

“Multe ibi uetustatis reliquie uisuntur:” Evoking Marble Remains of Ancient Celeia Before and After 1400

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In Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De Europa* – which was completed by 1458 when he was about to ascend the papal throne as Pius II – one relatively short chapter is also dedicated to the Duchy of Styria.¹ Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, its first paragraph centers around the allegedly depraved character and dissolute life of the then recently deceased Count Frederick II of Celje (b. ca. 1378 – d. 1454), who had – along with his energetic son Ulrich II (b. ca. 1406 – d. 1456) – in 1436 attained the rank of a prince – or, to be precise, princely count (*gefürsteter Graf*) – of the Holy Roman Empire.²

This article is based on some of the arguments that were first summarily presented at the international colloquium *Art and Architecture Around 1400: Global and Regional Perspectives* held under the auspices of CIHA (*Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art*) in Maribor (Slovenia) in May 2011. In agreement with the editors, the written version of my talk has – not least due to its truly excessive length – been excluded from the ensuing volume of essays (promptly published by the University of Maribor's Faculty of Arts) in order to appear, unabbreviated, in the present issue of the scholarly journal which is, luckily, also the official organ of the Slovenian Association of Art Historians (*Slovensko umetnostnozgodovinsko društvo*) that figured among the colloquium's co-organizers. For their understanding support, generous help and precious advice I am especially grateful to Janez Balažic, Marjeta Ciglencečki, Marko Frelih, Janez Höfler, Matej Klemenčič, Irena Lazar, David Movrin, Renata Novak Klemenčič, Robert Peskar, Primož Simoniti, Marjeta Šašel Kos, and Polona Vidmar.

¹ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *De Europa* 21.68–71; see *Eneae Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP II De Europa* (ed. Adrianus van Heck), Vatican City 2001 (*Studi e testi*, CCCXCVIII), pp. 99–102 (ll. 2771–2871). For Piccolomini's first-hand knowledge of Styria see, for example, Anton WEISS, *Über die Wirksamkeit des Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini in Steiermark*, in: IDEM, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.: Sein Leben und Einfluss auf die literarische Cultur Deutschlands*, Graz 1897, pp. 279–297.

² Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *De Europa* 21.68 (ed. van Heck, cit. n. 1, pp. 99–100 [ll. 2782–2792; cf. ll. 2801–2821]; for an unflattering literary portrait of Ulrich II see *ibid.* 21.69 (ed. van Heck, cit. n. 1, pp. 100–101 [ll. 2822–2844]); for discussion of the passage's evidential value see now Janez MLINAR, *Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih virih*, Ljubljana 2005 (*Historia: znanstvena zbirka Oddelka za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani*, XI), p. 236. For the family history of the Counts of Celje (Slov. *Grofi Celjski*, *grofje Celjski*, or *Celjski grofi*) who are – in keeping with the long-established German-language form *Grafen von Cilli* – in non-Slovenian (and non-Croatian) scholarship alternatively (and needless to say equally legitimately) also referred to as “Counts of Cilli” see, for example, Heinz DOPPSCH, *Die Grafen von Cilli – ein Forschungsproblem?* *Südostdeutsches Forschungsarchiv*,

And thus the same paragraph of *De Europa* also briefly touches upon the earlier history of the lower-Styrian town of Celje (Ger. *Cilli*), which was then the seat of Frederick's and Ulrich's fledgling court.³ For Celje was on the way of becoming the chief administrative center of the nascent principality that had been – much against the will of Styria's territorial overlords from the House of Habsburg – at least until the compromise agreement of 1443 striving to become a fully independent polity in law subject only to the emperor and the imperial diet.⁴

First, Piccolomini noncommittally remarks that the “ancient town that is [now] called *Cilia*” might have once been named *Syllaceum* in memory of its purported founder Lucius Cornelius Sulla; and, secondly, he expressly states that “there could [still] be seen many ancient remains and marble tombstones revealing the names of Roman rulers.”⁵

XVII–XVIII, 1974–1975, pp. 9–49; *Celjski grofje: Stara tema – nova spoznanja: Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija, Celje, 27. – 29. maj 1998 / Die Grafen von Cilli: Altes Thema – neue Erkenntnisse: Sammelband des internationalen Symposiums, Celje, 27. – 29. Mai 1998* (ed. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik), Celje 1999; Dušan Kos, *In Burg und Stadt: Spätmittelalterlicher Adel in Krain und Untersteiermark*, Vienna – Munich 2006 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XLV), pp. 69–70, 558–559 and passim (with ample bibliography); *The Land Between: A History of Slovenia* (ed. Oto Luthar), Frankfurt am Main [etc.] 2008, pp. 161–176; and Peter ŠTIH – Vasko SIMONITI – Peter VODOPIVEC, *Slovenische Geschichte: Gesellschaft – Politik – Kultur* (trans. Michael Kulnik), Graz 2008 (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Landeskommission für Steiermark, XL), pp. 86–88 and passim. For outstanding recent studies of the family's titular elevation in the fourth decade of the 15th century, and for its broader context and consequences, see below, note 4.

³ Johannes GRABMAYER, s.v. Cilli, *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Ein dynastisch-topographisches Handbuch* (eds. Werner Paravicini, et al.), Ostfildern 2003 (Residenzenforschung, XV/1, Teilband 2: Residenzen), pp. 114–115; and Christian DOMENIG, s.v. Cilli, *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Ein dynastisch-topographisches Handbuch* (eds. Werner Paravicini, et al.), Ostfildern 2003 (Residenzenforschung, XV/1 Teilband 1: Dynastien und Höfe), pp. 791–793 (with bibliography).

⁴ Peter ŠTIH, Die Grafen von Cilli, die Frage ihrer landesfürstlichen Hoheit und des Landes Cilli, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, CX, 2002, pp. 67–98 (with earlier bibliography); and see also the revised English version of this magisterial study in IDEM, *The Middle Ages between the Eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic: Select Papers on Slovene Historiography and Medieval History* (trans. France Smrke), Leiden – Boston 2010 (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, XI), pp. 338–379. And in addition see also the thoughtful article by Robert KURELIĆ, The Status of the Counts of Cilli as Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, XII, 2006, pp. 143–162 [freely accessible at <http://www.library.ceu.hu/ams/2006.pdf>]; and Miha KOSI, Dežela, ki je ni bilo: Posavinje med Kranjsko in Štajersko od 11. do 15. stoletja, *Studia Historica Slovenica*, VIII/2–3, 2008, pp. 557–560 and passim.

⁵ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *De Europa* 21.68 (ed. van Heck, cit. n. 1, p. 99 [ll. 2778–2782]): “. . . est in ea [scil. Stiria] uetus oppidum, quod Ciliam uocant; nonnulli Syllaceum appellatum quondam existimant et opus fuisse L[ucii] Sylle; de qua re nihil nobis exploratum est. multe ibi uetustatis reliquie uisuntur et romanorum nomina principum sepulchralia marmora referunt. in eo prefuit etate nostra Fridericus comes, qui . . .” See also MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 81; Domenico DEFILIPPIS, Modelli e fortuna della Cosmografia di Pio II, *Pio II umanista europeo: Atti del XVII Convegno internazionale, Chianciano-Pienza 18–21 luglio 2005* (ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi), Florence 2007 (Quaderni della Rassegna, XLIX), p. 227.

Thus the erudite prelate briefly but incisively drew his readers' attention to the then visible physical remains of the erstwhile Roman *Municipium Claudium Celeia*, the pre-classical (possibly Celtic) place-name of which survives almost unchanged to this day in both Slovenian and German spellings of the tell-tale toponym – Celje (dialectal form *Cêle*) viz. *Cilli*.⁶

While the genuinely ancient place name Celeia is also epigraphically well attested, the patently spurious substitute *Syllaceum* had, to all appearance, only been invented in mid-15th century along with the equally ill-founded (indeed anachronistic) theory about the town's foundation by Sulla.⁷ But Piccolomini's reference

⁶ See, for example, Jaroslav ŠAŠEL, s.v. Celeia, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Supplement XII: Abdigildus bis Thukydides* (eds. Konrat Ziegler, et al.), Stuttgart 1970, coll. 139–148 (reprinted in IDEM, *Opera selecta* [eds. Rajko Bratož – Marjeta Šašel Kos], Ljubljana 1992 [Situla, XXX], pp. 583–587); Irena LAZAR, *Municipium Claudium Celeia, Lungo la via dell'ambra: Apporti altoadriatici alla romanizzazione dei territori del Medio Danubio (I. sec. a.C. – I. sec. d.C.)*, *Atti del Convegno di Studio Udine-Aquileia 16-17 settembre 1994* (ed. Maurizio Buora), Udine 1996, pp. 327–333; EADEM, *Celeia: Arheološka podoba mesta / Celeia: An Archaeological Image of the Town*, Celje 2001; EADEM, *Celeia: La città più meridionale nella provincia del Norico, Da Aquileia . . . Al Danubio: Materiali per una mostra* (ed. Maurizio Buora), Trieste 2001 (Archeologia di frontiera, IV), pp. 69–81; EADEM, *Materiali da Celeia*, *ibid.*, pp. 82–91; EADEM, s.v. Celeia, *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and Discoveries* (ed. Tim Murray), I, Santa Barbara, Ca., 2001, pp. 284–286; EADEM, Celeia, *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia: Noricum* (eds. Marjeta Šašel Kos – Peter Scherrer), Ljubljana 2002 (Situla, XL), pp. 71–101; EADEM, *Das archäologische Bild der Stadt Celeia, Worauf wir stehen: Archäologie in Oberösterreich* (exh. cat., Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2003, eds. Jutta Leskovar – Christine Schwanzar – Gerhard Winkler), Weitra 2003 (Kataloge des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums, new. ser., CXCIV), pp. 177–184; Robert KREMPUŠ – Andrej GASPARI – Matjaž NOVŠAK, *Die neuen spätkeltischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Heiligtümer von Celeia, Götterwelten, Tempel, Riten, Religionen in Noricum* (exh. cat., Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten, 9 March – 11 November 2007, ed. Friedrich W. Leitner), Klagenfurt 2007, pp. 39–44; Robert KREMPUŠ, *Celeia in arheološke najdbe iz struge Savinje, Potopljena preteklost: arheologija vodnih okolij in raziskovanje podvodne kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji – zbornik ob 128-letnici Dežmanovih raziskav Ljublanice na Vrhniki (1884–2012)* (eds. Andrej Gaspari – Miran Erič), Radovljica 2012, pp. 363–368; Irena LAZAR – Peter KOS, s.v. Celeia, Slowenien, *Lexikon zur keltischen Archäologie* (eds. Susanne SIEVERS – Otto H. URBAN – Peter C. RAMSL), I, Vienna 2012 (Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, LXXIII), pp. 318–321. For further bibliographical references, see also below, notes 31 and 37.

⁷ The purportedly “ancient” toponym *Syllaceum* most frequently crops up in Piccolomini's correspondence (see below, note 70) and is sporadically also attested in the manuscript tradition of his *Historia Austrialis* which had undergone three redactions between 1453 and 1458; see Martin WAGENDORFER, *Die 2. und 3. Redaktion der Historia Austrialis, Eneas Silvius Piccolomini Historia Austrialis* (eds. Julia Knödl – Martin Wagendorfer), Hannover 2009 (Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, new. ser., XXIV/2), p. 554, nn. c–d. Moreover, the apparent familiarity with this “Sullan thesis” is also documented among some of the younger non-Italian literati who were close to Piccolomini from the time when he was a member of the chancery of Emperor Frederick III. Thus the “little town” (*urbecula*) of Celje is around 1454 revealingly referred to as “formerly the military camp of Sulla” (“... a Sillanis quondam castris . . .”) by Johann Tröster in the playful dialogue *De remedio amoris*, dedicated to his friend – and, under the pseudonym Philostratus, the principal interlocutor – Wolfgang Forchtenauer; see *Die Frühzeit des Humanismus und der Renaissance in Deutschland* (ed. Hans Rupprich), Leipzig 1938 [anastatic reprint Darmstadt 1964] (Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen: Reihe Humanismus und Renaissance, I), p. 188 (I. 30); for the two surviving redactions of the *Dialogus* and their dating see, for example, also F[ranz]

to “many ancient remains” was clearly based on reliable factual information rather than on shaky antiquarian speculation; and, remarkably, the earliest literary testimonies of sporadic fascination with the visible vestiges of this Roman town can in fact be traced back well beyond the year 1400.

At present it seems that the oldest – and, as I shall try to demonstrate in this paper, in many respects truly seminal – source text comes from the legendary Life of Saint Maximilian – the *Vita Maximiliani*, which to all appearance assumed its final form before the last decade of the 13th century (in all probability between 1289 and 1291).⁸

But whatever its precise date (or range of dates), the *Vita* must have been written at Passau and was clearly authored by a cleric of some literary skill, who was very likely a member of that city’s cathedral chapter; for, this remarkable example of purposefully channelled hagiographic imagination was evidently composed under the impact of a determined “propaganda campaign” mounted in the early

[Josef] WORSTBROCK, s.v. Tröster (Troster, Trester), Johannes, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (eds. Burghart Wachinger, et al.), IX, Berlin – New York 1995, cols. 1079–1083 (with bibliography). Notably, Forchtenauer had been, on the evidence of Tröster’s *Dialogus*, early in his career briefly engaged as a school-master at Celje; see Primož SIMONITI, *Humanismus bei den Slovenen: Slovenische Humanisten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (trans. Jože Wakounig; ed. Marija Wakounig), Vienna 2008 (Zentraleuropa-Studien, II), pp. 29–30, nn. 30–32. Predictably, the theory that Celje was founded by Sulla was at the latest around 1500 dismissed by most humanist historians as an untrustworthy local fable; see, for example, Marcantonio Sabellico, *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum* 10.3 (M[arci] Antonii Cocci Sabellici Opera omnia . . . per Caelium Secundum Curionem, non sine magno labore iudicioque confecta, II, Basle 1560, col. 909): “Cilia urbs uetus in ea regione, incolae Syllaceum olim dictum autumnant, *fabula a maioribus accepta* oppidum a Publio Sylla conditum, *una fortasse coniectura ad credendum inducti, quod multa inibi uisuntur ueterum Romanorum monumenta*” [my italics].

