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COORDENAÇÃO DE  
ANA CLARINDA CARDOSO, ANDRÉ RODRIGUES,  
J. CARLOS TEIXEIRA, PAULO MORGADO E CUNHA  
RUBEN FILIPE TEIXEIRA DA CONCEIÇÃO.

SILVANA R. VIEIRA DE SOUSA

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Grupo Informal de História Medieval  
Universidade do Porto, Faculdade de Letras  
Via Panorâmica 4150-564 Porto Portugal

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## Transmission of medieval memory and symbols through chronicles

*Paula Horvat*  
**Catholic University of Croatia**

### **Abstract:**

Based on the analysis and interpretation of three medieval chronicles, this paper is trying to find symbols that are transmitted in medieval memory and form medieval imagology. By using the inductive method, it is concluded what forms medieval concepts of the past and of memory, and also generates imaginary. Through these methods, this paper tries to synthesize most inherent symbols in medieval chronicles.

### **Keywords:**

Memory; Imagology; Symbols; Chronicles

### **1. Topic**

This paper presents and represents the results of research conducted during the writing of my master's thesis. I have explored in my master thesis the medieval concepts and notions that are key to understand and analyze medieval imagology in chronicles. Emphasis was placed on the establishment of a system of symbols and their transmission in medieval chronicles that can be observed from the early Middle Ages. The need for a new social definition, the legitimization of the community and the state, the knowledge of the new and the unknown, the heavenly and the earthly, conditioned the creation of new stories. Symbols and the imaginary in my master's thesis were observed through the assertion of Carl Jung's claim that „(...)man uses the spoken or written word to express the meaning of what he wants to convey. His language is full of symbols, but he also often employs signs or images that are not strictly descriptive(...)“.<sup>1</sup> From this arose the hypothesis of the master's paper which holds that the transmission and use of symbols aim at transmitting the own notions of medieval chroniclers about history into history/chronicles. Symbols are part of a text, they are uttered in a word or description, but their meaning has yet to be grasped and is often not, as Jung says, descriptive. Symbols in the imaginary are completely described and understood. Given the embedding of symbolism in the habitus of medieval chroniclers, the intention was to explore their patterns, methods of using, and the purpose of transmitting certain symbols. By getting acquainted with the habitus and microcosm

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<sup>1</sup> Carl G. Jung, *Man and his Symbols* (Doubleday: Anchor Press, 1964), 20.

of medieval chroniclers, conclusions were made about medieval imagology, which presupposes the totality of thoughts, knowledge, memories, feelings, experiences, spiritual quests, and current realization in medieval everyday life. Following these medieval needs, the thesis focused on the reconstruction of the medieval imaginary, ie the part that is depicted and manifested through symbols and symbolic examples. Symbols were sought and analyzed in the chronicles: *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon, *Carmen Miserabile* by Roger of Apulia, and the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Simon de Kéza.

## **2. Chronology, space and historical sources**

The analysis of the chronicles covers the period from the 1230s to the 1290s. This is the time of the creation of the selected chronicles and the life and work of their authors. At that time, the vision of the world in proper order and hierarchy was more strongly expressed, which arises from the need to compare the otherworldly world (macrocosm) to the earthly world (microcosm).<sup>2</sup> For this reason, 13th-century chronicles were selected as representative specimens to study the development of literacy and new perceptions of the significance of history. Selected chroniclers share a similar living space and personal development, so it was to be expected that their symbols could be compared. This paper presents the results of research and analyses of chronicles that have been conducted.

### *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon

Thomas the Archdeacon was born in Split around 1200/1201. Little is known about his origin, youth, education, and the information available about him is mostly learned from his chronicle *Historia Salonitana*.<sup>3</sup> Thomas was a highly educated individual which can be deduced from the literature and material recognized in his chronicle. In the chronicle, he uses, quotes, and transmits allegories and phrases of

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<sup>2</sup> Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: the Medieval World in Urban Form* (London:Reaktion Books, 2009), 7.

<sup>3</sup> Arhidakon, Toma. *Historia Salonitana*. Translated and edited: Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Olga Perić i Radoslav Katičić. Split: Književi krug Split, 2003.;The character and work of Thomas the Archdeacon were elaborated in detail by Mirjana Matijević Sokol. She has also been credited with transcribing and critically interpreting Toma's chronicle *Historia Salonitana*. About that Matijević Sokol (2002); Matijević Sokol (1995); Matijević Sokol (2005); Matijević Sokol (2014); Matijević Sokol (2003). About Toma also cf. and Ivić (1992); Šegvić (1927); Kožić (1988); Jarak (2003); Kužić (2004); Gračanin and Razum (2012).

