

STUDIES

HERESY AND HERETICS IN *DELIBERATIO SUPRA HYMNUM TRIUM PUERORUM*¹

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The study deals with the parts of the work of the Channadic bishop St. Gerard, *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*, in which references to heretics and heresy appear. Gerard mentions the heresy in the broader context of their activities in church history, but he also writes about heretics of his own time, that is, the first half of the 11th century. In this thesis, I analyze Gerard's accounts of the heretics' myths, their teachings, and the heretics' criticisms of the church, church doctrines, and church rites. In the historiography, the heretics of Gerard's work are often identified with the Bogomils. I therefore compare Gerard's data on heretics with reports on bogomils from other sources, especially from the works as Sermon against the Bogomils by Cosmas the Priest, the Interrogatio Johannis, and from several Byzantine sources – the letters of Theophylact to the Bulgarian Tsar Peter, the monk Euthymius of the Convent of the Most Venerable Mother of God in Constantinople, and the letter of Euthymius Zigabenus. In the study I devote attention to the question whether *Deliberatio* proves the presence of Bogomils in Hungary already in the first half of the 11th century. I further address the question of the nature of the so-called pagan uprising, i.e. the social unrest of 1046 in Hungary, the possible participation of bogomils in the uprising, and the testimonial value of *Deliberatio* also to these important events of Hungarian history in the first half of the 11th century.

Keywords: *Deliberatio*. St. Gerard, Heresy. Bogomils. Church.

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Introduction

Between the years 1041 and 1046, probably under the reign of Samuel Aba (1041–1044), a work titled *Deliberatio (Gerardi Moresenae aecclesiae seu Csanadiensis episcopi) supra hymnum trium puerorum*² was written by (Saint) Gerard (c. 980–1046), Bishop of Csanád.³ Despite the ambiguity and complexity of the text, which is actually a set of religious essays and sermons, it is a highly valuable, authentic historical source from the eleventh century. Until as late as the second third of the twentieth century, *Deliberatio* had mostly been a marginal topic in Hungarian historiography.⁴

However, recent studies by András Bodor,⁵ Gabriel Silagi,⁶ László Szegfű,⁷ Endre Ivánka,⁸ Balázs Déri,⁹ Melinda Mátyás,¹⁰ Előd Nemerkenyi,¹¹ and some

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- 2 The earliest copy of Gerard's original work from the late eleventh century is deposited in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Codex Latinus Monacensis 6211. The first edition of this source was the work BATTHYÁNY, ed. *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita*. Gyulafehérvár 1790. Some of the numerous errors of Batthyány's edition have been corrected by SÖRÖS. *A Pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend története I*. Budapest 1902, pp. 579-586. I base my study on more recent editions of SILAGI, ed. *Gerardi Moresenae aecclesiae sev Csanadiensis episcopi Deliberatio svpra hymnmv trivm pverorvm. Corpus Christianorvm, Continuatio Mediaevalis XLIX*. Tvrnholti 1978; KARÁCSONYI and SZEGFŰ, eds. *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi svpra hymnum trium pverorum*. Szeged 1999 (hereafter as *Deliberatio*).
 - 3 A similar monograph on Gerard has already been written by KARÁCSONYI. *Szent-Gellért, csanádi püspök, élete és művei*. Budapest 1887. Other works, focusing on Gerard's writings, are listed in the following notes.
 - 4 For earlier works see NEMERKÉNYI. Szent Gellért Deliberáció-jának kutatástörténete. In *Fons*, 2003, Vol. 10, pp. 3-10.
 - 5 BODOR. Szent Gellért Deliberáció-jának fő forrása. In *Századok*, 1943, Vol. 77, pp. 173-227.
 - 6 SILAGI. *Untersuchungen zur 'Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum' des Gerhard von Csanád*. München 1967.
 - 7 SZEGFŰ. Eretnekség és tirannizmus. In *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények*, 1968, Vol. 72, no. 5, pp. 501-516; Néhány XI. századi «liber portabilis» kézikönyvei nyomában (Gellért püspök kézikönyvei). In *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae, Acta Historica*, 1979, Vol. 8, pp. 3-60; Szent Gellért prédikációi. In *Acta Historica* (Szeged), 1985, Vol. 82, pp. 19-29; Kortörténeti problémák Gellért püspök Deliberációjában és legendáiban. In *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae, Acta Historica*, 1986, Vol. 83, pp. 11-21; Még egyszer Gellért prédikációiról. In *Aetas*, 1999, Vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 12-21 and more.
 - 8 IVÁNKA. Szent Gellért görög műveltségének problémája. In NÉMETH, ed. *Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományi osztály köréből*, 1942, Vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 221-238.
 - 9 Especially DÉRI. Szent Gellért Elmékedése mint bibliai hermeneutikai traktátus. In *Logos és akeés – Az ige megszólalása és megszólaltatása*. Pápa 2012, pp. 109-120.
 - 10 MÁTYÁS. Szent Gellért Deliberációjának újabb forrása. In *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei*, 2018, Vol. 17, pp. 231-247.
 - 11 NEMERKÉNYI. Latin Szentírás magyarázat 11. század: Szent Gellért: Deliberatio. In JAN-KOVICS and ORLOVSZKY, eds. *A Magyar irodalom története. A kezdetektől 1800-ig*. Bu-

other historians have devoted systematic attention to Gerard's work from several perspectives.¹²

Below, I will focus on the passages where Gerard writes about heretics.¹³ The bishop of Csanád deals already with early Christian heretics and Gnostics and discusses in detail the growing influence of heresy in the eleventh century. I therefore outline even some answers to questions related to the activities of heretics, especially the Bogomils, in southern Hungary, as this region was situated in an area of probable cultural and religious contacts with the Bulgarian followers of the priest Bogomil.¹⁴

General references to heresy in *Deliberatio*

Before any detailed analysis of Gerard's work, it is important to say a few words about the nature of this source. In earlier historiography, definitions such as Christian apologetics, Biblical exegesis, or hermeneutic treatise appeared with respect to the *Deliberatio*.¹⁵ The work was later described as a polemic against the Bogomils, who had already been widespread in the eleventh century in the

dapest 2007, pp. 49-58.

- 12 Recently, some noteworthy interdisciplinary outputs have also appeared in the output of the conference MESAROS and CĂLIN, eds. *The Saint Gerard of Cenad. Tradition and Innovation*. Timișoara 2015.
- 13 The topic of heresy in Gerard's work was treated systematically especially by László Szegfű. Consequently, in the further course of my text, I will refer mainly to the conclusions of this historian.
- 14 The question of the priest Bogomil being the "founder" of Bogomilism or, rather, as the eponym of the later communities of Bogomils, has been the subject of debate. As a Bulgarian priest and spiritual father of Bogomilian heresy, he was known not only to Cosmas the Presbyter in the tenth century but also appeared in a Byzantine source known as the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, written and gradually supplemented after the year 843. See GOUILLARD, ed. *Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie: Édition et commentaire*. In *Travaux et mémoires* 2, 1967, pp. 1-316 (the reference to Bogomil on p. 135); HAMILTON, J. and HAMILTON, B. *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650-1405*. Manchester; New York 1998, pp. 134-140 (the reference to Bogomil on p. 135). These early pieces of information clearly support the thesis about Bogomil being a historical person.
- 15 E.g. (here also the earlier historiography) DÉRI, Szent Gellért Elmélkedése mint bibliai hermeneutikai traktátus, pp. 110-111. However, Déri is above all philologist, linguist and musicologist, and therefore he takes note of the theological, philosophical and philological aspects of *Deliberatio*. *Deliberatio*, however, is neither an abstract theological text without any correlation to the medieval (and Hungarian) historical background of the first half of the 11th century, nor, therefore, a typical biblical exegesis (moreover, Gerard's biblical interpretations are often arbitrary, so that the term "eisegesis" is more appropriate to *Deliberatio*). *Deliberatio* is thus also a source that reflects actual social conditions or problems that the Church (especially in Hungary) encountered in the 1140s.

