# Between Three Seas: Borders, Migrations, Connections

## The Third Biennial Conference of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network

Organized by
the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
in collaboration with
the Croatian Institute of History

and with the support of

the Croatian National Committee of Historical Sciences and
the Society for Croatian History



Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
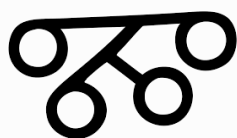University of Zagreb

12–14 April 2018

# Between Three Seas: Borders, Migrations, Connections

## The Third Biennial Conference of the
## Medieval Central Europe Research Network



Organized by

the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

in collaboration with
the Croatian Institute of History

With the support of

the Croatian National Committee of Historical Sciences and
the Society for Croatian History



Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
University of Zagreb

12–14 April 2018

Between Three Seas: Borders, Migrations, Connections (The Third Biennial Conference of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network), University of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, 12–14 April 2018

**Organizing Committee**

Tomislav Galović
Hrvoje Gračanin
Marija Karbić
Zrinka Nikolić Jakus
Gordan Ravančić
Luka Špoljarić
Trpimir Vedriš

**Scientific Committee**

János M. Bak
Neven Budak
Borislav Grgin
Mirjana Matijević Sokol
Ivica Prlender
Katalin Szende

# Program

# Thursday, 12 April 2018

| 12:00–18:00 | **Registration and Information Desk / Bookstall** (Entrance Lobby-*Aula*) |

| 13:00–13:10 | **Welcoming Remarks** (Room: D7) |

Balázs Nagy, on behalf of the Steering Committee of the MECERN

Vesna Vlahović-Štetić, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Ivica Prlender, Head of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences's Department of History

| 13:10–14:00 | **Plenary Lecture** (Room: D7)<br>Chair: János M. Bak (Central European University) |

Neven Budak (University of Zagreb)
*The Third Europe: Nations, Borders, and Influences outside the Empires (9th–11th C.)*

| 14:00–14:30 | **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant) |

| 14:30–16:00 | **[1] Migrations I: Migration and the Cities** (Room: D1)<br>Chair: Judit Majorossy (University of Vienna) |

[1.1] Katalin Szende (Central European University)
*Guests and Hosts: Migration as a Diving Force of Urbanization in East-Central Europe*

[1.2] Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (University of Zagreb)—Marija Karbić (Croatian Institute of History)
*Immigration to Urban Settlements between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea (13th–15th Centuries): Comparative Approach*

[1.3] Bruno Škreblin (Croatian Institute of History)
*From Migrant to Citizen: Migrations in Gradec (Zagreb) in the Late Middle Ages*

[1.4] Matthias Hardt (University of Leipzig)
*Western Immigrants as Part of the High Medieval Territorial Expansion into Eastern Central Europe*

| 14:30–16:00 | **[2] Politics I: Performing Authority** (Room: D2)<br>Chair: Hrvoje Gračanin (University of Zagreb) |

[2.1] Christian Raffensperger (Wittenberg University)
*The Optics of Byzantine Blinding in Medieval Eastern Europe*

[2.2] Anna Kuznetsova (Russian Academy of Sciences)
*Towards the Development of the Image of St Stephen of Hungary*

[2.3] Márta Font (University of Pécs)
*Coloman the King of Galicia: The Problems of Coronation*

[2.4] Ivica Prlender (University of Zagreb)
*The Sacralization of the Republican Aristocratic Government: The Example of Dubrovnik*

| 16:00–16:30 | **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant) |

**16:30–18:00**          **[3] Borders I**  (Room: D1)
                         Chair: Neven Budak (University of Zagreb)

[3.1] Daniel Ziemann (Central European University)
*The Power of Dividing: The Border between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the Early Middle Ages (7th–10th Centuries)*

[3.2] Ryszard Grzesik (Polish Academy of Sciences)
*Did a Polish-Hungarian Border Close to Esztergom Exist?*

[3.3] András Vadas (Eötvös Loránd University / Central European University)
*Border by the River, but Where is the Water?*

[3.4] Bence Péterfi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
*Debates on Regulating Border Rivers in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of the River Mur(a)*


**16:30–18:00**          **[4] Politics II: Diplomatic Go-Betweens** (Room: D2)
                         Chair: Gordan Ravančić (Croatian Institute of History)

[4.1] Stephen Pow (Central European University)
*Refugees as Informants: The Role of Refugees in Disseminating Information about the Mongol Military and its Tactics*

[4.2] Nada Zečević (Royal Holloway University of London)
Notevole larghezza, notizie così gravi e gelose and un uomo che amava spacciarsi*: Diplomatic Exchange between King Alfonso V of Aragon, Byzantine Palaiologoi and Feudal Lords of the Balkans (1442–1458)*

[4.3] Robin Alexander Shields (Royal Holloway University of London)
*Feeding a City: The Trade in Cereals between Arta and Ragusa during the Reign of Carlo II Tocco (1429–1448)*


**18:00–19:00**          **General Meeting of the MECERN** (Room: D7)
                         Open to all the conference participants


**19:00–20:00**          **Wine Reception** (Basement Restaurant)

# Friday, 13 April 2018

**08:00–13:00**     **Registration and Information Desk / Bookstall** (Entrance Lobby-*Aula*)


**08:00–08:30**     **Morning Coffee** (Basement Restaurant)


**08:30–10:00**     **[5] Migrations II: Migrations and the Cities II** (Room: D1)
Chair: Fabian Kümmeler (University of Vienna)

[5.1] Irena Benyovsky Latin (Croatian Institute of History)
　　　　　—Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Croatian Institute of History)
*New Brethren in Town: The Antunini of Dubrovnik in the Ragusan sexterium of St Nicholas (15th Century)*

[5.2] Paweł Cembrzyński (Polish Academy of Sciences)
*Undeveloped and Deserted: Changes of Space Utilization in Medieval and Early Modern Town as Trace of Migration*

[5.3] Drahoslav Magdoško (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, Košice)
*Natives, Newcomers, and Membership of the Outer Council in Late Medieval Košice*

[5.4] Zoran Ladić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
*The Importance of East Adriatic Shore and its Urban Settlements as the Main Naval Route for Pilgrimaging from Venice and East Adriatic Communes to the* Terra sancta *and Other Pilgrim Shrines in the High and the Late Middle Ages*


**08:30–10:00**     **[6] The Diffusion of Renaissance Humanism** (Room: D2)
Chair: Borislav Grgin (University of Zagreb)

[6.1] Farkas Gábor Kiss (Eötvös Loránd University)
*The Textual Strategies of the Diffusion of Humanism: Vergerio, Vitéz, and the Classics (until 1454)*

[6.2] Dániel Pócs (Eötvös Loránd University)
*Florentine Renaissance Codices in Early Humanistic Libraries in Central Europe: The Case of György Handó and Johannes Roth*

[6.3] Luka Špoljarić (University of Zagreb)
*Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Eastward Diffusion of Renaissance Humanism: The Case of Juraj Benja and his Circle*


**10:00–10:30**     **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant)


**10:30–12:00**     **[7] Borders II** (Room: D1)
Chair: Balázs Nagy (Eötvös Loránd University / Central European University)

[7.1] Borislav Grgin (University of Zagreb)
*The Ottoman-Croatian Border at the End of the Middle Ages*

[7.2] Davor Salihović (University of Cambridge)
*Performativity of Borders and Bordering within the Late Medieval Borderscapes of Southeastern Europe*

[7.3] Dana-Silvia Caciur (Nicolae Iorga History Institute, Bucharest)
*The Morlachs of Dalmatia and the Venetian Settlement Policy during the 16th Century*

**10:30–12:00**       **[8] Mobility and Hospitality in Monastic Networks** (Room: D2)
                      Chair: Jadranka Neralić (Croatian Institute of History)

[8.1] Nicholas Youmans (TU Dresden)
*Rituals of Mobility and Hospitality in the Teutonic Knights*

[8.2] Philipp Stöver (TU Dresden)
*Medieval Voyages to Asia in the 13th and 14th Centuries*

[8.3] Cristina Andenna (TU Dresden)
*A Refugee in a Southern Italian Monastery: The Case of Giovanni da Caramola*


**12:00–13:00**       **Lunch Break** (Basement Restaurant)


**13:00–14:30**       **[9] Politics III: Aristocratic Strategies** (Room: D1)
                      Chair: Borislav Grgin (University of Zagreb)

[9.1] Gordan Ravančić (Croatian Institute of History)
*Control of the Roads as a Strategy of the Creation of the Feudal Possessions of the Krk Princes up to the Beginning of the 14th Century*

[9.2] Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (1 Decembrie 1918 University, Alba Iulia)
*Nobility and Office Holding in the Fourteenth-Century Hungary*

[9.3] Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen)
*'On Tour' from Aachen to Rome: King Sigismund and his Hungarian Entourage (1410s–1430s)*

[9.4] Ádám Novák (University of Debrecen)
*Polish* barones *in Hungary between 1440 and 1443*


**13:00–14:30**       **[10] Intellectuals I: Monastic Transfers** (Room: D2)
                      Chair: József Laszlovszky (Central European University)

[10.1] Emilia Jamroziak (University of Leeds)
*Monks Connected and Monks Disconnected: Perspective on the Monastic Networks in Medieval East-Central Europe*

[10.2] Kristian Bertović (Central European University)
*Monastic Migrations and Transfers: Connections between the Late Medieval Croatian and Polish Glagolites*

[10.3] Trpimir Vedriš (University of Zagreb)
*Friulian* liber vitae *and the Travelers from Central and Southeastern Europe*


**14:30–15:00**       **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant)


**15:00–16:30**       **[11] Politics IV: Narratives** (Room: D1)
                      Chair: Trpimir Vedriš (University of Zagreb)

[11.1] Jakub Izdný (Charles University, Prague)
*Widukind of Corvey: A Saxon Witness of a Slavic Mission?*

[11.2] Julia Verkholantsev (University of Pennsylvania)
*'The Land Named Charvaty' in Central European Mythistorical Imagination*

[11.3] Ivan Majnarić (Catholic University of Croatia)
*Molding the Past: The Angevins and the Croatian King Zvonimir*

**15:00–16:30**     **[12] Migrations III: Migrations and Politics** (Room: D2)
Chair: Gerhard Jaritz (Central European University)

[12.1] Beata Możejko (University of Gdańsk)—Błażej Śliwiński (University of Gdańsk)
*Exile and Return: Inhabitants of Gdansk towards the Actions of the Teutonic Knights in East Pomerania in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century*

[12.2] Sobiesław Szybkowski (University of Gdańsk)
*Victims of Political Choice: Noble Refugees from Dobrzyń Land in 1391/1392-1405 and Later*

[12.3] Beatrix Romhányi (Károli Gáspár Calvinist University, Budapest)
*Immigration and Internal Migration in the Late Medieval Hungarian Kingdom*

[12.4] Etleva Lala (Eötvös Loránd University)
*Fleeing from Albanian Customary Laws and Practices*


**16:30–17:00**     **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant)


**17:00–17:50**     **[13] Poster Session** (Room: D7)
Chair: Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (University of Zagreb)

[13.1] Anna Romsics (Central European University)
*Topography of the Jewish Quarters of Medieval Buda and Paris*

[13.2] Filip Vukuša (University of Zagreb)
*Galzigna and Calcina: The Lives of Two Families in the 13th- and 14th-Century Zadar*

[13.3] Zoran Turk (University of Zagreb)
*Frederick II of Cilli and the Beginnings of the Tradition of St Jerome in Štrigova*

[13.4] Olga Kalashnikova (Central European University)
*A Traveling Concept of the Renaissance: The Dawn of 'Bohemian Pre-Humanism'*

[13.5] Marko Radeljić (University of Zagreb)
*The Stone Coat of Arms of Medieval Šibenik*

[13.6] Tamás Ölbei (Université de Lorrain, Nancy)
*Crusade of the Great Companies of 1365*


**17:50–18:00**     **Short Break**


**18:00–19:00**     **Plenary Lecture** (Room: D7)
Chair: Borislav Grgin (University of Zagreb)

Paul W. Knoll (University of Southern California)
*The Fourteenth-Century G-6: Contacts, Cooperation, and Commonalities in East Central Europe*


**19:00–20:00**     **Wine Reception** (Basement Restaurant)

# Saturday, 14 April 2018

**08:00–13:00**        **Registration and Information Desk / Bookstall** (Entrance Lobby-*Aula*)

**08:00–08:30**        **Morning Coffee** (Basement Restaurant)

**08:30–10:00**        **[14] Politics and Religion in South-Eastern Europe between Conviction and Reality I** (Room: D1)
Chair: Damir Karbić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

[14.1] Neven Isailović (Institute of History, Belgrade)
—Suzana Miljan (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
*Adaptive Foreigners: Bosnian Nobility in Late Medieval Slavonia*

[14.2] Krisztina Arany (National Archives of Hungary)
*Economy as Driving Force in Medieval European Mobility: The Case of Flows of Migrants between Florence and Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century*

[14.3] Adrian Magina (Museum of the Highland Banat, Reşiţa)
*Far Away from Home: South Slavic People in Medieval and Early Modern Banat and Transylvania*

**08:30–10:00**        **[15] Serving the Pope in the Late Middle Ages: Legates and Collectors** (Room: D2)
Chair: Luka Špoljarić (University of Zagreb)

[15.1] Jadranka Neralić (Croatian Institute of History)
*Collecting Money for the Apostolic Chamber in the 14th-15th Century Dalmatia*

[15.2] Antonín Kalous (Palacký University Olomouc)
*Fifteenth-Century Papal Legates and their Travels*

[15.3] Andrea Bartocci (University of Teramo)
*Medieval Legal Books in the 15th-Century Central Europe: The Itinerant Library of Saint John of Capestrano*

**08:30–10:00**        **[16] Circulation of Widespread Texts in Late Medieval Central Europe** (Room: D3)
Chair: Václav Žůrek (Czech Academy of Sciences)

[16.1] Jaroslav Svátek (Czech Academy of Sciences)—Václav Žůrek (Czech Academy of Sciences)
*Presentation of the Project 'Transmission of Knowledge: The Fortune of Four Bestsellers in Late Medieval Czech Lands'*

[16.2] Pavlína Cermanová (Czech Academy of Sciences)
*The Readers and Interpreters of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets in Medieval Bohemia*

[16.3] Petra Waffner (FernUniversität in Hagen)
*The* Livre de Sidrac *(13th Cent.) and its Prophetical Discourse: Transferring Knowledge to the West*

[16.4] Vojtěch Bažant (Czech Academy of Sciences)
*European Knowledge as a Local Instrument: Martinus Polonus and Czech Medieval Historiography*

**10:00–10:30**        **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant)

**10:30–12:00**      **[17] Politics and Religion in South-Eastern Europe between Conviction and Reality II** (Room: D1)
Chair: Damir Karbić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

[17.1] Emir O. Filipović (University of Sarajevo)
*'Colluding with the Infidel': The Alliance between Ladislas of Naples and the Turks*