classical authors such as Virgil, Lucan, Isidore of Seville,<sup>4</sup> and the Bible. While studying in Bologna, he encountered various political events such as flourishing and development of communal arrangements in Italian cities, social changes, church struggles,<sup>5</sup> and student strikes.<sup>6</sup> Upon his return to Split, Thomas worked as a notary public from 1227 and in 1230 he was elected archdeacon.<sup>7</sup> He participated in the public political life of the city of Split and led administrative changes.<sup>8</sup> His reality was marked by numerous disagreements in Split, disputes between Dalmatian cities, but also various political influences on the Adriatic. One of Toma's intentions to write was to reinterpret historical memory. At the same time, it was important to legitimize the past, to place one's continuity in the universal medieval imaginary of the past, and to equate the notion of history with the medieval "mental landscape".<sup>9</sup> His intention is in the spirit of his time and follows the "trends" of shaping a new concept of history whose purpose is to include the old story in the Christian allegory of the past and the presumed course of time. He was probably also motivated by a desire to present a personal history in which he would more clearly shape his intentions, which were not supported by his contemporaries. The presence of symbols in *Historia Salonitana* should be seen both through the genre of writing and through the very intellectual habitus of Thomas the Archdeacon. His work is a *gesta* as a genre, but also a personal memory that gives a dynamic and vivid insight into the past.

### *Carmen Miserabile* by Rogerius of Apulia

Rogerius was born around 1205 in the town of Torre Maggiore (Turis Cepia) in Apulia. A permanent presence in the Roman Curia since the 1230s points to his higher education. Possibly, he has been educated in the study of liberal arts and law, but there

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<sup>4</sup> Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, Translated and edited by Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Olga Perić i Radoslav Katičić. Split: Splitski književni krug, 2003, 33; Matijević Sokol (2014): 230.

<sup>5</sup> Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Toma Arhiđakon Splitski (1200-1268.) -nacrt za jedan portret," *Povijesni prilozi* 14, br.14(1995): 118-120.

<sup>6</sup> On medieval education, i.e. student life and what they encountered after going to Italian universities, cf. Le Goff, Jacques. 1982. *Intelektualci u srednjem vijeku*. Translated by Nada Grujić. Zagreb: Grafički zavod.82; Cobban, Alan B. 1971. "Medieval Student Power." *Past & Present* no. 53: 28-66.

<sup>7</sup> Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Toma Arhiđakon Splitski (1200-1268.) -nacrt za jedan portret," *Povijesni prilozi* 14, br.14(1995): 117-121.

<sup>8</sup> On Thomas' role in advocating the introduction of "Latin administration" in the city and bringing in the Latin governor Gargano de Arscindis in 1239., cf. Matijević Sokol (1995), 121-122.

<sup>9</sup> Nenad Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti. Kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski arhiđakon Toma napravio svoju salonitansku historiju* (Zagreb: Biblioteka Zavoda za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1992), 215-221.

is also no source about Roger's early life.<sup>10</sup> His presence in Hungary was monitored from 1232, after which he became a court chaplain in Hungary and advanced to the archdeaconry in Nagyvárad,<sup>11</sup> where he was during the Mongol invasion in 1241/42. years. Around 1243, he wrote his chronicle, a political analysis of Hungary, and a report on the Mongol destruction of the Kingdom.<sup>12</sup> The aim of Carmen Miserabile's writing stems from Roger's desire to inform about the lived experience of the Mongol invasions, his captivity. The experience of the Mongols is the main content of Roger's letter, ie prose poems (epistles). At the beginning of the letter, he states that the goal "(...) so they that read may understand, who understand, believe, who believe observe, and who observe perceive that the days of perdition are near, and that the times are running towards the end(...)".<sup>13</sup> This goal was also highlighted in the public reading of the letter that Rogerius was allowed to read at the Council of Lyon in 1245,<sup>14</sup> which probably had a great influence on the spread of his idea of the Mongols/Tatars in Western Europe. Although the citizens of Split were against his election, he was enthroned as the papal candidate for the archbishop of Split on April 30, 1249. He died in Split in 1266, and with his death Thomas the Archdeacon ended his *Historia Salonitana*.

### *Gesta Hungarorum* by Simone de Keza

Simon de Kéza was a royal notary, clerk, and cleric at the court of King Ladislaus IV. There is also no information about the life of Simon de Kéza, and information about him was recorded for his services at court. He is known as the author of the *Gesta Hungarorum*, written around 1280-1285. This chronicle is an important repository of the traditions and fictions pertaining to the origins of the Hungarian *natio* and the immigrant groups in Hungary. He studied Roman and canon law at the University of Padua (1272-1280) and obtained a master's degree.<sup>15</sup> In his writing, Simon used

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<sup>10</sup> Redy i Veszpremy (2010), XLI; Rogerije iz Apulije. Carmen Miserabile. Translated and edited: Mirko Sardelić, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska (2010):105-108.

<sup>11</sup> The city of Oradea in present-day Romania cf. Sardelić (2010), 105.