Byzantine Empire, Serbia and of course Bulgaria, which was neighbouring country to the territory of the Diocese of Csanád.

The basic features of one of the pillars of the Bogomilian faith, the myth about the creation of the world and the fall of Satan, are outlined in the only surviving, most probably Bogomilian apocrypha, the *Interrogatio Johannis*.¹⁶ Other pieces of information about the Bogomils can be found in a letter written by Theofylact, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to Peter the Tsar of Bulgaria,¹⁷ Cosmas the Presbyter's *Treatise Against the Bogomils*,¹⁸ the Synodicum of Tsar Boril,¹⁹ and in Byzantine sources – in the letter of the monk Euthymius from the Monastery of the Most Holy Mother of God in Constantinople,²⁰ further in the works of Anna Komnene (*Alexiada*)²¹ and Euthymius Zigabenus (*Panoplia dogmatica*),²² and in the letter having been commissioned by Tsar Alexius

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- 16 The apocrypha survived in two Latin versions, a Viennese and a Carcassonne one, from the thirteenth century (the manuscript of the Viennese version is named after the place of its deposit in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, Cod. 1137, fols. 158v-160, whereas the Carcassonne one is named after its place of origin). In the critical edition BOZÓKY, ed. *Le livre secret des Cathares: Interrogatio Johannis, apocryphe d'origine bogomile* (IJ). Paris 1980, pp. 42-93. The English translation HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 458-465, the czech (according version from Carcassonne) latest DUS, red. *Proroctví a apokalypsy. Novozákonní apokryfy III*. Praha 2022, pp. 217-229 (translation and commentary David Zbírál). Cf. ZBÍRAL, Bogomilsko-katarský apokryf, Otázky Jana Evangelisty. In *Religio: Revue pro religionistiku*, 2003, Vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 118-129.
- 17 DUJČEV. L'epistola sui Bogomili del patriarcha Teofilatto. In *Medioevo bizantinoslavo*, vol. I, Roma 1965, pp. 283-315 (311-315); in the Greek-Bulgarian version *Fontes Graeci Historia Bulgaricae* [Гръцки извори за българската история], vol. V. Sofija 1964, pp. 184-189. V anglickom preklade HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 98-102. Cf. MINCZEW. Remarks on the Letter of the Patriarch Theophylact to Tsar Peter in the Context of Certain Byzantine and Slavic Anti-heretic Text. In *Studia Ceranea*, 2013, Vol. 3, pp. 113-130.
- 18 More recent, high-quality critical editions, based on a Russian manuscript from the Solovetsky Monastery from the end of the fifteenth century, were published by POPRUŽENKO, ed. *Kozma Presviter – bolgarskij pisatel' X veka* [Козма пресвитер, болгарский писатель X века]. Sofija 1936, pp. 301-380; BEGUNOV, ed. *Kozma Presviter v slavjanskich literaturach* [Козма Пресвитер в славянских литературах], Sofija 1973, pp. 297-392. In the study I quote further the edition of Popruženko (Козма пресвитер).
- 19 POPRUŽENKO, ed. Sinodik carja Borila [Синодик царя Борила]. Sofija 1928, to Bogomils pp. 42-48; also HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 260-262; Czech translation BECHYŇOVÁ and HAUPTOVÁ, transl. *Zlatý věk bulharského písemnictví*. Praha 1982, pp. 253-259.
- 20 The letter is mostly referred to by its Latin name *Epistula invectiva contra Phundagiagitas sive Bogomilos haereticos*. Available in edition MIGNE, ed. *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) CXXXI. Paris 1864, pp. 48-57. English translation HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 142-164.
- 21 The work was published in several English translations – translation by E. R. A. Sewter's was published more recently in a reissue *Anna Comnena. The Alexiad*. London 2003.
- 22 MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca* CXXX. Paris 1865, to the Bogomils (with the Latin translation)

to draw up a list of the Bogomilian articles of faith.²³ Cosmas the Presbyter, Theofylaktos, Monk Euthymios, and Zigabenos refer, contrary to Gerard, directly to the Bogomils and partly outline their teachings. Thereby, however, they also document a generic difference compared to the *Deliberatio*. The Byzantine and Bulgarian sources are pieces of clearly definable anti-Bogomilian literature or normative sources with concrete content and a clear message, whereas *Deliberatio* is a substantially more complex source.

Gerard's treatise contains interpretations of Biblical passages, references to the teachings of the Church Fathers, and theological and philosophical reasonings in which Gerard ponders the nature of good and evil, the quest for a way to salvation, and the direction of the God's intention and the history of the world. Gerard addresses *Deliberatio* to (further unknown) Isingrimus, and, in a broader context, to the clergy and Christian society. *Deliberatio* can therefore also be viewed as an extension of Gerard's pastoral activities, a sermon intended for the religious, while references to heresies appear in it as a byproduct of a more broadly conceived homiletics. This variability of Gerard's work also documents the fundamental difference of *Deliberatio* not only from the aforementioned anti-Bogomilian sources, but also from earlier anti-heretical literature.²⁴

In assessing the spiritual background of the genesis of Gerard's work, we must also taken into account the question of earlier literary influences. Although Gerard was not a traditional compiler of earlier texts (as e.g. Hungarian medieval chroniclers were), he did draw on earlier works, too. His essential source of knowledge was Isidore of Seville's *Origines seu Etymologiae*; numerous citations document that Gerard worked with the volumes of Isidore's work (or with extensive extracts of them) in Hungary, too.²⁵

Gerard was also familiar with the ideas of the Church Fathers Jerome of Stridon (through his *Breviarium in Psalmos* and other Biblical commentaries),²⁶

pp. 1289-1332. English translation (incomplete) HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 180-207. Euthymius's information about the bogomils is preserved in a slightly modified form in the work *Euthymii Zigabeni de haeresi bogomilorum narratio*.

23 Some other, rather more brief and less important (or less certain) sources on bogomilism are still given by a good overview of sources on heresies and the Inquisition ZBÍRAL. *Bibliography of Ancient, Medieval, and Early Modern Christian Heresy, Inquisition, and Witchcraft*. online: <http://www.david-zbiral.cz/bgher.htm#_Toc510210477>.

24 The complexity and intricacy of Gerard's motifs may be one of the reasons why the religionists failed to clearly define the work, even though more recent studies (especially by Balázs Déri) have already reflected to a greater extent the difficulty to grasp Gerard's work in terms of genre.

25 I used, for the purposes of this study, the edition LINDSAY, ed. *Etymologiarvm sive Originvm libri XX, I.-II*. Oxonii 1911.

26 For details, see the Appendix in *Deliberatio*, pp. 684-685. The question to what extent Gerard draws on the authentic works of Jerome (and on the related work, published as VICTORINUS

Augustine of Hippo,²⁷ The Venerable Bede through his *Explanatio Apocalypsis*,²⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and some other theologians and Christian (to a lesser extent also pagan) philosophers.²⁹ Therefore, when evaluating Gerard's comments, this trail, clearly demonstrated by earlier research, cannot be ignored, either, as even Gerard's reports about eleventh-century heretics may be influenced by his knowledge of earlier historical sources.