[17.2] Dženan Dautović (Independent Scholar)
*Turning a New Leaf: Kingdom of Bosnia and the Council of Constance (1414–1418)*

[17.3] Livia Magina (Museum of the Highland Banat, Reșița)
*New Policy, New Religion: Converting to Islam in Early Modern Transylvania*

**10:30–12:00**      **[18] Migrations IV: Italian Networks** (Room: D2)
Chair: Tomislav Galović (University of Zagreb)

[18.1] Katalin Prajda (University of Chicago)
*Friends of Friends: Florentine Networks and Migration in the Kingdom of Hungary (1387–1437)*

[18.2] Meri Kunčić (The Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, Zagreb)
*The Inhabitants of Late Medieval Dalmatian Commune of Rab Originating from Apennine Peninsula*

[18.3] Ante Birin (Croatian Institute of History)
*Ser Franciscus Aldobrandi de Florentia habitator Sibenici*

**10:30–12:00**      **[19] Art History and Material Culture I** (Room: D3)
Chair: József Laszlovszky (Central European University)

[19.1] Snežana Filipova (The Saints Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje)
*Early Christian Similarity in Artistic Models, Connections and Influences in the Case of Macedonia*

[19.2] Saša Čaval (Stanford University)—Ljubica Srdić (Institute for National and Cultural Heritage, Banja Luka)—Aleksandra Drinić (University of Glasgow)— Janko Vračar (Museum of Banja Luka)
*The Elephant in Bosnia: Animal Representations as Insights into Political and Cultural Dynamics of Medieval Bosnia and Hum*

**12:00–13:00**      **Lunch Break** (Basement Restaurant)

**13:00–14:30**      **[20] Politics and Religion in South-Eastern Europe between Conviction and Reality III** (Room: D1)
Chair: Damir Karbić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

[20.1] Goran Budeč (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
*Dalmatian Troops in the Peloponnese and the Crusades of 1463*

[20.2] Miloš Ivanović (Institute of History, Belgrade)
*The Militarization of Serbian State under the Ottoman Pressure*

[20.3] Florin-Nicolae Ardelean (Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)
*Mobility and Military Service in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: The Transylvanian Estates in the Conflict between Ferdinand of Habsburg and John Szapolyai*

**13:00–14:30**          **[21] Migrations V: Ethnic Minorities** (Room: D2)
                         Chair: Katalin Szende (Central European University)

[21.1] Niccolò Fattori (Royal Holloway University of London)
*The Genoese Connection: Structures and Peculiarities of the Chiot Migration to Ancona*

[21.2] Tomislav Matić (Catholic University of Croatia)
*The Expulsion of Germans from the Chapter of Zagreb in 1458*

[21.3] Cristian Gaşpar (Central European University)
*Naming the New Guys in Town: Onomastic Practices and Migration in Late Medieval Hungary*

**13:00–14:30**          **[22] Politics V: At the Frontier of Christendom** (Room: D3)
                         Chair: Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität in Hagen)

[22.1] Balázs Nagy (Eötvös Loránd University / Central European University)
*The Mongol Invasion and its Consequences in Thirteenth Century Central Europe*

[22.2] Benjámin Borbás (Eötvös Loránd University)
*English Participation in the Lithuanian Campaigns of the Teutonic Order*

[22.3] Silvija Pisk (University of Zagreb)
*The Migrations of the Population of Medieval Slavonia towards Burgenland: Moslavina and the Erdödy Family Properties*

[22.4] András Ribi (Eötvös Loránd University)
*Independence from Rhodes: The Priory of Vrana and the Hospitallers' Convent of Szekesfehervar in the 15th Century*

**14:30–15:00**          **Coffee Break** (Basement Restaurant)

**15:00–16:30**          **[23] Politics VI: Defining a Community** (Room: D1)
                         Chair: Marija Karbić (Croatian Institute of History)

[23.1] Antun Nekić (University of Zadar)
*The Power of Integration and the Power of (Noble) Community: Integrating in Slavonia in the Middle Ages*

[23.2] Dušan Zupka (Comenius University, Bratislava)
*Forms of Communication of Ruling Elites in Late Medieval Central Europe (Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, c. 1250–1350)*

[23.3] Uladzimir Kananovich (University of Warsaw)
*Commemorative Landscape of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Historical Memory, Topography and Social Identity in the Late Medieval Aristocratic Society*

**15:00–16:30**          **[24] Intellectuals II: On the Move** (Room: D2)
                         Chair: Luka Špoljarić (University of Zagreb)

[24.1] Igor Razum (Central European University)
*Migrating Masters: Examples of Scholarly Mobility in Medieval Central Europe*

[24.2] Gábor Barabás (University of Pécs)
*Papal Clerics in 13th-Century Hungary: Above and Within the Hungarian Church*

[24.3] Mária Fedorčáková (University of Prešov)
*The Intellectual Migration and Social Mobility in Bardejov in the Middle Ages*

[24.4] Peter Fedorčák (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, Košice)
*From England to Hungary and Back: Peregrination of the Humanist Leonard Cox*

**15:00–16:30**       **[25] Art History and Material Culture II** (Room: D3)
Chair: Zoë Opačić (Birkbeck University of London)

[25.1] Marta Graczyńska (National Museum in Kraków)
*Palimpsest or Stylistic Monolith? Comments on the Architecture until the End of the Eleventh Century in the Dominions of Přemyslid, Arpad and Piast*

[25.2] Béla Zsolt Szakács (Catholic University of Hungary)
*The Migration of Artists into and from Hungary in the Gothic Period*

[25.3] József Laszlovszky (Central European University)
*Cistercian Knowledge Transfer in Central Europe: Craftsman or Intellectuals. Architecture, Archaeology and the Written Evidence*


**17:45–18:00**       **Closing Remarks** (Croatian Institute of History; Opatička ul. 10)

Gordan Ravančić, on behalf of the Croatian Institute of History

Katalin Szende, on behalf of the Steering Committee of the MECERN


**18:00–**       **Closing Reception** (Croatian Institute of History; Opatička ul. 10)


# Sunday, 15 April 2018


**09:30–12:00**       **Tour of Medieval Zagreb**

Neven Budak (University of Zagreb) and Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (University of Zagreb)

# Abstracts

Cristina Andenna (TU Dresden – FOVOG)

## A Refugee in a Southern Italian Monastery: The Case of Giovanni da Caramola

During the 1330s, groups of religious persons belonging to the most radical line of spiritual Franciscans were forced to escape from Provence. A handful of them found shelter in the southern Italian territory of Lucania. Giovanni da Caramola probably belonged to this group of fugitives. He spent a part of his life as a hermit and was subsequently hosted in the Cistercian monastery of Sagittario by its hospitable and welcoming monks. His almost saintly presence helped their monastic community overcome the difficult economic crisis they were going through. The author will investigate the contemporary archival and later hagiographical sources to show how hospitality offered to a foreigner could be transformed into a resource for the hosting monastery.

Krisztina Arany (National Archives of Hungary)

## Economy as Driving Force in Medieval European Mobility: The Case of Flows of Migrants between Florence and Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century

The paper is an attempt to give an overview on economy-induced migration flows between Florence and Hungary in the first half of the fifteenth century. The two medieval states selected for analysis differed markedly in a number of diverse areas such as their economic situation or political and social structure. This regional diversity between the two states influenced also the possibilities and strategies of the waves of people moving between them. In the industrially and economically highly developed state of Florence, migrant flows promoted and controlled by the Florentine state, were closely linked to specific professional groups necessary for the Florentine economy. On the other hand, the mobility of economically prominent Florentine clusters in medieval Europe is traditionally a priority area of economic historical research and as a result we have an extensive knowledge of the features and patterns of Florentine entrepreneurs' presence in the trade and banking hubs of medieval Europe. On the contrary, mobility from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary towards Western Europe was mainly investigated in the case of students visiting universities, pilgrimages and diplomatic missions. This is at least partly due to availability of representative information preserved on them in the hosting institutions. This paper, based on the information of the Florentine Catasto of 1427, offers a glimpse into the economic-social circumstances in which these migrants, mainly artisans and unskilled servants coming from Hungary, found themselves. Finally, their knowledge of each other, the eventual forms of solidarity and features of their self-identification will be addressed.

Florin-Nicolae Ardelean (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

## Mobility and Military Service in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: The Transylvanian Estates in the Conflict between Ferdinand of Habsburg and John Szapolyai

After the battle of Mohács (29 August 1526) and the death of king Louis II Jagiello, the Hungarian crown was demanded by two candidates, John Szapolyai and Ferdinand I of Habsburg. The two pretenders engaged in military conflict that divided the remaining Hungarian kingdom into two rival states. It was not uncommon for those who took part in this conflict to change sides several times and the Transylvanian Estates made no exception. The aim of this presentation is to analyze the way in which the Transylvanian Estates performed their military obligations during the first phase of the civil war (1527-1531). During this rather short period, Transylvanian troops were involved in several military campaigns (for example the expedition against Jován Cserni from April-Jully 1527), pitched battles (the Battle of Feldioara 22 June 1529) and sieges (Braşov from October 1529). While the events of this period are well documented and have been analyzed by several historians in the previous decades, the structure of the army and other aspects of military organization have received little

attention. Thus, our main objective is to clarify some of these aspects: the persistence of the insurrection of the nobility, peasant military conscription, the increased importance of mercenary service, war contributions (taxes, supply, weapons etc.) and lastly the aspect of mobility as it was tied into military service.

Gábor Barabás (University of Pécs)

## Papal Clerics in the 13th-Century Hungary: Above and Within the Hungarian Church

This presentation deals with a special organization of the medieval papal Curia, the personal chapel of the popes, and thus the research focuses on their members' activity in Hungary in the 13th century. The papal subdeacons and chaplains played a significant role in the operations of the Apostolic See, e.g. they functioned beside the cardinals in a growing number as legates, and they had their fair share of the work of the papal chancellery, chamber, and penitentiary as well. Nevertheless, the papal clerics were to be found also outside the apostolic court. As elsewhere, they appeared in two separate ways in Hungary: Their first major group was formed by the members of the papal chapel, who only visited the Church's regions authorized with special mandates for various kinds of tasks. They had to deal mostly with diplomatic affairs or with questions of church-government and discipline. The second category consisted on one hand of a group with special status, the papal subdeacons, while on the other hand certain members of the Hungarian clergy received the office of the (honorary) papal chaplain from the popes as a reward for their services. In the presentation, several characteristic persons from both major groups will be briefly introduced in order to answer the questions: which patterns can be discovered in the clerics' careers, did they realize that they belonged to the same ecclesiastical group within the Hungarian church, did they cooperate, or they were not aware of their unity at all?

Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen)

## 'On Tour' from Aachen to Rome: King Sigismund and his Hungarian Entourage (1410s-1430s)

I am seeking to explore how the mainstream developments of later medieval Western European aristocracy affected Hungarian higher nobility, especially in the field of representation and status. The roots of the change in self-consciousness and behavioral development can be traced back to royal visits to Western European courts. King Sigismund of Luxemburg set out on a long journey at the beginning of the 1410s, through almost all of Western Europe. Before finally retiring to his home of Bohemia in the mid-1430s, his itinerant court visited diverse places from Bosnia and Lombardy through Aragon and Siena to Rome and Wallachia. The members of his Hungarian entourage, mainly a new generation of *homo novus* magnates, escorted him from the Flemish cities through the siege of Golubac to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket. They were the first ones in Hungarian baronial society to become acquainted firsthand with the Western European aristocratic way of life and mentality. Throughout this "European mobility" these "itinerant" barons, active in foreign service, would have learnt mostly of Central European, South German aristocratic patterns of way of life. A thin layer of the Hungarian landowners had started to get "europeanized". The paper investigates the progress of status consciousness in the spheres of material culture and lifestyle.

Andrea Bartocci (University of Teramo)

## Medieval Legal Books in the 15th Century Central Europe: The Itinerant Library of Saint John of Capestrano

Shortly before his death in the Franciscan convent at Ilok (October 23, 1456) on the border between Croatia and Serbia, John of Capestrano expressed the will that his goods (including his books) be brought back to the Franciscan convent of his native town. After his death, his goods were inventoried (December 3, 1456) and among them many legal books were found – not only collections of canon law

(Decretum Gratiani, Liber Extra of Gregory IX, Liber Sextus of Boniface VI and Constitutiones Clementinae), but also anonymous legal *commentaria*. From 1451 John of Capestrano, who had studied civil and canon law at the University of Perugia before entering the Franciscan Order (1416), used these legal books during his mission at the service of the Holy See in many towns of Central Europe. In particular, he quoted these legal texts in his sermons and treatises composed during his last years. Presently, in the Franciscan convent of Capestrano there are 64 manuscripts belonging to the saint. During my presentation I will show to the audience some images of these legal books.

Vojtěch Bažant (Czech Academy of Sciences)

## European Knowledge as a Local Instrument: Martinus Polonus and Czech Medieval Historiography

Since *Chronicon imperatorum et pontificum* by Martin Polonus can be described as one of the Middle Ages' bestsellers, it disseminated widely in Bohemia as well; dozens of manuscripts are extant in Czech libraries. They originate from the 14th and the 15th centuries and a few of them from the end of the 13th century. Apart from Latin copies of the chronicle, there were also several vernacular adaptations of the chronicle written in the Czech Lands. While the Latin text was copied continuously during the Late Middle Ages, Czech vernacular adaptations are dated to the 15th century. In my paper, I will focus firstly on the general function of the chronicle in codices of Czech provenance. In the spotlight there will be codices of historiographical contents and the position of the chronicle in other contexts will serve as a significant contrasting instrument. Secondly, I will examine authorial strategies having an impact on the process of creating Czech vernacular adaptions. A comparison of three universal chronicles based on the chronicle by Martin Polonus enables us to analyze the individual and general paths of a treatment of the original text employed in each adaptation.

Irena Benyovsky Latin (Croatian Institute of History) – Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Croatian Institute of History)

## New Brethren in Town: The Antunini of Dubrovnik in the Ragusan sexterium of St Nicholas (15th century)

This paper discusses the residential distribution of members of the elite St Anthony's confraternity in the Ragusan sexterium of St Nicholas during the 15th century. The sexterium of St Nicholas (as well as the zone along the main city street *Placa*) was communal property in Ragusa since the late 13th century. It was planned for the short- and long-term leases, making the housing and work space available for the growing population, mostly artisans and merchants (many of them newcomers). The socio-topographical analysis of members of the St Anthony confraternity in this part of Dubrovnik shows their social and spatial networking, economic activity, family ties and business liaisons. The paper also locates the property of the St. Anthony confraternity in this area. The research is based on the Ragusan *Books of communal real property* from the 15th century, the notarial book on real estate sales (*Venditiones*), as well as the confraternity register and genealogical reconstructions of the *Antunini* families.

