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Remarks on Early Medieval Legal Charters – The Legend of “dux Ingo” and his “carta sine litteris”

Abstract. Enea Silvio Piccolomini in his work entitled *De Europa* written in 1458, tells an interesting story defined as a legend in terms of genre about a duke called Ingo, who lived during the reign of Charlemagne. This narrative claims that in 790 *dux gentis* Ingo held a feast for the inhabitants of his province where food was served to the peasants allowed to appear before him in golden and silver bowls, while to the dignitaries standing further away from him in bowls made of clay. The researchers' attention is deservedly raised by the query how come that this parabolical story with biblical tone was included in Enea Silvio's work; if it had been borrowed who the *auctor* might have been he borrowed it from. The answer seems to be very simple: from the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* drafted regarding the lawsuit proceeded against Methodius. In the case narrated in the *Conversio* Ingo sent a charter or much rather a parchment without any writing, or letters on it (*carta sine litteris*), which provided his legate with sufficient authenticity to demand obedience from the people.

In this study—after having compared the two narratives and outlined the place of *De Europa* in Enea Silvio Piccolomini's oeuvre and the circumstances of the drafting and tendencies of the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*—the author attempts to answer the following questions. To what extent can duke Ingo, mentioned by Enea Silvio and not questioned in the literature for long centuries, be considered a real historical person? Does the *Conversio* refer to Ingo as a duke, and if it does, what is his existence as a duke and introduction in the literature as a duke owing to? What could the meaning of *carta sine litteris* referred to in *Conversio* have been, and why did Enea Silvio not take this item over although he could have put it forward as a further proof of Ingo's dignity? To what literary prefigurations can the description of the feast held by Ingo be traced back to, and what role did it play in the *Conversio*? Regarding the borrowing of the Ingo story by Enea Silvio, what possible intermediary writing and author can be reckoned with?

Keywords: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *carta sine litteris*, Early Medieval legal history

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I. Enea Silvio Piccolomini, in chapter sixty-five, book twenty on Carinthia of his work entitled *De Europa* written in 1458, tells an interesting story defined as a legend in terms of genre about a duke called Ingo, who lived during the reign of Charlemagne. This narrative claims that in 790 *dux gentis* Ingo held a feast for the inhabitants of his province where food was served to the peasants allowed to appear before him in golden and silver bowls, while to the dignitaries standing further away from him in bowls made of clay. To the question why he acted like that he answered that the soul of simple people living on the land and in huts but cleaned in baptismal water was white and clean, while the soul of dignitaries living in palaces but adoring idols was dirty and black; and he arranged the feast as the cleanness of the soul required it. The noblemen so ashamed teamed to get baptised, and led by the bishops of Salzburg, Virgil and Arn soon all of them took baptism.¹

The researchers' attention is deservedly raised by the query how come that this parabolical story with biblical tone was included in Enea Silvio's work; if it had been borrowed who the *auctor* might have been he borrowed it from. The answer seems to be very simple: from the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* drafted regarding the lawsuit proceeded against Methodius, papal legate and archbishop of Sirmium at the Council of Regensburg held in the presence of Louis the German in 870, with the assistance of Adalwin, archbishop of Salzburg and his bishops—either as a bill of indictment or to legitimate the lawsuit subsequently, it cannot be clarified. That work also contains a narrative with Ingo holding a feast as the protagonist.²

¹ *Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP. II. De Europa* 65. (Ed. Heck, A. van. Città del Vaticano, 2001.) *Fama est anno septingentesimo nonagesimo post Christi Salvatoris ortum imperante Carolo Magno ducem gentis, Ingonem nomine, ingens convivium provincialibus praeparasse et agrestibus quidem, ad conspectum suum intromissis, in vasis aureis atque argenteis, nobiles vero ac magnatibus, procul ab oculis collocatis, fictilibus ministrare iussisse. Interrogatum, cur ita faceret, respondisse non tam mundos esse, qui urbes et alta palatia quam qui agros et humiles casas colerent. Rusticis, qui Christi evagelium accepissent, baptismatis unda purificatis candidas et nitidas esse animas; nobiles ac potentes, qui spurcitas idolorum sequerentur, sordidas ac nigerrimas. Se vero pro animarum qualitatibus instruxisse convivium. Casigatos ea re nobiles catervatim sacri baptismatis undam quaerentes brevi tempore sub Vergilio et Arnone iuvavensibus episcopis universos Christi fidem accepisse.*

² *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 7. (Ed. Lošek, F. Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH) Studien und Texte 15. Hannover, 1997.) *Simili modo etiam Arn episcopus successor sedis Iuvavensis deinceps curam gessit pastorem, undique ordinans presbyteros et mittens in Sclavinam, in partes videlicet Quarantanas atque inferioris Pannoniae, illis ducibus atque comitibus, sicut pridem Virgilius fecit. Quorum unus Ingo vocabatur, multum carus populis et amabilis propter suam prudentiam. Cui tam oboediens fuit omnis populus,*

II. Enea Silvio Piccolomini³ was born in 1405 as a child of an impoverished noble family in Corsignano close to Siena. He completed his studies in Siena and Florence, at the Council of Basel (1431–1449) he acted as the secretary of Domenico Capranica and other church dignitaries until 1435. He was crowned *poeta laureatus* by Frederick III (1440–1493), and was offered a secretary's office at the Imperial Chancellery, which he accepted. In 1447 he had himself ordained a priest, and from then on he ascended fast in the church's hierarchy: in 1447 he became the bishop of Trieste, in 1450 of Siena; in 1456 he was ordained cardinal; after the death of Pope Callixtus III (1455–1458) in 1458 he was elected the pope—as *pontifex maximus* he took the name Pius II. As a pope he deemed his key errand was to organise the crusade against the Turks; however, his plans failed. (This fight represented a peculiar stage in his career, bearing witness of little political realism though; he wanted to stop the Islam threatening Christianity through peaceful negotiations: in 1461 he wrote a letter

ut, si cuique vel carta sine litteris ab illo directa fuit, nullus ausus est suum neglegere praeceptum. Qui etiam mirabiliter fecit: Vere servos credentes secum vocavit ad mensam, et qui eorum dominabantur infideles, foris quasi canes sedere fecit ponendo ante illos panem et carnem et fusca vasa cum vino, ut sic sumerent victus. Servis autem stauipis deauratis propinare iussit. Tunc interrogantes primi deforis dixerunt: 'Cur facis nobis sic?' At ille: 'Non estis digni non ablutis corporibus cum sacro fonte renatis communicare, sed foris domum ut canes sumere victus.' Hoc facto fide sancta instructi certatim cucurrerunt baptizari. Et sic deinceps religio christiana succrescit.

