The Hungarian Historical Review
New Series of Acta Historica
Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

Volume 5 No. 3 2016

Saints Abroad

Veronika Novák, Marianne Sághy, and Gábor Klaniczay
Special Editors of the Thematic Issue

Contents

Articles

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 465–486

Strangers to Patrons: Bishop Damasus and the Foreign Martyrs of Rome

Marianne Sághy
Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies

According to Christian theology, Christians are foreigners on earth. This paper focuses on the theme of foreigners and foreignness in the epigrams of Bishop Damasus of Rome. What motivated the bishop to highlight this theme at a time when Christianity was growing "respectable" in Roman society? How did the Church integrate foreign Christians into the social fabric of the Roman town? In late fourth-century Rome, not only foreign martyrs were identified as such, but entire groups of foreigners for whom "national" enclaves were created in the catacombs. I examine the Damasian epigrams in the context of their religious substrate of "alienation" and in light of the cosmopolitan heritage of Rome. As bishop of the Nicene Catholic fraction in the *Vrbs,* whose enterprise aimed at making Rome a new Jerusalem in part through the "importation" of holy martyrs, Damasus sought to represent his Church at its most "universal" in the teeth of his local schismatic and/or heretical opponents. Roman tradition buttressed the universalist aspirations of Catholicism. As the largest metropolis of the ancient world, Rome was a "cosmopolis," a melting pot of peoples, and Damasus did not remain a stranger to the Catholicity of Rome's cosmopolitan history at a time when conflicting loyalties to *ciuitas, Romanitas* and *Christianitas* were hotly debated political, religious and cultural issues.

Keywords: foreign martyrs, bishop Damasus, epigrams, Late Antique Rome

The notion that Christians are foreigners on earth was a prevalent idea in the ancient world, as it is today.[1] "God's people" sojourn temporarily in this world, on their way to the heavenly homeland. To be a "stranger" (*peregrinus*), however, was more than a religious metaphor for Christians in Antiquity: it was existential evidence. If they felt alienated, this was in large part a consequence of the fact that the world had cast them out for their allegedly outlandish beliefs. "Foreignness," therefore, was not just a matter of Christian self-perception or identity, it was also the way in which Christians were perceived by their contemporaries, Jews and Romans alike. From metaphor to social reality, "foreignness" covered a range of experience, expressing the deepest religious core of the new faith and also exposing the socio-historical context in which Christianity grew. Christians formed a diaspora of "legal aliens" in the cities of the Roman Empire, in which

1 Greer, "Alien Citizens."

the new religion spread thanks to its itinerant apostles, wandering teachers, exiled leaders, and migrant martyrs.

It comes as all the more of a surprise that, following the turn which took place under the rule of Constantine, the very "strangers" who had been thrown to the lions became the patron saints of the cities in which they had suffered martyrdom. The cult of martyrs rose parallel with Christianity's integration into Roman society. If the sudden reversal of the urban representations of the martyrs can be explained by the fact that they had already been venerated heroes in persecuted Christianity, the question still remains as to how a stranger could stand for, and represent in heaven, the *ciuitas* in which s/he had not enjoyed the status of citizenship and had been tortured and executed as a dangerous criminal. How would s/he guarantee the safety, prosperity, and salvation of a city in which s/he had been treated as a suspicious outsider?

This paradox was bravely addressed by the foremost episcopal *impresario* of the cult of the martyrs, Damasus of Rome (366–84 A.D).[2] While many Late Antique bishops made a point of excavating "local" martyrs to promote them to the status of patron saints, Damasus frankly acknowledged that the martyrs of Rome, the "new stars" of the *Vrbs,* were almost all foreigners. Martyrs from abroad became a major success story in Late Antique Christianity.[3] I focus on Damasus' presentation of the "alienness" of the martyrs in his epigraphical poetry.[4] What did "foreigner" mean for Damasus? What motivated the bishop to highlight this theme at a time when Christianity was becoming "respectable" in Roman society?

2 Reutter, *Damasus, Bischof von Rom*; Trout, *Damasus of Rome*.

3 The list of foreign martyrs venerated at the place of their martyrdom is endless. To name a few: Apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, the forty martyrs (of Sebaste) in Constantinople, St Irenaeus (of Smyrna) in Lyon, St Martialis (of Jerusalem) in Limoges, St Vitalis (of Milan) in Ravenna, St Demetrius (of Sirmium?) in Thessaloniki, St Quirinus (of Siscia) in Savaria (Szombathely) and Rome. Scholarship, however, is scarce on this issue: Fux, "Les patries des martyrs"; Tóth, "Sirmian martyrs in exile"; for a later period, see Efthymiadis, "D'Orient en Occident"; Lequeux, "Hélène d'Athyra,"; Maskarinec, "Foreign Saints at Home". Scholars focused on the translation and importation of relics, not on the veneration of foreign martyrs in the places where they died. On Holy Land relics: Clark, "Translating Relics"; for translations: Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*; Caroli, "Bringing Saints to Cities". On medieval thefts, see the classic work of Geary, *Furta sacra*.

4 On the rise of martyr cults in Late Antiquity, see Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*; Lamberigts and Van Deun, *Martyrium*; Grig, *Making Martyrs*.

Scholars explain Damasus' emphasis on the foreign origins of the martyrs of Rome as part of the competition among the Churches for primacy[5] and his attempts to "Romanize" the martyrs as part of the upsurge of Roman patriotism at the end of the fourth century.[6] Rivalries with Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople must have been a factor in the emphasis Damasus placed on the foreign origins of the Apostles Peter and Paul. But how does this account for Damasus' emphasis on "strangers" like Saturninus of Carthage or Hermes of Greece? "Competition-theories" fail to do justice to the rich spectrum of Damasus' allusions to the state of being a foreigner and to the subversive hierarchies in his poetry.

In late fourth-century Rome, not only foreign martyrs were identified as such, but so were entire groups of foreigners, for whom "national" enclaves were created in the catacombs. I examine Damasian epigrams in the context of their religious substrate of "alienation," as well as in light of the cosmopolitan heritage of Rome. As the bishop of the Nicene Catholic fraction in the *Vrbs,* who aimed to make Rome a new Jerusalem in part through the "importation" of holy martyrs, Damasus sought to represent his Church at its most "universal," thus going against his local schismatic and/or heretical opponents. Roman tradition buttressed the universalist aspirations of Catholicism. The largest metropolis of the ancient world, Rome was a "cosmopolis," a melting pot of peoples, and Damasus did not remain a stranger to the Catholicity of Rome's cosmopolitan history at a time when conflicting loyalties to *ciuitas, Romanitas* and *Christianitas* were hotly debated political, religious, and cultural issues.[7]

"God's People" as Strangers

> "Hear my prayer, Lord, listen to my cry for help;
> do not be deaf to my weeping.
> I dwell with you as a foreigner, a stranger,
> as all my ancestors were."[8]

5 Shotwell and Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter*; Meyendorff, *The Primacy of Peter*; Daley, "Position and Patronage."

6 Sogno, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*; Fux, "Les patries des martyrs," 371.

7 Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*; Boer, *Romanitas et Christianitas*; Martin and Cox Miller, *The Cultural Turn*; Sághy, "*Fido recubans."*

8 Psalm 39:12.

The idea that "God's elect" are strangers did not originate with the Christians. In the Old Testament, the "chosen people" are strangers.[9] The authors of the New Testament, particularly the Apostle Peter, expound on this theme. Peter opens his first letter by addressing his readers as "God's elect, strangers in the world,"[10] and he emphasizes the "strangeness" of the Christians.[11] Does Peter refer to the social alienation of the Christians following their conversion or to the social status of Christians before their conversion? Probably both. By using the term παρεπίδημος, Peter evokes Psalm 39:12, whereas πάροικος is equal to the Latin *inquilinus,* meaning a free person who is not a Roman citizen. Such populations could be deported anytime from any Roman town. One such expulsion occurred during the reign of Claudius, when the Jews, including Priscilla and Aquila, were expelled from Rome.[12] Peter, who may have escaped the expulsion of Jews or, like Priscilla and Aquila,[13] may have returned after the death of Claudius, might have known these deported Christians. "Strangers" in 1 Peter is less a metaphor for the Christian pilgrimage on earth than a description of Christian life in pagan society. If the Jews are "strangers on earth,"[14] Christians are "strangers of the Diaspora," "foreigners in exile." The "marvellous paradox" of Christianity in the Roman Empire is the invention and perfection of "alien citizenship,"[15] being at once involved in and disengaged from society: in the words of the second-century author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*:

> [Christians] dwell in their own countries, but only as sojourners; they bear their share in all things as citizens, and they endure all hardships as strangers. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every fatherland is foreign.[16]

The Constantinian turn in 313 A.D which brought an end to ancient Christianity, might have reinforced rather than subdued Christian feelings of existential alienation.[17] The assimilation and acculturation of Christians in

9 Gen. 23:4; Leviticus 19:34; Psalms 39:12.
10 1 Peter 1:1.
11 1 Peter 1:17; 1 Peter 2:11.
12 Acts 18:2.
13 Romans 16:3.
14 Psalm 119:19.
15 Greer, "Alien Citizens."
16 Epistle to Diognetus 5:5.
17 Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*; Cameron, *Christianity.*

Graeco-Roman society had been on its way well before the fourth century,[18] and Constantine's privileging of the Christian Church ultimately seems to have created more problems than it solved.[19] The Arian-Nicene theological debates ended in exile and persecution,[20] but this time Christians persecuted Christians;[21] and the soaring of the numbers of lukewarm, opportunist Christians provoked a sharp debate on Christian perfection.[22] Traditional Christians felt alienated in the new Christian Empire,[23] where new heresies mushroomed,[24] controversies raged,[25] and continuity with the past was broken[26] or had to be reinvented.[27] *Pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria; plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli*: "holy things were desecrated, adultery widespread; the sea was swarming with exiles and its rocks stained with blood." The words of Tacitus, with which he characterized the period of upheaval that followed the death of Nero, aptly summarize the turmoil of the fourth century. Political transformation, economic interests, religious violence, and the pressures of the barbarian incursions uprooted individuals and whole populations: the late Empire was a commonwealth of displaced persons, with Italy as a "transit zone" in its center.[28]

By the mid-fourth century, "foreigners" constituted the majority of Rome's population.[29] To be sure, many of these foreigners had Roman citizenship and were Roman in their culture, but they had come from faraway provinces to the ancient capital of the Empire. The emperors themselves came from the Eastern provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia,[30] and the imperial administration constantly shifted personnel within the boundaries of the Empire. Thus, for example, a large group of Pannonian officials worked in Rome.[31] The army that

18 Brakke, Deliyannis and Watts, *Shifting Cultural Frontiers*; Mitchell and Nuffelen, *Monotheism*; Salzman, Sághy, and Lizzi Testa, *Pagans and Christians*. For the debate on pagan-Christian assimilation, see Herrero de Jáuregui, "Christian Assimilation"; Roessli, "Assimilation chrétienne."

19 Brown and Lizzi Testa, *Pagans and Christians*.

20 Vallejo Girvés, "L'Europe des exilés."

21 Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity*.

22 Wimbush and Valantasis, *Asceticism*; Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire*.

23 Guinot and Richard, *Empire chrétien*.

24 Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie*.

25 Galvão-Sobrinho, *Doctrine and Power*; Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*; Berndt and Steinacher, *Arianism*; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*.

26 Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb*.

27 Johnson and Schott, *Eusebius of Caesarea*.

28 Gennaccari, "L'Italia come luogo di transito."

29 Curran, *Pagan City*; Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*; Twine, "The City in Decline."

30 Lenski, *Failure of Empire*; Alföldi, *Az utolsó nagy pannon császár*.

31 Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*; Kovács, "A sopianaei születésű Maximinus."

patrolled the Roman world recruited soldiers from all over the provinces and increasingly from among the so-called barbarians.[32] The slave trade brought various ethnic groups to Rome,[33] but alongside this, intellectuals in Egypt and Syria also felt the irresistible pull of Rome,[34] while Christian teachers, bishops, and ascetics, zipping through the Empire as conciliar delegates or imperial exiles, made obligatory stopovers in Rome.[35] As the third-century jurist Modestinus wrote, "Roma communis nostra patria est," yet the foreigners did not forget their homelands.[36] On the contrary: they kept together and sought to memorialize the places from which they had come, thereby expressing that they were "displaced persons," that they had come to Rome from other provinces.

One of the most interesting and moving cases involved the establishment of a "national" Pannonian cemetery within the San Sebastiano catacomb complex on the Via Appia,[37] the spot where Rome's most famous strangers, the princes of the apostles, were also celebrated. Beginning with the urban prefecture of Viventius (365–67), a Pannonian bureaucrat from Siscia (now Sisak/Sziszek in Croatia), a large number of Pannonians chose to be buried *ad sanctos*. Viventius' daughter Lucceia continued to sponsor the cemetery, and she arranged the burial of a mother from Pannonia by the name of Nunita and her daughter Maximilla, a consecrated virgin (*virgo ancilla Dei*), in 389. Around this time, Quirinus, the martyr bishop of Siscia was buried in the *Platonia* mausoleum behind the apse of the Basilica of San Sebastiano, long believed to have been the temporary common (or shared) tomb of the two apostles. Quirinus' relics in grave nr. 13 of the mausoleum were identified at the end of the nineteenth century and provoked heated scholarly debate.[38]

Quirinus was martyred in Savaria (now Szombathely, Hungary) during the persecutions of Diocletian after having been arrested in 309. He had attempted to flee, but was thrown to prison, where he converted his jailer, Marcellus,

32 Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*; Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*.

33 Harper, *Slavery*.

34 Schall, "Plotinus"; DePalma Digeser, "Lactantius, Porphyry"; Kelly, "The New Rome and the Old"; Ross, "Ammianus."

35 Pietri, "La question d'Athanase"; Duval, *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*; Kaufman, "Augustine, Martyrs."

36 For an interesting parallel of imperial alienation in the sixteenth century see Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness*.

37 Bertolino, "Pannonia terra creat." The Pannonian martyr St Quirinus is celebrated by Prudentius, *Peristephanon 7,* probably in relation to Pannonian and "Damasian" circles. I thank Pierre-Yves Fux for this reference.

38 De Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas an der via Appia.*

to Christianity. The governor of Pannonia Prima, Amantius, ordered him taken to Savaria, where, after having attempted to make Quirinus abjure his faith, he threw the bishop into the local Sibaris (Gyöngyös) Creek with a millstone around his neck. The *Passio Sancti Quirini,* strongly imitating the Acts of the Apostles, was probably written around 386–95.[39] Quirinus' first two miracles in Siscia and on the way to Savaria replicate the miracles of St Peter and Paul: the exemplary life and death of the bishop, successor to the apostles, is an actualization of the biblical story in the theater of Savaria and on the bridge of the Sibaris Creek. The third miracle, when Quirinus floats on the water with a millstone around his neck, spread all over the Roman Empire by the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth thanks to the *Chronicle* of St Jerome—himself from Pannonia—and the beautiful hymn by Prudentius, who attributed a symbolic meaning to the story. Quirinus is the only martyr in Jerome's *Chronicle* from the time of the Great Persecution whose death is recounted in any detail. Another peculiarity of this text is the brief mention of Quirinus' cult in Savaria, the first Pannonian example of a translation of relics into an *intra muros* basilica after 386, when a similar translation was organized by Bishop Ambrose in Milan. Archaeological research confirmed the hypothesis that Quirinus' body was buried in the late Roman cemetery in the Eastern part of Savaria and that his relics were transferred into an *intra muros* basilica in the city. The translation of Quirinus' relics provide evidence of the relationship between the cult of the saints and the pro-Nicaean bishops' effort to eradicate Arianism in the Danubian provinces after the council of Aquileia in 381. The translation of Quirinus' relics within Savaria and from Savaria to Rome are the first examples of relic transfer both within Pannonia and from Pannonia to Rome. Alessandro Bertolino argued that it was the presence of this Pannonian burial spot that attracted the translation and burial of St Quirinus of Siscia in the San Sebastiano catacomb sometime between 389–405, rather than the other way round.[40] According to Levente Nagy, the Pannonian (or Siscian) "lobby" in Rome might not have been actively involved in the translation of Quirinus' relics to Rome: the relics arrived in Rome due to a rescue operation after the Gothic King Radagaisus' raid in Pannonia in 405. Be it as it may, the Pannonian martyr Quirinus of Siscia, possibly due to his assimilation both with the Roman god Quirinus as well as with the apostolic founders of Christian Rome, became one of the most venerated saints of Rome.

39 Nagy, *Pannoniai városok, mártírok, erekłyék*, ch. 4.

40 Bertolino, "Pannonia terra creat."

Did the foreigners in Rome live lives characterized by patterns of cohabitation, integration, or tension? While there must have been a great deal of assimilation,[41] tension also had a long history, and it grew in intensity towards the end of the fourth century.[42] Foreigners formed a heterogeneous mass of people, separated by outlook as much as by accent from one another and from the "Romans of Rome."[43] The real divide, however, ran between Roman citizens and *inquilini*. "Legal aliens" formed a separate legal caste subjected to exclusion.[44] In 383, when famine broke out, Ammianus Marcellinus was expelled from Rome, together with thousands of people who did not have Roman citizenship. *Panis* was reserved for citizens only:

> At last we have reached such a state of harshness that whereas not so very long ago, when there was fear of scarcity of food, foreigners were driven neck and crop from the city, and those who practiced their liberal arts (very few in number) were thrust out without a breathing space...[45]

Strangers among the Roman Martyrs

In defiance of Roman law, Christians who readily identified themselves as aliens valorized the status of the foreigner and made a policy of showing hospitality to strangers. Under the late fourth-century conditions of social and religious tension in Rome, it might have come as a relief to find a group that did not stigmatize strangers. The Church of Rome venerated the founders of the faith, none of whom were Romans, even less Latins. Moreover, a large percentage of Rome's many martyrs also had been foreigners. Some of them had had Roman citizenship, others had not.

Remarkably, the earliest Roman martyr list (*depositio martyrum)*[46] preserved by the *Chronograph of 354* included the feasts of three non-Roman (Carthaginian) martyrs: St Perpetua, St Felicitas and St Cyprian. The *depositio martyrum,* compiled before 336, is the oldest extant document about the cult of the Christian martyrs

41 Andrade, "Assyrians, Syrians"; Goffart, "Rome, Constantinople."

42 Auerbach, "The Arrest of Petrus Valvomeres." Auerbach does not refer to this, but the redhead Petrus' surname strongly suggests that he was a Christian.