<sup>12</sup> Rogerije iz Apulije. Carmen Miserabile. Translated and edited: Mirko Sardelić, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2010; On the Christian West in the 13th century and the encounter with the Mongols after the Mongol invasion, cf. Sardelić (2010), 105; Jackson (2005).

<sup>13</sup> Frank Schaer, *Anonymus and Mater Roger* (Budimpešta-New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 135.

<sup>14</sup> Sardelić (2010), 14-15.

<sup>15</sup> Veszprémy i Schaer, „Introduction“ in *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum. The deeds of the Hungarians* (Central European University Press 1999), XV; Jenő Szűcs, „Theoretical elements in Master Simon of Kéza Gesta Hungarorum (1282-1285.)“ in *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum. The deeds of*

classical and Christian authorities, mixing them with different epic and oral traditions and his own experiences. Some of them are *Jordanes*, *Paul the Deacon*, *Godfrey of Viterbo*, *Master Ákos*. This can be deduced from the rich language and vocabulary that is shaped by classical and biblical borrowing, but also by the use of modern dialects/languages.<sup>16</sup> Upon his return to Hungary around 1280, he compiled a new Hun-Hungarian history.<sup>17</sup> Apart from the spirit of the time, his work is also characterized by the peculiarities of his microcosm, namely its establishment of the Hungarian historical order, which arose from the need for a new social and political definition of the kingdom.<sup>18</sup> In this way, his work is a kind of propaganda through a combination of historical fiction and political and social theories.<sup>19</sup> Such a historical notion of the history of the Hungarians, the history of Hungary, its nobility, and its various social groups influenced further transmission of this historiographical construct of Hungarian history.<sup>20</sup>

### 3. Methodology and historiographic framework

This paper presents the results of master's thesis which was conducted by applying the inductive method by which the method of analysis of the three mentioned chronicles highlighted the general trends of medieval transmission and the meaning of symbols in the chronicles. Nevertheless, to be able to research medieval imagology and symbols, it was necessary, in a deductive way, to get acquainted with the segments that make up and condition medieval imagology. It was necessary to study all the segments that make up the medieval habitus of chroniclers so that through the analysis of their chronicles one could conclude about the fit of notions of the past, but also the present and the future in the imagology of medieval society. Also, it was necessary to know the valid value categories and norms of the Middle Ages to identify moments that did not

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*the Hungarians*. XXIX-CII. Ur. Veszprémy, László; Schaer, Frank. Budapest: (Central European University Press, 1999), IL.

<sup>16</sup> Veszprémy i Schaer (1999), XXII-XXVI.

<sup>17</sup> Szűcs, „Teoretical elements,” (1999), IL-L.

<sup>18</sup> On the development and urbanization of cities as well as on the legal definition of new social groups through royal privileges cf. Szűcz (1999), XXIX-XLVIII. Also, about the immigration of German families and other groups such as the Saxons, Sikuls, Jews and the encouragement of social differentiation, the atmosphere for "human integration" in the time of King Ladislaus IV. Kumanac and his disagreements with the Roman Curia cf. Berend, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages*, (2013), 460-490. Since Simon was the court cleric of Ladislav IV. in these historical moments one can look for motivation for his new interpretation of the Hungarian past.

<sup>19</sup> Szűcs (1999), CXIII-CII.

<sup>20</sup> Pál Engel, "Foreword" in *Cronicle of the Hungarians*, ed. János Thuróczy, (Indiana: Indiana University, 1991), 1-10.

meet the expectations of the time. In these moments, the images of medieval chroniclers, their symbolic interpretations and changes and/or renewals of existing notions of the past are often manifested. The assumed hypothesis is that symbols are a language for introducing transmitted and valid notions of medieval chroniclers about the past. These symbols are transferred to written history (chronicles) thus forming a special, hidden expression, about memory and the overall imaginary. Numerous works deal with metaphors, figures, allegories, and the influences of prose texts on the medieval writing of history, i.e. chronicles.<sup>21</sup> Yet, here is no complete study of medieval imagology and symbolism, especially with an analysis of questions such as how it shapes and conditions them, with what purpose they are transmitted, and how they are accomplished in medieval mental habitus and imaginary. Studies covering the fields of studying symbols, memory, and the medieval past was mostly focused on discovering authorities and motives from which medieval authors took certain symbols, figures, and notions of the past. At the same time, the analysis and critique of symbols make it difficult to determine the position on whether they are used and transmitted in the medieval written legacy, consciously or unconsciously.<sup>22</sup> In this context, Croatian historiography of the last 20 years is increasingly focused on the analysis of the allegorical, symbolic, and imaginary in medieval everyday life.<sup>23</sup> Since the 1980s, however, European historiography has been focused more on the study of these components of medieval literacy, including the medieval need for memory and the (re)construction of memory and the past.<sup>24</sup> This paper presents a synthesis of symbols, motifs, and conclusions after the research.