³ About life and work of Enea Silvio see Voigt, G.: *Enea Silvio del Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter I–III*. Berlin, 1856–1863; Pór A.: *Aeneas Sylvius–Pius pápa*. (Aeneas Sylvius–Pope Pius) Budapest, 1880; Boulting, W.: *Aeneas Sylvius, orator, man of letters, statesman and pope*. London, 1908; Ady, C. M.: *Pius II. (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini), the humanist pope*. London, 1913; Hocks, E.: *Pius II. und der Halbmond*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1941; Papparelli, G.: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. Biblioteca di cultura moderna 481. Bari, 1950; Bürck, G.: *Selbstdarstellung und Personenbildnis bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II.)*. Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 56. Basel–Stuttgart, 1956; Mitchell, R. J.: *The Laurels and the Tiara, Pope Pius II. 1458–1464*. London, 1962; Gebel, D.: *Nikolaus von Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini – Bilder der außereuropäischen Welt als Spiegelung europäischer Sozialverhältnisse im 15. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg, 1977; Blusch, J.: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Giannantonio Campano – Die unterschiedlichen Darstellungsprinzipien in ihren Türkenreden*. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 28 (1979) 78–138; Weining, P. J.: *Aeneam suscipite, Pium recipite. Die Rezeption eines humanistischen Schriftstellers im Deutschland des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden, 1998; Nótári T.: *Szemelvények Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini Európa című művéből*. (Fragments from “De Europa” by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) *Documenta Historica* 42. Szeged, 1999; Nótári T.: *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini szónoki művészete*. (Rhetorical art of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok*. (Studies on Middle Ages) Szeged, 2003. 103–112.

to Mohamed II calling the sultan to leave his faith and become Christian.⁴ His deteriorated health prevented him from leading the slowly gathering armies as he had wanted to: in 1464 he died in Ancona.

His works on history (*Historia Australis*, 1453/58; *Germania*, 1457; *Historia Bohemica*, 1458; *De Europa*, 1458; *De Asia*, 1461)⁵ produced a great impact on the evolving historiography of the modern age. His work entitled *De Europa* has been bequeathed to us in codices usually under the title *Gesta sub Federico III*, or *De gestis sub Federico III*; it was given the title *De Europa* known today in the first printed publications (Memmingen, 1490; Venice, 1501; Paris, 1509). Enea completed *De Europa* when he was a cardinal in 1458; inconsistent references here and there and disproportionate parts of the structure that occur on and off can be attributed to his not having time and opportunity as a pope to edit the book to be published more precisely.

III. The protagonists of the Slavonic (and Avar) mission in the 9th century were the Byzantine Empire, on the one hand, and the Frankish Empire, which relied on the Archbishopric of Salzburg and the Patriarchy of Aquileia pursuing fairly independent politics, on the other;⁶ this balance was disrupted by the papacy, which was gaining strength, taking firm steps with independent mission policy against the power of the Carolingian dynasty. This threefoldness provided the background of the activity of Methodius known as the Apostle of the Slavs and of his conflict with the Archbishopric of Salzburg and its diocesan bishops. At the Council of Regensburg held in the presence of Louis the German in 870, Adalwin, archbishop of Salzburg and his bishops passed a judgment on Methodius, a missionary from Byzantium, then papal legate and archbishop of Sirmium, since they deemed that by his missionary activity pursued in Pannonia Methodius infringed the jurisdiction of Salzburg exercised over this territory for seventy-five years, and after that they held him in captivity for two and a half years. It was this lawsuit regarding which the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*⁷ was drafted either as a bill of indictment or to

⁴ About this letter see Toffanin, G.: *Pio II. (Enea Silvio Piccolomini): Lettera a Maometto (Epistula ad Mahumetem)*. Collezione umanistica diretta da G. Toffanin 8. Napoli, 1953.

⁵ Cf. Buchwald, W.–Hohlweg, A.–Prinz, O.: *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*. München, 1963. 406.

⁶ Reindel, K.: *Politische Geschichte Bayerns im Karolingerreich*. In: v. Spindler, M. (Hrsg.): *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte I*, München, 1981². 249sq.

⁷ Löwe, H.: *Der Streit um Methodius. Quellen zu den nationalkirchlichen Bestrebungen in Mähren und Pannonien im 9. Jahrhundert*. 1948. 3. sqq.; Ziegler, A. W.: *Methodius auf dem Weg in die schwäbische Verbannung. Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue*

legitimate the lawsuit subsequently, it cannot be clarified. The tendency of the presentation of the *Conversio* has been characterised quite to the point by Kahl as follows: “It plays a brave game on the verge of truth; its statements are just unattackable for well-informed readers, and it leaves open, what is more, suggests several different possibilities of combination for uninformed ones; being fully aware of the facts and his task the author conceals undesirable and ‘dangerous’ connections and facts and relates events far from each other with a considerable amount of cunning”.⁸

The *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, that is, “*The Conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians*”, highly acknowledged in his comments

