ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ

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Eötvös Collegium

Officina De Ioanne Bollók Nominata

Katalin Delbó

Marginalien im *Florilegium Vindobonense*

Das Florilegium Vindobonense befindet sich im Codex Philosophicus Philologicus Graecus 169, der aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert stammt, mehrere lexikographische-grammatische Sammlungen enthält und in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek bewahrt war. Das Florilegium ist bis zum heutigen Tag nur einem kleinen wissenschaftlichen Kreis bekannt. Die Forschung der Handschrift begann vor drei Jahren mit folgenden Richtlinien: die Transkription des griechischen Textes, die Provenienzrecherche des Florilegium sowie des Cod.Phil.gr. 169, die paläographische Untersuchung und die wissenschaftliche Aufdeckung der Tradition der byzantinischen Sammlungen. Obwohl das Zitatensammlung ein allgemeines Produkt der Literatur der Renaissance der Palaiologenzeit ist, aus den Ergebnissen kann man folgern, dass das *Florilegium Vindobonense* anhand seiner Inhalt und anhand der Person des Kopisten ein Unikat ist. Heutzutage ist die Untersuchung der interlinearen und marginalen Notizen in den Vordergrund getreten, deren Erfolge nicht nur die früheren Feststellungen bestätigen, sondern auch eine neue Richtlinie unserer Forschung geben.

Die kodikologische und paläographische Untersuchung, die sich auf den ganzen Kodex ausgedehnt wurde, bekräftigt unsere Kenntnisse über den dritten Teil des Cod. Phil.gr. 169. Das heißt: das Entstehungsverhältnis *des Florilegium* ist unbekannt, die Handschrift lässt sich aufgrund des Schriftbildes und der Qualität der Papierblätter aus der ersten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts datieren, und aus literarischer und inhaltlicher Perspektive sind viele Verknüpfungspunkte in den Werken in den drei Teilen bzw. im dritten Teil des Kodex zu finden. Die Marginalien – so auch die Notizen des *Florielgium Vindobonense* – beweisen die selbstständige Nutzung dieses Teils des Buches, die Schriftbilder des XIV. Jahrhunderts sind nämlich ausschließlich nur in dieser Handschriften-Gruppe zu treffen.

Die Prüfung der in der Sammlung lesbaren Marginalien ist mit deren paläographischen Untersuchung begonnen, nach deren Resultat können wir vier Kopisten unterschieden. Bei der Arbeit hat Professor Christian Gastgeber (ÖAW Institut für Byzanzforschung) mir Hilfe geleistet, deshalb werde ich bei der Benennung einzelnen Scribas seinen Bezeichnungen folgen. Die Analyse der marginalen und interlinearen Notizen hat gezeigt, dass die Marginalkopisten – auf gleicher Weise wie der Scriba im Haupttext – Zitate notierten. Dieser Umstand weis darauf hin, dass eine enge Verbindung zwischen den Kopisten ist.

Der Kopist „A“, der den Haupttext des *Florilegium Vindobonense* geschrieben hatte, notierte hauptsächlich Randglossen (aber in einem Fall eine Interlinearnotiz, auf Rekto 242). Die Zitate wurden immer genau in den Haupttext, also in die Zitate des gerade angeführten antiken Autors eingefügt: der Scriba zog sowohl das eben zitierte antike Werk, den Anfangsbuchstabe des Zitates, als auch die Zeilennummer des angeführten Werkes, die im Haupttext in steigernder Reihenfolge folgen, in Betracht. Mit Rücksicht auf strenge Genauigkeit des Kopisten „A“ und die Verbesserung eines Fehler im Zitieren oder die Einschiebung der eventuell weggelassenen Zitate gibt es zwei Annahme: erstens, er selbst stellte diese Sammlung zusammen - nicht aus anderen Anthologien -, zweitens, er arbeitet aus schon vorhandenen Sammelwerken.

Drei Fußnoten (auf Verso 157, 161 und Rekto 234) gehören zu dem Kopist „b“. Alle drei Einschreibungen enthalten Sentenzen, aus denen zwei von Gregorius von Nazianz, die anderen von Anonymen sind, aber die Parallelen der Letzteren sind in mehreren byzantinischen Zitatensammlungen findbar. Es ist erwähnungswert, dass es je einen Fluch neben den Nazianz‘s Zitate gibt, welche folgendermaßen lauten: Θεὸς σοὶ δοίη ταμ[ι]εῖας κένας, ἐνδεέστερον γῆρας, χειμῶνας μακρὰς, καὶ δίψαν διανεκῆ (Verso 157) und εἰς Τριζίνα (Τροιζήνα) βαδίζει (Verso 161) – beide wünschen ein ärmliches Leben.

Der Scriba „f“ notierte kurze, gnomische Marginalien. Er zitierte aus den Werken von Gregorius von Nazianz, Synesius von Kyrene und Philon von (?). In der Sammlung kann man in einem Fall ein solches Zitat finden, das zweimal angeführt wird, einmal wurde es gerade von dem Kopist „F“ geschrieben. Das Zitat lautet wie folgt: Θέλω τύξης σταλαγμὸν ἢ φρενῶν πίθον (Greg. Naz. Carm. mor. 968,1).

Die meisten Marginalien – siebzehn an der Zahl - wurden von dem Scriba „B“ aufgenommen. Er machte Notizen am Seitenrand und am Fuß des Blattes auch. Der große Teil von seinen Zitaten sind aus den zwei dem Dichter Homer zugeschriebenen Epen, also aus der Odyssee und Ilias gesammelt, sowie aus drei Werke, *De moderatione in disputando*, *In laudem Athanasii* und *In laudem Cypriani* des Gregorius von Nazianz. Neben diesen zeigen sich Psellos‘ Zitate aus der über den rhetorischen Charakter des Gregorius von Nazianz geschriebenen Rede auf Recto-Verso 159 und Recto 160. Dieser Kopist führte noch einen längeren Teil aus Halieutika des Oppian an, zitierte einmal von dem oben erwähnten Synesios und auch einen beliebten Spruch: Μισῶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν διπλοῦν πεφυκότα · χρηστὸν λόγοισι, πολέμιον δὲ τοῖς τροποῖς. Der Scriba „B“ hat sich anhand der Auswahl des Autors und der Werke nach der byzantinischen Tradition gerichtet. Die genannten Autoren sind nämlich beliebte Quellen und bekamen eine wichtige Rolle in der byzantinischen Schulbildung.

Im Gegensatz zu dem Haupttext waren die Zitate von Kopisten „B“ nicht strenger Reihe nach geordnet. Obwohl die einzelnen Zitate den Autoren entsprechend in einer Gruppe stehen, gibt es eine Regelmäßigkeit nur im Zitieren des Gregorius‘ von Nazianz Werkes (z.B. die Zitate folgen nach Zeilennummer in der Reihenfolge). In den Homers Zitaten ist dann kein traditionelles Ordnungsprinzip feststellbar, z.B. der Kopist „B“ alphabetisierte nicht oder die Auszüge sind mit dem Haupttext nicht verbunden. Hingegen kann man annehmen, dass es eine lexikalische-grammatische Verbindung zwischen

den Exzerpte gibt, wie auf Recto 243 ist das Wort ἀγγελίης die Verbindung zwischen die Zitate zu sein: πεύσεαι ἀγγελίης, ἢ μὴ ὤφελλε γενέσθαι (Hom. Il. 18, 19), λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ὤλεθ᾽ ἑταῖρος (Hom. Il. 17, 642) – aber der Beweis dieser Vermutung zieht weitere Untersuchungen nach sich. Es ist notwendig hervorzuheben, dass dieser Kopist mit geringen Ausnahmen philosophische, weise Gedanken notierte. Ein gutes Beispiel gibt die folgende Anführung des Gregorios von Nazians: σοφοὶ γὰρ ἐγένοντο εἰς τό δὲ καλὸν κακοιῆσαι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν (Gr.Naz. In laud. Ath 35)

Zwei Scriba des *Florilegium Vindobonense*, mit Zeichen „b" und „f", schrieben nur in dieser Sammlung des Cod.Phil.gr. 169, aber die zitierten Werke weisen darauf hin, dass die Kopisten in Verbindung miteinander sind.

Wenn man nämlich von den Randbemerkungen des Scriba des Haupttextes absieht, lässt es sich allgemein sagen, dass alle drei Kopisten ihre Einschreibungen aus Sentenzen sammelten, zitierten sie noch aus Werken des Gregorius von Nazianz und des Synesius von Kyrene. Die zitierten Werke und die Art der Anführung können auch darauf verweisen, dass die Kopisten nicht aus derselben Quellenwerken gearbeitet haben. Aber das Zitieren des Kirchenvaters und die Exzerpte von solchen Autoren, wie Oppian, Michael Psellos oder Pseudo Phokhylides im Haupttext, ist ein ausdrücklicher Hinweis auf eine Gelehrtenumgebung des Kodex, so des Florilegium auch.

Die Stellen von Michael Psellos heben sich von anderen Zitaten ohne Zweifel ab. Dessen Ursache ist in zwei Umständen zu suchen: an erster Stelle in dem jungen Alter der Rede – das heißt, dass manche Zitate von einem Verfasser, der im XI. Jahrhundert lebte und arbeitete, neben den antiken und christlichen Autoren auch zitiert wurden; an zweiter Stelle in der handschriftlichen Tradition der Rede, es sind nämlich sehr wenige Handschriften dieser Rede bekannt. Dieser letztere Umstand macht aber das möglich, dass man der Bereich der Kopisten eingeschränken kann. Anhand der Auszügen ist diejenige Linie der Textüberlieferung der Psellos' Rede und das Quellenwerk, aus dem der Scriba „B" gearbeitet hatte, wohl identifizierbar. Als Grundlage habe ich den Aufsatz von August Mayer mit dem Titel Psellos' Rede über den rhetorischen Charakter des Gregorios von Nazianz (1911) und die in diesem Beitrag aufgenommene Textausgabe angenommen.

Das unten präsentierte Stemma gruppiert diejenigen Texte, die heutzutage entweder in schriftlicher oder in gedruckter Form bekannten sind. In der Textüberlieferung des Psellos' Rede gibt es drei Hauptlinie: „N" zeichnet den Codex Parisinus Graecus 1182 aus den XIII-XIV. Jahrhunderten, „H" eine aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert stammende Handschrift aus Jerusalem. Die mit „P" gezeichnete Handschrift ist aus den XI-XII. Jahrhunderten zu datieren - dieses ist das jüngste bekannte Exemplar. Das Σ zeichnet nicht eine allein stehende Handschrift, sondern gruppiert diejenigen schriftlichen und gedruckten Exemplare der Rede, die miteinander im engen Zusammenhang stehen: „V" stammt aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert, die anderen lassen sich aus dem XV. oder XVI. Jahrhundert datieren.

Aus der Länge der Psellos' Zitate lässt sich darauf zu schließen, dass das Kopieren aufgrund einer solchen Handschrift stattfand, die nicht nur diese Auslese sondern auch

das ganzeWerke enthalten hat. Der Vergleich der Zitate des *Florilegium Vindobonense* mit Mayers Ausdruck hat ein interessantes Ergebnis mit sich gebracht. Der Zustand des Textes ist nämlich ziemlich gut, passt fast ohne Abweichung in „N"-Texttradition, z.B. der Kopist führte ein solches Exzerpt an, das im *Cod.Par.gr. 1182* verbessert gewesen ist. Der Text der Sammlung differiert nur in der Benutzung des Schriftzeichens, es war aber während unserer Forschung des Haupttextes des Florilegium schon festgesetzt, dass die Kopisten die byzantinische Grundlage folgten und nach dem Sprechrythmus interpunktierten.

Die Zitate der Rede von Psellos haben große Tragweite mit Rücksicht sowohl auf das Florilegium, als auch auf die Rede. Im ersten Fall, weil der Bereich der Kopisten einzuschränken ist, wie es schon erwähnt wurde. Deshalb muss die früher vermutete Verbindung der Sammlung - so des *Cod.Phil.gr. 169* auch - mit Andreas Lopadiotes und Manuel Moschopulos nach der Aufdeckung der Provenienz des *Cod.Par.gr. 1182* übergeprüft werden. In dem zweiten Fall, weil es keine bekannte Handschrift aus „N"-Texttradition der Psellos' Rede außer dem im Pariser Kodex enthalteten Text bis heute gab.

Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, dass die Untersuchung der Marginalien des *Florilegium Vindobonense* zu überraschenden Ergebnissen nicht nur bezüglich der Zitatensammlung, sondern auch dem ganzen Cod.Phil.gr. 169 geführt hat. Die hat bewiesen, dass die Anthologie von einer wissenschaftlichen Kreis zusammengestellt worden ist und es lässt sich auch nicht ausschließen, dass die Kopisten mit einem berühmten Grammatiker der Palaiologisichen-Zeit in Beziehung standen. Diese Voraussetzung kann von der nächsten Untersuchung der Zitate mit Schwerpunkt der Textüberlieferung bestätigt oder abgewiesen werden. Auf die in dieser Forschung gestellte zentrale Frage, ob das *Florilegium Vindobonense* im jedweden Zusammenhang mit der Handschrift des Cod. Par.gr. 1182 ist oder nicht, ist vorderhand noch nicht zu beantworten. Auf Grund des bisherigen Ergebnisses ist hoffentlich, dass die zukünftige Untersuchung wichtige wissenschaftliche Kenntnisse liefern wird.

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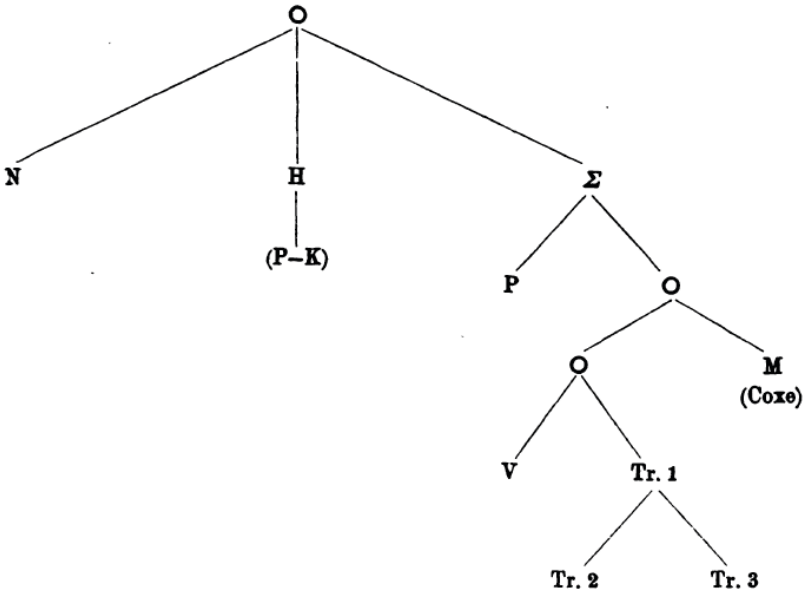
N = Par. gr. 1182 s. XIII f. 51^{v}.
H = Hieros. patr. syll. 108 s. XIII f. 1^{r}.
P = Pal. gr. 402 s. XI/XII f. 380^{r}.
V = Marc. gr. 524 s. XIV f. 160^{r}.
M = Bodl. Misc. 189 s. XV f. 195^{r}.
Σ = PVM.
H + Σ und N + Σ sind Überlieferung des Archetypus.
Hss Tryphons
1. Escur. Φ — III — 1 s. XV/XVI.
2. Escur. Υ — I — 9 s. XVI.
3. Monac. gr. 98 s. XVI.
Das Verhältnis der Hss stellt sich folgendermaßen dar:



Stemma der Handschriften; Mayer 1911, 47

Dániel Locsmándi

Das Leben und Kontaktnetz von Peter Lambeck

Der vorliegende Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit einem Thema, das von der Antike zeitlich zwar weit entfernt liegt, mit dem Studium der klassischen Literatur oder Geschichte jedoch eng zusammenhängt. Die lateinische Kultur ging mit dem Untergang des römischen Reiches bekanntlich nicht zu Grunde: Latein war die *lingua franca* der europäischen Intelligenz. Am Ende des Mittelalters setzt der Niedergang der lateinischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit ein, die Sprache behält aber noch lange Zeit ihre führende Rolle im Unterricht und im wissenschaftlichen Leben. Deutlich wird dies z.B. durch den Umstand, dass auf der Leipziger Buchmesse von 1701 noch 55% der Bücher auf Latein verfasst und gedruckt sind. Was sind nun die Gründe für das Weiterleben der lateinischen Sprache? Einerseits war das Latein die Sprache des Unterrichts - andererseits war es *die* internationale Sprache: Forscher wie Gelehrte konnten ihre wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse einem internationalen Fachpublikum am effektivsten auf Latein zugänglich machen. Und schließlich darf man nicht vergessen, dass die lateinische Schriftlichkeit bereits über etablierte Traditionen und Mittel verfügte, im Vergleich zu denen die nationalen Volkssprachen rückständig waren: sie konnten noch nicht alles ausdrücken und auch der zunächst lateinischsprachige Buchdruck hatte Probleme mit den Zeichen/Lettern für besondere Laute in den einzelnen Nationalsprachen. Ganz einfach bestand vorerst die Notwendigkeit der Benutzung des Lateins, bis die Nationalsprachen in dem Maße erstarkten, dass sie endlich an die Stelle des Lateinischen treten und es in allen Bereichen ablösen konnten.

Die lateinische Schriftlichkeit begegnet uns also wie selbstverständlich auch im Europa des 17. Jahrhunderts. Es ist das „klassische" Zeitalter Europas – nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg werden die religiösen Gegensätze in den Hintergrund gedrängt und ein spiritueller und wissenschaftlicher Aufschwung beginnt. Die Repräsentanten des wissenschaftlichen Lebens kommen nicht mehr nur aus dem Kreis der Nobilität, sondern auch aus dem Bürgertum, gruppieren sich aber charakteristischerweise noch an Universitäten oder herrschaftlichen Höfen.

Im Zusammenhang damit sind wichtige Veränderungen zu beobachten. Vor allem haben die führenden Persönlichkeiten von Europa die Staatsverwaltung neu gestaltet und zugleich versucht, neben den Einnahmen auch die herrschaftliche Glorie zu erhöhen. Das Mittel dazu war für Leopold I., den Hof glänzender zu machen – mit der Verschmelzung von Institutionen, der Abschwächung des Adels und der Konzentration des kulturellen Lebens. Deshalb schwoll das Ausmaß der Hofhaltung an: Im 16. Jahrhundert lebten 700–800, im 17. Jahrhundert bereits 1500–2000 Personen am kaiserlichen Hof. Die Anzeichen des kul-

turellen Aufschwungs in Wien waren die Gärten, die Kunst- und Schatzsammlungen sowie die Oper. Daneben spielte natürlich auch die Hofbibliothek eine immer wichtigere Rolle: Einerseits diente sie als Sammlung zur Vorführung des Glanzes der Herrschermacht, anderseits machten die hier (oder *nur* hier) gesammelten geistigen Güter den Fürsten zum mächtigsten Besitzer historischen Wissens. Daraus folgt, dass das Amt des Hofbibliothekars ein Vertrauensdienst war, das nicht jeder bekleiden konnte – was aber u.a. der Hauptfigur vorliegenden Beitrags sehr wohl gelungen war.

Der Name von Peter Lambeck (latinisierend Petrus Lambecius) gilt in Ungarn nicht als allzu bekannt, wobei sein Leben mehrere Berührungspunkte mit der ungarischen Geschichte hat. Er ist 1628 in Hamburg geboren, bekam von seiner protestantischen Familie eine sorgfältige Erziehung und konnte auf einer Peregrinationsreise seine Kenntnisse erweitern, um ab 1651 für 11 Jahre Professor für Geschichte am Gymnasium von Hamburg werden zu können. Er verfasste unter dem Titel *Rerum Hamburgensium* eine Geschichte seiner Stadt und der Kaiser zeichnete ihn für dieses Buch mit einem Medaillon mit seinem eigenen Porträt aus. Danach reiste er nach Rom, wo er katholisiert wurde. Nach seiner Rückkehr erhielt er nach einer neuen kaiserlichen Audienz den Titel des Hofhistorikers und Zweitbibliothekars. Nach kaum einem Jahr, nach dem Tod von Matthaeus Mauchter 1663, erwarb er den Titel des Hauptbibliothekars, den er bis zu seinem Tod im Jahre 1680 ununterbrochen führen durfte. Lambeck wollte den Bestand der Bibliothek katalogisieren, wie es ab der Barockzeit und ganz besonders für Leopolds Hof charakteristisch war. Er plante einen Katalog mit 24 Bänden, von denen jedoch schließlich nur 8 Bände erschienen. Lambeck hat die Bücher von Ferdinand II., dem Habsburger Erzherzog nach Wien gebracht und katalogisiert. Wichtig ist aus ungarischer Sicht der Umstand, dass er auch die Bibliothek von Matthias I. aufzufinden versuchte. Als ernsthafte Frage in der einschlägigen Fachliteratur gilt noch immer, was Lambeck in Ofen (Buda) gefunden haben kann. Die Geschichte begann mit dem sog. Eisenburger (Vasvárer) Frieden von 1664, als Walter Leslie, der neue Botschafter der Habsburger, nach Konstantinopel gefahren ist, um den Vertrag anerkennen zu lassen. Neben dieser Aufgabe musste er auch über die Corvinen von König Matthias verhandeln. Er konnte auf den Erfolg hoffen, bat aber auch um einen fachkundigen Bibliothekar, der ihm helfen konnte. So brach Lambeck – nach Leopolds persönlicher Anweisung – nach Buda auf. Die Reise war nicht nur für den Kaiser wichtig: auch der Wiener Nuntius hat sie für wichtig genug gehalten, um über die Mission in einem Brief dem Vatikan zu berichten – daneben wurde sie auch im historischen Jahrbuch *Theatrum Europaeum* festgehalten. Die Wiener Gesandten trafen am 3. März 1666 in Buda ein, aber die Türken ließen sie nicht in die vermeintliche Bibliothek eintreten. Endlich, nach einer einwöchigen Verzögerung, führten die Türken diejenigen drei Personen der Gesandtschaft, die sie für die am wenigsten wichtig hielten, in einen dunklen Kellerraum, in dem auf dem Boden 300–400 Bücher (meistens Druckwerke) lagen. Die drei Personen durften je ein Buch mitnehmen. Obwohl der Janus Pannonius-Kodex, der hierbei gerettet wurde, heute als äußerst wichtig gilt, gab sich Leopold nicht zufrieden. Die letzten Forschungen von Noémi Viskolcz zeigen übrigens, dass Lambeck und seine Gefährten nicht in die Bibliotheca Corviniana, sondern in einen wertloseren Teil der Bibliothek von Matthias hineingelassen wurden.

Peter Lambeck erwarb als Bibliothekar viele Kenntnisse aus schriftlichen Quellen. Das Konzept von Erasmus von Rotterdam über den Briefwechsel haben auf die Intelligenz

der frühen Neuzeit die größte Wirkung gehabt. Der Humanist des 16. Jahrhunderts hatte das Ziel, eine *societas* der europäischen Forscher ins Leben zu rufen, die gerade durch den Briefwechsel zusammengehalten werden würde. Kein Zufall, dass er ein Buch mit 74 Kapiteln dem Thema widmete, in dem er Brieftypen beschreibt, Übungen für Briefschreiber vorschlägt und die verschiedenen stilistischen Wendungen auflistet. Wir besitzen mehr als 3000 Briefe von Erasmus; über diese Briefe heißt es im Vorwort der Leidener Sammlung aus dem 17–18. Jahrhundert, dass sie für die Leser am liebsten waren.

Auch Lambeck hat seine Briefe geschätzt. Die an ihn adressierten Briefe – gelegentlich auch die von ihm verfassten – sind in fünf großen Kodizes überliefert. Deren Sprache ist vor allem Deutsch oder Latein, es finden sich darunter aber auch französische und italienische Texte. Das Institut für Byzanzforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften hat unter Leitung von Christian Gastgeber ein Projekt mit dem Ziel gestartet, diese Briefe zu edieren. Die Forschung ist noch in der Vorbereitungsphase: bei der Katalogisierung der Briefe konnten bisher immerhin die Daten der lateinischen Briefe erfasst und registriert werden. Trotz zahlreicher Fragezeichen sind bereits einige – zunächst mengenmäßige – Ergebnisse zu verzeichnen. So z.B. steht bis jetzt fest, dass ein Drittel der insgesamt ungefähr 1000 Dokumente auf Lateinisch geschrieben sind. Im Weiteren geht es um die an Lambeck geschriebenen Briefe, wobei zunächst versucht wird, auf Grund der Absendeorte auf das Kontaktnetz des Wiener Bibliothekars Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen.

Bei ungefähr 300 Briefen war es mehr oder weniger möglich, den Absendeort mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen und zu identifizieren. Diese Orte können auf der Landkarte von Europa 67 Punkten zugeordnet werden *(1. Bild)*. Einige Nachrichten stammen aus London, Stockholm oder Rom, aber es zeigt sich auch deutlich, dass die meisten Briefe aus dem Gebiet des Deutsch-Römisches Reiches oder dem Herrschaftsgebiet der Familie Habsburg versandt worden sind. Die Hypothese also, dass der lateinische Anteil des Briefwechsels zur diplomatischen Höflichkeit oder dazu diente, Kontakte aufrechtzuerhalten, ist nicht haltbar. Das Latein war keine „Hilfssprache", sondern die natürliche Form des Briefwechsels der Intelligenz. Weiterhin zu beobachten ist, dass – wie es vorauszusehen war – die meisten Briefe eine westeuropäische Bindung an den Tag legen. Wenn wir die 20 häufigsten Absendeorte ins Auge fassen, wird dies noch deutlicher: drei Viertel der untersuchten Dokumente lassen sich nämlich hier lokalisieren *(2. Bild)*. Der Verfasser dieser Studie hat zahlreiche Orte gefunden, aus denen nur ein bis zwei Briefe stammen. Interessant ist dabei die Tatsache, dass Lambeck die (nach Lüttich) meisten Nachrichten aus Wien bekam – es stärkt die Vermutung, dass der Brief als Nachrichtenträger in dieser Zeit bereits als Mittel der offiziellen Informationseinholung zu betrachten ist (einige Jahrhunderte früher hätte ja noch eine mündliche Nachricht genügt). Der Briefwechsel innerhalb des Reichs überwiegt auch hier: außer einigen Orten (Paris, Padua) kommen alle Briefe aus dem Hoheitsgebiet der Habsburger.

Interessante Ergebnisse zeigen sich andererseits auch, wenn man die Briefe unter chronologischem Aspekt unter die Lupe nimmt. Die Ausfälle der mengenmäßigen Untersuchungen zeigen, dass am Anfang der 1660-er Jahre ein eindeutiger Zuwachs der Korrespondenz erfolgt. Der Grund dafür liegt (zumindest teilweise) in der Position des Bibliothekars. Obwohl die Anzahl der Briefe danach nicht beständig bleibt, übersteigt sie immerhin die der Briefe vor seiner Ernennung. Wenn man die einzelnen Absendeorte in fünfjährigen Abständen untersucht, wird klar, dass die früher weniger zahlreichen Nachrichten zunächst

aus den außerhalb des Reiches liegenden Gebieten (Rom, Toulouse, Stockholm) kommen und dazu parallel eine Verdichtung im Gebiet des Deutsch-Römischen Reiches typisch ist: zuerst übernehmen die inneren Gebiete den Platz der ausländischen Orte, die dann erst ab der zweiten Hälfte der 60-er Jahre in den Londoner oder Pariser Briefen wieder zum Vorschein kommen *(3–9.Bilder)*.

Auch die zeitliche Dauer des Briefwechsels mit den einzelnen Orten ist erforschbar. Es ist zu sehen, dass sie mit der Häufigkeitstabelle nicht genau deckungsgleich ist, nach der man eher abnehmende Werte erwarten dürfte – zum Beispiel kommen mehr Briefe aus Mainz als aus Paris, wobei aus Letzterem über ein Vierteljahrhundert Briefe angekommen waren, während der Erzbischofssitz am Rhein seine Nachrichten in einem Jahrhundert fast verdoppelte. Auf der anderen Seite findet sich kein Ort, mit dem Lambeck während seines langen Lebens ununterbrochen im Briefwechsel gestanden hätte – wegen der Fünfjahreseinteilung wäre auf der Ordinatenachse sieben die größte Zahl, wobei die „Glorie" des bestehenden Kontakts über vier oder fünf Zyklen bloß je zwei Orten gebührt.

