

A SHORT NOTE ON THE LEAD SEALS OF A BALDWIN, COUNT

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This article deals with three Byzantine lead seals belonging to a Baldwin, count. Two of them come from the collection of George Zacos, while one was found in the vicinity of Tarsus in Cilicia. Scholars have attributed these seals to Baldwin of Boulogne, the first count of Edessa, who ruled between 1098 and 1100. The author shows that there are no sufficient grounds for such attributions. These lead seals were struck in Edessa during the reign of the two first counts, Baldwin of Boulogne (1098–1100) and Baldwin of Bourcq (1100–1119), but one cannot with certainty attribute one of them to Baldwin of Boulogne and the other to Baldwin of Bourcq.

Keywords: sigillography; lead seals; Edessa; County of Edessa; Crusader States; Byzantium; Baldwin of Boulogne; Baldwin of Bourcq.

КАРОТКАЯ НАТАТКА АБ СВІНЦОВЫХ ПЯЧАТКАХ ГРАФА БАДУЭНА

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У артыкуле разглядаюцца тры візантыйскія свінцовыя пячаткі, якія належылі графу Бадуюну. Дзве з іх паходзяць з калекцыі Георгія Закаса, а адна была знойдзена ў наваколлі Тарса ў Кілікіі. Навукоўцы атрыбутаваў гэтыя пячаткі Бадуюну Булонскаму, першаму графу Эдэскаму, які кіраваў паміж 1098 і 1100 годам. Аўтар паказвае, што для гэтай атрыбуцыі няма сур’ёзных падстаў. Гэтыя свінцовыя пячаткі былі адціснуты ў Эдэсе падчас кіравання двух першых графаў – Бадуюна Булонскага (1098–1100) і Бадуюна дэ Бурка (1100–1119), аднак нельга ўпэўнена атрыбутаваць адну з іх Бадуюну Булонскаму, а другую – Бадуюна дэ Бурку.

Ключавыя словы: сігілаграфія; свінцовыя пячаткі; Эдэса; графства Эдэскае; дзяржавы крыжаносцаў; Візантыя; Бадуюн Булонскі; Бадуюн дэ Бурк.

КРАТКАЯ ЗАМЕТКА О СВИНЦОВЫХ ПЕЧАТЯХ ГРАФА БОДУЭНА

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В статье рассматриваются три византийские свинцовые печати, принадлежавшие графу Бодуэну. Два из них происходят из коллекции Джорджа Закаса, а одна была найдена в окрестностях Тарсуса в Киликии. Ученые атрибутировали эти печати Бодуэну Булонскому, первому графу Эдессы, правившему между 1098 и 1100 годами. Автор показывает, что серьезных оснований для такой атрибуции нет. Эти свинцовые печати были отчеканены в Эдессе во время правления первых двух графов, Бодуэна Булонского (1098–1100) и Бодуэна де Бурка (1100–1119), но одну нельзя с уверенностью отнести к Бодуэну Булонскому, а другую — к Бодуэну де Бурку.

Ключевые слова: сигиллография; стальные печати; Эдесса; Эдесское графство; государства крестоносцев; Византия; Бодуэн Булонский; Бодуэн де Бурк

Lead seals are one of important sources for studying the administrative and social system of the Byzantine Empire as well as for reconstructing the biographies and career paths of Byzantine individuals. Among many thousands of surviving seals, there are three ones belonging to a certain Baldwin, count (see Appendix). These seals are of much interest due to the fact that, although they are struck after the Byzantine manner and bear Greek inscriptions, their owner (or owners) bore the Latin name Baldwin (Gr. Βαλδουίνος, Lat. *Balduinus*) and had the title of count (Gr. κόμης, Lat. *comes*). The present article is aimed at reconsidering the previously proposed attributions of the seals.

Seals nos. 1 and 2 had been prepared for publication by George Zacos but were published in 1984, after his death [24, nos. 368a and 368b, p. 213 and Plate 39]. Zakos did not specifically attribute them but concluded that, although the seals were struck by different *boulloteria*, they look similar to each other.