⁸ *Acta Sanctorum Octobris* VI, 3rd ed. (ed. Joannes Carnandet), Paris – Rome 1868, pp. 52–58; although taking account of a few additional manuscripts, the Bollandists’ text is essentially based on *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum* (ed. Hieronymus Pez), I, Leipzig 1721, cols. 22–34, which also contains those sections of the *Vita* (comprising the second half of ch. 21 and chs. 22–25) that were not reprinted in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Regrettably, there is no modern critical edition. For more detailed and up-to-date hagiographic analysis and relevant bibliography see esp. Willibrord NEUMÜLLER, Sanctus Maximilianus nec episcopus nec martyr, *Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs*, VIII, 1964, pp. 7–42, esp. pp. 26–30 (with earlier bibliography; and see also the summary in IDEM, Die Lorcher Martyrer, *Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs*, XI, 1974, pp. 23–24); Alphons Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs*, Graz – Cologne 1963 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, XIX), pp. 213–214; Rajko BRATOŽ, *Il Cristianesimo aquileiese prima di Constantino: fra Aquileia e Poetovio* (trans. Milko Renner), Gorizia 1999 (Ricerche per la storia della chiesa in Friuli, II), pp. 235–243, esp. pp. 239 (n. 162), 242 (for a brief but perceptive discussion of the literary character of the text); Winfried STELZER, s.v. Vita Maximiliani, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (eds. Burghart Wachinger, et al.), X, Berlin – New York 1999, cols. 443–448; and Volker ZAPF, s.v. Vita Maximiliani (Maximilian von Celeia), *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter – Autoren und Werke nach Themenkreisen und Gattungen, Band 2: Das geistliche Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters* (ed. Wolfgang Achnitz), Berlin – Boston 2011, cols. 446–448 (with bibliography).

1250s by Albert Behaim (*Albertus Bohemus*; b. ca. 1180 – d. 1260) in support of the spurious claim by the bishops of Passau to the succession of the purportedly very old and very large Paleo-Christian “archdiocese” with its seat at Lauriacum (now Lorch north of the town-center of Enns on the border between Upper and Lower Austria). Behaim, who is perhaps best known as a relentless pro-papal opponent of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II, spent the last decade of his agitated life in Passau, where he had between 1253 and 1254 apparently authored a group of separately transmitted shorter pieces of combative Latin prose in support of this “Lauriacan Legend,” which have been recently republished by Johann Englberger as constituent parts of a single work that may have carried the overall title *Descriptio gentium et diversarum nationum Europe*.⁹

Highlighting close resemblances in wording and content between some of *Descriptio*’s constituent parts on the one hand and the received text of the *Vita* on the other, Willibrord Neumüller (in his detailed hagiographic study published in 1964) left open the possibility that – in an earlier and much shorter redaction (comprising only chs. 1–15) – the latter text might have also been drafted by Behaim, who had been a canon of the Passau Cathedral since 1212, and was since 1245 also its dean.¹⁰ Yet – albeit evidently marking the first phase of the reception history of the *Descriptio* – according to Englberger, this imaginary biography of Saint Maximilian must have been construed some time after Behaim’s death in 1260.¹¹

Judging from the current scholarly *communis opinio* the process in which Celeia became so inextricably associated with Saint Maximilian consisted of three stages. First, in the course of revising and expanding the earlier drafts of his *Descriptio*, probably in 1254, Behaim – in the section traditionally titled *Historia episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavariae* – listed Celeia among the no less than twenty two suffragan bishops’ seats within the confines of a vast territory that had been – so he imagined – donated to the “metropolitan see” of Lauriacum by the 3rd-century emperor Philippus (i.e. Philip the Arabian [reg. 244–249] who was, on Eusebius’s authority, throughout the Middle Ages regarded as the

⁹ Johann ENGLBERGER, *Albert Behaim und die Lorcher Tradition in der Passauer Geschichtsschreibung: Die Descriptio gentium et diversarum nationum Europe*, Hannover 2007 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Schriften, LVII), pp. 459–542 and passim (with ample bibliography and extended discussion of the earlier scholarship, including the seminal studies of Georg Leidinger and Paul Uiblein).

¹⁰ NEUMÜLLER 1964, cit. n. 8, esp. pp. 24–28, 37; and see also NEUMÜLLER 1974, cit. n. 8, p. 23.

¹¹ ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 40 (n. 127), 302–303 (n. 114).

first Christian ruler of the Roman world).¹² Secondly, at some point after 1266 and before ca. 1285, an unknown editor supplemented Behaim's provisional catalog of the bishops of Passau (separately transmitted, and traditionally referred to under the title *Catalogus episcoporum Pataviensium*) with a list of the earliest Lauriacan pontiffs, which – in the second place – also expressly named “the blessed Maximilian . . . who had while spreading the word of God in his church province received the crown of martyrdom near the city of Celeia under the emperor Numerian.”¹³ If Englberger's chronology holds ground, this interpolation, which must have been inserted into Behaim's authentic text at a comparably early stage of its transmission, would provide the earliest written testimony now extant to Maximilian's dying as a martyr at Celeia as well as mark his first appearance in the literary record in the role of an “archbishop” rather than a mere *confessor*.¹⁴ Thirdly, and finally, in the *Vita Maximiliani*, Celeia became not only the site of the purportive Lauriacan pontiff's violent death but also his place of birth.

And it was evidently in order to underscore the validity of this last claim that the unknown author of the *Vita* accorded special praise to this particular urban center of the erstwhile Roman province of Noricum in a brief encomiastic digression that has already attracted some scholarly attention.¹⁵ For not only is Maximilian's alleged place of origin, Celeia, imagined as having been “fully endowed with

¹² ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 129–137, 490–493, 537–539, esp. pp. 493 (l. 2–3), 539 (l. 2); cf. *Historiae episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavariae* (ed. G[eorg] Waitz), Hannover 1880 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores, XXV), pp. 618–619, esp. 619 (l.1).

¹³ ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 495 (ll. 7–9), 539 (ll. 25–27): “. . . Beatus Maximilianus Laureacensis archiepiscopus . . . apud Celeiam urbem a Numeriano augusto martirio coronatur . . .”; cf. *Historiae episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavariae* (ed. Waitz, cit. n. 12, p. 620 [ll. 1–2]).

¹⁴ ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 142–146, 300–303. Cf. NEUMÜLLER 1964, cit. n. 8, p. 24 (nn. 102–103). An alternative, and somewhat earlier, date of between 1254 and 1265 is – along with the attribution of the pertinent portion of the *Descriptio* (viz. Englberger's Appendices II and III) not to Behaim but to bishop Otto of Lonsdorf – advocated by Brigitte POHL-RESL, *Ein Passauer Historikerstreit im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch, die Geschichte stillzulegen, Text – Schrift – Codex: Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (eds. Christoph Egger – Herwig Weigl), Vienna – Munich 2000 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, XXXV), pp. 286–303; and EADEM, *Ethnic History and Ecclesiastical Identity: the Example of Passau, Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter* (eds. Walter Pohl – Maximilian Diesenberger), Vienna 2002 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, III), pp. 91–103, esp. pp. 99–103. For a sharply critical assessment of this hypothesis see ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 143–145 (n. 512).

¹⁵ See, for example, Lukas CLEMENS, *Tempore Romanorum constructa: Zur Nutzung und Wahrnehmung antiker Überreste nördlich der Alpen während des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 2003 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, L), p. 204; and Günther BINDING, *Antike Säulen als Spolien in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Kirchen und Pfälzen – Materialspolie oder Bedeutungsträger?*, Stuttgart 2007 (Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, XLV/1), pp. 31–32 (n. 107).

riches, very populous, potent in arms and renowned for [its] noble and illustrious citizens;” it is also pictured as having once been so “noteworthy for its towers and palatial buildings made of marble,” and so famous for the military prowess of its inhabitants that “it could rightly be called another Troy.”¹⁶ To further capture the reader’s imagination, Celeia’s former days of glory are then set in stark contrast with its complete demise at the outset of the Dark Ages: “as no [earthly] thing can last forever” – admonishingly writes the author of the *Vita* – “afterwards this once mighty city was “by divine providence” utterly destroyed by barbarians. But, even so, its site “still displays indications of its erstwhile affluence” by virtue of the “vast quantity of marble and other noble stones from the ruined palaces,” which “may be found until this day . . . by those who search for them.”¹⁷

Needless to say, in these two sentences the *Vita* adroitly draws upon several conventional topoi of a traditional celebratory description of a city (*laus civitatis*) that typically also focused on defensive walls and monumental palatial buildings.¹⁸ And systematic future analysis is likely to reveal further parallels with well-known literary texts from the later 12th and early 13th centuries (some but not all of which belonging to the same literary genre).¹⁹ At the same time, however, literary flour-

¹⁶ *Vita Maximiliani 2* (*Acta Sanctorum Octobris* VI, cit. n. 8, p. 53): “Celeia vero, una de numero civitatum praemissarum quondam opinatissima, divitiis referta, habitatore stipata, armis potens, generositate nobilium et illustrium civium inclyta, turrium atque marmoreorum palatiorum aedificiis insignis, in rebus bellicis ex frequenti exercitio instructissima, atque ita celebris et famosa extitit, ut quasi altera Troja merito dici posset.”

¹⁷ *Vita Maximiliani 2* (*Acta Sanctorum Octobris* VI, cit. n. 8, p. 53): “Quae [scil. Celeia], quia nulla potestas esse morosa potest, ex permissione divina postmodum a barbaris funditus eversa, in ingenti quantitate marmorum aliorumque pretiosorum lapidum, qui ex dirutis palatiis usque in hodiernum diem a quaerentibus reperiuntur, suae opulentiae praeteritae adhuc indicia demonstrat.”

¹⁸ For the established conventions defining the literary genre of *laus civitatis*, see, for example, Ernst Robert CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 11th ed., Tübingen – Basel 1993, pp. 166–167; John Kenneth HYDE, Medieval Descriptions of Cities, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLVIII, 1965–1966, pp. 308–340; Carl Joachim CLASSEN, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed., Hildesheim – Zurich – New York 1986 (Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, II); Paul Gerhard SCHMIDT, *Mittelalterliches und humanistisches Städtelob, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung*, I, 1981, pp. 119–128; Hartmut KUGLER, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich 1986 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, LXXXVIII), pp. 17–37 and *passim*; Klaus ARNOLD, *Städtelob und Stadtbeschreibung im späteren Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (ed. Peter Johanek), Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2000 (Städteforschung. Reihe A: Darstellungen, XLVII), pp. 247–268.

¹⁹ The complimentary comparison of Celeia with Troy (see above, note 16), for example, would seem to best match the lines evoking the erstwhile grandeur of Avenche in Gottfried of Viterbo’s *Pantheon* of ca. 1185–1190 (“. . . / Qua fuit urbs quondam, grandis, velut altera Troia, / Nomen Avenza fuit, que peritura ruit. / . . .” [my italics]; see *Gotifredi Viterbiensis Pantheon* [ed. Georg Waitz], Hannover 1872 [Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores, XXII], p. 143 [ll. 26–27]). The qualifica-

ishes distinguishing this embryonic *laus Celeiae* (and obviously lacking any real topographical specificity) inspire little confidence in its factual trustworthiness. Indeed, many modern scholars were outspokenly skeptical about the idea that a well-read member of the Passau cathedral chapter also possessed first-hand knowledge of the far-off locality in Lower Styria as early as in the 13th century.²⁰

Not surprisingly, then, Paul Uiblein has – in a learned article published more than half a century ago – tentatively suggested that by imaginatively picturing the “mighty city of Celeia,” the unknown author of the *Vita Maximiliani* wished to refer the reader not to the Roman remains at Celje but to the long abandoned ruins of ancient Carnuntum at present-day Petronell south west of Hainburg on the Danube (not far from Vienna).²¹

Given its still imposing *Heidentor* and its location on the Danube, and hence within Passau’s medieval diocesan boundaries (and well within the territory that was in spiritual matters subject to the Archdiocese of Salzburg), Petronell would at first sight indeed appear a far more logical choice than Celje which lies further south in the Valley of Savinja (Ger. *Sanntal*) that was then under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Aquileia. And yet, cumulatively, the evidence (however indirect, incomplete and circumstantial it might still be) speaks in Celje’s favor.