Auch die Möglichkeit, dass Lambeck seine Briefe nicht einfach mit Orten, sondern mit konkreten Personen gewechselt hat, ist nicht zu übersehen. Wenn man zum Beispiel den Briefwechsel mit Jena in Augenschein nimmt, sieht man, dass sich die 15 Briefe auf vier Personen verteilen. In den kommenden Phasen der Forschung soll die Untersuchung in diese Richtung ausgeweitet werden. Einerseits macht der derzeitige Stand der Datenverarbeitung nur die hier referierten Ergebnisse möglich, andererseits können wir den Umfang des Kontaktnetzes eines Intellektuellen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert nur sukzessiv erfassen. Es sollten außerdem auch Quellen mit ungarischen Bezügen gefunden werden. Obwohl wir nicht auf zu viel hoffen können, ist bereits die Liste einiger Bücher des 1671 hingerichteten Franz Nádasdy ans Tageslicht gekommen, die somit dem Herrscher und dadurch der Wiener Bibliothek zugefallen sind. Wie dem auch immer sei, dürfte sich im Briefwechsel von Peter Lambeck noch viel Wertvolles verbergen.

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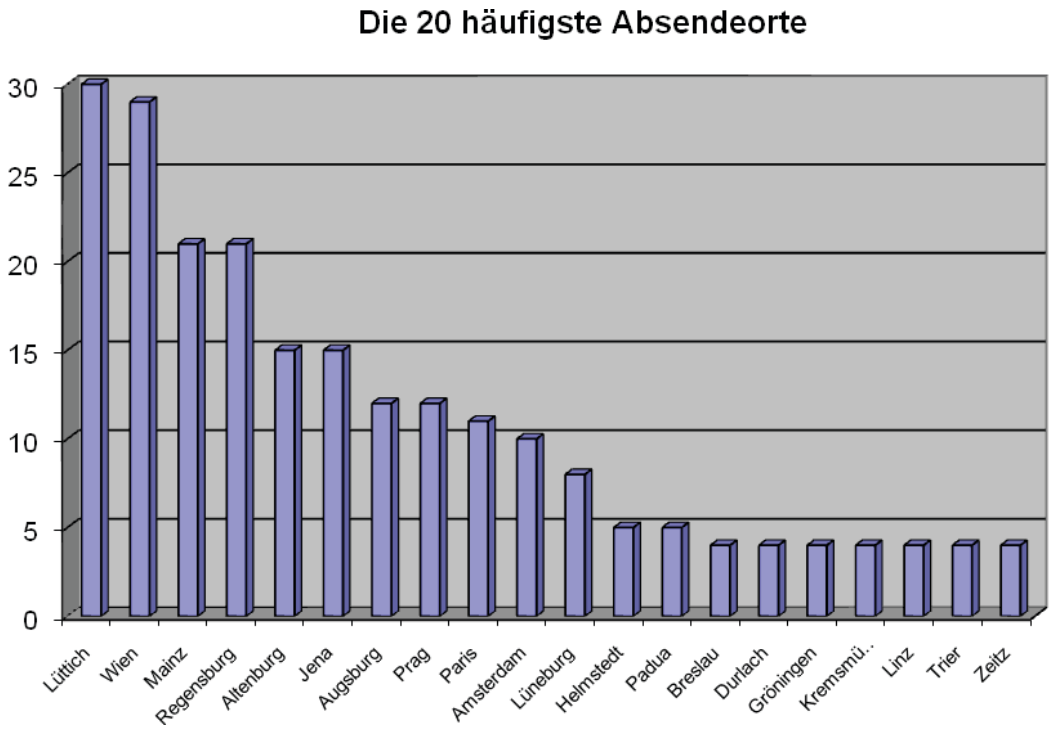
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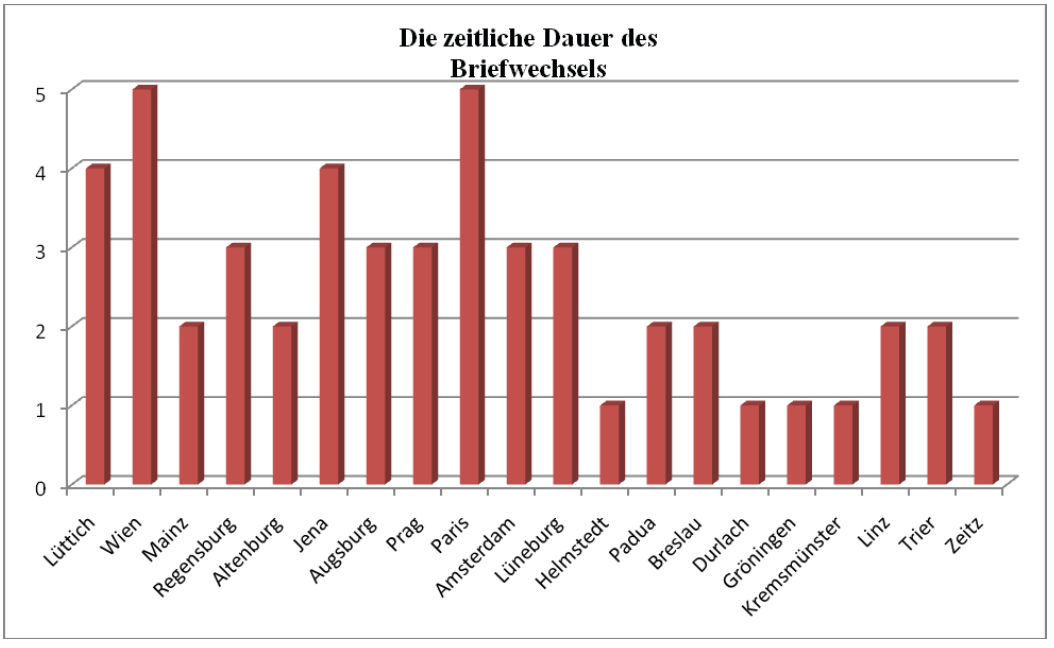
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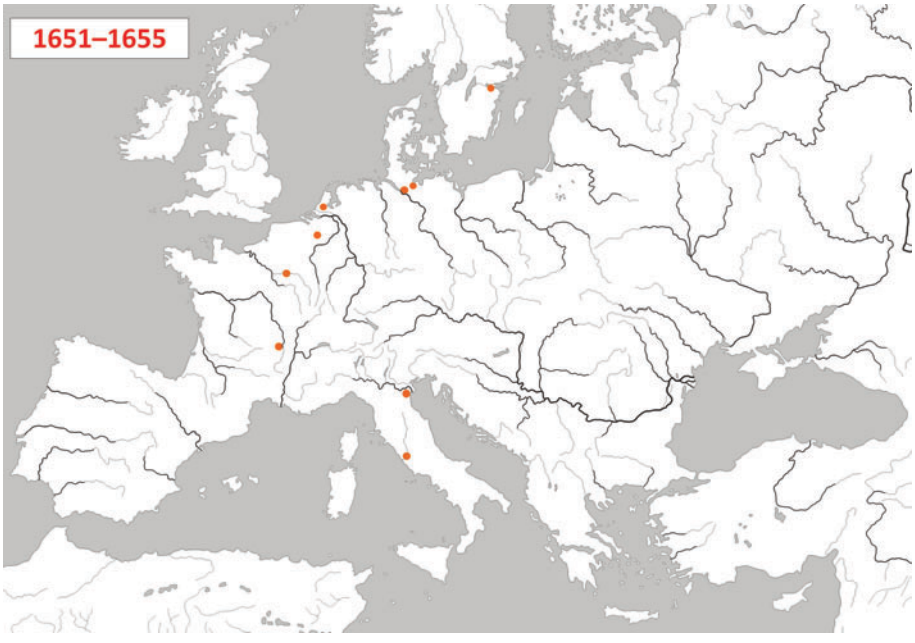

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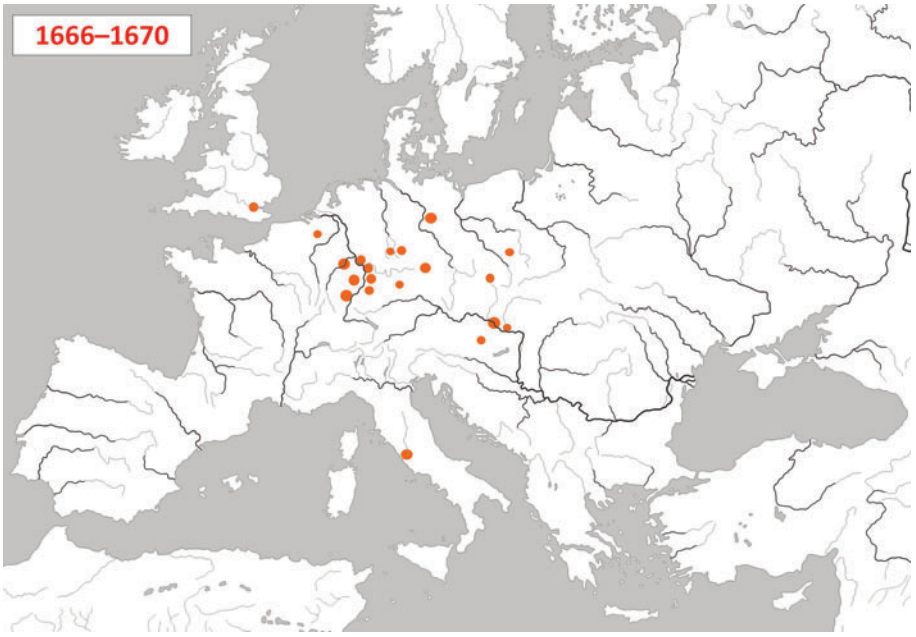

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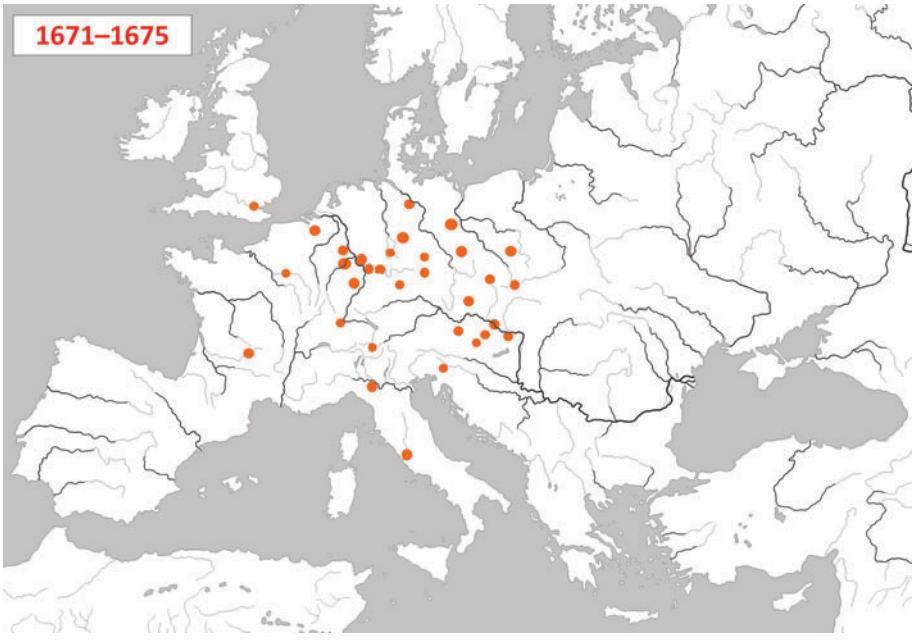

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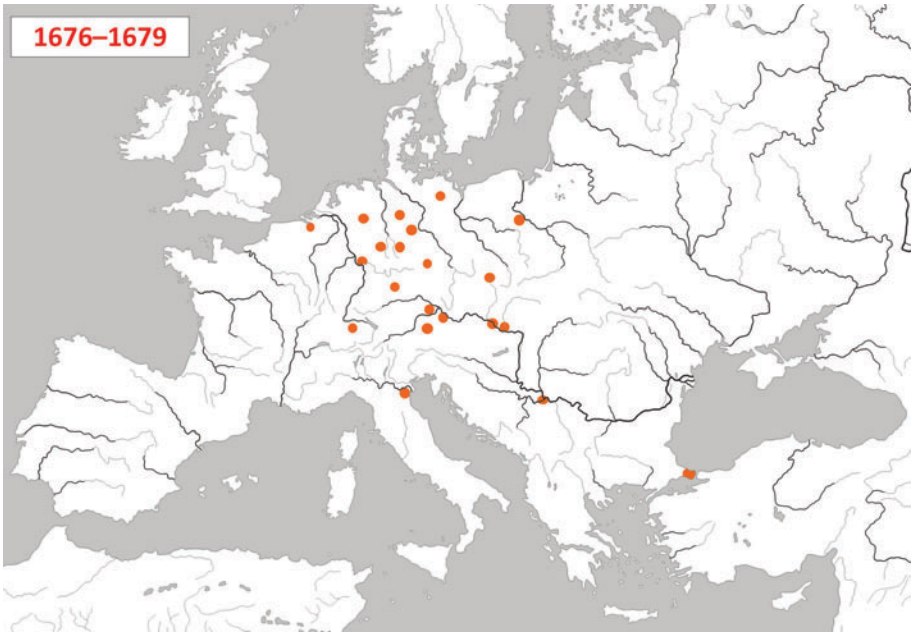

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Lilla Lovász

History of teaching ancient Greek in Hungarian secondary schools

The presentation does not give a timeframe for the opportunity to introduce the chronological changes in the Hungarian secondary school system and to represent how the judgement of Greek as a secondary school subject changed over the decades.

Therefore, I heighten three important periods and I will analyse trough of the ELTE Trefort Utcai Gyakorlógimnázium's history, that how the teaching of Greek language and literature worked in practice. For my research I used the school booklets (értesítők), that the secondary school published every year between 1870 and 1945.

The first period, that changed the teaching methods of the Greek language mostly related of the times when Ágoston Trefort was the minister of culture. Trefort introduced Mór Kámán's new curriculum which included the theoretical issues of pedagogy in 1879.

János Klamarik wrote about the curriculum and the related detailed instructions in his book the *A magyarországi középiskolák szervezete és eljárása törvényeink, szabályzataink, rendeleteink, utasításaink s a fennálló gyakorlat alapján* published in 1881. This book tells you that two types of Greek language education curriculum could also be used, depending on which dialect, attic or ion they used to start to learn the language.

The comparison clearly shows the difference between the two approaches: the attic dialect focusing on teaching the language based on the prose, it should provide stronger foundations for the language. While the ion dialect builds on the epic language and the advantage of this showed in several relevant text in the literature. Although the institutions could choose themselves which dialect intended to take up education, as Klamarik mentioned it "the oldest and best", Homer demonstrates the commitment of some of the following series of instructions:„…*Homéros költeményeinek tüzetes megvilágitásával egyrészt a görög nép értelmi s erkölcsi életének alapjaival, az emberi mivelődés egy jelentőséges korának gondolkodása módjával ismertet meg, másrészt oly remek műnek méltatására tanit, a melynek beható vizsgálatán igazodott el népek és korok irodalmi izlése és aesthetikai értelmessége.*" Details of the book *Utasítások* included – broken down into classes – the suggested method and procession of teaching. Regardless of latter, the most important is to practice the declension and develop a proper vocabulary in the first year. It is proposed that the words should be learned in tangible or etymological groups than questioned.

Particulary suggested to read lyricals Solon's, Mimnermos's, Theognis's and Simonides's fragments of works, if the progress goes well, you can read some of Pindar's odes. From Plato choose one of the dialogues about Socrates's life. From Sophocles's life-work the suggested reading is *Antigone,* because of the moral and religous approach.

Now, let's see how the curriculum is implemented in practice by many called as upper-case grammar school called school. The school report published in 1880 included the details of the curriculum for the 1879/1880 school year, from this it turns out that in the fourth grade they continued the reading of Homeric Hymns to learn about the epic language. The lessons were contucted under the direction of Mór Kármán, who wrote the existing curriculum. As far as grammar is concerned, also acquired during the fourth class to learn the declensions of each group – the ignored to discuss the dual forms, just like we do in today's practice - and got to know the definition of the verb conjugation through different systems. At fifth grade they finished the conjugations, reviewed the prepositions and conjuctions, than discussed the adverbs and numerals. At eighth grade with the necessary morphological and syntactic knowledge, they focused on larger and harder language of readings - now led by a prominent scholar Antal Bartal. The curriculum contained one or two tragedy from Sophocles, from prosaic lyrics one or more extracts from Plato's dialouges. The study of Greek lyric, covered a surprisingly ample material, happened at seventh grade, subject to the proposal of the curriculum in 1879. Bartal made them read Alkman, Arion (so during his teaching bequeathed Poseidon Hymn), Alcaios, Sappho, Simonides, Stesichoros, Anacreon, Pindar, than next year in 1880/1881, at seventh grade Solon, Mimnermos, Tyrtaios, Theognis, Archilochos, Simonides again and Babrios.

Our first high school law codified in 1883. The provision legalized the eight-grade humanities-oriented school, and the realschule which had 8 grades since 1875. The students from both type of schools finished their studies with an certificate of final examination. These schools were responsible to prepare the youth for higher academic training and give them overall knowledge. Quote from the law: *„A gymnasium e feladatot a minden irányú humanisticus, főleg az ó-classicai tanulmányok segélyével, a reáliskola pedig főleg a modern nyelvek, a mennyiségtan és a természettudományok tanításával oldja meg."* The normal high school subjects included Greek language and literature and became a graduation subject, they hade to take both written and oral exams of it.

From Ágoston Trefort's parliamentary speech at 4th of April 1883 made it clear that not everyone was happy to see Latin and Greek in the curriculum. Despite of this Trefort sincere convinction stood, he thought all the objections are meaningless, he put his opinion this way: *„ha egységes középiskolánk volna, hol tisztán humaniorákra fektetnék a súlyt, ahol csak ezen egy úton lehet oktatni és nevelni az ifjúságot, akkor érteném ezen idegenkedést a klasszikai nyelvek, különösen a görög nyelv ellen. De ma annak nincs értelme: mert ott van a reáliskola, hol a klasszikus nyelvektől eltekintve, minden irányban lehet az ifjakat a felsőbb oktatásra előkészíteni."* The attackers demanded on the ground of the overload students to take out the Greek from the list of normal subjects, but Trefort hardly resisted: *„Bármi történjék is, egy kis humanizmus az iskolákban mindig hasznukra fog válni, mert e nélkül, bármennyit tanuljunk is az iskolákban, egész kultúránk csak a felsőbb állatiság egy*

neme lesz." The 1883 law with minor additions and modifications essentially remained in place until 1924.

After the death of Ágoston Trefort in 1888, Kálmán Tisza the prime minister asked Count Albint Csáky to be the minister of culture. Csáky declared his thoughts about the nature high school education: *„Én nem osztozhatom azok nézetében s nem tehetem magamévá azok felfogását, akik a gimnáziumot kizárólag magas, tudományos és eszményi, a reáliskolát pedig ellenkezőleg csakis gyakorlati célúnak akarják feltüntetni. Hiszen minden művelt, minden hasznos munkásságra törekvő férfiúnak nemcsak gyakorlati ismeretekkel kell bírnia, hanem egyúttal magasabb felfogással és aspirációkkal is."*

The overload of the students was raised again, because 1883 law forced the students to learn four languages Hungarian, German, Latin and Greek, even where the majority of the population were non-Hungarian, the students there also had to learn the language of the majority. To learn four or five parallel languages, as the professionals was considered not suitable for everyone. To ease their burden, they selected the language in which learning - the think – required the most „talent" and claimed was the most dispensable: that the language was the Greek. The XXX. clause from the 1890 law replaced the XXX. clause from the 1883 law as the Greek language wasn't a required subject anymore in school. The 2nd paragraph of the law says: *„Azon tantárgyak, a melyekből az előző § rendelete szerint gymnasiumi tanulók a „görög nyelv és irodalom" helyett rendes oktatást nyernek, a következők:*

- *a magyar irodalom bővebb megismertetése, kapcsolatban a görög remekírók műveinek megismertetésével magyar fordításban s a görög irodalom- és művelődéstörténet alapvonalai;*
- *a rajz (mértani és szabadkézi elemekkel)."*

The law allowed to all fifth graders to change their choosen language subject, but also allowed to the higher graders to change, whom studied Greek before, if they started some Greek supplement subjects and they succesfully passed their previous year's exam. The sucsessful exam from Greek language and literatura still remained as a requirement to get into any theological coures and their linguistic, historical or philosophical faculty in the universities, however the applicants had the chance for a replacement exam.

Csáky's provision also had some benefits: the published the works of many classical Greek authors in modern translation, illustrated with Greek cultural history and historical works have been published.

Let's see how this regulation was working in practice. In the epilogue of the notification of year 1891/1892 György Volf principal draws the attention of prospective fifth graders to the 1890th XXX. law 2nd §, means instead of the Greek they could choose Greek literature and the baseline of cultural history and drawing, but it had to be the same number of lesson as they had before with Greek. Seventh graders also allowed to choose some Greek supplement subjects if they succesfully passed their fifth and sixth year's exam. The first Greek replacement subject's lesson started at the next school year, teached by Mór Kármán for the fith graders. The curriculum was as follows: the significance of Greeks and Greek writing. Thucydides as a historian, the causes of the peloponnesian war, the Athenians and Corinthians speech at the federal assembly, Pericles's

funeral speech, Pericles's third speech, Pericles life from Plutarch, the mid-section of the peloponnesian war, as well as the Sicilian campaign. The following year they held drawing, while the readings for Greek replacement was hold by János Csengeri, as handbook used Gyula Gyomlay' s Odyssey and his own translation of the Iliad.

The summaries about the distribution of the marks of the students year by year indacates how many students choosed Greek, Greek replacement subjets (literature and draw) and in which year. After the new law became effective 4 students choosed literature, seven students choosed draw and 22 students stayed with the Greek language and literature from the fith graders. However 2 student choosed draw, but all the 30 students continued the Greek language and literature from th seventh grades. The Greek language as subject held itself until 1900, only minority of the students choosed the Greek replacement subjets. In 1900, however, only slightly more than half the new fifth grade students wanted to learn the Greek language. In 1906 the class was still fifty-fifty split, but then the scales are clearly tipped towards the Greek replacement subjects.

As the XXX. clause came alive, the number of the Greek and Latin teachers reduced. Although it happened in the past that the philologists were barerly the quarter of the number of candidates, but after 1894 the recession really showed. There were years when the number of trainee teachers in trainee high schools increased, but the number of the philologist students still didn't change. The 1932/1933 year's dataset is sad: from the total of 165 candidates, only four of them were specialized in Latin-Greek. Belongs to the truth, that the numbers of Latin-Greek pairs as shown retreat since the Latin counterpart of another department remains were common, but the Greek occurred in pair only with Latin.

At the end of my presentation I would like to present the return of the Greek language thanks to Kunó Klebelsberg's law in 1924 and its practical effects. The 1924th law XI. clause codified three secondary school type: the realgymnasium, the humanities-oriented school and the realschule. According to the law the secondary school's duty are: *„a tanulót vallásos alapon erkölcsös polgárrá nevelje, hazafias szellemben általános műveltséghez juttassa és a felsőbb tanulmányokhoz szükséges szellemi munkára képessé tegye. A közös nemzeti jellegű tantárgyakon kívül a gimnázium e feladatot a minden irányú humanisztikus, elsősorban latin és görög nyelvi és irodalmi tanulmányokkal oldja meg."*

Particularly interesting that the Greek language already teached to the third grade students, since the Ministry of Culture in Vienna in 1849 and 1860 were extended the existing educational regulation to our country, only the fifth grade students had to learn Greek.

In the 1924 law XI. clause the Greek language and literature appeared as a normal subject again. Accordingly, the notice of the 1923/1924 year ended with the following directors: *„Intézetünk a jövő iskolai évtől kezdve – valószínűleg – fokozatosan humanisztikus gimnáziummá alakul át s így az V. osztálynak csak görög nyelvi tanfolyama lesz. Azoknak a tanulóknak tehát, akik jövőre az V. osztályban görög nyelvet tanulni nem akarnak, más intézetben kell elhelyezkedniük."* The students probably were afraid of the warning, as from the previous year four grades from 37 members only 31 enrolled, in the year-end summaries only 27 students participated. Three students failed unfortunately, two of the

student's downfall was caused by Greek.

A few years later, in 1931, based on a ministerial decree the students could choose a modern language instead of Greek as optional. Then in 1945 they reviewed the curricula and textbooks. The teaching of Latin and Greek languages only continued as facultative subjects. Thereby significantly declined, and then within a period of two years the Greek as language education will be lost forever in our local public high school institutions.

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Dóra Peszlen

Dodona und die Bleitäfelchen

Der folgende Aufsatz ist nur der Anfang einer mutmaßlich ernsthafteren Forschung. So ist er nur die kurze, nahezu skizzenhafte Zusammenfassung der aus der Fachliteratur gesammelten Informationen.

Das Orakel von Dodona

Für die Griechen war die Wahrsagung ein Teil des Alltagslebens. Über wichtige Fragen, als auch vor bedeutungsschweren Entscheidungen haben Staaten, Städte, Könige, aber auch Privatpersonen um Wahrsagungen gebeten. Sie konnten auf mehrere Weise eine göttliche Offenbarung bekommen, aber die Orakel hatten die größte Prestige. Es gab in Hellas zahlreiche Heiligtümer, in denen man den Willen eines Gottes oder eines Heros erfragen konnte, oder sie zu Rate ziehen konnte. Bei den Orakel konnte man auf verschiedenste Weise um eine Wahrsagung bitten. Die Wahrsagung konnte aus verschiedenen Prozeduren bestehen.

Die sehenswürdigste Form der Wahrsagung war das *Enthusiasmos*, die Inspiration bei der ein Gott durch ein Medium seinen Willen äußerte. Die Zeichen der Unsterblichen waren von den Priestern und Priesterinnen interpretiert und übermittelt für die Fragesteller. Das berühmteste Beispiel dieser Form ist das für älteste gehaltene Orakel der Griechen: das Sanktuarium von Zeus in Dodona.

Die genaue Lage der epeirotischen Stadt ist erst seit den Ausgrabungen und das 1878 publizierte Buch, *Dodone et ses ruines* von Constantinos Carapanos bekannt. Dodona liegte am südwestlichen Teil von Ioannina, wo die unterweltlichen Namen tragende Flüße, das Acheron und das Kokytos flossen. Der antike Ort war auf einem Hügel, an dessen Abhang das größte Theater von Hellas gebaut wurde. Der Heiligtumsbezirk war im Tal, am Fuß des Tomaros-Berges. Der Haupteingang des Temenos war in der südwestlichen Ecke des viereckigen Gebietes und war durch zwei Basteien beschützt. Inmitten des heiligen Bezirkes stand das *Hiera Oikia*, der Tempel von Zeus Naios. In diesem Gebäude wurden mehrere Bronzskulpturen von Zeus und die Bleitäfelchen mit den Fragen, der für Wahrsagung ankommenden Personen gefunden. Dodona war ein wichtiges religiöse Zentrum bis in die hellenistische und römische Epoche.

Die Mythe schreibt die Gründung des Heiligtums dem Deukalion zu. Laut der Erzählung führte ihn eine Taube zu diesem Ort. Nachdem Deukalion die Überleben-

den der Sintflut beheimatete, hat er den Zeus-Kultus in Dodona begründet. Starbon schreibt (*Strab*. VII 7, 10), dass das Orakel von den Pelasgen gegründet wurde. Diese Gründung steht im Einklang mit dem, dass Homer den Hauptgott in der *Ilias* als *Pelasgikos* bezeichnet, und auch damit, dass Hesiodos (*frg*. 319) das Orakel als Wohnsitz der Pelasgen beschreibt.

Dodone ist in der griechischen Mythologie die Tochter des Okeanos oder Zeus und der Europe – sie ist die Heroina von Dodona. Der griechische Name von Dodona ist deshalb im Allgemeinen Δωδώνη. Aber bei den Dichtern kommt eine andere Form, die Δωδών vor: so heißt ein Fluss, der in der Nähe von Dodona ist. Die Herkunft des Names von Dodona war aber schon im Altertum umstritten. Die allgemeine Meinung war, dass der Ort nach seiner Heroina benannt war, aber die Anderen dachten, dass er nach dem Fluss oder vom Verb διδόναι seinen Name bekommen hat. Es ist aber wahrscheinlicher, dass der Name von Dodona nicht aus einem indoeuropisches Wort stammt, wie selbst der Kultusort auch vorgriechisch ist. (Lhôte 2006)

Es gibt zahlreiche Beweise dafür, dass das Heiligtum große Ehre hatte. Vor allem wegen seines Uralters. Mythen zufolge haben hier die größten Helden um Wahrsagungen gebeten: Odysseus, Herakles, Io, Kreon, die Argonauten und die Kalydoner haben auch das Orakel von Zeus aufgesucht. Als Delphoi allmählich das den größten Einfluss habende Orakel geworden ist, Dodona hat auch dann ihre Bedeutung bewahrt. In der klassischen Zeit wurde das Zeus-Heiligtum vorzugsweise vom einfachen Volk aufgesucht: außer Sparta haben die begüterten Bürger der Stadtstaaten oder die Mitglieder der Grundbesitzer-Aristokratie nur selten hier um Wahrsagungen gebeten, und es ist durch den ärmlichen Charakter der Votivgeschenke bezeugt. Aber das epeirotische Orakel hat seine Priorität und die von seinem Alter stammende Ehre erhalten.

