
ARTYKUŁY I ROZPRAWY

Adrien Queret-Podesta
Independent researcher
(Tronget, France)

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The didactic and intellectual work of Bonipertus, first bishop of Pécs (1009–1036)

Abstrakt. Dydaktyczna i intelektualna działalność Boniperta, pierwszego biskupa miasta Pécs (1009–1036 r.)

Bardzo niewiele przetrwało informacji na temat życia Boniperta, pierwszego biskupa miasta Pécs, żyjącego we wczesnym średniowieczu. Analiza źródeł węgierskich wskazuje, że został biskupem Pécs w roku 1009, zakończył episkopat w roku 1036 i że zmarł w roku 1042, prawdopodobnie na Węgrzech. Niestety, źródła milczą, jeśli chodzi o życie kapłana przed objęciem stanowiska biskupa w Pécs. Przeprowadzone badania antroponimiczne imienia „Bonipert” sugerują, że biskup był pochodzenia frankońskiego lub północnowłoskiego. Trudno dziś ustalić, która z tych hipotez jest właściwa, gdyż na korzyść każdej z nich przemawiają interesujące argumenty, a jednocześnie każda z hipotez kryje poważne słabości.

Należy jednak podkreślić, że jedyny dokument dotyczący Boniperta, który nie jest pochodzenia węgierskiego, pochodzi z obszaru współczesnej północno-zachodniej Francji. Dokument ten to list napisany przez słynnego biskupa Fulberta z Chartres w odpowiedzi na prośbę Boniperta o wypożyczenie manuskryptu Pryscjana. Jeżeli posłużyć się głównie tym tekstem w dyskusji na temat pochodzenia pierwszego biskupa miasta Pécs, to należy zaznaczyć, że w opinii uczonych żądanie Boniperta wynikało z faktu, iż biskup potrzebował tekstu do pracy dydaktycznej. Prośba ta jest dowodem na istnienie szkoły katedralnej w Pécs w okresie działania pierwszego biskupa. Należy również podkreślić, że budynek szkoły katedralnej nie jest jedynym osiągnięciem przypisywanym Bonipertowi przez uczonych. Kilka lat temu profesor László Havas wysunął hipotezę, że istnieje powiązanie między Bonipertem a pochodzeniem *Libellus de Institutione Morum*, dziełem z gatunku *speculum principale*, napisanym w pierwszym dwudziestopięciocleciu XI w. przez anonimowego autora na zlecenie Stefana dla jego syna, Emeryka.

Pomimo raczej hipotetycznego charakteru ze względu na bardzo małą liczbę zachowanych dokumentów dowodowych, prowadzone badania nad pracą intelektualną biskupa Boniperta dały pewne interesujące wyniki. Można na ich podstawie wnioskować, że Bonipert był prawdopodobnie bardzo dobrze wykształcony i był traktowany jak równy przez jednego z największych intelektualistów swych czasów, Fulberta z Chartres. Jego troska o edukację nie budzi żadnych wątpliwości, gdyż z wszelkim prawdopodobieństwem był założycielem szkoły katedralnej w Pécs. Prezentowała ona

zapewne dobry poziom niedługo po jej założeniu. Jak wynika z naszego pobieżnego badania kwestii związku między Bonipertusem a *Libellus de Institutione Morum*, pytanie dotyczące tego dzieła literackiego jest dużo bardziej złożone. Nie można jednak formalnie wykluczyć hipotezy, że pierwszy biskup miasta Pécs był zaangażowany w tworzenie pierwszego pomnika średniowiecznej literatury węgierskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: edukacja, osiągnięcia intelektualne, historia literatury węgierskiej, średniowiecze, kościół na Węgrzech

Keywords: education, intellectual history, history of hungarian literature, middle ages, church in Hungary

Introduction

We have very little information about the life of Bonipert, first bishop of Pécs in the Middle Ages. The analysis of Hungarian sources shows that he became bishop of Pécs in 1009¹, that his episcopate ended in 1036² and that he died in 1042³, probably in Hungary⁴. We can also add that in a lost historical catalogue about the bishops of Pécs quoted by 18th century historians, Bonipert is mentioned as the chaplain of the King Stephen I (1000–1038)⁵. Unfortunately, the sources remain virtually silent about his life before he became bishop of Pécs, but the date of this event and the mention of his death in 1042 lead us to conclude that he was probably born between 970 and 985. Moreover, scholars underline that the anthroponomical study of the name “Bonipert” suggests that he was either from Frankish or North-Italian origin⁶, but it is hard to establish which hypothesis is correct, since both present some interesting arguments but also some serious weaknesses.