Folge 1 (1953) 369. sqq.; Hauck, A.: *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands II*. Berlin–Leipzig, 1954⁸. 724; Bosl, K.: Probleme der Missionierung des böhmisch-mährischen Herrschaftsraumes. In: v. Hellmann, M.–Olesch, R.–Stasiewski, B.–Zagiba, F. (Hrsg.): *Cyrrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven 863–1963*. Graz, 1964. 1. sqq.; Schellhorn, M.: Erzbischof Adalwin von Salzburg und die Pannonische Mission. *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landesgeschichte* 104 (1964) 104. sqq.; Richter, M.: Die politische Orientierung Mährens zur Zeit von Konstantin und Methodius. In: v. Wolfram, H.–Schwarz, A. (Hrsg.): *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn I*. Veröffentlichung der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 8. Wien, 1985. 283. sqq.; Dopsch, H.: Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik – Zu den Hintergründen des Methodios-Konfliktes. In: v. Piffl-Perčević, Th.–Stirnermann, A. (Hrsg.): *Der heilige Method, Salzburg und die Slawenmission*. Innsbruck–Wien, 1987. 307. sqq.; Eggers, M.: *Das Erzbistum des Method. Lage, Wirkung und Nachleben der kyrillomethodianischen Mission*. Slavistische Beiträge 339. München, 1996. 19; Nótári T.: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*. *Aetas* 2000/3. 93. sqq.; H. Tóth I.: *Cirill-Konstantin és Metód élete, működése* (Life and Work of Cirill-Constantine and Methodius). Szeged, 2003³. 96. sqq.; Nótári T.: *Források Salzburg kora középkori történetéből* (Sources from the History of Early-Medieval Salzburg). Szeged, 2005; Nótári T.: *A salzburgi historiográfia kezdetei* (The Beginning of Historiography in Salzburg). Szeged, 2007; Nótári, T.: *Show Trials and Lawsuits in Early-Medieval Bavaria*. Rechtsgeschichtliche Vorträge 53. Budapest, 2008.

⁸ Kahl, H.-D.: Virgil und die Salzburger Slawenmission. In: v. Dopsch, H.–Juffinger, R. (Hrsg.): *Virgil von Salzburg – Missionar und Gelehrter*. Salzburg, 1985. 112. *Was da getrieben wird, ist nichts anderes als ein waghalsiges Spiel dicht an der Grenze der Wahrheit, gerade noch unanfechtbar für den, der Bescheid weiß, dem Unkundigen jedoch abweichende Kombinationen offenlassend, ja nahelegend, die den Zwecken der Denkschrift ungleich besser entgegenkamen. Man ahnt einen wohlunterrichteten Gewährsmann, der jedoch sehr wohl weiß, was er will, was nicht, und man bedauert, daß er von seinen Kenntnissen keinen besseren Gebrauch gemacht hat. Raffiniertes Verschweigen unerwünschter oder gar „gefährlicher“ Zusammenhänge und Fakten, ähnlich raffinierte Zusammenziehung von Ereignissen, die womöglich weit auseinanderlagen – das sind auch sonst die Hauptmittel, die der Verfasser für seinen Zweck einsetzt.*

by Alphons Lhotsky,⁹ is worth drawing the attention of research in Hungary since, among other things, it belongs to the texts in Latin, in addition to Eugippius's *Vita Sancti Severini* and Iordanes's *Getica*, which give a more coherent relation from the age following the great migrations and preceding the conquest by Árpád on the territory of the later Hungary, and so it has outstanding significance among the sources of 9th c. Avar history. The importance of the history of the Avars in terms of the history of Hungary following it has been summed up quite to the point by Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss: "... in the course of history known from written sources it was during the age of the Avars that the western and eastern part of the Central Danube Basin became a formation permanently belonging together for the first time (Pannonia and Dacia of the Roman empire were separated by the Sarmatian Barbaricum lying between them). In this sense the Avar Chaganate was a forerunner of the later Hungary."¹⁰

In his 1979 edition, Herwig Wolfram, on the grounds of the relevant sentence in chapter fourteen of the *Conversio*¹¹ accepted A.D. 871 as the year of drafting;¹² in his monograph in 1995, however, he modified his position, and based his determination on the medieval form of calculation, which demands that the year indicated in the text should be added to the years passed; accordingly, he finally declared that A.D. 870 was the year of drafting;¹³ in his edition Fritz Lošek shares this position.¹⁴ Regarding the person of the author deductions can be made only from some references made in the work; however, it is not possible to identify him with absolute certainty. Wolfram deems it is probable that archbishop Adalwin himself might have been the *auctor*, but he phrases

⁹ Lhotsky, A.: *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs*. Graz-Köln, 1963. 155. *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, das Haupt- und Glanzstück der ruhmvollen Salzburger Historiographie. ... eine merkwürdige und in ihrer Art schöne Schrift.*

¹⁰ Szádeczky-Kardoss S.: *Az avar történelem forrásai 557-től 806-ig*. (The Sources of the Avar History from 557 to 806) Budapest, 1998. 9.

¹¹ *Conversio* 14. *A tempore igitur, quo dato et praecepto domini Karoli imperatoris orientalis Pannoniae populus a Iuvavensibus regi coepit praesulibus usque in praesens tempus sunt anni LXXV...*

¹² Wolfram, H.: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantänien und Pannonien*. Wien-Köln-Graz, 1979. 15; 141.

¹³ Wolfram, H.: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*. Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 31. Graz-Wien-Köln, 1995. 193.

¹⁴ Lošek, F.: *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg*. MGH Studien und Texte 15. Hannover, 1997. 6.

his view rather cautiously.¹⁵ On the other hand, it can be ascertained with utmost probability from a passage in the first person singular which can be read in the fifth chapter that the author came from Salzburg, Bavaria.¹⁶ Archbishop Adalwin's authorship might be supported by the following considerations: another formulation in the first person singular directly follows the point of the text where Adalwin is named; so the writer might have named the person who ordered the writing.¹⁷ Similarly, one can ponder over the fact that the attribute *piissimus* is used in the text of the *Conversio* as the epithet of only two persons, and they are Adalwin¹⁸ and Louis the German:¹⁹ possibly the author and the addressee of the work.²⁰

IV. Ingo first appeared, as a nobleman, more specifically, as the first duke of Carantania, in *Liber certarum historiarum* from the pen of abbot Iohannes Victoriensis, who died in 1345/47.²¹

In addition to the story of Ingo, Iohannes Victoriensis (Johann von Viktring) borrowed Charlemagne's missionary commission given to Arn²² and the events surrounding Methodius's appearance on the scene²³ from the *Conversio*,²⁴ how-

¹⁵ Wolfram: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich... op. cit.* 197.