Die Wahrsagung war ein essentiell chthonisches Prinzip, so sollte der in Dodona geehrte Gott auch solche Attribute haben. Es ist aber nicht vereinbar mit dem himmlischen Wesen des indoeuropäischen Hauptgottes. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die zwischen 1900 und 1550 v. Chr. in diesem Ort ankommende Volksgruppe, die Thesproten (Θεσπρωτοί) das Kultus des in Dodona geehrten vorgriechischen chthonischen Gottes zu diesem von Zeus gewechselt. Die Figur des griechischen Hauptgottes hat die Attribute des chthonischen Gottes in sich eingeschmolzen. Es ist aber auch vorstellbar, dass diese vorgriechische Gottheit als Partner von Zeus überlebte. Vielleicht als seine Frau, Dione. Dione ist bei Hesiod (*Theog*. 353) aquatische Nymphe, Tochter von Okeanos und Tethys, bei Homer, in der *Ilias* (V 370) ist sie die Mutter von Aphrodite, und Apollodoros (I 13) rechnet sie zu der ersten Generation der Titanen – aber außer Dodona, hatte Dione nur eine geringe Wichtigkeit.

Der dodonaeische Zeus hatte das besondere Epitheton: Νάϊος, dessen Femininum-Form Dione trug. Dieses Adjektiv kommt auf mehreren Inschriften vor, aber seine Bedeutung war schon in der Antike bestritten. Laut eines Scholiastes der *Ilias* (*Schol. Hom. Il.* XVI 233.) weist es auf das Wasser hin. Einige Forscher denken, dass es mit solchen Wörter wie ναῦς und Ναίς zusammenhängt. Dagegen hält es Lhôte für wahrscheinlich, dass das Adjektiv mit dem Verb ναίω zusammenhängt und es war auch schon ursprünglich ein Adjektiv oder aus einem Verb gebildetes Wort. So ist der Ausdruck

Zeus Naios semasiologisch mit dem Ausdruck *Zeus Dodonaios* gleichwertig. Also seine Bedeutung kann 'Bewohner Zeus' sein.

Die Priester des Heiligtums haben die Zeichen der Gottheit interpretiert – die Quelle nennen sie *Selloi* oder *Helloi*. Ihr auch in der Ilias erwähntes besonderes Verhalten, wonach sie ungewaschene Füße haben und auf dem Boden schlafen, weist auf irgendeine Askese hin. Deren Parallelen im indischen Kultus auffindbar waren, aber im griechischen Kulturkreis nicht typisch sind. Mit ihrer besonderen Lebensweise haben die Priester einerseits ihre große Adoration und Hingebung ausgedrückt, anderseits haben sie mit ihren ungewaschenen Füße an das Göttliche teilgehabt. D.h. die aus dem Heiligtumsbezirk stammenden Staub und Schmutz waren heilig. Dass es in Dodona Inkubation gegeben hätte, ist mangels Quellen ausgeschlossen.

Bei Homer dienten nur diese Priester für Zeus, aber es gab in Dodona auch Priesterinnen. Die Quelle nennen sie *Peleiades*, *Graiai* oder *Hiereiai*. Herodotos (II 52—57) schreibt über die Gründung des Orakels und über die Wahrsagerinnen. Die Priesterinnen – wie die männlichen Diener von Zeus – waren für ihre asketische und dem Gott widmete Lebensweise, weiterhin für ihre Ehrenhaftigkeit und Unbestechlichkeit berühmt.

Im Mittelpunkt des Kultus stand die heilige Eiche, aber die Priester haben nicht aus dem Zischeln der Blätter Zeichen bekommen, wie Homer schreibt (*Od.* XIV 327—330 = XIX 296—299), sondern der Gott hat mit ihnen aus dem Baumstamm gesprochen. Die Wahrsagungskraft von Zeus hat sich nicht nur auf die Eiche beschränkt, sondern die Wahrsagung war aus jeden physischen Phänomenen und aus dem Klang der Bronzekessel erschließbar. Die Aufgabe der Priester und Priesterinnen war in jedem Fall nur die Interpretation der Zeichen.

Die Bleitäfelchen

Die Konsultation mit dem Orakel war ein ganz unpersönliches Ereignis. Die Fragesteller haben ihre Fragen schriftlich aufgelegt und die Priester haben auch schriftlich geantwortet. Unter den zahlreichen Funden, die Carapanos 1878 veröffentlicht hat gab es eine aus 42 Bleitäfelchen bestehende Serie. Diese Bleitäfelchen wurden sofort dem Orakel gestellten Fragen und manchmal die dafür gegebenen Antworte identifiziert. Die Entdeckung dieser Bleitäfelchen war überaus wichtig, da die Forscher bis dahin nichts über diesen Teil der Wahrsagung gewusst haben. Es gab aber mehrere Schwierigkeiten während der Entzifferung der Bleitäfelchen. Der größte Teil der Texte ist unvollständig, weil die Bleitäfelchen im Allgemeinen zusammengefaltet wurden, um die Heimlichkeit der Fragen zu garantieren. Die Bleitäfelchen wurden oft längs der Faltungen von Korrosion angegriffen, so ist ein Teil des Dokumentes verloren. Die Täfelchen wurden oft wiederverwendet, da die Menschen daran dachten, dass die schon einmal für Wahrsagung verwendeten Bleitäfelchen ihre chthonische Kraft erhalten haben. Weiterhin die Wiederverwendung praktisch und der so gewonnene Stoff viel billiger war. Es ist besonders schwierig, dass einige Fragen nur mit der Erkennung des ganzen Kon-

textes verstehbar wären, das konnte aber nur vom Fragesteller bekannt sein. Daneben wurden die Fragen in verschidenen Dialekten geschrieben, die immer noch Probleme verursachen könnten.

Um die Schwierigkeiten zu besiegen hat Carapanos den französischen Epigraphiker, Foucart um Mithilfe gebeten. Im Mittelpunkt ihrer Veröffentlichung standen die hochwertigen Faksimilen, deren Wert ist auch noch heute groß, obwohl ihre Transkriptionen schon rückständig sind. Die Veröffentlichung hat das Interesse erweckt und zahlreiche Aufsätze sind erschienen, die mit mehr oder weniger Erfolg versuchten die Bleitäfelchen zu interpretieren. Die Forscher, die sich mit den Bleitäfelchen beschäftigt haben, waren:

- Carapanos (1878)
- Pomtow (1883)
- Hoffmann (1899)
- Évangélidis (1929, 1935)
- Dakaris (mit Vokotopoulou und Christidis: 1993)
- Vokotopoulou (1995)
- Christidis (1997)
- Lhôte (2006)

Heute sind circa 1300 Täfelchen bekannt und sie sind im Museum von Ioannina, von Athen, von Thessaloniki und in Berlin aufbewahrt und bis heute laufen noch Ausgrabungen in Dodona. Die neueste Edition ist das 2006 erschienene Buch von Éric Lhôte, das die Texte von 167 Täfelchen enthält, mit Faksimilen, Kommentare und reichen Interpretationen.

Die dodonaeischen Bleitäfelchen waren von VI—V. Jh. v. Chr. bis 167 verwendet, bis ihre Geschichte wegen der römischen Zerstörung zu Ende war. Das Orakel hat noch weiter gearbeitet, aber die Bleitäfelchen wurden nicht mehr verwendet.

Carapanos hat die Täfelchen nach ihrem Inhalt klassifiziert und Lhôte hat die folgende Klassifikation gemacht:

1. Öffentliche Konsultationen
1.1 Konsultationen über Städte
1.2 Konsultationen über koina

2. Private Konsultationen
2.1 Konsultationen über das eigene Glück des Fragestellers
2.2 Familiäre Probleme
2.3 Gesundheit
2.4 Geschäftliche Affären

Nr. 127 (Lhôte 2006)

A
Στρατεύωμαι
κατὰ γᾶι;

B
ἐπί γῆι σχέθε τελέως.

(- Soll ich auf der Erde Soldat werden?
- Bleib vollends auf der Erde.)

Das Bleitäfelchen mit der Nummer 127 (Lhôte 2006) gehört zu den privaten Konsultationen, der Fragesteller konsultiert über sein eigenes Leben. Die Schrift ist auf der Seite A und Seite B verschieden: auf der Seite A steht die Frage und auf der Seite B ist die Antwort.

Das Verb στρατεύομαι bezieht sich im Allgemeinen einfach auf einen Soldat. Christidis hat aber zumuten, dass der Fragesteller eine wichtige Person, möglicherweise ein Feldheer war. Der Fragesteller war aber wahrscheinlich ein einfacher Mann, der fragt danach an ob er auf der Erde oder auf dem Meer Soldat sein sollte. Es ist bekannt, dass der Krieg auf dem Meer größere Ehrung hatte. Er ist viel gefährlicher, deshalb ist es nicht überraschend, dass das Orakel den sichereren irdischen Dienst empfehlt.

Der vom Fragesteller verwendete Ausdruck κατὰ γᾶι ist falsch, aber der Orakel benutzt den richtigen Ausdruck ἐπί γῆι. Dieser Fehler zeigt dass der Fragesteller vielleicht Barbar war, der überlegt, dass er als Söldner in einem Militär dienen wird.

Das Orakel wollte wahrscheinlich in poetischer Form schreiben – das zeigt die ionische Form von γῆι und das homerische Aoristos Imperativus von σχέθε.

Hoffentlich konnte ich verdeutlichen, dass es über Dodona und die Bleitäfelchen sehr viele Fragen gibt, obwohl man das Orakel von Zeus schon bei Homer kennen gelernt hat.

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Tamara Schüszler

Conclusions Concerning the Library of Péter Váradi

The role of Péter Váradi among the humanists in the court of Matthias Corvinus was proven already at a relatively early age. To start with, he was among the Hungarian humanists with interests in the neoplatonic doctrine taught by Marsilio Ficino and he also gained great confidence of János Vitéz. As a result, through his career, he had considerable results within a short period of time. In 1479, he became Secret Chancellor, and next year, he gained even the position of Chief Chancellor, heading the way to become the archbishop of Kalocsa in 1481. Although it was the greatest success in his life, he could not extend his clerical activity further, since in 1484, he was imprisoned under obscure circumstances. Be it a diplomatic misunderstanding or not, Váradi spent six years in jail, and after regaining the position of the archbishop, he chose Bács as his archdeaconate.

Taking his books into consideration, we can state that his interests covered both the church fathers and the clerical law. We have only six books remaining out of his whole library today, but based on our experiences about them we can reconstruct how this clerical library might have been set up. This may lead us to conclusions concerning the reading habits of the possessor of the books, Péter Váradi as well.

Thereinafter, my aim is to give a brief description of each of the remaining books of his library. Particular attention will be given to the works contained by these books and, afterwards, I wish to turn to a manuscript that is now propriety of the *Biblioteca Universitaria* of Bologna (ms. 2682). In this brisk scrutiny I wish to demonstrate that even these six works show a somehow two-fold interest circle of the archbishop.

A certain *Missale Strigoniense* was the first book of Váradi to be found. It was printed in 1498. This date means that Péter Váradi got this book after he had been released in 1490. Scholars also state that it might have substituted another *missale* that disappeared while he was imprisoned. This edition is highly decorated with golden illuminations, the marginals and the work that it contains, however, prompt that it was in constant use. It proves the statement of Zsigmond Jakó about the two-faced nature of the libraries of the Hungarian humanist prelates.

The work found secondly is by Hieronymus, *incunabula* in two volumes. Unfortunately, by these days we lost track of them again. They were printed in Rome, probably in 1476, and the illuminations were also done there as the style of the illuminator suggests. What makes this edition special is the post that is attributed to Váradi in his crest. Even

though Péter Váradi was only archbishop, the crest attributes the position of the cardinal to him in advance to gaining the post in reality.

The *manuscript* owned by the university library of Bologna was the third to be discovered. It contains the work of Gregory of Nyssa about the life of Moses (*De vita Moysi*), translated from Greek to Latin by Georgius Trapezuntius. For practical reasons, I leave its discussion out from this row and I will deal with its special features later in my paper.

The next incunable in this imaginary row is also a highly illuminated one having a *Postilla* by Nicolaus de Lyra in it. It was Zsigmond Jakó who discovered this book and he also identified the first possessor with the the help of the crest in it.

The fifth book is the discovery of Klára Gárdonyi in Oxford. It contains a commentary to the Letters of Saint Paul by Theophylaktos Pseudo Athanasios. It was printed in Rome, now bearing the crest of Péter Váradi.

The last piece known today is a *Decretalis*, a collection of rules of the clerical law of Pope Gregory IX. Thanks to Klára Boross, nowadays it is proven that this incunable of the University Library of Budapest was once owned by the archbishop of Kalocsa. Klára Boross highlights in her description that the topic of the work contained in the book gives another view to the interests of Váradi. The other five were of religious topics, dogmatism; this one, however, is on how the clerical laws should be dealt with. Considering that the patron of Váradi, János Vitéz supported the would-be chancellor to continue studies in Bologna, where the judicial training was really prestigious, it is easy to understand why he had interests in the clerical law.

Turning to the manuscript with the Life of Moses (*de vita Moysi*), we can state that it is special since it is the only now extant manuscript out of the six books. While the *Decretalis* gives us a new starting point concerning the interests of Váradi, this one reflects the two-faced nature in humanist libraries that was already mentioned. This manuscript is kind of a representative one even though it has some special features that attracted the attention of Váradi. Our conclusions on this topic can be drawn based on the marginals and the other physical features of the book.

At first, we can make our statements depending on those physical values that lead us to the first proprietor. The book is not an incunable but a manuscript, made at a time when printing was already invented and pursued profoundly. Its accurate illumination can be observed on the 1 recto. This page also shows the crest of Váradi characterized by the cross, the two stars and the lily as usual on the crests of the archbishop. The beginning of the first recto, the word "*nuper*" is limned. There is another initial on the 4 verso in the word "*quemadmodum*".

Flesh side turned to flesh side, hair side turned to hair side, the parchment is fine and well-prepared. Taking the cost of the production and its sources into consideration, the book can be regarded as a prestigious belonging. The 11 fasciculi of the manuscript were ordered accurately, although they became damaged when they were re-binded. The book was in permanent use as the size of it and the marginals suggest. The size of the binding is only 225×149×31 mm, as a result, it is easy to use as a handbook. In the case of the comments written in red ink, we can also presume practical reasons. The rectoes are also numbered to make the search for something easier within the book.

Besides all these aspects, the most important source of information concerning the reading habits of Váradi are his own scribbles to the text. These stand for interpunction since the scribe only indicated the ends of the sentences and, on the other hand, we can also find several personal comments by Váradi. The whole work, this way, looks like a sermon with indications for better emphasis and prosody.

The marginals can be divided into different groups depending on what they state or what they relate to. The following examples may give us a hint on what kinds of comments might be discovered in the manuscript through the further research.

The fisrt type of comment is when Váradi simply writes notes on the margins: names, events appearing in the text. The 2 verso might give a good example for this: „*In Ioseph castimonia*" — appears where the texts speaks about the moral castity of Joseph*;* „*caritas in Moyse*" — follows in the next line, where the original is about the love of Moses for his people; „*Iosue virtus bellica*" — follows right next to the listing of virtues of Josue at war. In the next lines we read: „*Aristidis iustitia*", „*in Themistocle prudentia*". At the end, a witty tautology finishes the notes: „*Fabii Maximi cunctatio qui cunctando restituit rem*". Another example of dividing the text into parts and indicating where the narrative leads is asking questions on the margins that have their answers in the original itself. For instance, in 6 verso, we read „*quare dicitur infinitus Deus*", and we can find the answer here as well:

„…quae quidem divina natura quoniam nullus virtutis terminus praeter vitium est, ut iam rationibus comprobavimus, divinitas enim contrarium suscipere non potest, interminata est ac infinita".

Another group of marginals are simply excerpts from the main text. It might be possible that Váradi used these for his further work and in his sermons as examples. On the footer of 6 verso he highlights in capital letters: „*NULLIS VIRTUS TERMINIS CONTINETUR*". Considering his personal life and the break of his career, this excerption may have a deeper connotation. We also find some notes that show the personal interests of Váradi and reflect his readings. According to Edit Madas, in 7 recto he refers to a sermon delivered by Pope Leo the Saint.

Besides all these instances, the archbishop also writes down his own thoughts on the topic of the text. To sum up, speaking of the traces that lead us to Váradi in the manuscript, we have to mention the indication at the very end which informs us about when and where the archbishop read the book: in Bács on 12th October.

Taking all the above into consideration, we can state the following about the library of Péter Váradi. He possibly acquired the Life of Moses (*De vita Moysi*) before getting imprisoned with many other pieces in his library. There might have been a great amount of incunables among these as the nowadays extant examples prompt. This aspect suggests that he bought his books for permanent use, and, fulfilling the requirements of a collection owned by a church leader, he collected works that matched his personal interests.

His library was not a homogenous one for those who wish to have a look at a typical clerical collection but it harmonized with his personal aims. If we state that the *Decretalis* is an exception because of its topic, we should not forget the fact that the *De vita*

Moysi is also unique in the aspect of its form. We should bear in mind that this book was first printed in 1517 not much later than Váradi read it in 1495. This would mean that Váradi was simply interested in the content, not the form of the work. His interests reflect a tendency of the Hungarian renaissance when the books are not thought to be treasures anymore, but proprieties in constant use. This way, the collection of books is no more the privilege of the people of highest social and financial status, but also for talented people of lower classes.

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Zoltán Szegvári

Johannes Kinnamos als Quelle der ungarischen Geschichte

In meinem Vortrag erforsche ich den Wert als Quelle des Epitomé betitelten geschichtlichen Werks von Ióannés Kinnamos. Zunächst stelle ich den Autor vor, dann behandele ich die Spiegelung der „barbaren" Völker in der Epitomé, mit besonderer Hinsicht auf den Ungaren. Die Untersuchung beweist, dass Kinnamos eine verlässliche Quelle der ungarischen Geschichte im 12. Jahrhundert ist.

Wir wissen von Kinnamos wenig. Als adeliger Junge wurde er kaiserlicher Sekretär (Βασιλικὸς γραμματικός) von Kaiser Manuél I. Er begleitete seinen Kaiser auf seinen Feldzügen. Unter Alexios II. verfasste er die Epitomé, in der er die Zeit von Ióannés II. und Manuél I. für die Ewigkeit bewahren wollte.

Im Werk dominiert die Geschichte der Politik: Er schildert diplomatische Ereignisse, Feldzüge und Schlachten. Zur Darstellung der militärischen Ereignisse verwendete er auch seine eigene Erlebnisse. Die Sprache der Epitomé ist klar und einfach. Kinnamos war ein gebildeter Rhetor und untersuchte die Tätigkeit der antiken und frühbyzantinischen Autoren. Eine Éthopoiia beweist seine rhetorischen Fähigkeiten, ihre Titel ist: *Die Éthopoiia Herrn Ióannés Kinnamos, des kaiserliches Sekretärs: Was sägte ein Kunstmaler, wenn er Apollon auf Lorbeertafel mälte, und die Tafel ließt ihm nicht?*

Der 12. Jahrhundert war eine Blütezeit der Éthopoiia; zu dieser Zeit war Niképhoros Basilakés tätig, dessen Schule auch Kinnamos besuchte. Basilakés war ein Bahnbrecher der sogenannten „Komnénos-Renaissance", der Wiederbelebung der klassischen Themen. Deshalb ist die Themenwahl von Kinnamos nicht überraschend: die Geschichte von Apollon und Daphné.

Von der beiden Werke von Kinnamos untersuchen wir jetzt die Epitomé, und zwar mit der Weltanschauung des Werks. Die byzantinische Anschauung teilte die Welt grundlegend in Römer und Barbaren. Die Forscher der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung beschäftigten sich viel mit der Erscheinung der Barbarei in der geschichtlichen Literatur sowohl bei Choniatés als auch bei Kinnamos. Da das Ungartum zum abendländischen christlichen Kulturkreis gehört, soll das Bild der Byzantiner von der abendländischen Welt erwähnt werden. Die zeitgenössischen Byzantiner fanden die gemeinsamen Pünkte mit der abendländischen Wertordnung schwierig, und wegen der permanenten Konflikten wurde eine negative Auffassung gegenüber der abendländischen christiansichen Welt befestigt. Zugleich darf man es nicht vergessen, dass die

Byzantiner manchmal die Abendländischen bewunderten, und gelegentlich versuchten, sie zu verstehen. Die zweierlei Näherungen scheidten sich nicht immer scharf.

Es ergibt sich also die Frage, wie Kinnamos die Ungaren beschreibt. Bei der Untersuchung der entsprechenden Teile der Epitomé finden wir, dass der Ausdruck „Barbar" mindestens zwölfmal vorkommt. In den zwölf Stellen benutzt Kinnamos das Wort Barbar zehnmal auf die Ungaren, und von dieser sechs Erwähnungen kommt es dran bei einer Schlacht in 1150.

Bei Kinnamos bedeutet das Wort Barbar „nicht römisch, fremd", und die Benutzung des Ausdrucks wird häufiger, wenn das fragliche Volk offensiv gegen Byzanz auftritt. So ist es nicht eine Übertreibung zu sagen, dass der „Barbar" bei Kinnamos auch das Synonim des Feindes ist (Asdracha). Die Ungaren, die 1150 das Reich angriffen, werden also mit Recht Barbaren genannt, wie auch bei den Schlachten von 1165 und 1167. Die Ungaren sind auch in diesem Fall die aktuellen militärischen Feinde. In der Schlachtbeschreibungen ist zugleich der archaisierende Wortgebrauch auffällig: Kinnamos nennt die Ungarn Hunnen (Οὖννοι) und Paionen (Παίονες) in seinem Werk.

Werfen wir jetzt einen Blick auf das Duell zwischen den ungarischen Feldherren Bágyon und Kaiser Manuél Komnénos. Am Ende der Schlacht stehen sie einander gegenüber, das Ergebnis des Kampfes hängt von ihrem Duell ab. Kinnamos hatte den mutigen Bágyon schon früher vorgestellt. Bágyon bewies seine Heldengröße und militärische Fähigkeiten, verwundete Manuél auch, wer aber den Hand Bágyons abschnitt. Manuel ließ den in Gefangenschaft geratene Bágyon seinem Neffe über und verfolgte den feindlichen Armee, aber wurde unter anderem von Bágyon zurückgehalten, der seinen sieghaften Gegner vor der Gefahr warnte.

Daraus ist ersichtlich, daß Kinnamos die Verdienste der Barbaren anerkennt, auch wenn sie Byzanz angreifen. Er verurteilt aber die Sünde der Byzantiner, die sie gegenüber dem Feind begingen, und fühlt den Fremden mit, so mit den Ungaren auch. Bezüglich der Eroberung von Semlin (Zimony) beschreibt er das Blutbad nach der Belagerung. Aber das bedeutet nicht, dass er vorurteilsfrei wäre. Er benutzt das Wort „Barbar" als eine Brandmarkung, und die negative Barbaren-Topi fehlen auch nicht, zum Beispiel die häufige Anklage des Eidbruchs. Die menschliche Größe von Bágyon, des mutigen ungarischen Feldherrn wird von Kinnamos wahrscheinlich deshalb besonders akzentuiert, weil er dadurch die Bedeutung des Erfolgs vergrößern wollte.

Die Erwähnung der Ungaren als „Barbaren" regt eine ganz spezielle Frage an. Ióannés II. heiratete Piroska, die Tochter von László I., also die Mutter von Manuél, Piroska-Eiréné stammt auch von den Barbaren. Wie beeinflusst ihre barbarische Abstammung die Vorführung der Kaiserin? Anhand der Epitomé kann festgestellt werden, dass diese Tatsache nicht allzu bedeutend war. Nach Kinnamos zeichnete sich die Kaiserin durch ihre Bescheidenheit und ihre anderen Tugenden aus, und in ihrem ganzen Leben unterstützte sie die Bedürftigen. Ich zitiere

„σωφρονεστάτην τε εἴπερ τινὰ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μεταποιουμένην...

Εὖ δὲ ποιοῦσα διετέλει τὸν πάντα τῆς ζωῆς αἰῶνα τοὺς ὅσοι ἐφ ὁτῳοῦν ἐκείνης δεόμενοι ἦσαν." Mit anderen Wörter, aus Piroska wurde eine Byzantinerin.

Die Verlässlichkeit der Epitomé ist wichtiger als ihre Anschauung. Wenn wir das Werk von Kinnamos mit dem von Chóniatés vergleichen, fällt es auf, dass – obwohl sein Stil weniger schön ist – seine Abfassung sachgemäßer und genauer als die von seiner Zeitgenosse ist. Sogar gewisse Angaben werden nur von ihm wiedergegeben. Im Allgemeinen kann festgestellt werden, dass Chóniatés ein besserer Schriftsteller, Kinnamos jedoch ein besserer Historiker war.

Die Epitomé von Kinnamos ist unsere einzige Quelle dafür, dass der Titel des ungarischen Thronfolgers „urum" (mein Herr) war. Als Kinnamos über die Thronbesteigung von László II. berichtete, erwähnte er, dass der jüngere Bruder von László, István diesen Titel bekam. Ich zitiere: Τῷ γε μήν Στεφάνῳ φημὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ... τὴν Οὐρούμ ἀπεκλήρωσαν τύχην. Βούλεται δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς Οὔννοις τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξόμενον ἑρμηνεύειν τὸ ὄνομα.

Als Nachfolger Manuels erhielt Béla III. den Titel *despotés*. Andere verschiedene ungarische Titelbezeichnungen, so wie der Ban (μπάνος), der Gespan/der Hofmeister (ζουπάνος) wurden auch bei Kinnamos erwähnt, und das Wort Rex (ῥήξ) kommt auch bei ihm zum ersten Mal als die Bezeichnung des König von Ungarn vor.

Als nach dem Tod von Géza II. seine Gebrüder, László II. und der spätere István IV seinen Sohn, István III. des Thrones enthoben, Kinnamos schreibt von dem Rechtstitel, dem Seniorat auch. Laut seiner Stellungnahme hätte der Thron von Géza II. von einem der Gebrüder geerbt werden sollen. Die Stellungnahme für das Prinzip hing damit zusammen, dass Manuél dadurch in die ungarische Innenpolitik eingriff.

Ein besonders interessantes Beispiel für die Kenntnisse und Gründlichkeit von Kinnamos ist sein Bericht über die Auflösung der Verlobung von Prinz Béla und Maria Komnéné. Chóniatés betrachtet es einfach als einen Schritt für Alexios (Sohn von Manuél), und er weiß nichts von dem eherechtlichen Hindernis der Verlobung, das Kinnamos jedoch erwähnt (Farkas). 1166 verbot die konstantinopolitanische Synode die Ehe zwischen siebeninstanzliche Verwandten, aber der Kaiser konnte davon Befreiung geben. Wegen der Ehe von István IV. und Maria Komnéné, einer verwandten des Kaisers, waren die Verlobten siebeninstanzlichen Verwandten. Die Verlobung hing von der Bewilligung Manuéls ab, der das Gesetz auflösen konnte, um seine Interessen durchzusetzen.

Der auffälligste Zug der Epitomé ist ihre stratägische-militärische Interesse. Kinnamos schreibt oft von Schlachten, militärischen Kriegslagern und den Duellen der Helde der gegenüber stehenden Truppen. Er ist neugierig für das technische Niveau der Feinde. Die Beschreibung der Schlacht unter Semlin in April 1165 zeigt das gut. Er berichtet von der Qualität der ungarischen Boote und der Linienformation der Byzantiner mit großer Sachkenntnis. Ich zitiere:

Αἱ γάρ αὐτῶν νῆες, ἅτε ἥκιστα τοῦ ναυπηγεῖσθαι δεξιῶς ἐς ἀσυμμετρόν τι διατεινόμεναι εὖρος ... Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρατάξεως σχῆμα ποιησάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἀπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτούς.

Die taktischen Fragen beschäftigen ihn auch, und er beschreibt die Größe der Heere auch. Seine militärische Kenntnis beweist er noch am Ende des Werkes, und zwar im Teil über die Schlacht von Myriokephalon. Er wirft der ungarischen Verbündeten und

der serbischen Untertanen des Kaisers vor, dass sie sich verspäteten, obwohl die gute Wahl des Zeitpunktes in Krieg sehr wichtig ist. Ich zitiere: Σκοπιμώτατον γάρ εἴπερ τι ἔργοις πολέμων ὁ χρόνος ἐστίν.