However, it should be underlined that the only document concerning Bonipert which is not of Hungarian provenance comes from today’s North-western France. This document is a letter written by Fulbert of Chartres as an answer to Bonipert’s request to borrow a manuscript by Priscian⁷. If this text is mainly used in the discussion concerning the origin of Pécs’ first bishop, it should be added that numerous scholars also state that Bonipert’s demand results from the fact that the bishop needed this work for teaching

¹ *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, Györfly György (ed.), Tome 1, 1000–1131, Budapest, 1992, (DHA), document 9/1, 58.

² *Annales Posonienses*, Madzsar Imre (ed.), *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, Budapest 1999 (réédition: première édition Budapest 1938) volume I, 125, year 1036: „*Maurus episcopus est effectus*”.

³ *Annales Posonienses*, 125, year 1042: „*Bonipertus episcopus obiit*”.

⁴ Nemerényi Előd, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary eleventh century* Budapest, Debrecen, 2004, 25.

⁵ Joseph Koller, *Historia episcopatum Quinqueecclesiarum*, tome I, Bratislava, 1782, 5–8.

⁶ Nemerényi Előd, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 21–22. Voir aussi Kiss Gergely, „A 11. Századi pécsi püspökök” (Bonipert, Mór, és István),... About the italian hypothesis see principally Györfly György *Szent István történeti kutatásunkban*. In: Glatz Ferenc, Kárdos József (Szerk.): *Szent István és kora*, Budapest, 1988, 21–22.

⁷ DHA, document 18, 104: „*Significavit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus tuae caritatis erga nos insigna fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te velle...*”.

purposes, and that this request proves the existence of a cathedral school in Pécs at the time of its first bishop⁸. We must also underline that the building of the cathedral school is not the only intellectual achievement attributed to Bonipert by research, since a hypothesis proposed a few years ago by Professor László Havas states the existence of a link between Bonipert and the genesis of the *Libellus de Institutione Morum*, a work belonging to the genre of *speculum principale* and written during the first quarter of the 11th century by an unknown author at the demand of Stephen, for his son Emeric⁹. In order to try to present a more precise picture of Bonipert's teaching, we will divide the article into three parts. The first part will analyse the relationship between Chartres and Pécs, as well as the information given by Fulbert's letter about Pécs' cathedral school, whereas the second part will aim to establish the main features of the school at its beginnings, and the last one will focus on the problem of the relationship between Bonipert and the genesis of the *Libellus de Institutione Morum*.

1. The letter of Fulbert of Chartres and Pécs' cathedral school

One of the main qualities of Fulbert's letter is that it proves clearly the existence of a relationship between Pécs' first bishop and the famous bishop/school-master of Chartres, even though researchers already underlined that the personal tone of the letter was not something uncommon in medieval epistolography and that it does enable us to state that the two prelates knew each other personally¹⁰. However, this supposition remains possible in theory, since the polysemic character of the word *ignotos*¹¹ (ignorant, unknown) present in the text does not conclusively prove that Bonipert never met him personally, but it is also likely that this relationship was also indirect, perhaps triangular¹², whose three angles would be Fulbert, *Hilduinus*, the bearer of the letter, and Bonipert.