43 Augustine, for example, had a strong African accent: Augustine, *Confessions* 5, 23.

44 Mathisen, "Peregrini, Barbari."

45 Ammianus, *Res Gestae* 14, 6, 19.

46 Mommsen, *Chronica minora*, 1:71–2; Divjak and Wischmeyer, *Das Kalenderhandbuch*; Burgess, "The Chronograph of 354."

venerated in the Church of Rome. The list records the burial date (day, month, year) of forty-seven martyrs. In the cases of people who were martyred in Rome, it also mentions their burial places in the cemeteries and catacombs situated along the great roads leading out from Rome. The presence of the three great saints of Carthage in the liturgical calendar of the Church of Rome was taken as a sign by scholars that the cult of the saints spread from Africa to Italy.[47]

The martyrs were the stars of early Christianity. They followed Christ and conquered death. Their deaths were their birthdays (*natales martyrum*) in heaven: this explains the joyous commemoration and cheerful celebration of their heroic passing away among Christians to the present day. The annual celebration of the martyr's heavenly birthday included the reading of the story of the martyrdom from the acts or from the *passio*, and the Eucharistic ritual. By including the Carthaginian martyrs, whose tombs and relics were in Africa, in the liturgical cycle of the martyrs venerated in Rome, the *depositio martyrum* indicates that the passions of these martyrs were regularly read in the churches of the *Vrbs* and that a local Roman veneration evolved if not around their relics, then around their memory. Thus, St Cyprian of Carthage had his own Roman cult center in the Cemetery of Callixtus on the Via Appia. This is important because it shows that in fourth-century Rome a "spiritualized" commemoration of the martyr ran parallel to the increasingly "material" veneration of the holy martyrs at the holy tombs.[48] That the tomb of the martyr was no longer a simple site of commemoration but a source of supernatural aid is attested by the note in the list according to which the martyr Silanus' corpse was stolen by the schismatic Novatians (*hunc Silvanum martyrem Novatiani furati sunt*). Despite this development, foreign martyrs whose bodily presence could not be secured in Rome still enjoyed spiritualized veneration in the liturgy.

Star Strangers: St Peter and St Paul

Bishop Damasus of Rome drew on this martyr list when establishing the monumental commemoration of the saints in Rome.[49] Some scholars claim that Damasus wrote the *depositio martyrum* in stone.[50] Remarkably, Damasus chose to stress that the apostles Peter and Paul were not Romans:

47 Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, 17*.

48 See Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination.*

49 Saxer, "Damase," 67.

50 Pietri, *Roma christiana*, 1:673.

You should know that holy men once dwelt here,
Whoever you are who seek at the same time the names of Peter and Paul.
The East sent its apostles, a fact we freely acknowledge.
By virtue of their martyrdom – having followed Christ through the stars
they reached the heavenly asylum and the realms of the righteous –
Rome has earned the right to claim them as her own citizens.
These things Damasus wishes to relate in your praise, O new stars.[51]

The message of this highly subversive epigram seems rather straightforward: the apostles were Easterners (*discipulos Oriens misit*), but earned Roman citizenship by shedding their blood for Christ in Rome. The idea that martyrs acquire Roman citizenship through blood is a literal presentation of the Roman law of *ius sanguinis* (right of blood): the abstract concept of the law is fulfilled by the martyrs word-by-word. Damasus, however, subverts the Roman concepts, merges *ius sanguinis* with another Roman legal term, the *ius soli* (right of soil), as well as with the Christian understanding of death as a new birth. The martyrs earn citizenship by dying in the Vrbs. *Ius sanguinis* and *ius soli* alike, however, define rights acquired at birth (rather than at death) in Roman law.[52] Death, however, is a (re)birth in Christianity and life expands beyond death. The apostles, now Roman citizens, continue to live on in the "realms of the righteous."[53]

It is worth mentioning that the "foreignness" of the apostles is an abstract "uprootedness" in this epigram. They come from the distant Orient: in this statement, there is nothing about the lack of Roman citizenship. The apostles, people who came from an unspecified East (nothing is said about Jerusalem or the Holy Land), became naturalized Roman citizens. This is a religious message: one is at "home" nowhere but with Christ. Damasus evokes Christian and Jewish religious traditions of "being foreign" to and in the world, and the artistry of this evocation lies in the fact that any allusion to "foreignness" is liable to echo,

51 Damasus, Epigram 20 (English translation by Dennis E. Trout, see Trout, Damasus of Rome):
Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur;
sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti
aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum:
Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.

52 Marotta, "Ius sanguinis."

53 The relationship between life and death is shown by the late fourth-century "city gate" and "columnar" sarcophagi's micro-architecture, reflecting the heavenly abode in the world to come. Thomas, "'Houses of the dead'," 387.

for Christians, the teaching of the Apostle Peter quoted above. It also recalls Rome's failure to show hospitality to strangers, behavior squarely opposed to the teachings of Jesus: "I was a stranger and you invited me in."[54] An existential foreignness pervades the epigram. Christians are strangers on earth longing for their true home: "For you have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee."[55]

The Eastern martyrs were Romanized thanks to their heroism. Yet again, Damasus draws on and subverts a Roman concept: the idea that *Romanitas* equals heroism.[56] Pious Aeneas was another Oriental stranger whose heroism led him to find a new country for his gods.[57] Damasus' cruelly executed martyrs are the founding heroes of Christianity in Rome.[58] Damasus' Romanization of the Christian martyrs negotiates identity and difference on various levels, from the aristocratic, Virgilian language of the epigrams to the emphasis on the martyrs' "otherness" and the attribution of Roman citizenship. *Romanitas* for Damasus is a spiritual virtue: it is the strength of the soul that makes man Roman. The notion of Roman victory is internalized: it refers no longer to military might, but to inner endurance. *Romanitas* is not a legal identity, but a spiritual disposition. The Romanness of the apostles becomes an obverse "martyrdom in exile." The bishop integrates foreign martyrs into the history of Rome—no small achievement in a city so self-consciously proud of its past![59] It might have been Damasus' tongue-in-cheek answer to the promotion of the prestige of the "Romans of Rome" by the pagan prefect Symmachus.[60] More importantly, it reveals shifting notions of *Romanitas* in the late fourth century.[61] Damasus gave to Christian "Romans of Rome" their own heroes, foreigners praised in elegant Latin *elogia* in the language of the most Roman of all Roman poets, Virgil.[62] In

54 Matthew 25:35.

55 Augustine, *Confessions*, 1, 3.

56 Toll, "Making Roman-Ness"; Efrossini Spentzou, "Eluding 'Romanitas'."

57 Gibson, "Aeneas as hospes."

58 Trout, "Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome." By the fifth century, Romulus and Remus had come to be regarded as criminals, and Peter and Paul, the spiritual brothers, as the true founders of Rome in Leo Magnus, *In Natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, Tractatus 69 / LXXXII: "Isti sunt sancti patres tui verique pastores, qui te regnis caelestibus inserendam multo melius multoque felicius condiderunt, quam illi quorum studio prima moenium tuorum fundamenta locata sunt: ex quibus is qui tibi nomen dedit fraternal te caede foedavit."

59 Cracco Ruggini, "Intolerance."

60 Salzman, "Reflections on Symmachus' Idea of Tradition"; Ebbeler, "Religious Identity."

61 Maskarinec, "Who were the Romans?"

62 Trout, "Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome."

the catacombs' meandering "halls of fame," the martyrs became Roman patriots who mark themselves out with their heroic behavior. It is essential to note in this context that the virtue Damasus extols most in the martyrs of Rome is peacefulness and peacemaking, not bravery. As opposed to martyrial poetry that indulges in graphic descriptions of the martyrs' defiance of death and endurance of torture and suffering,[63] Damasus has little to say about physical pain: for him, the martyrs are the quintessential peacemakers. Peace, incidentally, happens to be the most Roman of Roman virtues. Damasus' message of peace thus conveys a political message of unity.

Peter and Paul did not come to Rome for Roman citizenship (one of them had it already). They came for something higher. The bishop subversively turns established hierarchies upside down, first by stating that it is not the martyrs that are honored by the bestowal Roman citizenship, but rather the *Vrbs* is honored by the presence of the martyrs, citizens of heaven; secondly, by asserting that there is something higher than Roman citizenship: citizenship in the heavenly Kingdom.

Rome saw the apostles die and thus earned the right to call them its citizens (*Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives*). The competition, particularly with Antioch, is transparent: the two apostles resided in Antioch before coming to Rome, and Antioch developed a special Petrine tradition celebrating the apostle's presence in the city.[64] Remarkably, there is no mention of the foundation of the Church of Rome by Peter in Damasus' epigrams. As opposed to the Liberian catalogue of 354, Damasus does not present Peter as the first bishop of Rome, but echoes the traditional view of the apostle's Roman activity as recorded by Irenaeus of Lyons and Eusebius of Caesarea.[65] The topography of this epigraphy is symbolic: it is placed neither in the Vatican nor on the Via Ostiensis, but rather in the ancient Roman cult place of the *basilica Apostolorum* in the San Sebastiano catacomb on the Via Appia (that would soon become, as we have seen, the national cemetery of other "Easterners," this time from Pannonia). Damasus' return to the concelebration of the apostles is triggered less by traditionalism than by the need for unity in a time of division: the synergy of the two apostles offers an actual, ever valid model of collaboration between churchmen of very different temperaments. The *concordia apostolorum,* as presented by Damasus, is

63 Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs.*

64 *Brown and Meier, Antioch and Rome;* Zwierlein, *Petrus und Paulus*; competition for primacy remained a hot topic for centuries to come. For visual evidence see Van Dijk, "Jerusalem."

65 Sághy, "Codex to Catacomb."

promoted as a political model in the Church of Rome and also as a useful model of Christian civic behavior.[66]

The new citizens of Rome, however, do not reside in the *Vrbs:* after their martyrdom, they soar to the palace of Heaven. "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith; in the future there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will award to me on that day; and not only to me, but also to all who have loved His appearing."[67] Damasus exalts the "new stars" (*nova sidera*) of Rome in the ancient language of stellar afterlife. Becoming a star after one's death, however, was a privilege reserved for emperors in Rome.[68] The subversive twist makes the Oriental strangers equal and even superior to the emperors: St Peter and Paul do not idly light the night sky, as imperial constellations do, but rather actively care for Rome's inhabitants.

From Citizens to Brothers in Christ

The idea that martyrdom leads to the acquisition of Roman citizenship emerges in two other Damasian epigrams dedicated to foreign martyrs who similarly assure intercession between the faithful and God. Saturninus of Carthage died in Rome and thus became Roman. In the epigram placed above Saturninus' tomb in the catacomb of Thraso on the Via Salaria Nova, Damasus contrasts the religious conception of the heavenly abode (*incola Christi)* and Roman citizenship (*Romanum civem)* with the Carthaginian origins of the martyr:

> *Dwelling now with Christ, he was an inhabitant of Carthage before.*
> *At the time when the persecution's sword cut at our mother's holy innards,*
> *he changed his homeland and his name and race by means of his blood.*
> *His martyrdom made him a Roman citizen.*
> *Wonder of wonders: his remarkable end was afterwards a lesson.*
> *While he tears at your holy limbs, Gratianus howls like the Enemy;*
> *As he spewed out his poisons saturated with bile,*
> *He was unable to compel you, saint, to deny Christ:*
> *He himself merited to depart converted by your prayers.*
> *This is the admonition of Damasus the suppliant: venerate the tomb.*[69]

66 Pietri, "*Concordia Apostolorum.*"

67 2 Timothy 4:7.

68 Cannadine and Price, *Rituals of Royalty*; Gradel, *Emperor Worship.*

69 Damasus, Epigram 46: *Incola nunc Christi, fuerat Carthaginis ante.*
Tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera matris,
sanguine mutavit patriam, vitamque, genusque

The confrontation of Carthage with Rome is interesting. Carthage was a prestigious Christian city with universally acclaimed martyrs, such as St Cyprian, and with a sophisticated martyr piety that hardly found anything in Rome to envy.[70] The topic of changing homelands and acquiring Roman citizenship at the price of blood is enriched with the graphic representation of the martyr's confrontation with his persecutor. Suffering for Christ optimizes the powers of the martyr. His virtue makes Saturninus Roman, while his Roman opponent loses his humanity.[71] In his interaction with the Roman authorities, the alien Saturninus proves to be a true Roman, and Gratian, the prefect of Rome, a sub-human monster. He can be saved by the martyr alone: thanks to Saturninus' powerful intercession, Gratian converts to Christianity.

A martyr of Greek origin, Hermes was buried on the Via Salaria Vetus in the catacomb of Basilla. He too changed his country through his act of self-sacrifice:

> *A long time ago, as rumor has it, Greece sent you;*
> *You changed your fatherland by shedding your blood, love of the law*
> *made you a citizen and brother; having suffered for the holy name,*
> *resident now with the Lord, you serve the altars of Christ.*
> *I ask, renowned martyr, that you favor the prayers of Damasus.*[72]

Hermes' suffering for the "holy name" makes him not only a citizen, but a "brother," on whose intercession with God Damasus can count. The martyr is a well-known human face in the world to come. The epigram affirms the rise of the dead to the heavenly court, a fundamental component of the cult of the

---

Romanum civem sanctorum fecit origo.
Mira fides rerum: docuit post exitus ingens.
Cum lacerat pia membra, fremit Gratianus ut hostis,
postea quam fellis vomuit concepta venena,
cogere non potuit Christum te, sancte, negare,
ipse tuis precibus meruit confessus abire.
Supplicis haec Damasi vox est: venerare sepulcrum.

70 The Roman cult of the martyrs is often derived from North African practice: Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*; Saxer, *Morts, martyrs.*

71 On the making of "otherness" see Smith, "What a Difference a Difference Makes," 15.

72 Damasus, Epigram 48: *Iam dudum, quod fama refert, te Graecia misit.*
Sanguine mutasti patriam, civemque fratremque
fecit amor legis. sancto pro nomine passus,
incola nunc Domini, servas qui altaria Christi,
ut Damasi precibus faevas, precor, inclyte martyr.

saints, and radiates the warmth and joy that the faithful experience in finding a "brother" in the other world who extends a helping hand over the believer, both in this world and in the afterlife.[73]

From praise for the *peregrini* Peter and Paul and the heroism of Saturninus of Carthage, Damasus comes to extol Hermes of Greece the *patronus*. These foreigners are not just examples of faithful perseverance and heroic love from ancient times, but also are unceasingly active patron saints of the Church of Rome. The Roman citizenship that they gained enables them to act as intercessors in heaven for the faithful, both before and after death. By making clear reference to the foreign origins of the martyrs, the epigrams of Bishop Damasus of Rome evoke an impressive range of religious, cultural, and political issues that preoccupied the society of fourth-century Rome. Some were new questions. How could tradition be preserved? How could changes be adopted? Others belonged to the oldest layer of the Christian faith. How could one live as a "stranger on earth"? The unique blend of these traditions makes Damasus' poetry intriguing and powerful. The bishop's chief enterprise consisted of identifying the martyrs of Rome, and this amounted essentially to the compilation of a collective history of the Church of Rome.[74] Damasus not only integrated foreign martyrs into this story, he also chose to be vocal about the foreignness of the martyrs. To write the history of the "church of the martyrs" and to enlist alien martyrs into one's own faction can be interpreted as an indication of the practical urgency of community building in Rome. Damasus brought home with extraordinary confidence and purposefulness the Nicene belief that the local church is the Body of Christ. By including all believers, past and present, foreign and homegrown, in his commemoration, Damasus made tangible the *communio sanctorum*, the Eucharistic fellowship of all believers and their participation in the Resurrection Body.

Damasus' sophisticated combination of orthodoxy and Christian tradition, universalism and local aristocratic interests, and religious mystique and concrete politics inscribed a remarkably high-caliber Catholic Christianity into the history of Rome and fashioned a Roman Catholic self-perception that left the door wide open to strangers, now venerated as Rome's own patron saints.[75] The evocation of the foreign origins of the martyrs was a compliment to the history of the

73 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* chapter 1.

74 Sághy, "Poems as Church History."

75 Brown, "Enjoying the Saints."

Church of Rome by a bishop who did so much to Romanize it.[76] "Romanization" in Damasus, however, did not mean closeting oneself in the tradition of Roman patriotism, but rather opening up Roman traditions to a Christian future.

Bibliography

Alföldi, András. *Az utolsó nagy pannon császár* [The last great Pannonian emperor]. Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1946.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*. Bilingual Latin–English edition, English translation by J.C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935–1940.

Andrade, Nathanael. "Assyrians, Syrians and the Greek Language in the late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73 (2014): 299–317.

Auerbach, Erich. "The Arrest of Petrus Valvomeres." In *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, 50–77. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003 [1953].

Augustine, Saint. *Confessions*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Henry Chadwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Bartels, Emily C. *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

Berndt, Guido M., and Roland Steinacher, eds. *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*. Farnham–Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014.

Bertolino, Alessandro. "*Pannonia terra creat, tumulat Italia tellus*: Presenze pannoniche nell'area di S. Sebastiano." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 73 (1997), 115–27.

Boer, Willem den, et al., eds. Romanitas et Christianitas. *Studia J. H. Waszink oblata*. Amsterdam: North Holland, 1973.

Brakke, David, Deborah Deliyannis, and Edward Watts, eds. *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*. Farnham–Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Brown, Peter. "Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity." *Early Medieval Europe* 9, no. 1 (2000): 1–24.

Brown, Peter, and Rita Lizzi Testa, eds. *Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire: The Breaking of a Dialogue (IV*th*–VI*th *Century A.D.)* Zürich–Berlin: LITT, 2011.

76 Shepherd, "The Liturgical Reform of Damasus I," 861–63; Lafferty, "Translating Faith," 21.

Brown, Raymond E., and Meier, John P. *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Christianity*. New York: Paulist Press, 1983.

Burgess, R. W. "The Chronograph of 354: Its Manuscripts, Contents, and History." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5 (2012): 345–96.

Cameron, Averil. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: the Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Cannadine, David, and Samuel Price, eds. *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

Caroli, Martina. "Bringing Saints to Cities and Monasteries: 'Translationes' in the Making of a Sacred Geography." In *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* edited by Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie, 259–74. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Clark, Elizabeth A. *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Clark, Gillian. "Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and the Fourth-Century Debate." *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001): 161–76

Cochrane, Charles N. *Christianity and Classical Culture. A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980 [1940].