Kristian Bertović (Central European University)

## Monastic Migrations and Transfers: Connections Between the Late Medieval Croatian and Polish Glagolites

Glagolitic monks of medieval Croatia and Dalmatia represent one of the biggest regional peculiarities within the "Latin" Christendom. The Glagolitic script and the Croatian variant of Old Church Slavonic, and the vernacular Croatian, went far beyond liturgical purposes and were used in ordinary record keeping and communication. With the (re)introduction of Glagolitism in Bohemia, and subsequently

in Poland (initiated by Charles IV) in the second half and late fourteenth century, initially carried out by the Dalmatian/Croatian Glagolites, new two-way communication paths opened. Already by the early fifteenth century, changes and influences can be attested within the several aspects of monastic life, ranging from the liturgical texts and monastic calendar to the administrative and economic organization of the monasteries. Thus, the aim of this paper is to track those changes, the context in which they occurred, and the agents of their transmission. It will focus on the possible changes within the Pauline and Franciscan third order, two major Glagolitic orders in the late medieval Dalmatia and Croatia. The case study of Father Stanislav, vicar of the Pauline monastery of St. Nicholas near Gvozd, will be highlighted as an example of how both knowledge transfer and personal migration could deeply influence a religious community.

Ante Birin (Croatian Institute of History)

## Ser Franciscus Aldobrandi de Florentia Habitator Sibenici (15th Century)

The importance of the eastern Adriatic coast in the commercial network system of the Mediterranean was one of the main factors for the development of commercial links, together with cultural ones, between the two coasts of the Adriatic. During the whole of the Middle Ages those links were very strong and most visible in the intense flow of men and goods in both directions. Regarding that fact, it is understandable that immigrants from Italy were the largest group of foreigners in Dalmatian cities which became, since the beginning of the 14th century, their most frequent commercial destination and workplace. Although the majority of these immigrants were naturally from the territory of the Republic of Venice - which from the 12th century held the city of Zadar under its rule and with varying success sought to subdue other cities - migratory movements included also the inhabitants of many other Italian cities, including Florence. In the 15th century their presence in the Dalmatian cities was however rare and it was not unexpected that in the city of Šibenik at that time we find only one prominent citizen of Florence – *ser Francis de Aldobrandi de Florentia*. This businessman was not only a merchant but also a creditor, a municipal tax contractor and landowner. His business activities, recorded in the Šibenik notarial documents, provide a useful database for research on the economic activities and integration of foreigners in the social and economic life of the city of Šibenik.

Benjámin Borbás (Eötvös Loránd University)

## English Participation in the Lithuanian Campaigns of the Teutonic Order

In my paper I will discuss the many-sided and ever-changing relationship between the Teutonic Order and the Kingdom of England in the Late Middle Ages. Their common history can be traced back to Holy Land and to the age of the early Crusades. Through centuries the Kingdom of England supported the Teutonic Order by different means: money, diplomatic aid and crusaders. The fourteenth century can be seen as the zenith of English–Teutonic cooperation which culminated in the well-known phenomenon of the so-called *Reise* (military campaigns). By studying the history of these campaigns, one can find close connections with major political events going on in Europe. By providing a constant flow of crusaders into the Baltic region, European nobility acted together for a common goal. In this sense the *Reise* can be regarded as a form and manifestation of international connections and cooperation. However, against the interests of the Teutonic Order, long-term or latent political conflicts could remerge in tense situations. These diplomatic, commercial and economic issues seriously affected the number of crusaders and thus led to the decline of the Teutonic Knights in the fifteenth century. My paper will address the involvement of England in these events. At the same time, the *Reise* offered Englishmen an opportunity for social advancement. We know that certain members of Henry of Bolingbroke's retinue gained high positions in government following a Prussian expedition. During his reign, his trustworthy followers provided the stability of the Lancastrian dynasty. Preparation for the *Reise*, the hardships of travelling and common fighting experiences created strong cohesion and trust between participants. In this way, *Reise* could be used as a social

capital. In 1394, despite its long history, English participation in these activities suddenly came to an end. Besides examining the relationship of England and Prussia, I will focus on answering the possible reasons for the end of English *Reisen* and the change in attitude towards crusading in Baltics.

Goran Budeč (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

## Dalmatian Troops in the Peloponnese and the Crusades of 1463

Prompted by Ottoman penetration into the Balkan Peninsula and the south-east of Europe, Christian countries and the Papacy invested effort in the creation of an anti-Ottoman alliance. Fearing that Sultan Mehmed II intended to attack Rome and, after his conquest of Constantinople, unite his rule over both Christian capitals, Pope Pius II, with the support of the Republic of Venice whose possessions on the Peloponnese and on the eastern coast of the Adriatic were particularly threatened, proclaimed a crusade. Somewhat before the initial proclamation in February 1463, the Venetian Senate ordered the Dalmatian cities of Zadar, Šibenik and Trogir to arm and send galleys as part of a Venetian expedition fleet of 30 ships. Due to the lack of diplomatic sources revealing the participation of Dalmatian galleys at the beginning and in the first operations of the crusade, only occasional notes in different testaments of participants reveal a certain amount of fragmentary information. On the basis of the research of Roberto Lopez, and the case example of galleys from the commune of Šibenik, this presentation will take a closer look at fifteenth-century Dalmatian crusaders, identifying the commanders, possible troops, name of ships, potential places of burial for those who lost their lives, and when possible, giving an overview of material objects carried by them to the Peloponnese.

Dana-Silvia Caciur (Nicolae Iorga History Institute, Bucharest)

## The Morlachs of Dalmatia and the Venetian Settlement Policy During the 16th Century

In the context of the Ottoman offensive towards the northwest of the Balkan Peninsula, the Morlach communities of Dalmatia increased in numbers and forced Venice to include them among the newcomers that were searching for new places to live in the Venetian territories. The Venetian sources emphasize three different situations concerning the settlement of the Morlachs. In the first situation, Morlachs were transferred to Istria, granted with exemptions, lands and some privileges. The second situation was represented by the exceptional case of the *morlacchi istriani* settled in the hinterland of Zadar, after a failed attempt at settlement in Istria. The third possible situation of the Morlachs' establishment in the Venetian state is highlighted by their involvement in the exploitation of the abandoned villages in the Venetian-Ottoman border area. This last situation is more an example of unpleasant compromise between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire. The Morlachs' status differed in each case and this allows us to understand the significance of a border population, beneficial for a "good neighborhood" (*per vicinar bene*) and its survival.

Saša Čaval (Stanford University) – Ljubica Srdić (Institute for National and Cultural Heritage, Banja Luka) – Aleksandra Drinić (University of Glasgow) – Janko Vračar (Museum of Banja Luka)

## The Elephant in Bosnia: Animal Representations as Insights into Political and Cultural Dynamics of Medieval Bosnia and Hum

Stećci are medieval tombstones dispersed throughout the landscapes of Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, and particularly Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The evidence suggests they first appeared in the 12th century and were in use for the following four centuries. They characterize a specific funerary phenomenon and represent a unique interdigitating of traditions, religions, artistic and aesthetic

expressions, as well as languages. The number of these monuments is staggering: over 72,000 stećci are currently listed in the Western Balkans, with more than 60,000 found in BiH alone. Stećci synthesized the historical, cultural and religious components of the medieval Western Balkans, and they bear witness to aspects of life and death, symbolism and reality. Approximately 10% of stećci bear decorations and epitaphs with their iconographies demonstrating continuity with medieval Europe at large, as well as unique local traditions. In addition to epitaphs in Glagolitic script, the decorations in low relief consist of abstract motifs, celestial bodies, human & animal figures, weaponry, floral decorations, etc. In the spirit of classical Romanesque phantasmagorias, reminiscence and allegorical representations, the plethora of figural compositions on stećci is rich. In this paper we will be focusing on the representations of animals, which symbolize various religious, cosmic and esoteric contexts of medieval Bosnian and Hum society. BiH was central, and simultaneously remote enough, to have had meaningful relationships with nearby and distant countries from very early on, and to preserve a degree of isolation, which allowed the country to have a unique culture and traditions. The flux of ideas to, through and from Bosnia is obvious when we grasp all the networks that conveyed the image of an elephant to a stečak in Baljvine, south of Banja Luka. Through selected animal depictions, we look into the political and/or cultural dynamics of medieval BiH.

Paweł Cembrzyński (Polish Academy of Sciences)

## Undeveloped and Deserted: Changes of Space Utilization in Medieval and Early Modern Town as Trace of Migration

Immigration was crucial for development of towns in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. All sort of people were settling down and changing the townscape inside its walls. The aim of this presentation is to explore if migration is visible in changes of land utilization especially in peripheral areas within the city walls. To answer that question, I will compare archaeological and written sources to localize „empty spaces" – undeveloped and deserted areas in the townscape – and establish chronological changes in those spaces. I will analyze Central European towns. Newly chartered medieval towns did not acquire their final form immediately. A regular layout (grid plan) initially employed in those towns was easy to extend according to the needs of new settlers. For example, in Wrocław (in Lower Silesia) the plots around the market square were inhabited first. Newcomers received plots behind the existing ones until all the available land inside town borders was shared out among burghers. Town boundaries were extended subsequently, but new parts differed considerably in layout and function from the central area. It seems that the city council tried to avoid having deserted areas inside the city walls and forced owners to keep it inhabited. Deserted areas were rather visible only in towns that suffered large scale depopulation due to epidemics or economic crises. I will try to show that medieval town landscapes were not static and densely built up but rather dynamic and shaped by human migrations and interactions.

Pavlína Cermanová (Czech Academy of Sciences)

## The Readers and Interpreters of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets in Medieval Bohemia

In my paper I will focus on the dissemination of the *Secretum secretorum* in medieval Bohemia as well as the mechanism of its transmission. I will analyze the variety of readings and interpretations of this text based on different social, confessional and cultural backgrounds. The *Secretum secretorum* formally represents a fictitious letter sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great to provide him with advice on good government and with general knowledge that would increase his authority as a ruler and his charisma. Thus, a unique compendium of knowledge combining an encyclopedic handbook and a mirror of princes came into existence. Due to its thematic scope, *Secretum secretorum* was among the most widely read texts of the Middle Ages; it also found a strong reception in the Bohemian milieu, where this treatise or parts thereof have been preserved in more than 30 Latin manuscripts, at least two German translations and three translations into Czech. Eight Latin commentaries on the text

are also known at present. As for the textual transmission of *Secretum* in the Bohemian milieu, we can find not only whole calligraphic transcripts, but also fragments or short excerpts written down for immediate use or out of curiosity. This leads us to believe that the text was a part of a developing knowledge tradition and the strata of its readers were diversifying and developing; as a result the text was used and received on various levels.

Marius Chelcu (Romanian Academy of Science, Institutul de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol")

## Armenians in Moldova Between Privileges and Constraints

There is evidence of the presence of Armenians in the territory between the Carpathian Mountains, the Dniester and the Black Sea, before the mid 14th century. After 1359, when the Moldavian Principality appeared in this area, the evidence of an Armenian presence increased. We have epigraphic testimonies and inscriptions on church books before the 15th century, and from the first years of the 15th century we see the first acts issued by the Moldavian authorities, granting economic privileges to the merchants from the Polish city Lemberg (nowadays Lwov). Among those merchants were many Armenians. Also, at the beginning of the 15th century, appear the first acts issued by the Moldavian authorities guaranteeing the Armenians who lived in Moldova freedom of religion and the recognition of their church. The Moldavian Lords were interested in encouraging the establishment of Armenians in Moldavian cities, since the Armenians, besides being merchants, were also good craftsmen. The richest Armenians were involved in the spice trade, and some were specialized in the trade of livestock. As far as craftsmen are concerned, Moldavian Armenians have specialized in processing animal skins, harnesses and luxury footwear. As a result, it was evident the interest of the lords in supporting the colonization of the Armenians in the cities of the principality was almost constant during the 15th-18th centuries. However, at the same time, there were also moments of religious and economic intolerance against the Armenians. The worst of such actions occurred in the mid-16th century. The research aims at following and explaining the fragile balance between privileges and constraints that marked the existence of Armenians living in Moldavia during the 15th-18th centuries.

Dženan Dautović (Independent Scholar)

## Turning a New Leaf: Kingdom of Bosnia and the Council of Constance (1414-1418)

The Council of Constance is usually considered to be one of the most important events of the beginning of the fifteenth century. From the point of view of church history, it marked the beginning of an end to the Great Western Schism, and at the same time the beginning of the conciliar movement in the Roman church. From the point of view of the history of East Central Europe, the trial and execution of Jan Hus marked the beginning of the Hussite Wars in Bohemia. Some authors have even claimed that this Council marked the start of nationalism among European contemporary states. The Council of Constance also marked the beginning of a new phase in the relations between the Bosnian kingdom and the Roman curia. In the previous decades the contacts between Bosnia and Papacy were so scarce that we can almost claim that the period between 1373 and 1415 was another breakdown of communications. This paper will be divided in two parts. The first will regard the presence of the Bosnian queen and emissaries at Constance, based mostly on the *Chronicle* by Ulrich of Richental and some diplomatic materials. The second part will deal with the aftermath of Constance, when the Bosnian ruling family, the Kotormanići, began to lean toward the Roman church, while the popes finally began to recognize this kingdom and see the family as potentially valuable allies against the Ottoman conquerors in the Balkans.

Niccolò Fattori (Royal Holloway University of London)

## The Genoese Connection: Structures and Peculiarities of the Chiot Migration to Ancona

During the sixteenth century, the city of Ancona saw an influx of migrants coming from Greek-speaking areas of the Adriatic-Ionian-Aegean region who tried to profit from the growing market that had opened for the sale of hides coming from Central Europe. While most of them came from the territories held by Venice or the Ottoman Empire, a significant portion hailed from the island of Chios which remained in Genoese hands until 1566. The arrival and settlement of the Chiots in Ancona was a process of chain migration, deeply influenced by the island's history as a Genoese *maona* (i.e. a private juridical subject owned by a company of ship owners), by the integration of its Greek nobility with the Latin ruling class, and by the existence of strong extended family ties. Unlike many migrants coming from Venetian or Ottoman territories, who were mostly small groups of closely related male professionals, the Chiots reached Ancona in larger clusters of families belonging to the same extended network they had formed on their native island. They tended to remain in the city for a few years before being replaced by a male relative. Another important characteristic of their residence was their limited reliance on the organized manifestations of the Greek presence in Ancona (such as the Greek confraternity of Sant'Anna), and their strong connections with the local Genoese community. While the Chiots were in fact part of the wider Greek community of the city, they always maintained a distinct local identity, which manifested itself in the peculiar structure of the social networks they established once in Ancona.