For one, as Uiblein himself had pointed out, there is no evidence that Petronell was ever put forward as the location for Maximilian’s purported birthplace before

tory remark “quia nulla potestas esse morosa potest” (see above, note 17) possibly mirrors an often quoted line from Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Poetria nova* (vv. 357–359: “Hoc unum praescire potes *quia nulla potestas / Esse morosa potest*, quia res fortuna secundas / imperat esse breves . . .” [my italics]; see Edmond FARAL, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Age*, Paris 1924 [Bibliothèque de l’École des hautes études. IVe section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, CCXXXVIII], p. 208). The dependent clause “qui ex dirutis palatiis usque in hodiernum diem a quaerentibus reperiuntur” (see above, note 17 [my italics]) finds a parallel in the *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, which thus refers to the remains of the pagan sacrificial objects and human bones on the site of a heathen temple that was believed to have once stood on the site of the Abbey of Ebersmunster: “. . . que inibi reperta sunt, in quodam inmundo loco ac palustri ipsius insule proiecit; *que etiam usque hodie a querentibus illic reperiuntur* . . .” [my italics]; see *Chronicon Ebersheimense* (ed. Ludwig Weiland), Hannover 1874 (Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores, XXIII), p. 428 (ll. 38–40); and see also Hermann BLOCH, Zur Überlieferung und Entstehungsgeschichte des Chronicon Ebersheimense, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXXIV, 1909, pp. 127–173, esp. p. 155; and CLEMENS 2003, cit. n. 15, p. 351 (n. 382).

²⁰ See, for example, Joseph M. PATSCH, Die Legende vom heiligen Maximilian, *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, CLXI, 1920, pp. 466–467.

²¹ Paul UIBLEIN, Die Anfänge der Erforschung Carnuntums, *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LIX, 1951, esp. pp. 95–101, esp. pp. 95–96, 102; and see, for example, also LHOFSKY 1963, cit. n. 8, pp. 213, 306; NEUMÜLLER 1964, cit. n. 8, pp. 12, 28, 31; BRATOŽ 1999, cit. n. 8, pp. 244–245; STELZER 1999, cit. n. 8, col. 447.

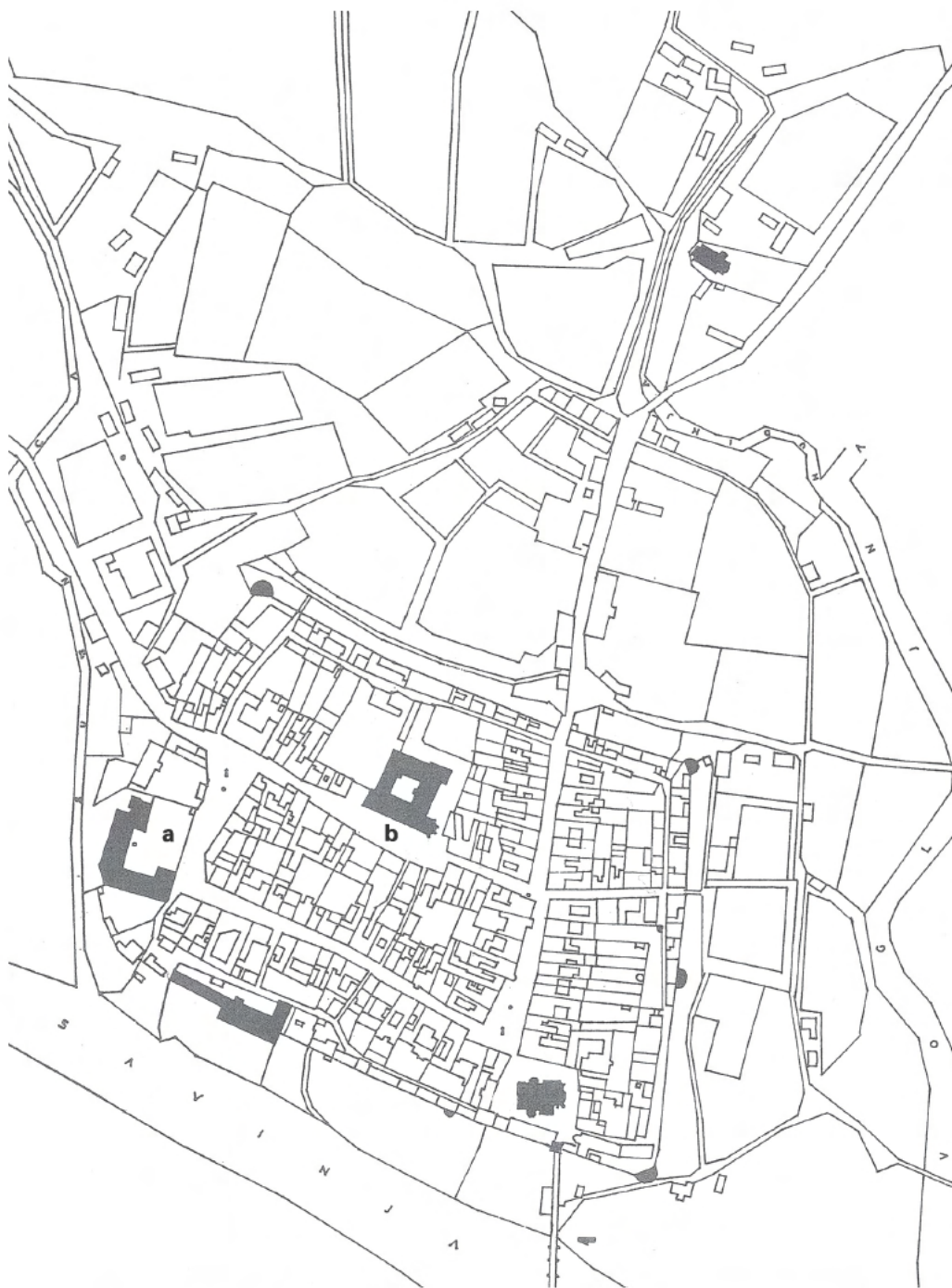
this was around the mid-15th century eloquently advocated – in a highly polemical outburst against Celje's claims to possessing the genuine relics of the saint – by Thomas Ebendorfer (b. 1388 – d. 1464), while (especially in Carinthia and Styria) Celeia's identification with Celje is, on the other hand, unequivocally evidenced in the literary record since soon after 1300.²² Furthermore, the 13th-century author of the *Vita Maximiliani* is also more likely to have had Celje in mind in view of the apparent fact that his point of departure for selecting Celeia as Maximilian's city of origin was Behaim's list of the episcopal seats occupied by the purportive Lauriacan suffragans; for in the latter text, equasion of Celeia with Celje is beyond reasonable doubt on internal evidence alone.²³

Last but not least, it needs to be born in mind that, already in 1927, Matija Ljubša had drawn attention to a potentially decisive connecting link between Celje and Passau at an appositely early point in time. As Celje had been throughout the 13th century the administrative hub of an allodial estate belonging to the Carinthian Counts of Heunburg (Slov. *Vovbrški grofje*), it may not be a mere coincidence that one member of the same noble family, Albert (or Albero?) – brother of William IV and Ulrich II, and uncle to count Ulrich III – is recorded among the canons of the Passau Cathedral between 1217 and 1252 (when he was still alive).²⁴ Bearing in mind that Albert Behaim (who was after 1250 primarily based in Passau) was not only Albert of Heunburg's co-canon but (as the cathedral dean since 1245) also his immediate superior, personal contact between the two cler-

²² UIBLEIN 1951, cit. n. 21, p. 102; and see also Walter JAROSCHKA – Alfred WENDEHORST, Das Kreuzensteiner Legendar: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der österreichischen Hagiographie des Spätmittelalters, *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LXV/1–2, 1957, pp. 381, 401 (no. 293), 410–412 (Appendix I); and NEUMÜLLER 1964, cit. n. 8, pp. 31–33.

²³ ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 493 (ll. 2–3), 539 (ll. 1–2): “Laureacensi archiepiscopo subfuerunt: ab inferius sursum Betonia, Celeia, Gradus, Solium . . .;” and see also *Historiae episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavariae* (ed. Waitz, cit. n. 12, p. 619 [l.1]). It is in this connection worth remembering that the pertinent textual passage is also repeated word by word in the received text of the *Vita Maximiliani* 24 (ed. Pez, cit. n. 8, col. 34: “. . . Laureacensi . . . archiepiscopo subfuerunt. Ab inferius sursum Betonia, Celeja, Gradus-Solium, id est Sol . . .”). And see also UIBLEIN 1951, cit. n. 21, p. 102 (“[d]ie Reihung Celeias . . . zeigt wohl, daß hier unter Celeia sicherlich Cilli gemeint war”).

²⁴ M[atija] LJUBŠA, Sv. Maksimiljan v Celju, *Slovenec*, LV/231, 1927, p. 6. For documentary evidence regarding Albert of Heunburg see Karlmann TANGL, Die Grafen von Heunburg: I. Abtheilung: von 1103–1249, *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, XIX, 1858, pp. 100–101, 107, 109–110; and *Regesten zur Geschichte der Salzburger Erzbischöfe Conrad I., Eberhard I., Conrad II., Adalbert, Conrad III. und Eberhard II.* (ed. Andreas v[on] Meiller), Vienna 1866 (*Regesta archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium inde ab anno MCVI usque ad annum MCCXLVI*), p. 560, no. 192; and see also the separately printed genealogical table attached to the fundamental overview article by Heinz DOPSCH, Die Grafen von Heunburg, *Carinthia I*, CLX, 1970, pp. 311–342; and see more recently also Kos 2006, cit. n. 2, esp. pp. 55–56, 311; and Kos 2008, cit. n. 4, esp. pp. 535, 546–446, 554 (all with further bibliographical references).



1. Medieval nucleus of Celje: (a) – “Lower Castle” (“Princely Palace”); (b) – Minorite convent, delineated on the basis of the town plan drawn in 1825 for the Franciscan Cadaster (*Franzsiszeischer Kataster*) of the Austrian Empire (adapted from CURK 1991, p. 180. pl. 5).

gymen is highly probable, and calls for systematic examination of all available documentary evidence at Passau, which was, regrettably, beyond the scope of the present study.²⁵

Although it now seems that Albert Behaim can hardly be held personally responsible either for “promoting” the Blessed Maximilian from a mere *confessor* to a martyred “archbishop” or for putting forward Celeia as his place of origin, the fact would still remain that it was Behaim himself who first included Celeia among the episcopal seats of the alleged Lauriacan suffragans.²⁶ Indeed, given his erudite interest in ancient history and geography (amply evidenced by the thematic scope of the *Descriptio*), he was presumably keen on learning more about any physical remains of the former *coloniae* and *municipia* in the region; after all, Behaim’s personal appreciation of the inherent evidential value of their ruinous vestiges *in situ* is eloquently borne out by his enthusiastic remark that many mighty ancient “walls, cities and towns” in “Hungary, Austria, Bavaria, Styria and Carinthia” were erected “by the noble hand of the Romans.”²⁷

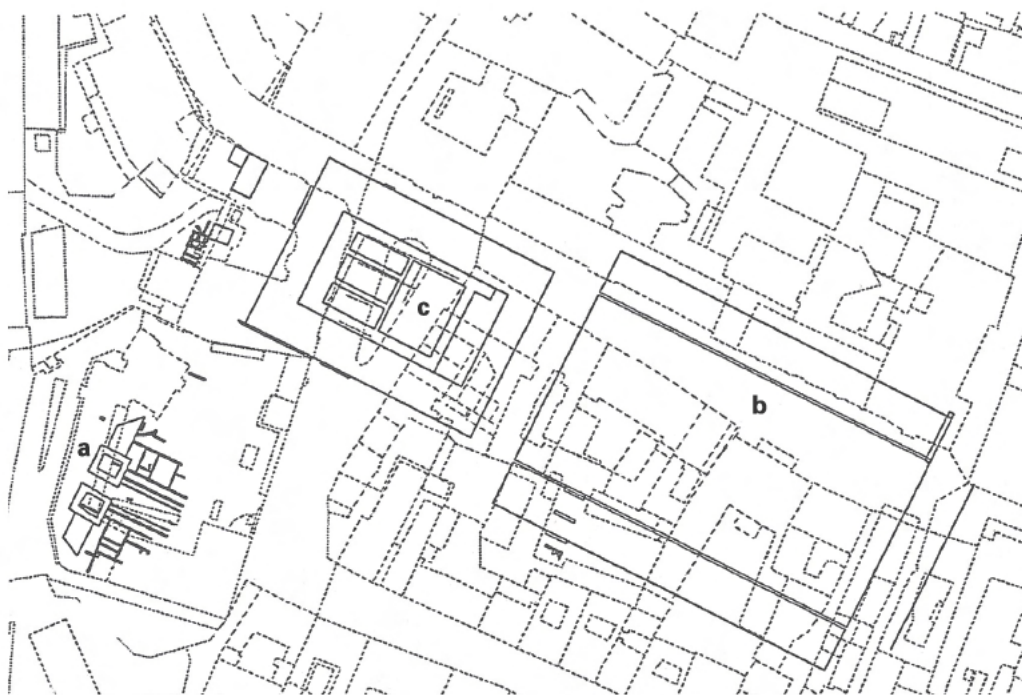
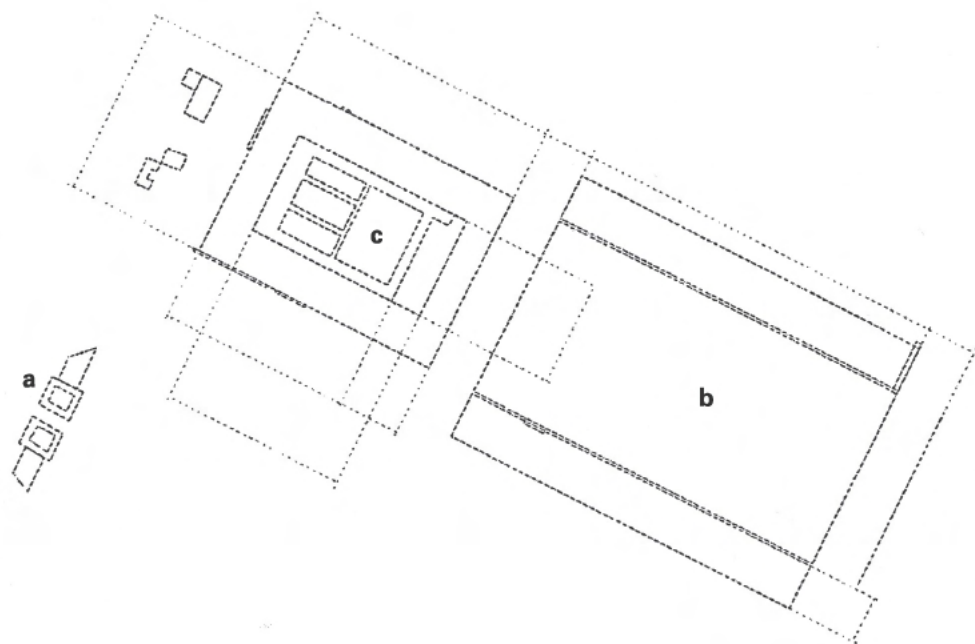
But were the actual physical remains of Celeia sufficiently accessible (and impressive) to compete for a 13th-century viewer’s attention with those of Carnuntum? One substantial argument in Celje’s favor is the fact that from the outset its medieval nucleus was centered on the exact site of its much larger Roman predecessor. Moreover, albeit always small in size, Celje may have attained some outward attributes of a non-agrarian settlement “at an intermediate developmental phase between an ordinary market-town and a city” already in the course of the 13th century.²⁸ And with the concomitant rise in building activity, traces of Roman stone buildings in *loco* were presumably coming into ever sharper focus at the time when the *Vita Maximiliani* was taking shape at Passau. With some de-

