations that in Medieval Latin

underwent some modifications compared to Ancient Latin, e.g. *secta haeretica* vs. *secta Bohemica* (the latter with regard to the supporters of the Hussite movement). The examination essentially is based on data delivered by two corpora of Polish Medieval Latin elaborated at the Department of Medieval Latin at the Instytut Języka Polskiego PAN in Kraków: the general corpus of Polish Medieval Latin eFontes and The Corpus of Works of Jan Długosz.

Saczyńska-Vercamer, Monika (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Between Tradition and Reform, the Devotion of the Krakow Townspeople in the 15th Century

The religious climate of Krakow in the 15th century was influenced by various factors. The sheer number of churches (there were nine parish churches alone) provided a rich devotional offer. The city was the capital of a diocese and the sitting bishops were eminent persons. Numerous educational institutions (parish schools, cathedral school) headed by the University attracted students and influenced the intellectual climate. In the 15th century, the University was an important scientific centre and a centre of conciliarist thought. The events taking place in Bohemia were closely followed and at certain points ‘entered’ into the life of the city (e.g. the Hussite delegation and the resulting restrictions by Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki). In Krakow itself there were people suspected of heresy, but also people living in an aura of sanctity (e.g. Jan Kanty, Szymon of Lipnica, etc.). Religious life was shaped by various forms of collective devotion such as confraternities, processions and the exceptional events - the stay of John of Capistrano. Under such conditions, did the burghers of Krakow ask themselves questions about the essence of faith and their individual path to God? Do the Cracow wills and other sources provide an answer to this?

Sambunjak, Zaneta V. (University of Zadar)

Continuity and persistence of pagan and Roman elements in the depiction of Morgan le Fay in the Middle High German romances

The development of universities in Central Europe intensified the exchange and circulation of learned texts and books of knowledge in this area. Many of these works contained knowledge traditionally acquired from pagan authors, whether from ancient times or the Arabic cultural space. Their dissemination carried with it translations and also adaptation to the society in which the texts were read and reciprocated. This phenomenon of adaptation of texts and interaction with “ancient” texts with Christian authors is not only true of academic works and texts discussed in the universities but also of those that mediated knowledge towards other cultural circles. The papers in this panel will focus on the narrative possibilities of tracing the reception of these texts in extant manuscripts in Central Europe and will ask what such an analysis can yield. We will outline both the reflected search for continuity with the ancient tradition and the un-reflected or not openly acknowledged continuity with older, in our case Arabic, authors. We will ask whether the open reception was due to a consensus on the texts’ authority or whether their (non-)reflected reception had other causes.

Seláf, Levente (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Crucial Events and Turning Points: Representing East Central Europe in French Universal Chronicles

The French world chronicles of the late Middle Ages follow the main lines of their models. But in many cases they are adapting them to the needs of their audience and commanders, sometimes adding to the material contained in their main source, from oral or other written sources. In this paper, we would like to show by several examples what place was given to events and persons related to Central Europe. In general, we can say that the important saints who were born in the region or their relics were kept here, the major events of the Crusades (against the Arabs, the Turks, or the Hussites), or some dynastic alliances belong to the category of remarkable events, and in the geographical parts of some encyclopaedic historical works, like Jean Mansel's *Fleur des histoires*, the region is also described. The comparison of these mentions will give us the opportunity to know better how Central Europe was seen by French speaking nobles and aristocrats, reading or listening more easily to French texts than Latin sources. The comparison includes Jean de Vignay's *Miroir historial* (c. 1320), the anonymous *Fleur des chroniques* (1330) Jean de Courcy's *La Bouquechardiere* (1422), and Mansel's *Fleur des histoires* (1446–1451).

Seletković, Petar (University of Zagreb) – see **Karbić, Marija** (Croatian Institute of History)

Sipos, Csilla Majláthné (University of Debrecen)

Farming Patterns and the Economic Importance of Floodplains in the Medieval and Early Modern Middle Tisza Region

Before the great river regulations of the nineteenth century, the Hungarian Great Plain was a unique region even on a European scale. Enormous areas were covered by water either constantly or temporarily because of the regular floods of the rivers and their tributaries. This waterlogged landscape offered various ways to exploit the natural resources of the rivers, lakes, marches and floodplains from the early medieval times. According to several charters, villages and market towns along the River Tisza applied a special farming method, the so called “fok” or floodplain farming, and they strongly connected to the river. Numerous medieval documents show that in the Middle Tisza region it was common to use fishing closures (*clausuras*), which were used to obstruct smaller and larger waterflows. One of the main objectives of this paper is to examine and present the role of “fok” or floodplain farming in the Middle Ages and how this farming practice remained determining even in the early modern and modern economy along the middle section of the Tisza. This continuity can be captured with an interdisciplinary approach and various types of sources. Although the basis of research is provided by medieval charters and sixteenth to eighteenth century economic conscriptions, it is essential to examine the topographical information of the eighteenth and nineteenth century maps, as well. Certain research in environmental history and ethnography reveals modern parallels to medieval farming practices and will be used to specify and clarify the often scarce data found in sources. Charters, urbaria and topographical data make it possible to project farming patterns on maps,

and even to compare the farming methods of the Middle Tisza regions with the north-eastern area of the Upper Tisza.