Die Leute der fremden Länder erwecken auch seine Interesse. Deshalb unterbricht er manchmal die Darstellung der Ereignisse mit kurzen etnografischen Beschreibungen. Bei der Darstellung der Kämpfe im Jahre 1150 stellt er die Hilfstruppen der Ungaren dar. Diese waren Khalisen, die unter ihnen lebten, jedoch sich zu einer anderen Religion bekannten: Ich zitiere: στρατιάν... ἔκ τε Οὔννων ἱππέων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἑτεροδοξούντων Χαλισίων... οὗτοι Μωσαϊκοῖς καὶ τούτοις οὐ πάντη ἀκραιφνέσιν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν διεξάγονται νόμοις. Diese Bemerkungen gelten heute als besonders wichtige Informationen. Die Religionszugehörigkeit der nicht-christlichen Khalisen wurde in der ungarische Geschichtswissenschaft oft diskutiert. Dass sie – gegenüber einer früheren populären Hypothese – nicht Muslimen, sondern Karaiten Juden waren, wird vor allem von Kinnamos bewiesen (Gyóni).

Schließlich möchte ich einige Bemerkungen machen. Wenn Kinnamos und Chóniatés von einem Ereignis anders berichten, versuchen wir die Ereignisse dem Werk von Kinnamos entsprechend zu deuten. Für weitere Untersuchungen fehlt besonders ein methodischer Kinnamos-Chóniatés Vergleich. Eine moderne kritische Ausgabe von Kinnamos würde einen großen Fortschritt bedeuten.

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Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem

Tres Montes

Anton Avar

The Balkan Campaigns of Sviatoslav (968–971)

The main character of my presentation is Sviatoslav Igorevich, Grand Prince of Kiev, who was presumably born around 930 as the only known child of Grand Prince Igor Rurikovich (912–945) and his spouse, Olga. After Igor's death in 945, Olga ruled as regent until 964. Sviatoslav, as soon as he had came of age, started his everlasting chain of wars. He conquered the Eastern Slavic tribes living along the Oka and Volga rivers, between 965 and 966 he defeated and destroyed the Khazar Khaganate, and, finally, in 968 he came into conflict with the Bulgarian Empire also. This clash is the object of my presentation.

The sources studied in the course of the work are the following: the so-called Russian Primary Chronicle, the *Synopsis* of John Scylitzes and the *Historia* of Leo the Deacon. The course of the events was tried to be reconstructed according to these, as far as possible, using the specialized literature, of course.

The antecedents of Sviatoslav's first Balkan campaign, fought only against the Bulgarians are obscure, but, nevertheless, we have two possibilities. The first is, that in the 960s the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969) confronted the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (962–973) in South Italy. Nikephoros may have known about the Bulgarian embassy sent to Otto about that time. Because of this, he may have wanted to secure his north-western boundaries against the dangerous neighbour, and may have called for the military help of Sviatoslav, according to the Rus'-Byzantine treaty of 944.

The second possibility, which links to the first one, is, that conquering Khazaria, the Rus' became adjacent to the Byzantine Empire, which may had been considered too dangerous by the Emperor, who might have redirected the attention of the Prince to the Balkans.

However, in the beginning of 968, the Crimean Kalokyros was sent to Kiev to convince Sviatoslav to attack Bulgaria and its Tsar, Peter I (927–969). The offensive was took in the end of August 968, the 60.000 Rus' warriors, having crossed the Black Sea, swept away the Bulgarian force of about 30.000 men. Soon after that Tsar Peter died of a stroke, and Sviatoslav occupied his land, having his headquarters at Pereyaslavets at the Danube Delta. He got not only the territory, but also the control over the trade routes running along the west coast of the Black Sea as well.

The Prince was forced to interrupt his successful campaign, because the Pechenegs had encircled and besieged Kiev. Moreover, at that time there stayed Sviatoslav's mother, Olga

and the three sons of him, Yaropolk, Oleg and Vladimir also. After the defenders had attained an armistice by tricking the enemy, they sent a note to the Prince, saying that while he was spending his time in foreign lands, his own family and capital was in danger. So Sviatoslav returned to Kiev at once and routed the Pechenegs away. After that he intended to return to Bulgaria immediately, but he could not yet, because of the illness of Olga. After her death on 11 July 969, nothing could withstand Sviatoslav and the Rus' returned to the Balkans in the 6th year of Nikephoros' reign, in the end of summer.

According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, by the time Sviatoslav returned to Bulgaria, the defeated Bulgarians had risen and took Pereyaslavets, only to surrender again to the Rus' Prince. This time Sviatoslav succeeded to take captive Tsar Boris II (969–977), the heir of Peter I. Nonetheless, he was allowed to keep his titles, but became a subject of the Rus'.

Emperor Nikephoros, realizing the danger which Sviatoslav meant to the Empire, got in touch with Tsar Boris: he had sent to Bulgaria the patrician Nikephoros Erotikos and Philotheos, Bishop of Eukhaita. The aim of the mission was to conclude an alliance with the Tsar, and to assure this, the Emperor asked for two Bulgarian princesses to marry the future Basil II (976–1025) and Constantine VIII (1025–1028). The Bulgarians had reacted willingly, and sent the princesses, who had arrived to Constantinople shortly before Emperor Nikephoros was murdered at night to 11 December 969.

Despite the exhausting war against the Arabs in the East, Nikephoros had already started the preparations for the struggle in the Balkans. He equipped infantry and heavy cavalry, and strengthened the defence of his capital. All this points to the Emperor considering the second invasion of Sviatoslav into Bulgaria as an act of aggression against the Empire itself, but his premature death prevented him from starting the war himself.

His murderer and heir, John I Tzimiskes (969–976) entered into negotiations with Sviatoslav immediately after ascending the throne, probably having a double aim. Firstly, he might really have wanted to come into terms with the Prince, on the other hand, he needed time for his forces engaged in the east to reach the western borders of the Empire. The negotiations passed off in the spirit of mutual menaces.

In winter of 969–970 Emperor John had appointed his brother-in-law, Bardas Skleros as the commander of the eastern army, and sent him to the Balkans. When Sviatoslav got informed of the arrival of the Byzantines, in spring of 970, he crossed the Balkan Mountains along with Pecheneg, Hungarian and Bulgarian auxiliary forces, took Philippopolis, and by the way devastating Thrace, arrived to Arkadiopolis, where he met a Byzantine army. Though the Rus' and their allies outnumbered the enemy, they had mostly light-armed warriors against the Byzantine heavy-armed soldiers. Skleros tricked his enemy: he ordered his main force to lie in ambush, and sent ahead the patrician Alakas with a vanguard. Alakas attacked the Pechenegs, then pretended to flee, ensnaring them, and destroyed them. Then the main forces had clashed, and Bardas and his brother Constantine slayed two of the Rus' leaders, and soon after that the battle was over. Constantinople was freed of the danger.

The Russian Primary Chronicle however mentions a rather obscure battle ending in Rus' victory, but it cannot be identificated with any of the otherwise known ones.

According to the description, after the victory Sviatoslav advanced to Constantinople, destroying lesser towns on his way, *and the Emperor sent delegates to him, saying: 'do not go to the City, but take the tribute, as many as you want', because he almost reached Tsargrad, and they gave him the tribute* (Ип. Лет. 59.11–14).

Considering that in the whole year following the battle of Arkadiopolis there is no evidence of any military activity on the Balkans until spring of 971, and that in winter of 970 Bardas Phokas, the brother of the murdered emperor revolted in the eastern part of the Empire, and to suppress that, Tzimiskes needed all his force, one may conclude, that the Emperor and the Prince signed an armistice in the end of 970. That is why Emperor John could not really take advantage of his victory at Arkadiopolis, and that is why Sviatoslav attempted no attack on the practically undefended Constantinople in the absence of the Emperor and his army.

After Tzimiskes had finally defeated and exiled the leaders of the revolt in the start of 971, he began the preparations for a campaign against Sviatoslav. He assigned the drungarios Leo to lead the preparations, and designated Hadrianopolis as the base of the operation. He stockpiled there food, equipped triremes, and trained his army.

In spring he set out from Constantinople to Hadrianopolis, at the same time sending a fleet of triremes to the Danube to cut off the retreat of the enemy to the north. The Emperor got to know from his spies, that the Rus' would not expect any attack in the Holy Week considering the Christian religious customs, so they had not even guarded the passes of the Balkan Mountains. The Byzantines set out at once: the Emperor led the vanguard himself, and the rest followed him with the heavy siege machines. The Emperor passed the unguarded Rish Pass or the Varbitsa Pass likely on 11 April 971, Tuesday, and set up his camp near the Bulgarian capital of that time, Preslav. The Rus' garrison was unaware of the forthcoming enemy, but they organized the defence in a short time. Kalokyros, being there, fled to Sviatoslav, who was then residing in Dorostolon, to inform him about the attack. As the main force of Tzimiskes had arrived, the siege was started. The Byzantines soon broke the resistance, got up the walls, and down to the town. The gates were forced to open, and Preslav fell. The remaining garrison fled into the inner town or palace, but that was set on fire, and the emerging Rus' warriors were slayed. Sphangelos, the Rus' commander hardly managed to escape with some of his men.

Preslav was taken on 13 April, and was recalled Ioannoupolis in honour of Tzimiskes' victory. The Byzantines stayed there for three days, resting and repairing the siege damage, and then the Emperor sent some captive Rus' to Sviatoslav, calling him upon leaving the land immediately. We don't have the Prince's answer, but it was negative for sure.

Emperor John appeared as the defender of the Bulgarians and of their Tsar against the barbarian invaders, so the Bulgarian cities under Rus' occupation started to switch allegiance, and assured the Emperor of their loyalty one after another. The influence of Sviatoslav was ceasing, and he executed three hundred Bulgarian captives to prevent an uprising, and kept others prisoner.

On 17 April the Emperor had left Ioannoupolis and proceeded to Dorostolon, encountering some small Rus' troops and taking the old Bulgarian capital, Pliska and

the fortress of Dineia on his way. Sviatoslav set his camp with his 60.000 warriors at twelve miles from Dorostolon, awaiting Tzimiskes. Here was that the two leaders met on battlefield for the first time. The first battle of Dorostolon took place on 23 April, the day of Saint George, and then the course of the struggle allegedly changed twelve times. Finally, the Rus' army retreated to the walled city. The Emperor had set his camp and arranged his forces around the besieged Dorostolon. The stratopedarches Petros stood at the eastern gate with the Thracian and Macedonian soldiers, and Bardas Skleros stood at the western gate with the eastern soldiers. The siege proper was not started until the fleet of triremes arrived to the Danube, so that the encirclement became complete.

In the course of the siege there were several lesser battles, described rather schematically in the sources, but the winners became always the Byzantines. In these clashes Rus' commanders Sphangelos and Ikmor, and Byzantine leaders Anemas and John Kourkouas were killed.

Seeing that there was no much success in these battles, the Emperor decided to starve the city into surrender. So Sviatoslav was forced to lead an excursion at night to get some food for the garrison, which ended in an unexpected success. Nonetheless, Sviatoslav had to fear of inner resistance as well, as he had to put some of his Bulgarian captives to chain.

After more than three months of siege, at dawn after the next unlucky battle of 20 July, Sviatoslav and his commanders held a council, where some of them voted for fleeing, others for making peace with the Emperor, but finally the Prince convinced them to fight a last battle with the enemy. The battle, deciding the fate of Dorostolon and the whole war, was fought on 21 July 971. The tactical supremacy and the heavy cavalry (the *kataphraktoi*) of Tzimiskes brought victory for him. Skleros encircled the Rus' and the commanders Romanos and Petros routed the warriors of the Prince. The Heavens helped the Byzantines as well, as Saint Theodore appeared on the battlefield at the side of Tzimiskes. *And Sviatoslav, after trying all and failing in all, having no other hope, tended to agree* (Scyl. 309.34–36).

The Byzantine sources haven't preserved the text of the peace treaty concluded in Dorostolon, though they reveal some details of the conditions made by Sviatoslav. He asked for unharmed withdrawal and provision for the return journey and for trading privileges in the harbours of Constantinople, as it was laid down in the former Rus'–Byzantine treaties. Emperor John accepted the terms of the Prince.

However, the Russian Primary Chronicle has a text of the treaty (Ип. Лет. 60.14–61.15). We have no time to deal with it in details now. The text does not contain the mutually accepted obligations as the former ones (908, 912, 944), just confirms those overtaken by Sviatoslav. This fits in the peace-concluding routine of Byzantium: the deputies of the sides agreed in the conditions, then these were wrote down, and summaries were made of each side's obligations in that side's own language. These texts were translated into the other language as well, and the deputies exchanged them under taking an oath. Finally, the sides took ceremonial oaths, which were also written down and attached to the main text. Probably this is just such a confirming oath-text, with only

some of the obligations mentioned in it, such as the fact of concluding peace and the non-agression agreement.

Prince Sviatoslav was obliged to evacuate the occupied territories, though he could keep all his booty, moreover, as we have seen, he got additional provision from the Emperor, and got also a confirmation of the trading privileges of the Rus', so it is obvious, that this was not an unconditional surrender, but an agreement of two equal sides, who continued their negotiations broken in spring of 970, and broadly confirmed the old treaty of 944.

After the reconciliation Sviatoslav abandoned Bulgaria and set out for the Dnieper across the sea with his army and booty. They couldn't sail up the river, because at the rapids of the Dnieper the Pechenegs cut off the route. The Rus' were forced to spend the winter in great need at the estuary of the river. Then, in early spring of 972 the Prince had made up his mind to try to get through the rapids, and *Sviatoslav reached the rapids and Kurya, the Prince of the Pechenegs attacked him, and Sviatoslav was killed and his head was cut off and a chalice was made of his skull and it was bound in [metal] and they drank from it* (Ип. Лет. 61.31–62.4).

The Pechenegs were suspiciously well-informed for the second time after the summer of 969. According to the Chronicle, the byzantinophile Bulgarians warned them, but what is more likely, Emperor John was that, who sent envoys to them, seemingly fulfilling Sviatoslav's request to ask them to let him pass through their lands unharmed, but really quite the opposite. In this case Tzimiskes was who had broken the treaty and betrayed his new allies to their worst enemies.

The result of this war lasting three years was as follows. Sviatoslav kept Bulgaria and the western themes of the Empire under threat for a long time, but eventually he had to give up the conquered lands. Nevertheless, he managed to renew the old commercial and military treaty and won a great loot, though was killed on his way home. On the other hand, the Emperor was not only victorious over the Prince, but likely took part in his death also. At the cost of a rather bloody campaign Byzantium extended its northwestern borders to the Danube and the eastern part of Bulgaria was incorporated into the Byzantine Empire.

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Dániel Bácsatyai

"Ut mortuus seculo, solus soli viveret Deo" The Charter of Hermit Andreas and Admont

Denn wirklich bin ich gestorben der Welt.
Ich bin gestorben dem Weltgetümmel,
Und ruh' in einem stillen Gebiet!
Ich leb' allein in meinem Himmel
In meinem Lieben, in meinem Lied!

The motto of this presentation comes from the poem of the German romantic poet, Friedrich Rückert: *Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen* – I am lost to the world. The reconciliation of death and life recalls the sixth chapter of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans on baptism. However, the motif in Rückert's *ars poetica* has lost its Christian context. He has died to this world, but he lives – in this case not to God but in his own heaven: to love and to artistic creation. In the Roman Epistle we read: "Si autem mortui sumus cum Christo, credimus, quia simul etiam vivemus cum Christo… Quod enim mortuus est, peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit, vivit Deo." "But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him… For the death that he died, he died unto sin once: but the life that he liveth, he liveth unto God" (*Ad Romanos* 6:8, 10).

Inspired by the antithesis in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the idea of *dying to this world and living for God* was a wide-spread literary image in the Middle Ages. It was especially popular with monastic authors: amongst many examples, it appears in the dialogues of John Cassian on the Desert Fathers and in the *Concordia regularum* of Benedict of Aniane; it can also be read in numerous homilies and commentaries on St. Paul's epistles from Augustin to Rabanus Maurus and Saint Adalbert. Considering the popularity of the Paul's idea, it comes as no surprise that the Cistercians named the fourth daughter abbey of Clairveaux Morimond after the slogan *mori mundo.*

The sixth chapter of the Roman epistle has already emerged as a subject of interest amongst scholars of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary. A textual relation with the *Gesta Hungarorum* written by the anonymous notary of King Béla III (commonly known as "Anonymus") was noted by Dezső Pais, (Szentpétery, 1937, 117, n. 3.), but it was János Bollók who discovered the likely conceptual parallel between the concluding, rhythmic-rhyming Tonuzoba-episode of the Gesta and the present biblical passage. (Bollók, 1979)

> Et dum beatus rex Stephanus verba vite predicaret et Hungaros baptizaret, tunc Thonuzoba in fide vanus noluit esse Christianus, sed cum uxore vivus ad portum Obad est sepultus, ut ne baptizando ipse et uxor sua viverent cum Christo in eternum, sed Urcun filius suus Christianus factus vivit cum Christo in perpetuum. (Szentpétery, 117)

Bollók challenged the claim that these poetic lines, ornamented with rhetorical figures, inform us of one of the bloodstained episodes of Saint Stephen's mission. He also refuted the theory developed by László Szegfű that the final passage refers to the cruel punishment of the alleged assassination of Prince Saint Emeric. (Szegfű, 1974) On the contrary, he maintains the view that the episode cannot lay claim to any historical value as it is based on a theological idea borrowed from Paul's epistle: since Tonuzoba and his wife had not been baptized and had not buried into death with Christ ("consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem"), they cannot hope for eternal life. Instead of the burial with Him, that is in baptism, they both remained living, i.e. unbaptized; instead of coming to eternal life, they are condemned to perpetual death. (Bollók 1979, 106–107)

János Győry compared the conclusive verses of the anonymous notary to the final lines of an abbreviated version of a 12th century Anglo-Norman historical account, the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* (Győry 1948, 55): "Vive, precor, sed vive Deo; nam vivere mundo mors est, sed vera est vivere vita Deo." (Halphen–Poupardin 1913, 171) When he noted down these words, the principal aim of Jean de Marmoutier, the author of the abridged *Gesta* was to edify his patron, Henry II, king of England (1154–1189). However, the passage is not the own invention of the French historian, as it can be found in one of the letters of Saint Paulinus of Nola as well ("Vive precor, sed vive Deo: nam vivere mundo mortis opus, vera est vivere vita Deo." Migne 61, 184C). If we take into account the frequency of the paraphrases of the biblical quotation in medieval literature, the parallel suggested by Győry becomes less convincing: the Hungarian notary could have drawn on countless sources. Nevertheless, this cannot rule out the possibility that Anonymus was in fact inspired by the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*. This suggestion is also reinforced by the fact that the motif occurs in the same, final position of both historical works.

There is, however, another early medieval Hungarian source that undoubtedly finds its direct source in one particular paraphrase of the New Testament passage. Written during the reign of Béla II (1131–1141) and conserved in the Archives of the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma, (Capsarium 26; 1131–1141: DF 206 807, RA 67) the charter that preserved the will of the hermit Andreas, provost of Veszprém, reports that the grantor left the strenuous struggles of this life for the solitude of seclusion ("ab huius mundi laborioso certamine ad eremi se transtulit solitudinem"), and having died to this world, he would live for God alone ("ut mortuus seculo, solus soli viveret Deo"). The *dispositio* continues: the earlier provost of Bishop Nána of Veszprém donates thirty servants in the villages of Bézs, Karád and Rád and three vineyards with all services

located in Rád to the church of Saint Martin in Arad. As opposed to the relatively lengthy *arenga*, the dispositive section runs to a few lines altogether. Bearing in mind the incidental nature of legal practice in 12th century Hungary, this is not surprising. This practice contrasts to that of the Holy Roman Empire, where similar charters are unlikely to be found from this period.

"Ut mortuus seculo, solus soli viveret Deo" – in this presentation I propose that this sentence of the testimony of Andreas can be traced back to the homiletic and exegetical writings attributed to Abbot Gottfried of Admont (†1165) by the 18th century Austrian historian, Bernhard Pez. Although the Admont sermon corpus had been added to Migne's *Patrologia* under the name of the great abbot of Admont, recent research questions the authorship of the homilies and commentaries. In fact, there is no solid evidence that any of the texts preserved in eleven 12th century manuscripts can be ascribed to Gottfried; therefore, nowadays they are referred to as works by members of the Admont *scriptorium*. (Borgehammar, 1993; Bleach, 2003, 72–73) After having been the prior of Schwarzwald and abbot of Weingarten, Gottfried was appointed abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Admont dedicated to Saint Blaise, where he remained in office until his death in 1165. Apart from introducing reforms, he transformed the abbey into one of the most significant centers of monastic culture. The heyday of the monastery is commonly associated with Gottfried. (Braun 1981, 119) He did not participate in the ecclesiastical and political controversies of his age; the writings credited to him are not characterized by the new tendencies in theology. These homilies owe a great deal to patristic literature. The purpose of their author(s) is not more than satisfying pastoral duties in a high literary quality and helping the spiritual advancement of the monks in the spirit of monastic ideals. (Braun, 1981, 121–122) Setting exactly the same objectives, the homily written for the feast of Saint Blaise is – in my view – a possible source of the charter of Andreas (Migne 174, 713D–719A). The twenty-first piece of the *homiliae festivales* comments upon Luke 9:27–28, recalling the life, persecution and martyrdom of Saint Blaise, bishop of Sebasta. "Si quis vult post me venire, abneget seipsum, et tollat crucem suam quotidie, et sequatur me" (If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.) This *locus* is prescribed as the *communio* of the feast of Saint Blaise in the *Missale Strigoniense* (1484) too. (Déri 2009, 358)

The text carries on with the story of Saint Blaise: "Dico autem vobis: Sunt aliqui hic stantes, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant regnum Dei." (I say to you truly: there are some of those standing here who will not taste death, till they have seen the kingdom of God.) According to the author of the homily, Saint Blaise was one of those standing here ("de hic stantibus"): in spite of his martyrdom, he did not taste death as lit by the unappeasable love of Christ: he did not desire the delights and dignities of this world, but devoted his entire body and soul to God. (Migne 174, 718C) The writer concludes the idea with the following explanation: "Et ne quid esset, quod ab huius regni Dei visione interiorem cordis eius oculum retardare posset, sub obtentu declinandae iuxta praeceptum Domini persecutionis, consortia fugit hominum, non ut mortem corporis, sed mortem animae evaderet, hoc est ut *mortuus saeculo solus soli Deo liberius*

vivere posset" (Migne 174, 718D). That is: According to the Lord's command, in order to escape from persecution and avoid anything that can distract his internal eyes from seeing the realm of God, he left human society; not to evade the death of the flesh, but the death of the soul; namely, *dying to this world he could freely live for God alone*. This phrasing reappears first in an antiphonary conserved in a 13th century manuscript from the Benedictine monastery of Rheinau: "Postea secum habitare desiderans speluncam in monte Argeo inventam irrepsit ibique latitavit ut mortuus saeculo solus soli viveret deo." (Hesbert, 1963–1979, no. 4334, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh, 28) Of the codices once used in the Kingdom of Hungary a breviary of Esztergom (*Breviarium Zagrabiense*, c. 1290, Zagreb, University Library, MR 67; Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Department of Microfilms, Mf 6414/I., 6666–6667) and a 15th century breviary (*Breviarium ad usum eccl. Hung.*, Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár], Biblioteca Documentaria Batthyaneum, R. I. 110) contain the same antiphon.

Without explaining the exact relationship between the identical texts in the charter of Andreas, the contemporary Admont sermon *corpus* and the liturgical collections listed above, one cannot respond to the question whether the provost of Veszprém, who preferred seclusion to this wearisome world like Saint Blaise, was associated with the monastery of Admont or not. In any case, it seems certain that the *dictator* of the will – possibly Andreas himself – knew either the homily of the Admont school or the antiphon; consequently, at least one of them was known in Hungary, or our hermit must have had some special contacts with Admont. If the excerpt from the Admont homiliy can be identified as the source of the antiphon, one can also assume that Andreas, a contemporary of Abbot Gottfried, borrowed the discussed line of the charter's *arenga* from there.

The possible connection presented here complements our knowledge of 12th century political relations between Hungary and Admont. Regarded as one of the most personal and moving stories of the age, the correspondence of Princess Sophia can be associated with Admont and Abbot Gottfried. The daughter of King Béla II, Sophia was engaged to Henry, son of Conrad III of Germany and infant heir to the imperial throne, in 1139. The princess was brought up in the Holy Roman Empire, but as the emperor's power was solidified in his realm and the interdependence between the Árpáds and Staufens lost its former significance, the plan of the marriage was abandoned.

Besides the grievances she had sustained, the neglected Hungarian princess informed her brother Géza II that "she despises the king of the earthly Babilon who despised her, for the love of the celestial groom", and "from the shipwreck of this world, though nude and robbed, she sails to the peaceful harbour of the monastery of Admont." ("…decrevi in animo meo contempnentem me regem terrestris Babilonie pro amore immortalis sponsi fprti constatntia contempnere… Opto sane et desiderio fraterno tui auxilio ad portum monasterii et quietis nuda saltem et despoliata ex huius seculi fugere naufragio." Jaksch 1888, 374–375) The royal brother must have had doubts about the authenticity of Sophia's letters and sent a mission to her to Admont, but she did not want to return. (Koepke 1856, 772) The hagiographer Herbordus relates that King Géza, having enough of the unsuccessful missions, sent his own relative, perhaps his influential uncle Belos

(Pauler 1893, 628, n. 459), with a significant escort. In spite of the fears brought about by the Hungarians, Abbot Gottfried ("vir dignae auctoritatis, gnarus ad omnia, et multo pollens consilio, meritis ac religione decus et firmamentum monastici ordinis") did not lose his presence of mind and inviting them to relax, he delayed the meeting with Sophia to the next day. Herbordus stages the events as a genuine hagiographer: the doors of the cloister open; she crosses the threshold and makes a few steps towards her Hungarians in order to show that nobody prevents her from exercising her free will. She greets them with a gentle bow, then turns back and stepping over the doorstep again the nuns burst out singing: "Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi." (I have despised the earthly realm and all ornaments of the world.) The Hungarian mission returns to Géza II with peace and joy, praising the Lord's name. (Koepke 1856, 773)

In one of her later letters addressed to her mother Ilona, the princess herself made mention of Abbot Gottfried too and expressed the following words of appreciation: "Since I began to live in the place called Admont, I have found my realm and homeland by the grace of God. For the lord abbot and everyone around me are of so great and ample favour towards me that it seems as if I have got to the garden of delights somehow." ("Ex quo loco N. inhabitare cepi regnum et patriam deo miserante inveni. Nam tanta in me patris nostri spiritualis domini scilicet abbatis omniumque mihi commanentium superhabundat gratia, ut velut in horto deliciarum quodam modo videar esse posita." Jaksch 1888, 373.)

Sophia's letters raise the question whether their expressions share similarities with the letter collection of Admont or the phrases of homilies attributed to Gottfried of Admont. Although I do not draw the sincereity of her passion in doubt, I consider it highly unlikely that a young girl brought up to be an imperial spouse could have been profoundly skilled in *ars dictaminis.* (Beach 2002) Recently, I have discovered some superficial parallels between the royal letters and the homilies of the Admont sermon *corpus* (Migne 174, 1070A), but I have found no traces of similarity between the correspondence and the phrases of the 12th century Benedictine charters written in Hungary. Still, the charter of the hermit Andreas is an important witness of the impact of the Admont school on the Hungarian monastic education.

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József Csermelyi

Matthias Corvinus's wooden fortresses at the Lower Danube*

Military historical analysis of a diplomatic document

Literature has devoted much attention to Matthias Corvinus's anti-Ottoman policy; to his wars against the Turks, one of which resulted in the occupation of Šabac in winter 1475/1476, whose importance was exaggerated by the royal propaganda. This campaign is connected with another less known operation, in the course of which Hungarians built fortresses near Smederevo, a castle of crucial importance and possessed by the Turks. Some Hungarian and Ottoman authors reported on the building of the fortresses, for example Bonfini, Sead-eddin, or Tursun Bey, but we also have archival sources. From this latter group I chose a letter written on the 15th of November in 1476, addressed to Ernest, the Prince-elector of Saxony. It is remarkable from several aspects, and I am going to make an attempt to analyse it, firstly from its military historical, secondly from its diplomatic point of view.

This document was published by Vilmos Fraknói in 1893, in the first volume of King Matthias's diplomatic correspondence (Fraknói, 1893. 354-358.). Fraknói did not give us accurate serial number, we only learn from the end of the letter that it was preserved in the Dresden State Archives in the current Saxony. The addressee was Prince Ernest (1464-1486) from the Wettin dynasty. At the same time he and his brother, Albert were Matthias's vassals because the king was also the owner of the Bohemian crown. In the missive, after the short introducing formulas of the *salutatio* and the *captatio benevolentiae* came the first longer part, the *narratio*. In the head of this the king summarized the major events from his point of view which had happened since he signed an armistice with Vladislas Jagiellon on the 8th of December in 1474. Naturally, since it was written before the peace of Olomouc, he did not recognize his rival as the King of Bohemian. Moreover, he did not even mention Vladislas's name; he was only the person who (with his father, Casimir IV) attacked Matthias because of Matthias's Bohemian kingdom (*cum his, qui propter regnum nostrum Bohemie nobis adversabantur*).