¹⁶ *Conversio* 5. ... *orta seditione, quod carmula dicimus.* Cf. Schwind, E. v. (ed.): *Lex Baiuvariorum* 2, 3. MGH LL nat. Germ. 5, 2. Hannover, 1926. *Si quis seditionem excitaverit contra ducem suum, quod Baiuvarii carmulum dicunt.*

¹⁷ *Conversio* 9. ... *et adhuc ipse Adalwinus archiepiscopus per semetipsum regere studet illam gentem in nomine Domini, sicut iam multis in illis regionibus claret locis.*; *Conversio* 10. *Enumeratis itaque episcopis Iuvavensium conamur, prout veracius in chronicis imperatorum et regum Francorum et Bagoariorum scriptum repperimus, scire volentibus manifestare.*

¹⁸ *Conversio* 9. ... *anno nativitatis Domini DCCCXXI Adalrammus piissimus doctor sedem Iuvavensem suscepit regendam.*

¹⁹ *Conversio* 12. *Pervenit ergo ad notitiam Hludowici piissimi regis, quod Priwina benivolus fuit erga Dei servitium et suum.*

²⁰ Lošek: *op. cit.* 6.

²¹ Iohannes abbas Victoriensis, Schneider, F. (ed.): *Liber certarum historiarum* 2, 13. MGH SS rer. Germ. 1909. "Nam anno Domini septingentesimo nonagesimo sub Karolo imperatore et Ingone duce et Vergilio et Arnone episcopis Iuvavensibus Ingo dux nobiles terre et servos eis subiectos ad convivium invitavit et nobiles quidem tamquam canes et immundos deputavit et pane et carnibus foris ab oculis suis pavit et vinum in vasis fuscis propinavit, servos vero vasis splendidis et deauratis in sua presencia collocavit. Et dum quererent nobiles, quid in hoc pretenderet, respondit hos simplices et fideles, mundos et sacro baptisinate confirmatos, eos autem immundos atque indignos sine sacri fontis ablucione existere et fedatos. Qui audientes certatim ad baptismum cum fervore fidei cucurrerunt ...".

²² *Conversio* 8.

²³ *Conversio* 12.

ever, this borrowing was mostly limited to elements of content; in its language and style the relevant parts of *Liber certarum historiarum* are highly independent of the *Conversio*.²⁵ Marcus Hansiz identified Ingo with Carantania's legendary duke, Domitianus.²⁶ The legend tells that the heathen duke Domitianus cruelly persecuted Christians; then, through God's mercy he was converted. He himself thrust pagan idols to the bottom of the pond, and finally became Carantania's duke leading the life of a saint.²⁷ The historical existence of Domitianus, who is usually referred to the realm of legends,²⁸ might be supported by the fragment of an inscription, presumably from the 9th c., found in the monastery of Millstatt,²⁹ due to the difficulty to date the *inscriptio* exactly and the contradicting tendency of other sources, Herwig Wolfram righteously warns researchers to be cautious.³⁰ An interesting aspect should be added here: Eisler, who took a stand in favour of the historical authenticity of Domitianus and acted with great zest to attain canonisation, alleged to find the original form of the name Domitianus in the Slavic Domizlaus, and called the attention to the possible relation between the legend of the duke hurling down pagan idols and the etymology of Millstatt implying statues (*mille statues*).³¹

Modern research has mostly accepted duke Ingo as a historically authentic person,³² and attempted to identify the bearer of this German but not Bavarian name with a historical person who occurs in a tradition co-existing with the *Conversio*. Michael Mitterauer, for example, identifies him with Etgar, a provably existing Carantanian duke, who appears in chapter ten of the *Conversio*.³³ As a further hypothesis it is worth mentioning that Ingo is also identified with the Slavic Voinimir (*Wonomyrus Sclavus*), who attacked the Ring in late autumn

²⁴ Lhotsky *op. cit.* 293. sqq.

²⁵ Lošek 1990. 52; Fichtenau, H.: *Herkunft und Sprache Johans von Viktring. Carinthia I.* 165 (1975) 25. sqq.

²⁶ Hansiz, M. *Germania Sacra II.* 1729. 104.

²⁷ Eisler, R.: Die Legende vom heiligen Karantanenherzog Domitian. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 28 (1907) 91. sqq.

²⁸ Nikolasch, F.: Domitian von Millstatt – eine Erfindung des 12. Jahrhunderts? *Carinthia I.* 180 (1990) 253. sqq.

²⁹ Glaser, F.: Eine Marmorinschrift aus der Zeit Karls des Großen. *Carinthia I.* 183 (1993) 303–318.

³⁰ Wolfram: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich... op. cit.* 289.

³¹ Eisler: *op. cit.* 90.

³² Ingo mentioned as *comes* – see Hauck, A.: *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.* Berlin–Leipzig, 1954⁸. II. 480.

³³ Mitterauer, M.: Slawischer und bayerischer Adel am Ausgang der Karolingerzeit. *Carinthia I.* 150 (1960) 695¹⁸.

or early winter in 795 on the orders of Erich, duke of Friaul;³⁴ however, only guesses can be made as to in what rank and position Voinimir served the duke.³⁵ It is another interesting, albeit, hypothetical attempt to identify Ingo with Unguimeri, who figures in *Rhythmus de Pippini regis victoria Avarica*,³⁶ in 796 (when the Frank/Langobard/Bavarian army led by Pippin was nearing) Unguimeri augured meeting with a treacherous end for the chagan and his chief wife, the chatun).³⁷ Unguimeri's name is usually identified with the name of the German duke, Inguiomer(us), referred to several times in Tacitus's *Annales*,³⁸ on the grounds thereof Unguimeri is customarily considered one of the Gepids who continued to live in the Avar empire.³⁹ Walter Pohl deems it is more probable that Unguimeri made it to the Avars as a Langobard emigrant.⁴⁰ Others risk making the assumption that Unguimeri might be identical with the aforesaid Slavic Voinimir.⁴¹

In his 1979 edition and 1995 monograph Herwig Wolfram takes the poisonous tooth of the question out as follows. Ingo as a duke is to thank his existence merely to an interpretation/translation error which allowed room for schematism as the first word of the sentence "*Quorum unus ...*", the relative pronoun, was improperly related, instead of the missionaries sent by Arn⁴² to Carantania and Pannonia Inferior, to the dignitaries living there (whom and their people the missionaries had to convert).⁴³ Since the phrase *illis ducibus atque*

³⁴ Kurze, F. (ed.): *Annales regni Francorum a. 796*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 6. Hannover 1895.