The first attempt to attribute the two specimens from the Zacos collection was made by Valeriy Stepanenko who, however, uncritically accepted Zacos' conclusion about the similarity between the two seals. Stepanenko concludes that both the seals were struck during the rule of Baldwin of Boulogne in Edessa, "between March and November of 1098". He also stresses that, "taking into account the fact that the count's reign in Edessa was short (from March 1098 to November 1100), the chronological framework for the *molybdobullae* may be somewhat broader. But they can be dated to the period of the count's stay in Edessa" [4, p. 116].

In 1994 Jean-Claude Cheynet published a new seal of Baldwin, count (no. 3) [8, p. 428–429 and Plate VI]. He has shown that it is similar to seal no. 1, but was struck by different *boulloterion*. Since seal no. 3 was found in the vicinity of Tarsus in Cilicia, Cheynet believes that it was struck in the autumn of 1097, when Baldwin of Boulogne established his authority over the city. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar considers all the three seals as those of Baldwin of Boulogne [9, p. 273 note 32].

As can be seen, scholars attribute the seals of Baldwin, count, to Baldwin of Boulogne, the first count of Edessa (1098–1100) and then king of Jerusalem (1100–1118). But how correct is this attribution?

In the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* we have found the information about 21 persons bearing the name Baldwin [21]. After dropping out those who never bore the title of count, we have three potential candidates to be the owner of the seals: (1) Baldwin II of Mons, count of Hainaut (1071–1098), (2) Baldwin of Boulogne, the first count of Edessa (1098–1100), and (3) Baldwin of Bourcq, the second count of Edessa (1100–1119).

Baldwin II of Mons participated in the First Crusade (1096–1099) in the army of Godfrey of Bouillon. In 1098, after the capture of Antioch, he and Hugh of Vermandois were sent to Emperor Alexios Komnenos for aid, but Baldwin was killed in a Turkish ambush near Nicaea [18, p. 48–49, 186–187]. He therefore seems not to be the issuer of the seals. This narrows the list of potential issuers to two persons: Baldwin of Boulogne and Baldwin of Bourcq. The main problem is that they have not only the same name but also similar biographies: both Baldwins were consequently counts of Edessa and then kings of Jerusalem.

The comparison of seal no. 1 and seal no. 3 allows us to conclude that these seals are similar to each other: they bear on obverse not the Annunciation scene, as Zacos believed, but the figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul, as Cheynet points out. Although I previously agreed with Cheynet's statement that seal no. 3 was struck in Tarsus during the Cilician expedition [1, p. 46–47; see also 3, p. 270], now I find it necessary to contest this conclusion. As is known, in the autumn of 1097 two crusader leaders, Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred, who both were acting as agents of their relatives, Godfrey of

Bouillon and Bohemond of Taranto respectively, left the main army of the First Crusade and entered Cilicia. Around 21 September the crusaders established themselves in Tarsus. Tancred arrived to Tarsus first and made an alliance with its citizens. Soon after, Baldwin of Boulogne, whose force was larger than that led by Tancred, also arrived to the city and seized it from Tancred. After staying only a few days in Tarsus (*post hec diebus paucis elapsis* [5, III.14, p. 158]), Baldwin continued his march through Cilicia and joined the main crusader army in Marash around 15 October.

It is doubtful whether Baldwin of Boulogne was able, in that situation, to adopt the title of count and acquired his own seal. The fact that the seal published by Cheynet was found in the vicinity of Tarsus can be better explained by the close connections that the County of Edessa had with the two Christian states to which the city of Tarsus belonged at various times: the Frankish Principality of Antioch and the Rubenid Principality in Cilicia.

We should pay more attention to the point of view of Valeriy Stepanenko who believes that the seals from the Zacos collection were struck at Edessa under Baldwin of Boulogne: “from the two counts of Edessa [Baldwin of Boulogne and Baldwin of Bourcq] ... the first, Baldwin of Flanders [*sic*], who was to some extent connected with Byzantium in the first stage of his career, is more preferable, but the same cannot be said of his successor, Baldwin of Bourcq. [...] In that case, Byzantine appearance of the *molybdobullae* can be fully explained in terms of the Byzantine tradition that had been maintained in the administrative structure of the city [of Edessa] and in its culture during the period” [4, p. 108, 116].