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<sup>21</sup> Sweeny (1982), 156-183; Ivić (1992); Spiegel (1997), XI-XXII; de Lubac (1998), 1-15; Bertelli (2001), 1-150; Slavić (2005); Goetz (2012), 110-128; Heng (2018), 130-138; Matijević Sokol (2014), 223-238; Croizy-Naquet (2015), 40-55.

<sup>22</sup> Erich Auerbach, "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature." *Yale French Studies* no. 9 (1952): 3-10; Morton W. Bloomfield, "Symbolism in Medieval Literature." *Modern Philology* 56, no. 2: (1958): 73-81.

<sup>23</sup> Matijević Sokol (2015), 223-238; Ivić (1992).

<sup>24</sup> It should be said that interest in the topics of the imaginary, symbolic and memory entered historiography from other sciences such as sociology, anthropology, psychology. The more significant authors of these sciences and dealing with this topic are Jung (1964); Barth (1998), 1-38; Eliade (2002). On symbols in historiography cf. Auerbach (1952), 3-10; Smalley (1952), XI-XXII; Bloomfield (1958), 73-81; Marcalonis (1974), 311-319; White (1990), 1-26; Coleman (1992); Goetz (1993), 1-9; Spiegel (1997); Halsall (1999), 131-145; Zerubavel (2003); Higgins (2003), 199-226; Hoppenbrouwers (2005); Goetz (2012), 110-128; Mondschein i Casey (2015), 1657-1680; Pohl i Wood (2015), 1-15; Lowenthal (2015); Hutton (2016); Zupka (2016).



#### **4. Thesis and processed datas – Formation, use, and purpose of symbols – research results**

The paper focused on the individual perceptions of categories in imagology. The aim is to identify expressions through which the medieval imaginary is noticeable and recognizable. For the reconstruction of the medieval imaginary one had to get acquainted with the medieval writers and their surroundings to reconstruct their habitus. One contained testimonies about the past, and it revealed that they possessed a personal idea of the past and indicated what that idea was supposed to be in their present. The chroniclers observed what was recognizable and necessary to the community for collective affirmations of uniqueness and identity. The selected chroniclers were educated individuals whose goal was to preserve, “correct,” rewrite “truth” about the community and the past. This new truth has shaped the new memory of the community. The works most often did not testify to radical changes in mentality, habitus, and/or memory, as they were based on both established authorities and other predecessor writers. The goal of new histories and collectively adopted memories was to legitimize the past in a newly shaped story. What was new in that story was the narrative of the chroniclers and the use of symbols, and the story of the past became a new memory. Through this narrative of the past the imaginary of medieval society was formed. Various topics in chronicles, like notions of time, transience, past, community, state, ruler, fellow-citizens, Others, piety, also adopted new shapes of meaning and memory.<sup>25</sup>

The assessment of these categories in the paper is presented and explained through the synthesis of the investigated symbols. Once recognized, it was concluded that they manifested themselves in the imaginary of the Middle Ages. Only then could the success of a symbol be assessed. The adaptation of symbols tells us as to whether it was passed on was retained in the new memory of the group. If the symbols confirmed the desired and set criteria of the chroniclers and the community, they confirmed a new, valid past. If the symbols confirmed the desired and set criteria of the chroniclers and the community, they confirmed a new, valid past. The acceptable and valid past of medieval chroniclers was then shaped into a new account of the history and as such continued to be carried on into the future.

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<sup>25</sup> See table 1, on page 14. of the annexes.

### Symbols of time, sequence, past, continuity, divine presence, beginning and doom

The first and basic requirement of writing a medieval work, while respecting the methods of writing about history, was to place the story in historical time and to establish a sequence of time.<sup>26</sup> History in the Middle Ages encompassed everything that had passed, both a long time ago and “the day before” from the moment the medieval chronicler had written<sup>27</sup> Between these two times, past and present (cosmic and human),<sup>28</sup> there has always been a symbol of an unbroken sequence that fits the author’s story into the constant course of history and incorporates his vision of the past into the overall chronology. The establishment of the sequence of history in the Middle Ages was mostly influenced by the Bible and the biblical sequence of history. Time is presented as eternal duration and is determined by the beginning of biblical history (Creation and/or Resurrection) and the end that cannot be known and determined, but is expressed by the symbols of the Last Judgment. Time is unchanging, that is, as constant as God himself. God was omnipresent in medieval imaginary, as the Lord of time, and thus, the Lord of history. This belief in the divine management of history and in His plan for the history of mankind was integrated into medieval writing and imaginary.<sup>29</sup> It was possible to see the constant of time and history through the discovery and recognition of repeated works, destinies, and the structure of the world.<sup>30</sup> This conditioned the construction of the sequence and content of history with the aim of fitting notions of the past into the history of Scripture and eternal continuity.<sup>31</sup> In this context, Eviatar Zerubavel argues that the goal of putting historical continuity at a constant in time was also to mentally bridge the historical gap between the past and the present. This bridging requires the creation of “time maps” through which the historical hierarchy is established and the past is organized.<sup>32</sup> It is similar to Simon, who often uses the past as the beginning of these practices to justify some

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<sup>26</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, “Historical Writing, Historical Thinking and Historical Consciousness in the Middle Ages.” *Revista Diálogos Mediterrânicos 2* (2012): 115-119.; Anne Higgins, “Srednjovjekovno poimanje strukture vremena.” *Kolo 13, no. 1* (2003): 199-226.; Berly Smalley, “Introduction” in *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), XI.