The further part of the *narratio* is related to the king's military operations against the Turks. Firstly, Matthias emphasised the dreadfulness of the enemy (who is hostile and harmful to Christianity, wild and boisterous etc.). In spite of that, Hungarians were able to confront bravely with them, as the cause of recent war was Hungarian provocation

* Translated by Júlia Anna Riba and József Csermelyi.

(*contra nos incitavimus, irritavimusque, et adeo provocatimus*). Matthias was forced to conclude an armistice with the Jagiellons and return to Hungary by the threatening news from thence. After that he told how he managed to force the enemy back and to occupy Šabac. But his campaign was not finished with that; Matthias's troops continued with the devastation of the Ottoman's land. According to the king, his aim was to occupy Smederevo, the most important town of Serbia (*cordi nobis erat eodem cursu castrum Smedrii, totius regni Rascie caput, obsidione cingere, quod et Deo juvante expugnare sperabamus*), but it was stopped by the cold weather.

At this point the report made a temporal and spatial transition, as the king's attention was devoted to the Walachian incidents. Marching across the country of the Walachian voivoda, Basarab Laiotă cel Bătrân (1473-1477, intermittently), who was a dependant of the Ottomans, the sultan attacked the Moldavian voivoda, Stephen the Great (1457-1504). However, according to this text, he ran away shamefully (*Hos ubi ille appropriare percepit, obsidione soluta, relictis tormentis et multis impedimentis, turpem se convertit in fugam, nec respiravit, donec iter, quod pluribus ebdomadis intrando absolverat, triduo confecit, rursusque Danubium remeavit, nec destitit quo ad Constantinopolim rediit.*). After the sultan's retreat Matthias's captains invaded Walachia, they removed Basarab and restored the reign of Vlad Ţepeş, who was the Hungarian king's protégé at that time.

After that, the thread of the report returned to the seat of operations around the Lower Danube. As the winter and cold weather were over, it became possible to cross the river again, which Hungarians tried to do. Furthermore, they built three fortresses or *castellum* by ground and timber where the River Morava flew into the Danube, near Smederevo and these fortresses were supplied altogether with three thousands men to be on guard. These garrisons must have done an excellent job, because they were reported to have burnt the outskirts of Smederevo. The Hungarians' successes did not escape the sultan's attention and he was about to attack Hungary with an army of 60.000.

At this point the description of the military operations was finished and King Matthias came to the point in the part of the petition of this missive. He had already sent letters to several monarchs in order to ask for their help, one of whom was his adopted father, Emperor Frederick III. Frederick encouraged the king to submit the case, which deeply affects the whole Christianity to other princes of the Empire. Hence Matthias wrote to Ernest and referring to Ernest's Christian faith and to God's love he asked him to do his best. By the way, King Matthias pointed to himself as an example to be followed (*Nos igitur, qui nihil aliud magis in hoc mundo desideramus, quam ut cristiana religio ab ipsorum immanissimorum infidelium insultu et crudelissima impetione liberetur, fraternitatem vestram obnixe rogamus, quatenus pro Dei amore et eius sancte fidei, ad quam defensandam nos principes ante omnes ex professione tenemur, elo fra ternaque* /sic!/ *pietate permota, velit rebus istis operam suam et sanum consilium adhibere, quod jam demum cristiani populi a tantis periculis liberentur.*).

It was followed by the *argumentatio,* which claimed that Christian monarchs were qualified and competent to carry out this task, which would certainly end in success if they helped. However, there was a severe hindrance to the mission: Emperor Frederick, who attacked Matthias, surrounded his castles and made different kinds of hostile ac-

tions towards him. Consequently, he asked the prince to mediate between the king and his adopted father, and to form an alliance with him. In the conclusion of the letter, he said good-bye to the addressee shortly which was followed by the date.

It is seen above, that Matthias could support his own case with artistry. He laid stress upon Hungarian-Ottoman and Christian-Pagan antagonism in the first, narrative part of his letter. Playing the role of the champion of Christianity, Matthias told about his recent operations against the Turks. Moreover, in the hope of future assistance he talked about the particular plan for the occupation of Smederevo, the basis of which, the three wooden fortresses were already finished. Only the concentration of Christian forces was missing, and if the Hungarian king was so deeply concerned about fighting against the common enemy, he could ask for the help of other Catholic monarchs and expect them to do their best.

However, there was a negative character in the letter, the emperor, who was not only an ineffective helper, but he also hindered the "champion of Christianity". Due to so perfect reasoning, Matthias were certain to expect Prince Ernst, what is more other addressees of similar letters at least to sympathize with him. This could result in the monarchs not supporting Frederick against Matthias. It can be declared, that this could be the overall aim of the document, but asking for military help was also important, which appeared in the *petitio,* too.

The next step is to analyse the military historical data of this letter. On this occasion analysis will be restricted to the investigation into the military operations against the Ottomans, since this suits my research topic.

Matthias Corvinus took the international circumstances into consideration when he planned all of his campaigns against the Turks. He started a large scale military expedition only when he was sure that the sultan was threatened by his enemies, for example by Venice, by Skanderbeg or by the above mentioned Stephan, voivoda of Moldavia. Even in these favourable situations Matthias was willing to fight only for limited purposes, for example to occupy a castle, such as Šabac, or to disturb another, such as Smederevo. The three fortresses were built for this purpose. But we still have a question; when their construction took place. Bonfini gave us a concrete answer when he was telling about those events which were connected with or directly followed the taking of Šabac: *Quod ut efficeret, eadem hieme tria circum castella ex lignis et egesta terra confecta propius erexerat* […] (*Bonf.* IV. 3. 302.). However, other sources question the authenticity of his statement. Some Turkish Historians reported on the destruction of the wooden fortresses, which is connected with the above mentioned Moldavian-Ottoman war. I am going to adumbrate its episodes in the following.

Mehmed II had been at war with Moldavia since 1473, but crisis deepened after the Ottomans were defeated at Vaslui on the 10th of January in 1475. The sultan decided not to have his commanders be in charge of Stephen's punishment, but he was going to take it into his own hands. He left Edirne for Moldavia only in April of 1476 owing to his other duties. The letter relates this campaign. On the 22nd of May Turks got to Varna. Voivode Stephen applied scorched earth policy against the Ottomans, with the help of which he succeeded in enticing Mehmed so deep in his country that the battle

was fought only in the north-eastern part of Moldavia, near Valea Alba on the 26th of July. The location of this battle is next to Cetatea Neamțului, which can be identified with *castrum Nemecz*, which appears in the letter. Although the sultan won, he could not take advantage of his success and finally, he retreated without any achievements. The letter refers to this event when it reports on the shameful retreat which was followed by the Hungarian invasion of Walachia in October and November. The campaign led by Stephen Báthori ended in success as it is related in the letter written to Prince Ernest. This fact is supported by another document: on the 8th of November Vlad informed the town of Braşov about Basarab's defeat, who fled to the Turks after that.

The sultan's forces usually withdrew for winter not later than the 26th of October, that is, till Kasım's feast day. However, in 1476 they did not follow their practice. On their way back, probably in Edirne some messengers from Smederevo visited Mehmed and reported on the Hungarian fortresses. Neglecting practice and exhaustion of his soldiers the sultan turned his army back after ten days of rest and they marched to Smederevo. However, it took much time to reach the castle, so it was winter when they managed to lay siege to the fortresses. Chronologically this event coincided with the wedding of Beatrice of Aragon and Matthias, which was held on the 22nd of December (*Bonf.* IV. 4. 59-60.). The cold weather favoured the besiegers; the moats of the castle were frozen, as were the rivers. The fortresses were taken in a short time and the Ottoman army withdrew.

It is clear that the occupation of the fortresses was so important for Mehmed II as to infringe practice and to make his army go to war in winter. This raises the question why the sultan did not intervene earlier. If we can believe Bonfini, fortresses were built almost a year before and Mehmed was close to them in the summer. It seems he did not bother about them at that time. Moreover, the commander of Smederevo might not have cared about, either, as he did not inform his ruler about them. Besides, Mehmed did not plan to occupy the fortresses while he was withdrawing.

What makes things more complicated is an account of Bonfini of a Turkish incursion (*Bonf.* IV. 4. 12-30.) which was led by Ali, Bey of Smederevo and his brother Iskender and which was defeated by joint Hungarian troops somewhere near Pojejena and Fejéregyház (a destroyed village close to the present Socol, Romania). It can be concluded that Ali could not have been concerned about the Hungarian fortresses, which surrounded his castle, because he dared to make incursions into his enemies' land.

All in all, Bonfini is the only source which asserts that the construction of the fortresses coincided with the occupation of Šabac. However, his data concerning these years, decades cannot be regarded as precise, because he dated the fall of Šabac falsely at 1475 (*Bonf.* IV. 3. 297.). It has to be presumed that — due to ambiguous circumstances — the fortresses cannot have been built at that time, what is more these can be imagined to have been constructed much later.

The document in question gains importance at this point. Matthias reported on the building of the fortresses after the removal of Basarab. Although this cannot be regarded as a chronological point of reference, but according to the document building started after neither rain nor ice and snow could hinder it, so from late spring of 1476.

However, if it already had happened in those days, then the Ottoman supreme command would have tried to cease this threat earlier. Ottomans, however, showed no sign of trying it, neither when Mehmed II marched to Moldavia (in May, June), nor when Ali and Iskender attacked Hungary (in August). The beys, as usual, aimed at plundering and looting in Temesköz (territory between the Tisza, Mureş and Transylvania). Provided the fortresses had already existed, whose armed forces were capable of burning the outskirts of Smederevo, Ali Bey would not have left it out of consideration. Moreover, this incursion was ordered for the beys by the sultan himself according to the description of Tursun Bey (as József Thury interpreted): "[…] *Kara-Bogdán székhelyét és házait fölégette, országát elpusztította. Azután Magyarországba küldött portyázókat* […]" (Thury, 1893. 94.). If Mehmed, who was just in Moldavia on his way home at that time, was in touch with the beys, it is inexplicable why he was not informed about the building. It was probably because the construction of the fortresses did not start until the beys were defeated. In those days the sultan withdrew his troops from Walachia and Hungarians started to attack them in answer to the former Turkish invasion. These attacks were prepared for in Transylvania. It is known from a documentary source that Hungarian troops had to assemble in Torda till the 25th of July. Troops led by Báthori and Vlad invaded Moldavia as early as August, fought with the Ottoman rearguard but they returned to Transylvania before long. According to Báthori's itinerary he left Transylvania on the 16th of August, but he returned to Braşov on the 2nd of October and then he set out on the campaign of Walachia, mentioned several times before. He achieved what he aimed at by the middle of November and on the 7th of December he returned to Braşov again. The Hungarian attacks, which were reactions to the former Ottoman incursion, can support the explanation that building of the fortresses was part of these attacks; therefore it probably took place in the August of 1476 at the earliest. This sheds light on the question why Mehmed was not informed about the fortresses and why he did not attack them earlier: because these were not built. Ali Bey also could not take them into account when he planned the incursion. However, up till now Hungarian and foreign literature connected the building of the fortresses wrongly with Matthias's campaign due to Bonfini.

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Tamás Dudás

Vita Dositheі: a Way to the Sanctity

Introduction

In the following paper I would like to present the *Life of Dositheus* (*Vita Dositheі*), a hagiographic writing attributed to Dorotheus of Gaza. The main scope of this study is to examine what kind of paths the main character, the young Dositheus had to take in order to become a saint. This *vita* is relatively short, containing only 13 chapters, written in Greek and its critical edition is available in two patristic series.

Primarily I analyze the *Life of Dositheus* with the help of *Corpus Dorothei*, however, I also discuss the relation of this biography to other hagiographic and theological writings.

You may wonder why a saint from the 6th century or just any saint would at all attract interest today. Let me come back to that question at the end of the paper.

1. Some characteristics of hagiographic writings

If we look at the first hagiographic writing *Vita Antonii*, written about Antony the Great (later considered the prototype of the genre), we can talk about the following characteristics of this genre:

- A hagiographic writing always describes a period from a saint's life when they do not yet follow Christ or live as a monk or a hermit. At this point the protagonist is usually just as perfect as at the end of their life, but in certain virtues progress can be observed.
- After the conversion, the saint often gets a master who introduces them to asceticism.
- Demons and devils have important roles. They hinder the saints in reaching perfection: they trouble them with temptations, mostly with sexual temptations; every saint has to wrestle with their sexual demons. These demons could also possess other people; in this case the saint performs exorcism.
- Hagiographic writings were always born with a purpose, sometimes targeted at a certain group of society. The biographies could also have served as means to popularize philosophical, theological and ascetical-spiritual doctrines.

A few more remarks should be made about the historical authenticity of hagiographic compositions. We should clearly not ignore the question of historical authenticity when interpreting these writings as authors did not set out to tell fiction to the public but spread the story of a real historical person who followed Lord perfectly in their earthly life already. The aim was to tell that in the saint the gap between the spheres of earthly and heavenly disappeared; the above mentioned miracles and exorcisms supported this idea, as well. These unique attributes of the genre should not be studied by strict measures of historicity, but are to be examined by comparing them with intra- and intertextual motifs. This way we could get closer to the intended message of the text. But let's keep reminding ourselves of the ever interesting question of the historical authenticity...

2. The Gaza monasticism and the Vita Dosithei

Monastic communities settled down next to the flourishing Hellenistic city, Gaza from the 4th century AD on: they are called the "Gaza monasticism". From this milieu came Dorotheus, a monk from the 6th century. *Vita Dosithei* circulated among his writings. Although, it becomes clear from the foreword letter to *Corpus Dorothei* that the *Life of Dositheus* was not written by Dorotheus himself, but by someone who was in close relationship with the Gaza monasticism, possibly with Dorotheus, too. However, the Abba can be associated with *Vita Dosithei* in many ways; therefore I find it appropriate to interpret the *vita* through his writings. As a young man, Dorotheus retreated to Abba Seridus' community and some years later he founded his own monastery. When developing his own monastic ideals he combined the desert fathers' anchoretic asceticism, the Pachomian with the Basilian communal monasticism, adding to it some special Gazan emphasis, but according to studies he did not come up with any innovations. Dorotheus summarized his teachings for his disciples in his letters and in a collection, called *Instructiones.* He was the last great figure of the Gaza monasticism, which was swept away by the Arab conquest in the 7th century but by which time the literary heritage of the Gaza monks had already reached far regions.

3. The way of sanctity in Dorotheus' community

Let us survey some stations in Dositheus' life, and it will shed light on the characteristics of the Gazan way, or more specifically the way Dorotheus guided his disciples. *Vita Dosithei* will lead us in our search as it faithfully describes and illustrates the monastic ideals of Dorotheus.

a. Setting out on the simple way

As we have seen, the overview of the saint's past is a fundamental part of hagiographic writings. The *Life of Dositheus* informs us that Dositheus was a military leader's page

who lived in great luxury. Having heard once the experience of others this young man was filled with the desire to visit Jerusalem. In the Holy City Dositheus' unexpressed longing for salvation received divine help: a "venerable lady" (probably Virgin Mary) gave him a threefold command. Dositheus kept these commands conscientiously (fasting, abstinence from meat, praying), but soon his fellow soldiers considered them as signs of asceticism, and they escorted the young man to Abba Seridus' community. Having arrived there, Dositheus could only say the following words to the enquiring Dorotheus: "I want to be saved!" This sentence may be a reminder of Antony, the Father of the monks who was the main character in the first story in the *Apophtegmata Patrum*:

> When the holy Abba Anthony lived in the desert he was beset by accidie, and attacked by many sinful thoughts. He said to God, 'Lord, I want to be saved but these thoughts do not leave me alone; what shall I do in my affliction? How can I be saved?'
>
> (*AP, Antony,* 1.)

The prayer was listened to by God, and He sent his angel to his saint showing him the way of perfection: what Antonius saw was that the only thing this unknown messenger did was working and praying all day. Having understood this message Antony got new impetus in his ascetic practice.

The allusion to the first *apophtegma* about Antony is significant not only because of the beginning of Dositheus' monastic life, but in the light of his whole life spent in asceticism. According to the quoted story, the first monk -- as opposed to *Vita Antonii* -- did nothing else but work and pray constantly. This is the "little way", not the way of the miracles, and not the way of an admired saint. The *Life of Dositheus* paints the same picture of Dositheus: he also led a hidden, simple life, no extraordinary event coloured his path. The example of Antony the Great legitimates this way of life.

b. Dositheus' steps

Having just entered in Seridus' monastery the novice has to learn the ordinance of the communal monastic life and practice specific monastic virtues. Dositheus began this way to perfection; his steps briefly are the following: moderation in eating, letting go of anger, freedom from material goods, constant praying, controlling the tongue, letting go of knowledge, revealing thoughts to the master, and lastly suffering and death that is worthy of a saint. All these steps are prerequisited and linked together by the virtue of obedience and overcoming self-will. In other words: these virtues are the only requirements that should be met by Dositheus, other virtues are only secondary. Although, it seems that these virtues are inherent to Dositheus' disposition. The question comes up then whether we can speak about Dositheus' growth at all? For the time being I let this question unanswered and I turn to the episode about letting go of anger. By interpreting it we could get closer to Dositheus' character and Dorotheus' pedagogy.

Dositheus performed his duty in the hospital conscientiously although it happened several times that he despised somebody or he spoke to somebody filled with anger. Apart from it showing an example of forgiveness this episode of the *vita* presents other teachings as well: if the monk can let go his anger, then he can refrain from judging his fellow monks and this way he can accept that he could fail like others and that he should begin anew the struggle every day.

According to Dorotheus, if anger is not followed by real reconciliation, then the soul is like an unhealed wound which is far more sensitive to injuries. "How could it be set right?" -- asks the monk from Gaza.

> "By praying right from the heart for the one who has offended him saying: 'Oh God, help my brother and me through his prayers.' And he is found to be interceding for his brother, which is a sure sign of sympathy and love, and he is humbling himself by asking help through his brother's prayers."
>
> (*Instructiones,* 94.)

Of course the background of this idea is one of Jesus Christ's teachings: "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you!" (Mt 5:44) However, Dorotheus is adding to it by emphasizing mutuality: not only the offended prays for the offender, but also the offender for the offended. As we can see, the abba is approaching the problem humbly and with optimism. The monk cannot pose as a good Christian any more by claiming that he prays for the sinner, since he should humbly assume that the offender has already repented his sin and he is praying for him, as well. Also, the monk cannot assert his innocence because earlier he must have offended either the offending brother or somebody else, therefore he should consider himself as the catalyst of sinning.

If the monk does so then he will endeavor to avoid judging his fellow monks. *Vita Dositheі* mentions a counterexample of this judgement free attitude: Dositheus' fellow monks judged the young man by his ascetic practices. "True to fact, they did see him fast every other day, as some did in the monastery, or hold extra vigils right before the [obligatory] vigils." (*Vita Dositheі*, 11.) But the brothers did not realize the reason behind Dositheus' sanctity: "that all-embracing obedience, that he never did anything out of his own will." (*Vita Dositheі*, 11.)

According to Dorotheus, one can only see the sin and not every particular of a human act: the fellow monks saw only a very thin slice from Dositheus' life. If in turn everybody remains obedient to their master, is conscious of their own fallible condition (i.e. humble) and finds their place in the "body" of the monastery, they then, as a result, will refrain from judging, as well.

The episode of struggling with anger in the *vita* sheds light on the third monastic principle which is the principle of starting afresh each day. The same scenario occurs twice: Dositheus despises somebody, is filled with anger, but he repents it and retreats back to his cell crying. His fellow monks are not able to console him, therefore they call upon Dorotheus. At first the master rebukes Dositheus, then he encourages him

to begin again: "Stand up, may God forgive you! Start again! Make amends!" (*Vita Dositheі,* 6.)

Both time Dositheus goes back filled with joy to perform his duty, since "he received forgiveness from God himself." (*Vita Dositheі*, 6.)

The idea of starting afresh each day had a great impact on the monastic way of thinking from the beginnings on. This principle was already expressed in the *Life of Antony*, though there it was not linked to failure that preceded the fresh start, as it is attested in the *Life of Dositheus*. It is obvious that the lack of this motif in *Vita Antonii* can be traced back to the fact that Antony is depicted as a saint already at the beginning of the *vita*; the new situations in which Athanasius places the protagonist are used only for manifesting Antony's sanctity. However, Dositheus makes progress in the virtues and adopts well to the monastic way of life, albeit the essential qualities of his sanctity (the obedience and the overcoming of self-will) are in his possession already at the beginning of the *vita*.

Consequently the monastic career presented in the *Life of Dositheus* is a series of steps towards perfection, and these steps are illustrated in the *vita* via several episodes from Dositheus' life. He does indeed make these steps: from the page who lived in luxury becomes a hard-working monk; the gluttonous, quick tempered, chatterbox man who also could not let go of his objects fades into the past. Therefore we can speak about the growth of his character. So the only thing that is not changing in the short *vita* is his obedience towards the master and overcoming self-will: Dositheus excels in these two virtues already from the beginning on.

c. Unusual peculiarities

Comparing the *Life of Dositheus* with other classical hagiographic writings it soon becomes evident immediately that it lacks some "obligatory" hagiographic elements. That is, the *vita* does not tell us whether Dositheus had to struggle with his sexuality, or that any demons played any role in the saint's life. Apart from two apparitions, miracles are almost absent from this writing, as well. What is the reason for that? I can only go into guesses not yet proved, therefore further examinations should be made into the early Byzantine hagiographic literature comparing *Vita Dositheі* with similar writings.

Summary

The paper served as an introduction in the understanding of *Vita Dositheі*: it discussed several points, and left many questions unanswered. In any case it has fulfilled the aim to make this *vita* itself and its context (the Gaza monasticism and Abba Dorotheus) known for the broader public.

In any further research I would like to examine the below questions related to the *Life of Dositheus* -- hopefully from a wider patristic perspective:

1. Which hagiographic compositions can be considered as the closest relatives of *Vita Dosithei*?
2. When did the simple life living saints appear in hagiography?
3. Are there any other *vita*s known from the early Byzantine era which similarly lack miraculous events?
4. Can the *Life of Dositheus* be considered as a unique composition or just a patchwork of *topoi*?

Only one question left: how could hagiographic writings be interesting for contemporary readers? I believe it depends on the definition of the saint. If we define the holy man as somebody who lives in harmony both with God and people, and at the end of their life they attain the greatest happiness desired by them, then regardless of our differences in convictions, religions and faith -- all of us would like to be saints.

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Katalin Goda

„Ehe wir ertrinken, bezahle das Fahrgeld!"

Die Fragen einer byzantinischen Sprichwörtersammlung

In meinem Vortrag werde ich eine byzantinische Sprichwörtersammlung, und einige interessante Auszüge daraus präsentieren. Außerdem versuche ich bestimmte Sprichwörter und die zu ihnen gehörenden, nicht immer verständlichen theologischen Erklärungen zu deuten. Aber zuerst werde ich über allgemeine Charaktereigenschaften der byzantinischen Sprichwörter sprechen, dann werde ich auf die ausführliche Darstellung der Sammlung, der Sprichwörter und der Erklärungen übergehen.

Wenn man über die byzantinischen Sprichwörter hört, ist der plausibelste Gedanke sie für die Bearbeitung alter Sammlungen zu halten. Das ist aber in diesem Fall nicht zutreffend, weil die Mentalität und die Ausdrucksweise von der Antike mit der Verbreitung des Christentums bis zum byzantinischen Zeitalter einen neuen Charakter angenommen haben. Gerade wegen der neuen Denkart ist es unmöglich, Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Sprichwörtern der zwei Zeitalter zu finden, oder nur so viele lassen sich finden, wie zwischen den Sprichwörtern von allen Zeiten und Völkern. Es ist aber wahr, dass diese Sprichwörter mit den Kommentaren das unterste Niveau des Katechismus gebildet haben. Hinsichtlich der Überlieferung der Sprichwörter kann man zwei Phasen voneinander trennen. Zuerst haben Theologen populäre Ausdrücke und Sprüche in religiöser Umdeutung im Interesse der Verkündung des Evangeliums verwendet, aber später haben die Wissenschaftler die antiken Muster vor Augen haltend aus diesen Sammlungen ein neues Sprichwörtercorpus nach den Werken der im 1-2 Jahrhundert schaffenden Sprichwörtersammler, wie z. B.: Zenobios oder Diogenianos zusammengestellt.

Viel mehr Übereinstimmungen kann man finden, wenn man die Sprichwörter mit den neugriechischen Sprichwörtern vergleicht. Sie stimmen in ihren Gedanken nämlich fast vollständig überein. Die meisten Sprichwörter haben sich spätestens bis zum 14. Jahrhundert verbreitet, aber es gibt auch welche, die schon im 11. Jahrhundert bekannt waren. Dem zu verdanken kann man sagen, dass es um die älteste Sammlung der im Volksmund entstandenen griechischen Sprichwörter geht, die dazu beitragen, die mittelalterliche Kultur-, und Ideengeschichte kennen zu lernen. Der Grund dafür, dass die mittelalterlichen Traditionen so klar in der Kultur weitergelebt haben, ist das, dass in der griechischsprachigen Literatur die kulturelle Entwicklung, die für Westeuropa vom 15. Jahrhundert an charakteristisch war, nicht gewirkt hat.

Die Sprichwörtersammlung, die 55 byzantinisch-griechische Sprichwörter mit ausführlichen, prosaischen theologischen Erklärungen enthält, stammt aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Diese Sammlung zeigt enge Verwandtschaft mit anderen Sammlungen, weil sich ganze Gruppen der Sprichwörter in derselben Reihenfolge mehrmals wiederholen, wenn auch sich die Variationen der Sprichwörter oft voneinander unterscheiden.

Im Laufe der Analyse des Textes steht man gleich bei der Interpretation der Sprichwörter Schwierigkeiten gegenüber, weil diese oft undeutbar zu sein scheinen. Das kann man ihrer Kürze und Bündigkeit zuschreiben, weil in diesen Sprichwörtern die Meinung, die moralische und Lebenserfahrung der Generationen zielbewusst zum Ausdruck gebracht wird. Das Problem wird mit dem folgenden Sprichwort gut illustriert: Οἱ τέσσαρεις τοὺς τέσσαρας καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἡ θύρα, also „die vier die vier und es siegte die Tür."

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob es hilft, wenn man manchmal die ungarischen Entsprechungen der griechischen Sprichwörter findet. Das nächste Beispiel beleuchtet diese Vermutung. Das Sprichwort lautet so: Wie du die Gelegenheit triffst, so iss den Hasen! Man kann auch sagen: Schluck den Frosch! Die theologische Erklärung ist: „Christus hat Paulus geschickt, um das Evangelium zu verkünden und hat gesagt: Du musst die Schwierigkeiten ertragen, die zum Ziel führen. Deshalb hat Christus selbst so gesprochen: Für die Juden bin ich zum Juden geworden, um mir Juden zu beschaffen. So hat er gewonnen und sich aus den Völkern ein Heer beschaffen." In diesem Fall ist es nicht nötig das ungarische Sprichwort zu finden, weil die Lehre ohnehin verständlich ist.

Wenn man alle Sprichwörter untersucht, kann man sagen, dass es keine Voraussetzung des Verstehens der Erklärungen ist, dass man die ungarischen Entsprechungen der Sprichwörter findet. Aber wenn man einen Kommentar nicht versteht, kommt man der Lösung nicht näher, wenn man ein Sprichwort mit einem unserer Sprichwörter identifizieren kann. Es lohnt sich, das Sprichwort mit seiner Erklärung als eine Einheit anzusehen und sie zusammen zu deuten, anstatt dass man versucht, es ohne den Kommentar zu interpretieren. Das nächste Beispiel zeigt das gut. Der Spruch: Ehe wir ertrinken, bezahle das Fahrgeld!

Die Erklärung lautet so: Hier wird der weise Spruch offen an jeden gerichtet und es mahnt: Mensch, ehe du in Sorgen der Welt erstickst und vom Tode ereilt wirst, ehe du krank wirst, erniedrige dich: wir wissen nämlich nicht, wann der diebische und bittere Tod kommt. Gib deshalb das Fahrgeld, um ohne Hindernis durch die großen, schweren und undurchdringlichen Räume, d.h. durch das Zollhaus der Luft durchkommen zu können.