²⁵ For the evidence that from 1250 onward Behaim mostly resided in Passau, and played a prominent role in the cathedral chapter under the Bishop Berthold (d. 1254), see ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 386–387, 404, 418–427 and *passim*.

²⁶ See above, note 23.

²⁷ ENGLBERGER 2007, cit. n. 9, pp. 464 (ll. 8–10), 512 (ll. 17–19): “[u]nde siquis querat, quis struxerit in Hungaria, Austria, Bavaria, Styria et Karinthia *magna muralia, civitates et oppida*, respondendum est: *manus nobilissima Romanorum*” [my italics].

²⁸ Sergij VILFAN, Glose k zgodovini srednjeveškega Celja, *Kronika*, XXXII, 1984, pp. 15–19, esp. pp. 16, 18 (cf. IDEM, s.v. Cilli [Celje]: I. Stadt, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II, Munich – Zurich 1983, cols. 2084–2085); and see also Ivan STOPAR, Geneza celjskega mestnega jedra, *Celjski zbornik 1977–1981*, Celje 1981, pp. 293–322, esp. pp. 295–296; Božo OTOREPEC, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 132; Jože CURK, Celjski Stari grad, posebno v 16. stoletju, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, LVIII (= new. ser., XXIII/1), 1987, pp. 108–109; IDEM, *Trgi in Mesta na slovenskem Štajerskem: Urbanogradbeni oris do začetka 20. stoletja*, Maribor 1991, pp. 25, 80–83; Kos 2006, cit. n. 2, pp. 310–313 (with earlier bibliography).



2. Documented locations of Celeia's principal buildings and public spaces in the southwestern part of medieval Celje: (a) – two-tower city gate, paved street and remains of domestic architecture; (b) – forum; (c) – Capitolium (adapted from KREMPUS – MUSIĆ – NOVŠAK 2005, p. 211, fig. 12-B).

gree of probability it is even possible to pinpoint those spaces within the fabric of the town, where Roman ruins were most likely to have come to the attention of the elite viewers.

One such promising location is the site of the local Minorite convent (fig. 1b), the existence of which is indirectly but unequivocally attested at the latest in 1304, when the names of its *custos*, its guardian and four brethren are listed in connection with the reportedly “miraculous” discovery of saint Maximilian’s body.²⁹ Indeed, the convent’s foundation date is said to go back to 1241.³⁰ And if we assume that the first friars did in fact settle down in Celje just before the mid-13th century, it would logically follow that they were there and then confronted with the prominent presence of ancient architectural remains. Not only is the rectangular plot of land, which was obtained by this mendicant order for the construction of their domicile in Celje, located well within the former perimeter of the late-antique city walls of Celeia, the southern flank of the building complex (including the conventual church dedicated to the Virgin) is also exactly aligned with the northern edge of the forum (fig. 2b), where numerous large-size blocks of carved marble have been sporadically coming to light even during the last few centuries.³¹ As similar

²⁹ JAROSCHKA – WENDEHORST 1957, cit. n. 22, p. 410. The earliest hitherto known direct documentary reference to the “Conventus fratrum Minorum in Cillia” dates only from 1310; see [Giuseppe] VALENTINELLI, *Nonnulla Documenta quę ad Historiam referuntur quarundam ecclesiarum in remotis partibus existentium et ad Aquilejensem Diocesim olim spectantium, quęque ex libris Cancellariorum Patriarchalium P[ater] Joseph[us] Bianchi excerp[er]it manu propria et excr[ip]sit. Utini 1858, Notizenblatt: Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, VIII, 1858, p. 404. For a brief outline of the convent’s history see, for example, Franc KOVAČIČ, *Zgodovina Lavantinske škofije (1228 – 1928)*, Maribor 1928, pp. 134–136.

³⁰ Unfortunately, this early foundation date is grounded on the evidence of a now lost commemorative inscription published by Aquilinus Julius CAESAR (*Annales Ducatus Styriae*, I, Graz 1768, p. 31) and Ignac OROŽEN (*Celska kronika*, Celje 1854, p. 21; and see also IDEM, *Das Archidiakonat Saunien oder Sannthal u[nd] Draufeld*, Celje 1880 [Das Bisthum und Diözese Lavant, III/1–2], pp. 150–152). For a balanced assessment of this inscription’s evidential value see VILFAN 1984, cit. n. 28, p. 16; and OTOREPEC 1988, cit. n. 28, p. 132. For the building history of the convent (which was suppressed in 1808) see, for example, Marijan MAROLT, *Dekanija Celje: I. Cerkevni spomeniki v Celju*, Maribor 1931 (Umetnostni spomeniki Slovenije, III), pp. 60–63 (with earlier bibliography); and Jože CURK, O samostanih in samostanski arhitekturi po letu 1200 na slovenskem Štajerskem (gradbeno-zgodovinski oris), *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, LXIV (= new. ser. XXIX/2), 1993, p. 138 (opting for a somewhat later date of between ca. 1280 and 1310).

³¹ Suffice it to quote one such report, dating from 1745: “. . . vor dem Minoritenclöster . . . hat man 36 Stuckh ausgehauten Märbel gefunden, welche 3 – 4 Ellen Tickh und 2 1/2 Ellen In die Länge . . .” see Franz KRONES, [titter] v[on] Marchland, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli, II: Die Cillier Chronik*, Graz 1883, pp. 181–182; and see also Janko OROŽEN, *Zgodovina Celja in okolice*, I, Celje 1971, pp. 46–47. For the long disputed but recently – also thanks to ground-penetrating radar survey of the site, which was carried out in 2002 by the Slovenian Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Regional Unit Celje – definitively established specific location of Celeia’s forum, see esp. Irena LAZAR, New Finds from Celje and a Problem of the Celeian Forum, *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium*

discoveries were therefore almost bound to have occurred during the first laying of the friary's foundations, the all but forgotten hypothesis (voiced by Karlmann Tangl in 1858) that the Minorite convent at Celje was founded in 1241 by two Heunburg brothers, William IV and Albert, is of some interest also in the context of the present study, for it would put the latter of the two (who was then already a canon at the Cathedral of Passau) in the right place at the right time.³²

Still, the distinct possibility that the revived building activity on the site of Celeia had at a comparatively early date revealed truly impressive Roman remains, is perhaps best born out by the remarkable results of the more recent excavation campaigns (especially between 1992 and 1996) beneath the surviving parts of the former urban residence of the Counts of Celje (fig. 1a), known as the "Lower Castle" (Slov. *Spodnji grad*; Ger. *Unter Cilli*; *Stadtburg*) or the "Princely Palace" (Slov. *Knežji dvor*; Ger. *Fürstenhof*).³³

Admittedly, most of the still standing structures along with several finely carved late Gothic door- and window frames of this palatial compound (located in the south-eastern corner of the Medieval town) probably date from shortly before and after 1400.³⁴ Yet, the earliest archaeologically ascertained building phases must go

Romanum: neue Funde und Forschungen (eds. Peter Noelke – Friederike Naumann-Steckner – Beate Schneider), Cologne 2003 (Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provincialrömischen Kunstschaftens, Köln 2. bis 6. Mai 2001), pp. 469–474; Robert KREMPUŠ – Branko MUŠIČ – Matjaž NOVŠAK, *Celeia (Noricum): Topographische Erkenntnisse 1992–2002, Die norisch-pannonischen Städte und das römische Heer im Lichte der neuesten archäologischen Forschungen: II. Internationale Konferenz über norisch-pannonische Städte, Budapest-Aquincum 11.–14. September 2002* (eds. László Borhy – Paula Zsidi), Budapest 2005 (Aquincum Nostrum, II/3), pp. 212–213, figs. 11–12 (with earlier bibliography); Irena LAZAR, *Celjski forum in njegov okras, Annales: Series Historia et Sociologia*, XVIII/2, 2008, pp. 349–360, esp. p. 351, fig. 1; EADEM, *The World of Gods and Religious Life in Roman Celeia, Religion in Public and Private Sphere: Acta of the 4th International Colloquium The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia* (ed. Irena Lazar), Koper 2011 (Annales Mediterranei), pp. 25–28, fig. 2 (with further bibliographical references).

³² TANGL 1858, cit. n. 24, pp. 109–110.

³³ Robert KREMPUŠ, *Arheološke raziskave knežjega dvora v Celju / Archäologische Forschungen im Fürstenhof in Celje, Srednjeveško Celje / Medieval Celje* (ed. Mitja Guštin), Ljubljana 2001 (Archaeologia historica Slovenica, III), pp. 25–44; and see also Mitja GUŠTIN, *Mittelalterliche Städte auf römischen Ruinen in Slowenien, Zwischen Römersiedlung und mittelalterlicher Stadt: Archäologische Aspekte zur Kontinuitätsfrage* (eds. Sabine Felgenhauer-Schmiedt – Alexandrine Eibner – Herbert Knittler), Vienna 2001 (Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich, XVII), p. 246; LAZAR 2002, cit. n. 6, p. 91, fig. 28; KREMPUŠ – MUŠIČ – NOVŠAK 2005, cit. n. 31, pp. 206–209, figs. 3, 5–6 (with earlier bibliography). Cf. Tomaž NABERGOJ – Katarina PREDOVNIK, *Archeological Research into the Periods Following the Early Middle Ages in Slovenia, Arheološki vestnik*, LXI, 2010, p. 268.

³⁴ See, for example, Ivan STOPAR, *Knežji dvorec v Celju: Analiza historičnih virov / The Prince's Mansion in Celje: Analysis of Historical Sources and Initial Research Results, Varstvo spomenikov*, XXXVIII, 1998, pp. 98–122; IDEM, *Celje, Fürstenhof, Gotik in Slowenien* (exh. cat., Ljubljana, National Gallery of Slovenia, 1 June – 1 October 1995, ed. Janez Höfler), Ljubljana 1995, pp. 395–396,

back to the period when the Counts of Heunburg (who became extinct in the male line in 1322) were still firmly in possession of Celje. In its rudimentary form – essentially consisting of a hall-keep surrounded by an outer stone wall – this “Lower Castle” must have been built long before it is first expressly recorded on 30 January 1323 as “the tower that is located in the market-town [of Celje],” and certainly no later than the 13th century.³⁵ In this light it is worth noting that the Lower Castle’s core rectangular structure was built directly upon the massive foundations of a pair of towers flanking Celeia’s western city gate and forming part of the defensive walls dating most probably from the early 4th century A.D. (fig. 3)³⁶

These well-preserved foundations of a fortified entrance to the Roman town (fig. 4) are bristling with large marble blocks and numerous *spolia* that include shafts and bases of columns, parts of elaborately carved cornices, several honorary and funerary inscriptions, and even fragmentary cuirassed statues (fig. 5), which were – in the troubled times of the Late Roman Empire – pillaged not only from the outlying cemetery but also from the monumental public buildings in the nearby forum and the Capitolium (fig. 2b–c).³⁷

cat. no. 231; and see also Janez HÖFLER, *Die Grafen und Fürsten von Cilli als Mäzene und Förderer der Kunst, Sigismund von Luxemburg: Ein Kaiser in Europa: Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8.–10. Juni 2005* (eds. Michael Pauly – François Reinert), Mainz 2006, pp. 338–339, fig. 2.