In both cases, the main results of this relationship between the two prelates was the existence of "technical" support from Fulbert to Bonipert. The text of the letter enables us to say that this help had at least two aspects. The first was of course the book supply, as is clearly shown by the case of Priscian's work, whereas the second was the circulation of clerks. It shall be indeed underlined that the letter's bearer, *Hilduinus*, is described by

⁸ See for instance Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, p. 25–26, Tamas Fedeles and László Koszta, *Pécs (Fünfkirchen) das Bistum und die Bischofsstadt, im Mittelalter*, Vienna 2011, p. 45, and Gergely Kiss, „A 11. Századi pécsi püspökök”. Among older literature Rémy Békefi, *A káptalani iskolak története Magyarországon 1540-ig*. (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540), Budapest, 1910, 132–133 and 253.

⁹ *Libellus de institutione morum*, József Balogh (éd.), SRH II, 611–627.

¹⁰ See Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 22 and Gergely Kiss, „A 11. Századi pécsi püspökök”.

¹¹ *DHA*, document 18, 104: « ... quod nos licet inmeritos atque ignotos... ».

¹² This triangle construction comes from Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 23.

Fulbert as «*filius noster tuusque fidelis*»¹³, which proves that he studied at Chartres' cathedral before his arrival in Hungary. However, the fact that we possess only one trace of an epistolary relationship between Fulbert and Bonipert does not enable us to estimate precisely the importance of this phenomenon of “technical support”, although the presence of *Hilduinus* at Bonipert's episcopal seat suggests that the help received from Chartres played an important role in the development of Pécs' cultural life in Bonipert's time.

However, the text of Fulbert's letter suggests strongly that this support was not given for free. We should bear in mind that this document is the answer to a request for a manuscript, an item that was hard to produce, since its making required time, knowledge and also rather costly materials, and therefore had great value. The analysis of similar documents proves that manuscripts were almost always exchanged in return for a gift of equal value, which could be another manuscript or an object of a completely different nature. This rule of course also applies to Priscian's works. A document issued in 1044 mentions, thus, that the cathedral of Barcelona bought a Priscian manuscript from a Jew in return for a house and a farm¹⁴. In this context, it seems to us that the “presents” mentioned in the text¹⁵ were a gift whose goal could have been a kind of anticipated compensation for the manuscript in order to make sure that Priscian's work would be sent.

Proceeding in our analysis of Fulbert's letter, it must be stressed that this text does not contain any clear reference to the existence of a cathedral school in Bonipert's diocese. The presence of the verb *docere* (to teach) and of the word *sapientia* (wisdom, knowledge) in the second sentence of the document¹⁶ proves that the bishop of Pécs was involved in teaching and was effective, but it is likely that Fulbert had in mind the teaching of the Christian faith. Moreover, we must add that the letter does not offer any information about the cause of Bonipert's wish to have access to one book by Priscian. However, the nature of Priscian's works suggests strongly that the request of Pécs' first bishop could have been motivated by didactic needs, even though the other explanatory possibilities, like for instance literary purposes, cannot be formally excluded.

Another important problem is the fact that the document does not offer any concrete information about the nature of the work by Priscian needed by Bonipert. The letter designates indeed this work as «*unum de nostris Priscianis*»: if the word *unum* shows clearly that the *scriptorium* of Chartres' cathedral had more than one of Priscian's works at the beginning of the XIth century¹⁷, it should also be stressed that, according to Hungarian

¹³ *DHA*, document 18, 104: «...*filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus*...».

¹⁴ Hänel Gustav, *Zweiter Bericht des Dr. G. Heine in Berlin über seine litterarische Reise in Spanien*. Serapeum, 8^{ème} année (1847), number 6, 86 (quoted by Nemerékényi Előd, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 29).

¹⁵ *DHA*, document 18, 104: «... *quod nos licet inmeritis atque ignotos salutationis pariterque munere gratiae dignatus es pervenire*».

¹⁶ *DHA*, document 18, 104: «... *qui te quoque, dilectissime pater, multa sapientia inlustravit ad docendum populum suum*...».

¹⁷ Also noticed by Előd Nemerékényi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 20.

classical philologist Előd Nemerkenyi, the term *Priscianum* could also mean a manuscript containing more than one work by Priscian¹⁸. Moreover, the catalogue of the cathedral's library does not contain the titles of the works of the grammarian of Cesarea owned by Chartres' bishops at that time, and the specialists can only make hypotheses about the identity of the work needed by Bonipert. The hypothesis commonly accepted by the scholar states that this work was probably the *Institutiones grammaticae*¹⁹, which is clearly the most important and the best known work of Priscian²⁰, but while this supposition seems the most likely, it is unfortunately impossible to confirm.