Ähnliche Probleme schneidet die Interpretation des Werkes „Physiologus" an, die im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. entstanden ist. Sein Bau unterscheidet sich insofern von der Sammlung, dass die theologischen Erklärungen an die Darstellung je eines Lebewesens geknüpft werden. Dieses Werk hatte ebenfalls im byzantinischen Zeitalter große Wirkung und hier finden wir auch viele Zitate aus der Bibel. Im Werk „Physiologus" wird das Wesen von wirklichen Tieren /wie z.B.: Geier, Wiesel, Tauben und Hyänen/, seltener von fiktiven Tieren /wie z. B.: Sonnenschlangen, Phönixe, Einhörner, Hippozentaure/, außerdem von Edelsteinen beschrieben. Daran werden die theologischen Erklärungen geknüpft, an deren Ende man meistens die Schlussfolgerung findet, dass

im Werk „Physiologus“ die Lebewesen richtig dargestellt werden. Auch hier kann man beobachten, dass man die Charakteristiken alleine oft nicht deuten kann, sie widersprechen sogar unserem heutigen Wissen. So eine ist die Darstellung der Otter. „ Es gibt ein Tier, dessen Name Otter ist. Seine Figur ist dem Hund ähnlich und es ist ein böser Feind des Krokodils. Wenn das Krokodil schläft, steht sein Mund offen; die Otter streicht seinen ganzen Körper mit Lehm ein, und wenn der Lehm trocken ist, stürzt er sich in den Mund des Krokodils hinein und zerfrisst all seine Körperhöhlen und verschlingt sein Inneres.” Vielleicht wurden in den letzten Jahrhunderten die Vorstellungen nicht überliefert, mit deren Hilfe man diese Sprichwörter, bzw. die Charakteristiken verstehen könnte.

Auf die Sprichwörtersammlung zurückgekommen, lohnt es sich, die 55 Sprichwörter mit den Erklärungen umfassend zu überprüfen. Das erste und wichtigste, was wir feststellen können, ist, dass der erste Satz des Kommentars in den meisten Fällen davon berichtet, auf wen sich die Erklärung bezieht, bzw. davon, durch wessen Geschichte sie interpretiert wird. Oft trifft man die nächste Satzart: Ἐνταῦθα ὁ λόγος πρὸς πὸν Λὼτ καὶ τὴν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ποιεῖται, d.h. „hier bezieht sich der Spruch auf Lot und seine Frau.” Es kann auch vorkommen, dass der Kommentar auf die Geschichte von Hiob, Lazarus oder auf die Geschichte des Sündenfalls beruht, aber sehr oft ist Christus selbst derjenige, durch dessen Person gelehrt wird, man trifft ihn doch als Gärtner, gekreuzigten Erlöser oder den Sohn, der zum Schlussstein wurde.

Daraus folgt die zweite Beobachtung, und zwar das, dass sehr oft wortwörtlich aus der Bibel zitiert wird. Außerdem liest man solche biblische Erzählungen, die damals wahrscheinlich viele gekannt haben, weil wie man gesehen hat, nimmt der Kommentator diese als Grundlage für die Deutung.

Die dritte wichtige Erfahrung ist, dass man die 55 Kommentare um vier große Themen gruppieren kann, die sind die folgenden: das letzte Urteil, die Gegenüberstellung der irdischen und himmlischen Güter, Christus Sieg über den Satan und das Wirken des Teufels. Trotz der Knappheit des Themenkreises wird der Text nicht langweilig, weil die Lehren, die das gleiche Thema haben, nicht nacheinander folgen. Außerdem werden die Erklärungen immer in andere Geschichten eingeflochten und obendrein sind die Sprüche selbstverständlich nie die gleichen. Wahrscheinlich waren die die Fragen, die die damaligen Menschen interessiert haben und wofür sie einen Hinweis gebraucht haben.

Das unten stehende Beispiel veranschaulicht das gut. So lautet das Beispiel: Gut ist ein Steinwurf aus dem Oberstock.

Nachdem der Stein Goliath getroffen hatte, den David geworfen hat, sagte er: Gut ist ein Stein von oben, oder vom Himmel, der Kraft Gottes. Oder anders zu deuten scheint derjenige, der sich selbst sagt: Christus, der vom ungehobelten Felsen ohne menschliche Hände ausgebrochene Schlussstein, der Stein Gottes, der aus der Höhe geworfen wurde, das heißt vom Himmel, um den Teufel zu vernichten, schlägt den Feind unseres Heils nieder; über der Erde ist nämlich der Himmel.

Im Sprichwort trifft man den Ausdruck καλὴ πετρέα, das heißt guter Stein, der auch in der Erklärung wieder erscheint, aber das hört man dort von Goliath. Nach

einer Interpretation ist davon die Rede im Sprichwort, dass ein Angriff aus geschützter Stellung leicht ist, oder aus einer anderen Perspektive, „Es ist leicht in geschützter Stellung auf die Gefahren weniger zu achten". Die letztere Interpretation wird durch den Spruch unterstützt, den schon das Altgriechische und Lateinische kennt: „Hirt auf dem Berg, ruhig das Meer." Die Auslegung der theologischen Erklärung wird auch dadurch erschwert, dass sie aus zwei Teilen besteht. Zuerst deutet der Kommentator das Sprichwort durch die Geschichte von David und Goliath, dann stellt er Christus als Grundstein dar, der den Satan besiegt. Die biblische Geschichte von David und Goliath war wahrscheinlich für alle bekannt, deshalb denke ich, dass das die erste Schicht des Kommentars gebildet hat. Aber im zweiten Teil der Erklärung wird ein Bild aus dem Neuen Testament als Grundlage der Deutung genommen, der Kommentator spricht ja über Christus als Schlussstein. Das ist die zweite Schicht der Erklärung, weil sie sich bemüht, mehrere wichtige Wahrheiten zu lehren.

Also ich denke, dass das Ziel dieser Erklärung ist, dass sie Gottes und Christus' Größe und Macht den Zuhörern näher bringt. Deshalb werden für alle bekannte biblische Bilder benutzt und deshalb ist die Erklärung so konzentriert. Das ist ein schönes Beispiel von den genannten Themen, das den Sieg von Christus über den Satan behandelt. Aufgrund der zwei kurzen Parabeln bekommt man sehr viele wichtige Informationen über Gott und Christus. Man erfährt, dass Christus vom Herrn und nicht von menschlicher Hand stammt und dass seine Aufgabe die Vernichtung des Teufels ist, und dass alles vom Himmel, vom Gott ist. Die sind vielleicht die grundsätzlichsten Sachen, die man vom Vater und Sohn weiß, bzw. wissen kann. Die Feststellung, dass man diese Sammlungen als die unterste Stufe des Katechismus ansehen kann, ist also richtig.

Die Sprichwörter mit den Erklärungen, die man in diesem Corpus lesen kann, haben wohl in der religiösen Erziehung eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Vielleicht ist es eine ungebräuchliche oder gewagte Parallele, aber man hat die Rechtvorschriften in den Gesetzbüchern festgehalten, bei denen es nicht gelang, sie in die Praxis umzusetzen. Auch in diesem Fall kann man daran denken. Vielleicht gerade deshalb waren diese Erklärungen so beliebt, weil man nicht fertig gebracht hat, auf die Fragen allgemein annehmbare Antworten zu geben oder weil die Antworten bisher unverständlich waren. Gerade das hat die Theologen dazu gezwungen, die strittigen Fragen zu beantworten versuchen und schließlich solche Erklärungen zu geben, mit deren Hilfe alle, bzw. immer mehr Menschen eine beruhigende Antwort finden.

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ÁKOS SZILÁGYI

Athena perdita

In the work of the byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates, Χρονικὴ διήγησις, the author's demonstrative witticisms can clearly be identified which also proves him to be a man of classical erudition. In the biography of Emperor Manuel I, when portraying the triumph held on the occasion of the victory over the paions ie. the Hungarians, Choniates makes his depiction more colourful by a Homeric quotation. He makes a contrast between the Virgin Mary and the goddess Athena, who he –interestingly enough– describes pseudo-virgin (ψευδοπάρθενος). All this can easily be identified in the following lines 'ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρελθεῖν ἐνειστήκει καιρός, προηγεῖτο μὲν ἀργύρεον ἐπίχρυσον τέτρωρον ἵπποις λευκοῖς ὡς αἱ χιόνων ἀποσπάδες ἑλκόμενον, ἵδρυτο δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀπροσμάχου συμμάχου καὶ ἀκαταγωνίστου συστρατήγου τῷ βασιλεῖ θεομήτορος· οὐ μέγα δ᾽ ἔβραχεν ἄξων, ὅτι μηδὲ θεὰν ἦγε δεινὴν τὴν ψευδοπάρθενον ᾽Αθηνᾶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς παρθένον καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον διὰ λόγου τὸν Λόγον λοχεύσασαν.'(Chon. *Hist*. 5.205)

If one wants to understand why Choniates names her pseudo-virgin, Athena's description has to be studied first in the classical Greek mythology, then in the Christian authors' works. Eventually, all of these descriptions must be compared to the one of the Virgin Mary. That is what Choniates does.

'Athena was Parthenos, virgin in every story that was ever told about her. But at the same time she was called Mētēr, mother.' This is how Károly Kerényi starts to discuss the liaison of Athena and Hephaistos. Nearly all of the antique sources mention unanimously that Athena did not give birth to anybody, but in an incident between Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistos' semen fertilized Gaia. This story is told by Pseudo-Apollodorus: "Αθηνᾶ παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἥφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλελειμμένος ὑπὸ ᾽Αφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἤλισθε τῆς ᾽Αθηνᾶς, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο· ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλόσ)ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὡς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὖσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο· ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἐκείνη δὲ μυσαχθεῖσα ἐρίῳ ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε. φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γονῆς εἰς γῆν πεσούσης ᾽Εριχθόνιοςγίνεται.᾽ (Apollod. 3.188)

This story is also mentioned by Isocrates (4th c. BCE) "Εριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φὺς ἐξ ῾Ηφαίστου καὶ Γῆς παρὰ Κέκροπος ἄπαιδος ὄντος ἀρρένων παίδων τὸν οἶκον

καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν·' (Isocr. *Panath*. 126.), by Antigonus Carystius (3rd c. BCE) 'φησὶν γάρ, Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον εἰς γῆν πεσόντα προϊεσθαιτὸ σπέρμα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον, ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ εἰς κίστην καθεῖρξαι καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισίν, Ἀγραύλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἕρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ.' (Ant. Car. *Hist. mir. coll.*), by Hyginus (1st c. BCE), *tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Mineruae erat infestus, instigauit Vulcanum Mineruam petere in coniugium. qua re impetrata in thalamum cum uenisset, Minerua monitu Iouis uirginitatem suam armis defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram decidit natus est puer qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit;* (Hyg. *fab*. 166.) , *De cuius progenie Euripides ita dicit: Vulca num Mineruae pulchritudine corporis inductum, petisse ab ea ut sibi nuberet, neque inpetrasse; et coepisse Mineruam sese occultare in eo loco qui propter Vulcani amorem Hephaestius est appellatus. Quo persecutum Vulcanum ferunt coepisse ei uim adferre, et cum plenus cupiditatis ad eam ut complexui se adplicaret, repulsus effudit in terram uoluptatem. Quo Minerua, pudore permota, pede puluerem iniecit. Ex hoc autem nascitur Erichthonius anguis, qui ex terra et eorum dissensione nomen possedit.* (Hyg. *astr*. 2.13), Lucian, 'Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδοθῆναί φασιν' (Luc. *Philops* 3.4), Origen, 'καὶ διωκομένην τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, βουλομένου αὐτῆς φθεῖραι τὴν παρθενίαν, ἐκπεφευγέναι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πεσοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θορὴν ἀγαπήσασαν ἐκθρέψαι, καλέσασαν Ἐριχθόνιον, τόν ποτε, φασίν, Ἀθήνη θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.' (Orig. *Con. Cels*. 8.66.27), Eustathius of Antioch in the Hexamaeron-commentary (5th c. CE), 'Ἐριχθονίου τε γενέσεως ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ γῆς,' (Eust. *Comm. in Hex*. 708.32), the neoplatonic Olympiodorus (6th c. CE) 'μῦθος γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι, ὅτε ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἀπέτεμεν τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, ἐξῆλθεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἥρξατο διώκειν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἥφαιστος ὡς θέλωνμιγῆναι, εἶτα μὴ καταλαβὼν ἀπεσπέρμαινεν ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος, ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοί.' (Olympiod. *In Plat. Gor. comm.* 44.3). Their descriptions do not differ substantially from the story of Pseudo-Apollodorus. There was, however, a different tradition that was conserved by Cicero *Volcani item complures: primus Caelo natus, ex quo et Minerva Apollinem eum cuius in tutela Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt* and Clement of Alexandria Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ πέντε Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποτίθενται, τὴν μὲν Ἡφαίστου, τὴν Ἀθηναίαν· τὴν δὲ Νείλου, τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν· τρίτην τοῦ Κρόνου, τὴν πολέμου εὑρέτιν· τετάρτην τὴν Διός, ἣν Μεσσήνιοι Κορυφασίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπικεκλήκασιν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδος τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, ἣ τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύσασα τῷ πατρῴῳ κεκόσμηται δέρματι ὥσπερ κῳδίῳ. Ναὶ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ)' (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.28). Accordingly, Athena bore Hephaistos a son, who was called Apollo. Kerényi notes on this case that we do not know anything except for this allusion. The scholar of mythology Herbert Jennings Rose notes 'it is necessary only to read the context to see how utterly divorced this rubbish is from any real mythology.'

However, there is other testimony that Athena was connected to motherhood. In the geographic work of Pausanias the following lines can be read 'τῶν δὲ Ἠλείων αἱ

γυναῖκες, ἅτε τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σφίσιν ἠρημωμένης τῆς χώρας, εὔξασθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγονται κυῆσαι παραυτίκα, ἐπειδὰν μιχθῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ἥ τε εὐχὴ σφισιν ἐτελέσθη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Μητρὸς ἱδρύ σαντο.' (Paus. 5.3.2) All this is more solid evidence of the connection of Athena and motherhood.

Take a look at what Nonnos writes in the Dionysiaca: 'ἤλιτον, οὐ ῥόον εἶδες Ἀδώνιδος, οὐ χθόνα Βύβλου / ἔδρακες, ἧχι πέλει Χαρίτων δόμος, ἧχι χορεύει / Ἀσσυρίη Κυθέρεια καὶ οὐ φυγόδεμνος Ἀθήνη.' (Nonn. Dion. 3.109-111) 'In any case, no doubt an identification of Athena with some Asiatic mother-goddess.' notes Herbert Jennings Rose, in the Loeb edition of the epic.

According to these lines, it cannot be denied that Athena might be connected to motherhood, but in other sense, as a patron goddess of motherhood. As H. J. Rose writes 'But all this is quite as reasonably explained by saying that so great a goddess would tend to absorb the cult of smaller ones, whether their functions exactly fitted hers or not.'

The quotations of Pausanias and Nonnos lead us to the interpretation of the goddess in which she is not a virgin as opposed to all the other rumours. It is not surprising that some Christian authors use this interpretation since it can be used as a shield for their own apologetic purposes. That is what Clement of Alexandria did. However, the original story was also known by the byzantine scholars. Saint Cosmas of Jerusalem, the hymnographer of the 8th c. CE, who writes that the serpent-legged infant ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς, (Cosm. Hierosolym. *Comm. In Carm. S. Greg. Naz.* 64.) bears witness of all this. In my opinion, the story of Erichthonios had to be certainly known by Choniates, who was moving in the most erudite society of his era. In his work there are several classical quotes including the ones of Lucian's, who wrote about this myth.

The poet Tzetzes, a contemporary artist of Choniates writes in his work 'Chiliades' about Erichthonios: 'Ηφαίστου παῖς καὶ Ἀθηνας' (Tzetz. *Chil.* 175.). It can clearly be identified that this version of the myth was living in the byzantine scholars' minds in the times when the original text was written. After all, there is nothing surprising in it that Choniates regards Athena as pseudo-virgin. It must also be noted that in these times there is no trace of Erichthonios being born from Gaia. This detail seems to have been forgotten or intentionally withheld.

It must also be added that for the byzantine people, the Virgin Mary was not only the mother of God but the protector of Constantinople and the empire. This peculiarity is rather similar to the city-protector Athena (Polias) and creates tension between her and the Virgin Mary. Besides making naked truth from the less important version of a myth in relation to virginity, Choniates underlines the Christian conception that the axle did not creak under the true Virgin as opposed to the one under Athena. Eustathios of Thessalonica thought similarly: 'Καὶ ἀπορεῖται μέν, πῶς βάρους αἰτία ἡ ἀβαρὴς Ἀθηνᾶ.' (Eust. *Comm. Ad Hom. Il.* 2.213.5). To my mind, this remark also upholds the view that Choniates intentionally diminishes the significance of the ancient goddess, and astutely highlights his literacy.

In summary, it can be concluded that Choniates, the byzantine scholar of the 12-13th c. uses this obscure myth not only to verify his religious beliefs but to make a show of

his scholarly attitude. Further studies into how characteristic this phenomenon was in this era and how typical it was to the author require further investigations, nevertheless, the findings of these studies can be of interesting nature in a work related to the era's literary style and cultural identity.

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TT 65 – the survival of a New Kingdom tomb in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period

In the present paper I will attempt to demonstrate the corpus of cartonnage and coffin fragments, which were from the findings of tomb TT 65 and analyzed between 2007 and 2009. By closely considering the iconographical and typological statuses of these objects, we will be able to determine the estimated timespan during which the tomb was used during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.

Currently three archaeological projects are being conducted within the framework of the "Hungarian Mission in Thebes" in the Theban necropolis on the mound of el-Khokha and the hill-side of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the tombs TT32, TT65, TT184, TT-400-. Tomb TT 65 shows distinctive architectural features of an 18th dynasty elite tomb with its extensive forecourt just in front of the façade, cut out of the rock, and the six-columned transverse hall, the axial corridor and the "sloping passage" carved inside the rock. The tomb itself was created for a man called Nebamun, who held, among others, the offices of *overseer of the granary* and *scribe of the royal accounts in the presence* in the 18th dynasty during the reign of Hatsepsut (c. 1478-1458 BC), though only the first hall of the tomb had been completed at this time. The construction stopped because of unknown reasons, and Nebamun was presumably buried somewhere else. Well after a Theban Amun priest, a certain Imiseba occupied the tomb in the 20th dynasty during the reign of Ramesses IX (c. 1125-1107 BC). He had the rest of the tomb constructed nevertheless the „sloping passage" still stayed unfinished (Bács, 1998). In the subsequent years there were more secondary burials in the shafts cut in the transverse hall of the tomb, but this paper will focus on the cartonnage and coffin finds come from the forecourt and the "sloping passage", which dates back to the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.

These periods lasted from c. 1069 to 525 BC – a timespan that includes the dynasties ranging from the 21st to the 26th. During this phase an ideal burial assemblage contained the following objects: a coffin ensemble consisting of more pieces, faience pearlnet with amulets covering the mummy, 401 shabties in two shabti boxes, 4 canopic jars in a canopic box, a burial stela, a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue, and a papyrus scroll (Aston, 2009). The main subject-matter of this assemblage is the coffin ensemble which usually consisted of 3 parts: an outer, an intermediate and an inner coffin, though the number of coffins may have changed from 1 to 4 in each ensemble. Through these c. 500 years, as mentioned before, the forming, the functioning in the belief of the afterlife and the

iconography – derived from the latter – of separate coffins of the ensemble developed considerably (Niwiński, 1988, 7-19, 57-64; Taylor, 2001; Taylor, 2003). As the complete presentation of these changes is impossible, I mention only here the main points of these, relevant in the case of the finds deriving from tomb TT 65.

The development of the coffins could be grouped into approximately three main phases: 21st dynasty, 22nd to 25th dynasties and 25th to 26th dynasties. It must be mentioned here that the minor 23rd and 24th dynasties reigned parallel to the main 25th and 26th dynasties, so speaking from the point of view of stylistics these will not be taken into consideration.

In the 21st dynasty the dominant coffin type was the "yellow coffin" which could thank this name to its characteristic yellow background colour (Niwiński, 1988, 67-84). All coffins made of wood and the decoration of separate coffins in one ensemble differ only slightly from one another. The main elements of the decoration on the upper part of the lid are the two lappets of the heavy wig hanging down the shoulders, while the large collar consists of garland motifs covering the bust, and the sculptured hands appear from under the collar. The lower part of the lid depicts different deity figures, offering formulae and genealogical texts arranged in horizontal and vertical slots, which stand symmetrical to the vertical axis. The figural and textual motifs are painted in red, green and blue on yellow or white background, after which the whole surface is covered with a thin layer of resin, which, as time was passing by, developed a yellowish tone, and this is why the originally white background seemed to be yellow as well. A large amount of this kind of „yellow coffin" fragments is found in the tomb TT 65 mainly in the "sloping passage" (Figs. 1-4.). Although only a small part of them is catalogued, it is verifiable that more than one 21st dynasty burial can be taken into account, as none of the analyzed pieces fit together. The hands, which have not yet been catalogued, also confirm this statement. On the basis of approximately a dozen of differently shaped hands we can assume at least one male and three female burials in the tomb. In the stylistic analysis a special colour coding helps us in our research. This was invent by Krisztián Vértes, our colleague in the project. The method is follows: the different colours are marked with dotting patterns of varying densities, with the help of which we are able to represent the smallest details, invisible or hardly visible in a photograph.

In the beginning of the 22nd dynasty a new technique appeared which was applied by forming the innermost coffins (Taylor, 2003). This innovative technique was the cartonnage, a material consisting of more linen layers glued together. It was plastic enough to cover the body by its contours properly then laced at the back and at the same time secured a quite firm surface for the adequate decoration. From the 22nd dynasty on the decoration of separate coffins in one ensemble differ greatly from one another. An ideal ensemble contains three pieces: an outer coffin with black background and yellow outline decoration on it, an intermediate coffin with reddish or brownish background, a polychrome collar and a vertical text column on it, and a richly and elaborately decorated innermost cartonnage. The outer and intermediate coffins have only simple textual decorations arranged into columns and occasionally figures of deities on the surface of their lid, whereas the diversity of the ornaments on the cartonnages is adequate in

creating a chronological order. At that time the elaboration of the two main motifs on the cartonnages, namely the two ram-headed and falcon-headed birds, respectively, positioned one below the other on the chest and the smaller elements between them have been changed in varying degrees. A great number of coffin and cartonnage fragments from the 22nd dynasty originated from the tomb TT 65, and most of these are drawn and analyzed, though during the season 2010 the corpus was enlarged by numerous new fragments still waiting to be processed. Currently accessible data has it that at this moment one black outer coffin (Figs. 5-6.) and at least three cartonnages can be identified with certainty (one of them can be seen on Figs. 7-9.). However, the several single fragments which do not match any other parts could increase this number, and we have to take it into account that they may have got into to the tomb and broken off when the early excavator P.E. Newberry used it as a magazine in the early 1900s (Carter, 1903, 49.).

No coffin or cartonnage fragments date from the 25th and 26th dynasties in our corpus, so I will not subject them to scrutiny in this paper. Although it is worth mentioning that during this period the main development could be seen as compared to the cartonnages and coffins of the 22nd dynasty in the usage and quantity of texts, especially because spells from the *Book of the Dead* became increasingly popular besides and instead of the usual offering formulae and genealogical texts.

Besides all the above findings, we have to take a quick look at the Ptolemaic Period as well (c. 304-30 BC), since there are plenty of coffin and cartonnage finds in our possession from this time. It is quite clear that these fragments belong to original burials or the leftovers of the early excavators, too. One outer coffin and two cartonnages could be identified. The outer coffin had black background with yellow outline decoration similar to the ones in the 22nd dynasty, but unfortunately there only very small fragments from this coffin have survived (Figs. 10-12.). One of the cartonnages preserved part of the face with white skin and blue beard-line. From the other cartonnage we have some larger fragments from the chest part, on which, among other motifs, solar baboons can be seen in poses of adoration (Figs. 13-14.).

In case we accept the fact that the finds of the Ptolemaic Period are indicative of that era, the history of tomb TT 65 can be traced throughout one millennium, all the way from the 15th century BC until the 3rd century BC. One can have high hopes that the continuous analysis of the objects and the discovery of new finds will improve our present knowledge about the tomb's history and its inhabitants.

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Fig. 1

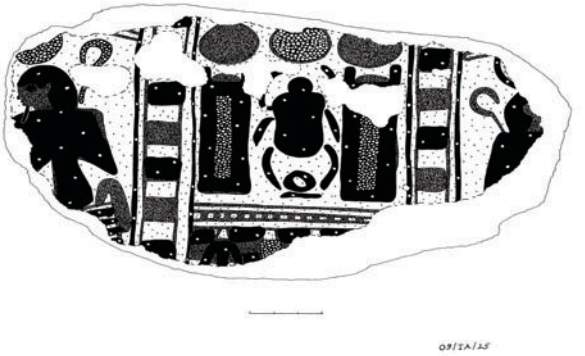

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Zsombor Földi

Sîn-muštāl, the Overseer of Merchants of Ur

Writing biographies, investigating the life and times of a more or less important individual is a useful tool of the historian; it usually lets political (or economical, social, etc.) history be seen from the viewpoint of a single person. It gives us the opportunity of observing and understanding the reasons and motivations lying behind historical events.

The land of Mesopotamia provides us with an unequalled amount of written sources, though not well-adaptable for this purpose. Most of the clay tablets originate from illicit excavations, therefore their archaeological context is completely lost for us; the material hidden in ancient archives for more than two thousand years, have been dispersed into the various museums around the world. The reconstruction of these archives largely depends on our understanding of the texts and connecting them by content, date, prosopography, etc.

The laconic style of administrative documents (legal texts, accounts, receipts, etc.) and letters, together with some obscure technical terms, make the investigation of these sources for historical purposes extremely difficult.

The biographies based on these sources usually examine the written documents, referring to the reign of a well-known king, e.g. Hammurāpi (see Van de Mieroop 2005). The career of some high officials is another possible subject of biographical studies, especially in the case of governors or military commandants of the best-documented periods, e.g. those of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112–2004 BC) or the Neo-Assyrian Period (911–612 BC). All the achievements of these efforts depend on the level of our ability of identifying the persons mentioned in our documents.

The self-identification of the ancient Mesopotamian was based on six main categories: the personal name, the father's name – sometimes (erroneously) referred to as 'patronymic'–, the hometown, the profession or function, the personal god, and the family god. In administrative documents usually two of these are combined for identifying a single person precisely; the combination of the (own) personal name and the father's name is far the most reliable for prosopographical purposes.

The prosopographical database of Old Babylonian Sippar (*Index: Personal Names of Old Babylonian Sippar*, unpublished), compiled mostly by G. Th. Ferwerda and E. Woestenburg, contains the names of over 20,000 persons (in a period of approximately 300 years), and shows at most ten cases, in which the same combination of personal and

father's name were worn by two different persons; in these cases confusion was always prevented by temporal and spatial distances (Kalla 2006:19).

In this study I examine the sources referring to a certain Sîn-muštāl, one of the most important state officials of Southern Babylonia in the Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC), especially under the Babylonian rule.

The name of Sîn-muštāl, whose career is the main subject of this study, is not an ordinary one: the theophoric names composed of a divine name and the Akkadian name-element '*muštāl*' (means 'deliberate') occur very infrequently in the Old Babylonian Period. A few examples: Ninšubur-muštāl (Dilbat: VS 7, 36), Ninurta-muštāl (Nippur: see Stone – Owen 1991:117), Sîn-muštāl (Māri: ARM 8, 77), Šamaš-muštāl (Kiš: TCL 1, 134), Šamaš-muštāl (Southeastern Babylonia: Mander–Pomponio 2001, no. 9).

In the course of my work, I was able to find 23 texts originating from Southern Babylonia, referring to individual(s) called Sîn-muštāl. Though only four of them bear his seal impression (which mention his father's name), all of them – with the exception of a school letter (AbB 14, 135) – can be connected with Sîn-muštāl (son of Sîn-māgir) with a high degree of probability. In our texts, originating from this place and period, no one called by this name and identified by (another) father's name, occurs.

Among the 22 texts examined, twelve are dated, and two others were presumably also dated originally, but at present their date formulae are lost. The remaining eight are letters, which are usually not dated (for a counterexample, see Stol 2001), but prosopographical evidence allows us to date them roughly. Therefore I analyse the role and activities of Sîn-muštāl by dividing his career into three parts: the conquest and reign of Hammurāpi over Southern Babylonia (Ha 30–43), the first years of his son and successor Samsu-ilūna (Si 01–08) and the revolt led by the usurper Rīm-Sîn II (RS II 01–03, simultaneous with Si 08–10).

Except for the name of his father, Sîn-māgir, we have no information referring to the ancestors of Sîn-muštāl, Overseer of Merchants of Ur. His colleague Šēp-Sîn, son of Šamaš-muballiṭ and Overseer of Merchants of Larsa under the reign of Hammurāpi, was certainly of Larsan origin; loan contracts mentioning him before the Babylonian conquest have been published by George F. Dole (1965; the text of crucial importance cited by Tyborowski 2003:73). Both this and the high office held by Sîn-muštāl under the revolt – he was governor (*šāpirum*) of Larsa – suggest that he was another member of the local elite, and not a former court official of Hammurāpi (as Sîn-iddinam, governor of the Southern District, s. Charpin 2003).