<sup>27</sup> Goetz, *Historical Writing*, (2012), 119.; See table 1, on page 14. of the annexes.

<sup>28</sup> Chatarine Croizy-Naquet, “Troy and Rome, two narrative presentations of history in the thirteenth century: the Roman de Troie en prose and the Faits des Romanis” in *Romance and History. Imagining Time from the Medieval to the Early Modern Period*, ur. Jon Whitman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 40-55.

<sup>29</sup> Goetz, *Historical Writing*, (2012), 115-117.

<sup>30</sup> Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti*, (1992), 62-66.

<sup>31</sup> Smalley, „Introduction“, (1952), XI.

<sup>32</sup> Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps. Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003): 37-40, 106-108.

legitimate practice, law or custom, after which he says that it is valid in Hungary „(...) to this day (...)“.<sup>33</sup> This creates an atmosphere of lasting and uninterrupted sequence, not only of the past but also of knowing that past through one continuous story at one time. That is, if something has always existed, then it is also valid, natural, historical, and legal. The medieval concept of understanding time was also expressed through the numerical establishment of six stages of History, that is, seven stages of time.<sup>34</sup> The total duration of history was divided into 6000 years, and each 1000th marked one stage or millennium.<sup>35</sup> The seventh and final stage was eschatological, referring to time after time, to the second coming of Christ.<sup>36</sup> The trend of “systematizing the past” in the 12<sup>th</sup> century had an impact on these milestones of history. Simon de Kéza at the beginning of the first chapter refers to this concept when he says that “(...) in the Old Testament, and now in the sixth year of the world, different historians have written different histories (...)”.<sup>37</sup> The history dealt with by medieval chroniclers was set in the last, sixth stage of time. The Old Testament indicated continuity in time, connecting the sixth and first stages, but the events that Simon wrote about are located in the sixth stage of time. This stage is symbolized as the stage of the last empire (Roman), the stage before the end of history.<sup>38</sup> The symbols of doom and the end were most often explained as “(...) *God's clear punishment* (...)”,<sup>39</sup> and they formed value categories. These categories indirectly indicated what was bad, unsustainable, and what was ultimately to be punished.

It was enough to indicate a few episodes from the Old Testament to indicate in the imaginary of medieval readers and listeners a symbolic connection with the time that is “eternal” and to encourage a series of formed notions about that time. Besides, this metaphorical and figurative designation of time was a sufficient argument for medieval chroniclers to explain and establish a written narrative. It was not time as such that was questioned, but the observed moments of one's past to be linked to memory to be suitable for a given moment.

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<sup>33</sup> GH, 52, (...) *usque hodie eandem vocant* (...); See table 1, on page 14. of the annexes.

<sup>34</sup> Augustine's theory of the six stages of time / history and the seventh stage as eschatological cf. Higgins (2003), 199-226. The seventh comes after the return of Christ cf. Szűcs (1999), LXXXVI.

<sup>35</sup> On the millennial theories indicated by Augustine, and inherited and continued by Isidore of Seville cf. Mondschein and Casey (2015), 1667-1668; Higgins (2003), 199-226. Since they were both among the main authorities of the Middle Ages, their concept continued to be transmitted.

<sup>36</sup> Higgins, *Srednjovjekovno poimanje*, (2003), 220-226.

<sup>37</sup> GH, 8, (...) *in veteri testamento, et nunc sub, aetate sexte saeculi diversas historias diversi descriperunt* (...); See table 14. on page x of the annexes.

<sup>38</sup> Goetz, *Historical Writing*, 2012, 118.

<sup>39</sup> HS, 77.; See table 14. on page x of the annexes.