³⁵ Pohl, W.: *Die Awaren – Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* München, 1988. 319–320; Szádeczky-Kardoss: *Az avar történelem... op. cit.* 286. sqq.; Wolfram, H.: *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung. 378–907*. Wien 1987. 258.

³⁶ Dümmler, E. (ed.): *Rhythmus de Pippini regis victoria Avarica* cc. 6. sqq. PP I. MGH Berlin, 1881.

³⁷ Szádeczky-Kardoss: *op. cit.* 293.

³⁸ Borzsák, I. (ed.): *Tac. ann.* 1, 60. 68; 2, 17. 21. 45. 46. Leipzig, 1991.

³⁹ Cf. Lakatos, P.: *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Gepiden*. Szeged, 1973. 115. sqq.

⁴⁰ Pohl: *op. cit.* 230. sq.

⁴¹ Lésny, J.: Unguimer. In: Halvík, L.: (red.) *Lexicon Antiquitatum Slavicarum VI*. Wratislaviae, 1977. 264. sq.; *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici I–IV*. Praha–Brno, 1966–1971. (Brno, 1967.) II. 14; (Brno, 1969.) III. 305.

⁴² About Arn see Demmelbauer, G.: *Arno, der erste Erzbischof von Salzburg 798–821*. Wien, 1950; Niederkorn-Bruck, M.–Scharer, A. (Hrsg.): *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 40. Wien–München, 2004.

⁴³ Wolfram: *Conversio... op. cit.* 96. sqq.; Wolfram: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich... op. cit.* 288. sq.

comitibus in dative is closer to the end of the sentence than *presbyteros* in accusative, which is the object of the sentence, the subject of the next sentence was grammatically and logically improperly related not to the actual object.⁴⁴ In Arn's time it was the *duces*, that is, the Carantanian *duces* and the *comites*, the agents representing the Frankish/Bavarian rule who administered this territory; this locus of the *Conversio* is meant to underline that the missionary methods applied by Virgil to Carantania were adopted also by Arn with respect to Pannonia. Just as Rupert had never got to Pannonia Inferior,⁴⁵ Virgil was unable to organise the conversion of this territory—thus, the sentence beginning with the phrase “*Simili modo ...*” is meant to emphasise Arn's act of sending priests to Pannonia.⁴⁶

This argument seems to be supported also by *Excerptum de Karentanis*, which lists all the names related to the Carantans that occur in the *Conversio*, except for priests and deacons, but says nothing about any monarch or duke called Ingo. *Excerptum de Karentanis* was drafted at the turn of 12th and 13th c.⁴⁷ Basically it contains the names of key secular and ecclesiastical leaders keeping up relations with the Carantans; their list was compiled by the author

⁴⁴ The question, whether “*unus*” belongs to the *presbyteri*, the *duces* or the *comites* arose in a study by Jaksch – see Jaksch, A.: *Fredegar und die Conversio Carantanorum* (Ingo). *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 41 (1926) 44. sqq.

⁴⁵ Levison, W. (ed.): *Conversio 1; Gesta sancti Hrodberti confessoris 5. MGH SS rer. Merov. 6.* Hannover–Leipzig. 1913.) About Rupert and the *Gesta Hrodberti* see Beumann, H.: *Zur Textgeschichte der vita Ruperti*. In: *Festschrift für H. Heimpel*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 36. 1972. 166. sqq.; Baltl, H.: *Zur Datierungsfrage des hl. Rupert*. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 61 (1975) 1. sqq.; Reindel, K.: *Die Organisation der Salzburger Kirche im Zeitalter des hl. Rupert*. *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landesgeschichte* 115 (1975) 88. sqq.; Wolfram, H.: *Der heilige Rupert in Salzburg*. In: v. Zwink, E. (Hrsg.): *Frühes Mönchtum in Salzburg*. Salzburger Diskussionen 4. Salzburg, 1983. 84. sqq.; Schmitt, F.: *Zur Vita Ruperti*. In: *Frühes Mönchtum in Salzburg*. Salzburger Diskussionen 4. Salzburg, 1983. 96. sqq.; Jahn, J.: *Ducatus Baiuvariorum. Das bairische Herzogtum der Agilolfinger*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 35. Stuttgart, 1991. 54. sqq.; Forstner, K.: *Quellenkundliche Beobachtungen an den ältesten Salzburger Güterverzeichnissen und an der Vita s. Ruperti*. *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landesgeschichte* 135 (1995) 473. sqq.; Wolfram: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich... op. cit.* 228. sqq.

⁴⁶ Wolfram: *Conversio... op. cit.* 97.

⁴⁷ *Excerptum de Karentanis 2. Tempore Dagoberti regis Francorum preerant Karentanis dux Samo, post quem Boruch, post quem Karastus et post hunc Chenmarus, et post hunc Waltunc. Item sub Karolo et eius successoribus Priwizlauga, Cemicas, Zpoimar, Etdgar.*

from the relevant sentences and phrases of the *Conversio*. (Proper names are written slightly differently in the *Excerptum* than in the *Conversio*.) Returning to enumerating the grammatical arguments commenced: if we take sides with the “... *presbyteros* ... *Quorum unus* ...” interpretation, then we need to attempt to prove the existence of a presbyter Ingo in Arn’s time on the strength of sources from Salzburg. An entry from the age of Arn in the *Liber confraternitatum* refers to a *presbyter* named Ingo.⁴⁸ It is worth adding that apart from the Ingo mentioned in the *Liber confraternitatum* and the *Conversio*, we have no knowledge of any person bearing this name in this period in Bavaria.⁴⁹ The relevant locus of the *Liber confraternitatum* lists Ingo as the first item in the register of fourteen ecclesiastical persons, and each of the fourteen names is followed by the entry *presbyter* (contrary to the lines surrounding this entry). Most probably, Ingo was the head of the group of missionaries sent by Arn to Carantania; the activity of this group can be dated to the period between 785 and 799 since in the year following the year he was promoted to the office of archbishop Arn ordered a wandering bishop, *episcopus chori*, called Theoderich to the territory of Carantania.⁵⁰ Consequently, Ingo headed the mission in Carantania for almost fifteen years, and *prudencia* required in this position bestowed high esteem on him, which is confirmed by several examples referred to in the *Conversio*.⁵¹ Herwig Wolfram’s above described argument has been mostly accepted in the literature: his view was shared by Karl Schmid in his study on *Liber confraternitatum*,⁵² and was also accepted by Fritz Lošek in his 1997 edition.⁵³