Šorm, Martin (Czech Academy of Sciences)

Liberal democracy, Middle Ages and education

In the Czech debate on the reform of the school Framework Educational Program (RVP) we often hear a strong call for an emphasis on contemporary history. The presence of “medieval” content in the education of history is defended in particular from conservative positions of the advocates of national identity (accent on continuity) and from the position of academic medieval studies (care for scientific discipline and professional positions); liberal and emancipatory perspectives didactically use representations of the Middle Ages rather to delineate modernity and the pre-modern world (accent on discontinuity), or to demonstrate the sources of capitalism and progress in the Middle Ages. All these conceptions are based on linear narratives and chronological approaches to teaching history – ideologically conditioned projections of duration and change, as well as periodisation, play a fundamental role. Recently developed constructivist approaches, based on the research method, could transcend these automatised narratives, but we are still waiting for specific implementations. A useful role of the Middle Ages in school history remains unclear. How and why should medieval material be used in the teaching of history in the twenty-first century? Can we get more than highlighting cultural relativism and plurality of sources and perspectives that – in a liberal and democratic civil society – are a value in themselves?

Španjol-Pandelo, Barbara (University of Rijeka)

Medieval visual culture of the North Adriatic under the central European artistic and political influence

North Adriatic medieval art has traditionally been defined as an integral part of the Venice Republic and Venetian influences, both artistic and architectural, were considered to prevail. However, recent research, with special attention on wooden medieval sculpture, has shown that there was also a strong liaison with the Central European artistic development, especially during the fifteenth century. Several wooden sculptures preserved on the islands of Rab and Cres, as well as on the North Adriatic littoral, such as the Novi Vinodolski region and the town of Rijeka, imply a strong connection with the Central European tradition, rather than Venetian. In this paper the change of taste will be discussed in the context of the possible social and economic turning points. Emphasis will be placed on several examples of the preserved medieval sculpture, with special attention on the context changes, but also on the importance of continuity of these works of art in conveying clear ideological and political messages.

Srienc-Ściesiek, Magdalena T. (Austrian Archaeological Institute) - see **Richards, Nina**

St. Popović, Mihailo (Austrian Academy of Sciences) and **Vratislav Zervan** (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

The Hagiogeography of Saint Archangel Michael in the Balkans and Central Europe in Medieval Times

Saint Archangel Michael was and is perceived in the Latin and Orthodox Churches as a very mighty, living, visible and invisible Saint and needs more scholarly attention than he has received thus far. From the very beginning, veneration of the Archangel has been connected to specific natural (physical) features in the landscape. A remarkable example in this respect is the miracle in the Phrygian places of Chonai and Kolossai in Asia Minor, which alludes to a spring (water) and a hole (funnel) in the miracle's narration. While some scholars argue that the Archangel's cult spread from Phrygia to Rhodes, Constantinople and Egypt, others contradict the notion of origin and diffusion from a single geographical point and emphasise that the veneration emerged out of multiple sites. Crucial for our approach in this respect are the underlying theoretical concepts, namely Hagio-geography, Sacred Geography and Hierotopy.

In our paper we will address the two following questions and compare the evidence from the medieval Balkans and Central Europe based on written sources, archaeological data, toponymy, maps and spatial concepts:

- a) What is the connection between the places of veneration of Saint Archangel Michael – i.e. Michaeline religious sites – and natural (physical) features in the landscape?
- b) May we discern particular natural (physical) features in the landscape and do they “attract” and shape Michaeline religious sites (or vice versa)?
- c) Do the sites of Saint Michael's veneration have a specific function in the Christianisation process in the Balkans and Central Europe?

Štefan, Ivo (Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague)

From prehistory to the Middle Ages: The Transformation of the Elites in Central Bohemia between the 8th and 13th centuries

The paper presents a model of elite transformation in the important state-forming region around Prague in a long time perspective between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Based on the analysis of archaeological and written sources, the author shows that during the eleventh century there was a significant restructuring of the concept of centrality, which was both a cause and a consequence of the changing character of the elites. We can therefore make the provocative suggestion that the society of the period of the early Premyslids was rather a catch-up of prehistoric social structures based on collective principles, and the eleventh and twelfth centuries brought a completely new socio-economic order to society.