Cooper, Kate. "The Widow as Impresario: Gender, Legendary Afterlives and Documentary Evidence in Eugippius' *Vita Severini*." In: *Eugippius und Severin. Der Autor, der Text und der Heilige,* edited by W. Pohl– M. Diesenberger, 53–63. Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, 2001.

Cox Miller, Patricia. *The Corporeal Imagination. Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Cracco Ruggini, Lellia. "Intolerance: Equal and Less Equal in the Roman World." *Classical Philology* 82 (1987): 187–205.

Curran, John. *Pagan City and Christian Capital*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

Daley, Brian E. "Position and Patronage in the Early Church: The Original Meaning of 'Primacy of Honour'." *The Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 44 (1993): 529–53.

Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Les origines du culte des martyrs*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1933.

DePalma Digeser, Elizabeth. "Lactantius, Porphyry, and the Debate over Religious Toleration." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1998): 129–46.

De Waal, Anton. *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas an der via Appia*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'schen Verlagshandlung 1894.

Divjak, Johannes, and Wolfgang Wischmeyer, eds. *Das Kalenderhandbuch von 354 – Der Chronograph des Filocalus*. 2 vols. Vienna: Holzhausen, 2014.

Duval, Yves-Marie. *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient: XVIe centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et son installation à Bethléem*. Paris: Institut des études augustiniennes, 1988.

Ebbeler, Jennifer V. "Religious Identity and the Politics of Patronage: Symmachus and Augustine." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56 (2007): 230–42.

Efthymiadis, Stephanos. "D'Orient en Occident, mais étranger aux deux mondes: Messages et renseignements tirés de la Vie de Saint Nicolas le Pèlerin (BHL 6223)." In *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à J.-M. Martin,* edited by Errico Cuozzo et al., 207–23. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2008.

Epistle to Diognetus. Translated by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Accessed Octiber 25, 2016. http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/diognetus-roberts.html.

Fux, Pierre-Yves. "Les patries des martyrs. Doctrine et métaphores chez les poètes Damase, Ambroise, Paulin de Nola et Prudence." In *Mauritius und die Thebäische Legion,* edited by Otto Wermelinger, 365–75. Freiburg: Academic Press, 2005.

Galvão-Sobrinho, Carlos R. *Doctrine and Power: Theological Controversy and Christian Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

Geary, Patrick. Furta sacra*: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Gennaccari, Cristina. "L'Italia come luogo di transito nel mondo antico attraverso le iscrizione cristiane anteriore al VII secolo." In *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie,* 815–19. Münster: Aschendorff, 1995.

Gibson, Roy K. "Aeneas as hospes in Vergil, Aeneid 1 and 4." *The Classical Quarterly* 49 (1999): 184–202.

Goffart, Walter. "Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians." *The American Historical Review* 86 (1981): 275–306.

Gradel, Ittai. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Greer, Rowan A. "Alien Citizens: A Marvellous Paradox," In Civitas. *Religious Interpretations of the City,* edited by Peter S. Hawkins, 39–57. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2016 [1986].

Grig, Lucy. *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*. London: Duckworth, 2004.

Grig, Lucy, and Gavin Kelly, eds. *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Guinot, Jean-Noël, and François Richard, eds. *Empire chrétien et Église aux ive et ve siècles: intégration ou « concordat » ? Le témoignage du Code Théodosien*. Paris: Le Cerf, 2008.

Harper, Kyle. *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Heinzelmann, Martin. *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.

Herrero de Jáuregui, Miguel. "Christian Assimilation of 'Pagan' Elements: An Apologetic Concept?" In *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, edited by David Hernández de la Fuente, 380–92. Cambridge: Scholars Press, 2011.

Johnson, Aaron P., and Jeremy M. Schott, eds. *Eusebius of Caesarea: Tradition and Innovations*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 2013.

Jones, Arnold Hugh Martin. *The Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Kaufman, Peter Iver. "Augustine, Martyrs, and Misery." *Church History* 63 (1994): 1–14.

Kelly, Gavin. "The New Rome and the Old: Ammianus Marcellinus' Silences on Constantinople." *The Classical Quarterly* 53 (2003): 588–607.

Kovács, Péter. "A sopianaei születésű Maximinus, a 'rettenetes pannoniai'" [Maximinus of Sopianae, the "terrible Pannonian"]. In *Ex officina...: studia in honorem Dénes Gabler*, edited by Szilvia Bíró, 255–70. Győr: Mursella Régészeti Egyesület, 2009.

Lafferty, Maura K. "Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: *Romanitas* and *Christianitas* in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (2003): 21–62.

Lamberigts, Mathijs, and Peter Van Deun, eds. *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective. Memorial Louis Reekmans*. Leuven: Peeters, 1995.

Lenski, Noel. *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Lequeux, Xavier. "Hélène d'Athyra." *Analecta Bollandiana* 130 (2012): 351–53.

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Markus, Robert A. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Marotta, Valerio. "*Ius sanguinis, ius soli*: una breve nota sulle radici storiche di un dibattito contemporaneo." *Periodica De Re Canonica* 103, no. 4 (2014): 663–94.

Martin, Dale B., and Patricia Cox Miller. *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005

Maskarinec, Maya. "Foreign Saints at Home in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Rome. The Patrocinia of Diaconiae, Xenodochia, and Greek Monasteries." In *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio: Saints' cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion,* edited by Stanislava Kuzmová, Ana Marinković, and Trpimir Vedriš, 21–38. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2014.

Maskarinec, Maya. "Who were the Romans? Shifting Scripts of Romanness in Early Medieval Italy." In *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early*

Medieval West, edited by Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann, 297–363. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Mathisen, Ralph W. "*Peregrini, Barbari*, and *Cives Romani*: Concepts of Citizenship and the Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire." *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 1011–40.

Matthews, John. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

Meyendorff, John. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989.

Meyendorff, John, ed. *The Primacy of Peter: Essays in Ecclesiology and the Early Church*. Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir Seminary Press, 1992

Mitchell, Stephen, and Peter Van Nuffelen, eds. *Monotheism between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 12*. Leuven: Peeters, 2010.

Mommsen, Theodor, ed. *Chronica minora*. Vol. 1. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi*. Vol. 9. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892.

Nagy, Levente. *Pannoniai városok, mártírok, ereklyék* [Cities, martyrs, relics in Late Antique Pannonia]. Pécs: Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, 2012.

Pietri, Charles. *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1976.

Pietri, Charles. "*Concordia Apostolorum et Renovatio Urbis* (Culte des martyrs et propagande pontificale)." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 73 (1961): 275–322.

Pietri, Charles. "La question d'Athanase vue de Rome (338–360)." *Publications de l'École française de Rome* 234 (1997): 631–64.

Pourkier, Aline. *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine*. Paris: Beauchesne, 1992.

Reutter, Ursula. *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366–384)*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.

Roberts, Michael. *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.

Roessli, Jean-Michel. "Assimilation chrétienne d'éléments païens: construction apologétique ou réalité culturelle?" *Laval théologique et philosophique* 70 (2014): 507–16.

Ross, Alan J. "Ammianus, Traditions of Satire and the Eternity of Rome." *The Classical Journal* 110 (2015): 356–73.

Sághy, Marianne. "Codex to Catacomb: The Uses and Functions of the Roman Bishop List in the Fourth Century." In *The Charm of a List: From the Sumerians to Computerised Data Processing*, edited by Lucie Doležalová, 46–66. Cambridge: Scholars Publishing, 2009.

Sághy, Marianne. "*Fido recubans sub tegmine Christi*: Rewriting as Orthodoxy in the Epigrammata Damasiana." In *Invention, Rewriting, Usurpation: Discursive Fights over Religious Traditions in Antiquity,* edited by Jörg Ulrich Anders, Christian Jacobsen, and David Brakke, 41–55. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011.

Sághy, Marianne. "Poems as Church History: The Epigrams of Pope Damasus." In *Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana antica tra Scrittura e tradizione classica,* 487–97. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum. Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2008.

Salzman, Michele Renee. "Reflections on Symmachus' Idea of Tradition." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 38 (1989): 348–64.

Salzman, Michele Renee, Marianne Sághy, and Rita Lizzi Testa, eds*., Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Saxer, Victor. *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles: Les témoignages de Tertullien, Cyprien, et Augustin à la lumière de l'archéologie africaine*. Paris: Beauchesne, 1980.

Saxer, Victor. "Damase et le calendrier des fêtes de martyrs de l'Église romaine." In *Saecularia damasiana*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1986.

Schall, James V. "Plotinus and Political Philosophy." *Gregorianum* 66 (1985): 687–707.

Shaw, Brent D. *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Shepherd, Massey H. "The Liturgical Reform of Damasus I." In *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten.* 2 vols*,* edited by Patrick Granfield and Josef Andreas Jungmann, 2:847–63. Münster: Aschendorff, 1970.

Shotwell, James, and Louise Ropes Loomis. *The See of Peter*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.

Smith, Jonathan Z. "What a Difference a Difference Makes." In *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, 'Others' in Late Antiquity*, edited by Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs, 3–48. Chico: Scholars Press, 1985.

Sogno, Cristiana. *Q. Aurelius Symmachus: A Political Biography.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Spentzou, Efrossini. "Eluding 'Romanitas': Heroes and Antiheroes in Silius Italicus's Roman History." In *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*, edited by Sinclair Belland and Inge Lyse Hansen, 133–45. Supplements to the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*. Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, 2008.

Thomas, Edmund. "'Houses of the dead'? Columnar sarcophagi as 'micro-architecture.'" In *Life, Death and Representation: Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi*, edited by Jas Elsner and Janet Huskinson, 387–435. Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2011.

Toll, Katharine. "Making Roman-ness and the Aeneid." *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1997): 35–56.

Tóth, Péter. "Sirmian Martyrs in Exile: Pannonian Case-Studies and a Re-evaluation of the St. Demetrius Problem." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 103 (2010): 145–70.

Tronzo, William. *The Via Latina Catacomb: Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting*. University Park–London: Penn State University Press, 1986.

Trout, Dennis E. "Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33, no. 3 (2003): 517–36.

Trout, Dennis E., ed. *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry*. Translated by idem. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Twine, Kevin. "The City in Decline: Rome in Late Antiquity." *Middle States Geographer* 25 (1992): 134–38.

Vallejo Girvés, Margarita. "L'Europe des exilés des derniers siècles de l'antiquité tardive (V^{e}-VII^{e} siècles)." In *Les hommes en Europe*, edited by Patrice Marcilloux, 155–70. Paris: CTHS, 2003.

Van Dijk, Ann. "Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Constantinople: The Peter Cycle in the Oratory of Pope John VII (705–707)." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 305–28.

Vogüé, Adalbert de. *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*. 12 vols. Paris: Le Cerf, 1991–2008.

Wimbush, Vincent L., and Richard Valantasis, eds. *Asceticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Zwierlein, Otto. *Petrus und Paulus in Jerusalem und Rom: Vom Neuen Testament zu den apokryphen Apostelakten*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 487–508

Saint Martin of Tours, the Honorary Hungarian[1]

Levente Seláf
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

St Martin was one of the most important hagiographical figures of France in the Middle Ages. Because of his Pannonian origins, he was also an important saint for the Hungarian kings and for the monks of the abbey of Pannonhalma, Martin's supposed birthplace in medieval times, where his cult was the strongest in Hungary. Martin's connection to Pannonia, which became part of Hungary after the settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, was not totally ignored in France, where Martin's cult took root. In the late twelfth century, the *Historia septem sanctorum dormientium*, a curious hagiographical story invented to support a new cult of the seven hermit saints of the abbey of Marmoutier, claimed that St Martin of Tours descended from the royal family of the Huns or Hungarians. Hungarian scholars investigated the origins and the spread of this motif in the early twentieth century, but on the basis of a mistaken, much earlier dating of the *Historia*.
In this essay, I establish the exact relationship and chronology of the known texts containing the motif of St Martin's royal and Hungarian origins. Moreover, I offer a systematic survey of the saint's medieval French biographies, showing how limited knowledge of this motif was outside the texts descending directly from the *Historia*. At the same time, I examine a hitherto unedited Old French legend contained in a single manuscript (Paris, BNF fr. 1534), a legend which constitutes an addition to the corpus of texts referring to Martin as a Hungarian prince.

Keywords: St Martin, hagiography, Hungarian-French cultural connections, Historia septem sanctorum dormientium, Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur, dynastic sainthood.

St Martin and Hungary

St Martin of Tours was one of the most popular holy figures of France in the Middle Ages, and his cult was widespread in the Christian world. Thanks to his first biographer, Sulpicius Severus, one of Martin's disciples, we know a great deal about the major milestones of his life. Born in Pannonia in 316 as the son of an officer of the Roman army, he was converted in his early youth to Christianity. After serving as a soldier, he became a monk and a disciple of St Hilary of

1 In parallel with the redaction of this study I prepared an article in Hungarian on Old French legends about St Martin, containing more citations of medieval sources and adopting a somewhat different approach. It will be published in a volume dedicated to the 1700th anniversary of St Martin. The main arguments of the two texts are the same, but they are not identical.

Poitiers. Elected bishop of Tours in 371, Martin died in the fame of sanctity in 397. Sulpicius Severus' Martinian writings saw several adaptations from the fifth century on in Latin and later in Old French, frequently with numerous additions concerning his deeds and miracles *in vitam* and *post mortem*.

Because of his birthplace, St Martin of Tours was linked to Hungary in medieval France. One thus could say that Martin was the first historically attested saint who was represented in some religious texts, even if in a legendary way, as Hungarian.

The imaginary Hungarian or Hun origins of the saint appear in several texts related to his cult. Of course, for chronological reasons this kinship is impossible: the nomadic Huns arrived in Pannonia almost a century after Martin had been born and had left his birthplace, while the Hungarians only arrived at the Carpathian Basin at the end of the ninth century. Nevertheless, it is possible that this element contributed to the popularity of St Martin in Hungary. The cult of Martin was extremely important for the Hungarian rulers from the beginnings of the creation of the state; he was useful in the creation of an ideological basis of the kingdom as a major argument for the consolidation of Christianity in the country.[2] In 997, prince Stephen (crowned king of Hungary only three years later) prayed to Martin before going to battle near Veszprém against the pagan Koppány, and Stephen remained faithful to him after his victory.[3] In 1001, as a king he enriched with an important donation the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, dedicated to the saint. Pannonhalma played an important role in later Hungarian history, and the abbey's long-lasting prestige was certainly related to the preservation of the importance of the cult of St Martin for the Hungarian rulers. The chronicles of the first crusade have preserved the memory of the negotiations between king Coloman and the crusaders of Godfrey of Bouillon in Pannonhalma, considered at the time as Martin's place of birth.[4] Even later, during the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, Martin complemented very well the cult of the dynastic saints of Hungary.

The imaginary Hun or Hungarian descent of the saint acquired special importance in the eyes of scholars dealing with medieval French and Hungarian

2 Koszta, "Szent Márton," 79–84.

3 According to St Gregory of Tours, Clovis was also helped by St Martin before a battle, so his role as a helper in military affairs was well attested for a long time.

4 Csernus, "La Hongrie," 411–26.

cultural relations,[5] and it has even piqued the interest of people working in the field of cultural politics in the twenty-first century. *Via Sancti Martini* was created in 2005 on the image of the medieval pilgrimage routes, leading from Szombathely, built on the ruins of the ancient Roman city Savaria (considered today the birthplace of the saint), via Italy to Tours, following the stages of Martin's life from the Orient to the Occident.[6]

I explore the representation of St Martin as a Hungarian through a systematic analysis of medieval French *vitae* of Martin. My intention is to examine the importance and the expansion of this information about Martin's Hungarian origins in the cult of St Martin in France and to determine the extent to which it influenced the image of Hungary and the Hungarians in medieval France. After briefly presenting the medieval texts containing mention of the Hungarian origins of St Martin that were familiar to twentieth-century scholarship and the popular fictitious biography of St Martin created in the chanson de geste *Belle Hélène de Constantinople* (according to which he was of Greek and English origin), I present the results of a systematic overview of Martin's many, hitherto mostly unpublished Old French *vitae*. I provide this overview in part with the intention of finding additional texts asserting the saint's hypothetical Hungarian origins.

The Creation of a Fabulous Genealogy

The earliest document that contains a fictitious genealogy of St Martin connecting him to the royal dynasty of the Huns or, in other manuscripts, directly to the Hungarians is the twelfth-century *Legend of the Seven Sleepers*, or in Latin *Historia septem sanctorum dormientium,* which I cite as *Historia* (BHL 2320).[7]

---

5 The best documented and even today still most influential overview of the French tradition of St Martin's Hungarian origins is a study published in Hungarian by Ilona Király in 1929, see Király, *Szent Márton*. A point of reference in Hungarian scholarship, it is practically unknown outside the country, except for some references given by Sándor Eckhardt, who refers to it in his book dedicated to the Hungarian–French cultural relations of the Middle Ages. See Eckhardt, *Sicambria*. Király collected with great competence and engagement numerous records of medieval French and Hungarian ecclesiastical relations in French archives and libraries before World War II, when, in 1940, the municipal library of Tours was bombed, resulting in the disappearance of several documents. For this reason, her work remains an important source collection, but several minor faults and misunderstandings in it make it necessary to revise her overview.

6 Accessed October 11, 2016, http://www.viasanctimartini.eu/.

7 *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (BHL). The only modern edition of the *Historia* is in the *Patrologia Latina* vol. 71, c. 1106–08. It is not reliable and does not really help clarify the original form of the text. I could not collate the surviving manuscripts, so I take these data from the PL-edition of the text. For a list of the manuscripts see Oury, "Les sept dormants," 319.