V. In the case narrated in the *Conversio* Ingo sent a charter or much rather a parchment without any writing, or letters on it (*carta sine litteris*), which provided his legate with sufficient authenticity to demand obedience from the

⁴⁸ Herzberg-Fränkell, S. (ed.): *Liber confraternitatum sancti Petri Salisburgensis vetustior* 48. MGH Nscr. 2. Berlin, 1904; Forstner, K. (ed.): *Das Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg*. Codices Selecti 51. Graz, 1974.

⁴⁹ Wolfram: *Conversio...* *op. cit.* 98.

⁵⁰ *Conversio* 8.

⁵¹ Wolfram: *Conversio...* *op. cit.* 99.

⁵² Schmid, K.: *Das Zeugnis der Verbrüderungsbücher zur Slawenmission*. In: v. Piffel-Perčević, Th.–Stirnemann, A. (Hrsg.): *Der heilige Method, Salzburg und die Slawenmission*. Innsbruck–Wien, 1987. 188.

⁵³ Lošek: *op. cit.* 112.

people. Although the *carta* as a fully conclusive deed⁵⁴ was transplanted by the Germans from the Romans into their legal system, the *carta* did not obtain absolute respect among the Germans who did not know either the Latin of charters or the art of writing and reading; therefore, simultaneously with adopting this institution the process of refusing, re-evaluating it began.⁵⁵ Concerning this fact it can be stated that the lack of writing on the *carta* sent by Ingo cannot be considered surprising for another reason either: the newly converted Slavs and Avars were also illiterate as it was highlighted in the minutes of the *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii* held in 796.⁵⁶

The Frank, Bavarian, Alemannian and Burgundian legal practice worked out a rather unique form of documentary evidence. The charter, that is, more specifically, the parchment yet blank, which would become a *carta* through writing the text on it, became a symbol similar to the rod in assigning real estates:⁵⁷ in the legal transaction it was placed on the ground; then, the person issuing the writing lifted it from the ground, and handed it over to the scrivener while making the proper statement of will. (Regarding the provision requiring the parchment directly touching the ground, as a parallel, it is worth underlining the peculiar feature of *mancipatio* and *legis actio sacramento in rem* known from Roman law that the parties had to touch the subject of the transaction and the lawsuit with the rod simultaneously. The act of touching was meant to advance not only more exact determination, since the act of unambiguous pointing at would have been sufficient: the act of touching, a practice containing religious/magic elements applied in archaic legal systems maintaining direct relation with the realm of the sacred, “created” the possibility of closer attach-

⁵⁴ As analogy from the history of the *stipulatio* from the postclassical age of Roman law Földi, A.–Hamza, G.: *A római jog története és intézkövéi*. (History and Institutions of Roman Law) Budapest, 2008¹³. 159.

⁵⁵ Kos, M. *Carta sine litteris*. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954) 98; Fichtenau, H. *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom achten bis in das dreizehnte Jahrhundert*. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband 23. Graz–Wien–Köln 1971. 56. sqq.

⁵⁶ Zagiba, F.: Die Missionierung der Slaven aus “Welschland” (Patriarchat Aquileia) im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. In: Werminghoff, A. (ed.): *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven 863–1963*. Graz, 1964. 280; *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii* MGH Conc. 2, 1. Hannover–Leipzig, 1906. 174.) *Haec autem gens bruta et irrationabilis vel certe idiotae et sine litteris ...*

⁵⁷ About the rod and the staff as legal symbols see Nótári, T.: *Festuca autem utebantur quasi hastae loco*. *Acta Facultatis Politico-Iuridicae Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae* 41 (2004) 133–162; Nótári, T.: The Spear as the Symbol of Property and Power in Ancient Rome. *Acta Juridica Hungarica* 48 (2007) 231–257.

ment, transmission of will.⁵⁸) Sometimes, the parchment had been completed using a formula in advance but the witnesses' seal and the scrivener's signature and the date were affixed to it only later—consequently, *de iure* it was deemed unwritten since it failed to have the necessary accessories of validity.⁵⁹ Sometimes the symbolic nature of the *carta* was reinforced also by placing the ink pot and the pen beside the parchment on the ground, and the person issuing the charter had to lift them together with the parchment, and hand it over to the scrivener while making the statement of will.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Wolfram raises the question whether a blank parchment, like the one mentioned in Ingo's story, had sufficient demonstrative force, and if it bore some kind of signs (*signa*), or seal.⁶¹ Ignoring the seal of the duke and bearers of dignities was, otherwise, sanctioned by both the Alemannian and Bavarian law.⁶²

The object, the symbol, the unfilled out parchment, which was therefore not considered a *carta* indeed, counted more than the validly issued charter, which, anyhow, very few people would have been able to read. What the narrative in the *Conversio* specifically reveals is that the sheer act of sending the parchment, which could become a charter only subsequently when legally issued, was sufficient to produce the required effect. It is perfectly in line with this that the validity of the assignment of property was established not by the *carta* but the ceremony performed simultaneously with making the statement of will where the parchment placed on the ground was lifted and handed over to the scrivener.⁶³ Among people unable to read, the object, the parchment, which constituted the basic material of the *carta*, had sufficient demonstrative force just as the seal by itself “spoke” in a language understandable by everybody without being able to read what was written on it.⁶⁴ In Milko Kos's formulation *carta sine litteris* meant: “*Ingo sent me, obey my orders.*”—as an

⁵⁸ See Nótári, T.: *Jog, vallás és retorika* (Law, Religion and Rhetoric). Szeged, 2006. 51. sqq.; Hägerström, A.: *Der römische Obligationsbegriff I*. Uppsala, 1927.