Peter Fedorčák (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, Košice)

## From England to Hungary and Back: Peregrination of the Humanist Leonard Cox

The humanist Leonard Cox (c. 1495 – c. 1549) was originally educated in England and then traveled through the East-Central Europe, studying and lecturing at many universities, with an especially long time at the University of Kraków. The topic of this paper is to present the life and work of this humanist scholar and teacher on his way through Europe, and to place him in the network of humanists in this region. On the map of his European journey we find the universities of Tübingen, possibly Paris, and Prague. Regarding his life many things are still obscure, but his Polish-Hungarian period is well known. Cox spent important time of his scholarly life in Kraków within the circle of humanists, typographers and the most influential people in the city and kingdom, some of them patrons of humanists. During this time, he spent five years in Hungary (1520 – 1525) as a schoolmaster in Levoča and Košice. Moving on the old trade routes, Cox found it useful to take this position, far away from his noble patrons. Also, Cox made the long journey towards Protestantism, his conversion taking place after his return to England. The ties with his homeland remained intact during his stay in Central Europe. For example, Cox was involved in the "correspondence" between Martin Luther and King Henry VIII. When Cox returned to England, its Church and also the "Humanist Republic" in England were changing. The patronage and friendship he enjoyed with the last Abbot of Reading, Hugh Cook Faryngdon, ended with Faryngdon's execution and Cox moved to the periphery of the English intellectual world.

Mária Fedorčáková (University of Prešov)

## The Intellectual Migration and Social Mobility in Bardejov in the Middle Ages

The purpose of the paper is to present the migration of the intellectuals in Bardejov, and their careers and paths to the urban elite. Bardejov developed during Middle Ages as a free royal town and an important merchant center in the northeastern border area of the Hungarian Kingdom. The town, as a part of the trade network, played an important role in the economy of the region. The educational nucleus of the town was represented by the parish church and the city school. The intellectuals were concentrated in positions around the urban clergy, the schoolteachers and the town council. This paper focuses on the academic peregrination of the students from Bardejov and the postgraduate careers of the domestic and foreign intellectuals settled in the town. Special attention is paid to the University of Cracow and its connections with towns in the northern region of the Kingdom. On the example of Valentin Eck, the author demonstrates the role of this well-educated humanist in the administration of the late medieval town. Some positions in the town administration had a strong impact on the professional development of the town government's employees. The paper discusses the main features of professional and social mobility in the town.

Snežana Filipova (The Saints Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje)

## Early Christian Similarity in Artistic Models, Connections and Influences in the Case of Macedonia

Analyzing the decoration of the Early Christian sculpture, mosaics and frescoes preserved on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, where the 5th and 6th C. churches prevail; it becomes obvious that the repertoire of applied motifs begins to spread from one medium into another, from one type of sculpture into another, as well as from mosaics into sculpture and from sculpture into frescoes. It seems to be part of the general process that goes on within the Byzantine Empire, in order to strike the unification of the decoration on the level of semiotics, helped by applied colors, and thus, to resound the importance of certain motifs that are repeated many times within one object-the cross, flora and the fauna the inhabits the paradise (small birds, peacocks, sheep, cross and leaved cross, water spring, rivers of paradise, human figures under arches as indication of paradise architecture etc). The meaning of some of the compositions and pair of animals within the mosaics, frescoes and sculpture is either indicating salvation of the soul, her journey to heaven, or has baptismal and Eucharistic meaning. The artistic models applied in architecture differs from those applied in paintings and sculpture. At the episcopal cities basilicas prevail, while the small centers use one nave churches with single apse and sometimes annexes. The mosaics in certain cities/region show common places and sometimes the work of same workshops that can be traced in the neighboring regions. Fresco paintings and reliefs/plates usually show the most universal topics and standard execution. Still, there are works of art with no direct analogies, like the Vinica plates.

Emir O. Filipović (University of Sarajevo)

## 'Colluding with the Infidel': The Alliance between Ladislas of Naples and the Turks

In October 1392, King Ladislas of Naples sent letters and an embassy to the court of the Ottoman sultan, Bayezid, offering an alliance against their common enemy – Sigismund of Luxembourg. According to the 'indecent proposal', the 'unholy alliance' was supposed to be sealed and strengthened by a marriage between King Ladislas himself and an unnamed daughter of the sultan. Despite the fact that the wedding never took place, messengers were exchanged, and an alliance did materialize. It was

manifested through military cooperation between Ladislas' Balkan supporters and the Ottoman marcher lords who undertook joint attacks on the subjects of King Sigismund and their territories. Although mentioned briefly in passing, this incredible episode and the resulting alliance have never been analyzed in depth by historians. Attempting to shed some light on the topic in general, this paper will assess the marriage policy of the Ottoman sultans as a diplomatic tool in the achievement of their strategic goals, as well as the perceived outrage that news of the potential marriage caused among the adversaries of King Ladislas. Apart from studying the language of the letters, which extended beyond simple formalities, the presentation will also explore the practical effects and consequences of this collusion between Ladislas and the Turks on the overall political situation in the Balkans in the last decade of the fourteenth and first decade of the fifteenth century. Understanding this strategic alliance properly will help us to understand better the actions and behavior of those involved in the struggle for supremacy in the Balkans at the time, and will hopefully allow us to create a clearer image of the events which shaped the political landscape of the region for decades to come.

## Márta Font (University of Pécs)

## Coloman the King of Galicia: The Problems of Coronation

The date and location the coronation of Coloman (d. 1241) are not once mentioned in the known sources, yet, it cannot be doubted that this event happened. Even certain circumstances of it are known thanks to four charters: two letters of Andrew II written to Pope Innocent III, a diploma of Honorius III and a donation of the Hungarian king to Demeter of the Aba genus, one of the officials of the newly crowned Coloman. The latter two sources were issued long after the event (in 1222 and 1234). They do not reveal the location or the date, yet, they confirm the fact of the enthronement. The author analyzes the abovementioned charters and also questions about the coronation of Coloman's Polish wife.

## Cristian Gaşpar (Central European University)

## Naming the New Guys in Town: Onomastic Practices and Migration in Late-Medieval Hungary

The present paper intends to explore the possible links between certain types of personal names and the status of their bearers as newcomers to late-medieval urban and rural settlements of the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary in the sixteenth century. The onomastic material under discussion comes from tax lists and registers compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Hungarian and Ottoman authorities of settlements located in a geographic area which, after its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, was administered as the *sancaks* of Csanád/Cenad and Gyula. My investigation will focus on several types of Slavic, Hungarian, and Romanian onomastic material, such as proper names derived from common nouns that may have also functioned as technical terms indicating migrant status (e.g., *Došlac/Doselac, Prešlac/Preselac, Prebeg/Pribek/Pribeag, Pripăşit*), proper names derived from ethnonyms (e. g., *Hrvat/Horvát, Rác, Ugar/Ugrin, Vlah/Oláh*), and proper names derived from toponyms (e. g., *Sremac, Baranyai, Szegedi, Temesvári, Turuzsdi, Pordán/Párdán/Párdáni*, etc.). Approaching such onomastic data from a linguistic perspective, I will suggest that its use in historical research should place less emphasis on its potential as evidence of displacement of one ethnic group by others, since the link between proper names and 'ethnic' identity is much more complex and problematic than is allowed sometimes by modern historiographic discourse. Further research would benefit, I believe, by a detailed investigation of names derived from toponyms, which, if properly contextualized, may provide useful evidence for reconstructing routes of internal migration.

Marta Graczyńska (National Museum in Kraków)

## Palimpsest or Stylistic Monolith? Comments on the Architecture until the End of the Eleventh Century in the Dominions of Přemyslid, Arpad and Piast

One of the most important research problems for researchers of Central European art developing between the tenth and eleventh century is the identification of a cultural circle that could had influenced the work being studied. The task is particularly difficult as we do not have written sources indicating the name of the artist or explaining directly the idea of the founder. The only possibility is to thoroughly analyze the piece of art itself. The new architecture in the dominions of Přemyslid, Arpad and Piast dynasties emerged during the first century after the adoption of Christianity in their respective states. It is a visible sign of a need to guarantee places of worship. For a long period of time, research was conducted on how the emerging architecture was shaped, with attention paid to the policies of individual rulers or the centers from which Christian missionaries came. An example is the case of the cathedral in Poznan, Poland (from ca. 1000), or a discussion of Byzantine influences on central buildings and the origins of the three-nave basilica without transepts. At the same time, the Panofsky iconology and an in-depth analysis of forms were not sufficiently utilized. By understanding the inner coherence of the work (in the case of architecture: a solid, a form and a space) we are able to identify the social and cultural processes that created it. Often these processes were accompanied by and related to the travels of individuals. Thanks to them, art, and especially the architecture of Central Europe, is not homogenous but differentiated formally and artistically.

Borislav Grgin (University of Zagreb)

## The Ottoman-Croatian Border at the End of the Middle Ages

In this paper I will try to analyze several questions. In which context did the Ottoman-Croatian border emerge and how did it change up to 1527? What kind of border was it? Was it an impenetrable barrier or a fluid and only occasionally sealed obstacle? Did it prevent the transfer of peoples, ideas, goods and information from one side to the other? In this context, what was the role of the defensive system or offensive outposts on both sides? Besides this, I would like to raise the question of symbolic significance of this border. For contemporaries on both sides, was this border primarily perceived as a border between states, religions, ethnic or national groups, or as a border between civilizations? The analysis will cover the period between 1458 and 1527 and it will focus on medieval Croatia, south of the Kupa and Sava rivers. This is the territory that experienced significant demographic and economic losses during the period in question. Usually it was, and mainly still is, perceived in Croatian historiography as a period which witnessed the collapse of all medieval social and economic structures, coupled with demographic catastrophe. This overall evaluation has been to a certain degree strengthened by research done by several recent Croatian authors. On the other hand, some younger Croatian scholars of Ottoman studies place these assumptions under question to a certain degree. In conclusion, the attempt will be made to summarize the main answers to the questions and points raised in the paper.

Ryszard Grzesik (Polish Academy of Sciences)

### Did a Polish-Hungarian Border Close to Esztergom Exist?

The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle defines the Polish-Hungarian border on the line of the Danube close to Esztergom, moving eastward to Eger, and then continuing on the River Cepla (Topľa, Tapoly) to Castrum Salis, identified with a stronghold Varheď (Várhegy) in Prešov, where the borders of Poland, Hungary and Rus' met. There was a long tradition of Slovakia belonging to Poland, starting with Gallus Anonymus' account of the Polish-Hungarian wars in the time of Bolesław the Brave and the southern border of Poland on the Danube. I would like to analyze these pieces of information and try to explain what exactly the line described in the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle was.

Matthias Hardt (University of Leipzig)

## Western Immigrants as Part of the High Medieval Territorial Expansion into Eastern Central Europe

Following the military conquest of West-Slavic regions in the first half of the 12th century, which had been driven in part by crusade propaganda, many immigrants, particularly from the Netherlands and the Rhineland but also from Franconia and Saxony, participated in the economic and social restructuring of the cultural landscape of eastern central Europe between the 12th and the 14th centuries. The colonization of virgin territory, in which the local indigenous population also participated, resulted in the introduction of new methods of land management and a new type of urban structure. As a result of this process of change, promoted by the political authorities, the autochthonous West-Slavic inhabitants, particularly of central and eastern Germany, often relinquished their language and material culture.

Neven Isailović (Institute of History, Belgrade) – Suzana Miljan (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

## Adaptive Foreigners: Bosnian Nobility in Late Medieval Slavonia

Throughout the medieval period, Bosnia was considered a part of the "Commonwealth" of the Realm of St. Stephen, at least by the kings of Hungary who, however, failed to impose their direct rule over this South Slavic state in the Balkans. On many occasions Bosnian nobles, and sometimes even rulers, who chose to be allies or confidants of kings received estates in the Kingdom, most commonly in Slavonia. Since the time of Ban Borić (twelfth century) up until the twilight of medieval Bosnian state (in the second half of the fifteenth century), the members of the Bosnian elite, driven away from their own land due to changes in political circumstances or rewarded for their services to the powerful neighboring kingdom, continued their life north of the river Sava. Sharing the same language and similar customs to the majority of domestic population in Slavonia, their adaption to the new environment was usually swift and easy. Although they did bring along some of their own countrymen when they relocated, within a generation they would blend in, becoming fully adapted members of Slavonian nobility with the corresponding social rank. This presentation will mainly focus on the examples of various branches of the Hrvatinić family (the fourteenth century), the Raupović family (the fifteenth century) and the Hercegović-Kosača family (late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries), whose estates were located in the county of Križevci. Extant sources will be analyzed regarding these nobles' family lives, estates and relations with immediate neighbors.

Miloš Ivanović (Institute of History, Belgrade)

## The Militarization of Serbian State under the Ottoman Pressure

After the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 Serbian territories were under strong Ottoman pressure. Their rulers soon became Turkish vassals. In such circumstance they endeavored to fulfill their obligations to the Sultan and to strengthen defense of their states. For these purposes, the ruling families, the Lazarević and Branković, introduced new taxes during the last decade of fourteenth century. Furthermore, Despot Stefan Lazarević (1389-1427) established different type of military service which indicates that he put emphasis on the defense of country's borders. The preserved charters indicate that possessions of monasteries were not exempt from some of the new obligations. Based on archeological material and written sources, it can be concluded that Serbian rulers paid great attention to the construction and restoration of fortresses. That was significant because the Serbian army was not big enough to stand against the Turks in the open field. From the first decade of fifteenth century, Despot Stefan began to reform the system of local government. The new administrative units were organized according to the model of the former marches (*krajišta*), headed by the voivodes. Finally, the fresco painting of Serbian monasteries also confirm the militarization of Serbian society during the period of the Ottoman threat.

Jakub Izdný (Charles University, Prague)

# Widukind of Corvey: A Saxon Witness of a Slavic Mission?

This paper aims to explore possible questions on the narrative strategy of a well-known mediaeval chronicler. Widukind shows in numerous cases his proud Saxon identity which could have had a very direct influence on the picture of other nations and *gentes* in his chronicle. The important and very frequently questioned problem is his relation towards the Slavs, living in the direct, and indirect, space of Ottonian influence. On one hand, Widukind is sometimes considered an anti-Slavic writer with a generally scornful attitude toward the Slavic elements of the Ottonian Empire and its neighborhood. On the other hand, Widukind is reticent in mentioning only some certain aspects of the Slavic mission in his chronicle. Some of the Slavic dukes behind the imperial border tend to achieve his sympathy and praise. His general support of his own religious institution – the Corvey monastery – could represent even a direct promotion of a Slavic mission in Prague. The church of new potential Bohemian bishopric is closely connected with the saint patron of Corvey, Vitus, and even the first bishop of Prague could be a person directly connected to Widukind's circle in the monastery. Moreover, the entire body of information about the Bohemian situation in the chronicle could in this way present a coherent strategy of Widukind's political program concerning Vitus' role in the empire and beyond the imperial border.

Emilia Jamroziak (University of Leeds)

## Monks Connected and Monks Disconnected: Perspective on the Monastic Networks in Medieval East-Central Europe

The aim of this paper is to explore the historiographical approaches to monastic networks in East-Central Europe between 12th and late 15th c. In particular, the paper will explore how trans-regional phenomena have been incorporated into national narratives of Christendom as well as the impact of the 'centre-periphery' model.