³⁵ Franz KRONES, R[itter] v[on] Marchland, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli, I: Die Freien von Saneck und der erste Graf von Cilli v[on] 12. Jahrh[undert] bis 1360. Quellenmässige Geschichtsstudie*, Graz 1883, pp. 120–121, doc. no. 5 (“... vnd den turn, der in dem marchte leit . . .”); and see also OTOREPEC 1988, cit. n. 28, p. 133. For the still hypothetical dating of the earliest building phases of this “tower inside the town” see CURK 1991, cit. n. 28, pp. 25, 82 (“possibly already in the 12th century”); and KREMPUŠ – MUŠIČ – NOVŠAK 2005, cit. n. 31, p. 213 (“... spätestens im 13. Jh. über den Resten des spätantiken Stadtttores erbaut . . .”). Circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that – albeit initially the principal fortified stronghold of Celje’s feudal lords must have been the Castle of “Upper Celje” (Ger. *Ober Cilli*) set off on the hill south-east from the town lying in the plain below (for which see, for example, I[van] S[TOPAR], *Celje, Burg* (‘Gornje Celje’, ‘Ober Cilli’), *Gotik in Slowenien* 1995, cit. n. 34, p. 397, cat. no. 232 [with earlier bibliography]; IDEM, *Stari grad Celje med včeraj, danes in jutri*, Celje 2000; and Aleš STOPAR, *Stari grad Celje*, Celje 2006) – the actual administrative seat of the Heunburg *allieu* in the Valley of Savinja (Ger. *Sanntal*) was, nevertheless, at a comparatively early date located on the site of the future *Fürstenhof*; see VILFAN 1984, cit. n. 28, pp. 15–16. On good grounds Jože Curk has thus also suggested that the habitation tower on the location of the future “Lower Castle” may have been the preferred *piéd-à-terre* of the Heunburg counts when on visit to this part of their scattered landed estates (see CURK 1987, cit. n. 28, p. 111), while, according to Dušan Kos, at that point in time the Lower Castle’s primary purpose was to house the contingent of armed men; see Kos 2006, cit. n. 2, p. 312 (“Die Obere Burg fungierte als Residenz, während die Angehörigen der bewaffneten Mannschaft ihre Bahausing im Markt hatten, den sie vom Marktturm aus kontrollierten. . .”).

³⁶ KREMPUŠ 2001, cit. n. 33, pp. 28–29, 31, fig. 5.

³⁷ KREMPUŠ 2001, cit. n. 33, pp. 27–28, fig. 4. For the sculptured marble *spolia* and inscribed stone slabs found at and in the vicinity of Celeia’s two-towered western gate see, for example, Vera

It is on this non-literary evidence certainly much easier to imagine that – to borrow the words of the anonymous author of the *Vita Maximiliani* – before the end of the 13th century “huge quantities of marble” have indeed been coming to light “from the ruined palaces” of the Roman city, which was once “renowned for its towers and palatial buildings made of marble.”³⁸ After all, even in view of the evidently topical nature of the evocative depiction of ancient Celeia in the *Vita*, the fact would still remain that ancient ruins located at Celje also crop up in the surviving literary record of the 14th century.

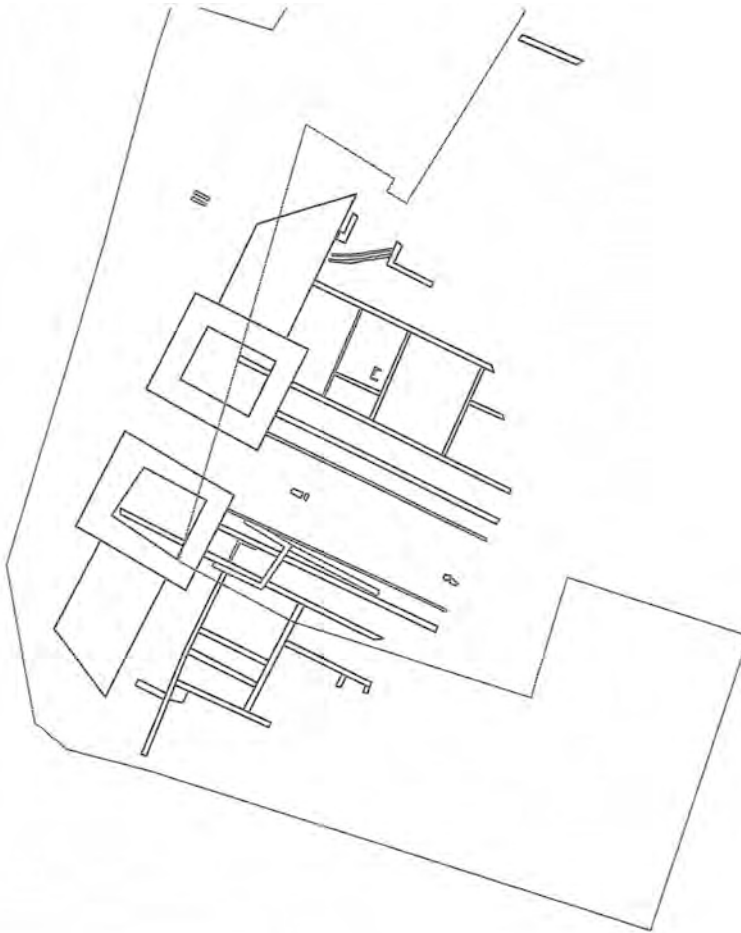
One case in point is a tantalizing hint surviving in some manuscripts that contain a modified and amplified version of Martin of Opava’s immensely popular Chronicle of Popes and Emperors (*Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*), which seems to have been in this particular form originally compiled in the Dominican convent at Leoben around 1300.³⁹ Our key witness is the copy surviving in a composite manuscript from the Abbey of Sankt Lambrecht (now in Graz), which was apparently completed around 1337.⁴⁰ The section summarily relating the key events

KOLŠEK, Die Todesgenien im Stadtbereich von Celeia, 2. Internationales Kolloquium über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaßens: Vorträge der Tagung in Veszprém 14. Mai - 18. Mai 1991 (ed. Mihály Praznovsky), Veszprém 1991, p. 140, fig. 7; EADEM, Der Torso einer Panzerstatue aus Celeia, Akten des 3. internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaßens, Bonn 21. - 24. April 1993 (ed. Gerhard Bauchhenss), Cologne - Bonn 1996 (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, LI), pp. 67-70; Alenka VOGRIN, Two Imperial Statues Discovered in Celje - Celeia, Slovenia, *Histria Antiqua*, IV, 1998, pp. 93-97; Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS, The Roman Inscriptions of Celeia Commemorating Emperors, *Varia epigraphica: Atti del colloquio internazionale di epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000* (eds. Gabriella Angeli Bertinelli - Angela Donati), Faenza 2001 (Epigrafia e antichità, XVII), pp. 383-402, esp. p. 401; Katja ŽVANUT, Nekaj misli o pomenu uporabe spolij, *Arheo*, XXI, 2001, pp. 31-32, fig. 3; Milan LOVENJAK, Rimski napis iz Celja, najdeni med 1991 in 2003 / Die römischen Inschriften von Celje, gefunden in den Jahren 1991 bis 2003, *Arheološki vestnik*, LIV, 2003, pp. 331-368, esp. 334-338, 340-347, 354-355, cat. nos. 4, 6, 9-10, 13-14, 16, 37-39, figs. 4, 6, 9-10, 13-14, 16, 32-34; LAZAR 2003, cit. n. 31, pp. 469-472, figs. 1-9; Milan LOVENJAK, [Celje (Celeia): Nouvelles inscriptions,] *L'Année épigraphique 2003*, Paris 2006, pp. 427-432, nos. 1301-1315; LAZAR 2011, cit. n. 31, pp. 23-37, esp. p. 29, fig. 4.

³⁸ See above, notes 16-17.

³⁹ For discussion of the place of this distinct “Leoben branch” in the complex transmission history of the “Martiniana,” and for its relation to the later chronistic compilation redacted by the so-called *Anonymus Leobensis* (for whom see below, note 44) see, for example, Siegfried HAIDER, Untersuchungen über die Chronik des “Anonymus Leobensis,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LXXII, 1964, pp. 371, 373-374, 379-381; Winfried STELZER, Studien zur österreichischen Historiographie im 14. Jahrhundert, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, CIII, 1995, esp. p. 371, n. 11; and Urban BASSI, Johann von Viktring und der Anonymus Leobensis, *Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung Johanns von Viktring* (eds. Urban Bassi - Margit Kempter), Klagenfurt 1997 (Das Kärntner Landesarchiv, XXII), pp. 14-17, 41 (with further bibliographical references).

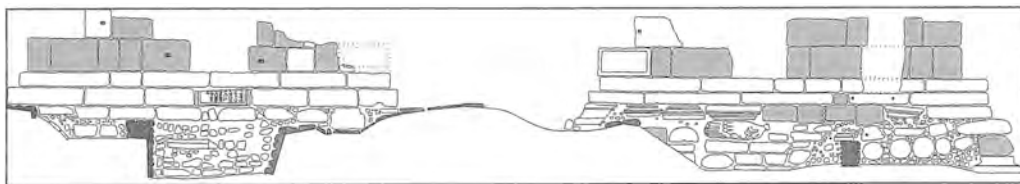
⁴⁰ Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 290 (formerly 39/23), fols. 15v-109r; for the codicological description of the MS see Anton KERN, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, I, Leipzig 1942, pp. 158-159, no. 290.



3. Two-tower city gate, paved street and remains of domestic architecture in and under the foundations of the "Lower Castle" ("Princely Palace") of Celje, ground-plan of excavated area (adapted from KREMPUŠ – MUŠIČ – NOVŠAK 2005, p. 206, fig. 5).

that took place during the troubled reign of the Eastern Roman emperor Marcian (reg. 450–457), expressly names Hajdina (Ger. *Haidin*) on the outskirts of present-day Ptuj (Ger. *Pettau*; ancient *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*) and Celje among the sites of the former Roman cities located in Styria, which have in 452 fallen victim to Attila's incursion from Pannonia into Italy; and thereupon observing that in the latter locality physical evidence of its destruction was "clearly visible to this very day."⁴¹ Even though Celeia's remains are in this instance mentioned in a non-

⁴¹ See Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 290 (formerly 39/23), fol. 54r (as published in J[oseph von] ZAHN, Ueber den Anonymus Leobensis, *Beiträge zur Kunde steiermärkischer Geschichtsquellen*, I, 1864, p. 55, note **): "Atyla uero . . . in uia ciuitates quas reperit uastauit. inter quas in Styria prope Betouiam ubi tunc Candida ciuitas destructa et alia nomine Cylia destructae [*sic*] funditus. *pirames adhuc hodie euidenter apparent* . . ." [my italics]. For a plausible but as yet not fully substantiated reading of *pirames* (perhaps derived from *pyramides* ?) as "prominent ruins" ("ragende Trümmer,



4. Foundation walls of the late Roman city gate of Celeia underneath the original hall-keep of the "Lower Castle" of Celje: westward view of the flanking towers' front faces, documentary drawing (after KREMPUŠ – MUŠIČ – NOVŠAK 2005, p. 207, fig. 6).

hagiographic discourse, and thus might induce us to regard the passage in question as an autonomous testimony to the prominent visibility of the Roman ruins in the first half of the 14th century, there is – on further examination – a good chance that in actual fact it was (regardless of marked differences in wording) at the very least indirectly inspired by the *laus Celeiae* in the *Vita Maximiliani*.⁴²

The next explicit 14th-century reference to Celeia's ruins is of a somewhat later date and, in turn, embellishes a chronistic record of a contemporary event not a dim recollection of devastation from the distant past. On 16 April 1341 the Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV elevated Frederick, the Free Lord of Žovnek (Ger. *Sanneck* or *Sannegg*) – who had, as one of the Heunburgs' principal heirs, finally secured his full possession of the landed estate, the castle and the town Celje by the early 1333 – to the rank of a count named after it ("... in grafn namen gæben von Cyli ...").⁴³ And, within the time span of less than a decade, Frederick's titular el-

Ruinen") see Vladimír LEVEC, *Pettauer Studien: Untersuchungen zur älteren Flurverfassung*. III. Abteilung, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXV, 1905, p. 67, n. 2; and Jakob KELEMINA, *Hajdina* (Toponomastični prikaz), *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, XXXVIII, 1933, p. 115 (51). And see also Jože CURK, *Celje – urbanistično-gradbeni zgodovinski oris*, *Celjski zbornik* 1963, Celje 1963, p. 10; and OROŽEN 1971, cit. n. 31, p. 265 (Orožen put forward an alternative explication proposing that *pirames* could have stood for "traces of fire" ["sledovi požara"], presumably then in the meaning of "charred ruins" ?).

⁴² That the text of the *Vita* was undoubtedly familiar to the compiler of this particular redaction of the "Martinian" papal and imperial chronicle is indicated by the reference to Saint Maximilian within the short chronistic entry (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 290 [formerly 39/23], fol. 17v) dedicated to the brief reign of the emperor Carus (reg. 282–283). See ZAHN 1864, cit. n. 41, p. 55, note ** ("... Hic Carus imperator misit in Celeyam ciuitatem Eulasium ut ipsam defenderet ab insultibus Hunorum. Qui cum artaret omnes Christianos ad sacrificia ydolorum, super quo ipsum cum sanctus Maximilianus archiepiscopus Laureacensis argueret decollauit [sic] ..." [my italics]) as compared to *Vita Maximiliani* 10 (*Acta Sanctorum Octobris* VI, p. 55: "... Horum temporibus et ab iisdem [scil. Numeriano et Carino] mittitur ad urbem Celeiam ... Eulasius, ut insultus Hunorum ..." [my italics]).