Already the opening book of the *Deliberatio* and its references to Manichaeism and the Manichaeans may exemplify Gerard's ambiguous designation of heretics. When introducing the central subject of the first chapter, the miraculous rescue of Hananiah (Shadrach), Azariah (Abednego), and Mishael (Meshach) from the fiery furnace of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, Gerard names the Manichaeans who believe in God as the creator of all good and evil.³⁰ In this case, it is naturally impossible to regard these heretics as a religious trend that would have consciously followed the Gnostic-dualist teachings of the third-century Persian prophet Mani. In the Middle Ages, the term Manichaeans had already referred to a larger set of heresies, which outwardly exhibited (for representatives of the church) similar features to the teachings of Mani.³¹ This fact is also indicated by Gerard when he addresses his defence against the claim of the identical nature of good and evil only to those Manichaeans who declare that some things come from God, while some things come from the devil.³²

Petavionensis Episcopus, Scholia in Apocalypsis Beati Joannis, In MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina V*, pp. 317-344) and where he reflects Jerome's ideas only through the work of Isidore of Seville still seems to be insufficiently answered. Cf. BODOR, *Szent Gellért Deliberáció-jának fő forrása*, pp. 222-224. Gerard's deeper knowledge of Jerome's oeuvre has been recently pointed out by DÉRI. Egy „elveszett” Jeromos-hely Szent Gellértnél. In *Antik Tanulmányok*, 2009, Vol. 53, pp. 79-95; DÉRI. Egy Jeromos-idézet Szent-Gellértnél – és a bogumilok. In *Antik Tanulmányok*, 2008, Vol. 52, pp. 67-82; MÁTYÁS, *Szent Gellért Deliberációjának újabb forrása*, pp. 235.

27 The latest edition cites four works by Augustine as Gerard's sources (*ad Marcellinum De civitate Dei contra paganos libri viginti duo*, *De diversis questionibus*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*).

28 MIGNE, ed. *Patrologia Latina XCIII*. Paris 1862, pp. 129-208.

29 In detail *Deliberatio*, pp. 683-689.

30 „Manichei dicunt, quod non omnia creaverit ualde bona deus, conantes ut bonorum, sic malorum omnipotentem asserere creatorem.” *Deliberatio*, lib. 1.2r, p. 6.

31 Therefore, Gerard's identification of Hungarian heretics with the Manichaeans has analogies not only in connection with the Bogomils – see, for example, the analysis of the information about the Cathars from the work *Eckberti Schonauensis sermones (Liber contra hereses katharorum or Sermones contra catharos)*, analyzed by ZBÍRAL. *Největší hereze*. Praha 2008, pp. 13-30 (especially pp. 24-26). Cf. ZBÍRAL. Zrod 'katarské sekty': Ekbert z Schönau v boji proti herezi v Porýní. In *Religio: Revue pro religionistiku*, 2007, Vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 211-231.

32 „Hoc autem propter manicheum, qui dicit: quędam a deo, quędam a diabolo, quędamque dei

It should be emphasized that the greater part of Gerard's subsequent text, naming heretical sects, essentially just copies the eighth book of the encyclopaedia of Isidore of Seville (*De ecclesia et sectis*).³³ Gerard's extract of the *Etymologiarvm sive Originvm* thus describes most of the Gnostics and heretics that Isidore had known already in the seventh century – the Simonians (*Simoniani*), who rejected the creation of the world according to the Bible, the Basilidians (*Basilidiani*), who denied the death of Christ on the cross as an act of salvation, the adulterous Nicolaites (*Nicolaite*), the Gnostics (*Agnostici*) who recognized a good and a bad God, the Carpocratians (*Carpocratiani*), who regarded Christ to be only a man and the son of a man and a woman, the Cerinthians (*Cirintiani*), who believed a thousand-year empire would follow the resurrection of Christ (including also the Chiliasts or otherwise the Millenarians), the Ophites (*Offite*), who professed a cult of the serpent, the Valentinians (*Valentiniani*) as early Gnostics who believed in the power of the Aeons and rejected the birth of Christ through a virgin, the Cainites (*Caiani*), who adored Cain as Christ, the Melchizedechians (*Melchisedechiani*), the Angelics (*Angeliani*), the Apostolics (*Apostolici*), the followers of Cerdo (*Cerdoniani*) and Marcion (*Marcioniste*), the Aquarians (*Aquarii*), the Severians (*Severiani*), the Encratites, who were also the followers of Tatian (*Encretitae*), the Alogi (*Alogii*), the Cataphrygians (*Catafrigi*), the so-called pure or Cathars (*Cataroe*),³⁴ the Paulians (*Pauliani*), the followers of the teachings of the Athenian philosopher Hermogenes (*Ermogeniani*), the Manichaeans (*Manichei*), the Anthropomorphites (*Antropoformite*), the heretics of Heraclion (*Eraclite*), the Novatians (*Novatiani*), the followers of Origen (*Origeniani*), the Noetians (*Noetiani*), the Sabellians (*Sabelliani*), and, lastly, the Macedonians (*Macedoniani*).³⁵ Even Gerard's subsequent explanation of the necessity to name the heretics only follows the arguments of earlier heresiologists. To present the irreverence of heretics to people who are not sufficiently firm in their faith is dangerous and Gerard describes them only to contrast the diversity of the teachings of heretics with the clear and uniform message of the Apostles and the Church Fathers.³⁶

bona, quędamque mala. " *Deliberatio*, lib. I.2v, p. 8.

33 LINDSAY, ed., *Etymologiarvm sive Originvm*, pp. 301-337. Cf. BODOR, Szent Gellért Deliberáció-jának fő forrása, pp. 202-205.

34 There is no continuity here with the later French Cathars.

35 *Deliberatio*, lib. I.8r-9v, pp. 30-36. Cf. LINDSAY, ed., *Etymologiarvm sive Originvm*, pp. 304-312.

36 „*Laboriosum autem nimis est talium ineptias percurrere, et languidis lectoribus periculosissimum recitare. Id namque ex his ideo prosequuti sumus, quia demonstrauius nostros beatissimos perfectores sic pari concordia in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus esse in christi ecclesia unitos ... Hos uero diuersissimos ex diuersitate, quemadmodum christo propitio acutissime demonstratum est.*" *Deliberatio*, lib. I.9v, p. 36. This argument can also

Nevertheless, the source of his aforementioned reference to the Manichaeans has not been clearly identified yet. Even though Gerard's inspiration in his references to the Manichaeans can be recognized especially in the works of Jerome,³⁷ they may not be only an example of a sect that Gerard knew exclusively from earlier works. The reference may have possibly applied even to heretics whom Gerard and other representatives of the Church might have met in their time. Elsewhere, Gerard writes about the mythical ideas of the heretics as irreverence, because of which the Manichaeans had been excommunicated long before, although they still had their followers "among the Greeks".³⁸ Here again, the bishop of Csanád presents a schematizing characterization of the Manichaeans as Eastern heretics who shared similar delusions and misinterpretations of the Scriptures.