Though the earliest dated text mentioning him with his title 'Overseer of Merchants of Ur' is dated to Ha 41/02/20 (Stol 1982, no. 11), there is a letter suggesting that he was appointed to his office earlier than Šēp-Sîn. AbB 4, 3 reads:

To Šamaš-ḫāzir say, thus speaks Hammurāpi. Concerning Šēp-Sîn, Overseer of Merchants of Larsa: give him a sustenance field (as large) as that of Sîn-muštāl, Overseer of Merchants of Ur.

According to Renger (2000:167) and Stol (2004:920f.), the earliest text which mentions Šēp-Sîn with his title 'Overseer of Merchants of Larsa' is dated to Ha 36/11/21 (Stol 1982, no. 11). On the contrary, there is an earlier text, dated to Ha 34/08/18 (VS 18, 9), in which a certain Sîn-imguranni (son of Ipqu-Irra) and his brothers acknowledge their debt to Šēp-Sîn, Overseer of Merchants of Larsa. Therefore we must assume that Sîn-muštāl was appointed before Ha 34/08/18.

As Overseer of Merchants, the main task of Sîn-muštāl was to organize and supervise the collection of tax revenues and the conversion of agricultural produces (e.g. paid as rental fee by state dependants) into silver. The latter, belonging to the mechanisms typical in the Old Babylonian Period, is a kind of tax farming system, peculiar in the way of documenting the operations between public and private sectors as they were contracts between private individuals (Renger 1991:197). This system has been investigated in detail first by P. Koschaker (1942), and called Palastgeschäft after F. R. Kraus (1958).

Instead of letting the agricultural produces (with the exception of barley) be transported to the capital, the Palace – a Mesopotamian term for the State – of the Old Babylonian Period sold them to the local merchants' associates (*kārum*) at a fixed exchange rate, usually one-third, occasionally one-fourth or one-fifth of their value. In return for this generosity, the merchants – or, using the term favoured by Renger (2000:155), entrepreneurs – incurred all the expenses of collection, transportation, conservation (if needed), and storage of these products, and also conversed them into silver (Renger 2000:166). By this system, the Palace spared the cost of maintaining constantly a large workforce, needed only at seasonal (e.g. harvest) works. The entrepreneurs did not have to pay the silver (in exchange for the merchandise received) immediately, but only when the Palace requested it, therefore they got the opportunity of investing the capital in short-term loans. These aspects of Palastgeschäft have been studied in detail by the best specialists of the Old Babylonian Period (Kraus 1958, Charpin 1982, Stol 1982, Renger 2000).

Considering this extraordinary generosity of the Palace towards the entrepreneurs, the administration of outstanding debts must have been very accurate and the collection rigorous. The Overseers of Merchants were responsible for all the goods gathered by the men under their autority, and also for the debts not paid by them. The letter AbB 2, 33 reads:

[To S]în-iddinam say, thus speaks Hammurāpi. Concerning what I wrote to you about sending to Babylon Šēp-Sîn, Overseer of Merchants, with 1800 kurrum (540000 l) *of barley for sesame and his arrears of 19 manûm* (9.5 kg) *of silver, and Sîn-muštāl, Overseer of Merchants, with 1800 kurrum of barley for sesame and his arrears of 7 manûm* (3.5 kg) *of silver, and about receiving of wool, and sending Overseers of Five with them, on which you answered as follows: 'The Overseers of Merchants (said) as follows: „At present it is harvest time. Let us go after the harvest!'" – thus they said to you and you wrote to me. Now the harvest is over. As soon as you see the tablet of mine, just as I wrote you, send to me [to] Babylon Šēp-Sîn, Overseer of Merchants, with his 1800 kurrum of barley and his arrears of 19 manûm of silver, and Sîn-muštāl, Overseer of Merchants, with 1800 kurrum of barley and his arrears of 7 manûm of silver, and together with them, one of your reliable [serva]nts. [...] them, and [... to Baby] lon, [... th]em(?). [Let] him come to me and meet [me].*

In AbB 2, 30, Hammurāpi instructs Sîn-iddinam to help Šēp-Sîn, who, while collecting the silver, has been obstructed by Etel-pī-Marduk and Gimil-Marduk – despite the fact that the Palace already made him pay the full amount. Thus the Overseer of Merchants had to bear responsibility for the arrears of the *kārum*, 'irrespective of the actual payments by individual members' (Mendelsohn 1940:70).

The Akkadian term '*kārum*' originally means 'quay', 'trading post'; in a figurative sense it also denotes the association of the merchants ('chamber of commerce', 'Kaufmannschaft'), one of the most important organisations of a city, often acting as a kind of local government and having judicial functions. The agreement between the Palace and the merchants was not a collective one: the Palace entered into agreement with the individual entrepreneurs, not with the organisation as a whole (contrary to the Roman *societas publicanorum*, and its leader the *manceps*). This fact is well-indicated by the fixed quantities of the products, received by individual merchants (e.g. Šēp-Sîn bought 101.1.4 *kurrum* (30400 l) of dates in the years Si 01, 02, 05, and 06; see Stol 1982:143). Therefore, in my interpretation, in the texts documenting Old Babylonian Palastgeschäft the term *kārum* does not refer to the organisation or 'guild' itself, but is a collective term for the merchants, or, in an economic sense, their households.

The operations supervised by Sîn-muštāl and usually carried out by his subordinates have been examined in detail by Leemans (1950:80–83, 91–92). Two of the Overseers of Five (ugula nam-5) under his responsibility, Sîn-mušallim and Watar-Šamaš are known also from letters: in AbB 11, 169, the former is sent by Sîn-muštāl to the town Jakūdum to solve a problem concerning the arrears of a merchant and his sons. The latter, Watar-Šamaš, beyond that he occurs in accounts of fish (Stol 1982, no. 22; CHJ, HE 266), is addressee of at least three letters (AbB 11, 133; AbB 9, 10 and 34). Last of them, AbB 9, 34, though at some points ambiguous, is very informative about Palastgeschäft in practice. It reads:

To Watar-Šamaš say, thus speaks Sîn-muštāl. May Šamaš keep you in good health! I am well; do not be concerned in the least. Concerning Šulpae-bāni, about whom you wrote to me, as follows: 'Write me who stopped (working) and received no food, so that he may receive dates' – let him (i.e., Šulpae-bāni) *bring the sealed document [made out(?)] for him about freshwater fish, to Iturrum and Marduk-mušallim, and let him receive the freshwater fish. If there is no freshwater fish (available), be generous* (lit. 'open wide your hand') *and receive dates, charging to your sūtum (account). Do not be idle! Make out a sealed document for the gentlemen so that they do not have debt(?) to you. Concerning the sacrifices for Marduk: make an assignment, so that he can make the trip here*.

Both Iturrum and Marduk-mušallim occur in accounts dealing with the receiving of fish – the former in Stol 1982, no. 22, the latter in CHJ, HE 111. They were obviously generals ('Overseers of Amorites'), responsible for the fishermen under their authority. As the fishermen were state dependants and got sustenance fields in return for their work (Renger 2000:157), the generals had to settle accounts with the Palace, therefore they needed a receipt made out by Watar-Šamaš, in exchange for the fish delivered to Šulpae-bāni. The term *sūtum*, the meaning of which I am going to redefine in a separate study, is somewhat obscure; in the opinion of the present writer, it does not refer to 'pro-

visions' (Stol 1982:154f.) or a kind of tax (Leemans 1950:82ff., Kraus 1984:228[+372]; compare AHw sūtu(m) 5) and CAD sūtu A 4a), but denotes the silver to be paid to the Palace, in return for the produces received.

Sometime around the years of Hammurāpi's death and the succession of Samsu-ilūna to the throne, Šēp-Sîn has lost his office. The last text referring to him as Overseer of Merchants is dated to Ha 42 (CHJ, HE 140); four years later, at Si 03/05/15 (Pinches 1915, no. 94) we find a certain Šamaš-ṣulūlī in his place. Šēp-Sîn was henceforth referred to as 'merchant of Larsa' (CHJ, HE 111; YOS 12, 182).

Sîn-muštāl, contrarily, remained in his office at least until Si 05. SVJAD 90, a text which contains the year formula of Si 05 but its exact date has broken off, mentions [^{d}En.zu-*mu*]-⌜*uš*⌝-*ta-al* ⌜ugula dam-gàr⌝ (rev. 1'). We have only six texts made out under the reign of Samsu-ilūna and mentioning Sîn-muštāl, two of which bear his seal impressions, referring to him as son of Sîn-māgir and servant of Samsu-ilūna. Thus, Sîn-muštāl referred to himself as the servant of the monarch (and not his family god), a practice common among high officials in the Old Babylonian Period.

Information about the circumstances of the revolt led by Rīm-Sîn II is scarce. As already observed by Stol (1976:51f.), the same Sîn-muštāl became governor of Larsa; in the inscription of his new seal, he is told to be the servant of the usurper Rīm-Sîn (II) – who chose his regnal name after Rīm-Sîn I, the great king of Larsa, until being overthrown by Hammurāpi.

Apart from the three texts already known by Stol, another one, published by G. Spada in 2008, mentions Sîn-muštāl. NISABA 19, 162, a legal text dated to the second year of Rīm-Sîn II, refers to a tablet brought by him into the presence of a certain Šamaš-muballiṭ. The last text (Pinches 1917, no. 21, dated to RS II 02/12/26), in which Sîn-muštāl occurs, is a receipt of flour delivered to the Urukean troops, who arrived in Larsa together with their general Šuritak. Perhaps they were sent by the pity king Rīm-Anum, ally of Rīm-Sîn II, against the troops of Samsu-ilūna.

We know nothing more about the fate of Sîn-muštāl. Probably he has fallen in the final battle or has been captured by the Babylonians and taken to Samsu-ilūna as captive. If the latter, he certainly did not get royal pardon.

To draw conclusions, we must consider the following facts: Sîn-muštāl seems to have been as state official somewhat more talented than Šēp-Sîn. Of course we do not know whether the difference between their arrears of silver mentioned in AbB 2, 33 (see above) derive from the effectiveness of their work, or from the (presumably) different number of tax collection districts under their authority. The fact that Sîn-muštāl was able to remain in high position after Samsu-ilūna's ascension to the throne and still under the revolt of Rīm-Sîn II, suggests that he was a man of great talent.

On the other hand, it must be seen that a small kingdom, barely emerged, could not go without the officials of the previous ruler. These men, having already considerable experience of state affairs, were able to organize and supervise the central administration, and therefore to create a sound economic base for the new realm.

Appendix: List of texts

text	date	content
AbB 4, 2	(Ha 30–34)	letter from Hammurāpi to Šamaš-hāzir
AbB 4, 3	(Ha 30–34)	letter from Hammurāpi to Šamaš-hāzir
AbB 2, 33	(Ha 30–43)	letter from Hammurāpi to Sîn-iddinam
AbB 9, 10	(Ha 30–Si 05)	letter from Ilšu-ibnišu to Watar-Šamaš
AbB 9, 34	(Ha 30–Si 05)	letter from Sîn-muštāl to Watar-Šamaš
AbB 11, 169	(Ha 30–Si 05)	letter from Sîn-muštāl to the *rabiānum* of Jakūdum
AbB 14, 163	(Ha 30–43)	letter from Šamaš-hāzir to Zinû
AbB 14, 166	(Ha 30–43)	letter from Zinû to Šamaš-hāzir
Stol 1982, no. 8	Ha 40/11/28	receipt of silver
Stol 1982, no. 22	Ha 41/02/20	receipt of fish
CHJ, HE 266	Ha 43/02/[...]	receipt of silver
BRM 4, 53	[...] (Ha 30–Si 05)	list of amounts of silver paid by villages and towns
VS 18, 100	Si 01/01/[...]	receipt of barley
YOS 12, 113	Si 04/07/14	receipt of silver
SVJAD 32	Si 05/03/01	house rental contract
SVJAD 90	[...] (Si 05+)	account of cattle, sheep and goats
Limet 1990, no. 10	Si 06/01/11	sale of fishes for 1/4 of its value
YOS 12, 167	Si 06/02/08	field rental contract
NISABA 19, 162	RS II 02/[...]	lawsuit
YOS 8, 54	RS II 02/04/17	exchange of slaves
YOS 5, 227	RS II 02/10/23	receipt of tools as equipment
Pinches 1917, no. 21	RS II 02/12/26	receipt of flour

Abbreviations

Ha	Hammurāpi (regnal year)
RS II	Rīm-Sîn II (regnal year)
Si	Samsu-ilūna (regnal year)

AbB	*Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*. Leiden 1964 ff.
AHw	von Soden, W. F.: *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden 1959–1981.
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari*. Paris 1941 ff.
BRM	*Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*. New Haven 1917 ff.
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*. Chicago 1956 ff.
CHJ	Boyer, G.: *Contribution à l'histoire juridique de la 1re dynastie Babylonienne*. Paris 1928.
HE	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, tablet siglum.
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*. New Haven 1947 ff.
NISABA	*Nisaba. Studi Assiriologici Messinesi*. Messina 2002 ff.

StD *Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia*. Leiden 1936 ff.
SVJAD Riftin, A.: *Staro-vavilonskie iuridicheskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniiakh SSSR*. Moskva 1937.
TCL *Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre*. Paris 1910 ff.
UNHAI *Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul*. Istanbul 1956 ff.
VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen* [*Königlichen*] *Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin 1907 ff.
YOS *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*. New Haven 1915 ff.

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Miklós Kerekes

The Assyrian Provincial Administration

The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Aspects within their Province

Introduction

One of the most important personalities within the Neo-Assyrian administration are the governors. They are quite numerous, and important enough to be highly represented in the central palace archives. These features give them focus in any reconstructions regarding the hierarchy, and the provincial system. From the beginnings of Assyriology several studies have been written on their role, however these studies were generally focused only on some of their features, for example; the technical terms name governor from its sources, and where was their place in the hierarchy of the empire. So there were neither general studies, nor monographic works about their aspects and functions. Obviously, there are two main reasons why not. One of them is that there are a vast number of relevant sources and the other is that it is not so easy to identify a particular person in the sources as a governor.

Up to now, I think, or rather just hope, that the sources are well prepared and organized enough, to make a general survey about their aspects. I made a dual division with their aspects; primary (within their province) and secondary (outside it). The concept behind this was that a governor's general functions are the ones that connect him to his province where he was appointed, because as an administrator of a certain district, he is responsible for its management, and in all other ways when we see him outside his province that aspects could be only secondary ones, and in many cases possibly just accidental appearances. It was sometime an arbitrary decision where to put one function, but finally I hope that I can show a logical arrangement.

The Neo-Assyrian governor's aspects outside their province were the topic of my OTDK essay, so I just briefly present here the categories within this section. Contrary to my first thoughts, that these secondary aspects can usually be accidental ones, I found that there is some kind of coherence between the categories. Nearly half of my limited sources could be placed in the schemes two different places. I made also a general dual division inside this category – as in the present, within province ones –: military and civil roles. The military ones are Between Magnets and At Musters, the civil ones are As *limmu*, Public Works, Raw Material Acquisitions, Possessions in Other Provinces, Other Activities in Different Provinces.

In the present study, I try to look over the governor within his province, and the provincial systems outline, because it is important to understand the background in more detail.

Terms of the Governor

In our sources there are two ways to connect an act to a governor; the agent is named, generally without any title, and we know from other sources, that he is a governor, or he is named by a term, which we identify as governor. In the first case, a prosopography can be helpful. Fortunately the *Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project*, directed by Simo Parpola, is making one 1998–: *Prosoporgraphy of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, whose editor-in-charge is Karen Radner. Otherwise, in the back of the volumes of the same project, which publishes an enormous part of the Neo-Assyrian sources, there is an index of personal names. In the second case (named by term) there are some bigger problems. There are two terms, we can mean governor. The first one is the *bēl pīhāti*, which is literary "the lord of responsibility", in extended sense "lord of the province". The second one is *šaknu* which means the "appointed (one)". Apart from the fact, that there can be some questions about its writing there is another problem. It can be seen from the sources, that this term has two main meanings, one of them is a person in the high hierarchy (the governor), and the other one is a member of the lower classes, like craftsmen. The scientific literature translates *šaknu* as "prefect", which may contain the sense that, he is prefect within his province, but he can be prefect of a certain group (ex. weavers) too, which role cannot be connected to a governor. This problem is more important, when we are investigating the sources within the province, where a governor's and a midlevel prefect role can coincide.

The Province in Work

It would be essential to have a full provincial governor's archive, to reconstruct the ideal way, how the whole system works. We have got some files from the provincial palaces archives (ex. Dūr-Katlimmu, Gūzāna) but they are a bit older then the Sargonid epoch of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, when the final provincial system was arranged, and it could set roots. Apart from this, I must survey them, but only later at my studies, when I want to see the whole picture with all the possible sources, but this study has its dimensional limits. So I must restrict to the sources from the Assyrian capitals. The king is the effective head of the fiscal and administrative establishment, and as the leader of the army one of his main aims is to have a full picture about the resources, either raw materials or humans. To know these there should be several bureaus which are engaged with the different resources (horses, flocks, agriculture products, wool, precious objects, military equipments, etc.), but we don't know to which these officials titles belong.

Inside the empire there was a large variability between the different provinces, and in general a significant shortage of some important goods. But the empire as a whole had got its own resources. In the mountains and in the lowlands between the cities large flocks were driven by nomad tribes. Their economic significance was not the meat but their derivatives (wool, skin, dairy products). In the irrigable lands they had agriculture, viniculture, vegetable gardens and raw material wood stove.

In theory all lands belongs to the king. These lands could be the king's private or state's property. In practice a significant part was managed by the governors. It can't be decided whether these were *ex officio* or *ad hominem* lands. But maybe the question didn't really exist, because if we take a look at the private versus official possession Mesopotamian practice, we find that they were kept and managed together, the officials didn't make a difference neither in their incomes nor in their expenditures whether they are private or official. The similar practice can be witnessed in medieval Europe, at the Kingdom of Hungary; the king's power largely depends on his personal wealth, because there was no distinction between his private and the state's incomes. The best example is Matthias Corvinus' case, when he was nearly the richest king within the continent, but his successor hadn't got enough money to keep the army in charge because his personal incomes were dimensionally fewer. Returning to the Neo-Assyrian epoch, the king and the governors have the same aims with their incomes. Firstly to provide and reward the administration's personnel, secondly to accumulate the biggest possible wealth for him or the institution what he represents.

Taxes

The various taxes were the main way to exploit economically a conquered and integrated land. The two main tax types were the fix dated (annual / monthly) and the occasional ones, the latter usually connected with the campaigns. The seasonal taxes didn't need full-time officials, they were only appointed for the reasonable short time.

The administration's goal was to reduce the amount of the sources which goes through the palace. The reason is quite simple; the land transport was so expensive, that it wasn't worth transporting the goods to the palace, rather just register there. The account contains the quantity, the place and the responsible official. These officials were possibly the *rab karmāni* and the *rab ālāni*.

The advantage was that the goods provided by the provincial administration came from where they were collected, so the central government shouldn't have to organize a system which provided each provincial administration one-by-one. So the central palace (the capital) had got an account covering the resources all over the empire, but for various reasons let them use by the provincial administration.

The interesting thing is that this system works on a smaller scale too; the palace (at the provincial capital) let a part of the sources in smaller, occasionally fortified,

vice-centre. Their aim was twofold; first to provide the smaller vice-centre's staff, and second to have surplus at the granaries to feed the traverse armies. This was also important for the general staff to be able to have an outlook, and to be confident; anywhere to plan a campaign, they would have had enough food to feed their forces until the border. The goods which move in this system were mainly grain and straw, the first to feed humans, the second to feed animals (especially horses) and also an important building material.

The palace had got another aim, apart from the amount to reduce; they should somehow feed the population of the grand cities across the country, where the habitants didn't cultivate land, so a huge part of the cumulated surplus was brought to the centrums, either the capital or the provincial centre.

Temple provisions

The other way to exploit a province for the centre is the temple offerings. Because the fame, and to secure the gods' biggest possible support, the kings built within the cities bigger temples, and provided more personnel to them than the communities could supply. So the kings organized a system which solved these problems. In the provincial towns they regrouped some of the sources from the local incomes or made land donations. The system documented in the Mamu temple at Imgur-Enlil, and the Nabû temple at Kalhu. At least in the case of the chief deity's, Aššur's temple at Aššur they organize a system which contained the whole empire. This was the *ginnû*-system; it had a large symbolic rôle in the empire's coherence. The system is not known in full details, however it has some kind of rotation between the provinces in time, depending on who should provide the Aššur temple, and the whole has got some connection with the Assyrian *limmu*-system.

Troops

The raw materials were not the only important resources for the Assyrian Empire from the provinces, but the humans too. The system which they organize to exploit this was the *ilku*-system. This provides people for corvée work and for military purposes. The first one was called *dullu*; these types of royal works were possibly only carried out in the home provinces, as in the case of Dūr-Šarrukīn, the new founded capital's, building. Maybe there was another organization within the provinces, which were headed by the governor or his deputy, however in the sources we haven't got considerable references to this. Constructions could be the most common work between them with all its additional parts (mudbrick and landscape preparation, earth and straw carrying, etc).

The *rab kişir*s and the prefects levied the troops, and led them in the field too. In military service these troops were the auxiliaries, the mass in the army, they usually served in provinces, but they should not be in charge all year, they could go home for winter. It

was good for them, to be with their family, and good for the government, because they didn't need to feed them for that time, when there was no war.

Intelligence

Our primary sources concerning the Assyrian military expeditions, the royal inscriptions, are not very helpful when we want to see the plan behind the campaigns. Fortunately the 8th campaign of Sargon II against the Urarțians is an exception; we have a detailed correspondence which authors and addressees had a wild range in hierarchy, from the spies to the king. Within this sophisticated organization, the governors have their own place between the local spies and intelligence agents and the king's magnates, in the same level with the vassal kings. Every governor should keep his eyes in the opposing enemy territories, collect information and summarize and forward them to the higher levels, either to the kings magnates, or to the crown prince or directly to the king himself. This system gives the opportunity to check the information against each other, whether was there anyone who did not forwards the news.

Conclusion: the Scope of the Governor's Duties within the Province

After looking over these parts of the provincial administration, it is time to summarize the whole picture and collect the governor's aspects within their provinces. Again, as in the case of the outside the province aspects we can make a dual division; military and civil roles. The first group contains the Traverse Army Provision, Provincial Troops and Intelligence. The second group, the civil aspects, contains Raw Material Acquisitions, Land Management, Taxes, Temple Provisions and Public Works.

If we compare this list with the list of secondary aspect (outside the province) we can find overlaps. For example Raw Material Acquisitions and Public Works are absolutely the same; Temple Provisions and As *limmu* has strong similarities. So I concluded that as in the case of the secondary aspect, when I made a deeper investigation, I used original sources, I found that there are sources, which can be placed into different categories, and I claim that this makes my division stronger. I hope that I can state the same now concerning the whole system, or at least the civil roles, and with this I have a subsequent reason why do I find this theme important enough to spend my time for it.

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Julianna Kitti Paksi

Pious Pharaohs?

In this short lecture, I invite the audience to an intellectual journey in the fields of Egyptian linguistics and religion. In the next twenty minutes, we shall explore new ways to demonstrate that not even the pharaoh could cut himself adrift from an ever-influential spiritual movement that prevailed in the New Kingdom: personal piety.

The term personal piety may cover four different phenomena, but in this analysis, only the last group interests us: a) local forms of religion, b) domestic and individual forms of religiosity, c) popular religion as distinct from the religion of the literate elite and d) new forms of religiosity that are exclusively typical of the New Kingdom. Boyo Ockinga gave a simple but easily understandable definition of the latter concept when he described it as "a personal, individual expression of faith in and devotion to a deity, as opposed to the institutionalized religious practices." Hence, the central idea of the phenomenon is a new, more personal conception of a god that is ready to intervene in individual's life and in the course of history. God is now approachable for the individual who can turn to him directly in a prayer without the mediation of the priesthood or cult.

This phenomenon is hard to observe prior to the New Kingdom, but some believe they can see its reflections during the entire course of ancient Egyptian history, e.g. in the *theophoric* names of the Old Kingdom. Although James Henry Breasted called the Ramesside era "the age of personal piety" as early as 1912, it was not until the early 1960s that scholars started an animated discussion about the topic. Two parties may be discerned concerning the problem of personal piety. On the one hand, among others, John Baines and Gwyn Griffiths believe that here we are dealing with a timeless, basic structural feature of ancient Egyptian religion that can be regarded as typical and characteristic of all periods of ancient Egyptian history in spite of the fact that it is very differently testified by textual and archaeological evidence. In Baines' point of view, the paucity of evidence in the Middle and Old Kingdom may be contributed to – as he would phrase it – "the limits of decorum;" that is to say, to a certain hierarchical set of rules regarding what could and what could not be depicted or expressed in text in a particular context. Similarly to Baines, Griffiths argues that in some ways, the Egyptians always dealt with the possibility of direct divine impact on their lives, whether favourable or unfavourable.

On the other hand, Breasted and his followers, e.g. Georges Posener and Jan Assmann, look at the phenomenon of personal piety as a historical movement with forerun-

ners and consequences and as typical only of a certain period, i.e. the Ramesside age, rather than as a continuously present characteristic of the ancient Egyptian religious thought. The debate between the two conflicting positions is on-going also at present. Although Breasted's legacy and Assmann's discourse seem to dominate the foreground today, the question as to whether personal piety may be regarded as a timeless, basic feature of ancient Egyptian religious thought or rather as a phenomenon typical of a specific period, has not yet been fully resolved.

Since Posener published a group of prayer *ostraca* in 1975 which palaeographically date to the pre-Amarna period, we know that the earliest known literary evidence for personal piety may be traced back in time at least as early as the reign of Amenhotep II. These limestone *ostraca* were placed along the way taken by the god during festival processions and were inscribed with short prayers addressed to the deity. These earliest texts of personal piety shed light on the evolution and growing importance of festival processions of deities in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty: festival processions meant a framework for a new means of religious communication.

The appearance of the limestone prayer *ostraca* falls precisely into the same time span as when offering prayers in tomb inscriptions added eulogistic divine titularies to the name of Amun-Re and, in so doing, extended the traditional *ḥtp-dj-nsw* offering formula into a lengthier praise to the divine. Furthermore, this is also the time when it began to be a custom to add hymns to Amun-Re on statuettes representing persons in prayer and on the thicknesses of the entrances to tombs.

Let us cite a few examples in order to illustrate how we may detect the nuance changes that point towards an individualization of the experience of the divine in the New Kingdom! In Djehuty's tomb, in Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 11), we may observe how the Overseer of Treasury adds a personal touch to a well known formula during the reign of Hatshepsut when he describes Amun-Re in his beneficiary character (ASSMANN 1983, 164):

rdj.w ṯ3w n dw3.w sw
smnḫ.w ꜥḥꜥw n jrj.w ḥr mw=f

(Amun) "…who gives breath for the one who worships him,
(and) who makes the lifetime of the one who 'acts on his water' effective…"

On one of the *ostraca* (Cairo CG 12217 recto) published by Posener, we read (POSENER 1975, 206):

rdj.n<=j> tw m jb=j ḥr nḫt=k (...)
nḫ m-k nn snḏ

"I gave you into my heart because of your strength. (…)
[You are my] protector. Behold: there is no fear [in me]."

There are a whole series of texts from the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth

Dynasties from which we may distil the new theological discourse of the evolving times. The whole concept, although it had its origins in the Egyptian institution of the religious festival, is closely related to all those dramatic theological and political changes that reshaped Egypt during the course of the New Kingdom. Unfortunately, given the time constraints, we cannot go into details. It may suffice to note that the Ramesside image of the world can only be understood in the context of Egypt's broadening political horizons and general openness during the New Kingdom. What happened at the political level had its parallels at the theological one: Egypt achieved world supremacy and so did the god of Thebes. Thus, the Ramesside deity developed a double focus: it became as much an omnipotent world god as a highly personal one of the individual.

We may accurately characterize this new dimension of experiential nearness to god with the sense of revelation which the Egyptians indicated by expressions such as 'finding god' or 'god coming to one's voice'. Silence became the central virtue of piety. *Gr* and *gr m3ʿ* refer to the person who shows a quietistic attitude to life, recognizes the supreme free will of a deity, is submissive to it ('places himself in the hands of god') and is ready to give up the heat of passion and will himself. Confidence in god, a common concept of the era, found various ways for expression. As the Egyptians put it, the faithful had to 'place god into their heart' (*rdj m jb*), had to 'fill their heart with him' (*mḥ jb*), i.e. rely on him, or act in a way which was loyal to his will, i.e. 'on his water' (*jrj ḥr mw*). God often appears as the saviour of the oppressed or the judge of the poor who comes at the calling voice of the pious, whereas misery, poverty and weakness, along with silence became self-definitions of the faithful.