To sum up the analysis of Fulbert's letter, we can say that this document does not contain any clear evidence of the existence of a cathedral school at Pécs during Bonipert's episcopate, but the need to educate new priests seems to be in itself a good argument in favour of this hypothesis²¹ and there is no serious reason to doubt that the first bishop of Pécs endeavoured to establish a teaching structure in his episcopal seat. We shall now try to reconstruct a picture of the school at its very beginning. In this attempt at reconstruction, we will of course focus on the most important features of the school, namely when it was created, its location, its personnel and its level.

2. The main features of Pécs' cathedral school at the time of Bonipert

Although Hungarian scholar Rémyg Békefi stated at the beginning of the 20th century that this event must have happened relatively early²², there is nothing that enables us to confirm or deny this supposition. The letter by Fulbert is indeed wholly useless in that matter, since a precise dating of this document cannot be established. We must stress here that the dating of the letter after 1020 proposed for instance by E. Nemerkenyi²³ relies mainly on the hypothesis made by some researchers that Bonipert had sent money to Fulbert for the reconstruction of Chartres' cathedral after the fire of 1020²⁴, but this supposition is very doubtful. The only element of the text that could possibly confirm this theory is the mention of "presents" made by Bonipert to Fulbert but as already stated above, the nature of the letter strongly suggests that those presents were rather linked with Bonipert's request for a Priscian manuscript than with Fulbert's demands for the help after the great fire which destroyed his cathedral. The absence of a concrete relationship between the fire at Chartres' cathedral and the epistolary exchange between the two

¹⁸ Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 14.

¹⁹ See for instance Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 18.

²⁰ Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 26–27.

²¹ See Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary eleventh century*, 25–26, and Gergely Kiss, „A 11. Századi pécsi püspökök”.

²² Rémyg Békefi, *A káptalani iskolak története...*, 132–133 and 253.

²³ Nemerkenyi Előd, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 13.

²⁴ Quoted by Nemerkenyi Előd, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 20. (Here also further literature on that question).

bishops thus destroys the main argument for a dating of the letter after in 1020. It seems then, that the safest choice is stick to the broadest proposition, namely the period of the simultaneous episcopates of Fulbert and Bonipert, that is to say between 1009 and 1028²⁵; this scope of dating can also be used for dating the establishment of Pécs cathedral school, although we cannot completely exclude the possibility of a foundation during the last years of Bonipert's episcopate.

Neither the written, nor the archaeological sources provide us with useful information as far as the location of the school is concerned. Looking at analogical and better known cases, we can affirm that according to all probability the school was in the immediate neighbourhood of the bishop's seat, but we have very little information about the episcopal buildings during Bonipert's episcopate²⁶. However, it is certain that the Bonipert's seat was located at the north-western corner of the Old Christian cemetery, that is to say not far from the current cathedral (12th century). We can therefore conclude that the school was probably located inside the area that became later walled round and known as the "Bishop's Castle" (*püspökvár*), although it is impossible to be more precise on that topic.

The sources are once more very scarce when it comes to the question of the personnel at the school. No document preserves any of the names of pupils or masters. Moreover, it may be stated that among Bonipert's collaborators, we know only of Hilduin, the bearer of Fulbert's letter. Hilduin's intellectual formation in Chartres and his role in the demand of Priscian's manuscript lead us to the conclusion that he was probably a *litteratus*, and it is therefore very tempting to assume that he could have been the school master for some time. Unfortunately, this seductive hypothesis cannot be confirmed by any documentary evidence.