After enumerating the well-known heresies in detail, Gerard avoids any specific designation of heretics apart from the "Manichaeans". The only exception are personalities from the ranks of early Christian schismatics and Gnostics. In the third book, as part of the debate about the need to constantly seek and defend the truth in the Church, Gerard acknowledges not only the depth of knowledge of pagan authors and critics of Christianity (Aristotle, Porphyry, and others) but also the knowledge of a donatist Ticonius, thus a follower of an important religious trend that stood behind the first great schism of the fourth century.³⁹ The fifth book brings to the fore the figure of Origen as the most pious scholar of his time, who nevertheless ultimately "succumbed".⁴⁰ In the fourth book, Gerard contrasts pious believers, the Church Fathers, and bishops (Eusebius of Caesarea, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Methodius of Olympus in Lycia, and Jerome) as the powers of the Christian God⁴¹ and Eunomius and Arius, in

be found in the works of some other authors, including contemporaries or followers of Gerard – in connection with the Cathars cf. the prologue in *Eckberti Schonaugiensis sermones (Patrologia Latina CXCIV, Paris 1855, pp. 13-14)*, with the bogomils e.g. Козма пресвитер, л. 486, p. 302.

37 DÉRI, Egy Jeromos-idézet Szent-Gellértnél, pp. 67-82.

38 Here, the term *greecorum* may refer not only to the milieu of the Byzantine but also generally of the Eastern Christian Church in Hungary and the Balkans, especially in Bulgaria, whose territory was exposed to the growing cultural and ecclesiastical influence of the Byzantine Empire after 1018.

39 *Deliberatio*, lib. III.29v, p. 116. Cf. the text and commentary in SILAGI, ed., *Gerardi More-senae*, p. 33.

40 *Deliberatio*, lib. V.68v, p. 272.

41 Gerard mentions these figures in connection with the polemic against Porphyry's anti-Christian writings *Adversus Christianos (Katà Xpistiavōv)*. This is one of the important passages with which older research (BODOR, Szent Gellért Deliberáció-jának fő forrása, p. 177 and 227) has already confirmed the work of Jerom (*Commentariorum in Danielelem prophetam*, here MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina XXV, p. 481*) as another of Gerard's templates.

the first place, as followers of the devil, whose “*barking and rage against Christ spread from Upper India to the Gallic Sea*”.⁴² Besides Eunomius and Arius, Gerard labelled the other heretics as so insignificant that polemics by orthodox commentators barely survived about their teachings. Consequently, the bishop of Csanád does not discuss other heresies and their leading figures, with the hypothetical exception of the topical danger of the “Methodians”, which we will discuss below.

Deliberatio as a source of information about heresy in the 11th century

Nevertheless, *Deliberatio* also informs us about some persistent heresies in Gerard’s time. I will not go further into all the general references to heretics (often lumped together with Jews and pagans) against whom Gerard uses Biblical quotations to emphasize the necessity of their eternal damnation. I will only focus on a few places in the text that outline the activities of heretics in Hungary.

The first polemics with views on the creation of the world appear in the third book of *Deliberatio*. Gerard emphasizes the need to speak out against those who examine, with impure intentions, the issue of the “non-divine” origin of the waters.⁴³ He goes on to write about sinners who follow the fallen angels into the netherworld, “*who had already been excommunicated in the past... (However) our Pannonia does not tend to hold anyone in such esteem as these (exiles). In Pannonia it is those who try to avoid contact with them that are persecuted by everyone.*”⁴⁴

This fragment, and the respective part of the book quoting the call in the Book of Daniel to the eternal praise and worship of the Lord by all his creatures, the angels, the heavens, the waters, the stars, the Sun, the Moon, the storms, and the winds (Daniel 3:58-65), have already been analysed in detail by Szegfű, as he considered it to be an example of exegesis which Gerard targeted against the dualistic teachings of the Bogomils. According to Szegfű, the element of water, found in all existing spheres (the upper and the lower waters separated by the firmament and the oceans in our earthly world), was to be understood by the Bogomils as a substance created by the devil. This Bogomilian myth was based on the absence of a direct reference to the creation of the waters by God in the Book of Genesis and, by their twisted interpretation of this book of the Bible, the Bogomils also supported their rejection of the ecclesiastical rite of baptism

42 *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.46r, p. 182.

43 „*Adhuc autem hic fortissime figendum uestigium data responsione de aquarum creatione nitide non satis querentibus.*“ *Deliberatio*, lib. III.31r, p. 122.

44 „*Vē autem nobis, qui contra istiusmodi imperium uictitare non formidamus. Nullos tam caros nostra Pannonia consuevit habere ut tales. In illa uero, qui istiusmodi differt laborare, non differtur ab omnibus insectari.*“ *Deliberatio*, lib. III.33v, p. 132.

with water as spiritual purification. With this passage from the Book of Daniel, Gerard also emphasized the necessity of showing respect to the saints and the spiritual significance of the church sacraments, while with the verses about the Sun and the Moon, the bishop attacked the ideas of the heretics about the visible world as the work of the devil. Allusions to the existence of evil in the world as a consequence of the individual failures of (originally good) beings created by God – angels and people who succumbed to evil (Satan) – should be allegedly directed against religious dualism of Bogomils.⁴⁵

Szefű pointed out a part of the seventh book that describes the heretics' mythical ideas about the creation of man as the last passage connected with dualistic mythology. Here, Gerard states that once appeared

“men living like dogs, who imagined that the sons of God had descended from heaven to Hermon⁴⁶ and desired the daughters of man. They had been angels, they say, who had flown down from the heavens, and souls who had longed for bodies. But they were also wrong, just like the Manichaeans, who claimed – taking a stance against all of God's laws – that souls longed for human bodies. They are damned, although many of the Greeks follow them.”⁴⁷

Szefű already connected this part with another passage, according to which

“some heretics do not want to accept this, namely, the words about the sons of God and the daughters of man, but, perverted by the most twisted error, I do not even know which of the angel they claimed to have had intercourse (with the women of man – note) and begat sons of God.”⁴⁸

The name of this angel may be implied by Gerard elsewhere: *“the Greeks also know them (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael – note) and one more, namely Uriel, called the fire of God, invoked for help mainly by heretics.”⁴⁹*

45 SZEGFű, *Eretnekség és tirannizmus*, pp. 505-509.

46 Gerard's allegory also connects the Biblical Mount Hermon with the Jewish delusion of refusal to accept Christ as true God and Saviour.

47 *„Fuerunt quidam olim canine uitę uiri, qui supra hoc commenti sunt, quod filii dei descendentes in hermon cęlitus, et concupierunt filias hominum. Angeli – inquit – sunt de cęlestibus descendentes et anime, quę desiderauerunt corpora. ... Sic latrauerunt ita dicentes ut manichei, qui omni diuino dogmati contrarii sunt dicentes animas desiderasse corpora humana. Errauerunt isti, quemadmodum et illi, qui simili errore latrauerunt angelos desiderasse corpora, nimirum filias hominum. Proiecti autem sunt, licet grecorum multi illos sequantur.”* *Deliberatio*, lib. VII-123v-124r, pp. 492-494 (cf. SILAGI, ed., *Gerardi Moresenae*, p. 133).

48 *„Quidam autem hereticorum non sic hoc uoluerunt accipere, utique de filiis dei et filiabus hominum, immo peruersissimo errore subuersi nescio in quo angelo coitum predicare uoluerunt, ex quo filii dei procrearentur.”* *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.40r, p. 158.

49 *„Greci autem hęc et unum, utique Uriel, qui ignis dei dicitur, quem specialius heretici inuo-*

Most of Szegfű's aforementioned theses do not lack argumentative persuasiveness – Szegfű pointed out attacks against unorthodox views in several places in *Deliberatio*, drawing attention to heresy as one of the central themes of the work. On the other hand, one cannot shrug off the impression that Szegfű's assumption of Gerard's Biblical exegesis as a polemic against the Bogomils appears to be a simplification of more complex motifs.