The *Historia* narrates the story of the Seven Sleepers of Marmoutier, allegedly Martin's cousins, who allegedly were living as hermits in the monastery founded by Martin, where he himself lived as a hermit, like his nephews. The function of this rewriting of the legend of the *Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* was to support the local cult of the hermits in the monastery of Marmoutier, which attracted a great number of pilgrims in the Middle Ages. It might have been construed as the "foundation charter" for the local cult of the hermits whose tombs were venerated as holy in Marmoutier, where several miracles occurred. Linking the Seven Sleepers to St Martin helped promote the fame of the abbey. The close ties between Martin and his nephews necessitated an important enlargement of the narrative about the saint's youth: many new details had to be invented that were missing from Sulpicius Severus' account. The anonymous author of the *Historia* presents Martin as a royal prince, and he describes the Hungarian kings living in Pannonia as rulers of a pagan kingdom which, after a lost battle, was conquered by the Romans and became part of the Roman Empire. The text gives a detailed genealogy of Martin's family, listing his royal ancestors: the great-grandfather, Amnarus (Aumarus), his grandfather and father, both called Florus. While Amnarus was still an independent king, his captive son, Florus was only freed after he had renounced his crown. Florus the younger, his son, lived in the court of Emperor Constantine in Constantinople. He married Constantine's niece and returned home to Pannonia to rule the country. Their son, also called Florus, was born in Pannonia. He went to study in Constantinople, where he was baptized by St Paul, the bishop of the city, and he changed his name to Martin. After he returned to Pannonia to join the imperial army as an officer, his life continued according to the *vita* of Sulpicius Severus. Martin's nephews joined him in Marmoutier as hermits. They survived Martin, all falling asleep miraculously on the same day. They are "the Seven Sleepers" of the abbey.

It is surprising how far the compiler distanced his story from the original account of Sulpicius' *vita* and its later rewritings. The dating of the *Historia* is obscure. Even in the earliest manuscripts, which date to roughly the end of the twelfth century, it was attributed to Gregory of Tours himself by a (false) letter supposed to have been sent by him to Sulpicius. In the nineteenth century, however, scholarship negated the Gregorian attribution on stylistic grounds and declared that it must have been composed much later. The generally accepted date was the ninth century. Ilona Király and Sándor Eckhardt, Hungarian scholars who studied the text in the first half of the twentieth century, dated it to the Carolingian period. This dating was questioned in the 1980s, when Guy-Marie Oury argued for a date

in the second half of the twelfth century.[8] The chief argument against the earlier dating is the absence of the cult of the Seven Sleepers in the *Liber de miraculis* of Marmoutier, which was composed in 1137. Their veneration must have begun only later. Oury suggested that the goal of the *Historia* was to consolidate the authority of the Abbey of Marmoutier by linking it to St Martin's family and the newly discovered relics of his nephews. Hervé de Villepreux (1177–87), the abbot of Marmoutier, must have sponsored the compilation of the *Historia*: renouncing his position, he retired to the place where the Seven Sleepers died to live as a hermit for sixteen years. Oury rightly assumes that the cult of the Seven Sleepers was extremely important for the abbot personally.

The hypothesis of the late dating is somewhat weakened by Hervé de Villepreux's letter to Philip, Archbishop of Cologne, written in 1181, in which he mentions the origins of St Martin and the history of the Seven Sleepers, referring to their legend, written by St Gregory of Tours. Is this a voluntary falsification by Hervé de Villepreux, who is then the inventor and the first witness of the cult of the Seven Sleepers? The cult, by all means, spread very rapidly between 1137 and 1180. Hervé refers to it as a popular and well-attested cult, also supported by the authority of St Gregory of Tours.

Sharon Farmer gave further proof in support of the contention that the *Historia* can be dated to the twelfth century.[9] She connected the text to the rise of the "chivalric saint" in the twelfth century: as opposed to the holy crusader fighting the enemies of the faith, a new image of the virtuous prince, a young member of a royal dynasty who gives up his earthly kingdom to serve God as a hermit or a monk, became the model to follow. The figure of Martin as a knightly confessor and a young Hungarian royal prince is the most important innovation of the *Historia*. Dynastic holiness was on the rise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the confessor kings were beatified at this time.[10] Martin's Christian name also reinforces the twelfth-century dating: born as Florus, he is given his new name in baptism after one of his uncles, a Christian bishop named Martin. This practice of name-giving only became widespread in this period. Remarkably, while Martin's father remains pagan in both Sulpicius Severus' text and the *Historia*, Martin converts much of the family in the later text.

Ilona Király focuses on Martin's childhood and his royal descent as the son of the king of Hungary. Király pointes out that another Old French text also

8 Oury, "Les sept dormants."

9 Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*.

10 See Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers;* Folz, *Les saints rois*.

mentions Martin's Hungarian origins: Maurice of Sully's sermon to the feast of St Martin.[11] No reliable critical edition of the sermons exists, this one might be also an apocryphon and it is impossible to know whether the vernacular or the Latin version was the earlier of the two. The exact dating of the sermons is debated. The earliest possible date is 1160. Király cites a half sentence from the French version: "Saint Martin fu nes de Hongrie" ("St Martin was born in Hungary"). There is no further indication of an influence of the *Historia*. Maurice of Sully does not refer to Martin's royal descent in the sermon.

The "Hungarian Origins" as a Literary Motif: the Historia and the Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur

The twelfth-century dating of the *Historia*, makes necessary a revision of the intertextual relationship of the source text to its potential models and the texts influenced by it, a whole network of narrative sources. Király calls attention to the fact that the names of Martin's father and great-grandfather, Florus and Aumarus, are rather frequent in the chansons de geste in their French forms (Floire and Aumer), and sometimes they even occur in the same context. An early dating of the *Historia* would have supposed that it exerted an influence on the vernacular texts, but in light of the new dating it is clear that it happened the other way.

There is another, even more important consequence of the late, twelfth-century invention of Martin's fictitious genealogy. At that time, the kingdom of Hungary already existed. It is possible that the author of the *Historia* modeled Martin's imaginary homeland on the shape of contemporary Hungary: his vision of the country may not have reflected merely a fabulous Hunnia-Hungaria, i.e. an exotic place-name without any direct reference, but the concrete reality, or at least the ideological construct that was Hungary in the twelfth century. At that time, St Stephen and St Emeric were both canonized, and the *beata stirps* of the Árpádians became the most important distinctive feature of the country. In the twelfth century, the ideal of royal sanctity was not yet very widespread in the Occidental world: the author of the *Historia* could have borrowed this ideological construct and may have adopted it to Martin and his family following the image of the saints of the Árpádians. If so, in his eyes it was not that Martin's authority increased the prestige of Hungary. Rather, Martin's fame was increased

11 He was bishop of Paris, 1160–96, see Király, *Szent Márton*, 39.

by the fact that he belonged to the dynasty of Hungarian monarchs. To maintain this hypothesis it is necessary to suppose that the author had some information about Hungary and its saints.[12] There are no textual correspondences between the legends of St Stephen and Emeric on one side and the *Historia* on the other, but there are details in both that bear some resemblance. Florus, the father of Martin, marries Constance, the niece of the East-Roman Emperor, while Stephen married the sister "of the Roman emperor,," as his legends claim.[13] Another interesting parallel between the stories is Martin's education in Constantinople, while it was precisely in the second half of the twelfth century, between 1165 and 1170, that a Hungarian prince, the future king Béla III, lived in the Byzantine court as the potential heir of Manuel I Komnenos. Of course, if we accept this parallel as mirroring the actual political reality, we have to date the *Historia* to the period after 1165.

Király draws an interesting comparison between the genealogies of Pepin the Short and that of St Martin as it is contained in the *Historia.* As she found several similar names, she supposed that the author of the *Historia* borrowed details from Pepin's genealogy.[14] Brichtildis, Martin's grand-mother, and Blichtildis, mother of Pepin's great-great-grandfather, have the same name, and it is important that there was a Martinus in Pepin's family too. In my view, however, the other correspondences identified by Király are weak.[15] All family trees resemble one another. I would not exclude the possibility that the writer of the *Historia* could have used also other models, and if he knew St Stephen's legend, which affirms that Stephen was the fourth ruler of the Hungarians in Pannonia, we can reasonably hypothesize that the author of the *Historia* wanted to imitate this pattern when he suggested three ancestors of Martin as rulers of Pannonia. Incidentally, Pepin's genealogy is much richer and more complex than the family trees of Stephen and Martin.[16]

12 This knowledge of the lives of Hungarian saints would not be exceptional, as the anonymous author of the oldest French legend (circa 1243–62) of St Elisabeth of Hungary claims to have read the legend of St Stephen, see Seláf, "Párhuzamos életrajzok," 141–51.

13 Hartvic, "Life of King Stephen," 378–98; Érszegi, "Szent István király nagy legendája," 27.

14 Király, *Szent Márton*, 32–33.

15 Király considered Amnarus as equivalent with Arnaldus, Florus with Flodulfus, Hilgrinus with Galechisus, see Király, *Szent Márton, 33.*

16 I remark very prudently that to my ears the name Aumarus/Amnarus (Martin's great-grandfather) is more similar to the Hungarian Álmos (Almus/Aumus) than to Arnaldus, Pepin's great-grandfather, an analogy proposed by Király. Of course, such a precise knowledge of the names of Hungarian leaders by the author of the *Historia* is not probable at all.

I must mention a popular and relevant vernacular text, *Floire et Blanchefleur*, an early idyllic romance of rather controversial dating which is the oldest Old French romance starring a prince of Hungarian origins. It narrates the love of the pagan prince Floire and the Christian Blanchefleur. After many adventures, the two lovers marry and Floire converts his nation to Christianity. In the so-called aristocratic version of the text Floire is king of Hungary (in the other, he is king of Aumarie, which is a frequent name designating a Saracen kingdom of Iberia in the tradition of the chansons de geste, corresponding probably to Almería, in Spain). The most recent edition of the text dates the romance to 1150, but it is not clear whether Hungary was present in the first variant.[17] Jean-Luc Leclanche, the critical editor, derives Floire's name from the *Historia*, but if this derivation were accurate, Hungary would have had to have figured in the first version of the text, which is impossible if the *Historia* dates to the 1170s, as is suggested by Farmer and Oury. Huguette Legros has another hypothesis concerning the insertion of the reference to Hungary in *Floire et Blanchefleur*. She assumes that the romance was written around 1186 to please Marguerite Capet, future queen of Hungary, who married Béla III (who turned back from Constantinople some years before, as he had failed to inherit the Byzantine throne but had obtained the Hungarian crown) the following year: according to her, the loving couple of the romance, Floire and Blanchefleur, symbolically represent the alliance of the Hungarian and French rulers.[18] Either the early dating of the romance is false, or it was the romance that influenced the *Historia*, and the author of the *Historia* might have borrowed the name of Martin's father from the romance. But it is also possible that the reference to Hungary as Floire's kingdom was effectively inserted later in the romance, reflecting already an influence of the *Historia* or Marguerite's marriage to king Béla. It is important to note that the prologue of the romance claims that Bertha Broadfoot (Berthe aux grands pieds), Charlemagne's mother, was the daughter of Floire and Blanchefleur: instead of giving St Martin Hungarian ancestors, this text gives them to Charlemagne. The motif of Bertha's Hungarian origins appears also in Adenet le Roi's *Berte aus grans piés* (after 1273–74) and other later romances of the Middle Ages.[19]

17 Robert d'Orbigny, *Le conte de Floire et Blancheflor*.

18 Legros, *La rose et le lys*, 14–35.

19 Adenet le Roi, *Berte as grans piés*.

The Influence of the Historia on Later Martinian Literature

The earliest text outside the region of Tours that mentions the Seven Sleepers and Martin's relationship to them is Guibert of Gembloux's biography of St Martin. The Walloon monk wrote several *vitae* of the saint in verse (two versions, BHL 5637 and BHL 5636, from 1177–79 and 1181)[20] and in prose (1205, BHL 5635). Guibert mentions the Seven Sleepers as Martin's nephews, and he identifies Martin's father as King Florus of Hungary. However, this cannot be taken as "independent evidence," for Guibert sojourned several times in the Abbey of Marmoutier, and he wrote these texts upon his return to his monastery from Marmoutier. He must have acquainted himself with the legend of the Seven Sleepers during his stay in Martin's monastery.

The earliest vernacular text that bears clear signs of the *Historia*'s influence is the *Vie de monseignor saint Martin de Tors* by Péan Gatineau, canon of St Martin in Tours.[21] The date of this verse legend is debated, as is the identity of the author. Most probably it was written in the first half or second quarter of the thirteenth century by a canon of the Cathedral of St Martin in Tours. Péan Gatineau draws on several sources when compiling his long legend, most of them identified in the rubrics of the single surviving manuscript. Although the source of Martin's youth is not indicated, it is clear that Péan draws his information from Sulpicius Severus and the *Historia*. He repeats the complicated genealogy, describes Martin's education in Constantinople, his baptism by the holy bishop of the city, and his conflicts after his return to Hungary (while Sulpicius Severus does not say clearly where Martin's family lived while he was a soldier, the *Historia* claims that they stayed in Hungary, instead of moving to Italy). An important addition to the source is the mention of the monastery founded on the birthplace of the saint, where pious monks honor his memory: all scholars considered it a reference to the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, but no one knows where Péan Gatineau got this information.

Péan Gatineau's verse legend was rewritten in prose in the fifteenth century, faithfully following the original. Preserved only in a fragmented manuscript (Tours, BM ms. 1025), from which unfortunately the first part, dealing with Martin's youth, is missing, it was printed twice (in Tours in 1496 and in Paris in 1516). One exemplar of each printed text survives, allowing the reconstruction

20 Pitra, *Analecta sanctae Hildegardis,* 582–91.

21 Söderhjelm, *Das altfranzösische Martinsleben.*

of the text. At the end of the manuscript there is a long notice in which the composer of the prose version affirms that he simply translated Péan Gatineau's work and prays for peace and the success of the French kingdom against their enemies, evidently the English. Thanks to this text a rather precise dating of the version is possible:

> A ce derrain miracle cy se taist Payen Gastineau qui ce livre fist et ceste hystoyre mist en rime. Et pource qu'il n'en parle plus fault que je me taise moy comme non saichant qui ay translaté et mys de ryme en prose ce que Paien Gastineau avoit fait. Si prenez en gré et s'il y a faulte de langaige ou d'escripture si vueillez supplier a mon nom seus et a ma simplesse et icelluy corriger le plus gracieusement que pourrez. […] [N]ostre doulx saulveur Jhesucrist qui doint bonne santé et bonne vie et longue a nostre bon roy Charles et la royne, a monseigneur le daulphin, a leur lignee et a tous ceulx du sang royal aiant bonne voulenté et ceulx qui mauvaise sont dieu les vuelle amander tellement qu'ilz recongnoissent leur droicturier seignieur. Aussi vueille delivrer tous prisonniers du sang real qui sont es mains de noz ennemys. Aussi que nous puissons avoir bonne paix et vivon en ce reaulme a l'onneur et au prouffit du roy et de la chose publique a la confusion et deshonneur de ces anciens ennemys estranges et privez.[22]
> (At this last miracle keeps silent Payen Gastineau, who made this book, and put in rhymes this story. And as he says nothing more, I have to keep silence myself as an ignorant man who translated from rhyme to prose what Paien Gastineau had made. Accept it benevolently, and if there is any fault of language or writing in it, you have to attribute it only to my name and my simplicity, and I ask you to correct it with as much gracefulness as you can. [We must pray to Martin to intercede on our behalf to] Our Saviour Jesus Christ to give good health and long and good life to our good king Charles and to the queen and the dauphin, their lineage and everyone of the royal blood who is of goodwill, and may God punish those who are bad so that they recognize who is their legitimate lord. Might He liberate all prisoners of royal blood who are in the hands of our enemies, that we might have good peace and live in this kingdom to the honor and profit of the king and the community, but to the confusion and dishonor of the ancient enemies, whether they are distant or close.)

22 MS 1025, fol. 117r-v. This is my transcription. I am very grateful to Régis Rech, director of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Tours, for providing me with the digital reproduction of some folios of the manuscript, which enabled me to transcribe this passage.

The prose version must have been written after the battle of Azincourt in 1415 but before the release of Charles of Orléans and his brother from the captivity in 1440, and in all likelihood after the promotion of Charles, count of Ponthieu (the future Charles VII), to the dignity of dauphin (1417) and before the death of Charles VI (1422). The author must have been a fervent supporter of the Valois dynasty, and it is possible that the prose version of Péan Gatineau's legend is a sign of the renewal of interest in St Martin's cult in this period, which was difficult for the French monarchy.

The Hungarian origins of St Martin receive the greatest attention in another text, a mystery play composed by an anonymous author at the end of the fifteenth century.[23] It was preserved in a now lost sixteenth century printed edition, and it is known only from an edition published in 1841. About half of the text is devoted to Martin's youth. His father, the pagan king of Hungary, entrusts Martin to his cousin, the duke of Acherance, to give him the courtly and knightly education necessary to become a good sovereign. Martin's sister is married to the pagan prince of Milan: their son is Brice, who will succeed Martin as bishop of Tours. Martin is converted by a hermit, and after the death of his father, when he is crowned king, he renounces the throne in favor of the prince of Milan, whom he had converted. While Martin leaves Hungary in secret to dedicate his life to Christ and become a monk in Marmoutier with his nephew Brice so as to accomplish the career known from his vita, the duke of Milan and the pagan prince of Acherance fight for the Hungarian throne. With the blessing of God, the duke of Milan triumphs in the battle and becomes the legal heir to Martin as king of Hungary.

In this play, there is no mention of the Seven Sleepers, no direct borrowing from the *Historia* or Péan Gastineau's legend. Certain episodes suggest that the author might have known one of these texts, but his goals were not related to the cult of the Seven Sleepers in Marmoutier or in Tours. Was this mystery play ever performed? For what occasion was it written? These questions remain unsolved. Nevertheless, it is clear that the conversion of Hungary to Christianity is an important topic in the play.[24]

23 Knutsen, *Mystere*, 29 sq.

24 Although there is no evidence in support of it, the notion that the mystery play could have been composed for or performed on the occasion of the alliance of the French, Polish and Hungarian crowns in 1500, sealed by the marriage of Anne de Foix-Candale and King Wladislaus II of Hungary in 1502, is a charming hypothesis.