Olga Kalashnikova (Central European University)

# A Travelling Concept of the Renaissance: The Dawn of 'Bohemian Pre-Humanism'

In modern historiography, not only the chronological frameworks of historical periods, but also the geographical attribution of political, economic or cultural processes remain problematic because of the pluralism of approaches and theories. In Medieval Studies, the issue exemplifying both these difficulties is the concept of the Renaissance. Even the definition of this term is ambiguous: while some historians identify it as a new epoch in the cultural development of Medieval Europe, others consider it a transitional stage from the Middle Ages to modernity characterized by spiritual, political, and economic changes. Moreover, further questions must be answered. Can this phenomenon be ascribed not only to Italy where it emerged? If so, on what grounds can a temporal development of a certain political entity or geographical region be characterized as 'Renaissance'? My poster will discuss whether a travelling concept of the Renaissance is applicable to Late-Medieval Bohemia. My argument is that the Renaissance migrated to Bohemia because of economic, political, cultural and spiritual shifts linked to the dynastic politics of the Luxembourgs. Furthermore, although some historians pinpoint the presence of the Renaissance in Bohemia to the beginning of the 15th century on the basis of Jan Hus's activity, I propose dating this phenomenon from the middle of the 14th century because of the figures of Charles IV, Ernest of Pardubice, Tomáš Štítný, Přibík Pulkava of Radenín and other personalities.

Antonín Kalous (Palacký University Olomouc)

## Fifteenth-Century Papal Legates and their Travels

In the service of the pope and the Curia, papal legates travelled to distant places as representatives of the individual pope who could not be simultaneously in diverse places. How often did they travel? With what company? How did they travel to their legatine province? Were they mobile even within an assigned province? There are many questions that can be answered with the primary sources of the Papal Curia, but also – and even more importantly – on the basis of local sources. This contribution will analyze the travels of the papal legates in the fifteenth century and the reasons for them, as they had to fulfil various tasks ranging from the reform of local churches and monasteries to visiting royal courts and planning crusades. Thus, the context of the legation is the most crucial element when searching for explanations for individual journeys. Examples will be brought forth to elucidate the reasons and necessity for travelling. The legates could have moved independently, with the help of their retinue, with their Italian compatriots, or within the structures of the royal courts they visited. Ritual and ceremonial rules applied also for the events of journey and meetings with other secular or ecclesiastical dignitaries. Moving around was the natural state of affairs for the legates, but had its clear rules and regulations that had to be respected.

Uladzimir Kananovich (University of Warsaw)

## Commemorative Landscape of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Historical Memory, Topography and Social Identity in the Late Medieval Aristocratic Society

This paper examines the importance of landscape, sites and various individual places in a historical narrative of late medieval and arly Modern society. Special attention is paid to the forms and ways in which places were tied to memories. Therefore, the interplay of physical landscape and historical narrative – geographical places and memory – constitutes a central topic of the paper. The paper focuses on the memorial topography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a polity that was located between the Baltic and Black seas in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries. I am particularly interested in how late medieval and Early Modern authors relied on their spatial memory to structure the past they wanted to forge. By focusing on the commemorative landscape of late medieval and early modern Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the paper is concerned with the *lieux de mémoire* created in the milieu of the duchy's higher aristocracy. These comprised places which were located both inside and outside of the grand duchy, including neighboring countries such as Crimea, Poland, and the Russian state. As such, the historical memory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was embodied in different physical objects: urban sites, individual localities, pathways, rivers, architectural monuments, etc. These places were mostly associated with military activities of grand dukes and major public events held in the grand duchy. The paper clearly reveals that with the changes in society, society's memory changed as well.

Adrian Magina (Museum of the Highland Banat, Reşiţa)

## Far Away from Home: South Slavic People in Medieval and Early Modern Banat and Transylvania

In the fourteenth century, the Balkan Peninsula was under Ottoman pressure and the South Slavic territories would experience the full impact of Ottoman raids. In this context, part of population took refuge in the Hungarian kingdom. Those who escaped Ottoman rule settled usually in the southern part of the kingdom (today Banat) or in Transylvania. The most important category of refugees is represented by Serbian noblemen integrated into the kingdom's elites. Another two categories are

South Slavic commoners and merchants, the latter usually originating in Ragusa or other Dalmatian towns. The Serbian nobility was constantly involved in conflicts across the kingdom and in the sixteenth century some of their representatives gained important positions in the political hierarchy (e.g. Petar Petrović). The South Slavic commoners (mostly of Serbian extraction) built their own communities and kept their traditions until the late seventeenth century when they were integrated among the Romanian people. Ragusan merchants settled in Timisoara, adapting to Ottoman rule, and in second half of the sixteenth century became the most prominent merchant community in the Ottoman occupied territory of southern Hungary. At the same time, they were deeply involved in Transylvanian trade. The role of refugees was very important, influencing the political, economic, cultural and religious life of the territories in which they settled.

Livia Magina (Museum of the Highland Banat, Reșiţa)

## New Policy, New Religion: Converting to Islam in Early Modern Transylvania

In the sixteenth century, the whole of Europe was changing. New ideas and new beliefs were circulating all over the continent. Transylvania emerged as a state in mid-sixteenth century, namely a principality under Ottoman suzerainty. It was a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional territory, with many denominations spread across the country. In this political and religious framework some inhabitants chose to follow a non-Christian religion. Ottoman influence was present not only in political but also in social and daily life. Turkish words, outfits and culinary habits became typical for many Transylvanians, especially members of the elite. Conversion to Islam, documented in a few cases, represented the extreme influence of the Ottomans in the principality's life. Most of those who changed their religious were nobles or members of Saxon privileged communities from Transylvania, rather than commoners. Although rare, these cases indicate the spread of ideas in a changing Europe

Jadranka Neralić (Croatian Institute of History)

## Collecting Money for the Apostolic Chamber in the 14th-15th Century Dalmatia

The cameral registers of the Vatican secret archives reveal an impressive number of diocesan clerics and regulars with legal and humanistic training who served as collectors in late medieval Dalmatia. Their office was mainly concerned with collecting the money owed by indebted bishops, parish rectors and abbots, while keeping precise accounting books as well as contacts with major Italian bankers and their representatives in the province to which they were sent. By definition, they were supposed to travel frequently, and their travelling efforts can be traced and reconstructed from the extant archival sources. I will analyze their travels to Avignon, Rome, Venice and Padua as well as the affairs, misfortunes and legal problems of two collectors from Zadar – Bishop Demetrio Matafari and Archdeacon Franjo Damjanov – as well as the somewhat less adventurous, yet intriguing, office of Deodato Stoiani, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St Stephen de Pinis in Split.

Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (University of Zagreb) – Marija Karbić (Croatian Institute of History)

## Immigration to Urban Settlements between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea (13th-15th Centuries): Comparative Approach

The great eastward migration waves from Western Europe reached southeastern Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries but became more intensive in the 13th century. This process, encouraged and even initiated by political authorities in the region, can be best observed in urban settlements. The area between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea is situated on the border of two cultural circles – the Mediterranean and Central European – which is reflected in the character of the urban settlements in this area, too. While those on the Adriatic coast are of typical Mediterranean type with many of them having their origins in Antiquity, those in the hinterland reflect the Central European pattern of development and their foundation is connected to the process of colonization. These differences also influenced the structure of population, both its origin and the development of social strata, which is a topic that will be discussed in the paper. We will also address the issue of expression of identities that might or might not include communal and ethnic features, and the way this was changing over time. The role of immigrants in the urban settlements will be observed regarding their influence on the legal, social, economic, and religious development of these communities. These influences depended on the number and background of the immigrants, as well as their economic and political strength. In connection with this, we will see how different spheres of Mediterranean and Central-European influence overlapped in the area between the Drava River and the Adriatic.

Farkas Gábor Kiss (Eötvös Loránd University)

## The Textual Strategies of the Diffusion of Humanism: Vergerio, Vitéz, and the Classics (until 1454)

Two competing theories have tried to describe the process by which Renaissance humanism took root in the Kingdom of Hungary, which put emphasis on different personalities and forms of transmission. In his classic work, *The Revival of Classical Antiquity (Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 1859, revised in 1893), Georg Voigt (1827-1891) identified Enea Silvio Piccolomini as the most important instigator of Renaissance humanism in Hungary. On the other hand, József Huszti has emphasized the role of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder in bringing the first humanistic texts and manuscripts to the Buda court. Recent research on the diffusion of humanism has focused more on the transmission of new stylistic ideals through new handbooks of letter-writing (Clémence Revest) and on the widespread reception of Classical texts by a larger layer of 'social humanists' (Brian Maxson). Accordingly, I argue that we must focus more on the textual history and the accessibility of Classics and humanistic texts in Central Europe, moving beyond the exploration of personal contacts. My paper will reconsider the documentary evidence on the contacts between Italian and Central European humanist intellectuals until around 1455, attempting to reestablish a chronology of the diffusion of humanistic ideals according to the sequence of the sources. For this purpose, I will take into account both the history of diplomatic missions, the manuscript copies of Classical, Patristic and contemporary humanist texts surviving from this environment, and the evidence about their readings that can be gathered from their literary output.

Meri Kunčić (The Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, Zagreb)

## The Inhabitants of Late Medieval Dalmatian Commune of Rab Originating from Apennine Peninsula

In the late Middle Ages the commune of Rab, situated on the island of Rab in Dalmatia, experienced strong economic growth, social stabilization and consequently an increase in the number of inhabitants of the city and district. This was mainly due to the significant naval position of Rab as one of the main sea ports from Venice towards the Middle East as well as between the western and eastern shores of Adriatic. Regardless of the fact that Rab in the same period experienced several great epidemics of plague, its ecclesiastical, administrative and naval importance influenced the emergence of a great circle of foreigners. Especially numerous were those from Apennine Peninsula, playing a significant role in various aspects of the daily life of Rab's society. Generally, it may be stated that the immigrants from Apennine peninsula performed significant administrative, medical, artisan and financial roles in Rab's urban society. The main source for researching the immigrants from the Apennine Peninsula are Rab's well-preserved notary records, particularly those from the fifteenth century. As serial type of sources, they give us opportunity to examine several main aspects of this group of foreigners such as their place of origin, professions, economic, legal and social positions in Rab and duration of their stays in that commune. On the basis of quantitative analysis of data from the Rab's notary records, which are kept in the State archive of Zadar, the presentation will analyze the abovementioned issues and general influence of Apennine immigrants on various aspects of everyday life in late medieval Rab.

Zoran Ladić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

## The Importance of East Adriatic Shore and its Urban Settlements as the Main Naval Route for Pilgrimaging from Venice and East Adriatic Communes to Terra sancta and Other Pilgrim Shrines in the High and the Late Middle Ages

In the first part of the presentation, based on the analysis of published and unpublished notary records from several East Adriatic communes (Poreč, Zadar, Rab, Trogir, Dubrovnik, Kotor, and some others), the author will examine pilgrims' destinations, their social and gender status, professions, costs of pilgrimages, etc. The presentation is based on the analysis of last wills as a primary source, which often contain data concerning pilgrimages. Particular attention will be paid to the research of so-called *peregrinationes maiores* and *peregrinationes minores*. The choice of pilgrimage destinations is usually the consequence of the popularity of certain saints in some period and the author shall try to examine the influence of cults of saints on the choice of East Adriatic pilgrimages. In the second part, the author will analyze several narrative sources (primarily pilgrim diaries) written by travelers from Western Europe to Terra sancta in the abovementioned period. Educated pilgrims often left very interesting data regarding geography, the everyday life of denizens of East Adriatic urban societies, their population, piety, material culture, architecture, reliquaries of communal patron saints, and so on, thus expressing their personal experience of East Adriatic urban societies in that period.

Etleva Lala (Eötvös Loránd University)

## Fleeing from Albanian Customary Laws and Practices

Flight from Albanian-speaking territories has been a continuous phenomenon in the history of Albanians. The phenomenon appears regularly throughout the Middle Ages and offers, thus, a consistent bulk of archival sources for reevaluation and further investigation. Although a number of studies have been conducted with these sources, there is a tendency to explain the flight of Albanians

as a phenomenon impelled by, or resulted from, foreign control and influence, like wars and other foreign threats. In this paper, however, I would like to touch on this phenomenon from a different perspective, namely as an escape of Albanians from rigid Albanian customary laws and practices, which made life with Albanian neighbors difficult, if not impossible. With this attempt, I would also like to enter a field of research which is almost untouched so far, at least in the Albanian historical writing, namely the notion of the neighborhood in Albanian society, which was never as peaceful as it has been often represented.

Drahoslav Magdoško (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, Košice)

## Natives, Newcomers, and Membership of the Outer Council in Late Medieval Košice

The town of Košice was one of the most prosperous trade centers of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Besides a number of commoners moving to the suburbs, there were annually two dozen persons on average bestowed with full-fledged burgher´s status in the inner town. Their origins varied from Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Germany, occasionally even from Italy and Switzerland. To answer the questions of how quickly and to what extent the newcomers became naturalized members of the local community we can also examine their membership in the outer council. At the latest in the mid-15th century, the outer council of Košice (originally "council of elders") assumed the right to elect the town judge and members of the town council. From that point, this collective body was to cooperate with the town council in the name of the whole community when major economic or legal matters emerged. For purpose of its representative character, the "outer council" consisted of almost a hundred men being entitled together as a "community" (*communitas*), or later as an "elected community" (*electa communitas*). Due to state of preserved written sources as well as contemporary developments (such as a trade decline and ethnic changes of Košice at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period), this paper will be focused on a comparison of two decades, the 70s of the 15th century and the 20/30s of the 16th century. Taxes, employment, and topographical factors related to the process of choosing burghers for the "community" (outer council) will be analyzed with special regard to the newly settled individuals.

Ivan Majnarić (Catholic University of Croatia)

## Molding the Past: The Angevins and the Croatian King Zvonimir

In his 2002 study on dynastic cults in medieval Central Europe, Gábor Klaniczay advocated the use of medieval political theory as a valuable new tool for studying this subject. While building on this proposal and keeping in mind the changing nature of kingship during 14th century, this paper will deal with the few snippets of the *Chronicon Pictum* that mention Zvonimir, the king of Croatia and Dalmatia. By analyzing the connection between 14th century political and social relations and the saintly image of King Zvonimir, this paper will examine how the latter fit into Angevin dynastic propaganda. Although this analysis will primarily consider the 14th century interpretation and knowledge of what was then already the dim and distant past, it will perhaps offer a path towards a deeper understanding of Zvonimir's historical reign.

