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The Reception of Gerard of Cenad's Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrimum Liberalem in Romania.

The edition of Radu Constantinescu (I)

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Abstract

The Romanian edition of Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum from 1984 still stands as the only textual reference available to the Romanian academia and continues to influence the general reception of Gerard's text. It has been more than thirty years since this selective translation was published by the Romanian publisher Meridiane and there was practically no critical reaction to it, which could suggest either minimal interest or minimal access to alternative sources. We believe both hypotheses are worth considering and we support the need for a more systematic approach to Radu Constantinescu's work in order to support the idea of a new Romanian translation and commentary. The present study critically examines Răzvan Theodorescu's Foreword and Radu Constantinescu's introductory study. We leave for future investigation the consistency of the translated selection and the Comments published at the end of the text.

Keywords

Gerard of Cenad; Deliberatio; Medieval philosophy; reception of Medieval Philosophy in Romania; Radu Constantinescu; rationalism; anti-clericalism; materialism.

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I. Introduction

According to the editor, the translation was made on the manuscript from the Munich Staatsbibliothek known as *Codex Latinus Monacensis* 6211. Radu Constantinescu¹ actually translated a very short selection which sums about 10 percent of the text. The selection was made in such a way that no biblical quotation, no biblical names and no appeal to religious arguments remained in the text. The translation changes the meaning of the original in several places, as one can easily notice after a superficial comparison. It is rather striking that Constantinescu takes all the cautions specific to the method of medieval translations, using the two modern editions available at the time: G. Silaghi (Turnhout, 1978) and I. Batthyany (Alba Iulia, 1790), compared to the Munich manuscript.² Furthermore, he operates such a drastic selection which could prejudice the perception of the text. The ideological oppression of the time can partially explain this method; further historical and imagological study may reveal other reasons.

Răzvan Theodorescu, one of the prominent figures of Romanian academic and public life, wrote a short foreword meant to introduce Gerard to the reader and his text using simple but expressive words and promoting a set of clichés which will be repeated by the translator in his introductory study and will remain as lasting representations until today.

The first stereotype consists in a discourse about the Banat area (Romania) as a multicultural one. The introduction of the stereotype about Banat as multicultural was already common during the 1980s and served as a facile cliché for dealing with regions inhabited by ethnic and religious minorities such as Banat, Dobrogea, and others. Consequently, Răzvan Theodorescu makes extensive use of such stereotypes and compares Banat with international regions known to the historians for similar cultural structures such as Rhineland, Macedonia, or Galitia. Powerful keywords are used in order to describe the peculiarity of these regions: “vulnerable,” “intersection of valleys” (“cumpăna apelor” – p. 5), “plurality of cultural horizons,” “Conciliation of contrasts,” “gift of synthesis,” “the measure for confrontations,” “multiple human kinds,”³ etc.

Concerning Gerard himself, he is described as an 11th-century writer: “erudite,” “an authentic European man at the beginning of the millennium” and his work *Deliberatio* is presented as an “erudite compilation.” Enthusiastic expressions are used here and there, such as “courageous original reflections,” tempered eventually by opposite labelling like “eclectic,” “specific to the Middle Ages,” “trying to reach a personal reflection” (p. 7).

When referring to the content of *Deliberatio*, several information considered definite by historians are iterated; firstly, based on the multiple references to heresies, Gerard is introduced as a character who confronted heretics; secondly, he is presented as an expert of the Areopagitic doctrine, and he is thus compared to the 14th century Saint Nicodim of Tismana⁴ (though “less learned,” we are told, p. 8).

Following such considerations, Radu Constantinescu wrote an extended introductory study of forty pages (p. 10-50), of considerable historical value and based on the significant bibliography available at the time. The study is titled “Gerard din Cenad – un scriitor al anului 1000” (*Gerard of Cenad – a writer of the year 1000*), suggesting the importance of Gerard's work, and starts with the bold

¹ Gerard of Cenad, *Armonia lumii sau tălmăcire a cântării celor trei coconi către Isingrim Dascălul* [World Harmony or Interpretation of the Hymn of the Three Dolphins dedicated to Isingrim the Teacher], introductory study, selection, translation and comments by Radu Constantinescu, foreword by Răzvan Theodorescu (Bucharest: Mediriane, 1984).