The question of the level of the school is also very problematic. If the book by Priscian asked for by Bonipert was really the *Institutiones grammaticae* and if its really aimed to be used as a textbook for the cathedral school, the request of Pécs' first bishop would then indicate that the pupils of the school already had pretty good skills in Latin grammar, since all the specialists insist on the fact that the use of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* requires a good knowledge of grammar and *trivium*²⁷. Unfortunately, this supposition remains rather uncertain, and we should also take into consideration the warning of Előd Nemerékényi, who stresses that "the cultural level of the Pécs cathedral school is extremely difficult to establish on the basis of a single book request"²⁸.

The present analysis shows clearly that our information about the genesis of Pécs' cathedral school are very fragmentary. We can state that according to all probability the school was founded by Bonipert, first bishop of Pécs, that was it located not far from the current cathedral and could have reached a good level not long after its beginnings. The difficulties concerning the reconstruction of the school's genesis result mainly from the

²⁵ This dating is also the one proposed in the *DHA*: see *DHA*, document 18, 103, note 1.

²⁶ See for instance Tamas Fedeles and László Koszta, *Pécs (Fünfkirchen) das Bistum und die Bischofss-tadt, im Mittelalter*, Vienna 2011, 45, and Gergely Kiss, „A 11. Századi pécsi püspökök”.

²⁷ Előd Nemerékényi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 26–27.

²⁸ Előd Nemerékényi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary*, 27.

fact that the few elements we can deduce come from only one source, namely the letter of Fulbert of Chartres, which should be considered rather as indirect evidence, but proves clearly the existence of strong links between Chartres and Pécs in the intellectual sphere. Moreover, this document also constitutes evidence of Bonipert's great knowledge and of his interest in intellectual matters. We obtain, then, the picture of an erudite, who took great care in the education of his future priests. As stated above, it is possible that Bonipert's concern for education did not only touch the people of his diocese, and we must now turn our attention to the question of the links between Bonipertus and the *Libellus de institutione morum*.

3. Bonipertus and the *Libellus de institutione morum*

In order to evaluate precisely the validity of the hypothesis which attributes to Bonipert a role in the birth of the *Libellus de institutione morum*, we must sum up briefly the evolution of the discussion concerning the author of this work. The discussion takes its origin in the Hungarian hagiography, since the *Legendae* of Saint Stephen mention that the first king of Hungary was the author of this text²⁹, and this point of view was originally accepted by researchers and editors. Later, this hypothesis of Saint Stephen's authorship was replaced by the theory that the Holy Gerard, first bishop of Csanád, was the author of the *Libellus*, but this new supposition is also the result of the influence of Hungarian hagiographical sources, since the *Legenda maior sancti Gehrardi* states that the first bishop of Csanád was Emeric's teacher for some time³⁰. This hypothesis was challenged for the first time in the 1960s, when Lajos J. Csóka stated that Thangmar of Hildesheim was the author of the *Libellus* and added that this work showed some striking similarities with Thangmar's works³¹. This point of view of was questioned some ten years later by György Györffy, who expressed the opinion that the real author was the archbishop Asric³². Unfortunately, we do not have any other work written by Asric at our disposal and thus we cannot confirm or exclude this theory by means of comparison of the language. In the 1990s the discussion took a new turn and a new consensus was reached³³, since numerous researchers now agree on the fact the *Libellus's* author prob-

²⁹ Read for instance the *Greater legend of Saint Stephen*, chapter 15: „... libellum de institutione morum constituit...” *Legenda Sancti Stephani Regis major et minor atque legenda ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta*, Bartoniek Emma (ed.), *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, Budapest 1999 (1938), II, 391.

³⁰ *Greater legend of Saint Gerard*, chapter: 5. „Fecit eum filii sui Hemerici ducis magistrum diebus multis” *Legenda Sancti Gerhardi episcopi*, Madzsar Imre (ed.), *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, Budapest 1999 [1938], II, 461–506.

³¹ L. pl.: Csóka J. Lajos „Szent István intelmeinek és törvényeinek szerzősége”, *Vigília*, 29/7 (1964), 453–462. o. Uő.: *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI-XIV. században*, Budapest, 1967. 9–96. o.

³² Györffy György, *István király és műve*, Budapest, 1977. 370–372. o.