The central theme of the work, the reference to the narrative of the Book of Daniel about Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah in the Babylonian court, may be connected with criticism of the reign of an unworthy ruler, in the Hungarian context most probably Samuel Aba.⁵⁰ Through the Book of Daniel, however, Gerard also criticizes other crisis phenomena in the Christian society and the Church.⁵¹ Furthermore, most of the contextual links of *Deliberatio* to the Book of Daniel seem to be a too generally formulated text to be safely associated with the teachings of the Bogomils.

The question whether Szegfű had sufficient regard to our knowledge of Bogomilian mythology or a generalizing characterization of Bogomilism as a dualistic religion and a spiritual successor of Manichaeism sufficed for him, is also relevant.⁵² It should be noted that religious dualism is not understood as a clearly definable category even among religionists.⁵³ If we understand this term in its usual, broader meaning as the coexistence of two opposing principles entering into the process of the creation and subsequent existence of the world, we may ask whether it is really anti-Bogomilian theses that lie behind Gerard's emphasis on the different nature of good and evil. The Bogomils did not perceive God as

care dicuntur...“ *Deliberatio*, lib. VIII.127r, p. 504-506.

- 50 Cf. SZEGFŰ, Eretnekség és tirannizmus, pp. 510-512; THOROCZKAY, Eretnekség vagy őskeresztény viselkedésforma? Az 1040-es évek magyarországi ideológiai viszonyai. In THOROCZKAY, ed. *A középkori Magyarország. Állam és ideológiák*. Budapest 2020, pp. 77-84.
- 51 I addressed the topic of the main motifs behind the genesis of Gerard's work in my paper (*The Devil's Body in the Work of Saint Gerard, the Bishop of Csanád*) presented at the international conference “Ars Moriendi. The Phenomenon of Death in the Middle Ages” in Levoča (2-5 October 2023), which will be published in the conference proceedings.
- 52 Szegfű connected Gerard's apologetic reflections with anti-Bogomilian theses in several studies but mostly without references to the specific (anti-)Bogomilian sources he based his conclusions on.
- 53 From more recent works see CULIANU, *Les Gnosés Dualistes d'Occident*. Paris 1990, pp. 23-32 (1st chapter: Ou en est la question du dualisme?); RUDOLPH, *Gnosis. The Nature and History of Gnosticism*. Edinburgh 1984, pp. 60-67. On the roots of Christian dualism in summary HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 1-5; LOOS, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*. Praha 1974, pp. 21-31; in the Slovak historiography HAVIERNIK, K členeniu náboženského dualizmu v byzantskom prostredí (K typológii bogomilského dualizmu). In *Byzantinoslovaca*, 2008, Vol. 2, pp. 97-110.

the creator of all good and evil; rather, they denied God's active participation in Satan's creation of the world.⁵⁴

Doubts about some of Szegfű's theses do not mean that some of the places in *Deliberatio* are not defending the Church from the real danger of heresy in Hungary. In the following lines, we will point out the indications that suggest a connection between Gerard's criticism and the teachings of the Bogomils. However, I believe that *Deliberatio* is not a text in which the Bogomilian myth of creation or the history of the world and man could be identified. According to the *Interrogatio Johannis*, Bogomilian cosmogony and anthropogeny emphasize the fall of Satan,⁵⁵ the devil as the creator of the visible world (i.e., not only of the water element, but also the continents, the heavenly bodies, the natural phenomena, including sunlight and moonlight, and, finally, people)⁵⁶ and the father of man (devilish lust in the form of a snake's tail impregnates Eve),⁵⁷ people as the fruits of a sexual act between Eve and the serpent-devil,⁵⁸ and the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist as an incarnated servant of the devil, the prophet Elijah.⁵⁹ It cannot be claimed that Gerard's Biblical exegesis reflects these mythical motifs. It is also ambiguous whether Gerard was able, and willing, to penetrate the depths of Bogomilian myths at all. It should be remembered, that, in generally, neither our other informants did not have detailed and accurate knowledge about the mythological ideas of dualistic heresies.

Here, we may also raise the long-avoided question whether it is possible to assume, in connection with the Bogomils in Hungary, a community of heretics with clearly defined ideas and a uniformly interpreted mythology. Szegfű already assumed that the exile of many Bulgarian priests and Bogomils to Hungary only began in the third decade of the eleventh century and was a consequence of the defeat of Bulgaria by the Byzantine emperor Basil II in 1018 following the unsuccessful uprising of Peter Delyan against the Byzantine Empire in 1040-41.⁶⁰ Thus, in the regions of southern Hungary, the faith of the Bogomils was

54 The most detailed sequence of Satan's creative work is presented in *Interrogatio Johannis*, pp. 43-59.

55 IJ, pp. 43-47.

56 IJ, pp. 54-56.

57 IJ, pp. 58-60.

58 IJ, p. 62. According to Euthymius Zigabenus, Abel's murderer Cain was supposed to have raised the fruit of Eve's sexual intercourse with the devil and all subsequent generations of the human race are the offspring of this sinful union. *Panoplia dogmatica*, PG CXXX, pp. 1297-1298.

59 IJ, p. 70.

60 SZEGFŰ. A bogumil eretnkség hatása a XI. századi Magyarország ideológiai fejlődésére. In *Acta universitatis Szegediensis Attila József nominatae. Dissertationes Slavicae. Supplementum*, 1983, Vol. 14, p. 41.

probably a new religious phenomenon, into which the pre-Christian ideas of the superficially Christianized, or still pagan population could blend.

However, Gerard and other representatives of the Hungarian Church were probably facing, especially in the south of Hungary, spreading heresies whose ideas were close to those of the Bogomils. What appears in *Deliberatio* from the mythological basis of Bogomilian beliefs is a narrative about angels having intercourse with the daughters of man, i.e., a motif that can also be found in *Panoplia dogmatica*: giants were born from the sexual act of angels and earthly women and these beings, with the exception of Noah, ceased to worship the creator (the supreme archon, identified with Samael, Yahweh, or the devil), as a consequence of which the archon sent the Flood to the world.⁶¹ The correlation between Gerard's references and the Bogomilian myth about the fall of a third of the angels, cast down by the devil from heaven, is less certain.⁶² Nor is there any proven connection between the eschatological ideas of the Bogomils and Gerard's criticism of those who declared that, at the end of the ages, our world would disappear (it would dry up and expand uncontrollably), along with the Moon, the Sun, and the stars, i.e., the Earth and the lower celestial sphere.⁶³ It should be borne in mind, however, that some of these demonological and eschatological motifs are of earlier origin and that Bogomilian myths also drew on earlier Biblical texts and apocrypha.

Gerard's other allusions to heretics no longer refer to mythology but to the attitudes of heretics to society, the Church, Biblical texts, and Christology. In the fourth book, Gerard writes that

“even today, many of these (heretics) flourish in the Church, they are even taking hold of the whole world, and there is no one to oppose these perversions. In how many, of whom I must not speak, I perceive the sons of the devil. These days, everyone here, provoked by animosity, blasphemes not only the sacred rites, the Church, and the priests, but also the very Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. No age has heard of a heresy which

61 PG CXXX, pp. 1304-1305. However, this is a modification of an old anthropogenic myth, whose origins – just like the original source of the story about the fallen angels – cannot be attributed to the Bogomils.