Szakács, Béla Zsolt (Central European University, Budapest)

Twin Cathedrals and Church Families in Central Europe: Continuity or Change?

Twin cathedrals were Early Christian building complexes known from the Mediterranean, especially from Italy, France and Dalmatia. In Central Europe, the cathedral of Trier is an excellent example. A comparable architectural structure, excavated in the early twentieth century in Óbuda, in Hungary (Roman Aquincum in Pannonia), is also interpreted traditionally as a twin cathedral. However, it seemed that the idea of the twin cathedral did not survive after the state foundation of the East Central European kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. Nevertheless, a new theory (formulated by Tomasz Weclawowicz) supposes a twin cathedral in Krakow and serves with further arguments for other Polish dioceses (Poznan, Gniezno). Thus, a number of further problems emerge: can we suspect that an Early Christian tradition survived until the Romanesque period in Central Europe? Or is it the result of the newly initiated Christianisation? What kind of liturgical usage can be supposed for a twin cathedral in the High Middle Ages? What was the connection between ecclesiastical reform and church families in the Holy Roman Empire and in its eastern neighbourhood? And finally: can we really suppose the existence of twin cathedrals of Romanesque East Central Europe? All these problems should be discussed within the framework of the church families, popular at least from the Moravian period in the region.

Szócs, Péter Levente (County Museum Satu Mare)

Fine grey-ceramic vessels as elements of change in medieval table-ware

In the city centre of Satu Mare/Szatmárnémeti (Romania), roughly two dozen pieces of grey and blackish grey ceramic vessels, decorated with stamped motifs, were recently found during rescue excavations. The material of the vessels is very fine, homogeneous and densely burned, and its colour varies from lighter grey to black. Most of them come from jugs or pitchers, while among the smaller jugs there are versions with a lobed rim and a pouring spout. The most characteristic feature of the vessels is their decoration with stamped motifs. The most frequent motifs used are rows of dots, diagonal and vertical lines, as well as depictions of plants and animals. On some pieces, gothic letters and numbers or figures imitating them can be seen, too.

In terms of shape and decoration, this type of pottery differs from the common ceramic-ware of local origin, and it is different from the graphite-ware, known as Austrian imports, too. Its occurrence is rare in central parts of medieval Hungary; it is more common in Transylvania, but the largest and most complex such assemblages were discovered in Moldavia, from urban contexts and dated to the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century. The paper proposes to discuss the role of the fine-grey wares in renewing the tableware, by assessing their provenance, spread and contexts of usage.

Tayler, Nicholas (University of Debrecen)

Onomastics and Sainly Cults - Ghostly Indications of 11th-Century Lotharingian Influence in Hungary

Despite the uncertainty dating the settlement of the Walloons in the Eger Valley in Hungary, the concurrent arrival of the Lotharingian prelate Leodwin supports the eleventh-century date mentioned by the chronicler, illustrator, painter and Benedictine monk Jean de Stavelot. Combining toponomastics and the study of church dedications offers essential clues to mapping out Walloon settlement areas. Place names of French origin and ethnically differentiating toponyms provide essential clues. The propensity of dedications to St. Giles is also striking, as well as the presence of St. James, the patron saint of an ancient church in the former Walloon quarter of Eger.

The study of saintly cults also leads to fascinating conclusions regarding the ruling elites of Europe during this period and their links with Lotharingia. These cults spread “virally” via the dynastic networks and marriages of the monarchs of England, Poland and Hungary. The adoption of the baptismal name Lambert, the patron saint of Liège, was particularly noticeable. Used by the Árpáds, the Piasts and King Canute of England, the name was a reference to their allegiance to the Prince-Bishopric of that same town. That one of the bishops of Eger was ordained Lambert can hardly be a coincidence.

Hungary remained, and the Lotharingian influence seemingly vanished into thin air, to such an extent that popular historiography has effectively ignored it. Is it time to put shadowy Lotharingia back on the map and rediscover its place in Hungarian history?

Theisen, Maria (Austrian Academy of Sciences) and **Edina Zsupán** (National Széchényi Library)

A spectacular turn to humanism: the decoration of the humanistic codices for John Vitéz de Zredna, Archbishop of Esztergom

In fifteenth century Hungary, one can observe a very early reception of Italian humanism. Its leading figure was the learned politician and prelate Johannes Vitéz de Zredna. Recent research has shown that he had a flourishing scriptorium in his vicinity, not only during his episcopate in Várad (now Oradea), but also during his time as Archbishop of Esztergom. This fit perfectly into his complex programme of integrating Italian humanism into Hungarian culture (e.g. university, printing press, *contubernium*, etc.). It has also been shown that manuscript production in his environment was characterised by a very conscious adaptation of the features of humanistic book production. Especially those with bianchi-girari ornamentation were and are often attributed to scribes regionally and chronologically. Most, but not all, humanist texts were indeed acquired in Italy, many in Florence, Rome or Naples. Their “Italian” book decoration was to become the outward characteristic of classical literature. Completely unknown, however, was the fact that Johannes Vitéz was probably also assisted by an illuminator who also worked entirely in the spirit of the turn towards Italian humanism and the Renaissance. Our paper will focus on this question and analyse the decoration of codices that emerged in this complex context of ideas, intentions, levels of education, people, places, writings, and styles of illumination.