² According to the specification at the end of the introductory study, 50.

³ The translations from Romanian into English are mine. From now on, I will only mention the page number in brackets assuming the same edition and my translation was used for the text of Radu Constantinescu.

⁴ Saint Nicodim of Tismana (1320, Prilep – 1406, Tismana), founded the monasteries of Vodița, Vișina, and Tismana in Oltenia, Romania. During his last years he scribed a Tetraevagelion, considered to be the oldest book in Wallachia.

argument that Gerard can be considered the first writer on the territories inhabited by Romanians today: "Gerard of Cenad, or of Mureş, as he called himself, can be considered, nevertheless, not by birth but by choice, as the *first writer of these lands*" (p.10).

The structure of the introductory study is roughly the following: after the contextual presentation of Gerard's personality and work, a detailed account of Gerard's life is presented, marked by several deep historical investigations, such as Gerard's reasons to leave Venice, the similarities between *Deliberatio* and other contemporary texts, or the hypothesis of Gerard's travel across Western Europe.

II. The contextual introduction of Gerard's personality and work

The first part of the study introduces *Deliberatio* as an encyclopaedic work "of a *strange originality*, where Gerard wanted to include all the things and people of his time" (p. 10). After this statement, an interesting remark of a peculiar ethnocentric sensitivity is made: "a work written neither in Greek ..., nor in Slavonic ... but in *the language of his ancestors*... a language full of folk words and phrases, taken from the native tongue, the Friulan, so much resembling to Istro-Romanian" (p. 10).⁵

On the same grounds, Gerard is said to have "witnessed the clashes of the Romanians with the hoards of the Hungarian invaders," -- thus Gerard's taking Cenad as his residence becomes proof for the fact that Romanians had inhabited these lands at the time⁶ (p. 11). This is a significant proof for the ideological ethnocentric language which should have rather not been employed. Gerard is even said to have ambitiously fought against invaders in general, regardless their identity, "with the word and with the writing feather," rising against violence ("*silniciei*"), "in order to call onto Europe for help." -- for this reason, Gerard was to sacrifice his life (p. 11). This contextual presentation is evidently the rhetorical ideologized routine common in the Romanian works of the 1980s; there would have been no offence against the text and against Gerard's personality if several historical insidious lies had not been used. Thus, just before introducing the discussion regarding historical sources, Radu Constantinescu asserts that Gerard left behind a work animated by the dream to build a Romanian school of Latin, and to educate elites who would not command over Romanians but serve and warrant help from Latin Europe, and to eventually create a "Romanian literature written in Latin" ("*o şcoală românească de limbă latină, fruntaşi care să nu poruncească românilor, ci să-i slujească şi să le asigure ajutorul unei Europe latine, în sfârşit, o literatură românească de limbă latină*"- p.11). The introduction ends with the most peculiar anachronistic assertion one can encounter in such texts: "and these hopes became true for a while" ("*Fapt vrednic să fie ținut minte, aceste nădejdi s-au împlinit, măcar pentru o vreme*" – p. 11). The fragment is probably trying to assume that Gerard's literary and educational activity were animated by the acknowledgement of the existence of Romanians in the area and by the politically-subversive ideal of contributing to the rise of the Romanian nation over Hungarian domination, and that this ideal became reality during Gerard's life.

⁵ "Avem de a face cu cel dintâi scriitor de pe meleagurile noastre, om care scria nu în greceşte, cum se mai făcea, din când în când, la noi, pe la hotare, şi nici în slavoneşte, cum se începea atunci, după anul 900, ci în limba străbună, ba încă într-una plină de cuvinte şi întorsături populare, luate din graiul natal, friulan, atât de asemănător istro-românei."

⁶ "Mai mult decât atât, Gerard din Cenad a fost martorul - şi încă ce martor! - al ciocnirilor neamului românesc cu oştile năvălitorilor unguri. Iar faptul că Gerard şi-a ales drept sălaş tocmai Cenadul, târg ce se află azi la ciţiva kilometri de hotarul nostru cu Ungaria, este grăitor în privinţa întinderii de atunci a pământului locuit de strămoşii noştri".