The sensation of a personal allegiance to god was gradually generalized and expanded to a point that it became a new religion in the Ramesside period: an all-pervasive spirit of the age, common to artisans, officials and kings. As soon as the waves of personal piety reached the highest social stratum, i.e. the pharaoh himself, the base for royal legitimation changed dramatically. Now, also the king had to obtain the favour of the divine and had to strive for his blessing (*ḥsw.t*) as anyone else in the private sphere. The king, being the subject of god's judgement like everybody else, had recourse to the virtues of piety, too. Although the donations of pious kings made the temples prosper, the piety of the pharaoh was not primarily regarded as a question of engagement in donations and temple building activities any more, but it rather became a question of inner attitude.

Similarly to the commoners, it seems that sincere piety found ways of expression in personal prayers in the case of the pharaoh himself. The real breakthrough for the genre of personal piety came with the reign of Ramesses III in the twelfth century BC. This was the time when the royal canonized repertoire opened up and became ready to incorporate the ideas and expressions of personal piety into the prayers and hymns of the pharaoh. What is more, Ramesses III, all at once, placed the personal prayer into a central position within the official canon. Notwithstanding that Ramesses III is rather well known for his inscriptions at Medinet Habu that record his military campaigns, or similarly, for the Great Papyrus Harris, a posthumous document compiled by his son, Ramesses IV, which contains the list of his benefactions made to the temples of Egypt, some of his texts bear true witness of the ideas of personal piety. For instance, there is

a large, seemingly forgotten double stela dated to the twentieth year of his reign that is worth our attention. Its remainders still stand in the *Cour de la Cachette* in the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak: the left-hand text, the one pertaining to the Northern Stela, is particularly unique since it records a mutual praise, a eulogistic dialogue between the king and Amun-Re; the right-hand text on the Southern Stela also carries a conversation between the pharaoh and various Egyptian deities, but here, the emphasis is directed at the praise accorded to Ramesses III by the gods for his work in renewing their temples, organizing their priesthoods and cults, and for filling their treasuries and granaries.

The following examples may show how the wording of the Great Double Stela relates to that of the commoners' prayers. The third line of the Northern Stela reminds us that time, planning and precaution have become notions that primarily belong to god in the theology of personal piety (K*RI* V 239; 6):

hn=j n rꜣ=k wr mḥ=j m sḫr.w=k

"I rely on your mighty word; I fill myself with your plans."

A passage in the fourth line of the Northern Stela is to be interpreted as a clear confession of personal piety. 'To rely on god's words', 'to fill one's heart with god', 'approachable protector' are all unmistakable textual markers of a more personal divine experience. The king puts himself in the same position of the weak and humble, as do ordinary people (K*RI* V 239; 6ff):

ntk nb ꜥꜣ n mḥ-jb jm=f nḫ n ḫnḫn=f ṯꜣw mw ꜥnḫ m ḫfꜥ=k wḏꜣ snb ḫr=k sꜣw rnp.t n pꜣ sḫꜣ rn=k wr mkj ḥꜥ.w <n> pꜣ ptr=k

"You are the great lord for the one who fills (his) heart with him (i.e. who relies on him), the protector of the one who approaches him. Air, water and life are in your grip, prosperity and health are at your disposal; year-long protection belongs to the one who mentions your mighty name, (and) secured are the limbs of whom sets his eyes on you."

A sentence in the fifth line of the left-hand text continues the pious confession of the king which has started in the previous lines. The phrase 'to act on god's water', i.e. being loyal to him belongs to the same repertoire of statements which prove the existence of an individualized god-man relationship (K*RI* V 239; 9):

jnk sꜣ[*=k*] *smsw jrj ḥr mw=k* [*hr*] *n pꜣ dwꜣ.t=k*

"I am [your] eldest son, who acts on your water, (and) who is [content] with praising you."

The wording of a passage in the third line of the Southern Stela is reminiscent of the text on the Northern Stela at the same height. Both lines use the same expressions of piety ('to rely on god', 'to fill one's heart with god') with the difference that this section here (K*RI* V 243; 8f) is a third person account, not a first person one as is its parallel:

[*j.*]*jr.w pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ-wḏ3-snb p3jj=k b3k p3jj=k šrj ḥmsj jw=f hn n=k jw jb=f mḥ* [*jm=k*]

"…what the pharaoh - life, prosperity, health (may be with him) -, your servant, your enthroned son has done, (because) he puts trust in you (and because) his heart is filled with [you]."

There is another unmistakable declaration on the Great Double Stela which demonstrates that personal piety was not the privilege of the poor or the noble, but indeed, penetrated all social strata. The sentence in the eleventh line of the right-hand text reflects the Ramesside theological conviction that one can only succeed if he becomes aware of the greatness of god (K*RI* V 244; 9f):

ḫjj p3 sp nfr r [*ḥḥ*] *n sp n p3 ntj hn=f n=k n p3 ntj mḥ jb=f jm=k*

"How much better it is - [million(s of)] times (more) - for him who relies on you, for him who fills his heart with you!"

Upon careful examination of the text of the Great Double Stela, we shall notice that the Northern Stela and the Southern Stela differ widely in the grammatical forms they use. Altogether sixteen Ramesside definite articles and twenty-one possessive articles appear in the right-hand text, whereas not more than one possessive article and merely five Ramesside definite articles are discernible in the left-hand text. On the Northern Stela, the language is mainly dependent on the system of Middle Egyptian. The abundance of Classical Egyptian forms reduces the effect of the colloquial and eclipses the few occurrences of the Ramesside articles. However, it cannot escape the attention of the reader that the subtle intrusions from later phases appear precisely at those points where the account takes on a more personal tone. Four of the five Ramesside definite articles are located in those particular sections of the inscription that we understand as statements characteristic of a more personal experience of the divine. In contrast to the left-hand text, however, almost every sentence projects Ramesside articles on the Southern Stela. Besides many occurrences of Late Egyptian participles, relative forms and conjunctive constructions, we also encounter the colloquial form of the First Present on this part of the inscription, all with the omission of a preposition. Hereby, not only the grammar changes, but also the lexis. In comparison with the Northern Stela, much more lexical items are found on the Southern Stela, which pertain to the sphere of personal religion.

Is there a plausible explanation for these alternations in the language, for the moves

from Classical Egyptian to Late Egyptian and back, which happen within the same body of text? We assume that there is one. The grammatical changes and frequent alternations between Middle and Late Egyptian forms were not without reason. On the contrary, it is in fact striking that the incorporation of the new genre into the older text of the canonized repertoire happened in a way that the personal prayer remained identified as a distinct register within a particular text. In other words, new notions required new ways of expression; and this, in turn, enabled the vernacular to conquer spheres in the royal discourse, where it was previously banished from.

This rule is perhaps not as much prominent in Ramesses III's Great Double Stela in Karnak as it is in another prayer of his, in the so-called Gold Tablet Prayer, which was written only two years after the Great Double Stela had been inscribed on the eastern interior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* in the twentieth year of the reign. In spite of its name, the Gold Tablet Prayer has not been preserved to us on an actual tablet, but was found inscribed on the wall in the court of Ramesses III's temple in the First Courtyard at the Temple of Amun at Karnak. Similarly to the case of the Great Double Stela, the Gold Tablet Prayer reflects two different code systems as far as linguistics is concerned. In the first part of the inscription, which contains subjects mostly of theological-mythological order, the language is the *égyptien de tradition*, but as soon as Ramesses III starts to speak the language of personal piety and addresses the transcendent Ramesside world god in a more intimate way, a conspicuous change may be perceived at the linguistic level. The reason for this change is most presumably identical with the one observed on the Great Double Stela: a switch between registers (K*RI* V 223; 7ff):

pȝ mḥ jb=f jm=k
jst mȝᶜ.t jr.t=k ḥr ḥr=f rᶜ nb
tw=k swḏȝ=f

"He who fills his heart with you (i.e. who relies on you),
see, the righteousness of your eye is on his face each day
(and) you keep him safe."

The above analysis stands as a proof for Ramesses III's piety, but one might rightly wonder how permanent in fact the impact of this spiritual movement was in the case of the pharaohs. We know that the third king of the Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses IV, endorsed his father's benefactions made to the temples by compiling the Great Papyrus Harris, but he himself left only sporadic textual evidence on his own piety. Thus, it is difficult for scholars to assess how much he had been taken away by the ideas of personal piety. According to our present knowledge, there is no royal text pertaining to the genre of personal prayer from under his reign, but there are a few allusions in his texts that suggest some influence of the movement (K*RI* VI 73f):

mj <r> ḫrw=j ᶜn tw
<tw=j ḥr> ᶜš n=k jrj n ḥr.w jb=j

"Come to my voice, turn yourself (to me)!
I am calling you, o (you), the one who satisfies my heart!"

Besides Ramesses III and his immediate heir, Ramesses IV, there are another three kings of the Twentieth Dynasty whose few remaining royal texts carry some stylistic evidence of piety: Ramesses VI, Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX. There are three large fragments of a hieratic papyrus kept in the Turin Museum which contain parts of what must have been a collection of separate but closely related hymns in honour of Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII. Although the manuscript can be assigned to the reign of Ramesses VII, the texts themselves are probably copies of earlier compositions that date at least as far back as the beginnings of the Twentieth Dynasty. The Turin hymns, which were written in a purely literary style, stress the acceptance of the king by god and focus on his coronation.

There is a very poetic section in one of these hymns addressing Ramesses VII which confirms that this pharaoh indeed shared the sensation of a direct and personal experience of divine presence with the commoners of the era (K*RI* VI 392; 7f). We learned from the dedicatory inscriptions of the people of lower classes that divine revelations were often expressed by statements like 'one has found god' or 'god came to one's voice':

ḏr.t n Jmn m ḏr.t=k
ꜥš=k n=f m nfr[*w*]*-grḥ*
gmj=k sw ꜥḥꜥ ḥ3=k

"The hand of Amun is in your hand;
you called for him in the dead of night,
(and) you found him standing (right) behind you."

Let us close our analysis with a particularly interesting document from the time of Ramesses IX! There is only a very small corpus of royal inscriptions that records a conversation between the pharaoh and various national deities: their number amounts merely to three. This rare genre of text, a pharaoh-god dialogue, owes its fame to the Northern Stela of Ramesses III's Great Double Stela in Karnak, which is the largest known document of this kind. Although the time is too short to have a closer look at the first known example of the genre, Sethos I's Elephantine Stela to Khnum, we must note that in each case, the construction of the text, which orders the king's and the deities' speeches into a dialogue, reveals an altered, a more intimate relation between the pharaoh and the divine sphere. Under no circumstances can it be a mere coincidence that a conversational situation of speech between the pharaoh and the god develops and makes its first appearances in the monumental discourse exactly at the same time when the movement of personal piety is gaining momentum. We believe that this new genre, in which the king and the deity address and praise each other in turn, should be as closely associated with the concept of personal piety as are the hymns of thanksgiving, the devote prayers or the penitential hymns of the common people. Eulogistic

statements of mutual appreciation and acknowledgement have probably never been of more importance than at times when royal legitimacy was gradually becoming entirely dependent on the will of god. Let us now turn our attention to the youngest document of this kind! The monument of Ramesses IX, a large, but badly damaged stela, stands in the court between the Third and Fourth Pylons in the Karnak Temple. The restored part of the text contains only the praise to Amun, but the missing part, in all likelihood, would have recorded Amun's reply. We find an interesting section in the inscription what appears to be a recurring theme in late Ramesside royal texts that show traces of the style of personal piety (K*RI* VI 452; 15):

[mj <r> ḫrw=j] [J]mn-[Rˁ] nsw nṯr.w
pꜣjj=[j nb nṯr] ˁꜣ ḥr.j-jb Jp.t-s.wt

"[Come to my voice], o [A]mun-[Re], lord of the gods,
[my lord], great [god] who resides in Karnak!"

As we have seen, Ramesses III's inscriptions served as a good base for testing the validity of our hypothesis concerning the connection between the vernacular and the prayers of personal piety. We found that both the Great Double Stela and the Gold Tablet Prayer start to employ Late Egyptian syntax as soon as they touch upon the topic of sincere piety. Although we could undoubtedly demonstrate this close association in Ramesses III's texts, definite conclusions cannot be drawn in this respect with regard to the case of his heirs. The analysis of late Ramesside royal texts requires great foresight. According to our present knowledge, no royal inscriptions have survived from the Ramesside period belonging to the genre of personal prayer but the texts of Ramesses III and perhaps the highly fragmentary Karnak Stela of Ramesses IX. This unfortunate state of preservation renders the research highly difficult. However, we have good reasons to believe that further investigations would be fruitful.

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Szegedi Tudományegyetem

Officina Försteriana

György Palotás

Theory and practice of the military science in Flavius Arrianus's tactical manuals

I would like to start my treatise being about the Roman art of war with a Greek quotation: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄξιοι ἐπαινεῖσθαι Ρωμαῖοι, ὅτι οὐ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ πάτρια οὕτως τι ἠγάπησαν, ὡς τὰ πανταχόθεν καλά ἐπιλεξάμενοι οἰκεῖα σφίσιν ἐποιήσαντο. (*Tact.* 33.2–3), in english: *the Romans are worthy to be praised because they do not embrace [only] their own native things. Thus, having chosen noble things from everywhere, they made them their own.* Henceforth I have cited the Greek texts in translation of Devoto (1993).

It is a well-known fact that in the Roman military organization serious, and accordingly significant changes occured in the second century AD. This military progress may be linked mainly with the two Roman emperors', Trajan's and Hadrian's military reforms. My essay aims to be a review of a minor subdivision details of these second century changes. I wish to describe the theoretical side of the problem on the basis of Lucius Flavius Arrianus's Τέχνη τακτική (hereafter *Tactica*), published in 136/7; while I look at the practical side, namely the actual implementation of these issues on the basis of other work, Ἔκταξις κατὰ Αλανῶν (*Order of Battle against the Alani*, hereafter *Ectaxis*), written in 135/6. In this last matter two issues should be considered more closely: how the theoretical statements came true in the course of the actual fight, based on *Ectaxis*; and how they were realised in the military exercises, based on the comments of the *Periplus Ponti Euxini* and of a military inscription, the *Hadriani adlocutiones ad exercitium Africanum, ILS* 2487.

Arrian (AD 85?–175?) is best known as the latter historian *par excellence* of Alexander the Great. He was also one of the most prominent figures of the Hadrianic era. His figure and identity should not be confused with the Athenian Xenophon the Elder. The patriarch Photios tells us that he was called the Ξενοφῶντα νέον – *the new Xenophon* (*Bibliotheca* cod. 58.17b). The heigh of Arrian's political career was in 129 (*Suidas-lexicon*, no. 3868. Adler). Having won the senatorial rank, he was appointed as the consular legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of Cappadocia (130/1–137/8), one of the senatorial provinces, and as the commander of the Roman legions, which were set up on the border of Asia Minor and Armenia. Almost all our information about his activity is provided by Arrian's fellow countryman, Cassius Dio of Nicaea: *This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews. A second war was begun by the Alani (they are Massagetae) at the instigation of Pharasmanes. It caused dire injury to the Albanian territory and Media, and then involved*

Armenia and Cappadocia; after which, as the Alani were not only persuaded by gifts from Vologaesus but also stood in dread of Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia, it came to a stop (Cass. Dio 69.15.1, trans. Earnest Cary). The text ascribed to Dio puts the invasion of nomadic Alani onto AD 135 years. During the Flavian era Iberia and Albania were deeply embedded in the defensive strategy of the eastern front line. It looks clear that the Alan marauders would not have attacked the Roman territories as a result of a some kind of spontaneous process, but most likely due to the instigation of the Iberian king, II. Pharasmenes. The first victims of onslaught were his neighbors, the Albani. The war, says Dio, merely touched (ἁψάμενος) Armenia and Cappadocia, for the Alani were frightened off by Arrian of Nicomedia. Arrian's principal achievement in 135 was not so much the victory over the Alani, but the settlement of the Caucasian kingdoms (ἔταττον δὲ Ἴβηρσιν ὅμους καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς) and making them Rome's faithful allied (cf. Them. *Or.* 34.8).

The tactical literature represents an independent genre of the literature of the Greek art of war, which primarily focuses on the problems of the developing order of a battle, organizing an army's corps, as well as formal training. Most of the Greek tacticians' manuals (Poseidonius of Rhodes: Τέχνη τακτική, Asclepiodotus: Τέχνη τακτική, Aelian: Τακτικὴ Θεωρία) got lost. From among all of them, however, Arrian's work is the fullest and the most accurate remained record, describing the Hellenistic tactics. His instructions for the formal training could also be used in the similar Roman army. Yet against his primary source (Aelian), he supplies several current, contemporary information and observations to his readers: *The king decided [that] they also train [in] barbarian ones, such as the Parthians' and Armenians' mounted archers practice and such wheelings around and wheelings back as charging light-spear bearers of the Sauromatian and Keltic riders [do] in part* (*Tact*. 44.1). This is observed in both the archaic description of the first half of the work, on the other hand the presentation of contemporary practices of the Roman cavalry. It is a well-known fact that Arrian wrote a work with the title Ἀλανική, however it was lost (cf. *Codex Laurentianus Graecus* 55.4, folios 182^{r} to 195^{v}). The fragmentary work is essentially a regulation, a series of instructions on how to fight the coming battle. His first section concerns the advance to attack happening in the shape of a column. In the second, the author explains in detail how the army should be deployed. The third part gives an exhausting instruction about the exemplary tactics during the battle. Arrian drew the terminology of *Ectaxis* particularly from the expressions of warefare in the age of Alexander the Great.

There are a number of military terms in Arrian's two works which are not of Latin origin, but mostly Greek and Celtic. Using the Roman legions as a *phalanx* was not a new phenomenon in the Roman military history. Livy's manipular *quincunx* formation (8.8.9–13), or even the *triplex acies* formation used by Caesar (*BC* 1.83, cf. Polyb. 6.21–24) may have been similar to the Greek and the Macedonian patterns. The Greek and Roman *auctores* primarily used it to display the entire line of battle, especially if this line of battle was extremely dense and solid in depth and multi-step. On the contrary, Arrian was the first historian who used this expression as the synonym of the *phalanx*. The Roman literature considered the Macedonian *phalanx* to be equal to the Roman legion in

many respects: *Proprie autem Macedonum phalanx, Gallorum caterva, nostra legio dicitur* (Isidore *Orig.* 9.3.46; cf. Serv. *Ad Aen.* 11.92, 12.277). The εἴλη is the traditional Greek translation of the Roman *ala*, which alludes to the regular auxiliary cavalry units: *Two Tarantine troops* (δύο ταραντιναρχίαι ἱππαρχία) *are called a cavalry unit at five hundred and twelve riders which the Romans call a unit* (ἥντινα Ρωμαῖος εἴλην καλοῦσιν) – *Tact.* 18.3–4; *Ect.* 1. *passim*. The interpretation of the ἔμβολον expression is most debated among the researchers. According to Devine (1983, 216), this may have had three signification in the texts of ancient authors. On the one hand, it appears as the *cuneus* of formations of Scythian Dahae cavalry attack, and as a Persian cavalry formation at the battle of the Granicos (*Anab.* 1.16.7). Secondly, it stands for the hollow Λ shaped infantry wedge, devised by Epaminondas at the battles of Leuctra and Mantineia, later adopted by the Macedonians at Pelion (*Anab.* 1.6.3). Finally, it means the grand tactical, roughly Λ shaped wedge, composed of troops of more than one arm at Mantineia, and when Alexander threw his cavalry and part of his infantry at Gaugamela (*Anab.* 3.14.1–2). The ἔμβολον, instead, appears in the *Tactica* as an instantiation of πύκνωσις ('compact order').

There are also plenty of examples of Celtic words in the Greek author's works, which are used mostly for the expression of the cavalry manoeuvres and operational moves: *with Celtic cavalry in battle* (ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοῦ Κελτῶν ἱππικοῦ) *esteemed by them, [the Romans] would subsume matters being Celtic* (*Tact.* 33.1). The πέτρινος, which Arrian claims is the most difficult of the basic cavalry exercises, surprisingly enough never reappears in the text of the *Tactica* (*Tact.* 37.4). The ξύνημα seems to be an elaboration of the πέτρινος (*Tact.* 42.4). Both exercices are to be carried out while the rider is in the course of wheeling to the right. The τολούτεγον (*Tact.* 43.2) involves the horseman raising his shield over his head to protect his back from one opponent's strike and swinging his lance around to confront another opponent: καὶ ὅσας οἱ Σαυροματῶν ἢ Κελτῶν κοντοφόροι ἐπιστροφάς τε καὶ ἀποστροφάς, (*Tact.* 44.1). Finally the Κανταβρική, which is of Spanish origin, involves aiming a heavy spear without an iron weapon-head at an opponent's shield while making a full wheel around him (*Tact.* 40.1–6).

Flavius Josephus (Joseph. *BJ* 3.124.5, 48) and Arrian (cf. Asclep. *Tact.* 11; Aelian *Tact.* 36–37; Arrian. *Tact.* 38–39) also mention the operational move of the advance. Arrian's military deployment was divided into three bigger sections. The auxiliary mounted riders and pedestrian soldiers led the way. The infantry of the legions, the *equites singulares* and the *equites legionarii*, then the artillery came next in the middle. The local allied's troops and the impedimenta came at the end of the deployment (*Ect.* 1–10). Arrian's army was led by the cavalry reconnaissance (κατασκόποι ἱππεῖς). Light cavalrymen insured the edges and rear of the route column. In the course of the march the discipline and the quiet was very important: *There is nothing so good on marches or in battles as the entire army's silence* (*Tact.* 31.5). Arrian brings up several Homeric passages for illustration to demonstrate it (Hom. *Il.* 2.459sq, 4.428–431, 3.8–9).

Arrian's battle array was completely protective. On the flat area of the battlefield the

legionary infantry was formed in eight rows in depth and served as a solid barrier opposite the attacking Alan cavalry:

> τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ σύμπαν τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐχέτω ἡ πεζικὴ φάλαγξ ἡ πεντεκαιδεκάτη ὑπὲρ τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς χωρίου, ὅτι πολὺ πλείονες πλήθει οὗτοι εἰσι· τὸ δὲ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ἐκπληρούντων οἱ τῆς δωδεκάτης φάλαγγος πεζοὶ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ κέρως τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ
>
> (Arrian *Ect.* 15).

The foot archers stood up in the army's second line. The first of the cavalry units were the horse archers and the offensive cavalry came only afterwards (*Ect.* 20–21). The Roman cavalry did not play a big role in the battle itself, but the function of mounted archers in the attack was to support other forces and to „softening up" the enemy. The important element in this section of the battle again is the silence and the discipline: ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀπὸ σνμείου ὁπλίζεσθαι σιγῇ, (*Ect.* 11), as well as σίγα καὶ πρόσεχε τῷ παραγγελλομένῳ (*Tact.* 32.1).

Arrian was optimistic that there would be no hand-to-hand fighting in the battle, because if his lethal barrage of missiles – numerous archers well-equipped with arrows and projective weapons and ballistas – was successful, the Alani would retreat before even coming to blows with the Roman infantry. At the beginning of the battle the discipline played a very important role: *there should be silence until the foes approach within [range] of a shot* (*Ect.* 25). The infantry was intended to be an impenetrable wall if the enemy pursue their charge after the artillery was exhausted. Arrian entrusted the pursuit to his auxiliary troops. During the combat the heavy infantry of the legions had only one task: to provide a solid defensive line (προβολὴ). They were arranged in strong and firm formation of eight rows in depth, in the same way as the archaic Greek *phalanx* in the age of the Hellenism: *The phalanx is deployed by lenght whenever it needs to be deployed thinner, if the locale makes [that] more useful. [It is deployed] by depth wherever [it needs to be] denser* (πυκνοτέραν), *if it be necessary to repulse foes by impetus* (τῇ ῥύμῃ) *and density* (*Tact.* 11.1–3; cf. *Tact.* 12.11). Something similar appears word for word in the *Ectaxis*: καὶ τῇ συγκλείσει πυκνοτάτη τὰς πρώτας τρεῖς τάξεις ξυνερειδούσας σφίσιν ὡς βιαιότατον οἷόν τε· (*Ect.* 26). The Romans used to apply the *phalanx* particularly in a defensive position. Arrian's battle array alignment had already been most popular in the first century AD (cf. Cass. Dio 62.8.2–3; Tac. *Agr.* 35.2). Availing of Tacitus's expression *legiones pro vallo stetere* (cf. Veg. *Mil.* 2.17.2). The infantry units were divided into two types being very different in nature. The Roman legions were to be eight ranks deep, the first four comprising κοντοφόροι with lances or pikes and the rear ranks λογχοφόροι with spears. The first three ranks, he says in *Ect.* 26, were to meet the onslaught in the closest formation; the fourth was to hurl its javelins (λόγχαι) over the preceding ranks. The horse archers were set up behind the infantry's line. It is highly probable that Arrian wanted to throw out a storm of arrows to the armoured Alani from the main line of the

protection. Arrian, in the *Ectaxis*, provides an explicit description of the process of the pursuit and the intended role of the horse archers in this phase. He divided the Roman cavalry into two parts: the εἴλαι and the λόχοι. The ἱπποτόξοται thus seems to have been employed primarily as pursuers, while during the battle itself they would provide only fire support. Some of them were to take part in the pursuit, the remainder of the cavalry stayed in reserve. Arrian's plan for the conduct of the pursuit made full use of the mobility and firepower of mounted archers. In addition, the cavalry consisted of heavily armoured shock cavalry (*cataphractarii*), who not only fought with the throwing of their spears: *having come hand [to hand], they fight with flat swords* (ταῖς σπάθαις). *Some carry small axes* (πελέκεις μικροὺς) *having edges everywhere in a circle* (*Tact.* 4.9); as well as ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφερόμενοι, οἳ δὲ τοῖς πελέκεσιν (*Ect.* 31).

A strongly fragmented stone inscription, which was found in African Lambaesis, preserved for us a unique document, a review written by emperor Hadrian of a field exercise held there in 129 AD. The emperor said approvingly or critically about every single section of the fight practice and the achievement of all the participant units. More similarities can be observed between this inscription and Arrian's works. To take advantage of the surprise, the cavalry should always start his attack from a hidden place: *E tecto transcurrat eques* (*Hadriani adloc.* D b 5), the same feature appears in the *Tactica*: *they might seem to charge from a [place] unseen* (*Tact.* 35.1). If the defense is successful, the enemy's pursuit must be implemented with great prudence: *pe[rsequatur caute; nam si non] videt qua vadat* (*Hadriani adloc.* D b 5) while the same in Arrian's work: *[With the foes] repulsed, (…) the horsemen charge-not all basic units, but half [of them]* (*Ect.* 27); and ἐν τάξει δὲ καὶ μὴ παντελεῖ τῇ διώξει χρωμένους, (*Ect.* 28). Special attention was placed on how riders should throw away the most important weapon, namely the spears or the javelins of rider in the course of their practices: *addidistis ut et lapides fundis mitteretis et missilibus con | fligeretis;* (*Hadriani adloc.* A a 10), which is included in Arrian's theoretical explications: *there are various throwings either of light spears or of darts, these [being] shot not from slings, but from a machine, and stone from [the hand] or from a sling at a target* (*Tact*. 43.1–4; cf. *Ect*. 25; *Periplus* 3.1). The mounted warrior had to use his weapon perfectly, and also treat his horse well: *saluistis ubique expedite.* (*Hadriani adloc.* A a 10; cf. fragm. 9, *ILS* 9134), being supplemented in the theory with different practices: *they make leaps as varied as possible onto [their] horse in as many kinds and as many ways as a horse* (*Tact.* 43.4, cf. *Periplus* 10.3–5). Finally, on the North African inscription, there are references to the two previously mentioned cavalry practices: the Celtic πέτρινος and the Iberian-Cantabrian attack. *Vos ex difficilibus difficil | [limum fecistis], ut loricati iaculationem perageretis* (*Hadriani adloc*. B a 9), which practice is denominated by Arrian in his work: ἐν δὲ τῇ παντελεῖ ἐπιστροφῇ ὁ πέτρινος δὴ ὀνομαζόμενος τῇ Κελτῶν φωνῇ (*Tact.* 37.4). On the inscription the term *Cantabricus densus* also shows up (*Hadriani adloc.* A a 7), of about which our author writes this: *At this time there occurs the [so] called Cantabrian attack* (Κανταβρική τις καλουμένη), *named, as it seems to me, from the Cantabrians of the Iberian race, because the Romans made it their own* (*Tact.* 40.1).

The Latin authors' views formed about warfare has changed radically compared to the age of the Republic. According to the public opinion of the late Republic, it is not

the sufficient knowledge of military science that makes the good commander suitable for filling of his position, but, in the words of Cicero (Cic. *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 28–29, 36, 49; *De Off.* 1.108; *Mur.* 22), his intangible values such as the *virtus*, the *auctoritas* and the *felicitas*. The military leader became one of the most responsible civil servant offices in the late imperial period requiring the most attention. Arrian's example also reveals that the Roman general who is skilled in matters of military science, had to be *peritia rei militaris*, and had to possess even own experiences (cf. Veg. *Mil.* 1.1).

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