The second set of symbols<sup>40</sup> served to reconstruct historical memory and establish an imagology about the purpose and role of community, rulers in society, and the Christian world. These are symbols of the chosen people, brothers, the origins of the people (e.g. Trojan myth, Hun myth), glorious ancestors, crowns or holy rulers.<sup>41</sup> These symbols are political and were most often expressed through a series of ritual behaviors,<sup>42</sup> and referred to the repetition of messages, structures, or cores of actions from the past in the time of medieval chroniclers. In addition to connecting the past and the present, they played a role in transmitting the values of the group, the state, and/or religion.<sup>43</sup> Thus, by explaining the past of certain peoples, the unity of the people/nation was justified and past identities were indicated, so the symbolic connection served as a real connection with the past and memory.<sup>44</sup> Past and memory were perceived as a series of examples in which everything good and valid was reflected, or through them, it was indicated that something supposes to be. There was no awareness that the presence of medieval writers was different, and that was not even desirable. Changes and differences in society could not be verified and confirmed in the past, so the writers needed to clarify these observed changes. Also, in addition to the existence of continuity of the traditional core as an important pillar of the community, the bond of stability of society consists of constant procedures and rituals in relations with the ruler. Although some of the rituals change, (and thus their symbolism) the changes are manifested gradually, through society itself. The need for their acceptance is manifested in the fact that these rituals and symbols were part of public culture and were expressed (most often) in behavior.<sup>45</sup> The formation of new syntheses of the past and the establishment of symbols of unity and continuity began more strongly under the Carolingians and the transformation of the meaning of the

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<sup>40</sup> See table 2 on page x of the annexes.

<sup>41</sup> Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore i London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 85-89; Szűcs, „Teoretichal elements“, (1999): XXIX-LII.

<sup>42</sup> Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000.-1301.)*, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016): 1-222; Mladen Ančić, “Image of Royal Authority in the Work of Thomas Archdeacon.”

*Povijesni prilozi 22, no. 22* (2002): 35-37.

<sup>43</sup> Catherine Croizy-Naquet, “Troy and Rome, two narrative presentations of history in the thirteenth century: the Roman de Troie en prose and the Faits des Romanis” in *Romance and History. Imagining Time from the Medieval to the Early Modern Period*, ur. Jon Whitman, 40-41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, (1997): 97.

<sup>45</sup> Sergio Bertelli, *Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. The King's Body*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State Univerity Press, 2001): 9-107; Ančić, *Image of Royal*, (2002): 33-37.

concept and symbol *imperium Christi*.<sup>46</sup> The interpretation of the term *imperium Christi* can be broad and for different purposes, but in this context, it stands as a symbol that the Carolingians establish as a model of the "line of success". Connecting with emperors, rulers, and the Roman Church enabled them to organize the past and create a lasting and symbolic line of ancestors.<sup>47</sup> The three analyzed chroniclers have used this line of success in different ways, but with the same symbolic connotations. Roger's line is local or pro-Hungarian, but the goal of referring to the most famous Hungarian rulers until Roger's time has the same symbolic role and value in legitimizing political power, the ruling dynasty, and/or rulers. In the same way, Simon de Kéza establishes a line about King Ladislaus in whose service he was, when in an episode about his departure for battle he notes that he expects victory "(...) expecting and trusting in the power of the Almighty and in the saint intercession of his forefathers, the holy kings Stephen, Emerik, and Ladislaus".<sup>48</sup> The King's glorious and sacred line is a guarantee of his correct role and fulfillment of the expected value categories. Also, by narrating about King Ladislaus before the battle and his "invocation" of God's help, it is possible that Simon wanted to point out the king's awareness of the origin of the king's authority. Also, this awareness of the duality of one's role in medieval imaginary depicts the full meaning of the notion of *imperium Christi*. Crown and oath symbols are also common symbols in the analyzed chronicles. The coronation ritual was an important act and in the medieval imaginary revived the symbolism of legitimate rule, valid administration, and social acceptance of the role of king.<sup>49</sup> The analyzed chroniclers often mention the name of the new king and the fact that "(...) was crowned with the crown of the Kingdom of Hungary (...)".<sup>50</sup> The crown always stands as a symbol of confirmation, divine and social, of the legitimacy of that reign.

The third set of symbols is aimed at creating a unified memory of a group or community. The common past removes the boundaries of social and economic groups

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<sup>46</sup> About political-philosophical, teocratic idea of power that was formed by Carolings cf. Caning (2003): 44-81. On the nature and origin of authority, i.e. authority in society cf. Lilley (2009): 142-143.; See table 2, on page 15. of the annexes.

<sup>47</sup> Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, (2003): 58-64.; Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003): 56-58; Ančić, *Image of Royal*, (2002): 33.

<sup>48</sup> GH, 150, (...) *deinde in audacia et caeteris virtutibus naturalibus subministrat, in virtute Altissimi et proavorum suorum, scilicet Stephani, Emerici atque Ladislavi regnum (...)*.; See table 2, on page 15. of the annexes.

<sup>49</sup> Ančić, *Image of Royal*, (2002): 34-37.