Tímár, Csenge (University of Debrecen)

A French ambassador in Central Europe. Negotiations of Antonio Rincón in the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland in the years of 1522 and 1523

The topic of my presentation is French Ambassador Antonio Rincón's delegation of 1522 and envoy of 1523 to the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Poland. My aim is to explore the French aspects of late medieval Central European diplomacy, with a focus on the Hungarian aspects, thus providing a new interpretative perspective for the study of foreign policy before Mohács.

Significant Hungarian medievalists have already made several references to the above-mentioned mission of Antonio Rincón in their works. However, due to linguistic differences, no one has yet dealt with him comprehensively. Antonio Rincón was a diplomat of Castilian origin who served Francis I of France. He made numerous journeys to Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The first phase of these visits was his mission of 1522–1523, during which he negotiated with several Polish and Hungarian overlords, such as János Szapolyai, Voivode of Transylvania, and King Sigismund I of Poland. At the end of his journey, he wrote a report in Italian, which I have translated into Hungarian. No one had ever translated the text before this attempt, so the translation is the main feature of my research. I will present this translation in my presentation, in which I also discuss the course of Rincón's negotiations and the identity of his negotiating partners. However, I will focus only on the Hungarian aspect in detail.

Toda, Oana (National Museum of Transylvanian History)

Roman and medieval communication patterns in Transylvania. Readdressing the importance of the Roman imperial route between Cluj (Napoca) and Turda (Potaissa) as part of the late medieval road network

The archaeological landscape of a territory can be envisaged as a multi-layered picture (filling in the apparently blank spaces between settlements) of all the traces left by human activity across time. Occasionally, older landscape elements appear to influence the emergence and development of similar man-made features from more recent time frames. This is the case of Roman roads and all subsequent road systems. Hence, academia often stated that the first extensively engineered road network in the historical region of Transylvania, namely the Roman one, significantly affected the development of medieval communication and settlement systems.

In this paper, I will re-address this topic while focusing on one segment of the Roman imperial road of the former province of Dacia, namely the section between the medieval towns of Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Turda (Torda, Thorenburg). My approach will be a holistic one from the medieval perspective, based on the available late medieval and early modern sources. Several research queries stand as guidelines: Is there any indication of the actual reuse of the antique road track or is it just suitable natural terrain? Did it influence the shaping of the medieval road and settlement systems in the microregion? What was the relation between this communication route and the microregional road network? Was there any viable medieval

alternative to this route as part of the area's communication network? What was its place in the medieval hierarchy of roads, and how did its medieval users define it in terms of legal and economic aspects? Can one attempt a comparison between the antique and medieval communication patterns?

Torres Prieto, Susana (IE University Segovia)

The dawn of heroic literature in Bohemia: importation and adaptation of the Romance of Alexander

After the creation in Middle High German of Ulrich von Etzenbach's Alexander between the years 1270 and 1287 at the Bohemian court of the Přemyslids, in the last years of the thirteenth century or the first years of the next, an anonymous poet attempted a similar feat by trying to render Châtillon's *Alexandreis* into Old Czech. Only 3,363 octosyllabic verses (3,992 if we count the repetitions) have survived, dispersed in nine fragments dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is considered the first literary work in verse in Old Czech, and it is not the only narration about the deeds of Alexander of Macedonia that has survived in Bohemia. The present paper explores the relevance and influence of Alexander as a heroic model at the dawn of Bohemian literature within the context of courtly literature, and how the anonymous Bohemian poet managed to use the paradigm of the classical hero to represent the national values of the ruling dynasty. To a certain extent, the use of Alexander represents a continuity with other medieval European literatures, as well as with a classical past. At the same time, however, it represents a change in the use of the Alexander paradigm with respect to what Ulrich von Etzenbach did in his own translation.