Stepanenko’s key argument in support of the identification of Baldwin of Boulogne as the owner of the seals is that he later held the office of duke of Edessa. The office was of Byzantine origin and was given to Baldwin by the citizens in March, 1098 after the murder of the Armenian T’oros, the previous duke and Baldwin’s adoptive father. It should be noted, however, that all the counts of Edessa, not only just Baldwin of Boulogne, held the position of duke of Edessa. After accepting the title of Count of Edessa, Baldwin of Boulogne continued to hold the office of duke. The office further passed down from one count to another, and in fact had been transformed into a title. For instance, the office of duke is mentioned in an Armenian inscription cut on the wall near the eastern gates of Edessa in 1122, during the reign of Joscelyn I, the third count of Edessa. This was the display of respect of the Frankish lords for the Edessene traditions of city self-governance in order to ensure the loyalty of the citizens [13, p. 17–19].

Another example of the Byzantine tradition maintained in Edessa, which Valeriy Stepanenko puts forward, is the copper coins minted under its two counts. These coins were struck in Byzantine manner and bear Greek inscriptions. Following Gustave Schlumberger [22, p. 11–12], Stepanenko erroneously attributes the coins actually minted by Baldwin of Bourcq ca. 1110 to Baldwin of Boulogne [4, p. 116; cf. 16, no. 9a, p. 244; 17, p. 34–35; 20, p. 365, no. 8, p. 389 and Plate II]. In fact, no one type of the Edessene coinage can be with certainty attributed to Baldwin of Boulogne. Even the earliest surviving Edessene coppers, designated by John Porteous as Baldwin Class 1, can equally well be attributed to Baldwin of Boulogne or to Baldwin of Bourcq. [16, no. 1, p. 241; 19, no. 1, p. 388]. As Porteous writes, “we cannot tell whether the decision to issue coins was taken by Baldwin I or Baldwin II. Documentary evidence is lacking. The numismatic evidence, so far as it goes, would tend to put the initial date after rather than before 1100, the year when Baldwin I departed to become king of Jerusalem. Yet the decision to institute a coinage accord rather well with what we know of Baldwin I — his thirst for sovereignty and his single-minded intention to acquire and efficiently to administer a state in the Levant. Since Edessa, of all the crusading states, was the least dislocated by the

shocks of the crusade, it is not impossible to envisage the issue of coins there before 1100 [20, p. 363; see also 17, p. 34].” Moreover, all the coins that can be with certainty attributed to Baldwin of Bourcq were also minted in Byzantine style and bear Greek inscriptions [16, nos. 8–16, p. 243–246; 20, nos. 17–12, p. 389–390 and Plate II].

All these examples show that, besides Baldwin of Boulogne, Baldwin of Bourcq was also familiar with the Byzantine tradition and used it for the representation of his power in Edessa. Speaking of the seal with the figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul, it should be noted that we have two specimens (seals nos. 1 and 3) struck by different *boulloteria*. This obviously means that this type of seal was in use long enough if its owner had to commission at least two *boulloteria*. This, in turn, allows us to suggest that the issuer of these seals was rather Baldwin of Bourcq, who ruled in Edessa for nineteen years, than Baldwin of Boulogne, who ruled in Edessa a little over two years.

It is very tempting to attribute the seal with the Annunciation scene (no. 2) to Baldwin of Boulogne. Even so, we cannot accept Stepanenko’s conclusion that this seal was struck “between March and November of 1098”, when Baldwin of Boulogne held the position of duke of Edessa. Since the seal bears the title of count (κόμης), not duke (δούξ), it is more likely that it was issued during the period of Baldwin’s rule as count of Edessa, i.e. from December, 1098 to August, 1100 [1].

Summing up, we can identify two different iconographic subtypes of the seal of Baldwin, count: (1) seal with the figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul (nos. 1 and 3) and (2) seal with the Annunciation scene (no. 2). These lead seals were struck in Edessa during the reign of the two first counts, Baldwin of Boulogne (1098–1100) and Baldwin of Bourcq (1100–1119). Baldwin of Bourcq seems to be the owner of the seals with the figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul; in that case, Baldwin of Boulogne may have been the owner of the seal with the Annunciation scene. However, this scheme is only a hypothesis. For the moment, we have no sufficient grounds to attribute, with certainty, one of the seals to Baldwin of Boulogne and the other to Baldwin of Bourcq.