III. On Gerard's life

The second part of the study makes references to the existing historical sources used for reconstituting the life of Gerard: the two known *Legendae*. Still, before referring to them, R. Constantinescu uses some even more anachronistic stereotypes of the 1980s. The first one argues that the sanctification of Gerard, in two stages (1068 and 1083), was the initiative of the Pope, in order to strengthen the link between Gerard's Church and Rome, although "Gerard had never thought of such a thing" (p. 12)! The Hungarian king, Constantinescu reckons, also tried to take advantage and "turned Gerard into a champion of the Magyar 'Catholic' Kingdom" (p. 12: "*craiuł Ungariei, trîgând spuza pe turta lui, a crezut nimerit să facă din răposatul Gerard un campioin al regatului 'apostolic' maghiar*"). It is obvious that, against common knowledge, Constantinescu turned the facts into a surprising anachronistic direction, assuming the existence of a struggle for national identity in the 11th century. The rhetorical argument he uses further on is taken from the fact that the biography of Gerard (initially written by one of his students) would in fact be "rewritten" / "changed" one century later according to the hagiographic standards of the time (this will become the *Legenda Minor*), which supposedly entitles Radu Constantinescu to conclude that the later rewriting was done for propagandistic and political reasons;⁷ the biographies of Gerard are consequently supposed to be a perfect illustration of the new papal policy of the time, consisting in installing a literary tradition of imposing the cult of Bishop-saints, initiated by Peter Damiani.⁸

The two *Legendae* are introduced as having little credibility due to their literary and compiled character. An impressively-consistent discussion follows on the link between the biographies of Gerard and those of other characters of the time, such as that of Gerard's friend, Romuald of Vallombrosa, authored by Peter Damianus and edited by G. Tabacco⁹ in 1957; this is eventually recommended as a possible source for comparative stylistic information, as well as other biographies of the 10th and 11th centuries from Cluny, Gorze, Brogne, Fruthuaria, and Pomposa. Gerard's name is then discussed and linked to Gerard of Aurillac, who supposedly had connections with Venice¹⁰ and was a relative of Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Pope Silvester II (p.13). For these debates, R. Constantinescu offers a wide range of bibliographical resources, which although old even at the time the study was written, are still fundamental.¹¹

⁷ The Romanian text has a special rhetorical flavour to it: "Intr-adevăr, după trei generații, un alt episcop de Cenad, de data aceasta ungar și sprijinit de un comite maghiar, citind vechea biografie, a poruncit rescrierea ei, după gustul vremii sale și ținându-se seama de părerile ei, iar mai cu seamă de ceea ce dobîndise regalitatea din spița lui Arpad: supunerea românilor, întemeierea unei biserici rupte de Constantinopol, instalarea unor comiți maghiari la Arad și Cenad."

⁸ For this last assertion, Radu Constantinescu refers to B. de Gaiffier, "L'hagiographe et son public au XI^e siècle," in *Miscellanea historica in honorem L. van der Essen* (Brussels, 1947), 135-166.

⁹ The only reference Constantinescu offers is this journal entry: *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 93 (Rome, 1957).

¹⁰ For this information, Radu Constantinescu gives the following reference: Fr. L. Ganshof, "Note sur un passage dans la Vie de St. Gerard d'Aurillac" in *Melanges N. Iorga* (Paris, 1933), 295-307.

¹¹ For the relations between the two *Legendae* and their relation to other similar contemporary texts, the bibliography consulted indicated in footnote 2, page 51, is the following: K. Juhasz, "Die Bezienugen der Vita Gerardi Major zu Vita Minor," in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus der Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens*, 47 (1929), 129-145; Idem, *Gerhard, der Heilige Bischof von Marosburg*, ibidem, 48 (1930), 1-35; I. Horváth, "Die Entstehungszeit der Grossen Legende des Bischofs Gerhard," in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 8 (1960), 185-219; Idem, "Quellenzusammenhänge der beiden Gerhard-Legenden," in ibidem, 439-454; Idem, "La Légende Majeure de l'évêque Gérard et les débuts de notre historiographie médiévale," in *Acta Universitatis Budapestinae, Studia Philologica*, 3 (1961), 3-22; E. Pásztor, "Problemi di datazione della Legenda Major Sancti Gerardi episcopi," in *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 73 (1961), 113-140; H. Barré, "L'oeuvre mariale de St. Gérard de Csanád," in *Marianum* 25 (1963), 262-296. Also, J. Horváth, "A Gellért legendák forrás értéke," in *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Nyelv - és Irodalomtudományi Osztály Közlemények* 13 (1958); L. Csóka, *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása*