⁵⁹ Redlich, O. Privaturkunden des Mittelalters. In: Erben, W.–Schmitz-Kallenberg, L.–Redlich, O.: *Urkundenlehre III*. München–Berlin, 1911. 47. sqq.; Goldmann, E. Cartam levare. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 35 (1914) 3. sqq.

⁶⁰ Kos: *op. cit.* 99.

⁶¹ Wolfram: *Conversio...* *op. cit.* 199.

⁶² Lehmann, K. (ed.): *Leges Alamannorum* 22, 2. MGH LL nat. Germ. 5, 1. Hannover, 1888; *Lex Baiuvariorum* 2, 13.

⁶³ Kos: *op. cit.* 99; Fichtenau: *op. cit.* 57; Redlich, O.: Über bairische Traditionsbücher und Traditionen. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 5 (1884) 6.

⁶⁴ Redlich: *op. cit.* 108. sqq.

analogy he refers to the inscription on the seal of Otto von Trixen “*Ott de Trussen me misit*”⁶⁵ from the late 12th c.⁶⁶

In view of the above, it is more or less irrelevant whether the act of sending the parchment by Ingo is seen as a historical fact or a parable merely symbolising his authority since the element of *carta sine litteris* somehow had to be in line with 9th c. reality, or else it would not have been comprehensible to the addressee, or other readers of the *Conversio*. It can be attributed specifically to the difficulties in interpretation that later ages faced that the element of *carta sine litteris*, which would have required knowledge of contracting and charter practices of German laws (*Volksrechte*) in the early Middle Ages to become understandable, was not an instructive material for later authors to be transplanted into their works. So, for example, it was not included in Enea Silvio Piccolomini’s *De Europa* either, contrary to the narrative on Ingo’s feast.

VI. In terms of genre, Ingo’s feast can be classified a Christian parable; its build-up follows the structure of biblical parables: it intends to present the success of the mission in Carantania as an image to those already converted. The host favours Christians (even if they are serfs) with golden bowls; however, the unbelievers (no matter that they are lords) are forced to eat from dirty bowls before the doors like dogs. The message of Ingo’s story clearly corresponds with the narrative in the Gospel of Matthew on the royal feast where those who appear in improper garments, that is, with unclean body, using the phrase of the *Conversio*, are cast out into the dark outside where there is crying and gnashing of the teeth.⁶⁷ Christianity, thus, makes serfs noble too; lack of faith, however, makes noblemen inferior and dirty.⁶⁸ Ingo’s parable is far from being unique: a similar story has been left to us on heathen duke, Bořivoj, who lived in the court of Svatopluk in Moravia;⁶⁹ also, Arnold Jaksch has demonstrated that the story in the *Conversio* has links with a locus of Fredegar’s Chronic.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Jaksch, A.: *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae III*. Klagenfurt, 1904. Nr. 1413.

⁶⁶ Kos: *op. cit.* 100.

⁶⁷ Matth. 22, 1–14. Cf. Matth. 15, 26; 2. Tim. 2, 20; Apoc. 22, 15.

⁶⁸ Wolfram: *Conversio...* *op. cit.* 100.

⁶⁹ *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici Brno*, 1969. III. 305. About possible connections between this legend and the *Conversio* see Pekař, J.: *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilla-Legenden und die Echtheit Christians*. Prag, 1905. 92.

⁷⁰ Jaksch: *op. cit.* 154.

It is worth adding that this is not the only link between Fredegar's *Chronica* and the *Conversio*. The section on Samo in chapter four of the *Conversio*⁷¹ amply draws on Fredegar's opus.⁷² The cited loci clearly reveal that the story on Samo left to us by Fredegar presents aspects of the events basically different from the *Conversio*. Fredegar claims that in 623/24 Samo of Frankish origin went to the Slavs as a trader of arms and perhaps as the delegate of King Dagobert I (623–639) to support their efforts to become independent. Making use of the collapse of the first Avar Chaganate shaken by the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in 626,⁷³ Samo became the ruler of a Slavic state in Central Europe established by him. It was this state that Dagobert I wanted to wind up, but in his efforts he failed, and Samo's country ceased to exist only after Samo's death in approx. 658. The *Conversio* asserts, however, that Samo was a *dux gentis* of Carantanian origin, and the armies of Dagobert I successfully beat the Slavic rebels. When writing this version of the story the author of the *Conversio* used instead of Fredegar's *Chronica* the work entitled *Gesta Dagoberti I. regis Francorum* which drew on it, and created his own version by making Samo, who figured there as the duke of the Slavs, Slavic too; and identified the Slavic state attacked by the Franks and the Langobards jointly with Carantania.⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Conversio* 4. *Temporibus gloriosi regis Francorum Dagoberti Samo nomine quidam Sclavus manens in Quarantanis fuit dux gentis illius. Qui venientes negotiatores Dagoberti regis interficere iussit et regia expoliavit pecunia. Quod cum comperit Dagobertus rex, misit exercitum suum et damnum, quos ei idem Samo fecit, vindicare iussit.*

⁷² Vö. Fredegar, *Chronica* 4, 48. (Ed. Krusch, B. MGH SS rer. Merov. 2. Hannover, 1888.) *Anno XXXX regni Clothariae homo nomen Samo natione Francos de pago Senonago plures secum negutiantes advicit, exercendum negucium in Sclavos coinomento Winedos perrexit.; 4, 68. Eo anno Sclavi coinomento Winidi in regno Samone neguciantes Francorum cum plure multitudine interfecissent et rebus expoliassint, haec fuit initium scandali inter Dagobertum et Samonem regem Sclavinorum. ... Cum haec Dagoberto nunciassit, Dagobertus superveter iubet de universum regnum Austasiorum contra Samonem et Winidis movere exercitum.; Gesta Dagoberti I. regis Francorum 27. (Ed. Krusch, B. MGH SS rer. Merov. 2. Hannover, 1888.) Eo igitur anno Sclavi cognomento Winido, quorum regnum Samo tenebat, negotiatores Francorum cum plurima multitudine interficiunt et rebus expoliant. Cumque haec Dagoberto regi nuntiata fuissent, ilico iubet de universo regno Austrasiorum contra Samonem et Winidos movere exercitum.*

⁷³ About the sources see Szádeczky-Kardoss: *op. cit.* 171. sqq.