In the fifteenth century, another text telling the story of Martin's birth became much more popular than the *Historia*. It was the famous fourteenth-century chanson de geste *Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, in which St Martin and St Brice, his successor as bishop of Tours, are represented as brothers, sons of the Byzantine princess Helene and King Henry of England. The great number of manuscripts and two fifteenth-century prose versions of this poem prove that this alternative genealogy of the saint was much more popular than the earlier *Historia* at that time.[25] The first, mid-fourteenth-century verse text, a variant of the "tale of Constance" is preserved in five manuscripts, and it was translated into prose twice in the fifteenth century: the first, anonymous one is conserved in three manuscripts and several incunabula and early prints, while that of Jean Wauquelin[26] is preserved in only one copy. The amount of surviving evidence attests to the greater popularity and wider spread of the *Belle Hélène* compared to the tradition of the *Historia*. The reasons are multiple: the complicated, romantic story of the text written later better fit the needs of a large public, while the sober narration of Martin's life and miracles could serve as an inspiration for literary works of several genres as we have seen, but could not obtain a similar effect. St Martin has a secondary role in the romance. His presence strengthens the authority and reliability of a text filled with several of the miraculous adventures of his legendary family. It seems that the anonymous author of the mystery play on St Martin knew not only the *Historia* but the chanson de geste too, which is why he proposes a kinship between Brice and Martin, even though in his text Brice and Martin are not brothers. Rather, Martin is Brice's uncle.

A non-literary document attesting to the influence of both the *Historia* and the *Belle Hélène de Constantinople* is a family tree of the saint, preserved on a double folio manuscript compiled sometime at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.[27] The family tree is traditionally attributed to Ambroise de Cambrai (d. 1496), counsellor to King Louis XI and the holder of several important ecclesiastical and lay dignities.[28] Among Martin's ancestors

25 Roussel, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*.

26 Wauquelin, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*.

27 Archives Indre-et-Loire, Liasse G. 365. I am very grateful to the personnel of the archive, who sent me some high-quality digital reproductions of the document.

28 The attribution comes from Lecoy de la Marche, who at the end of the nineteenth century could still read the title of the table. The photos I received from the Archives Indre-et-Loire do not enable one to read the title of the text, which is badly damaged. Lecoy de la Marche's reading is the following: "Généalogye du tres glorieux confesseur et amy de Nostre Syeur monsieur S. Martin, évesque de Tours, extraicte de diverses escriptures aucthenticques, composée a la dévotion du tres chrestyen roy de France Louys, unziesme de ce

and relatives we find all of the important, legendary rulers of the early medieval world, including not only his father, the Hungarian King Florus, but the emperors of Constantinople and kings of England as well, including Arthur and Uther. The compiler used all available sources to create a glorious and mighty lineage for St Martin. He drew on the *Historia septem dormientium* and the *Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, since he regarded these texts as authentic and true.

Further Traces of the Historia's Influence on Medieval Hagiographical Literature

To summarize my observations thus far, in addition to the Latin sources (the *Historia*, Guibert of Gembloux's *vitae*, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines chronicle), there are four known vernacular texts containing references to the Hungarian origins of the saint. We can measure the real impact of these scarce data only if we compare them to other vernacular texts dealing with St Martin's origins. For this reason, I carried out a systematic analysis of all medieval French biographies of St Martin in search of his link to Hungary, and I present the results of this survey in the following.

The medieval French legends of Martin were thoroughly gathered and enumerated in the JONAS database of the IRHT, in the framework of a research program aiming to collect all Old and Middle French hagiographical texts.[29] At the moment, 36 items are registered concerning St Martin, 20 of which are legends. Some of them were translated from the same Latin source, but most of them are preserved in more than one manuscript, and the textual testimonies sometimes differ significantly, so these high numbers confirm that Martin was one of the most popular saints in medieval France, and his legend was widely read and rewritten in vernacular throughout the Middle Ages.

An overview of all of the medieval French legends of Martin (and of their Latin sources) shows that the motif of his Hungarian origins invented by the

nom, et par son commendement mise en cest ordre par messire Ambroys de Cambray, docteur es droictz, conseiller et maistre des requestes ordinaire de l'hotel dudit seigneur," see Lecoy de la Marche, *Vie de saint Martin*, 72. Ambroise was "maître des Requêtes de l'Hôtel du roi" from 1473; Louis XI died in 1483, so one can date the document between these two dates. It is not clear how or when the chart landed in the Archives Indre-et-Loire in Tours, and we do not know if the document was commissioned by the royal family, proving the interest of the dynasty in the patronage of St Martin, or by someone else related to Tours or Marmoutier.

29 Accessed October 11, 2016, http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/.

Historia had very little impact on the strictly hagiographical texts.[30] Most of them constantly use Sulpicius Severus' account, directly or indirectly, which includes only a half-sentence on Martin's place of birth:

> Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est. Parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen.
> (Martin was born in Sabaria, the city of the Pannonians, but he grew up in Italy, in Pavia. His parents were, according to the judgement of the world, of no mean rank, but they were pagans.)

This sentence was translated in all the legends I know of, but the interpretation of Sabaria and the "city of the Pannonians" appears in a great variety in them. The oldest French legend of Martin is attributed to Wauchier of Denain, one of the most prolific French translators and authors of the early thirteenth century. In a cycle of legends dedicated to eight confessors, he prepares an entire hagiographical dossier about Martin, including not only the *vita* made by Sulpicius Severus but also the history of the *translatio* of the saint and the dialogues of Sulpicius.[31] The 17 surviving manuscripts mention "Sabaria" and talk about "Pannonia" instead of the "city of the Pannonians," but in very different forms in the sentence translated from Sulpicius. For instance, in the manuscript Paris, BNF fr. 23112 we find the following: "Sains Martins fu ne de la contree de Pannonie d'un castel qui avoit a non Isapharie." (St Martin was born in the region of Pannonie in a castle called Isapharie.)[32]

The later Old French legends either omit one or two of these strange names or modify them totally. We find "Sabaire" in the French translation of John of Mailly's legend (*Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis Sanctorum*, c. 1243, translated in the thirteenth century), while the manuscripts of the translation of the *Legenda aurea* made by John of Vignay (before 1348) propose "Salune" or "Salurie." The tribe of the Pannoniens is also altered in various ways. Sometimes Pannonia is used, the correct name of the Roman province, but only rarely. The people living there are

30 In the followings all transcriptions of the manuscripts are mine on the basis of the originals or digital copies available on Gallica (Accessed October 11, 2016, www.gallica.bnf.fr) or in the library of the IRHT in Paris. Exceptions are indicated in the footnotes.

31 Thompson, "Introduction", 11–47. There is no critical edition of Wauchier's Martinian dossier.

32 Some other variants: BNF fr. 185: "Sains Martins fu nez en la cité de Pannonie, d'un chastel qui Ysapharie estoit appelez.," BNF fr. 412: "Seinz Martins fu nez de la contree de Pannone d'un chastel qi Ysabbarie avoit non.," BNF fr. 413: "Saint Martin fut nez de Panone d'un chastel qui Ysapharie avoit non.," BNF fr. 23117: "Sains Martins fu nez de Pavone d'un chastel qui Ysapharie avoit nom."

referred to as "Pononiens, Pannoniers, Panoniens," while the geographical name occurs in forms like "Pannonie, Pannonye, Pannone, Pamo," or even "Patmos," probably under the influence of the *Visions of St John*. None of these sources insert a digression explaining the identification of the antique Pannonia with medieval Hungary, and the localization of Sabaria or its contemporary, medieval equivalent remains totally obscure. The French readers of these legends could hardly have even suspected that the remnants of this city are found in Hungary.

There is one exception that clearly shows the influence of the *Historia*. One of St Martin's French legends, preserved in a single manuscript (Paris, BNF fr. 1534) and totally neglected by scholars and still unedited, narrates the origins of the saint in the following way:

> Saint Martin fust de mont noble ligniee et de saincte vie. Il fu né de Pannonie qui ore est appellée Hongrie. Et fu filz Floires qui fu filz Eaumer Roy de Hongrie. Mauximien et Hercules cachierent Eaumer de Hongrie et cachierent hors de la terre, et Floires qui plus ne fu mies subget a l'empiere, puis prist Brigide nieche au roy d'Esoigne dont saint Martin fust, qui out deulx freres Hilgius et Floires le mendre qui fu mont saint homme. Saint Martin fu sy aumosnier, que de son enffance il donnoit pour dieu et sy ne savoit qui dieu estoit. Hilgius ot vii. filz. Aucuns dient que ce furent lez sains sept dormans qui sont a Tours en une eglise. Saint Martin lessa pere et mere et vint a Paiani l'evesque de Costentin noble qui le baptiza, a trois cens et lxiiij ans de la nativité. Puis revint a son pere qui le mena a Constant emperie de Romme qui le fist chevalier et fust chevalier .v ans puis vint en France et ung vallet a lui a qui mainte fois terdy ses soulles. Or adonc que Julien cesar ot besong de chevalier, sy manda Martin qui estoit nouvel chevalier qu'il venist a luy et il y vint. Et ly dist l'empeuere qu'il convenoit que il allast en la bataille. Et Martin ly dist: A moy n'est mie de combatre et se je vois je n'y porteroy escu, ne lances mes quant j'auroy feste la crois en mont front je les ire envaie.[33]
>
> (St Martin descended from a very noble lineage, and he lived a very holy life. He was born in Pannonia, today called Hungary. He was son of Floire who was son of Eaumer, king of Hungary. Maximianus and Hercules deposed Eaumer and expelled him from his land, and Floire, who was no longer a subject of the empire, married Brigide, niece of the king of Saxonia. Martin was their son. He had two brothers, Hilgius and Floires the younger, who was a very holy person. St Martin was so charitable that he gave alms for God even before he knew of His

33 Paris, BNF fr. 1534, fol. 74v-75r

> existence. Hilgius had seven sons. Some people say they were the seven sleepers who are in Tours in a church. St Martin left his father and mother and came to Paiani, bishop of Constantinople, who baptized him in 364 AD. After that, he went back to his father, who brought him to Constant, emperor of Rome, who dubbed him knight, and he remained a knight for five years. After that, he came to France with a servant, to whom he cleaned several times the shoes. After that, when the Caesar Julien needed knights, he sent people for Martin, who was a newly dubbed knight, to order him to come, and he came. And the emperor told him that he was supposed to go to the battle. And Martin answered: "I am not willing to fight, and if I go there, I will bring neither shield nor lance, but when I make the sign of the cross on my forehead, I will conquer them.)

Probably the origin of this legend is not closely related to Tours, but the compiler must have read or heard the fabulous story of Martin's royal birth. He could have read either the *Historia* or one of the texts reflecting its influence. The link between Martin and the seven sleepers is a clear sign that the *Historia* was at least the indirect source for him. Compared to the *Historia*, the genealogy of Hungarian kings has one element less, and there are some other slight changes in the data, but this may be simply an alteration that was made to the unique conserved manuscript. It is worth noting that the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos is also contained in the same manuscript, moreover in a unique variant. This is not the text of the *Historia*, but again it shows some knowledge of the cult of Marmoutier, because at the end the legend states that the relics of the sleepers were moved from Ephesos to the abbey: "... jusques au temps a une roigne de France Constance qui les fist porter a Mermonstier jouxte Tours l'an IX cens et VIII ans ou ilz repposent."[34] (...till the time of a queen of France, called

34 Paris, BNF fr. 1534, fol. 54rb – 55rb Another version of the legend contained in the manuscript Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1430 (U. 093) ends with the same episode, the arrival of the seven sleepers to Tours: "…et quant il furent mors, l'emperour lour fist faire moult grant reverence et les fist canoniser et sont appeller les sept dormans, et sont apresent en lour sepultures a Tours en Touraine" (...and when they died, the emperor honoured them and beatified them. They are currently called the seven sleepers and they are buried in Tours, [a city] in Touraine.") In this interesting legendary Martin's life also appears in a very rare version, mentioned only in one other source. Unfortunately, I could not read the text of the Martin legend, while I had no access to the exemplar from Rouen, and the other testimony of the text was seriously damaged in a fire in 1944. I quote the incipit after the JONAS database: "Saint Martin fut de noble lignage et se convertit des son enfance moult religieusement" (St Martin descended of a noble lineage, and he converted in his childhood very piously"), see Leurquin and Savoye, "Notice."

Constance, who brought them to Marmoutier near Tours in 908, and from that time on they remain there.)

There are two potential candidates for the queen of France mentioned in the legend, but for chronological reasons neither one is her. She cannot have been Constance of Arles, who married Robert II in 1003 and died in 1032, or Constance of Castille, Louis VII's second wife (1154–60), as their lifetimes do not correspond to the date indicated in the legend, and I am not aware of any transfer of relics from Ephesus to Arles during the period of their reign. But despite the contradictory and confused data of the text (maybe due to a negligent copyist), this version of the Seven Sleepers is further evidence that the author of the compilation, who must be responsible for Martin's legend and that of the Seven Sleepers, knew some of the local traditions of Tours and Marmoutier, and he was aware of the role of the abbey in the cult of the Seven Sleepers, and probably this is why he tried to reconcile the data of the *Historia* and the *vita* composed by Sulpicius Severus. If not from an oral source, the author may have taken his information either directly from the *Historia* or from Péan Gatineau's *Vie de Monseignor saint Martin*, or possibly from a *vita* written by Guibert of Gembloux, and he completed with it his translation of the *Legenda aurea*, based on Sulpicius' account.

Conclusion

Apparently, in the huge hagiographical material dedicated to St Martin, the question of his origins was not of high importance. As in the case of many other saints, the laconic narrative of the original legend was enlarged in some texts written in the twelfth century, but the circulation of the enlarged version as we find it in the *Historia* and its textual family remained limited. There are different reasons for the rarity of this motif in later hagiographical material. First, the *Historia septem dormientium* was never so widespread and never obtained the fame of Sulpicius' legend: probably because an eye-witness of Martin's life was more reliable than an anonymous text that bore the signs of its primary goal (to support the abbey of Marmoutier) and contained some evidently spurious data. Martin's popularity based on Sulpicius Severus was very high before the twelfth century. The *Historia* did not become an alternative legend of St Martin: it remained the main document of the cult of the Seven Sleepers of Marmoutier, and the scarce testimonies of this local cult prompted few new texts. The most popular hagiographers of the thirteenth century, like Jacobus de Voragine, did

not use the *Historia* for their compilations, so its impact could not be strengthened by them as intermediaries. But it is important to note that not only the *Historia* but Péan Gastineau's legend and its prose version also contained mention of the alleged Hungarian origins of the saint: they had a somewhat larger impact, and on different types of texts (Guibert of Gembloux's Latin legend, Alberic's chronicle, the anonymous mystery play, Ambroise de Cambrai's genealogical table, and the newly discovered Old French legend). Nevertheless, neither in the mystery plays nor in the historical compilations are Martin and Hungary more strongly connected than in the *vitae*: for instance Andrieu de la Vigne's *Mistère de saint Martin* (1496) or Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (1246–63) did not mention Hungary as his birthplace.

Independently of the *Historia,* Old French legends rarely identified Pannonia with Hungary. Maurice of Sully's above mentioned sermon, if it is authentic, might be an exception, as we do not know whether it was textually related to the *Historia* or was independent of it. The identification of the ancient Roman province and Hungary required a certain cultural knowledge from the scribes and compilers of medieval legends, and they did not always have this knowledge. The wish to remain faithful to Sulpicius Severus' text or to its translators was stronger than the wish to update the information about the saint's birthplace. Names and toponyms are the most fragile data in medieval texts, in which misspellings, autonomous interpretation, and false etymologization are very frequent: this is why "Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido" appears in such a wide variety in the sources.

When a text written in medieval France identifies Hungary as the birthplace of St Martin, one can reasonably suspect that this is due to the influence of the *Historia* and its textual network. The notion of St Martin as royal offspring, however, appears in other texts, such as the *Belle Hélène* and its prose versions. In this case, Constantinople and England supplemented Hungary, as the wandering Byzantine princess married the English king. There is a slight hesitation in the vernacular translations of the position held by St Martin's father in the army, in the Old French legends independent of the *Historia* and the *Belle Hélène*. Sometimes they give him a very high rank, but none of them refers to him as a prince or a king. However, I think that this idea was not totally alien to the medieval compilers who considered that St Martin must have had an important status and a promising future as a layman in order to give greater weight to his renouncement of both. An interesting example is found in a fourteenth-century manuscript of the French version of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*,

translated by John of Vignay (Paris, BNF fr. 51, fol. 250), a miniature representing St Martin's baptism. This is highly unusual in the saint's iconography. It might reflect the impact of the frequently mentioned scene of the "baptism of a pagan or Saracen king."[35] The baptism of the king is connected to the conversion of Clovis in the iconography of the French chronicles. The pictorial cycles in the manuscripts of the chansons de geste also include similar images. For me, this clearly denotes the fact that the designer of the manuscript sought to illustrate the noble descent of St Martin and thus associate him with the Merovingians and the later French kings, even if the text does not mention Martin's royal ancestors.

It seems almost certain that St Martin's genealogy as outlined in the *Historia* was created in the last quarter of the twelfth century in order to buttress the importance of Tours and Marmoutier. The invention of the cult of the Seven Sleepers was intended to reinforce the cult of St Martin by creating a new local ritual of worship. The chronology of the spread of the *Historia* shows that the text did not remain as popular after the first half of the thirteenth century. Its importance was limited geographically and temporally as well: we can see it as a tool in a campaign to promote St Martin (somewhat neglected by the French kings in the twelfth century in favor of St Denis).[36] The rise of the Kingdom of Hungary and the consolidation of its international prestige at the end of the twelfth century (thanks to the recently canonized dynastic saints of the House of Árpád) might also have contributed to the formation of the new image of St Martin: the pagan prince converted to Christianity, who renounced his earthly glory and crown to serve God.[37] From this point of view, the *Historia* might be seen as the first piece of evidence of the international acknowledgement of the *beata stirps* of the Árpádian dynasty. We can thank this text and the subsequent texts that drew on it for the prefiguration of the pious Hungarian prince in the

35 About the iconographic and literary motif see Tolan, "Le baptême du roi 'païen'," 707–31.

36 St Martin's role in the ideology of the Frankish Kingdom and later in the French monarchy was constantly evolving. For the Merovingian kings St Martin was a patron saint, and Martin was seen as the apostle of the country. Later his cult was widespread in the Carolingian Empire, but from the twelfth century onwards, its importance diminished. In the times of the Capetian dynasty, Martin became, in addition to St Remy and St Denis, just one of the three major figures who converted Gaul to Christianity. During Louis the Fat's reign (1081–1137), St Denis and the abbey dedicated to him acquired general prestige, and Denis surpassed the other two saints in the dynastic ideology. Martin's popularity stayed intact all over France, but he had a serious rival as the main protector of the country. See Beaune, *Naissance de la nation française*, 80–81.