Further on, he discusses the chronology issues regarding Gerard's life. Regarding the Christian name Giorgio (given to replace the birth name Gerard, of Lombard origin), Constantinescu supports the hypothesis that it was justified for conjuring the dangers of disease (p. 15), according to an old tradition accepted within the Christian Church. The surname Sagredo, we are told, is mentioned only in the *Legenda Major*, the 13th century biography, so it is unlikely to be verifiable (p.15).

A large and extensively documented study on the historical context of Gerard's life presents interesting conclusions on several biographical problems which remain unsolved to this day. The travel to Jerusalem of Gerard's father, as well as his death, are interpreted as happening either during a pilgrimage or a commercial trip (p. 16), none of them being excluded (p. 17). In the end, neither Gerard's date of birth nor his father's death are given a solution, in spite of the extended historical research.

A similar comprehensive contextual research accompanies the whole discourse on Gerard's childhood and adult life. A few unmentioned passages in Gerard's work are given peculiar interpretations in order to endorse several historical hypotheses. Such is the claim on page 19 which attributes to Gerard's work allusions to the Venetian Dodges' habit of establishing non-canonical bishops in order to ensure their heredity, like in the case of Pietro II Orseolo, Vitale la Olivolo and Orso la Torcello. An identifiable reference is the claim that Gerard travelled to Spain, France and Britain, endorsed by Constantinescu in several bibliographical references.¹²

Gerard is attested to have been educated before he was 30 in Venice (not earlier than 1015), just before he was sent to Bologna to learn canon law. Less clear is Constantinescu's claim that Gerard's work is impregnated with juridical terminology as textual proof of his intensive learning in Bologna (p. 21). The basic sources of the general education of the time (Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, Isidor of Seville and Hrabanus) are mentioned as verifiable. Still, the core of the subject is taken from *Legenda Major*, which is unlikely to have inspired judgments such as: "Gerard's personality was inclined towards open confrontations in the public forum, or from the church pulpit, or *ex cathedra*, rather than towards abstract meditations" (p. 22).

Gerard's travel from Zara to Pécs and Oradea are presented in detailed historical reports (pp. 28-30), following perhaps the *Legenda Major* outlines, and an in-depth description of the historical development of the Hungarian Kingdom immediately follows (pp. 30-32), accompanied by an illuminating story of the legend of Vojtech/Adalbert (pp. 32-33), similar to the *Legendae* of Gerard, which may have been written after the legend of Adalbert.¹³ A report on the liturgical and architectural Byzantine tradition in Hungary then follows (p. 33-35).

Constantinescu then follows the story in the *Legenda Major* regarding Gerard's tutorship of the King's son Emeric, and his hermitic years in the Benedictine abbey of Bákonybél (p. 36-37). Rich details on Achutum's presence in the *Legenda Major* are offered together with more extended historical interpretations on his conflict with Chanadinus, accompanied by immersions in the regional history and archaeology of the land Constantinescu names *The Great Voievodeship of Banat* (p. 38-47 and a map on page 42). This is of course an anachronism as the name Banat did not exist at the time.

Magyarországban a XI-XIV században (Budapest, 1968), note 3, page 51; A. Poncelet, "La plus ancienne Vie de St Géraud d'Aurillac," in *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1895), 89-107 and R. A. Lewis, "Count Gerald of Aurillac. Feudalism in South Central France in the Early X Century," *Traditio* 20 (1964), 41-58 (cf. note 6, page 52); V. Fumagalli, "Note sulla Vita Gerdaldi di Odone di Cluny," in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 76 (1964), 217-240 (note 7, page 52).