⁴³ Dušan KOS, *Celjska knjiga listin I: Listine svobodnih gospodov Žovneških do leta 1341*, Ljubljana – Celje 1996, pp. 235–238, doc. no. 212; earlier published by KRONES 1883, cit. n. 35, p. 167, doc. no. 105 (cf. KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 174–175); and see, for example, also Heinz DOPPSCH, *Die Freien von*



5. Marble spolia in the foundation walls of the late Roman city gate of Celeia underneath the original hall-keep of the “Lower Castle” of Celje, det. (after LAZAR 2001, p. 49, fig. 61).

evation has also been reported in the Latin chronicle put together by an unknown clergyman – possibly a native of Leoben (perhaps to be identified with Conrad of Leoben, a lecturer at the Dominican convent in Vienna), hence known as *Anonymus Leobensis* – who had relied especially heavily (but far from exclusively) on the Book of True Histories (*Liber certarum historiarum*) of his better-known elder contemporary John of Viktring (d. ca. 1345/47).⁴⁴

The relevant annalistic entry in the *Anonymus Leobensis* contains the terse factual statement that “Frederick, the Free Lord of Žovnek, received . . . from the

Sannegg als steirische Landherren und ihr Aufstieg zu Grafen von Cilli, *Celjski grofje / Die Grafen von Cilli* 1999, cit. n. 2, pp. 31–34; KOS 2006, cit. n. 2, p. 312; KOSI 2008, cit. n. 4, pp. 555–557; and ŠTIRH 2010, cit. n. 4, pp. 343–344.

⁴⁴ See, in general, esp. HAIDER 1964, cit. n. 39, pp. 364–381; Urban BASSI, *Studien zur Chronik des “Anonymus Leobensis”*, Vienna 1995; BASSI 1997, cit. n. 39, pp. 11–41; Fritz Peter KNAPP, *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273 bis 1439, I. Halbband: Die Literatur in der Zeit der frühen Habsburger bis zum Tod Albrechts II. 1358*, Graz 1999 (Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, II/1), pp. 407–408, 523; Martin WAGENDORFER, *Philologische Überlegungen zur Neuedition der Chronik des Anonymus Leobensis: Die Editionen von Hieronymus Pez und Fedor Schneider aus heutiger Sicht, Festschrift Heide Dienst zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. Anton Eggendorfer – Christian Lackner – Willibald Rosner), St. Pölten 2004 (Forschungen zur Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, XXX), pp. 161–87; MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, pp. 36–38. Karl UBL, s.v. Anonymus Leobensis, *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Brill Online, 2012 [accessed on 29 September 2012]; and V[olker] Z[APF], s.v. Anonymus Leobensis, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter – Autoren und Werke nach Themenkreisen und Gattungen, Band 3: Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung* (ed. Wolfgang Achnitz), Berlin – Boston 2012, cols. 363–365 (with further bibliographical references).

emperor the title of count, and had [hence, since then] named himself after Celje,” followed by a summary account of Celje’s distinguished past that reads: “this locality is said to have once in the olden days of King Arthur excelled in military prowess” but was later, reportedly, laid waste by “Odoacer, king of the Rugii, on his way to Italy;” yet even so, ancient city’s “collapsed ruins are being shown [there] to this day.”⁴⁵

It has long since been pointed out that this digressional remark about the town-let’s glorious past echoes the content (and, in part, the very wording) of a marginal annotation by John of Viktring to his own – somewhat earlier, much ampler and more anecdotal – account of how Frederick of Žovnek became the first Count of Celje, which survives in the so-called “Recension A” of the *Liber certarum historiarum*.⁴⁶ The telling fact that – with respect to ancient Celje’s association with the “gallant deeds in the time of King Arthur” – John’s marginalium draws upon Wolfram of Eschenbach’s *Parzival* (composed ca. 1200–1210), where Perceval’s uncle Trevrizent relates his past exploits as a young knight passing through Celje (*Zilje*) on his way to the nearby castle of Rogatec (*Rôhas*), has been pointed out in a compellingly argued article by Fritz Peter Knapp.⁴⁷

But the question remains why John of Viktring, unlike the *Anonymus Leobien-sis*, kept silent about the presence of the ancient ruins *in loco*. From this discrepancy between two otherwise closely related textual passages, Janez Mlinar has understandably drawn a logical conclusion that, with regard to this particular piece of topographical information, the latter author had independently relied on another

⁴⁵ *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum* (ed. Fedor Schneider), Hannover – Leipzig 1910 (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicae separatim editi, XXXVI/2), p. 220 (ll. 6–10): “. . . Fridericus Libertinus de Sûneck ab imperatore in civitate Monacensi comitis nomen accepit seque de *Celeya* nuncupavit. *Qui locus olim Arcturi regis tempore dicitur in exercitiis militaribus claruisse, quem rex Rugorum Odovacer olim pergens in Italiam cum multis aliis civitatibus creditur destruxisse, cuius ruina et collapsio usque hodie demonstratur*” [my italics].

⁴⁶ *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum* (ed. Schneider, cit. n. 45, p. 189 [ll. 25–30]); see also MLINAR 2005, cit. n., pp. 32, 35–38. For the full quotation of the passage and further discussion of its meaning see below, note 50.

⁴⁷ Fritz Peter KNAPP, *Historie und Fiktion in der mittelalterlichen Gattungspoetik (II): Zehn neue Studien und ein Vorwort*, Heidelberg 2005 (Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, XXXV), esp. pp. 39, 41–42. Cf. Wolfram of Eschenbach, *Parzival* 498.21–22: “ûz Zilje ich für den Rôhas reit, / drî mæntage ich dâ vil gestreit” (Wolfram von Eschenbach: *Parzival* – Studienausgabe [ed. Karl Lachmann; trans. Peter Knecht], 2nd ed., Berlin – New York 2003, p. 502). And, for more detailed discussion of Wolfram’s passing reference to Celje, see also Fritz Peter KNAPP, *Baiern und die Steiermark in Wolframs ‘Parzival’*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, CX, 1988, pp. 16–28; IDEM 1999, cit. n. 44, p. 404; and Anton JANKO, *Parzival in slovenska Štajerska, Celjski zbornik 1994* (ed. Janko Germadnik), Celje 1994, pp. 191–195.

contemporary but as yet unidentified source.⁴⁸ Still, there are equally good reasons for supposing that *Anonymus Leobensis*'s reference to physical remains of an affluent ancient city located at Celje could, in this instance as well, have ultimately gone back to the *Vita Maximiliani*. After all, the latter text was demonstrably one of John of Viktring's vantage points for succinctly laying out Celje's historical highlights; indeed, in the marginal annotation even Saint Maximilian of Celeia himself is already introduced into the equation.⁴⁹

Taking the opening sentence of John's original chronistic entry *ad annum* as the point of departure for understanding the precise meaning of his supplementary remarks, their content (which remains – also due to the truncated text – in part perforce conjectural) may be rendered as follows: “the Free Lord Frederick has been given the arms of a count” taking his title from the name “of the fortress of Celje – which had been (so it is believed) a long time ago destroyed by Odoacer of the tribe of the Rugii when he was on his way to Italy; and, thanks to the holy power of the Blessed Maximilian, [Frederick] attained the title of his [comital] domain; and thus he returned home [to the place] where in King Arthur's time many wonderful deeds are said to have happened.”⁵⁰ It would appear, then, that – as a felicitous afterthought – John of Viktring has soon after 1341 cast the holy

⁴⁸ MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 37.

⁴⁹ NEUMÜLLER 1964, cit. n. 8, p. 33, n. 162.

⁵⁰ *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum* (ed. Schneider, cit. n. 45, p. 188 [ll. 21, 25]) + *ibid.*, p. 189 (ll. 25–30): “. . . Fridericus Libertinus . . . insignia comitatus suscipit [→] de castro Celegi ab antiquo a Rug[o] Odovacro in Ythaliā eunte, ut creditur, destructo [*cod. destructum*]; et cogente b[*eat*i] Maximiliani cla[r]itate sue dicionis titul[um] assequitur [*scil. Fridericus Libertinus*], sicque a[d] propria est rever[sus], ubi Arcturi re[*gis*] tempore mirabili[a] gesta refer[untur].” (The opening clause preceding the sign [→] is quoted from the first sentence of the chronistic entry contained in the main text of the “Redaction A” [for the full passage in question see *ibid.*, p. 188 (ll. 21–28)–189 (ll. 1–6); and MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, pp. 197–198]; the remaining quoted text, which follows the sign [→], was penned *ex post facto* in the disponible space on the lower margin of the MS [see *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum*, ed. Schneider, cit. n. 45, p. 189, note*]; minor adjustments of Schneider's transcription are underlined.) With regard to the passage marked in italics, my reading admittedly differs from Fritz Peter Knapp's translation (KNAPP 2005, cit. n. 46, p. 39: “[Cilli] zerstört wurde, weil auch der heilige Maximilian gebieterisch Vergeltung verlangte”) and is, in consequence, also at variance with his subsequent interpretation of its meaning: “. . . daß der Heilige [Maximilian] gleichsam den Rugierkönig gezwungen habe, die Stätte seiner Hinrichtung durch Destruktion zu bestrafen . . .” (*ibid.*, p. 40). Having substituted Schneider's conjectural reading “cla[r]itate” with plausible but equally hypothetical “cla[more]”, Knapp proposes to read the italicized word sequence in relation to Celeia's devastation by Odoacer (“castro . . . a . . . Odovacro . . . destructo . . . cogente b[*eat*i] Maximiliani cla[more]”). Retaining Schneider's reading (i.e. “cla[r]itate” rather than “cla[more]”), I would, in turn, argue that the *ablativus absolutus* construction “cogente . . . claritate” – an introductory participial phrase that is immediately followed by the principal clause “[Fridericus] sue dicionis titul[um] assequitur,” together with which it forms a single, separate, paratactic unit preceded by the divisive conjunction *et* – pertains to Frederick of Žovnek's receiving the comital title in 1341, and not to Odoacer's destruction of the city.

Lauriacan “archbishop” Maximilian in the role of the particular saintly protector of the upstart feudal dynasty carrying the very name of the saint’s birthplace in its comital title well into the following 15th century.

On assumption that the two evidently interdependent textual passages, in which each of the chroniclers sought to encapsulate Celje’s entire history in a few sentences of terse Latin prose, were ultimately both indebted to the *Vita* even with regard to some of those particulars that were *expressis verbis* stated by only one or the other author, it would follow that from the mid-14th century onward the locally martyred “archbishop” Maximilian and the conspicuous ruins of his native city could jointly co-determine the educated audiences’ perception of Celje’s distinguished past. Moreover, at least potentially, this locality in Lower Styria – where dim memories of ancient Roman (and especially also of the early Christian) times were at that point inextricably intertwined with the chivalric lore of the Arthurian legend – would undoubtedly add distinction to the elevated rank of those named after the place, starting, of course, with the “founding father” of the then emerging “House of Celje”: Frederic of Žovnek (who, in 1341, “. . . comitis nomen accepit seque de Celeya nuncupavit . . .”).

This, in turn, may help us understand the remarkable recurrence, a century later, of the twofold evocation of Celje’s patron saint and Celeia’s physical remains in relation to Frederick’s grandson, Hermann II (b. ca. 1365 – d. 1435), in the so-called *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* (*Cronica der graffen von Cilli*; *Cillier Chronik*), which offers the second landmark testimony of the intensified literary engagement with the local Roman ruins in the course of the later Middle Ages.⁵¹

⁵¹ The best printed edition of the *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* is still KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 49–173 (with exhaustive commentary and earlier bibliography). And see, for example, also Lhotsky 1963, cit. n. 8, pp. 350–351; Winfried Stelzer, *Cronica der graffen von Cilli, Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (eds. Kurt Ruh, et al.), I, Berlin – New York 1978 [1980], cols. 1247–1248; Hans Patze, *Mäzene der Landesgeschichtsschreibung im späten Mittelalter, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter* (ed. Hans Patze), Sigmaringen 1987 (Vorträge und Forschungen, XXXI), esp. pp. 263–265; Johannes Grabmayer, *Die Cillier und die Chronistik – Aspekte eines Forschungsprojektes zur Geschichte der Grafen von Cilli 1341–1456, Celjski grofje / Grafen von Cilli* 1999, cit. n. 2, esp. pp. 219–221; Norbert Kersken, *Auf dem Weg zum Hofhistoriographen: Historiker an spätmittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen, Mittelalterliche Fürstenhöfe und ihre Erinnerungskulturen* (eds. Carola Fey – Steffen Krieb – Werner Rösener), Göttingen 2007 (Formen der Erinnerung, XXVII), esp. pp. 118–119; Fritz Peter Knapp, *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273 bis 1439, II. Halbband: Die Literatur zur Zeit der habsburgischen Herzöge von Rudolf IV. bis Albrecht V. (1358–1439)*, Graz 2004 (=Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, II/2), pp. 357–361; Mlinar 2005, cit. n. 2, pp. 118–121 and passim; Janez Mlinar, *Zgodovinskega časopisa, XLII*, pp. 442–445, 450; and Kerstin Pfeiffer, s.v. *Cronica der graffen von Cilli*, *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Brill Online, 2012 [accessed on 29 September 2012].