<sup>50</sup> HS, 311.; See table 2, on page 15. of the annexes.

with the aim of closer connection of the community as the Us group.<sup>51</sup> Memory and the past are mechanisms not only for creating the identity of the community and their value categories but also for shaping the collective awareness of the community, its purpose, role, and the way of its social expression. Symbols and symbolic explanations in narratives and chronicles confirm and argue the distant and mythical past, the origin of the community, and its identity. Of course, these stories, just like symbols in general, adapt, change, reshape, and transmit new meanings and roles within the community itself.

It has been clarified so far that symbols are most often used at the moment of reversal, conflict, change, or the need for a new definition. It is the same with the symbolization of Others, regardless of whether they are compatriots, neighbors, enemies, or other different groups. That is, medieval authors secondarily most often begin to deal in moments of "rapprochement". But the medieval understanding of the secondary was limited to notions of others according to the criteria and values of "my side". This attitude and method of writing about others have also been inherited and transmitted through oral and written tradition from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, primarily through the genre of *origo gentis*.<sup>52</sup> Late antique authors, with their first ethnographic writings, set up a kind of category according to which they are secondarily defined and interpreted. Thus the preconditions of the community/*gens* were language, culture, tradition, religion, laws.<sup>53</sup> Symbols about the secondary also arose from these categories, and they were most often depicted precisely through religion, language, customs, and differences in physical appearance. The encounter with the other does not necessarily lead to direct assimilation, more often these others are first marked as "internal" others.<sup>54</sup> In other words, the chroniclers point out the

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<sup>51</sup> Peter Hoppenbrowers, *Medieval Peoples Imagined* (Amsterdam: Univeritetiet von Amsterdam, 2005): 33-34.; See table 2, on page x of the annexes.

<sup>52</sup> Rogerius and Thomas often approached meeting others as meeting "wild people" cf. Sardelić, *Europski klerici i misionari o Mongolima*, (2011): 1-22. They are located in the second circle of the known world, ie on the periphery of the world where peoples who are culturally inferior live and the chroniclers present them as barbarians. That second circle is the world of the unknown, the mythical, the strange, and the imaginary stack presupposes and enables the chroniclers to describe them with such notions. About that: Wolfram (1995), 40; Pohl (2006), 99-139; Goffart (2002), 21-39.

<sup>53</sup> Herwig Wolfram, "Razmatranja o origo gentis." in *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, ur. Neven Budak, 40-51. (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest. 1995).; See table 2, on page 15. of the annexes.

<sup>54</sup> In any society that is considered a community, there may be groups with different biological, social, and economic characteristics. These are the "internal" others of a particular community, and their relationships with that community vary depending on situations and events. However, "internal" otherness is less tolerated than "external" since the community depends on defined criteria by which it is identified, cf. Stepanov (2010), 85-128. Three groups of Others are assumed; internal strangers, other

differences between nations in the most unfavorable situations, as exemplified by Rogeri's departure from Cuman, while in more favorable situations the consolidation strategies stand out and state their values such as trade and intermarriage.<sup>55</sup>

This encounter with other cultures, customs, traditions, peoples, and races is noticed through the use of *rhetorical strategies*<sup>56</sup> by which medieval chroniclers try to position the new and unknown in them the known and accessible system of cognition and knowledge. This is precisely the reason why notions of new immigrants, peoples, foreigners were often stereotypical, racist, ethnocentric, until the moment when these others became part of the Us group. Yet, as already stated throughout the paper, the medieval chroniclers intended to shape everything around them and before them into one, unique history and one cosmos to which the author of the chronicle belongs and is represented. This duality of groups in Thomas is reflected in the distant past “(...) in the time of the Goths (...)”.<sup>57</sup> The name Goths also became an inherited symbol for those who were immigrants, newcomers, were not assimilated, but wild non-Christians. This is not a label for an ethnic group,<sup>58</sup> but everything contrary to the expected values and norms of the author. Thomas took that name as a symbol to describe and explain all those characteristics, behaviors, and traditions that come from his view of the world and society, his habitus. This symbol depicted mostly negative features in the medieval imaginary to the reader and listener of the chronicles.

However, according to Riva Kastoryano, the goal is not to establish lasting dichotomies between the two groups but to inform and raise awareness of who the “others” are, to strengthen the core of existing identity throughout history, and identify patterns of recognition of acceptable and unacceptable.<sup>59</sup> In this shaping of values, medieval writers use what is already known, so they transmit and upgrade it. Thus, in their imaginations, they remove the boundaries of the foreign and the unknown, but

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Christian people or neighbors, and non-Christians outside the Latin/known world, cf. Hoppenbrouwers (2005), 23-25.

<sup>55</sup> Tsvetelin Stepanov, *The Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages. The Problem of Others* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010): 58-59.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Pohl (2006), 99-139, where the premise of using rhetorical strategies that serve to shape communities is assumed. They are used to explain and shape the norms, traditions, physical and psychological boundaries of other groups in parallel with the group to which the chronicler belongs. The medieval writer writes as if to clarify, but his understanding focuses on the comparison of the acceptable (the group to which he belongs) and the unacceptable, foreign, new (other groups).