¹² In the endnote 25, page 54: G. Damerini, *L'isola e il cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Venice, 1956, 1962); L. Lanfranchi, *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, *Documenti*, 982-1159 (Venice, 1968); F. Forlati, *San Giorgio Maggiore. Il complesso monumentale e i suoi restauri*, (Padua, 1977).

¹³ Constantinescu makes reference here in note 50, page 59 to G. Székely, "Gemeinsame Züge der ungarischen und polnischen Kirchengeschichte des XI. Jhs.," *Annales Universitatis Budapestinae. Studia Historica* 4 (1962), 55-80.

Gerard's instalment in Cenad as Bishop (p. 47) is considered to have taken place in 1038, after the legendary seven years spent in Bákonybél. The missionary activity, the education process and the political effects of his activity are then reported based on the *Legenda Major* (p. 47-50).

IV. Historical hypotheses maintained by Radu Constantinescu

An extensive historical fragment brings intricate arguments for Gerard's reasons to leave Venice before meeting Stephen I of Hungary (p. 24-27). The fragment appeals to classical historical studies such as those by G. Bianchi, H.-L. Mikoletzky, C. Violante, L. Gatto, A. Benati, J. E. Gugumus (notes 33 and 34, p. 57). Alongside this discussion of sources, several ideas developed by the author are worth mentioning. Firstly, that Gerard left Venice due to his pertaining to the Orseolo family in 1026, including the dodge. He left for the Croatian city of Zara, which was at the time an ally of the Orseolos and of the Byzantine Empire (p. 25).

Secondly, Constantinescu relied on the importance of the year 1026, corroborated with textual coincidences between Gerard and contemporary authors like Rodolfo of Nonantola (1002-1025), Ugo of Farfa (997-1038), Guido of Pomposa (970-1046),¹⁴ as well as on liturgical coincidences with *The Life of Udalric* written by Gerhard of Augsburg (993), or Bishops Bernhard of Hildeshcim (993-1022) and Walbodo of Utrecht and Liège (1018-1021), and by abbot Ellinger of Tegernsee (1017-1056),¹⁵ in order to argue for the possibility that Gerard had visited Western monasteries such as Cluny.

A third contribution insists on the significant and astonishing similarities between Gerard's *Deliberatio* and other philosophical writings of the time, such as those of Fulbert of Chartres and Anselm of Canterbury (p. 26). Constantinescu reckons that these similarities should be explained by a similar education based on similar sources, and that they should be further compared with the writings of other contemporary authors such as Robert of Molesmes (the founder of the Cistercian Order in 1098), Bernard of Clairveaux,¹⁶ Adelman of Liege (1048-1061), and Anselm of Besate (see note 37, p. 57). These coincidences may contain full identical pages like in the case of Robert of Molesmes and Bernard of Clairveaux and can be explained, as Constantinescu says, by the identical models they had (p. 26).

Another important hypothesis developed by Constantinescu is that once the idea of the identical models is admitted, together with the (vulnerable!) hypothesis that there was no circulation of manuscripts at the time, it becomes evident that Gerard had visited places such as Cluny, Chartres, Brogne, Bec, and even Ireland (p. 26). Contacts with the Spanish monasteries are not impossible either, since we have knowledge of the Spanish Abbot Garin who convinced Pietro Orseolo to take refuge in the monastery of San Miguel of Cuxa, and, furthermore, we know that Gerard's forerunner at San Giorgio, Guillermo, was of Spanish origin (p. 27). The further analysis of Gerard's text may finally reveal the eventual use of Spanish codices. Further arguments for Gerard's connections and travels across Europe may be extracted from his description of heresies, as Constantinescu claims (p. 27).

¹⁴ The references Constantinescu offers for this comparison can be found in note 34, page 57: L. Gatto, "Mainardo, vescovo di Silva Candida e abate di Pomposa," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa Italiana* 16 (1962), 201-248; A. Benati, "Pomposa e i primordi dello studio bolognese," in *Atti del Convegno di studi pomposiani* (Ferrara, 1964), 107-128; J. E. Gugurnus, "Der Hl. Abt Guido von Pomposa (970-1046)," in *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 23 (1971), 9-17.