62 *Deliberatio*, lib. VI.91v, p. 364. Cf. IJ, p. 52. According to the *Interrogatio Johannis*, a third of the angels were cast down by the seven tails of the devil. The seven tails represent seven sins – falsehood, adultery, avarice, theft, blasphemy, envy, and wrath. IJ, pp. 88-89 (commentary). Here, too, scholars of religion recognize the inspiration of the heretics in the Bible (Revelation 12:4, Daniel 8:10). At this point, Gerard gives opinions about a third as well as a tenth of fallen angels, but he does not connect them directly with heretics.

63 *Deliberatio*, lib. V.69v-70r, pp. 276-278.

demands back alms for the souls of deceased Christians, given according to Christian custom.”

And then:

“I declare in faith and in truth that people are forced to dare to spread inadmissible lies against God’s priests. Thus, the evil of the devil did only what he was enabled to do: he destroyed everything that we taught according to God’s law for the most holy enlightenment of new (souls) coming (into the Church). All almost unanimously deny the resurrection of the body and no greater impiety is condemnable in the world than this depravity. It must no longer be even mentioned that, even though we are called bishops, taxes have been imposed on us; on us, to whom the whole world has been entrusted by God’s command. However, if I am not mistaken, the intention of some is, with the help of the Methodians, and to the joy of the heretics, to utterly weaken the power and solemnity of the Church.”⁶⁴

Gerard connects this passage with a reference to other countries which became the seats of spreading heresies. According to Gerard, in Italy, “*heretics have never been operating, but now there is talk of their multiplication in many places, especially in Verona.*” The bishop also writes about the Byzantine Empire as a country of heretics and mentions Venice and Ravenna as exemplary centres of orthodox Christianity.⁶⁵

Gerard ends the fourth book with a reference to the Book of Isaiah and the Book of Revelation. The bishop first quotes the Biblical narrative about the day of God’s vengeance that will destroy the land of the Edomites. This eschatological motif is complemented by a narrative of the Apocalypse about the final victory

64 „... uero nunc multi pullulant in ecclesia, immo iam totum occupant orbem, et nemo est, qui talium ineptis contradicat. O quantos sentio diaboli filios, quibus loqui non patior ... Hoc tempore omnes maledixerunt apud nos concitati zelo non solum diuinis ritibus et ecclesie et sacerdotibus, quin etiam ipsi Dei filio Iesu Christo domino nostro. Omnibus inaudita seculi hereses repetere helemosinas pro animabus defunctorum christianorum more expensas. Non estimes frater carissime minorem persequutionem et heresem antiquioribus hanc esse. In fide et ueritate fateor; quod ui compellabantur intolerabilia mendatia in dei expendere sacerdotes. Diaboli autem iniquitas unum, quod potuit, fecit: nimirum quicquid ex lege dei nouiter uenientes ad beatissimam illuminationem docuimus, abstulit. Omnes uno pene simvl ore carnis negant resurrectionem, qua iniquitate nulla umquam in mundo maior iniquitas arbitranda. Prohibemur iam loqui, et episcopi nominamur constituti etiam sub tributo, quibus totus committitur diuino imperio mundus. Nam quorundam, nisi fallor, intentio est, quo ecclesiastica uirtus suffragantibus methodianistis atque dignitas apud nos circa hereticorum libitum tota quandoque infirmetur.“ *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.46r-46v, pp. 182-184.

65 *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.47r, p. 186.

of Christ over the Antichrist, about the battle in which the beast and the false prophet will be cast into a lake of fire burning with sulphur⁶⁶ – in Gerard's interpretation: the Antichrist with the multitude of his people or with an army of heretics (*antichristus cum multitudine sui uel cum exercitu hereticorum*).⁶⁷ Here, Gerard supplements the identification of heretics with the helpers of the devil with an important addition: "*There is no greater sinner than a heretic. Therefore, he who claims that Christ did not truly assume (human) nature is a false prophet.*"⁶⁸

A part of the fifth book, which revisits the Book of Revelation, may be another indication of the influence of the Bogomils in Hungary. An allegorical passage may be noted here, by which Gerard predicts the eternal damnation of heretics who reject the testimony of the Old Testament:

*"...just as an animal cannot fly unless it has feathers, so the preaching (tidings) of the New Testament cannot appear credible unless backed by prophesied testimonies, through which (these tidings) bounce off the ground and take off... The Catholic Church believes in those who had been prophesied and about whom these (prophecies) came true. Therefore, the animal rightly rises from the earth and flies, but heretics, who do not accept the predictions of the prophets, only possess animals that do not fly and remain on the ground."*⁶⁹

As can be seen, *Deliberatio* itself gives us several crucial pieces of information in the cited places. Gerard documents the activities of heretics in the Hungarian society and Church and delineates some aspects of the spiritual contents of the criticized heresies. Heretics attack the activities of the Church and the priests, deny the significance of the ecclesiastical rites and of the Old Testament prophecies, and reject Christological dogmas – Gerard points out their questioning of the resurrection of the body and the human nature of Christ, which are important pillars of the doctrine of salvation. Criticism of the practical significance of the sacrificial gift as a means leading to the salvation of the soul can be sought even behind the attack on almsgiving for the dead, although, in a broader context, the social context of the issue, the opposition of heretics to "indulgences", should also be taken into account.

66 Cf. Apc 19, 19-21.

67 *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.50v, p. 200.

68 „*Nullus umquam plus peccat heretico. Ergo qui dicit christum actualem animam non suscepisse, pseudopropheta est...*“ *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.51r, p. 202.

69 „*Sicut autem animal uolare non potest, nisi pennas habeat, sic nec predicatio noui testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat ueteris testamenti prenucciata testimonia, per que tollitur a terra, et uolat*“ *Deliberatio*, lib. V.61r, p. 242.

Thus, Gerard's comments on the activities of heretics in the society document the confrontation of the Church with the teachings of unknown heretics. However, I believe that these passages may already be connected with the Bogomils with a significantly higher probability. The Bogomilian criticism of Church doctrines and the way of life of priests is discussed in an important source, close in time to Gerard, Cosmas the Presbyter's *Treatise Against the Bogomils*. The Bogomils attack the carnal indulgence of the priests, their laziness, drunkenness, and greed for profit. They do not confess to the clergy, but only among themselves, among the community of believers. They do not recognize prayers, the sacrament of baptism, or ecclesiastical rites,⁷⁰ and they do not accept the liturgy as the work of the apostles and the Early Church, but only John Chrysostom.⁷¹ They consider meat and wine to be impure food. They question the spiritual significance of the Eucharist, the presence of Christ in the Holy Communion, saying that the believers do not receive Christ's blood and body, but ordinary bread and wine.⁷² They reject the spiritual significance of relics and do not venerate the cross but consider it to be the instrument of the devil with which he achieved the crucifixion of the Messiah.⁷³ Cosmas writes about the Bogomils as heretics who do not honour icons, the Mother of God, the Old Testament, and the prophets, claiming that the latter did not prophesy by the Holy Spirit and were false.⁷⁴

References to heretics' criticism of Church structures and rites, their denial of Christological doctrines, and their questioning of the doctrine of salvation, appear in both Gerard's and Cosmas's text. Both sources confirm the docetic ideas of the Bogomils' denial of the assumption of human nature by Christ and their equally strict rejection of the Old Testament. It is true that Gerard's criticism is formulated on a more general level, so the assumed correspondence between *Deliberatio* and Cosmas cannot be verified by the formal similarity of the two texts. Nevertheless, an affinity can be identified between them more safely here than in the area of Bogomilian myths.