The first, mid-15th-century, redaction of this *Chronicle* (as published by Franz Krones in 1883) opens with a brief introductory chapter, in which – taking his cue from the definition of prudence in the then immensely popular pseudo-Senecan treatise on the four cardinal virtues (i.e. Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae viz. De quattuor virtutibus*) – the anonymous author, who was evidently himself based in Celje, reflects on how in the more remote past circumspect rulers (as opposed to feckless princes of his day) had attached great care to preserving their (and their families') memory by engaging trustworthy writers to record their deeds for posterity.⁵² But – continues the author – as count Hermann was – unlike many other potentates among his contemporaries – “a wise and far-sighted lord,” this chronicle (which is conceived as a “[deign] memorial to his honor”) opens “starting from the legend of Saint Maximilian, whose ancestral home was the mighty city of Celje, where he was martyred . . . ;” and from this ensues the evocation of the extant remains of the once imposing ancient buildings, which turns out to be a partial vernacular paraphrase of the by now familiar *laus Celeiae* from the Latin *Vita Maximiliani*.⁵³

As the chronicler's professed primary aim is to honor the wise and prudent count Hermann II in particular (and, by implication, the noble “House of Celje” in general), Celeia's ruins became, in this context, not only a powerful material proof of Celje's former eminence (which had perforce to be in keeping with the saint's noble Roman parentage), but, by implication also serve to underscore the outstanding virtues and exalted social status of the humble writer's high-born

⁵² *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje*, praef. (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 49–50). For analysis of the opening chapter and its sources, see – in addition to Franz Krones's remarks (*ibid.*, p. 22, n. 16) – esp. Primož SIMONITI, *Humanizem na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1979, p. 39, n. 3 (now available in German translation as SIMONITI 2008, cit. n. 7, p. 53, n. 113); and KNAPP 2004, cit. n. 51, p. 358. And see also the essay by Igor GRDINA, *Celjska kronika, spomenik srednjeveške književnosti na Slovenskem, Jezik in slovstvo*, XXXVI/2, 1990–1991, pp. 43–44. The *Chronicle*'s anonymous author was either a cleric (and thus possibly one of the friars in the Minorite convent at Celje), as was first suggested by Krones (see KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, esp. pp. 34–35), or – alternatively – a literate layman, and hence perhaps a member of count Hermann's chancery, as was maintained by Ludovik Modest GOLIA, *Pojasnila, Kronika grofov Celjskih* (ed. & trans. Ludovik Modest Golia), Maribor 1972, pp. 109–110.

⁵³ See *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje*, praef. (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 50: “. . . [n]un aber der edl wohlgeborne graff Hermann von Cilli ein weiser, fursichtiger herr was, also hab ich ihm zu ehren und zu einer gedechtnus einen anfang seiner cronica gemacht und des ersten aus der legend St. Maximilians, der aus der mechtigen stadt Cilli pürtig und da gemartert ist, und die etwan mechtig was, als man wol prieffen mag an den gemeuern und köstlichen gestain, das man da findet” [my italics]) as compared to *Vita Maximiliani* 2 (*Acta Sanctorum Octobris* VI, cit. n. 8, p. 53: “[Celeia] . . . in ingenti quantitate marmorum aliorumque pretiosorum lapidum, qui ex dirutis palatiis usque in hodiernum diem a quaerentibus reperiuntur, suae opulentiae praeteritae adhuc indicia demonstrat” [my italics]). And for more comprehensive discussion of this passage see also KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 30.

dedicatee, who – of course – carried the very name of Maximilian’s birthplace in his hereditary comital title.

The exhaustive vernacular retelling of the life of the “noble-born” holy “archbishop” Maximilian of Celeia, which (in the first redaction) immediately follows the proem of the *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje*, may have been – as Krones has perceptively observed – adduced as a substitute for the less-distinguished earlier history of the Lords of Žovnek prior to 1341 (when their family still ranked among the lesser nobility); and, as has already been demonstrated, this legend of the local saint thus evidently aims at presenting Celje as a provincial beacon of Roman Christian civilization before the fall of the Western Empire.⁵⁴ The immediate model for this hagiographic narrative was apparently a now lost integral translation (or at least a close paraphrasis) of the *Vita Maximiliani* into Middle High German, one testimony to the existence of which is provided by the summary retelling of Maximilian’s life in the so-called *Austrian Chronicle* (traditionally also known under the title *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften* [*Austrian Chronicle of the Ninetyfive Rulers*]), often ascribed to the Augustinian friar Leopold of Vienna and dating from before the last decade of the 14th century.⁵⁵ In fact, also with respect to the fleeting evocation of the former grandeur of Celeia and its subsequent destruction by the barbarians, both vernacular texts closely follow their common source – the Latin *Vita*.⁵⁶

Far more intriguing in terms of fresh factual information regarding Celeian antiquities is the last paragraph of the first chapter of the *Chronicle of the Counts*

⁵⁴ KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 21–22, 51–69.

⁵⁵ *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften* (ed. Joseph Seemüller), Hannover – Leipzig 1909 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores qui vernacula lingua usi sunt [Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters], VI), pp. CCLV–CCLVII, 50–51; and see also KNAPP 2004, cit. n. 51, p. 360. For updated discussion of this chronicle’s date, content and impact see, for example, Paul UIBLEIN, s.v. Leopold von Wien (Leupoldus de Wienna), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (eds. Kurt Ruh, et al.), V, Berlin – New York 1985, cols. 716–723, esp. cols. 719–721 (with bibliography); and Alastair MATTHEWS, s.v. Leopold von Wien, *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Brill Online, 2012 [accessed on 30 September 2012].

⁵⁶ See *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 1 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 52: “. . . und Cilli was derselben Städt auch eine die etwan überreich war an gut und edlleuten, die darin sassen, und Cilli die stadt mit köstlichen mauren und thürmen, marbelstein und kostlichen pallasten wunderlich was gezieret, und was die zeit als mächtig, das sie billig die ander Troia was geheissen, die hernach von gottes verhengnus gantz von den barbaren wardt zerstöhret. . .”), as compared to *Austrian Chronicle* 2.128 (*Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, cit. n. 55, p. 50 [ll. 23–25]: “[u]nder dem selben erczbischtümb zwo und zwainczig grozz und mächtig stet waren gelegen. Cily was aine der selben stet die reichist, da waren auch die edlisten, und mit mërblein turnen und pallasten wunderlich schon gepawet, das die selb stat pilleich die ander Troja was gehaissen. . .”). And see also the corresponding passage of the *Vita Maximiliani* as quoted above, note 16.

of *Celje* forming a reflective digression placed between the closing sentence of the narrative account of Saint Maximilian's life (concluding with the date of his martyrdom, here given as 281 A.D.) and the subsequent Chapter 2 that is (likewise under the impact of the *Vita*) concerned with Saint Rupert's reported re-establishment of the veneration of the Celeian martyr around the middle of the 7th century.⁵⁷

Even though the opening phrase referring to the firm walls and large blocks of marble "which can be found there" is (like the corresponding passage of the proem) again borrowed from the *Vita Maximiliani*, in what follows the still nameless chronicler from Celje – somewhat unexpectedly, perhaps – drew upon his own first-hand knowledge of the town and its surroundings, confirming that large marble blocks can indeed be found on site "especially near [the spring called] *Jungprunnen* – where there had once been a palatial hall. Since such stone blocks that no wooden cart is strong enough to carry can be found on the spot, [the fact] that they were transported there, can [only] be [explained] by [this people's] great power and wealth. And these same people have yearned to secure eternal memory for themselves, and everyone had had his ensigns and his name carved with capital letters into the hard blocks of marble. . . ."⁵⁸

Providing the earliest literary testimony to a discovery of Roman stone artifacts at a specified location inside the former *ager Celeianus*, this passage already attracted attention of classical archaeologists and epigraphists.⁵⁹ But equally remarkable is the pious chronicler's motivation for mentioning these massive blocks of marble at this particular juncture in the text: evidently, he drew upon his first-hand knowledge of Celeia's material remains not in awe (and even less in unqualified admiration) of the overpowering Roman past but in order to give additional force to the edifying lesson about the mortal humans' wanton pursuit of earthly

⁵⁷ KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 62–64.

⁵⁸ *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 1 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 62–63): ". . . das Cilli die stadt die zeit so mechtig ist gewesen, das priff man noch heutiges tags wohl an den starcken mauren und an den grossen marmelstein, die man da findet, und sonderlich bei dem jungprunnen, da vormalln ein saal gewesen ist. Wenn man wol ein solches stuck da findet, das kein hultzerner wagen magk ertragen, wie die dar kommen sind, das ist mit grosser macht und reichthumb dargangen. Und dieselben leuth hetten ihn gern ewigk gedechtnus gemacht und jeder lies ihm sein zeichen und nahmen mit hauptpuechstaben graben in die herten marmelstein. . . ." And see also KNAPP 2004, cit. n. 51, pp. 360–361.

⁵⁹ See, for example, ŠAŠEL 1970, cit. n. 6, cols. 147–148; OROŽEN 1971, cit. n. 31, p. 96; Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia*, Ljubljana 1997 (Situla, XXXV), p. 22; EADEM, *The End of the Norican Kingdom and the Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, Akten des IV. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Celje 8.-12. Mai 1995* (eds. Bojan Djurić – Irena Lazar), Ljubljana 1997 (Situla, XXXVI), p. 21.

glory, wealth and power, the utter futility of which was – to his mind – exemplified by the ancient Celeians' vain hope of leaving a lasting record of themselves by erecting such sumptuous tombs – “. . . and yet, these people are now entirely and utterly forgotten as many of the stones are broken into pieces; and even when it is still possible to read them [i.e. the tomb inscriptions], nonetheless no one can tell anything about them [i.e. these people].”⁶⁰

Given that both the *Chronicle's* introductory chapter and this passage (which the writer inserted into the narrative flow of the saint's legend of his own accord, and for the most part in his own words) center round the relative value of posthumous renown, it is striking to which degree they differ in emphasis. In the proem the stress is squarely on a wise potentate (namely count Hermann II) who is praised for his efforts to secure the lasting preservation of the fair memory (*gedechtnus*) of himself, his ancestors and his descendants – and, accordingly, Celeia's remains are introduced as a substantive physical reminder of the enduring evocative power of Celje's long gone, but far from forgotten, ancient splendor. In the second instance this confidence in the lasting fame of worthy men is, however, shattered and subtly subverted in keeping with the paragraph's sententious opening: “now everyone may note how unremittingly transient worldly glory, power and riches are.”⁶¹ And, whereas the proem at the outset confidently asserts the “Senecan wisdom” that virtuous prudence is capable of keeping good memory alive for the benefit of orderly deliberation in the present and to avert future misfortunes, the inserted digression at the close of Chapter 1, by contrast, emphatically concludes with a freely quoted apothegm – deriving from the final lines of the second chorus in Seneca's *Thyestes* – stressing the bitter fate awaiting those overambitious mortals who during their lifetime had “known worldly renown” at the price of neglecting the salvation of their souls and thus eventually “dying in ignorance of themselves.”⁶²

The resigned insistence on the inevitably perishable nature of all earthly glory (and of all outward trappings of worldly power) is in keeping with the generally

⁶⁰ *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 1 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 63): “. . . [d]erselben leuth doch nun gantz und gar vergessen, wann der stein noch etlich zerbrechen seindt, und ob man sy nun lesen kan, so weis doch niemandt von ihnen zu sagen.”

⁶¹ *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 1 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 62): “[n]un mag jeder wohl merken, wie gar zergenglichen weltlicher ruhm, gewalt und reichthumb ist . . .”

⁶² See *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 1 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 64): “[d]er weis Seneca schreibt in einem buch, dass haisst Tragediarum, das dem menschen kombt ein pitter todt, der mit weltlichem rumb wirdet erkhandt und in seiner gweisen stirbt im selber unerkhandt”) as compared to Seneca, *Thyestes* 410–403 (“*Illi mors gravis incubat / qui, notus nimis omnibus, / ignotus moritur sibi*”). For pertinent commentary see KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 63–64, n. 89.

more somber tone of this self-contained paragraph, which – as Knapp has astutely pointed out – bears many characteristics of an authorial afterthought that was more likely than not inserted by the chronicler into his derivative rendering of the legend of Saint Maximilian *ex post facto*.⁶³ One wonders, therefore, whether the block of text in question might not have been written only after the sudden violent death of the last male scion of the “House of Celje,” Ulrich II, on 9 November 1456.⁶⁴ For this unexpected event, which marked the definitive demise of the County of Celje’s chances of ever truly becoming an immediate fief of the Holy Roman Empire as a separate principality, profoundly shook the chronicler, to whom we incidentally also owe a suggestive account of Ulrich’s public funeral.⁶⁵

The precise date of any part of the *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* is difficult to establish with certainty; not least because the text itself (which has undergone several subsequent redactions and amplifications) is at present only known from much later apographs none of which predate the mid-16th century.⁶⁶ Still, while the passing evocation of Celeia’s remains (based on the *Vita Maximiliani*) in the introductory chapter may well have been written down not long after (or perhaps even shortly before ?) the death of Hermann II on 13 October 1435, the

⁶³ KNAPP 2004, cit. n. 51, p. 360 (“... [d]er längste deutsche Einschub [vielleicht erst einer späteren Fassung] ...”). That the passage in question may well have been inserted at a later date, is furthermore indicated by its conspicuous absence from at least one of the hitherto known manuscripts of the *Chronicle*; see KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, p. 64, n. 90.