37 The topos of the pious Hungarian prince abandoning his kingdom to live as a monk has several variants. In one of them the prince becomes patriarch of Aquileia, see Seláf, "Egy exemplum változatai."

image of St Martin, and the limited but long-lasting influence of the *Historia* indicates the presence of the idea of "holy Hungary" in France, at least until the end of the fifteenth century.

Manuscripts

Archives Indre-et-Loire, Liasse G. 365.
Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) fr. 1534
Tours: Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) MS 1025

Bibliography

Adenet le Roi, *Berte as grans piés*, edited by Albert Henry. Textes littéraires français, 305. Geneva: Droz, 1982.

Beaune, Colette. *Naissance de la nation française*. Paris: Gallimard, 1985.

Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, 2 vols, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901. (BHL)

Csernus, Sándor. "La Hongrie, les Français et les premières croisades." In *Les Hongrois et l'Europe: Conquête et intégration,* edited by Sándor Csernus, Klára Korompay, 411–26. Paris–Szeged: Université de Szeged (JATE)–Paris III–Sorbonne Nouvelle (CIEH)–Institut Hongrois de Paris, 1999.

Eckhardt, Alexandre. *De Sicambria à Sans-Souci: Histoires et légendes franco-hongroises*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1943.

Érszegi, Géza, ed. "Szent István király nagy legendája" [The Great Legend of King St Stephen]. In *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* [Legends and exhortations of the Árpád Era], Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1983.

Farmer, Sharon. *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours*. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Folz, Robert. *Les Saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VI^e^–XII^e^ siècles)*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.

Hartvic. "Life of King Stephen of Hungary." Translated by Nóra Berend. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, edited by Thomas Head, 378–98. London: Routledge, 2001.

Király, Ilona. *Szent Márton magyar király legendája.* [The Legend of St Martin, king of Hungary]. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français à l'Université de Budapest 8. Budapest, Eggenberger, 1929.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Knutsen, Katharine Anne, ed. *Mystere de la vie et hystoire de monseigneur sainct Martin: Édition critique*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Massachusets, 1976.

Koszta, László. "Szent Márton tiszteletének magyarországi kezdete: Megjegyzések Pannonhalma alapításához" [The beginnings of St Martin's cult in Hungary: Remarks on the foundation of Pannonhalma]. In *Tiszatáj* 55 (2001): 79–84.

Lecoy de la Marche, Albert. *Vie de saint Martin: Évêque de Tours, apôtre des Gaules*. Tours: A. Mame et fils, 1895.

Legros, Huguette. *La rose et le lys: Étude littéraire du „Conte de Floire et Blancheflor."* Aix-en-Provence: Publications du CUERMA, 1992.

Leurquin, Anne-Françoise and Savoye, Marie-Laure. "Notice de Vie de saint Martin de Tours, anonyme." Jonas-IRHT/CNRS database. Accessed March 19, 2016. http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/7230

Oury, Guy-Marie. "Les sept dormants de Marmoutier: La vocation à la réclusion," *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981): 315–27.

Pitra, J. B., ed. *Analecta sanctae Hildegardis opera Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*. Monte Cassino: n.p., 1882. [Reprint: Farnborough, 1966.] Accessed February 25, 2016. https://archive.org/stream/analectasanctae00hildgoog#page/n630/mode/2up.

Robert d'Orbigny. *Le conte de Floire et Blancheflor,* edited by Jean-Luc Leclanche. Paris: Champion, 2003.

Roussel, Claude, ed. *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople: Chanson de geste du XIVe siècle*. Textes littéraires français 454. Geneva: Droz, 1995.

Seláf, Levente. "Egy exemplum változatai: A magyar királyfi mint Mária jegyese és aquileiai pátriárka." [Variants of an exemplum: The prince of Hungary as bridegroom of the Virgin and patriarch of Aquileia]. In *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 113, no. 5–6 (2008): 582–98.

Seláf, Levente. "Párhuzamos életrajzok: Szent Erzsébet és Ysabelle de France legendái" [Parallel lives: Legends of St Elizabeth of Hungary and Isabelle de France]. In *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet kultusza a 13–16. században* [The cult of St Elizabeth in the thirteenth–sixteenth centuries], edited by Dávid Falvay, 141–51. Studia Franciscana Hungarica 2. Budapest, Magyarok Nagyasszonya Ferences Rendtartomány, 2009.

Söderhjelm, Werner. *Das altfranzösische Martinsleben des Péan Gatineau aus Tours*. Tübingen, 1896.

Thompson, John Jay. "Introduction to Wauchier de Denain." In *La vie mon signeur seint Nicholas le beneoit confessor*, 11–47. Geneva: Droz, 1999.

Tolan, John. "Le baptême du roi « païen » dans les épopées de la Croisade." *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 217, no. 4 (2000): 707–31.

Wauquelin, Jean. *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople: Mise en prose d'une chanson de geste*, edited by Marie-Claude de Crécy. Geneva: Droz, 2002.

Website

JONAS database http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 509–535

A Sister in the World: Saint Elizabeth of Hungary in the *Golden Legend*[1]

Linda Burke
Elmhurst College

I begin this essay with background information for a study of Elizabeth's life story as disseminated throughout Western Christendom by Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*: first, her historical originality as a model of sanctity, and second, the remarkable transmission of the *Legend* itself, both in Latin and the vernacular. I conclude this section with a note on the larger political agenda of the *Legend*. The essay continues with sections on the uniqueness of Elizabeth's example as a "sister in the world" within the context of other saints' lives in the *Legend*, the author's evidently purposeful deletions and additions to his source for her life, and Elizabeth's legacy as perpetuated by the *Golden Legend*.

Keywords: Elizabeth of Hungary, thirteenth-century sainthood, *Golden Legend*, Franciscan spirituality, *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*

The story of St Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31, canonized 1235) as disseminated all over western Christendom by Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*[2] (completed ca. 1276), could not more perfectly fit the theme of "Hungarian saints abroad."

Originally written in Latin for fellow Dominicans to use as a preaching aid, the *Legenda Aurea* (hereafter LA) was the most copied book in the Middle Ages after the Bible, with over a thousand manuscripts catalogued by Barbara Fleith in her magisterial work of scholarship.[3] The entire collection is arranged in chronological order according to the liturgical year, beginning with Advent and ending in late November. Of the 178 chapters authored by Jacobus (many more were added later), the majority are saints' lives, sequenced according to their feast days.[4] The remaining chapters are mainly devoted to church holidays, with the

1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at a session of the Women in the Franciscan Intellectual Tradition, 48th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 2013. I wish to thank the WIFIT community for encouraging my work.

2 When referring collectively to the *Legend* in all its incarnations, Latin and vernacular, I will call it the *Golden Legend*, the equivalent of its traditional Latin title.

3 The Latin MSS are listed and described in Fleith, *Studien*, 55–331.

4 When quoting or referring to the Latin LA, I will use the now standard edition, Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Tavarnuzze: SISMEL, 1998, (cited as Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*). When quoting or referring to the *Legend* in English, I will use the only modern English translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saint,* trans. William Granger Ryan.

penultimate chapter devoted (somewhat oddly) to a summary of world history with an emphasis on the author's native Lombardy. Our Elizabeth appears twice in the LA, in a fully developed *vita* at the position appropriate for her feast day (then November 19),[5] and again briefly noted as representing a milestone in the author's capsule history of the church in the thirteenth century.[6] Her presence in the LA is especially remarkable, and obviously purposeful on the part of the author, as Jacobus included only four thirteenth-century saints in the entire collection, preferring saints of the remote past, and only one woman among these near-contemporaries.[7] As we will see, Jacobus gave special attention to her *vita*, crafting it as quite distinct from any other saint's life in the entire collection, and using it to support a new model of the holy woman as "sister in the world,"[8] both active as "Martha" in her works of charity, and contemplative as "Mary" in her intense piety and personal communication with Jesus.[9] However, despite the foundational importance of Elizabeth's example and the wide-reaching influence of the LA, Elizabeth's legend as specially rendered by Jacobus has received very little focused attention, with only one sustained treatment (so far as I know) devoted to this topic alone.[10]

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, (cited as Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*). Two fully annotated editions of the *Legend* are now available: Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée*, (edited and translated by Alain Boureau in Modern French), and Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea, con le miniature,* (edited and translated by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni and Francesco Stella, a Latin–Italian bilingual edition).

5 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1156–79; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:302–18.

6 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1282; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2: 384.

7 On the four saints, Francis, Dominic, Peter Martyr, and Elizabeth, see Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine."

8 The exact phrase "sister in the world" is found not in Jacobus, but in the source for all or most of Elizabeth's *vita*, the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum* (Statements of the Four Handmaids), based on the depositions taken from Elizabeth's close female associates at her canonization hearing, January 1235. As reported in the *Dicta*, Elizabeth said "Vita sororum in seculo despectissima est et, si esset vita despectior, illam elegissem" ("Dicta," in *Quellentstudien*, 135); "The life of the sisters in this world is the most despised of all. If there were a life that was more despised, I would choose it" ("Dicta," trans. Wolf, 212). The edition of the original Latin is "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 112–40. The *Dicta* have been translated into English by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum," in Wolf, *The Life and Afterlife,* 193–216, (cited as "Dicta," trans. Wolf) and by Lori Pieper as "Statements of the Four Handmaids," in Pieper, *The Greatest of These is Love*, 119–48.

9 See Luke 10:38–42. Jacobus praises Elizabeth as Mary in her prayers and Martha in her works of mercy: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1167, 1169; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:310, 311.

10 The only previous study entirely devoted to Elizabeth in the *Golden Legend* is Konrád, "The Legend of Saint Elizabeth," easily available online. My approach (as focused on Jacobus's selective use of the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum* and the political agenda involved) is complementary to, not duplicative, of hers. Other discussions of Elizabeth in the *Golden Legend* have been brief: she is one of the four thirteenth century saints discussed in Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine." Ottó Gecser includes the LA in his comprehensive overview of the thirteenth-century sources on Elizabeth's life: "Lives of St. Elizabeth," 71–73. Both annotated editions of the *Golden Legend* have informative notes on her chapter: Jacques de Voragine, *La*

I will begin with background information for a study of Elizabeth's legacy as spread far and wide by the *Golden Legend*: first, her historical originality as a model for sanctity, and second, the remarkable transmission of the *Legend* itself, both in Latin and the vernacular. This section concludes with a note on the larger political agenda of the *Legend*. I will continue with sections discussing the uniqueness of Elizabeth's example within the context of other saints' lives in the LA, the author's evidently purposeful deletions and additions to his major source for her story, and Elizabeth's legacy as carried forward (in large part) by the *Legend*.

Elizabeth the "Modern Saint"

Elizabeth lived at a time of renewal for the definition of sanctity in western Christendom. As explained in the foundational study by André Vauchez, the canonization of St Thomas Becket (1173) inaugurated an era in which saints who had recently died were increasingly popular with the laity and also sought after by the papacy as role models for Christians of their own day.[11] These saints were actually understood and referred to as "new."[12] Beginning with St Francis (1228) and St Dominic (1234), members of the newly founded mendicant orders were quick to be canonized. Accordingly, mendicant communities were also among the strongest voices for the promotion of a new type of saint—living by rule, yet active in the world, with a new emphasis on the *vita apostolica*, especially zeal for the care of souls and relief of the poor.[13] For our present purposes, it is important to remember that the mendicant movement provided new opportunities for women, even married women, to practice the ideals of humility, poverty, and a Christian life in the world. While some female mendicants (such as Clare of Assisi) would enter the cloister, others—with clerical support—remained in the lay estate while pioneering a life of hands-on involvement with the ill and the poor.[14] Elizabeth of Hungary, as a "sister in the world," was not unique in this regard. To give just one example, another contemporary holy

Légende dorée, 1454–58, and Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, *con le miniature* 2:1694–96. See also Le Goff, *In Search of Sacred Time,* 161–64, and Epstein, *Talents of Jacopo da Varagine*, 150–51.

11 Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 106–112.

12 Ibid., 111.

13 For an overview of the mendicant role in the new model for sanctity, both as saints and as promoters of causes, see Ibid., 113–27.

14 On female mendicant saints specifically, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 348–54; on lay female "new" saints, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 369 ff.

woman with a similar life trajectory was the married beguine Marie d'Oignies (d. 1213), who like Elizabeth rejected personal wealth and devoted her entire life to good works in the world, especially direct treatment of the most repulsive medical conditions. Like Elizabeth and others, she was supported by a powerful male hagiographer, the bishop and crusade preacher Jacques de Vitry.[15] In a striking departure from the usual misogamous tropes of medieval hagiography, both women's husbands are described as supportive of their wives' apostolic lifestyle, including their devotion to the poor,[16] although unlike Elizabeth, Marie requested and was granted a celibate union.

Like Marie's, Elizabeth's example was promoted as a corrective and rebuke to heresy as it threatened the hegemony of the Catholic church. Since the leading heresy of the time, Catharism, affirmed a radical rejection of the body, Elizabeth's unusual status—as happy wife and mother before her widowhood—was obviously welcomed as opportune.[17] Elizabeth also role-modeled orthodoxy through her humble obedience to the brutal demands of her confessor, the inquisitor and crusade preacher Conrad of Marburg,[18] although I will argue that (as testified by her female companions and thus partly reflected by Jacobus) she maintained her spiritual independence in crucial ways and even at times resisted his demands, as guided by her conscience.

While acknowledging that Elizabeth's achievement did not arise in a vacuum, it is equally important to note the strikingly original elements in her self-fashioned paradigm for sanctity. As explained by André Vauchez, she surpassed other saints of the thirteenth century, both in her intimate participation in the life of the poor, and in her practical and larger-scale achievements in the provision of care for the suffering. For example, she set up a distribution center at the foot of Wartburg Castle for those too infirm to reach the elevation of the château,[19] and in her widowhood she created her famous hospital in Marburg. Also highly distinctive, if not absolutely unique in her day, was Elizabeth's *Speisegebot*, her refusal to partake of food obtained through oppression of the poor.[20] Elizabeth's

15 On parallels between Marie d'Oignies and Elizabeth, see Wolf, "The Life," 63 ff., and Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 107. Elizabeth's aunt, St Hedwig (canonized 1267), practiced good works as a laywoman following the death of her husband; see Wolf, "The Afterlife," 4, n.4.

16 Wolf, "The Life," 61 n.82.

17 Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 100. See also Michael Goodich, "The Politics of Canonization."

18 Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 101.

19 Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté," 165–66 [29–30].

20 See nn. 49–51, below. Vauchez reviews but rejects the theory that she practiced the *Speisegebot* on Conrad's orders to boycott food from lands her husband had seized from the church, or as a penance for

uniqueness transcended the domain of good works; in her report of personal conversation with Jesus, she also practiced at the forefront of late medieval mystical experience.

A Legend on the Move

To understand the *Golden Legend* as a vector for Elizabeth's reputation throughout the reaches of western Christendom, it is necessary first to review the textual history and transmission of the work as authored in Latin by Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230–98), the Dominican prior provincial of Lombardy and later Archbishop of Genoa. Jacobus completed his first redaction before 1265, the date appearing on a manuscript of this family.[21] No later than 1272-76, the author added ten more chapters (including Elizabeth's) to the collection, bringing the number of chapters to 178.[22] The original purpose of the work is not in doubt: the Latin *Legend* was created by a Dominican for Dominicans, especially future preachers[23] studying at university. By the 1270s, the LA had spread through Dominican channels to the University of Paris, where it became a textbook for students who belonged to the Franciscan order and the secular clergy as well.[24] As documented by Fleith, Elizabeth's *vita* was included in the majority of manuscripts copied at the University of Paris,[25] and from that center of influence, it spread to other universities and Europe at large. Many graduates, of course, would use their education to play a pastoral role as preachers and teachers to the laity.

While circulated widely in Latin, the LA was quickly translated into virtually every European vernacular, beginning at the turn of the fourteenth century. At least one version survives, and usually more, in French, English, Langue d'Oc, Catalan, Italian, several dialects of German, Czech, Hungarian, and other

---

wives of crusaders; he argues that she considered seigneurial exactions of food to be organized robbery of the poor: "Charité et pauvreté," 169–70 [33–34].

21 Fleith, *Studien* 14–15, calls 1252 (the death of Peter Martyr) the *terminus post quem* for the LA, and 1265, the date of a first redaction MS, the *terminus ante quem*.

22 For the earliest dateable MS of the second redaction with Elizabeth's *vita*, see Maggioni, *Ricerche sulla composizione*, 96, also 9–12, 550. Maggioni explains how 178 chapters are original to Jacobus, and of these 178, which ten belong to the author's later redaction: *passim*, esp. 131–34.

23 On the LA as a collection for use in sermons, see Boureau, *La Légende dorée: le système narratif*, 21–23; Boureau, Introduction, xxix–xxx; and Fleith, *Studien*, 37–42.

24 For Fleith's complex argument documenting the university connection on the basis of *pecia* markings, see her *Studien*, 41–42, 419 ff., and Fleith, "*Legenda aurea*: destination," 41–48. Boureau considers but dismisses Carla Frova's argument for the absence of a university connection: Introduction, xxiii–iv.

25 Fleith, *Studien*, 341, 355–56.

languages.[26] In tandem with its emerging popularity in the languages that lay people could read, the *Golden Legend* was quickly recognized as an important book both about and for women. Although out of 200-plus saints named in the LA only 41 are women, and only five of these were married, this total equals dozens of female saints with a record of action and achievement[27] that was obviously "relatable" to women. In at least one case, his life of St Katherine of Alexandria, Jacobus appears to have strategically enhanced the prestige of a woman saint, "[by supplying] five reasons, apparently original to him, why she was admirable ... her wisdom, eloquence, constancy, chastity, and dignity"; these "reasons" include her prowess at the philosophy and public preaching traditionally limited to men.[28] Many vernacular manuscripts of the *Golden Legend* were commissioned, and/or owned, by influential laywomen and by houses of women religious.[29] For our present purposes, the most interesting example may be the *Légende dorée* in its literal French translation by Jean de Vignay (ca. 1333), which includes the life of Elizabeth among the full roster of legends authored by Jacobus.[30] One manuscript even displays a presentation picture from the Workshop of the Master of the Cité des Dames, showing the translator presenting a copy of the work to his patroness, Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne.[31] To use as his Latin

26 On the *Legend* in French, English, Langue d'Oc, German, and English, see the articles in Dunn-Lardeau, Legenda aurea: *sept siècles*. On at least twelve MSS of the LA in Italian, see Falvay, "St Elizabeth," 139 and 139 n.6. On the *Legend* in Italian, English, Czech, and Hungarian, see Konrád, "The Legend of Saint Elizabeth," 22–88. On eight different versions in French, see Ferrari, "La *Légende dorée*." The most popular French translation was by Jean de Vignay; the modern edition is Jacques de Voragine, *Légende dorée,* édition *critique,* (edited by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau). On a German translation complete with Elizabeth's *vita*, see Williams-Krapp, "Die deutschen Übersetzungen." For more on the vernacular translations, see n. 29, below.