Gerard's reference to the Methodians, or followers of the little-known Methodius, also deserves attention. Historiography identified Methodius with the Moravian-Pannonian archbishop Methodius (c. 815–885) and, initially (only in one of his studies), Szegfű was also of this opinion, which was upheld even by some scholars of medieval studies in Slovakia.⁷⁵ However, we have to admit

70 According to several anti-Bogomilian sources, the Bogomils prayed only the Lord's Prayer, Our Father.

71 Козма пресвитер, л. 492, pp. 311-313.

72 Козма пресвитер, л. 492, pp. 308-309.

73 Козма пресвитер, л. 490, pp. 306-307.

74 Козма пресвитер, л. 499, p. 316

75 SZEGFŰ, A bogumil eretnekség hatása, pp. 40-41, 47. Cf. MAREK. Kacíři, heretici, bludári

that if we do not want to work with insufficiently substantiated hypotheses and constructions, then Gerard's brief data cannot be related to a historical figure from the distant ninth century with certainty. The Methodians cannot be safely identified with the Slavic (or Bulgarian) element, either, nor with the Church representatives who, like some of the Great Moravian clergy in the ninth century, would have defended Byzantine liturgy in the Slavic language in Hungary.⁷⁶ It is important to emphasize that Gerard distinguishes between Methodians and heretics as two separate categories. Moreover, the bishop inserts the reference to the Methodians after a sentence in which he criticizes the taxation of bishops' incomes, which can be also seen as a link between these pieces of information. In the case of the followers of Methodius, we may also consider the influence of Greek (Byzantine) priests, whom Gerard perceived as a competitive element and who could find support from some of the political fractions. In any case, I believe that, rather than Christian continuity from pre-Hungarian times, the reference to the Methodians documents the proximity of the Bulgarian border and the influence of Eastern Christianity, including probably Byzantine or Bulgarian clergy partially subject to heretical influences.

Concluding thesis

So what conclusions can be drawn from the work of Gerard – a Biblical exegesis that does not name the Bogomils and does not describe the Bogomilian faith with certainty but, on the other hand, repeatedly attacks some contemporary heresy? In my opinion, *Deliberatio* can also be defined as Christian apologetics, attacking crisis phenomena in the society and the Church. It is a carefully constructed theological debate adoring orthodox Christianity and the prominent figures of the Church, mostly for the purpose of systematically denouncing pagans and superficial or erring Christians. Not only in *Deliberatio*, but also in Saint Gerard's legends, the bishop of Csanád appears as a representative of the Church stepping up radically while acting and preaching in the milieu of an

a boj proti kacirstvu v stredovekom Uhorskom kráľovstve. In Konštantínove listy, 2018, Vol. 11, no. 2, p. 101; MÚCSKA. Boj uhorského štátu proti pohanstvu v 11. storočí. In KOŽIAK – NEMEŠ, eds. *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*. Bratislava 2004, p. 206. However, it is important to emphasize that Szegfű still identified with the alternative, now completely untenable opinion of Imre Boba and other historians about the location of Great Moravia in the southern parts of Pannonia and in Syrmia. Thus, the activities of the “Syrmian” archbishop Methodius in the ninth century were to coincide territorially with the activities of the “Methodians” and the Bogomils in the eleventh century in southern Hungary. On the other hand, in his study *Eretnekség és tirannizmus* [Heresy and Tyranny], Szegfű still thought (on p. 513) of Methodius as a priest or heretic at the royal court who might have led polemics with Isingrimus, the addressee of Gerard's work.

76 Szegfű was of a different opinion: SZEGFŰ, A bogumil eretnekség hatása, pp. 47-48.

inconsistently Christianized society. *Deliberatio* reveals the “inner” world of the author, rather than the spiritual ideas of Hungarian heretics.

We have outlined that, according to Szegfű, Gerard wrote his *Deliberatio* (within eight days) as an anti-Bogomilian polemic, a doctrine questioning the fundamental pillars of Bogomilian heresy. Szegfű also argued that, in the 1040s, the main threat to the Hungarian Church had no longer been paganism (Koppány, Ajtony, and Gyula-Prokuj were Christians) but heretics. Hungary was even supposed to have been the territory through which the ideas of heretics were spreading from the Balkans and the Byzantine Empire to Western Europe.⁷⁷ When Szegfű formulated these theses, he had already been a leading analyst of Gerard’s work but he could not avoid some critical voices regarding, for example, the assumption about Gerard’s knowledge of Greek and also some bold theses about *Deliberatio* as evidence of the religious influence of the Bogomils in Hungary.⁷⁸ In this text, I have also tried to demonstrate that Gerard’s details sound significantly more general than the references to Bogomils in other sources. Consequently, it cannot be ruled out that the bishop of Csanád presented a less accurate, simplifying perspective on suspicious, from Gerard’s point of view heretical, communities.

It is still difficult to answer the question in what form Bogomilian ideas infiltrated Hungary in the course of a few years or decades, and whether the Bulgarian Bogomils were the only relevant force “troubling” the representatives of the Hungarian Church. The assumption that Bogomilism was a uniform and widespread heresy with no competition in Hungary in the form of sermons of itinerant priests or rituals of pagan sorcerers might be a schematization of a more complex religious development. Moreover, the indications in anti-Bogomilian sources pointing to prominent regional differences between the faith of the Bogomils in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans should also be borne in mind.⁷⁹ These differences should not be ignored even in relation to the supposed influence of the Bogomils in Hungary in the eleventh century.

It is also important to point out some less convincing arguments about Bogomilian heresy as the primary, and essentially the only, literary motivation of Gerard.⁸⁰ Gerard’s text suggests the existence of heresy in Hungary as a phenomenon that may have contributed to the destabilization of Christianity.⁸¹

77 SZEGFŰ, *Eretnekség és tirannizmus*, p. 513.

78 Latest (with a detailed presentation of earlier views) TERNOVÁ CZ, *A bogumil eretnekség a XI. századi Magyar Királyság déli területein*. In *FONS*, 2013, Vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 501-523 (especially p. 508).

79 Even more striking differences emerge in the case of the little-documented Bosnian heresy.

80 Some counterarguments against this thesis are presented by TERNOVÁ CZ, *A bogumil eretnekség a XI. századi Magyar Királyság déli területein*, pp. 510-511.

81 Szegfű rightly criticized earlier ideas (especially in study REDL. *Problémák Gellért püspök*

The bishop keeps revisiting heretics, attacks their erroneous teachings, although presenting these only indicatively, and understands them as a serious threat to the Christianization efforts of the Church. At the same time, it cannot be missed that Gerard also addresses some other issues and presents them as additional threats, as dangerous as heresy was for a superficially Christianized society. Gerard criticizes Gnostics, Jews, pagans, passive or unworthy bishops, priests who prefer well-being and the pleasures of corporeal existence to spiritual service, unrestrained sexual life, violence, and, last but not least, monarchs not living according to Christian laws and not supporting the Church as the Word of God and the Church would command them to.