Vadas, András (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

At the Crossroads of Environmental History and Urban Topography: Urban Waterscapes and Pollution in Pre-Modern Hungary

Before the birth of modern infrastructures, towns in Europe regularly experienced difficulties in providing fresh water and a healthy environment for their inhabitants. Freshwater played a key role in local economies, as apart from being the source of drinking water, it was also the main channel of waste(water) disposal, a source of energy for many industries, as well as of food. The paper addresses the pressure the diverse utilisation of freshwater put on streams by looking at some towns – Sopron, Zagreb, Miskolc, Felhévíz, and Kőszeg – and their waterways in pre-modern Hungary (and Croatia). In doing so, the focus will be on the topographic aspects, that is the spatial arrangement of the different industries and other users. I will argue that visualising the spatial distribution of water users in towns may shed light on legal arrangements for using water.

Varga, Imre Solt (University of Debrecen)

The role of Jews during the Hussite Wars. The role of Jewish creditors in Sigismund of Luxembourg's Hussite campaigns

The late Middle Ages often had a negative impact on Jews in Europe. However, despite the persecution, there are cases where money was obtained from Jews not by force, but by loans during the Middle Ages. What happened when a famously poor ruler found himself in a situation in which he had to borrow money from Jewish merchants for a crusade?

In my paper, I present a segment of the Hussite wars of Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary and Germany (1387/1411-1437), which has been less well known to academic historiography. The first campaign, launched in the spring of 1420, although it reached Prague, was not ultimately successful, and Sigismund wanted to make up for it with a campaign the following year. However, he did not have enough money for it. For the Crusade that was launched in the autumn of 1421, Sigismund had to borrow money from several Jewish merchants, in addition to other incomes, such as the pledging of estates. Later, however, he not only helped to repay these loans, but also often helped to collect other sums or provided compensation for the displaced Jews. In what situation did the two contracting parties meet? How did Sigismund help the Jews?

As a student of medieval Hungarian history, I examine both the campaigns and the sums raised for them from a Hungarian perspective, drawing primarily on Hungarian documentary sources and contextualising the situation of the two parties to the treaty.

Vargha, Mária (Charles University, Prague)

Empowering the Voiceless – A Digital Analysis and Modelling of Christianisation in East-Central Europe

The present paper introduces a research project funded by the PRIMUS grant scheme at Charles University, Prague. The project focuses on the comparative analysis of the process of Christianisation in Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia from the point of view of the archaeological heritage of the rural population. Planting Christianity as an institutional system was integral to the emperor's power, expanding his influence and securing his rule in the new kingdoms. Previous narratives have been generally constructed on the basis of limited written accounts, which mainly concern the higher echelons of society, emphasising the role of secular and ecclesiastical elites. The ecclesiastical and secular administrative organisation of the commoners, the rural population (despite their importance for the stability of both State and Church), could not be reconstructed satisfactorily from these source materials.

The presented project focuses on the methodological approaches to investigate territoriality and reconstruct the earliest network of rural churches based on historical and archaeological evidence. Examining the early network and the "area of influence" of churches and other religious and secular institutions and their comparative contextualisation with contrasting site types (such as field cemeteries) provides an excellent base to investigate the development of institutionalised Christianisation in the lowest level of society. The current project is developing a digital database of those archaeological features connected to this process, and the present paper showcases the upsides and challenges of the extensive, digital, geospatial database.

Véber, Zoltán (University of Debrecen)

The idea of the Crusade and its changes in Hunyadi's anti-Turkish strategy

With the emergence of John Hunyadi, the idea of the Crusade gained renewed strength both in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Europe. His victories over the Ottomans in 1441–1442 raised hopes that a new Crusade might be launched against them under the leadership of Hungary. This led to new illusions in Europe regarding the saving of Constantinople and the recapture of the Holy Land. However, hopes were soon to be crushed by the defeats at Varna and Kosovo, and with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the belief in the idea of the *passagium generale* was also laid to rest. Crusader phraseology after 1453 still had the intention of recapturing the Holy Land, but the strategy changed, and the defence of existing positions and limited counter actions based on them became more and more important. These events also brought changes in the strategy of John Hunyadi. In 1455 he even thought that the liberation of the Holy Land was possible with a 100,000-strong united European crusading army, but there were already significant changes in the rhetoric after 1448, and the defensive foreign policy established by Sigismund of Luxemburg came to the fore. In my presentation, I will show how the rhetoric of John Hunyadi changed regarding the Crusade, and in parallel, examine the changes that occurred in his anti-Ottoman policy behind the rhetoric.

Vercamer, Grischa (Technical University of Chemnitz)

The Christian Ruler and His Representation in Late Medieval Chronicles (Southern Germany, Austria, Bohemia) – Performance, Publicity and Private Piety

In many chronicles, the *rex christianissimus* is a common phrase that is used only stereotypically and superficially. Surprisingly often – in contrast to hagiographical texts – it lacks concrete content. It is therefore worth asking: How did the ruler fill his religiousness and piety in life? What everyday rituals did he perform? In which situations is his Christianity emphasised? Is there a reason for this, perhaps beyond piety? Public Christian performance was certainly important for the ruler. Can one perceive a distinction between personal and public piety of princes among the chroniclers? Did the authors deal with this critically?