³³ This expression comes from Előd Nemerikényi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary...* 34. o.

ably came from the current area of Northern France, and more precisely from Lorraine³⁴.

It should definitely be stressed that the *Libellus* presents numerous similarities with the Carolingian “mirrors of princes” written in today’s Northern France, particularly with the works of Hincmar of Reims and of Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel. Some researchers also add that the prose of the *Libellus* shows clear traces of Hincmar of Reims’ stylistic influence³⁵. Although a good portion of researchers agree on the fact that the author of *Libellus de institutione morum* was an anonymous clerk of Lotharingian origin but lived in Hungary, some specialists try to identify him among the well-known clerks living in Hungary in the first quarter of the 11th century with connections with today’s France. The list of such clerks is not a long one, since it can only include Bonipert and Hilduin. It is true that we cannot establish a direct relationship between them and today’s north-eastern France, but the strong links existing between Fulbert of Chartres and this region, more precisely with Reims, suggests that such a connection must not be excluded.

However, it should be stressed that we have very little information about the dates and the length of Hilduin’s stay in Hungary, and we must add that Bonipert was definitely closer to King Stephen I, especially if we take into consideration the note of the *Catologue of Pécs’ bishops* which states that he was the chaplain of the first Hungarian king. In this context, Bonipert seems indeed to be a very credible candidate for authorship of the *Libellus de institutione morum*, but we must stress that this hypothesis is impossible to confirm, since we do not know any work of Bonipert which would enable us to make a comparison of the language. Moreover, this hypothesis is also built on uncertain parameters, like the origin of Pécs’ first bishop. One important achievement in the way of resolving the problem of the role played by Bonipert and Hilduin in the genesis of the *Libellus de institutione morum* is the establishment of the existence of linguistic, textual or ideological analogies between Chartres’ literary production at the times of Fulbert and the *Libellus*. If the answer to this question is positive, it would then constitute a quite solid proof of Bonipert and/or Hilduin’s participation in the writing of the *Libellus de institutione morum*. We must stress that some steps have already been taken in this direction, but the question still demands further investigation.

Conclusion

In spite of its rather hypothetical character, due to the very small amount of documentary evidence preserved, the present study on Bishop Bonipert’s intellectual work presents some interesting results. We can indeed conclude that Bonipert was probably highly edu-

³⁴ See for instance: József Török, „Influenze lotaringe sulla liturgia dell’Europa centrale intorno all’anno Mille.”, In: Adriano Caprioli, Luciano Vaccaro, *Storia religiosa dell’Ungheria*, Milan, 1992, 89–101. o. és Péter Kóta, „Intelmek”, Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, Ferenc Makk (szerk.), *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon, 9–14. század*, Budapest, 1994, 283.

³⁵ See for example Előd Nemerikényi, *Latin classics in medieval Hungary...*, 34.

cated and was treated as a equal by one of the greatest intellectuals of his time, Fulbert of Chartres. His interest in education is undeniable, since, according to all probability, he was the founder of Pécs' cathedral school, which is likely to have attained a good level of learning not long after its beginnings. As our short examination of the problem of the link between Bonipertus and the *Libellus de institutione morum* shows, the question of his literary production is much more complicated, but we cannot exclude formally the hypothesis that Pécs' first bishop was involved in the creation of the first work of Hungarian medieval literature.

However, the existence of the literary production of Bonipert's successor, Maurus, is clearly established, since Maurus, who was a former pupil of Pannonhalma's monastic school, is the author of the first Hungarian hagiographical source, namely the *Life of Saint Andrew Świerard*, written in 1060³⁶. The great interest showed by Bonipert and Maurus in intellectual matters, as well as their relationships with intellectual centres such as Chartres and Pannonhalma, certainly played a great role in the development of education and literary production in Pécs in the eleventh century, although it remains impossible to determine the real place of Pécs in the hierarchy of Hungarian cultural centres in the early Árpád dynasty era.

³⁶ *Vita sanctorum heremitarum Zoerardi confessoris et Benedicti martiris a beato Mauro episcopo Quinecclesiatensi descripta conscripto*, Imre Madzsar (ed.), SRH II, 347–361.