Tomislav Matić (Catholic University of Croatia)

## The Expulsion of Germans from the Chapter of Zagreb in 1458

In 1458, Bishop Demetrius and a group of clerics of the Diocese of Zagreb, several of whom were members of the Chapter of Zagreb, forcibly expelled a number of German canons from the Chapter. This unusual expulsion took place during a surge of violence against foreigners in the Kingdom of Hungary after the accession of King Matthias Corvinus, and the expelled canons stated explicitly in their complaint to the Pope that they were expelled because they were Germans. Canons' ethnicities did not seem to present a problem during the previous decades, as the episcopal see of Zagreb was, for more than half a century, occupied mostly by Germans. Also, due to specific dynastic reasons, the border between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire was rather porous during most of that period. Both of these factors resulted in an influx of German clerics into the Diocese of Zagreb. However, the accession of a (supposedly) ethnically Hungarian ruler – Matthias Corvinus – and the events that preceded it gave force to an already existing anti-German sentiment. The purpose of this paper will be to explain the complex set of events that led to the expulsion of 1458, as well as to present a medieval example of fear and hatred towards the Other, documented even within the supposedly supranational ranks of the Catholic Church, which demonstrates the creation of barriers between ethnicities and the rise of material and immaterial borders.

Beata Możejko (University of Gdańsk) – Błażej Śliwiński (University of Gdańsk)

## Exile and Return: Gdansk Towards the Actions of the Teutonic Knights in East Pomerania in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

In 1308, the elites of East Pomerania, part of the Polish state, rebelled against the ruler in that country, Władysław Łokietek. The rebels managed to acquire the burghers from Gdansk (most of them originating from German territories) and came under the authority of the Brandenburg margraves. The margrave's forces occupied the western districts of Pomerania (Słupsk) and entered the city of Gdansk but were unable to conquer the Gdańsk castle which was defended by troops loyal to Władysław Łokietek. Because the king was busy leading an expedition to Rus, he agreed to call for help from the Teutonic Order to deal with Pomerania. The Teutonic Knights relieved the Polish defenders of the Gdansk castle, and during one of their assaults (the night of 12 November 1308) they managed to capture the city of Gdansk. The events were accompanied by the slaughter of German burghers and Pomeranian knights who served the margraves. The slaughter became a widely discussed topic in Europe. In 1310, the pope convened even a special commission to investigate whether 10,000 people had really been killed in Gdansk. The Teutonic Knights, after subjugating the city of Gdansk, ordered the demolition of the city's remaining buildings which had survived the fires accompanying the assault, and the survivors of the slaughter were ordered to leave Pomerania. After 1320, the authorities of the Order agreed to revive the urban life in Gdansk, permitting the return of former exiles or their descendants. In our paper, we would like also to pay attention to the fate of those who fled, were exiled, and returned.

Balázs Nagy (Eötvös Loránd University/Central European University)

## The Mongol Invasion and its Consequences in Thirteenth Century Central Europe

The mid-thirteenth century expansion of the Mongols is usually discussed in the context of a large-scale perspective and as an element of the construction of the Mongol world empire. The present talk will discuss the events and consequences of the Mongol campaigns in a Central European perspective, trying to define the parallel and divergent characteristics of the presence of the Mongols in the countries Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. The paper will also discuss the short and long-term effects of

the Mongol onslaughts, taking into consideration the reactions of the royal courts toward imminently expected invasions and also the measures to prevent an inevitable second wave of attacks. This study relies on extensive source material, eyewitness accounts, contemporary and later narrative sources, charter evidence and other types of materials for reference, e.g. the archaeological evidence of large-scale fortifications.

Antun Nekić (University of Zadar)

## The Power of Integration and the Power of (Noble) Community: Integrating in Slavonia in the Middle Ages

How does one manage to integrate into a new society in which one finds oneself and does the "successfulness" of that process impact the strength of that society? By implication, does being "unsuccessful" leave an open rupture in that new society? Our present situation, not just in a European but rather global context, revolves around these issues, and the theme of the conference, I believe, is a reflection of these concerns. The above questions approach the problem from the perspective of communities, and I want to use the same approach, applying it to medieval Slavonia and discussing the following: is it possible to perceive differences in the processes and modes of integration in the two counties comprising Slavonia, Zagreb and Križevci – differences which had important consequences for the potential and power of collective action of noble communities in these two counties? Based on analyses of noble families coming to or receiving estates in Slavonia, I will argue that the nobility from the county of Križevci in a certain sense monopolized a position as the representatives of Slavonian identity. I will argue that that was to a large degree a reflection of the differences in modes of integration.

Ádám Novák (University of Debrecen)

## Polish *barones* in Hungary between 1440 and 1443

In the Middle Ages, Polish-Hungarian relations increased in importance several times, so their source material meets in many places. The royal letters of diplomacy, the trade documents of the cities, and the narrative sources have common intersections: they provide additional details for the writing of Polish and Hungarian medieval history. As part of the MTA-DE (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen) "Hungary in Medieval Europe" – Lendület Research Group, in January 2014, I could spend a week in Wien researching in the Haus-, Hof- and Staatsarchiv. Then I had chance to examine a poly-sygillic diploma from 16 August 1442, issued by the king of Hungary, Vladislav I, and Hungarian and Polish barons (HHStA AUR 1442. VIII. 7.). There are thirteen Polish seals, which I would like to identify to reconstruct the king's Polish court in the early period in Hungary. I attempt to use other poly-sygillic diplomas, and charters from the reign of Vladislav I, which were issued from April 1440 until May 1443. I will try here to outline the Polish barons who accompanied the king from Krakow to Buda and helped him to attain and hold the Hungarian throne.

Bence Péterfi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

## Debates on Regulating Border Rivers in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of the River Mur(a)

In my lecture I am going to present an especially well-documented conflict, a late medieval border dispute between Styrian families (later the estates of Styria) and the Hungarian Szécsis, one of the main landowner families in the Hungarian part of the Styrian-Hungarian border region (nowadays mostly in the territory of Prekmurje in northeastern Slovenia). Thomas Szécsi was accused of having let his servants modify the riverbed without approval on the Styrian side in order to gain additional

territories. These actions were said to cause severe damage on the Styrian side, threatening villages with more frequent floods. The debate emerged in the beginning of the sixteenth century and lasted at least until the 1540s. My goal is to reconstruct and analyze the dynamics of such a phenomenon as an illustrative archetype of such border conflicts as well as to point out that in the background of controversial interpretations of borders, there may have been a substantial difference between legal reasoning according to Roman law-based Styrian legal practice and Hungarian customary law.

Silvija Pisk (University of Zagreb)

## The Migrations of the Population of Medieval Slavonia Towards Burgenland: Moslavina and the Erdödy Family Properties

Medieval Slavonia was exposed since as early as mid-15th century to frequent Ottoman raids, but by the end of the 15th century, the Ottoman threat had become constant. Therefore, the beginning of the 16th century was marked by migrations of the local populace (individuals and larger organized migrations). The systematic organized relocations of the populace to Hungary are of particular interest. They were organized by the nobility, particularly the Nádasdy, Batthyány and Erdödy families which owned properties both in threatened Slavonia and in western Hungary. The relocations of the populace initiated by the nobility were most likely carried out with the support of rulers. However, opinions exist that the aforementioned noble families did not organize the relocations solely due to the Ottoman danger, but also due to a lack of serfs on their Hungarian properties. This work will give special attention to the contemporary Moslavina area toward the end of the medieval period. Péter Erdödy organized relocations of villagers from his Croatian (Moslavina and Kutina) properties to his Hungarian properties around the Pinka river, particularly to Rotenturm and Eberau. I will also deal with claims that the territory of Moslavina was, during mid-16th century, an "abandoned land".

Dániel Pócs (Eötvös Loránd University - Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

## Florentine Renaissance Codices in Early Humanistic Libraries in Central Europe: The Case of György Handó and Johannes Roth

Hundreds of humanistic manuscripts were produced in Florence for buyers from outside the city-state in the second half of the 1460s. These codices, containing the Latin texts of Classical and Patristic authors, had been written by professional scribes in a fine humanistic script and bear the typical *bianchi girari* decorations on their incipit pages. It was Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine *cartolaio* who was mainly responsible for this standardized book production on an international level. Manuscripts produced in large numbers in his workshop made the texts of the ancient authors easily available in Central Europe and had an important role in the diffusion of humanistic ideals north of the Alps in the middle of the 15th century. This paper presents the preliminary results of provenance research carried out on two distinct groups of codices produced by Bisticci in the second half of the 1460s. This research is based primarily on codicological evidence provided by the manuscripts and on a critical reevaluation of the written sources relating to their original owners. These recently identified codices, more than thirty manuscripts altogether, can be considered the remaining pieces of two early humanistic libraries established in a very short period of time by two personalities belonging to the same generation, both of whom were educated members of the higher clergy in Central Europe: one was György Handó (ca. 1430–1480), provost of Pécs cathedral chapter and archbishop of Kalocsa, royal chancellor of King Matthias Corvinus; the other was Johannes Roth (1426–1506), bishop of Lavant and Wrocław and governor of the Bohemian Duchies of Silesia under King Vladislav II.

Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (1 Decembrie 1918 University, Alba Iulia)

## Nobility and Office Holding in the Fourteenth Century Hungary

This paper aims to examine some aspects regarding the nobility's holding of office in the fourteenth century in connection to the wider view of corruption/anticorruption. I will use some examples from the history of the Himfi family to provide answers to questions regarding the length of office and whether we can surmise the reasons for appointment to office, rewards for good behavior, scrutiny or inquiry into the activities of officials or penalties can be surmised. Appointments and dismissals of officials in administrative offices are hardly known for the fourteenth century. The examination of careers of officials serving in the royal administration, correspondence, and prosopography studies might offer some clues on the question of corruption/anticorruption in the medieval context.

Stephen Pow (Central European University)

## Refugees as Informants: The Role of Refugees in Disseminating Information about the Mongol Military and its Tactics

In the areas to which they fled, refugees evidently played an important role in transmitting information on the Mongols related to their tactics, equipment, plans, etc. Several scholars have analyzed the arrival of Cuman refugees in Hungary (J. R. Sweeney, N. Berend, I. Vásáry, R. Hautala). In this presentation, these Cuman refugees will be one case study under discussion, but I intend to explore diverse examples. It is clear that the flight of huge numbers of refugees was an attendant feature of Mongol conquests, so it is useful to explore diverse examples across Eurasia in the thirteenth century in the search for certain patterns. The focus of this paper is the problem that refugees posed to the Mongols by becoming informants to populations which had either not surrendered or had not been attacked yet. In many sources, we find clues that refugee informants may have – in the long term – accounted for the development of better forms of resistance against the Mongols. We see this phenomenon in the work of Latin writers (Carpini, Matthew Paris, etc.), but also in works outside of the European context (Al-Dhabhi, Ibn al-Athir, Juzjani, etc.) and even in writings of Sufi mystics. We can see very specific information on Mongol tactics, social structure, beliefs – and even suggestions on how to fight the invaders. The refugees posed a serious, if inevitable, threat to the Mongols' pan-Eurasian war effort.

Katalin Prajda (University of Chicago)

## Friends of Friends: Florentine Networks and Migration in the Kingdom of Hungary (1387-1437)

During Sigismund of Luxembourg's reign, economic interests attracted many Florentine citizens who worked in the Kingdom of Hungary in various capacities. The social network of these politicians, merchants, artisans, royal officers, dignities of the Church, and noblemen is the primary focus of my upcoming book. I shall refer to members of this network as «friends», defining in this way the existing personal connections established among them by their common political interests, neighborhood proximities, marriage alliances, kinship ties, patronages, and company partnerships. The network to be discussed in the study is egocentric, placing into the center the Florentine-born Pippo Scolari and his male relatives. These three men, Pippo, his brother, Matteo, and their cousin, Andrea Scolari, influenced to the greatest extent Florentines' migration to the Kingdom of Hungary during the first three decades of the fifteenth century. The success of the network is laid out in the various ways in which its members were connected to each other. Some of these actors developed weak ties among each other, characterized by a single-stranded relationship to one of the key figures of the family; meanwhile others established strong ties with them by multiple links of kinship, marriage, politics, neighborhood, and business partnerships. The analysis builds its claims on a massive data set, obtained from primary written documents, located predominantly in the National Archives in Florence. A smaller number of archival materials came also from the Hungarian National Archives in Budapest, the National Archives in Venice and Treviso and the Vatican Secret Archives.

Ivica Prlender (University of Zagreb)

## The Sacralization of the Republican Aristocratic Government: The Example of Dubrovnik

In the first decades of the fifteenth century, a hundred years after the members of the nobility's residence of the Dubrovnik Commune succeeded in enacting the legacy of their dominant position, the efforts to publicly manifest a certain sacrament of the republican aristocratic authority were becoming increasingly apparent. After The Zadar Peace Treaty (1358), the Dubrovnik Commune replaced the 150-year-old supremacy of Venice with the supremacy of St. Stephen's crown. When negotiating the regulation of legal and political positions in the new and accentuated context, Dubrovnik established the foundations of building its own statehood with the signing of the Višegrad Treaty. The self-consciousness of the ruling elite grew to the point that it was in the framework of its characteristic Mediterranean trading society that it sought to make a more recognizable and clear distinction of its own unique position. While confirming their full exclusive monopoly in political affairs, the Dubrovnik patricians, despite their Catholic identity and close diplomatic ties with the papacy, increasingly managed to oversee church structures. During the first half of the fifteenth century, by adopting the statutes, as well as by direct interference in the everyday life of the church, the role of the archbishops and metropols, as well as other high prelates, became completely suppressed from the public life of the city-state. This created a vacancy that would be filled by the state magistrates, exclusively members of a separate, independent nobility. The public manifestation of this achievement would be permanently entered into the urban matrix of the early Renaissance city. The most noteworthy manifestation of their newly established position would be the patricians' redesign of public manifestation protocols, not less spiritual than the churches, and the iconographic program of representative state buildings, primarily the Rector's Palace.

Christian Raffensperger (Wittenberg University)

## The Optics of Byzantine Blinding in Medieval Eastern Europe

Blinding was a well-known punishment for usurpers and potential usurpers in Byzantium. It made the individual less than whole and thus unsuited to ruling the Roman Empire. While cruel to modern minds, this was a way for the potential usurper to be punished without actually killing the individual, thus a more humane way of dealing with the situation. Though there are other uses of blinding in Byzantium, such as the semi-mythical blinding of ninety-nine out of onehundred invaders as punishment, blinding as a way to make one physically unable to rule is the normative use of this punishment. With this normative view of the "correct" use of blinding in mind, this paper will examine instances of blinding in medieval eastern Europe. There are examples of blinding from Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Rus' and elsewhere in the area, yet very few of them conform to the normative idea of blinding as a punishment / penalty for usurpation. This paper aims to ask why this was the case and more specifically: What is the relationship of the normative model of blinding established in Byzantium to the uses of blinding in medieval eastern Europe? And finally can it shed light on the interrelationship of these areas with Byzantium? Through attempting to answer these questions, we can learn not only about blinding and punishment, but the appropriation (or lack thereof) of Byzantine ideas and institutions in medieval eastern Europe.