27 For example, see the erudition of Katherine of Alexandria and Paula; also Mary Magdalene as "apostle to the apostles" who (with her sister Martha) preached to the pagans in France, all located via the index to any edition.

28 Epstein, *Talents of Jacopo da Varagine*, 159.

29 For examples of women who commissioned vernacular translations, see Maddocks, "Pictures for Aristocrats," 8, on de Vignay's highly popular translation as originally presented to Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philip IV de Valois. See Ferrari, "La *Légende dorée*," esp. 128, on another French translation commissioned by a woman, Béatrice de Bourgogne. On a "comtesse" who ordered saints' lives in Catalan, see Brunel, "Les saints franciscains," 110. On Isabella of Castile's ordering a Spanish "santoral," see Gatland, *Women from the Golden Legend*, 4. On ownership of an Italian *Legend* by Lady Judith of Forzate, a Dominican tertiary of the Lombard province, see Richardson, *Materials for a Life*, 8–9. For an example of a German legend in a house of Béguines, see Wetzel, "Légende et spiritualité monastique," 211–26.

30 Elizabeth's *vita* appears at Jacques de Voragine, *Légende dorée,* édition *critique*, 1069–83.

31 Formerly London, British Library, MS Phillipps loan 36/199; now privately owned. For description and discussion, see Maddocks, "Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*," 156–57. She includes a

prototype, de Vignay would have doubtless had access to a manuscript of the complete LA in Latin as reproduced for students at the University of Paris, to judge from the evidence discussed above.

What kind of book was the *Golden Legend*, that foundational collection of exemplary Christian lives? On close inspection, it is found to be surprisingly limited in terms of "redeeming social value." Few of the saints in the collection, the majority of them ancient martyrs, provide any kind of practical model for everyday Christian living. Although many saints are described as engaged in works of charity, I agree with Sherry Reames that the book is devoted far less to instruction in love of neighbor, than to affirming Church authority above all, praising virginity as the supreme way of life, and denigrating marriage and children as a stumbling block to salvation.[32] I would add that the book is from beginning to end a justification of faith-based violence and killing, both in ancient times, and in the author's immediate milieu. As retold in the LA, the passions of ancient saints quite often feature more pagans killed by divine intervention than Christians martyred; to give just one example, four thousand onlookers were annihilated by a shower of miraculous debris at the scene of Katherine of Alexandria's decapitation.[33] Jacobus's contemporary Peter Martyr, one of the four "contemporary" saints included in the collection, was murdered by heretics as he was on a mission to convert or kill *them*.[34] In the chapter on St Dominic, the saint is approvingly described as signing off on orders to have a group of heretics burned alive, sparing only one of them on a seemingly random premonition.[35] Just as with the Jacobus's own Order of Preachers and his late medieval Catholic Church, a major agenda of the *Golden Legend* is to shore up clerical authority and orthodoxy, even by intimidation and deadly force.

---

reproduction of the presentation picture at "Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*," fig. 66. I wish to thank Hillary Maddocks for sharing in our personal communication her knowledge of the manuscript and its sale into private hands.

32 Reames, *Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination,* passim, especially 26, 98–99, 106–07.

33 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1210; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:338.

34 Peter questions a heretic taken captive, no doubt with the intention to have him killed if he does not recant: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 1:423; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:256.

35 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:732; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:47.

Elizabeth's Vita as Unique within the Golden Legend

Elizabeth's model of sanctity appears to have been just as original in the 1270s as it had been four decades earlier at the time of her death and canonization, to judge from the evidence of her *vita* as rendered by Jacobus de Voragine. While the historical Elizabeth was not entirely unique in her achievements, as noted above, there is simply no other life story similar to hers in the *Legenda Aurea*. In a variety of ways, Elizabeth's *vita* stands alone, showing forth her distinctive contribution to medieval Christian spirituality despite the mediating voices of agenda-driven clerical interpreters.

Jacobus was evidently quite concerned to choose an acceptable role model for women aspiring to sanctity in his own time and place. The most striking novelty in Elizabeth's portrayal, and one with no counterpart elsewhere in the LA, is the ambiguous religious status she adopted after the death of her husband—putting on a dingy gray habit suggesting the Minorite tradition, embracing celibacy once a widow, spinning wool with her own hands, and living in poverty with the poor, but not entering a cloister or taking formal vows. Her life transition included renunciation of earthly ties, on terms defined with precision by herself. In early widowhood, supervised by her confessor, but by her handmaids' account acting with passionate conviction, Elizabeth prayed the Lord

> to fill her with contempt for all temporal goods, to take from her heart her love for her children, and to grant her indifference and constancy in the face of every insult. When she had finished her prayer, she heard the Lord saying to her: "Your prayer has been favorably heard." Elizabeth told her women: "The Lord had heard my voice graciously, because I regard all temporal things as dung, I care for my children no more than for [my other neighbors/aliis proximis], I make light of all contempt and disrespect, and it seems to me that I no longer love any but God alone.[36]

Elizabeth's prayer to be released from love for her children is cruel and bizarre by any human standard, but compared to the lives of other canonized parents in the LA, it is mild and respectful of family ties. The collection abounds with examples of mothers (and at least one father) who prayed for their children

36 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1166; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:309, with my preferred translation and original Latin in square brackets. For Isentrude's testimony on which this passage is based, see "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 126, and "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 205.

to get sick and die (before losing their virginity), or to be swept off to heaven by martyrdom before their mothers' eyes.[37] Biblical prototypes were the mother of the seven martyred sons (including a small child) in the Book of Maccabees[38] and the gospel admonition to hate one's parents, spouse, and children for the sake of the Lord.[39] Closer to Elizabeth's era, St Angela of Foligno (1248–1309) prayed for her mother, husband, and children to die so that she might devote her life to religion; her prayer was answered as she wished. Even if Angela's plea is a trope of hagiography not to be understood as an actual death-wish, it is extreme even by the standards of its time.[40] By contrast, Elizabeth is approvingly described by Jacobus as constructing her great renunciation with a loophole allowing her to love her children according to the biblical mandate that she love her neighbor as she loves herself, meaning she will never hurt them and will help them if she can. As a "sister in the world," Elizabeth will not renounce all ability to love and be loved. Clearly, Jacobus wished to present an alternative to the extreme anti-family asceticism of Catharist heresy, and indeed, certain other chapters in his own *Legenda*.

Elizabeth had a lifelong gift for emotional intimacy, as evident from the testimony of her female companions. The naturalistic portrayal of her everyday personal bonding with friends is unlike any other descriptions in the *Legenda*. Guda, one of the four handmaids who testified at her canonization hearing, had lived with Elizabeth since the two women were about four or five years old until shortly after the death of Elizabeth's husband in 1227.[41] At the age of four, Elizabeth had been sent from the home of her parents, King Andrew and Queen Gertrude of Hungary, to be brought up in the home of her future husband Ludwig, who was soon to inherit his father's position as landgrave of Thuringia. Thanks to Guda's testimony, we have almost the only description of childhood in the entire LA, and the only one with a hint of a budding personality

37 Legends in which parents pray for their children to die or rejoice at their martyrdom, located via the index to any edition: St Hilary (both daughter and wife); St Sebastian (exhorting the parents); St Paula (who didn't pray for her children to die, but abandoned all but one of them); St Petronilla (whose father St Peter prayed for her to get sick and die while still a virgin); St Sophia; St Julitta (whose martyred son was only three years old); St Felicity; St Symphorian.

38 2 Maccabees 7.

39 Luke 14:26.

40 See Tomkinson, "'Poverty, Suffering and Contempt,'" 114–15. More typical for saints' lives is the approving report that he or she displayed no emotion on the death of child or children: Vauchez, *Sainthood,* St Charles of Blois, 365; Elizabeth's aunt St Hedwig, both husband and son, 373.

41 "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 112; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 193.

in a setting of naturalistic detail. For example, in a game that seems like tag, Elizabeth would always try to run into the chapel, where she would pray; at age five, she pretended to read the psalter even though she could not yet read; and if she won anything at games, she would share with playmates who had less than she.[42] Although the child Elizabeth was pious, she was not oppressively so; she clearly enjoyed the same pastimes as other little girls, was a welcome companion, and displayed at an early age her lifelong generosity to the needy.

On the basis of the testimony of handmaid Isentrude, who had served Elizabeth since her marriage to Ludwig, Jacobus recounted an intimate companion's description of a saint's happy married life that is also completely different from anything else in the LA. Throughout the rest of the collection, almost all of the hundreds of saints are virgins, with only five named saints being married women. Of the saints who did marry, many (most famously St Cecilia) agreed with their spouse to a celibate union. Almost never in the 178 chapters is a normal marriage presented as a positive, much less a sanctifying influence for either husband or wife.[43] There is nothing comparable elsewhere in the *Legenda* to the glimpse of a happy marriage in the following incident recalled by Isentrude:

> She often rose during the night to pray, though her husband begged her to spare herself and give her body some rest. She had an arrangement with one of her maids who was closer to her than the others, that if by chance she overslept, the maid would wake her up by touching her foot. Once by mistake she touched the landgrave's foot. He woke up with a start but understood what had happened, and patiently put up with it and pretended not to have noticed anything.[44]

42 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1157; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:303. Based on Guda's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 112; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 193. On the growth of interest in childhood and the childhood of saints, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 509. On Elizabeth's childhood with an emphasis on its commonalities with conventional hagiography, see Goodich, "A Saintly Child."

43 Like a man, a woman is safer and happier unwed; Domitilla is dissuaded from marriage in the chapter on Saints Nereus and Achilleus by arguments that *husbands* are cruel, abusive, and unfaithful to their wives. A rare exception to the overwhelmingly misogamous LA is Elizabeth's ancestor St Stephen of Hungary, cited in Jacobus's brief history of the world, who was converted to Christianity by his wife "Gala": see Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1276; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:380.

44 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1159; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:304. Based on Isentrude's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 116; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 197.

This vignette is unique within the LA in several ways. Nowhere else does Jacobus acknowledge such a commonplace marital practice as sleeping close together, much less with tolerant amusement, and (as noted earlier), almost never does he portray a husband and wife in a true partnership supporting each other's spiritual concerns. Jacobus's record of Elizabeth's grief at her husband's death (in Otranto, struck down by illness as he attempted to go on crusade) is also markedly at odds with a collection in which the generality of sainted spouses prefer to be liberated through widowhood or cheer on one another's martyrdom.[45] Channeling the resignation of Job as well as Jesus in Gethsemane, but unmistakably affirming her love and grief for Ludwig, Elizabeth is quoted as lamenting

> You know, O Lord, that I loved him dearly, as he loved you, yet for love of you I deprived myself of his presence and sent him to relieve your Holy Land. Delightful as it would be for me to live with him still, even were we reduced to go begging through the whole world, yet I would not give one hair of my head to have him back against your will, nor to recall him to this mortal life. I commend him and me to your grace.[46]

Indeed, according to André Vauchez, the tender portrayal of Elizabeth's happy marriage in the handmaids' testimonies (and the *vitae* based on them) was an outlier that was not be repeated in saints' lives of the later Middle Ages.[47]

Scores of saints in the LA give money or goods to the poor, but following Isentrude, Jacobus portrays Elizabeth as taking a stand on systemic injustice and organizing programs for long-term social betterment that have no counterpart anywhere else in the *Legend*, and indeed, were remarkable by the standards of their time.[48] Elizabeth not only imposed on herself the pains of poverty; she tried to challenge the larger socioeconomic structure that oppressed the powerless. Willingly obeying her confessor, she adopted a food boycott known as the *Speisegebot*, designed to prohibit all sustenance acquired by plunder or robbery of the poor:

---

45 For examples, located via the index to any edition, see St Anastasia; St Hilary (hoping for death of daughter and wife); St Adrian; St Genebald (in the life of St Remy).

46 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1165; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:308. Based on Isentrude's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 124; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 204.

47 Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 383–84.

48 See n. 20, above.

> Master Conrad forbade her to eat any food about which she had the slightest qualm of conscience, and she obeyed his behest so meticulously that however abundant the delicious foods might be, she and her servingmaids partook of the coarser fare. At other times she sat at table and divided and moved the food around on her plate, so as to seem to be eating and to ward off any notion that she was superstitious: thus, by her urbanity, she put all the guests at their ease. When they were traveling and she was worn out with the length and labors of the journey, and she and her husband were offered foods that might not have been honestly acquired, she accepted none of them and patiently ate stale black break soaked in hot water, as her maids did. . . . The Landgrave was tolerant of all this and said that he would gladly do the same himself if he were not afraid of upsetting the whole household.[49]

Again, the Landgrave is described as supporting his wife's spiritual journey even when he could not follow. Although the boycott was required by her confessor, it is clear that Elizabeth was deeply committed to the practice. According to Kenneth Wolf, "[of] all the different aspects of Elizabeth's saintly regimen reported to the commission by her handmaids, the *Speisegebot* was the most distinctive. I know of no other examples of such precise restrictions on consumption tied to issues of economic justice."[50] If this type of renunciation was not absolutely unique to Elizabeth, it was at least extremely rare.[51] The saint's commitment to alleviating poverty on the systemic as well as the individual level was active as well as passive. While her husband was still alive, Elizabeth fed the hungry and assisted the sick and dying, providing hands-on care even to the most disfigured,[52] all of these actions deriving from the standard repertoire of Christian good works and echoed in countless other saints' lives.

However, Elizabeth went further than giving handouts or other fleeting ministrations by establishing what seems to have been a day care center where the children of poor women, presumably patients in hospital, were not only fed and cared for, but obviously treated as children:

---

49 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1160–61; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:305–06. Based on Isentrude's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 115–16; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 196.

50 Wolf, "The Life," 66. See also n. 20, above.

51 According to McNamara, "The Need to Give" 210, citing Jacques de Vitry's *Life of Marie d'Oignies* 2:44, Marie in her youth chose to live on herbs she picked herself rather than partake of food from her mother's house, which she regarded as the fruit of injustice and usury; on parallel renunciation by wives of usurers, see Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 94 n. 39.

52 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1161–62; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:306–07.

> In the same house [her hospital in Eisenach] Elizabeth saw to it that children of poor women were well fed and cared for. She was so gentle and kind to them that they all called her Mother and, when she came into the house, followed her around as if she were in fact their mother, and crowded about her to be as close to her as possible. She also bought some small dishes and cups and rings and other glass toys for the children to play with. She was riding up the hill, carrying these things in the fold of her cloak, when they came loose and fell to the rocks below, but not one of the toys was broken.[53]

Elsewhere in the LA, there is no such natural and sympathetic depiction of childhood or childcare, much less of organized care for the children of the poor. Beyond her personal attention to individual patients, Elizabeth addressed the larger problem of the impoverished ill in her community by having hospitals built, first in Eisenach near Wartburg Castle where she lived with Ludwig,[54] and during her widowhood in Marburg where she spent her final years.[55] Elizabeth is the only saint in the collection, male or female, to carry out such a large-scale and practical plan. The medical volunteerism of St Francis—visiting a leprosarium, kissing the hands of the patients, and leaving them money—seems disorganized and sporadic by comparison.[56] In the sustained attention and hands-on intimacy of her work as a hospital sister at Marburg, Elizabeth surpasses any other saint portrayed by Jacobus. There is no detail quite like this one in any other saint's life of the collection: "After the hospital was built, she committed herself to serving the poor like a simple servingwoman. . . . she humbled herself so completely that when a poor child who had only one eye and was covered with scabs came into the hospital, she took him in her arms to the privy seven times in one night and willingly washed his bedclothes."[57]

Jacobus is also careful to describe Elizabeth's contemplative life with vivid circumstantial detail, in a manner having no counterpart elsewhere in the LA.

---

53 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1162–63; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:307. Based on Isentrude's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 119–20; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 200.

54 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1162; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:307. Based on Isentrude's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 119; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 199.

55 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1169; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:311. Based on handmaid Elizabeth's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 127–28; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 206.

56 As described in the "Life of St Francis," Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1017; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:221. André Vauchez agrees that Elizabeth surpassed other thirteenth century saints in the hands–on intensity and organization of her care for the poor and ill: "Charité et pauvreté," 165–66 [29–30].

57 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1169; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:311. Based on handmaid Elizabeth's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 128; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 207.

Following Isentrude, he describes how at mass during Lent, Elizabeth received such a powerful vision that on returning home exhausted

> she rested on the lap of one of her maidservants and gazed through the window at the heavens, and such joyousness swept over her face that she burst out laughing [risus mirabilis sequeretur]. Then, after she had for some time been filled with joy by this vision, suddenly she was weeping. Opening her eyes again, the earlier joy was renewed in her, and when she closed them again, back came the flood of tears. This went on till compline, as she lingered in these divine consolations. She did not speak a word for a long time, then suddenly exclaimed: "So, Lord, you wish to be with me and I with you, and I want nothing ever to separate me from you!"
> Later on her [handmaidens] asked her to tell them [rogaretur ab ancillis], for the honor of God and their own edification, what was the vision she had seen. Conquered by their insistence, blessed Elizabeth said: "I saw the heavens opened, and Jesus leaning toward me in a most kindly way and showing me his loving face. The sight of him filled me with ineffable joy, and when it was withdrawn, I could only mourn my loss. Then he, taking pity on me, gave me again the joy of seeing his face and said to me: "If you wish to be with me, I will be with you." And you heard my answer.[58]

The above passage is one of only two quotations of a near-contemporary female contemplative in the LA (Jacobus also cited Elizabeth of Schönau in repeating some details from her vision of the Assumption of the Virgin[59]), and it is the only one to describe the experience of a visionary encounter with Jesus. As explained by André Vauchez, this passage represents a clear choice on the part of Jacobus to embrace the creative forms of contemplation already introduced by women in the beguine milieux of Flanders and Germany.[60] In his study of the LA, Jacques Le Goff notes Elizabeth's joyful spirituality, including her holy laughter, as a "modern" thirteenth-century development in a monastic culture where laughter had been discouraged, and it was debated whether Jesus had ever laughed at all.[61] Other saints in the collection are described as cheerful, but

58 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1167–68; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:310. Based on Isentrude's testimony, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 122–23; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 202–03.