On the basis of some late medieval chronicles from Southern Germany, Austria and Bohemia, the lecture will approach this phenomenon. Concrete pious and religious rulers' activities will be presented, which are narratively staged in the chronicles. Also, in line with the overall theme of the conference (continuity and change), whether there was a late medieval development throughout the centuries will be examined.

Verkholtantsev, Julia (University of Pennsylvania)

The Etymological Method in Origin Stories from Master Vincentius to John Długosz, or, Why Was Leszko Cunning and Why Were Mieszko's Parents Thrown into Confusion?

This paper is part of a larger project that seeks to understand the function and implications of the etymological method – a common medieval grammatical practice of explaining origins of

words – in medieval historical writing. In my contribution, I examine origin stories in a number of Polish chronicles, starting with the chronicle of Master Vincentius and ending with the *Annales* of John Długosz. I argue that their conceptual framework and narrative structure reveal the use of the etymological method. I come to the conclusion that the etymological method plays the role of an epistemological and narrative device and that this new understanding of its role clarifies some of the narrative choices and strategies of historians that otherwise appear to be random, mysterious or fanciful.

Virágh, Ágnes (University of Debrecen)

Evolving and constant elements of medieval corporal conceptions and senses in the context of Louis the Great's Neapolitan campaigns

From the perspectives of justice-seeking groups who exercised physical violence, the inflicting of corporal torments and the vivid descriptions of such practices provided an opportunity to repel disruptive tendencies within the community under control through the demonstration of cautionary examples. For the sufferers and the communities they were associated with, cases of torture served as tools for reaffirming group cohesion through a common experience of pain and misery. Martyrs, therefore, became respected models to be followed. Several passages illustrating this complex practice can also be found in the Hungarian and Italian chronicles describing Louis the Great's military campaign against the Kingdom of Naples (1347–1350). These texts reveal that both the Hungarians and their enemies adopted a wide spectrum of instruments both in the use of punishments and to endure corporal torture, in order to consolidate their positions in the war. The authors usually heard about torture from others, and even if they witnessed torture or an execution, wrote about the suffering only as external observers. The aim of this paper is to draw on the theory and methodology of the “history of experience” to provide an overview of embodied sufferings in the light of the practice and bearing of forms of retribution. In addition, from the perspective of change and continuity, I will concentrate on the ways in which medieval narratives of torments, especially those related to martyrdom, served as models for fourteenth-century chroniclers, although they modified these models and added their personal interpretations to fit their own agendas.

Wilson, Jack (Central European University)

Recontextualizing the Mongol attacks on Hungary and Poland in the 1280s: moving away from the Domination of Nogai

The Mongol attacks on Hungary (1285) and Poland (1287) are generally overlooked compared to the more famous campaign of the early 1240s. When they have been examined, they are consistently understood as the design of Mongol prince Nogai (d.1300), the supposed all-powerful kingmaker of the Golden Horde. However, Nogai's prominence in the Golden Horde has been dramatically overstated, and I believe an alternative context for the renewed attacks on Central Europe can be provided. I argue that the campaigns in Europe in the 1280s can be placed into a wider period of reinvigorated Mongol aggression attributable to one man: Tele-Buqa, Khan of the Golden Horde 1287–1291. I contend that his efforts to present himself as a contender for the Horde throne led to the 1285 attack on Hungary, and the abysmal result of

this campaign compelled Tele-Buqa and his allies to launch a coup in 1287. The need to legitimise an increasingly unpopular princely junta led to new attacks on Poland and the Ilkhanate over the remainder of his reign.

I will present the context given for the campaigns in the relevant sources, without the baggage of the “khanmaker Nogai” image attached to them. This paper will explore the continued commitment and adaptations to the Mongol belief in universal hegemony, and how states in Central Europe interacted with changing political dynamics in the Golden Horde in the late thirteenth century. By doing so, we can achieve a better understanding of the intentions, course and outcomes of the “second Mongol invasion of Europe.”