⁶⁴ *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 32 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 119–127, esp. pp. 124–126). For a handy anthology of the pertaining excerpts from other narrative sources see MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, pp. 187, 216 (no. 20), 234–235 (nos. 23.2–23.3), 239 (no. 23.5), 251 (no. 23.7.67), 256 (no. 29.1), 259–264 (nos. 29.2 and 31), 266–267 (no. 32), 268–269 (no. 33), 271–280 (nos. 37, 40–45, 48), 283–284 (nos. 49–50), 295–296 (no. 53), 299 (nos. 57–58), 301 (no. 59.1), 303 (nos. 60–61); and see also Fabio FORNER, Enea Silvio Piccolomini e la congiura contro Ulrich von Cilli, *Margarita amicorum: Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili* (eds. Fabio Forner – Carla Maria Monti – Paul Gerhard Schmidt), I, Milan 2005 (Bibliotheca erudita: Studi e documenti di storia e filologia, XXVI), pp. 351–376, esp. pp. 361–368 (with further bibliographical references). For a succinct biography of count Ulrich II see H[einz] DOPPSCH, s.v. U[rich] II. G[raf] v[on] Cilli, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VIII, Munich – Zurich 1999, cols. 1193–1194 (with bibliographical references).

⁶⁵ *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* 33 (KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 127–129. For the elaborate funeral ceremonies, and especially for the classically inspired *oratio funebris* that was probably delivered in Celje on that occasion by Johannes Roth, who was at that time in the service of Ulrich’s young relative, the Hungarian and Bohemian king Ladislav Postumus, see SIMONITI 2008, cit. n. 7, pp. 31–51, 289–293, Appendix 1 (containing annotated critical edition of Roth’s oration); for Roth’s biography see, for example, also F[ranz] J[osef] WORSTBROCK, s.v. Roth (Rot, Rott, Rode, Rotus), Johannes, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (eds. Kurt Ruh, et al.), VIII, Berlin – New York 1992, cols. 269–275; and Agostino SOTTILI, La formazione umanistica di Johannes Roth, vescovo principe di Breslavia, *Italia e Boemia nella cornice del Rinascimento europeo* (ed. Sante Graciotti), Firenze 1999 (Civiltà Veneziana – Studi, XLIX), pp. 211–226 (with further bibliographical references).

⁶⁶ KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, pp. 10–20, 176–183; and see also LHOTSKY 1963, cit. n. 8, p. 351; and STELZER 1978, cit. n. 51, col. 1247.

chronicler's longer authorial contribution at the end of Chapter 1 – where he revealed his direct knowledge of actually extant material traces of the ancient past – more likely than not postdates the fatal November day of 1456, even though it could not have been written much later than 1460 along with the last entries in the original chronicle, which can be, on reliable internal evidence, dated between 1456 and 1461.⁶⁷ In that case pensive reflections on sculptured and inscribed tombstones of the ancients in *The Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* would have been almost exactly contemporary with the eloquent testimony to the prominent presence of Celeia's "many Roman remains" in Piccolomini's *De Europa* quoted at the outset of this study.⁶⁸

Yet, in spite of their roughly contemporary dates, there is a marked difference between the local Styrian chronicler's emphasis on the irretrievably lost historical *gedechtnus* of all those who had been commemorated by the surviving ancient marbles and Piccolomini's observation that these same venerable remains of classical antiquity ("uetustatis reliquie") were in fact still revealing the inscribed names of memorable Roman rulers ("romanorum nomina principum"). And this also goes hand in hand with the latter's reporting that Roman Celje was said to have been founded by none other than Lucius Cornelius Sulla.

It is this last remark of the learned Pope Pius that possibly hints at the existence of a distinctly Humanist trait in the local elites' attitude to Celje's acknowledged Roman past, which seems to have left no trace in the *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje*.⁶⁹ For – in view of the fact that, judging from the cautious qualifi-

⁶⁷ KRONES 1883, cit. n. 31, esp. pp. 32–33, 184–202; and see also MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 119.

⁶⁸ See above, notes 5 and 58. At present it is still impossible to establish if these two mid-15th-century literary references to the antiquities of Celeia are entirely independent of each other; the answer to this dilemma hinges on the open question whether or not Piccolomini could have had any knowledge of the *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje*; see Martin WAGENDORFER, Einleitung, *Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: Historia Austriacis* (eds. Julia Knödler – Martin Wagendorfer), Hannover 2009 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, new. ser., XXIV/1), p. XXXVII.

⁶⁹ For the regrettably meager direct evidence (counselling caution) of the possible impact of early-Renaissance Humanism on the emerging "courtly culture at Celje," see in particular SIMONITI 2008, cit. n. 7, pp. 25–51; and see also IDEM, s.v. Slowenien I. Humanismus, *Der neue Pauly – Enzyklopädie der Antike: Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (eds. Manfred Landfester – Hubert Cancik – Helmuth Schneider), XV/3, Stuttgart – Weimar 2003, col. 68; IDEM, Über die kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Humanismus bei den Slovenen, *Tu Felix Europa: der Humanismus bei den Slowenen und seine Ausstrahlung in den mitteleuropäischen Raum* (eds. Vincenc Rajšp – Feliks J. Bister – Miroslav Polzer), Vienna – Ljubljana 2011, pp. 27–28; for a summary assessment see also Winfried BAUMANN, Humanistische Literatur bei Süd- und Westslaven, *Humanismus und Renaissance in Ostmitteleuropa vor der Reformation* (eds. Winfried Eberhard – Alfred A.

catory remarks in *De Europa*, he made every effort to distance himself from this theory (“... nonnulli ... existimant; ... de qua re nihil nobis exploratum est ...”), it is unlikely that Aeneas Silvius was himself responsible for proposing Sulla as Celje’s founder, even though it is his surviving correspondence that, incidentally, offers the best proof of the Sullan hypothesis’s having been put forward at the latest by the summer of 1444.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Piccolomini was, needless to say, no friend of the counts of Celje and had hardly had a personal interest in their self-aggrandizement.

But whoever had (for whatever specific reasons yet to be explained) first proposed Sulla (a somewhat uncommon choice outside the Apennine Peninsula), he or she might well have been aware of the fact that since around 1400 (and well into the late Quattrocento), the city of Florence also self-assuredly claimed this Roman aristocrat of the Late Republic as its originator.⁷¹ Is there a chance, then, that the short-lived mid-15th-century aspirations of the tiny Styrian town of Celje to become in the minds of literate European audiences associated with the name of the same outstanding patrician politician of ancient Rome as the

Strnad), Cologne 1996 (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, XXVIII), p. 305.

⁷⁰ In most cases the invented toponym *Syllaceum* (and the adjectival forms derived from it) is associated with the name of count Ulrich II. For example, a letter (composed by Aeneas Silvius) sent from Vienna by the chancellor Kaspar Schlick to cardinal Giulio Cesarini on 24 June 1444 mentions “Ulricus, Sillacei comes” (see *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, I. Abteilung: Briefe aus der Laienzeit (1431 – 1445), II. Band: Amtliche Briefe* [ed. Rudolf Wolkan], Vienna 1909 [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II: Diplomataria et acta, LXII], p. 152, no. 90; MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 241, doc. no. 9); and on 25 June 1444, in a private letter to Giovanni Campisio from Vienna, Aeneas writes of the “comes Sillaceus” (see *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, I. Abteilung: Briefe aus der Laienzeit (1431 – 1445), I. Band: Privatbriefe* [ed. Rudolf Wolkan], Vienna 1909 [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II: Diplomataria et acta, LXI], p. 342, no. 150; MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 241, no. 10). The variant form “Ulricus Cillaceus comes” is documented on 26 June 1444 (see *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini II*, 1909, cit. above in this note, p. 350 [n. 1], no. 151). Further instances crop up in the letters dated 25 November 1448 (“... iunior Sillaceus comes ...”; see *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, II. Abteilung: Briefe als Priester und als Bischof von Triest (1447 – 1450)* [ed. Rudolf Wolkan], Vienna 1912 [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II: Diplomataria et acta, LXVII], p. 75, no. 23; MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 242, no. 16); 9 February 1450 (“... Ulricus, Syllacei comes ...”; see *ibid.*, p. 102, no. 38*; MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 243, no. 17); 16 October 1453 (“... Ulricum, Syllacei comitem ...”; see *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, III. Abteilung: Briefe als Bischof von Siena* [ed. Rudolf Wolkan], Vienna 1918 [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II: Diplomataria et acta, LXVIII], p. 302, no. 172; MLINAR 2005, cit. n. 2, p. 247, no. 38); 8 November 1453 (“... illustris Ulricus Sillacei comes ...”; see *ibid.*, p. 349, no. 180).

⁷¹ For a pioneering discussion of the “Sullan thesis” with regard to Florence, see Hans BARON, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, Princeton, N.J., 1955, pp. 51–52, 56–58, 61, 72–75, 84–85, 132, 468–469, nn. 49, 51–52; and see, for example, also Ronald G. WITT, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Boston – Leiden 2003, pp. 487–488, n.104.

foremost metropolis of early-Renaissance Tuscany, was prompted by the knowledge of Leonardo Bruni's *Historiae Florentini populi* (written between 1415/1416 and 1442)?⁷²

It goes without saying that – along with many other open questions concerning the gradually but perceptibly shifting attitudes toward material testimonies of Celje's classical past in the course of the 15th century – this hypothesis calls for further examination along the lines that have been provisionally laid out in the present essay.

⁷² See Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *De Europa* 21.68 (quoted above, note 5) as compared to Leonardo Bruni, *Historiae Florentini populi* 1.1 (*Leonardi Aretini Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII* [ed. Emilio Santini], Città di Castello 1926 [Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new. ser., XIX/3], p. 5 [ll. 1–5]: “Florentiam urbem Romani condidere a Lucio Sylla Fesulas deducti. Fuerunt autem hi Syllani milites, quibus ob egregiam cum in caeteris tum in civili bello navatam operam, pars fesulani agri est attributa, et Fesulae una cum veteribus incolis sedes traditae. . .”). And see also Leonardo BRUNI, *History of the Florentine People* (ed. and trans. James Hankins), I, Cambridge, Mass. – London 2001 (I Tatti Renaissance Library, III), pp. 8–9). It is worth remembering that, on Bruni's authority, Flavio Biondo around 1453 still accepted the “Sullan thesis” as a *bona fide* historical fact; see Biondo Flavio, *Italia illustrata* 1.2.26 (Biondo FLAVIO, *Italy Illuminated* [ed. and trans. Jeffrey A. White], I, Cambridge, Mass. – London 2005 [I Tatti Renaissance Library, XX], pp. 68–69). Needless to say, the *Historiae Florentini populi* was certainly known to Aeneas Silvius; see, for example, WAGENDORFER 2009, cit. n. 68, p. XXVI.

“Multe ibi uetustatis reliquie uisuntur:” zapisi o marmornih ostalinah antične Celeje pred in po letu 1400

POVZETEK

Članek vsebuje viroslovno, vsebinsko in kontekstualno analizo nekaterih presenetljivo zgodnjih srednjeveških pričevanj o rimskih stavbnih ostalinah, ki jih je bilo v 13., 14. in zgodnjem 15. stoletju še mogoče videti na tedaj deloma že ponovno pozidanem območju, kjer je na mestu današnjega Celja nekoč stal južnonoriški *Municipium Claudium Celeia*. Posebno podrobno študija razčlenjuje daljše odlomke o nekdanjih razkošnih celejanskih palačah (ter mogočnem mestnem obzidju) v Življenjepis sv. Maksimilijana (*Vita Maximiliani*) in v t.i. “Kroniki grofov Celjskih” (ok. 1435 – ok. 1460), ki – kot je že dolgo znano – prav temu v Passau nastalemu hagiografskemu besedilu iz druge polovice 13. stoletja dolguje sugestivno uvodno omembo velikih marmornih blokov, kakršni se v Celju “najdejo še dandanašnji”; toda anonimni avtor Celjske kronike je to trditev naknadno dopolnil še z dokumentarno posebno dragocenim poročilom iz prve roke o nedavno odkritih “velikih kosih marmorja”. Pozorno se razprava posveča zlasti sorodnostim in razlikam med skoraj sočasnima zapisoma o domačih antičnih starožitnostih izpod peresa bogaboječega lokalnega kronista pokneženih grofov Celjskih in jedrnatim opisom “starodavnega mesta, imenovanega *Cilia*” v spisu *De Europa* svetovljanskega (a rodbini Celjanov vse prej kot naklonjenega) italijanskega humanista Eneja Silvija Piccolominija, ki je prav ob zaključku redakcije tega svojega literarnega dela postal papež Pij II. Pričujoči prispevek poleg razčlenitve zgoraj navedenih besedil prinaša še primerjalno analizo kratkih omemb materialnih ostalin antične Celeje v tisti predelani in razširjeni različici “Kronike papežev in cesarjev” Martina iz Opave, za katero danes sklepamo, da je nastala v leobenskem dominikanskem samostanu okoli leta 1300, v “Knjigi resničnih zgodb” (*Liber certarum historiarum*) Janeza Vetrinjskega (iz časa ok. 1345/47) in v – prav tako okoli srede 14. stoletja datirani – latinski kroniki t.i. “Anonimnega Leobenčana” (*Anonymus Leobensis*).