Gordan Ravančić (Croatian Institute of History)

## Control of the Roads as a Strategy of the Creation of the Feudal Possessions of the Krk Princes up to the Beginning of the 14th Century

The princes of Krk (later the Frankapans) are one of Croatian noble families that significantly influenced the political, economic and cultural history of Croatia in the medieval period. Their importance is well recognized within the historiography. Still, though there are many studies examining various aspects of their history, very few of historians have dealt with the earliest history of the family. The probable reason is a relative scarcity of preserved documents containing information about their origins in the twelfth and thirteenth century, and the fact that many of these "early" documents and charters are, in fact, formal falsifications. Information preserved in these documents allow historians to roughly reconstruct the path of the creation of their land properties and formation of their feudal possession. However, the reasons for this process and the exact motives for the expansion of their power in the Hungarian and Croatian Kingdom, judging only according to the information preserved in the extant documents, are quite unclear. Thus, in this short presentation/contribution I will try to examine whether implementation of a methodological approach proposed by Walter Christaller, the central place theory which has already been used in historiography, could help us to determine the motives and mechanisms behind the expansion of the princes of Krk and their rule in the territories across from their ancestral properties on the island of Krk.

Igor Razum (Central European University)

## Migrating Masters: Examples of Scholarly Mobility in Medieval Central Europe

The well-known mobility of university students during the High Middle Ages shows a great and diverse picture of intellectual exchange between most parts of Christian Europe. However, at the lower levels of knowledge transfer, mobility was a key resource in promoting new knowledge centers throughout Europe. During the thirteenth century, the issue of clerical (and general) education became key in the reform efforts of the papacy. A decree by the Fourth Lateran Council stipulated the need for provincial cathedral centers to provide a master of theology to care for the instruction of students. This meant that a great number of schools had to seek out new masters of theology, as well as other disciplines, to staff their fledgling institutions. This paper explores the various avenues of approach taken up by scholars in their efforts to disseminate new knowledge patterns across Europe and cathedrals to attract instructors to their schools. An example from mid-thirteenth century Hungary speaks to this reform. A master, Gerard of Parma, was to be placed in the Archbishopric of Esztergom under the auspices of Pope Innocent IV. The pope engaged in the practicality of providing a benefice for the master, to questionable success. Another example from the Kingdom of Hungary is Paulus Hungarus, a Dominican friar, who stands out as an extremely mobile scholar, effective at building an educational network. Examples like these weave the mosaic of thirteenth century educational reform given force by the exceptional mobility of the specialists engaged in transferring knowledge.

András Ribi (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

## Independence from Rhodes: the Priory of Vrana and the Hospitallers' Convent of Székesfehérvár in the 15th century (1418–1490)

In the final years of the Council of Constance it looked probable that the status of the Hospitallers' Priory of Vrana had been restored after the Western Schism and the civil wars in Hungary. King Sigismund and Grand Master Philibert de Naillac appointed Albert of Nagymihály as prior and he paid the *responsiones* for the years of 1418 and 1419 in advance. However, after Albert had left Constance, the contact between the priory and Rhodes was lost. He spent his time in the rich Convent of

Székesfehérvár and didn't pay further taxes to the Order. From 1427, the issue of succession was in the scope of interest of Rhodes and when Albert of Nagymihály died in 1433/1434, two priors were elected, one by the Order and one by Sigismund. More precisely the king of Hungary gave the possessions of the Priory to military leaders (the Tallóci brothers), because of the Turkish threat on the southern borders of the country. This strange system lasted till the end of the 1440s. After a few failed attempts to send visitants to Hungary, the mission of the Italian Michele de Castellaccio succeeded: he collected taxes after thirty years and Rhodes recognized Thomas Székely as the Prior of Vrana. He and his successor John Székely were ginvited several times to take part at the general chapter in Rhodes or in Rome during the 1450–1470s, but nobody arrived, nor were the taxes sent, and Italian members of the Order still bore the title of Prior *Hungarie* up to 1510. Meanwhile the Priory of Vrana cut itself adrift from Rhodes, the priors becoming *veri barones* of Hungary and serving the kings. These events affected the situation of the single well-documented Hungarian *preceptorium* of Székesfehérvár as well. The personnel Hungarianised and after 1451 the leaders were loyal supporters of the Hunyadi family, so they didn't have any opportunity to get important position inside the Order. However, the Convent had large estates in the Transdanubian region, and the place of authentication operated by them obtained countrywide jurisdiction in this period, which implies the most prosperous era of the Preceptory.

Beatrix Romhányi (Károli Gáspár Calvinist University, Budapest)

## Immigration and Internal Migration in the Late Medieval Hungarian Kingdom

It is a commonplace that the Hungarian Kingdom was a receptive area to which diverse ethnic and religious groups moved. However, this narrative is mainly discussed in the context of the Arpadian Age, i.e. before 1300. But immigration did not stop in the fourteenth century or later, though the directions of its flow changed considerably. Written sources, as well as the analysis of the changing monastic network and of the settlement patterns, give some insight into these phenomena. In this context, it is important to emphasize that not only people coming from outside Hungary shaped the human landscape. Movements within the country were equally significant, resulting in the transformation of the settled area, the ethnic composition, and the land-use of a given region. The period between 1300 and 1550 is especially suitable for investigating the causes of the different movements. Beside warfare (such as the Bosnian and Bulgarian campaigns of King Louis I of Anjou, and the Ottoman wars in the 15th and 16th century), economic issues and environmental changes also seem to have contributed to the migrations.

Anna Romsics (Central European University)

## Topography of the Jewish Quarters of Medieval Buda and Paris

The aim of this poster is to compare the topography of the Jewish quarter of medieval Paris with that of Buda. The comparison of the medieval topography of Paris and Buda might be unsuccessful along numerous lines due to their dissimilar developments, but in terms of Jewish quarters the situation is somewhat different. Both cities saw the emergence of more than one Jewish quarter, though these did not exist at the same time. The reasons for their development is the first aspect of discussion. In Paris, research has demonstrated five medieval Jewish quarters, while in Buda there were two. The reasons for the multiple ethnic quarters can be explained by similar processes. When the monarchs planned to build palaces in certain parts of the respective cities where the Jewish community lived, the community had to leave and find another place to settle. This phenomenon can be observed both in Paris and Buda. The poster will also present the situation of Jewish quarters in the aforementioned pair of towns in relation to the localization of the royal residence and commercial centers. Besides that, the quarters' distance from the ecclesiastic centers, such as the palace of the bishop and the cathedral or the monasteries of the mendicant orders, also will be depicted. The aim of this poster is that the topography of the Jewish quarters of the medieval Paris and Buda will be easily comparable, and some similarities and differences might be highlighted.

Davor Salihović (University of Cambridge)

## Performativity of Borders and Bordering within the Late Medieval Borderscapes of Southeastern Europe

While acting as a critical response to the immediately preceding scholarly period of a *processual* approach to borders - as well as, indirectly, to earlier paradigmatic periods - recent developments in border studies, primarily within geopolitics, geography, and international relation theory, have resulted in a call for a new agenda for the field. Challenged both by the reexaminations of the existing theoretical frameworks and guidelines, and by realities of contemporary bordering practices, the last decade or so has been a period of constant searching for fresh research questions, methodological novelties and new theoretical and conceptual inputs which would allow the field to tackle the complexities of present-day borders and their political, social, and cultural byproducts. The concept of *Borderscapes* is the optimal, but nonetheless temporary, answer both as a methodological tool and theoretical approach. This quest for a new agenda has produced a wide set of new research questions which ought to be (re)introduced to Medieval studies, or rather into a loose field colloquially deemed historical frontier studies, not only to facilitate an introduction of new spaces of inquiry, but also to bring the field up-to-date with trends in incomparably more competent disciplines whose representatives have been fruitlessly requesting interdisciplinarity for far too long. Therefore, by following only a portion of research questions recently proposed by Parker and Vaughan-Williams and associates, and further developed by their colleagues, I will look into the models and mechanism utilized by bordering authorities as well as the mechanisms of border performance both on an individual and collective/corporative level within the bordering processes at the late medieval mid-to-late-fifteenth-century Hungarian-Ottoman frontier.

Robin Alexander Shields (Royal Holloway University of London)

## Feeding a City: The Trade in Cereals between Arta and Ragusa during the Reign of Carlo II Tocco (1429-1448)

Between the summer of 1429 and September 1448 Carlo II Tocco reigned over a prosperous lordship in Epiros and the Ionian Islands, centred upon the city of Arta. At the same time he developed a close relationship with the authorities of the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and they ultimately became his closest ally during his near two decade reign. One of the key reasons behind this close relationship concerns the trade in cereals between the two. Due to Ragusa's small and barren territory it had to look to trade in order to feed its population. Many cereals were produced within Carlo's domains, in particular millet and wheat, and as result Arta became an important destination for Ragusan merchants. The trade was facilitated by the Ragusan officials responsible for the import of cereals to the city, the *Massarii Bladorum*, and important members of Carlo II's lordship, notably Ser Antonellus Barges. The trade lasted throughout the entirety of Carlo's reign, and provided a regular supply of grain for Ragusa in relative proximity to the city. Both merchants from Arta and Ragusa were involved in the transportation of cereals and this helps to illustrate the diversity of those involved in trade in the fifteenth-century Balkans. The cereal trade between Arta and Ragusa ultimately helps to illuminate our understanding of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans during the fifteenth century.

Sobiesław Szybkowski (University of Gdańsk)

## Victims of Political Choice: Noble Refugees from Dobrzyń Land in 1391/1392-1405 and Later

The insignificant Dobrzyń Land was a territory bordering the Kingdom of Poland, the Teutonic State in Prussia and the Duchy of Masovia (Mazowsze). The political history of this small territorial unit became very complex at the beginning of Władysław Jagiełło's rule (1386-1434). The lord of Dobrzyn Land, Władysław II of Opole, who was given the land as a fief from the king Louis d'Anjou, firstly

placed it in pledge to the Teutonic Knights castle of Złotoria (1391), and then after a short war against the king of Poland, he pawned the entire Dobrzyń Land (1392) for 50,000 Hungarian florins. Neither Władysław Jagiełło nor the Polish political elite recognized the legality of the pledge; nevertheless, trying to resolve the problem they restricted their actions to verbal protests and diplomatic efforts. The rule of Teutonic Knights in Dobrzyń led, however, to polarization of political attitudes among the local noblemen. Part of local noble elites, the so-called Teutonic party, accepted the rule of the Order and collaborated eagerly with the temporary rulers of the land. Another part, the so-called the royal party, did not agreed to accept rules of Teutonic Knights, and chose to emigrate into territories ruled directly by Władysław Jagiełło. Their lands in Dobrzyń Land were confiscated by the Teutonic Knights, however, the Polish king took care of his proponents giving them temporary possessions within territory of the kingdom and assisting financially. The situation changed in 1405 when Dobrzyń Land was redeemed by Władysław Jagiełło as a provision of the Treaty of Raciąż in 1404. In consequence, refugees returned to the land and redeemed land confiscated by the Order. However, after redeeming the land, repressions by the Polish ruler made some members of the Teutonic party seek protection of the Teutonic Knights, which was obviously given to them in Prussia. Dobrzyń Land was once more shortly ruled by the Teutonic Knights, but the turning point occurred in 1409-1410. This happened during the Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic War (1409-1411). Again some of the nobles fled from their homeland to territories unoccupied by the Teutonic Knights, and on the other hand, members of the Teutonic party came back to Dobrzyń. In the end, as a result of defeat which the Teutonic suffered in the Battle of Grunwald (1410) and decisions of the First Peace of Toruń (1411), Dobrzyń Land came back under the long-term rule of Polish kings. This meant the return of refugees from the royal party and again made the Teutonic Knights' supporters go into exile. In the end, some of the latter reconciled with the king and came back to their homeland. Some, however, remained in the Order's State, where they were given land possessions by the Teutonic knights.

Philipp Stöver (TU Dresden - FOVOG)

## Medieval Voyages to Asia in the 13th and 14th Century

In the 13th and 14th century quite a fair number of travelling groups made their way East into the Mongolian empire. The increasing interest of the European sovereigns in the Mongolian people was not least due to their rather unexpected invasion of Europe, with which they stoked great concern among the Europeans who feared for the survival of the Christian world – even more so when on April 9th and 11th in the year of 1241 two Christian armies, situated a rough 600 km apart from each other, were confronted by Mongol forces. These battles of Legnica in Poland and Mohi at the river Sajo resulted in the defeat of both Christian armies. However, the Mongols, or Tatars as western tradition calls them, vanished just as quickly as they made their appearance. Thus, further damage to the Christian world did not occur – nor was there an immediate response of the European sovereigns or the pope. During the next two years, internal European conflicts became more of a concern than the fear of a potential return of the Mongols to European ground until, in 1243, Innocent IV., a man of both high education and interest in science, became pope. Realizing the importance of gathering more information about these peoples and acquiring knowledge about the battles, he put the Mongols back into focus and thus sent the Franciscan Johannes of Plano Carpini among others. Most likely having started his journey from Lyon around Eastertime in the year of 1246, he made his way through the eastern parts of Europe and also Asia over the following two years. Hoping to be able to contact high-ranking Mongolian officers, or even the great khan himself, he carried with him a papal letter and eventually, on his arrival in Karakorum in the year of 1246, delivered this to the great khan, Kuyuk. Carpini's successful mission and his detailed report revealed an entirely new world to the West and also formed the basis for subsequent missions, such as that of Wilhelm Rubruck. The travel reports give us a miraculous look at the circumstances and arduousness of such a journey. The following questions should be addressed in particular: How were the European strangers accepted and received?  How did the khans deal with the religion generally and Christianity in particular?

Jaroslav Svátek (Czech Academy of Sciences) –Václav Žůrek (Czech Academy of Sciences)

## Presentation of the project Transmission of Knowledge: The Fortune of Four Bestsellers in Late Medieval Czech Lands

This project aims to rethink the history of late medieval literacy in the Czech lands. Four texts were chosen as examples illustrating the spread and changes of literate circles. *Secretum secretorum* (pseudo-Aristotelian compendium), *Liber de hominum et officiis nobilium sive super ludum scaccorum* (allegorical explanation of the society by Jacobus de Cessolis), *Elucidarium (summary of a theological treatise by Honorius Augustodunensis) and Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* (historical synthesis by Martinus Polonus) are distinctive for their comprehensiveness of material and at the same time differ significantly from extensive 13th-century summas. All of them assemble knowledge of the world in the form of historical, philosophical, medicinal, moralistic or catechetical summaries. All of them circulated well, leaving a large number of manuscripts extant to this day. These texts were copied, adapted and even translated into the vernacular during the whole of the 14th and 15th centuries. Since they were gradually spreading, initially to elite centers of learning, but later also to a larger scope of groups of recipients (parishes, citizens, nobility), we consider them to be applicable material for the objectives of the project. The texts were communicated more intensively in the Czech lands from the beginning of the 14th century. The initial manifestations of humanism in the Czech lands and the introduction of printing in the second half of the 15th century significantly changed the paradigm of the reception of this type of work. In that chronological framework, we would like to grasp expanding circles of readers, including all individuals who read, owned, transcribed, or received the selected text. The research team will examine the transfer of various types of knowledge, summarized in our four texts, into various social, cultural and confessional milieus which determined the way in which the texts were read and interpreted.