It might be recalled that, besides the informative value of *Deliberatio* about heretics, the significance of Gerard's message for the assessment of religious developments in Hungary in the first half of the eleventh century has been much less emphasized. Gerard's reports outline a superficially Christianized kingdom, a country full of violence, destabilizing power struggles, remnants of paganism, and deviations from orthodox Christianity. Gerard's perspective on the life of the majority of Christians in Hungary, reminiscent of the earlier attitude of Bruno of Querfurt,⁸² is in clear contrast to the accounts of the legends of Saint Stephen about the lasting achievements of the early Christianization of Hungary. Gerard defended Church teaching by pointing to the miraculous spread of Christianity only through poor fishermen, the twelve apostles.⁸³

In Hungary, however, he presented Christian progress as stagnation and destruction of the previous efforts of the Church. Gerard predicted the final victory of Christians over heretics, pagans, unworthy Christians, and monarchs,

Deliberatio-jában. In *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1965, Vol. 69, pp. 211-217) that equated Gerard's references to heretics with pagans. Nevertheless, opinions about erasing the distinctions between the categories of heretics and pagans in *Deliberatio* still persisted – see e.g. DÉRI, Egy Jeromos idézet Szent Gellértnél — és a bogumilok, pp. 81-82. However, it should be emphasized that Gerard lists these categories in several places separately and right after one other – heretics often in the clearly distinguishable context as the representatives of heretical movements that do not accept or directly attack Church dogmas.

82 It should be noted that Bruno of Querfurt was also active in the southern regions of Hungary (in about 1003-1007) as a missionary among the Black Ugrians. Bruno noted not only the strongly pagan character of the Christianized areas but also the failure of his own Hungarian mission (GYÖRFFY, ed. *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*. Budapest 1992, no. 7, pp. 44-48.) in contrast to other places of his activities. In 1010, Romuald of Ravenna (*Vita sancti Romualdi*, Migne, PL CXLIV, p. 990) organized another mission to Hungary (accompanied by two missionary bishops and twenty-four monks) and this suggests that, at that time, Hungary had still been perceived as a country with an unfinished process of official Christianization. The cultural backwardness of the peripheral Hungarian regions may still have been significant even in the 1040s and this assumption is further supported by Gerard and the emergence of the pagan uprising in Hungary.

83 *Deliberatio*, lib. IV.44r, p. 174.

but only after death, in the final, apocalyptic encounter between Christ and the devil.

Although Gerard left us no accounts of physical attacks on the clergy in Hungary before 1046,⁸⁴ his text points to growing animosities and criticism of the Hungarian Church. *Deliberatio* may therefore be perceived as another indication suggesting that the trigger of the 1046 uprising may not have been solely the rule of Peter Orseolo. On the contrary, Church representatives seem to have remained a foreign element in Hungarian society for decades. What may have caused their hatred was their dogmatic disputes, radical sermons, and criticism of the way of life of the privileged population or those enjoying personal freedom, rather than their foreign origin. Gerard's violent death led to his early canonization. Even *Deliberatio* suggests that Gerard cannot be viewed as a preacher of Christian mercy and forgiveness. In a spiritual struggle against a culturally and value-wise still completely different society, Gerard emphasizes the motifs of the apocalypse, the last judgement, and Biblical ideas that call attention to the inevitability of God's wrath and punishment. Who deserved this were (not only according to Gerard, but also according to some other Christian authors) mainly the apostates from the faith – the newly baptised returning to paganism⁸⁵ and the heretics, as those who questioned the validity of Church doctrines. The primary goal of Gerard's preaching and emphasizing a punishing God was apparently an effort to correct the society. However, some parts of the eighth book of *Deliberatio* can already be understood as a realistic assessment of escalating political relations and anti-Church sentiments.

A fourteenth-century *Chronicon Pictum* (Illuminated Chronicle) informs us about the participation of heretics in the pagan uprising of 1046.⁸⁶ However, the question of the participation of Bogomils in large-scale social unrest remains unanswered and uncertain despite the self-confident reasoning of Szegfű and other historians. Several controversial points may be pointed out here. Given our knowledge of the relative isolation of Bogomilian communities to the outside world, it is difficult to assume a fundamental role of the Bogomils in the uprising, which drew on its base throughout the Hungarian society, including political elites and supporters of pagan traditions. Even the Bogomilian revolts of later

84 A forgotten reference in the *Deliberatio* may be noted here, where Gerard already writes about the threat of social unrest (*universus vulgaris exercitus adversus nos concitabitur*). *Deliberatio*, lib. VIII.147r.

85 Apostates from Christianity had already been evaluated very negatively by Bruno of Querfurt in connection with the criticism of the Slavic Lutici. GYÖRFFY, ed., *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, no. 7, pp. 46-47.

86 DOMANOVSKY, ed. *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. In SZENTPÉTERY, ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum I*. Budapest 1937, pp. 341-342.

times had only a regional character and were more of a reaction to repressive interventions by popes, missionary bishops, or crusades. It is true that the faith of the Bogomils did not lack a certain spiritual appeal and the potential to spread to other regions. The dualistic nature of Bogomilism, their theology simplifying the incomprehensibility of Christological and Trinitarian doctrines, their ideals of a more socially just society, and their antinomism could arouse sympathy even in wider social structures. However, I believe that the Gnostic-ascetic character of Bogomilian teachings placed the Bogomils in the position of a marginalized minority community of believers – especially in the short-lived christianized Hungary. Cosmas the Presbyter had already described the Bogomils as fringe communities of fasting ascetics shunning the visible world. According to Cosmas, the Bogomils even considered the born children to be “children of mammon”, unfortunate creatures supporting the survival of the devil’s empire by their existence.⁸⁷ Thus, Cosmas’s indications are not even consistent with Gerard’s attacks against the hedonistic practices and unrestrained sexuality of a part of the Hungarian society.⁸⁸ These reports in *Deliberatio* point to surviving pagan customs, i.e., to centuries-old traditions, the vitality and durability of which can in no way be underestimated in the first half of the eleventh century.

Therefore, I deem it unlikely that a considerable number of the Christian elite, or the essentially still pagan population, calling for the return of old (pagan) customs, would have followed Bogomilian doctrine. Rather, the 1046 uprising may have been the consequence of a deeper political and social crisis, due to which the unrest reached pan-societal proportions. Among the “rebels”, heretics and itinerant preachers could have been occasionally found, too. However, we do not have any documents or relevant indications that the Bogomils would have been a significant, or even driving, force behind the uprising.

On the other hand, Gerard’s text indicates not only the activities, but also a significant distribution, of heretics (especially Bogomils) in Hungary, or at least in its southern regions, already in the first half of the eleventh century. Gerard was aware of the influence and spread of heretical ideas in the society and seems to have openly criticized these in his sermons.⁸⁹ The Church could have perceived

87 Козма пресвитер, л. 515а, pp. 331-332.

88 Szegfű assumed that it was the Bogomils who indulged in promiscuity and homosexuality – their faith forbid only the sacrament of matrimony and sexual intercourse that would lead to procreation. SZEGFŰ, *Eretnekség és tirannizmus*, p. 509. However, it should be emphasized that the assumption about Bogomils indulging in unrestrained sexual practices has no support in the sources and must therefore be rejected.

89 It should be pointed out that in *Deliberatio* it is possible to distinguish quite clearly between references to heretics and heresy in a general and in a narrower medieval (especially Hungarian) context from the 11th century.

the heresy as a serious threat destabilizing the superficially Christianized, culturally and religiously diverse strata of Hungarian society. From a long-term perspective, however, further consolidation of Christianity in Hungary was a necessity. Bogomils and related heresies survived in the southern regions of Hungary, and especially in Bosnia, until the late Middle Ages, and their presence triggered extensive missionary activities of Dominican and Franciscan monks in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.

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