Zajac, Talia (University of Manchester)

‘*Maria Rutenissa [...] fundatrix ecclesie*’: Maria Sviatopolkovna (?) or Volodarovna (d. 1160s) Between Continuity and Change

During the twelfth century, Poland, like other polities in Central Europe, slowly began to adopt a more uniform Latin Christian identity that was becoming more consciously differentiated from the religious-cultural identity of neighbouring early Rus’. At the same time, however, as the cultural gulf between Poland and Rus’ widened, marriage and military alliances increased in frequency, especially in the first half of the twelfth century. This paper will examine one case study of twelfth-century Polish-Rus’ intermarriage: that of a Rus’ princess of debated genealogical origin, Maria Sviatopolkovna (?) or Volodarovna (d. 1160s), the wife of the Polish count palatine Piotr Włostowic (d. 1151/1153). The paper will consider Maria’s portrayal in Latin narrative sources, such as the near contemporary Translation of the Hand of Saint Stephen (*Translatio manus sancti Stephani*), her patronage, evidence for her ongoing connections to Rus’ after her marriage, as well as wider political and religious circumstances that shaped her reception in Poland, such as the Wendish Crusade. Maria lived in a transitional period when crusading ideals began to circulate among the Polish nobility and a more negative view of Rus’ and Orthodoxy was emerging in Latin Christendom; yet her life also testifies to ongoing cross-cultural ties between Poland and Rus’. By examining the experiences of Maria as a Rus’ princess at the twelfth-century Polish court, the paper will consider to what extent her life and image testify to a turning-point in attitudes toward Rus’ among the Polish elite, and hence of both cultural continuity and change.

Zapała, Adam (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Polish diplomacy at the Holy See during the second half of the 15th century. Change or continuity?

The second half of the fifteenth century is considered to be a period of change in many areas, including diplomacy. The medieval diplomatic practice that was based on short-term contacts of envoys sent to deal with specific issues started to be replaced by the modern system of permanent representation by ambassadors. This system emerged in Italy, especially at the Holy See during the Renaissance. However, such significant changes are always the results of long-term processes, and they are not adopted immediately by all political actors. The purpose of the

proposed presentation is to examine the change and continuity in the Polish diplomatic practices at the Holy See during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Although diplomatic contacts between the kingdom of Poland and the Holy See constitute a subject well-explored by historiography, very little discussion has been devoted to the representation of the Polish rulers at the Holy See. Did the Polish adopt the new diplomatic methods during the second half of the fifteenth century, and if yes, to what extent? Was Polish diplomacy in continuous contact with the Holy See? What role did those Poles who resided for an extended period of time in Rome play? If we answer these questions, we will be able to determine whether Polish diplomacy at the Holy See in the second half of the fifteenth century bore the marks of modernity or remained medieval.

Zazuliak, Iurii (Ukrainian Catholic University)

Ruthenian Peasants and the German Law in 15th-Century Galicia (Red Ruthenia)

The paper discusses the issue of the unstable boundaries between the German and Ruthenian laws in contexts of peasant mobility at the periphery of the region of Galicia (Red Ruthenia) during the fifteenth century. It highlights how the various strategies of segregation and discrimination determined the ambiguous legal positions of the Ruthenians within communities of German law. The paper contends that legal pluralism, as a distinct feature of the peripheral areas of late medieval Galicia, produced numerous modifications and a hybridisation of the institutions of German law. It also shows that the expansion of German law in the peripheral areas of fifteenth-century Galicia, if seen in contexts of the peasant mobility and ethnicity, offers examples of how the new institutional designs and “occidentalisation”, usually associated with German law, not only brought significant innovations but also sometimes failed in their accomplishment, being thwarted by the resistance of the local peasantry, arbitrary exercise of lordship, insufficient legal competence and the limits of social knowledge of the local judicial institutions and local communities.

Zdaniewicz, Radosław (University of Łódź)

From the 13th-century wooden tower to the 16th-century brick manor house. Remarks to the recent archaeological research of knightly seats in Upper Silesia district in Poland

In recent years, archaeological research has been carried out at several sites in Upper Silesia, known as the remains of knights’ seats. They have provided much valuable information on the changes in the appearance of the manor buildings, mostly inhabited by the poorer Silesian nobility in the Middle Ages. Excavation and geophysical surveys confirmed the evolution of the construction and layout of residential buildings. It also confirmed that wood was used as the building material for the construction of most of the manors, as well as clay, which was glued to the walls of buildings or filled the interior of framed structures. However, despite the changes in the appearance of manor houses, the idea of erecting on a mound continued. Earthen mounds were built usually in river valleys or natural reliefs were used. On the basis of four sites surveyed in the years 2012–22 (Ciochowice-Kozłów-Kielcza-Rudziniec/district Katowice and Opole, Poland), specific examples will emphasise the changes and similarities of manor seats from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. These studies contribute greatly to a better

understanding of the subject of the appearance and transformation of the appearance of medieval knightly courts in the southern part of Poland.

Zečević, Nada (Goldsmiths University, London) and **Ziemann, Daniel** (Central European University, Vienna)

Roundtable discussion: The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe – what’s next?