Béla Zsolt Szakács (Catholic University of Hungary/Central European University)

## The Migration of Artists to and from Hungary in the Gothic Period

A few years ago, a database was created for an international collaborative project based on written sources detailing the mobility of artists in the Gothic period. For Hungary some 160 names have been collected of which 95 artists were originating from Hungary and spending some time (or their entire lives) abroad, while 65 artists are known by name to have come from foreign countries. This paper will analyze which countries were in the closest artistic relationship with Hungary on the basis of these data. While the close connection to Austria and Germany is not surprising, a strange asymmetry is present in the sources: a high number of Hungarian artists are known to have been working in Austria (39) with much fewer coming from there (8). Italy is the second most important location, both regarding immigrant artists (20) and emigrant artists (22). The Czech lands and Poland are present with lower numbers while France and Eastern Europe (Russia, Moldavia) played a marginal role. However, since the sources of the database are manifold and certainly do not cover systematically the entire migration process, the main tendencies will be approached with traditional art historical opinions based on stylistic observation.

Katalin Szende (Central European University)

## Guests and Hosts: Migration as a Diving Force of Urbanization in East-Central Europe

The proverbial fertility of the land "in the East" attracted large numbers of settlers coming from the densely populated western and northwestern parts of Europe from the twelfth century onwards. These people, termed *hospites*, i.e. guests, in the sources of the Carpathian Basin, had a profound impact on the population, ethnicity, settlement structure, economy, and legal setup of the territory in which they arrived. Their status also became a model for those elements of the local population who had freedom of movement, irrespective of their ethnic origin. The name *hospes* also implies a relationship to a host; that is, someone who invited them and expected to benefit from their presence, offering land where they could settle. The settling was thus not a spontaneous movement, but a controlled, though diverse one. There were many different hosts who offered the *hospites* residence and livelihood, and took advantage of their presence. They could be *hospites regni, hospites regine, hospites castri, hospites* of various private persons, with varying degrees of liberty. My proposed paper examines three questions in this context. Firstly, how urban were the settlements inhabited or created by the new arrivals? Secondly, how much similarity is there between the polities of Central and East-Central Europe in the settling process and terminology used for it: does the term *hospes* appear in the same meaning and frequency in Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Ruthenia as in Hungary? Thirdly, how long was this term in use with the meaning described above, and what reasons can be detected behind its eventual transformation?

Bruno Škreblin (Croatian Institute of History)

## From Migrant to Citizen: Migrations in Gradec (Zagreb) in the Late Middle Ages

The process of the urbanization in medieval Hungary in the 13th century is partly a result of the migration of foreigners into the Hungarian kingdom which was stimulated primarily by Bela IV and his successors. The rulers granted special privileges for the newcomers (hospites) in order to develop new urban settlements. The town of Gradec, established in 1242 after the Mongol invasion, also saw a significant urban population arrive from German and Italian lands, or other parts of the kingdom. In the town's surviving archival records, many patterns of micro migrations into the town of Gradec such as commerce-based migrations of Italian or German merchants, Jewish money-lenders, or members of petty nobility, can be observed. From the mid-15th century, sources mention many newcomers in town who migrated from the southern part of the kingdom, i.e. medieval Croatia, probably as a result of the growing Ottoman threat. In this presentation, the migration processes in medieval Gradec will be analyzed based on the documents in archival records, and in comparison with the results of recent scholarship.

Luka Špoljarić (University of Zagreb)

## Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Eastward Diffusion of Renaissance Humanism:
## The Case of Juraj Benja and his Circle

As one of the first people who took an active interest in Renaissance humanism in Dalmatia, the Zadar patrician Juraj Benja (died ca. 1437) enjoys a fittingly exceptional status in Croatian intellectual history. For instance, Croatian literary historian, Slobodan Prosperov Novak, calls his manuscripts, with some measure of poetic license, a "Magna Carta of Croatian humanism". Yet, despite this status, Benja's life and humanist activities are still almost completely unexplored. This paper aims to remedy the present situation. Drawing on the recent approaches to humanism that combine both literary and socio-cultural perspectives (Revest; Maxson), this paper will analyze Benja's engagement with the movement by studying his manuscript(s) on the classics and his correspondence, as well as the

documentary records from the State Archives in Zadar. In addition, the paper will use this material to situate Benja within the larger socio-historical context, reconstructing his life and family background, tracing his learned contacts in Zadar and beyond, in Italy and Croatia, and shedding light on his political allegiances. As will be seen, this largely untapped material offers surprising insights on the eastward diffusion of humanism and the extent of trans-Adriatic humanist networks.

András Vadas (Eötvös Loránd University/Central European University)

## Border by the River, but Where is the Water?

Medieval estate borders were mostly formed by natural barriers, such as hills, ditches, forests, meadows, etc. Of course, in many cases trees were marked in some form, or small mounds were built to clarify the course of estate borders. Almost none of these seems at a first sight as firm as a border along rivers and streams. However, following a closer look at law codes, customary law collections and legal disputes that arose in connection with estate borders, it becomes clear that bodies of water as borders of estates could be the basis for conflicts. This paper aims to discuss sources from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries that concern the problem of the change of land ownership in consequence of changes in riverbeds. In the late medieval compilation of Hungary's customary law by Stephen Werbőczy, a surprisingly long section is dedicated to this problem. He clearly suggests that landownership did not change if a piece of land was attached to another person's land by changes of the course of a river. Research drew attention to the relevant section and suggested this is one of the few points in the *Tripartitum* that does not apply Hungarian customary law, but rather employs Roman law. In my paper based on a collection of similar lawsuits, I aim to demonstrate that there are a number of examples of both the application of Roman law which left the land in question in the hands of the previous owners, and decisions that suggest changes of ownership occurred.

Trpimir Vedriš (University of Zagreb)

## Friulian *liber vitae* and the travelers from Central and Southeastern Europe

Evangeliary of Cividale (*Cividale, Museo Arheologico Nazionale, Cod. CXXXVIII*) contains a precious testimony to pilgrims' presence in the North Italian region of Friuli in the 9th century. The secondary function of this late-antique Gospel Book as *liber vitae* resulted in the preservation of almost 1500 personal names – many of which came from the broad area between the Eastern Alps, Bulgaria and Dalmatia. Departing from recent research on the origin of the Gospel Book (the codex was produced in the 6th or 7th century) and its usage in the vicinity of Aquileia during the period between mid-ninth and early tenth-century, the aim of the present paper is to re-consider the list of names from southern Pannonia and hinterland Dalmatia (particularly Croatian principality). Relying on the contextual evidence of cultural contacts between the Northern Italy and the Adriatic hinterland, in this paper I will expand the list of persons who can be identified as members of local Slavic elites and also trace the outlines of trans-Adriatic ecclesiastical/monastic networks.

Julia Verkholantsev (University of Pennsylvania)

## 'The Land Named Charvaty' in Central European Mythistorical Imagination

Perhaps every Czech high school student knows the line from the early 14th-century chronicle, ascribed to one Dalimil: *V srbském jazyku jest země, jiežto Charvaty jest jmě. V tej zemi bieše lech, jemužto jmě bieše Čech* (Among the Serbian (Slavic?) people there is a land named Croatia. There was a fellow (*lech*) in that land, whose name was Czech). This line, taken at face value in the Middle Ages

but now, of course, critically interpreted, is the earliest attested account of the idea that the roots of the Czech nation could be found in Croatia. Yet, more than whether there is any truth to this tale, what is especially interesting about the story of the troubled fellow Czech, who, after having committed a murder back in his native Charvaty (i.e., Croatia), arrived at the mountain Řip to become the forefather of the Czechs, is the way it has inspired mythistorical imagination through the ages. This paper examines Dalimil's chronical and several other late medieval sources in which the origins, early history, and language of Bohemia and Poland are connected to Croatia.

Petra Waffner (Fern Universität in Hagen)

## The *Livre de Sidrac* (13th ct.) and its Prophetical Discourse: Transferring Knowledge to the West

There are several ways in which medieval literary texts collected and spread the knowledge of the world. By this they often crossed borders and thereby connecting different cultures and passing information from unknown parts of the world to readers. This is the case with the French-language *Livre de Sidrac*, an encyclopedic volume of the High Middle Ages, well known in its time and often translated into other vernaculars. Probably written in a clerical surrounding, it disseminated in the French and Anglo-Norman nobility. Its anonymous Christian author obviously lived in the Holy Land. The author of the east was well aware of the situation in the region during the time of the Crusades, living as a Christian in between Muslims and Mongols. His aim was to inform the western audience of circumstances they seldom knew. He tried to convince them of the necessity of a new Crusade to conquer the Holy Land. To win the influential western audience the text uses a prophetic voice. It is therefore hiding its political statements behind a fictive prophet predicting God's will. This paper aims to show how *the Livre de Sidrac* tried to influence its audience, what information was given and with what methods this was presented. Some later manuscript witnesses of the text can even show how the original statement – the exhortation to organize a new crusade – transferred to a different context.

Nicholas Youmans (TU Dresden - FOVOG)

## Rituals of Mobility and Hospitality in the Teutonic Knights

The current paper seeks to show how the dual social identity of the Teutonic Knights was incorporated and embodied in their rituals of mobility and hospitality. As an order of the Latin Church, the Teutonic Knights adopted and adapted certain practices of daily life from the world of monasticism. At the same time, however, in order to justify and lay claim to their status and their function as fighters of holy wars, they also took on practices that were reflective of noble-courtly culture. The ideals of both the monastery and the court thus symbolically infiltrated their daily lives in tangible and visible fashion. Prominent examples of such practices are those concerning hospitality and mobility. These rituals not only galvanized those involved and helped instill a common sense of identity and of the ideal brother knight, but they also functioned as means of communicating ideals with the outside world – be it by means of accepting outsiders as sick patients or by traveling throughout Europe with an entourage and at times being hosted by strangers. The spatial dynamic of rituals also serves to underscore limits and the impact of crossing liminal boundaries.

Nada Zečević (Royal Holloway University of London)

## *Notevole larghezza, notizie così gravi e gelose and un uomo che amava spacciarsi*: Diplomatic Exchange between King Alfonso V of Aragon, Byzantine Palaiologoi and Feudal Lords of the Balkans (1442-1458)

During his reign in Naples, between 1442 and 1458, King Alfonso V of Aragon exchanged a series of diplomatic communications with the Christian East – namely, with Byzantine Emperors John VIII (1425-1448), Constantine XI Dragases (1449-1453), and their close kin, but also with the most prominent feudal lords of the Balkan peninsula (Herzeg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, George Castrioti Skanderbeg, etc.). The basic historical details of these missions are largely known to modern scholarship which usually regards them as the king's attempt to secure individual allies in his planned anti-Ottoman Crusade and his planned move toward the imperial throne in Constantinople. Scholarship, however, has not done much to compare these missions and examine their mutual or wider connections and influences. With the aim of doing so, my paper focuses on people, terms, and resources that were directly involved in the diplomatic exchange between King Alfonso V, the Byzantine Palaiologoi rulers, and the Balkan lords. My focus on their interaction reveals several specific strategic approaches in the king's "Eastern/Byzantine policy," and an entire network of envoys that operated beyond the usual channels of royal and imperial diplomatic communication. These people bridged not only the political entities between two sides of the Adriatic and the Bosporus, but also related them to more complex political, economic, and cultural processes that took place in the wider space of the Christian East and West at the time.

Daniel Ziemann (Central European University)

## The Power of Dividing: The Border Between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the Early Middle Ages (7th – 10th Centuries)

More than forty years ago, Robert Browning published his study on "Byzantium and Bulgaria - A comparative study across the early medieval frontier" in which he provided an overview of the social and economic structures of the First Bulgarian Empire and the Byzantine Empire. The concept of frontier was not at the center of his book since he was mainly interested in a structural comparison of the two neighbors. The concept of frontier was therefore used in a broader sense, describing the different conditions under which certain developments take place. The present paper attempts to focus more on the frontier itself and especially the concept of frontier as a conscious dividing line between two political entities. It aims at analyzing the impact of such an artificial dividing line and how it shapes not only the political but also the social and economic landscape. It also explores the manifold dimensions of the border and its various implications. The case of early medieval Byzantium and Bulgaria, the period from the 7th until the late 10th century, is an interesting example because the border is a frequently mentioned issue in the sources. It can be seen from various perspectives, ranging from a demarcation line in the physical landscape to an active creator of identities. The frontier played indeed a significant role since the establishment of the First Bulgarian Empire in 680/681. Transgressing it was a symbolic act in initiating military confrontations. Peace treaties put much effort in describing the exact position of the frontier. It played a role for the legitimation of rulership as well as for trade and taxation. Both empires spent a lot of resources and energy in fortifying the border, which shifted over the course of the centuries. The border was at the same time, of course, a contact zone and a means of interaction. The present paper will discuss the manifold aspects of the Byzantine-Bulgarian border as an example of how a consciously established dividing line generated certain energies that shaped the political, social and economic life of the two neighbors.

Dušan Zupka (Comenius University, Bratislava)

# Forms of Communication of Ruling Elites in Late Medieval Central Europe (Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, c. 1250–1350)

This paper aims to give a new account of the forms of communication and representation of the political elites/communities of the later Middle Ages in Central Europe. It focuses on the neighboring realms of Bohemia, Hungary and Austria in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (c. 1250 - c. 1350). This will be done by introducing a set of interdisciplinary approaches to provide a comparative study of the territories in question. The investigation is based on two cardinal premises. First, that the ruling communities (elites) were formed from diverse political groups, most prominently represented by the ruler and his entourage (dynasty, court) on the one hand, and the elites (both lay and spiritual) on the other. These groups had their specific qualities, forms and practices of belonging, togetherness and solidarity. Rule (lordship) over a particular realm was a mixture of co-operation, competition and compromises made between these groups. Secondly, these political communities therefore felt constant need for public representation of their status, rank and symbolic role within the society. Effective ways to express belonging to a political group, to represent the creation of social bonds, or to communicate the image of such communities included a wide range of symbols, gestures and specific rhetoric. The reciprocities of forms of political community building and their ritualized representation will be scrutinized systematically in line with the main research questions: What was the nature and meaning of the rituals and symbols that reflected and represented the ruling strategies of political groups? What roles did these groups play in ritualized practices of power (including decision-making, counsel and advice, and shared practice of power)? Which ruling strategies were used in the course of repeated and omnipresent dynastic conflicts, succession crisis and legitimization of power?

# Notes