Appendix: Lead seals of Baldwin, count

No. 1



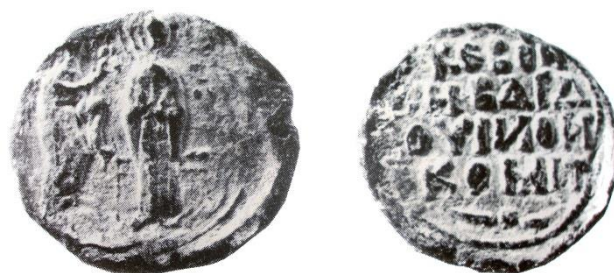
D. 33 mm. Published [24, no. 368a, p. 213 and Plate 39].

Obv. Corroded. Full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul. No sigla visible. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines: ΚΕΒΟΗΘ|ΕΙΒΑΔΔ|ΚΟΜΗΤ = Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Βαλδ(ουίνω) κόμητ(ι) (“Lord aid Baldwin count”). A pellet between two horizontal bars above and below. Border of dots.

The engraver carved a Δ instead of an Α (reverse, line 2), making Βδλδουίνω instead of Βαλδουίνω. Note the ligature of Μ and Η (reverse, line 3).

No. 2



D. 31 mm. Published [24, no. 368b, p. 213 and Plate 39].

Obv. The Annunciation scene. Sigla: MP – ΘV = M(ήτε)ρ Θ(εο)ύ. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines: ΚΕΒΟΗ|ΘΗΒΔΓΔ|ΟΝΙΠΟΙ|ΚΟΜΙΤ = Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) Βαγδουίνον κόμ(ι)τ(α) (“Lord aid Baldwin count”). A pellet between two horizontal bars above and below. Border of dots.

The engraver carved a Δ instead of an Α and a Γ instead of a Λ (reverse, line 2), making Βδγδουίνον instead of Βαλδουίνον. The replacement of the letter Α with Γ might be a result of the influence of the Armenian language. Note mirrored letters Ν (reverse, line 3).

No. 3



D. 26 mm. Found in the vicinity of Tarsus, preserving in the Museum of Tarsus (inv. no. 976-57-15). Published [8, no. 61, p. 428–429 and Plate VI].

Obv. Full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul. Inscription in column at left: □|Π|Ε|Τ = (Ο ἅγιος) Πέτ(ρος). Inscription in column at right: □|Π|Α|Υ|Λ = (Ο ἅγιος) Παύ(λος). Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of three lines: ΚΕΒΟΗ|ΘΕΙΒΔΛΔ|ΚΟΜΗ = Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Βαλδ(ουίνω) κόμ(ι)τ(ι) (“Lord aid Baldwin count”). A pellet between two horizontal bars above and below. Border of dots.

The engraver carved a Δ instead of an Α (reverse, line 2), making Βδλδουίνω instead of Βαλδουίνω. Note a closed Β (reverse, lines 1 and 2); according to Jean-Claude Cheynet, in the ninth to the twelfth centuries the closed Β was disappeared from Byzantine seals, except those produced in the region around Antioch. Note also the ligature of Μ and Η (reverse, line 3).

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ФИНАНСИРОВАНИЕ НЕМЕЦКИХ УНИВЕРСИТЕТОВ И ИММАТРИКУЛИРОВАННЫХ В НИХ В ПЕРИОДЫ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЯ И РАННЕГО НОВОГО ВРЕМЕНИ

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Доклад посвящён анализу финансового обеспечения немецких университетов, а также имматрикулированных в них студентов в Средние века и Раннее Новое время. Основной целью автора было установить, используя сохранившиеся источники, кто конкретно и каким образом финансировал, во-первых, появлявшиеся в Германии в период Средневековья и Раннего Нового времени университеты (городские Советы, князья и иные); а, во-вторых, кем и как финансировались зачислявшиеся на обучение в немецкие ВУЗы того времени студенты (какие затраты они несли на поездку к месту будущего обучения; какие сборы за имматрикуляцию в университет и суммы за сдачу экзаменов им надлежало платить; как выглядела финансовая составляющая проживания обучающихся, а также расходы на книги, одежду, медицинское обеспечение и т.д.).

Ключевые слова: финансирование университетов; князья и городские Советы; благотворительные фонды; финансирование из пребенды; обеспечение в бурсах или коллегиях; доходы с недвижимости; финансирование с помощью обеспеченных родственников; «смешанные» формы финансирования.