Panel Abstract: Medieval Central Europe represents a region of dynamic interactions that connected the Kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland to the shores of the Baltic, Adriatic and the Black Sea, entangling it with Western Europe but also other cultures of the medieval globe. Long-lasting, but frequently reshaped by modern geo-strategic agenda, these interactions were often neglected by Western historiography and public knowledge, as well as by local national historiographies, creating the stereotypic image of the region and its medieval people as marginal and “forgotten.” Seeking to understand what Central Europe meant in medieval terms, but, also, how its medieval past is interpreted today, the 24 chapters of *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe* generated the latest comparative knowledge about the region’s entanglements, also pointing out to the convergences and interactions between the region’s less known marginal areas. Discussing the mail connections revealed by the *Handbook*’s chapter, the Roundtable aims at identifying the new scholarly themes and approaches to the region’s medieval cohesions and connections.

Zervan, Vratislav (Slovak Academy of Sciences) - see **St. Popović, Mihailo** (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Ziemann, Daniel (Central European University, Vienna)

Dark Ages in Central Europe? – The period around 900 AD as a turning point

Paper abstract: In Western Europe, the period around 900 AD is considered to be dark and turbulent. It is marked by the end of the Carolingian dynasty in the eastern Frankish kingdom, the Hungarian and Viking invasions, a weak central power and a decline of culture, literacy and social order. The sources are scarce and fragmented. At the same time, this period marks a break, which laid the grounds for future developments. The following decades are the starting point of a new order, the beginning of the Ottonian dynasty with a shift of the central power to the East, a stabilisation of the kingship in France and processes of state building, centralisation and Christianisation in Central Europe.

The proposed paper focuses on the western part of Central Europe and the impact of the events of the period around 900 on the region. The devastating invasions of the Hungarians had a great impact on the power structures and created a new political landscape. But how far is the usual pattern of the dark ages valid for this region as well? The picture is not as clear as it seems in the West. Some sources suggest continuity and even growth. It should therefore also be asked what links the late Carolingian period to the tenth century in Central Europe? Can some of the

developments of the tenth century be traced back to the late ninth century? Or is the term “dark ages” also appropriate for this region?

Zsupán, Edina (National Széchényi Library) - see **Theisen, Maria** (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Zupka, Dušan (Comenius University, Bratislava)

Religious Warfare in Medieval Central Europe: Continuity and Change of an Idea

As a periphery of medieval Latin Christianity, the realms of East Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary and Poland) experienced an era of ground-breaking social, cultural, religious and political transformations between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. These changes also affected the realm of rulership, where the close collaboration of military-political and ecclesiastical elites proved fruitful and beneficial in many respects. The symbiosis of Christian faith and war evolved into a rich complex of religious warfare. This encompassed specific rituals, symbols and rhetoric, which were profusely influenced by the ideas of Holy War and the Crusades. The proposed paper offers, for the first time, a comparative examination of the mutual relations and influences between rulership of the Arpadian, Přemyslid and Piast dynasts and the religious warfare on the verge of the Early and High Middle Ages. Based on meticulous analysis of a wide range of sources (narrative, hagiographic, liturgical, diplomatic and visual), the paper aims to put forth the most accurate reconstruction of the heterogenous use, meanings and consequences of religious warfare on the periphery of Latin West. It will provide an explanation of how religious warfare served to legitimise and to sacralise monarchic power, as well as to integrate more profoundly the ruling dynasties and countries of East Central Europe into the world of Latin Christendom. Consequently, these processes helped to stimulate the creation and strengthening of the common identity of the *populus Christianus*. The paper will present the topic from three main perspectives. First, in the depiction of religious warfare for the purpose of sacralising the ruling power. Second, in the use of religious warfare as the symbolic expression of the ruling ideology on the battlefield in cases where the authors of contemporary sources needed to emphasise the legitimacy of their heroes. Third, in the perception of religious warfare as a tool for the integration of the Arpadian, Přemyslid and Piast monarchies into the world of Latin Christianity.

Žůrek, Václav (Charles University, Prague)

Pagans as a model for Christian behaviour? Tracing John of Wales' *Breviloquium* in Bohemian libraries and literary landscape

The development of universities in Central Europe intensified the exchange and circulation of learned texts and books of knowledge in this area. Many of these works contained knowledge traditionally acquired from pagan authors, whether from ancient times or the Arabic cultural space. Their dissemination carried with it translations and also adaptation to the society in which the texts were read and reciprocated. This phenomenon of adaptation of texts and interaction with “ancient” texts with Christian authors is not only true of academic works and

texts discussed in the universities but also of those that mediated knowledge towards other cultural circles. The papers in this panel will focus on the narrative possibilities of tracing the reception of these texts in extant manuscripts in Central Europe and will ask what such an analysis can yield. We will outline both the reflected search for continuity with the ancient tradition and the un-reflected or not openly acknowledged continuity with older, in our case Arabic, authors. We will ask whether the open reception was due to a consensus on the texts' authority or whether their (non-)reflected reception had other causes.