<sup>57</sup> HS, 31.

<sup>58</sup> Maja Kožić, “»Kronika« Tome Arhiđakona i zameci etnološke misli u Hrvata.” in *Etnološka tribina: Godišnjak Hrvatskog etnološkog društva* 18, no. 11 (1988): 27; Guy Halsall, “The barbarian invasions.” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ur. Paul Fouracre, 35-55. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 131-145.

<sup>59</sup> Riva Kastoryano, “Codes of Otherness.” in *Social Research* 77, no. 1 (2010): 79-82.

they continue to use the mechanisms of distinguishing and shaping We and the Other.<sup>60</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

The synthesis of symbols provides historians with an insight into the transmission and inheritance of symbols and their meanings. Also, the awareness of contemporary historians and historiographers about symbols deepens the understanding of medieval imagology, the notion of the past, and medieval everyday life in general. It states valid and accepted social and political values, as well as desirable virtues and norms. It is important to keep in mind that the statements of chroniclers are conditioned by the methods, thinking, habits, and inheritance of classical authorities and written narratives. Besides, when symbols are interpreted it is more important to immerse oneself in the habitus and spirit of the chronicler's age, not in the distant past he writes about. Chroniclers shape symbols from their position of time and understanding of the past, they correspond to their reality, and less to the past about which they wrote. But they were not defined by the chroniclers personally but by the then medieval notions and finally the imaginary. As can be deduced from the table, the symbols were interpreted the same or similarly by individual chroniclers, and this was conditioned by borrowing and further transmission through narratives. Although there was no organized model of the use of symbols, due to their usefulness in interpretations, chroniclers transmitted them as a model for explaining and modifying memory. Habitus, imaginaries, and symbols conditioned the narrative and shaped a new memory, although writers tended to write "true" history. Therefore, symbolically and metaphorically, it can be concluded that the analyzed medieval chronicles are attempts to present valid history and are true statements of the author's habitus and medieval imagology, which is reconstructed through symbols.

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<sup>60</sup> Walter Pohl, "Telling The Difference. Signs of ethnic identity." in *The Roman Provinces to medieval kingdoms*, ur. Thomas F.X.Noble, 99-101 (New York: Routledge, 2006).; Anne Kolos, "Imagining Otherness: The Pleasure and Curiosity in the Middle Ages." in *Mirabilia Journal 18*: (2010): 146-148.



## Annexes of labels

Table 1 of symbols from the analyzed chronicles - synthesis of symbols

<b>SYMBOL</b>	<b>THOMAS THE ARCHEDEACON</b>	<b>ROGERIUS OF APULIA</b>	<b>SIMONE OF KÉZA</b>
<b>Time</b>	the sequence of destiny, the past, the present, God's provision, continuity	permanence, past, present	eternal continuity, the stage of history, the divine presence, the validity and permanence of the law
<b>The beginning</b>	Baptism, Old Testament	Baptism	Creation, Resurrection, Old Testament, Hun settlement
<b>The End/Doom</b>	hostility, discord, inequality, a ruin of Salona, God's punishment, lack of love, pride, usury, malice	inequality, discord, burglary of the Tatars, disunity of the Kingdom, change of tradition and customs, God's punishment	disunity, discord, lack of love, God's punishment

**Table 2 Synthesis of symbols of analyzed chronicles**

<b>Good government and ruler</b>	Christian virtues, harmony, justice, time of peace, crown, oath, spread of Christianity	legal equality, crown, oath, spread of Christianity	Christian virtues, equality, flag, coronation, unification of peoples, spread of Christianity
<b>True</b>	Scripture, Christianity	what the chronicler writes	Christianity, Scripture
<b>Chosen people</b>	Salonitan Church	Ugars	Huns, one mother and father of Ugars
<b>The past</b>	valuable, reliable and correct examples	tradition, customs	tradition, holy ancestors, customary law
<b>Continuity/success</b>	Sv. Peter, Dujam, Church	famous ancestors, st. Stephen, Holy Kings, Bela IV.	famous ancestors, Huns, St. Stephen, King Ladislav the Cumans
<b>Piety</b>	reconciliation, a twig of peace, expressions of mercy	oath, expressions of mercy	origin of authority, invocation of God's help, alms, flying figure (angel)
<b>Body</b>	ideal authority, proof of authority, holy body	the king as the body of the protector of the people	Ideal authority
<b>The Other/Otherness</b>	Goths, Slavs, Croats, Zadar, non-Christians, city destroyers, Gothic / vernacular, heretics, non-Christians, political opponents, foreigners, dissidents	Cumans, Tatars, non-Christians, other languages, different laws, wild people, rapists, immigrants, foreigners, Asia / East	non-Christians, dark and black skin color, pagans, unknown lands, Asia, new nations