⁷⁴ Cf. Pohl: *op. cit.* 256. sqq.; Lošek 1997. 31. sq.; Goll, J.: Samo und die karantanischen Slaven. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 11 (1890) 443. sqq.

Both in the narrative on Ingo's feast and in Fredegar's description pagans not baptised yet are called dogs.⁷⁵ In Fredegar's work Sicharius, the delegate lodging a complaint because of massacring the Frankish legates tells Samo that "*non est possebelem, ut christiani et Dei servi cum canebus amicicias conlocare possint*"; in turn using the same phrases Samo replies: "*Si vos estis Dei servi, et nos Dei canes, dum vos adsiduae contra ipsum agetis, nos permissum accepimus vos morsebus lacerare.*" On the other hand, at this point the author of the *Conversio* knowing and using Fredegar's works switches aspects in the narrative quite peculiarly; while in the *Conversio* Ingo orders unbaptised lords to the door, in Fredegar's work Samo, the duke has the Frankish legate, the Christian Sicharius cast out: "*Aegetus est Sicharius de conspectum Samonis.*"

Without continuing to investigate prefigurations, the Ingo story narrated in the *Conversio* can be confidently considered, as it were, a part of the missionary catechism drafted as the product of the policy of Christianising the Slavs and the Avars in the age of the Carolingians.⁷⁶ In this form it continued to exist for centuries, and was adopted by Iohannes Victoriensis in 14th c. and Enea Silvio Piccolomini in 15th c., who appreciated it as representative example of early medieval mentality.

VII. The original source of the narrative on duke Ingo described in chapter sixty-five of *De Europa* by Enea Silvio Piccolomini is chapter seven of the work entitled *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* written in 870. Enea Silvio most probably knew and used the *Conversio* since in his work entitled *Historia Bohemica* he refers to Methodius's operation in Moravia in such form that presumes knowledge of chapter twelve of the *Conversio* written with quite peculiar (tendentious) depiction. The author of this paper has been able to

⁷⁵ Fredegar, *Chronica* 4, 68. *Eo anno Sclavi coinomento Winidi in regno Samone neguciantes Francorum cum plure multitudine interfecissent et rebus expoliassint, haec fuit initium scandali inter Dagobertum et Samonem regem Sclavinorum. Dirigensque Dagobertus Sycharium legatarium ad Samonem, paetens, ut neguciantes, quos sui interfecerant aut res inlecece usorpaverant, cum iusticia faceret emendare. Samo nolens Sicharium vedere, nec ad se eum venire permetteret, Sicharius vestem indutus ad instar Sclavinorum, cum suis ad conspectum pervenit Samonem ... Sicharius dicens: 'Non est possebelem, ut christiani et Dei servi cum canebus amicicias conlocare possint.'* Samo a contrario dixit: '*Si vos estis Dei servi, et nos Dei canes, dum vos adsiduae contra ipsum agetis, nos permissum accepimus vos morsebus lacerare.*' Aegetus est Sicharius de conspectum Samonis.

⁷⁶ Löwe, H.: *Die karolingische Reichsgründung und der Südosten. Studien zum Werden des Deutschtums und seiner Auseinandersetzung mit Rom.* Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 13. Stuttgart, 1937. 119. sqq.; 170. sqq.

establish that Ingo was referred to in the *Conversio* not as a duke; and both the grammatical analysis of the text and the relevant entry in the *Liber confraternitatum* of Salzburg allowed to draw the conclusion that Ingo was the head of the missionaries in Carantania commissioned by Arn in the period between 785 and 799. His “existence” as duke was owing to a translation/interpretation error, which can be found first in Iohannes Victoriensis’s *Liber certarum historiarum* written in the early 14th c.–later, this erroneous interpretation was borrowed by the literature for several centuries, and led to attempts to identify duke Ingo with some known historical person.

The story of Ingo’s feast, beside biblical parallels, shows similarity, among others, with Fredegar’s *Chronica*; however, the author of the *Conversio* was not an obedient copier of Fredegar; he integrated the sample borrowed from him resourcefully in the series of parabolic catechisms of missions created as the product of the policy of the Christianisation of the Slavs and the Avars of the period. The fact that Enea Silvio also writes about Ingo as the duke of Carantania/Carinthia can be probably attributed to the knowledge and adoption of the tradition kept up by Iohannes Victoriensis, and to the interpretation of the text of the *Conversio* on the grounds thereof—there is little chance for a humanist from Italy to come to the same erroneous interpretation independently from the author from a period more than a century before; therefore, he must have known Iohannes Victoriensis’s work. The difference in value of unbelievers and believers appears unambiguously in all of the narratives as the duality between outdoors and indoors, being admitted and cast out. The reference to dogs can be no longer found in Enea Silvio Piccolomini’s and Iohannes Victoriensis’s works; although in Fredegar’s work it can be identified, it is not related to the parable of the feast—from among the texts included in the scope of this investigation, these motifs are united only in the *Conversio*.

The sentence in the *Conversio* giving account of the people obeying Ingo, who enjoyed great authority, even if he had sent them no more than a blank parchment, or unfilled out charter/charter sample (*carta sine litteris*) might have posed problems of interpretation to Enea Silvio and Iohannes Victoriensis since it organically related to early medieval German legal practice—that is why this element was not included in either in *De Europa*, nor *Liber ceratrum historiarum*. The findings so made might to a modest extent contribute to a better understanding of the use of sources by the great humanist, Enea Silvio Piccolomini on the one hand; and to exploring the history of impacts produced by early medieval texts in the Age of Humanism, on the other.