¹⁵ Constantinescu refers to this in note 35, page 57, to: H. Barre, *Prieres anciennes de l'Occident a la Mere du Sauveur, des origines à St. Anselme* (Paris, 1963), 180-184, 207-215, 262-271.

¹⁶ Constantinescu reference, note 38, page 57: J. Leclercq, "Nouveaux aspects litteraires de l'oeuvre ele St. Bernard," in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 8 (1965), 299-326, 365-395.

V. Gerard: a rationalist, anti-clerical, anti-radical, protestant and materialist spirit

When it comes to Gerard's sources, authors like Marius Victorinus, Priscianus, Boethius (commentaries to Aristotle), Cicero (*Topics*) and Eriugena (Neoplatonic interpretations) are not convincingly discussed. Constantinescu does not offer a reference for this, but prefers to say that Gerard "could not, or perhaps would not, learn much from them, although he remained proud until his death for having read them" (p. 23). It is a rather indirect way of saying that Gerard did not have a direct knowledge of these texts; as more recent investigation reveals,¹⁷ Batthyány's argumentation for an exhaustive literary culture in Gerard's time cannot be supported and the very identification of the sources raises difficulties concerning precision.

Nevertheless, the most precious aspect in Constantinescu's view is Gerard's *courage to take distance from the Church authority and the Theology authority* (p. 23), a courageous act that only one century later would also be visible in other "polemical and warrior spirits" (p. 23). Gerard is still taking distance from two other typologies, both fighting against the Church just like him, but showing two important minuses: firstly, the abusive laics who did not respect the "natural law," and secondly, the heretics, that is, mystics who interpret the Bible in a repugnant manner (p. 23). We may conclude this passage with the claim that, according to Constantinescu, Gerard was fighting against three enemies: a) the Church; b) radical anti-naturalist laics; and c) heretics, that is, the radical mystics. If this were true, it would transform Gerard into an anti-clerical, anti-mystical and anti-radical rationalist before the age of rationalism! Constantinescu insists and explains that "for Gerard, the Scriptures remain only a good pretext for promoting social reforming ideas, but he hates the irrational subterfuge of the debile ("*bicisnice*") minds who deny the dogma – which he is not taking seriously himself, but only regards as symbol – in the name of a false spiritual experience, which the rationalist Gerard does not trust at all" (*sic!* – p. 23-24).

Gerard's monastic years (1031-1038, according to the historical chronology) in Bákonybél are once more interpreted by Constantinescu as a personal protestant attitude: after his pupil Emerichus died in 1031, Gerard got tired of the doubtful advantages and vagrant life of the royal court (p. 37) and retreated to the silence of Bákonybél.

Some impressive references are presented at the end of the introductory study (note 83 on page 65) in order to endorse the statement of a socially-active Bishop Gerard, closely collaborating with the local population, fighting against rival ideologies such as Manichaeism (p. 49), Asiatic superstitions brought about by the Pechenegs if not by the Hungarians themselves, along with some obscure heretics such as the Hebrew theologians of the time (p. 50). All in all, theological obscurantism and the sects were supposedly his main enemies.

Therefore, according to Radu Constantinescu, Gerard proposed a philosophical alternative to religion, promoting astonishingly-modern ideas, probably taken by Radu Constantinescu from the current materialism manuals of the time: "*bold ideas about the materiality of the world, the fight between contraries as origin of motion and causality, the autonomy of the universe from the first mover and definition of the universe as proper cause, the material eternity of the world and the right to experiment, outside any dogmatic restriction, a real astronomy and physics, independent from the symbols of dogma, etc*" (p. 50). Should Gerard had lived in different times, he would have paid a supreme price ("*scump de tor*"); but he had the chance to live on Romanian land so therefore the price was as small as losing his manuscripts (*sic!*).

In spite of these anachronistic, ideologically-influenced remarks which are spread all over his study, Radu Constantinescu did a remarkable historical documentation that attracted the admiration of

¹⁷ For a synthesis and further debate see Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary 11th Century* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 83-88.

Előd Nemerkenyi (2004), among others. His commentary on *Deliberatio* that accompanies the text is even more interesting from this point of view, but it is unfortunate that the harsh selection of the translated text could not bring better services to Gerard's work.

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