59 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:787; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:82–83. Jacobus's quotation of Elizabeth of Schönau is explained by Alain Boureau at Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée*, 1345–46, nn. 18–20.

60 Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine," 53.

61 Le Goff, *In Search of Sacred Time*, 163.

Elizabeth's mirthful outburst is unusual if not unique within the LA.[62] Following Isentrude, Jacobus describes Elizabeth as at home and alone during her vision except for her female companions; they were the ones who asked her to describe it and the ones who reported it later. Conrad neither was present when Elizabeth saw and spoke with Jesus, nor did he tell the story. By endorsing all aspects of Elizabeth's contemplative model, Jacobus shows himself to be one of the thirteenth century mendicants, especially Dominicans, who engaged in the fruitful exchange between clerics and holy women that led to a new movement in spirituality and in the process, the emergence of a vernacular literature to support it.[63]

It is unclear whether Jacobus fully recognized the radicalism of Elizabeth's mystical revelation in a context independent of male authority. In most of her *vita*, he reports approvingly on Elizabeth's subservience to her confessor, while not appearing to recognize her spiritual independence of his authority, and even her occasional rebellion. Solely in order to make her suffer and break her will, Conrad dismissed her beloved long-time attendants Guda and Isentrude, causing great pain on both sides, replacing them, at least at first, with harsh and uncongenial women.[64] Although Elizabeth accepted the change, she never defends his arbitrary punishments as justified, saying only that she herself had chosen his harsh discipline in order to grow closer to God by depriving herself of earthly satisfactions:

> "*For God's sake* [propter deum] I fear mortal man as much as I ought to fear the heavenly judge. Therefore *I choose* to give my obedience [obediantiam facere volui] to Master Conrad, a poor, undistiguished man, rather than to some bishop, so that every occasion of worldly consolation may be taken away from me."[65]

62 For example, St Dominic is lauded for his cheerful and calm disposition, but with no mention of laughter: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:734; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:53. Jacobus writes approvingly that St Bernard seemed never to laugh spontaneously, only to force his laughter: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:817; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:101.

63 Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, esp. 192–97, and Coakley, "Friars as Confidants."

64 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1166; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:309. Based on the testimony of Isentrude, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 126–27; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 205.

65 Emphasis added. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1166; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:309. Based on the testimony of Irmgard, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 135; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 212.

Later, Conrad had her flogged so severely that marks were still visible on her body three weeks later, all because, as rendered by Jacobus, she had visited a convent at "the earnest request of some nuns . . . without obtaining permission from her spiritual master . . ."[66] Consoling herself and her companions, Elizabeth never expressed remorse for her innocent action or any intention to change her behavior; rather, she accepted Conrad's punishment as practice in resigning herself to adversity imposed by the will of God: "The sedge grass lies flat when the river is in flood, and when the water recedes, the sedge straightens up. So, when some affliction befalls us, we should bow to it humbly and, when it passes, be lifted up by spiritual joy to God."[67] It is unclear whether Jacobus recognized Elizabeth's spiritual independence of her "master"'s will, an independence with no parallel in any saint's example amid the relentlessly pro-clerical agenda of the LA.

Finally, Jacobus adorned his *vita* of Elizabeth with expressions of tenderness that are remarkable in comparison to other chapters in the collection. In a departure from his usual style, he interpolates a personal meditation, complete with first person verbs exceptional for the LA, at the scene of her holy deathbed:

> The bird that perched between Elizabeth and the wall, and sang so sweetly that she sang with it, we take [credimus] to have been her angel, who was delegated to be her guardian and also to assure her of eternal joy. . . . We believe [credimus] that the birds that sang jubilantly on the ridge of the church roof were angels sent by God to carry her soul to heaven.[68]

On this note of personal affirmation, Jacobus moves on to his recitation of her posthumous miracles, of less concern to us here.

66 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1166; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:309.

67 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1166–67; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:309. Based on the testimony of Irmgard, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 135–36; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 212.

68 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1172; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:313; on these passages as Jacobus's personal interjections, with first person verbs unusual for him, see Alain Boureau's discussion in Jacques de Voragine, *Légende dorée*, 1457 n. 63.

Reworking His Source: What Jacobus Chose to Omit, Revise, or Retain

Within the context of the LA, as we have seen, Elizabeth's *vita* is exceptional. As discussed by André Vauchez, Elizabeth's life is the only one in the entire collection that was based on a sort of rough draft primary source,[69] a group of testimonies from the saint's canonization hearing of just a few decades earlier. Even more remarkable, this document, known as the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum* (Statements of the Four Handmaids),[70] is based entirely on the voices of women, translated from their native German into Latin and filtered by clerical authorities, but nonetheless replete with details that only an intimate female companion would know.[71] André Vauchez's analysis underscores the uniqueness and extraordinary value of the handmaids' testimony:

> The *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum* constitutes a very precious document. In contrast with later processes of canonization, the witnesses express themselves with almost total freedom; their statements are only rarely guided by questions and they are not yet bound by the rigid system of *articuli interrogatorii*, as would be the case in the fourteenth century.[72]

In much of his life of Elizabeth, as we have seen, Jacobus closely adhered to the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum,* a new type of source for the life of a new type of saint.

In certain crucial passages, however, he altered his source (or deleted material entirely) with the effect of bringing Elizabeth's radical new model of sainthood into line with the mainly conservative values of the work as a whole: promotion of Catholic orthodoxy, unquestioned church authority, traditional

69 Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine," 48. He is referring to the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, agreed to be almost the only if not the only source for the *vita* portion of Elizabeth's legend in Jacobus's LA: see n. 70, below. On medieval sources for the life of Elizabeth, including later *vitae*, see Gecser, "Lives of St. Elizabeth," and Reber, *Elisabeth von Thüringen*, 9–34.

70 From my personal comparison, I agree with Vauchez, see n. 69 above, and Gecser, "Lives of St. Elizabeth," 72 and 72 n.107, that Jacobus used only the earlier version, the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, and not the *Libellus*, available as *Der sogenannte Libellus*, ed. Huyskens. As explained by Andre Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté," 163 [27], five sets of documents were used in Elizabeth's canonization process, concluded in 1235: Conrad of Marburg's *Summa Vitae*, the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, and miracle depositions collected in 1232, 1233, and 1235.

71 Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine," 48. For more discussion of the sources of Elizabeth's legend in the LA, both *vita* and miracles, see Konrád, "The Legend of Saint Elizabeth," 19–22. Konrád agrees, 20, that the *Dicta* is the most important, and possibly the only source for Elizabeth's *vita* in the *Legenda*.

72 Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté," 163 [28]; translation mine.

subservience for women, and inextricable from all these, violence in the service of faith. Jacobus appears to have maintained consistency with this agenda both in his changes to the record, and in what he chose to retain.

It is no surprise that Jacobus omitted from his *Legenda* the sole anecdote from the handmaids' testimony where Elizabeth directly questioned clerical authority, in this case a group of male religious who seem to have been proudly showing her around their cloister church:

> Once when she came to a certain cloister of monks who had no possessions and who fed themselves only from daily alms, she was shown the sumptuous gilded sculptures in their church. She said to the approximately two dozen monks who were standing near her: "Look, it would be better to invest this revenue in your clothing and food than in your walls, because you ought to carry such images as these only in your hearts." When one of them said, with regard to a particularly beautiful image, that it suited her well, she responded: "I have no need of such an image because I carry it in my heart."[73]

As he states elsewhere in the LA, Jacobus held a favorable view of religious images in church; he considered such pictures a conduit for the word of God and an aid to Christian faith.[74] Clearly, this particular example of Elizabeth's audacity and spiritual independence could not be admitted into the very conservative and always pro-clerical *Legenda Aurea*. For Jacobus, the problem went beyond the fact that he disagreed with her negative opinion of the visual arts. The entire LA, at least in the chapters authored by Jacobus, contains no approved example of a lay person (much less a woman) defying or even standing in opposition to any representative of the clerical estate.

In another case, Jacobus simply rewrote the handmaids' testimony to justify Conrad's cruelty and render Elizabeth at fault. According to the eyewitness testimony of Irmgard, one of Elizabeth's replacement handmaids who seems have become her close friend, the incident where Elizabeth entered the convent

73 "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 214; "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 137–38.

74 St Ambrose had a vision of St Paul whom he recognized only by a painting he had seen: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 1:538; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:327. A Jewish boy-convert remains steadfast through martyrdom with the comfort of the Virgin Mary, whom he recognizes by a painting just seen on the altar as he took communion with the Christian children: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:796; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:87.

at Altenberg, and was flogged by Conrad as punishment, did not take place exactly as described by Jacobus and quoted above. As Irmgard tells the story,

> [t]he ladies who were there [at the convent at Altenberg] asked Master Conrad to give permission to blessed Elizabeth to enter the cloister upon her arrival so that they could see her. Master Conrad responded: "She may enter, if she wishes," confident that she would not. But Elizabeth, taking Master Conrad at his word, did enter, thinking that she had permission to do so. . . . Because Sister Irmgard had been responsible for getting the key and opening the door to the cloister—though she had not entered with Elizabeth—Master Conrad had her prostrate herself alongside blessed Elizabeth and ordered Brother Gerhard to beat them hard with a certain kind of whip that was big and long. While Gerhard beat them Master Conrad sang the *Miserere mei Deus*.[75]

Irmgard's testimony puts Conrad clearly in the wrong for punishing Elizabeth, who did not knowingly disobey his command, and even more at fault for causing a handmaid to be lashed for merely helping her mistress. Both women bore stripes on their bodies for three weeks or more.[76] (Elizabeth's little daughter Gertrude had been placed at the convent,[77] a fact not mentioned in the handmaid's testimony, which may explain why Conrad was so enraged at the visit—he may have judged his spiritual daughter to be backsliding from her renunciation of love for her children.) Jacobus could not accept such an open, well justified critique of "Master" Conrad, who (as he must have known) was an inquisitor authorized by Pope Gregory IX to root out heresy throughout the German lands during the same period as he served as Elizabeth's confessor.[78] As Elizabeth's confessor, Conrad of Marburg could not be censured, even by implication.

In another case of simply suppressing details of the story in order to whitewash Conrad's brutality, Jacobus omitted Isentrude's account of Elizabeth's Christian charity as superior to that of her "Master," as the saint defied his command to limit her almsgiving; if caught red-handed aiding a pauper, Elizabeth bore her confessor's chastisements willingly, "mindful of the buffeting suffered

75 "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 135–36; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 212.

76 Irmgard, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 212; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 212.

77 Wolf, *The Life and Afterlife*, 212 n.57.

78 Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 95–106.

by the Lord,"[79] but she is never said to have obeyed her confessor's restrictions on her charity, only to have accepted his punishments as opportunities to share in the suffering of Jesus. Clearly, Jacobus had no place in his agenda for any obvious breach of unquestioning obedience to clerical authority, whether bravely articulated by Irmgard after the fact, or reportedly practiced even by a saint.

Although Jacobus followed his source in paraphrasing Elizabeth's beautiful speech on the return of her husband's bones (quoted above), where she honors him for having set forth on crusade,[80] the Dominican introduced a detail not present in the *Dicta,* by inserting a statement that she had originally exhorted her husband to go.[81] As noted by Eszter Konrád, this may be Jacobus's most significant alteration to his major source for the *vita*,[82] as it transforms Elizabeth from a mere supporter to the instigator of her husband's fatal voyage as he joined in a chaotic attempt to "rescue" the Holy Land.

This time hewing closely to Irmgard's testimony, Jacobus approvingly reports that Elizabeth approved of and practiced faith-based violence at the personal level as well as (in his account) promoting it overseas. When a poor old woman in her hospital in Marburg refused to go to confession, Elizabeth beat her with rods until she complied.[83] In the incident at the convent noted earlier, the saint not only accepted the cruelty done to her, but appears to have had no objection when a handmaid was forced to share in the punishment. Of course, there is also the enigma of why a saint who was so deeply concerned with oppression on the larger societal scale, would have chosen as her spiritual father an inquisitor who from 1227 (near the beginning of his association with her) was actively engaged in a reign of terror across the German-speaking lands. Attended by the same Gerhard who whipped the saint and her handmaid, and licensed by Pope Gregory IX, Master Conrad traveled from town to town accusing of heresy anyone who was unlucky enough to be brought to his attention, often by informers with agendas of their own. The accused had only two choices: confess their "guilt" or be burned at the stake. To save oneself, it was also necessary to implicate others. When Conrad was finally murdered in March 1233 by a group of nobles he had been reckless enough to accuse, Pope Gregory professed

79 Isentrude, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 127; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 206.

80 Isentrude, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 124; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 204.

81 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1163; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:307.

82 Konrád, "The Legend of Saint Elizabeth," 22.

83 Testimony of Irmgard, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 129; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 207; story retold by Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1169; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:311.

himself grief-stricken, but pointedly neglected making any moves to have the inquisitor canonized; Conrad had made himself too much hated, and his victims were now held to be martyrs themselves.[84] By all accounts, and with Jacobus's evident approval, Elizabeth clung to this monster during her married life and for as long as she lived.[85]

As noted above, St Elizabeth is mentioned in two different chapters of the LA, not only in her rather lengthy *vita*, but in Jacobus's capsule summary of historical events leading up to his own day. Honoring crusaders and inquisitors, Jacobus places Elizabeth's life firmly in the context of the war on heresy to which his work was so heavily devoted:

> At this time the Orders of Friars Preachers and Friars Minor arose. Innocent sent legates to King Philip of France to get him to invade the Albigensian area in the South and destroy the heretics. Philip took them captive and had them burned at the stake. Finally Innocent crowned Otto (IV) emperor, exacting an oath that he would safeguard the rights of the church. . . . Saint Elizabeth, daughter of the King of Hungary and wife of the landgrave of Thuringia, lived at this time. It is recorded that among a great number of miracles she raised many, namely, sixteen, dead to life and gave sight to a person born blind. It is said that an oil still flows from her body.[86]

For Jacobus, Elizabeth's shining example is a weapon in the crusade against heresy, just as surely as the violence often used to carry it out.

Jacobus also refashioned the "givens" of Elizabeth's *vita* in a more conservative direction by adding a passage describing how the saint was unwilling to marry, preferring to die a virgin, but agreed to marriage only in obedience to her father's will and to bring Christian children into the world; he elaborates, ". . . while bound to the law of the conjugal bed, she was not bound

84 Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 95–100. As noted by Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 60–61, other inquisitors were "martyred" in the line of duty, but of these, only Peter Martyr was canonized; the common people simply refused to report any miracles of dead inquisitors, thus denying the basis for a process. Even Peter Martyr's canonization was unpopular and much criticized: see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 415–16 and 415 n.10.

85 I am aware of only one study entirely devoted to the moral conundrum of Elizabeth's intimacy with Conrad: Werner, "Die heilige Elisabeth," 45–69. At 63, Werner pleas for understanding Elizabeth in terms of her own time, not ours; however, Conrad was widely despised by his contemporaries: see Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 98–100.

86 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1282; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:384.

to enjoyment."[87] This passage reinforces the pro-clerical, thus anti-matrimonial bias of the LA as a whole, but is obviously at odds with the statements by her female companions, who never testify that Elizabeth was reluctant to marry Ludwig, and who describe the couple as deeply in love and enjoying a normal married life that included sleeping together. Further on, Jacobus makes an important omission in his retelling of events from the handmaids' testimonies, evidently in the interest of portraying Elizabeth as strictly conforming with the subjection of women as required by her faith. The handmaids describe how when Elizabeth was visited by wealthy matrons during her married life, she would rebuke them for their prideful lifestyle "as if she were preaching (quasi predicans.)"[88] Of course, women were not allowed to preach, and Jacobus never shows us an Elizabeth doing anything like predication. His *vita* keeps her spoken communication within the limited territory allowed to women and already defended on behalf of the beguines: he describes her as "giv[ing] instruction to the ignorant (incultos homines edoceret),"[89] speaking words of consolation to the sick ("verba exhibebat consolationis")[90] and recounting her vision of Jesus in a private context, as noted above, but never preaching.[91] It is notable that Jacobus gives us female saints who preached in public, but all in ancient times: the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, her sister Martha, and Katherine of Alexandria,[92] among one or two others. His model of sainthood for the "modern" woman allowed for an active life where the saint might give edification in private even to men, but she would be subservient to clerical authority and sternly enjoined from preaching.

87 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1158; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:304.

88 Isentrude, "Dicta," in *Quellenstudien*, 117; "Dicta," trans. Wolf, 198.

89 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1159; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:304.

90 Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1163; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:307.

91 For a discussion of the private admonitory speech permitted to women, including Beguines, see Wolf, "The Life," 77 n. 144.

92 Mary Magdalene, "apostle to the apostles," "preached Christ fervidly to them [a public crowd of pagans] (Christum constantissime predicabat)": Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:376; Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 1:631. Katherine of Alexandria's "eloquence was admirable; it was abundant when she preached (habuit enim eloquentiam facundissimam in predicando)": Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:340. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1214. Martha also preached ("predicaret") in public: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:684; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:24. The Virgin Mary kept her memory of the Incarnation in her heart until it was time to preach it or write it ("tempus predicande vel scribende") to Luke the Evangelist and others wanting to know: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 2:1069; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:253. However, Jacobus stopped short of suggesting that a contemporary woman should be allowed to preach.

A Golden Legacy

Although the *Golden Legend* was not the only source transmitting Elizabeth's legacy to the world, it is safe to say that none traveled any further abroad or in a greater number of manuscript witnesses, at least in the later Middle Ages. (The *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, Jacobus's major source for her *vita*, survives in seven manuscripts.)[93] So indebted to the *Golden Legend* for its dissemination to the world, how is Elizabeth's legacy alive today? Except to historians, Conrad of Marburg and his war on Catharism are largely forgotten, while Elizabeth's golden paradigm endures. As recognized by her contemporaries, St Elizabeth invented and lived a new model of sanctity, the "sister in the world" combining direct experience of Jesus with hands-on relief of the sick and poor, and not only with occasional palliative measures, but in programs of ongoing societal impact such as a daycare center and hospitals. As explained by Gábor Klaniczay, "Elizabeth's life and saintly glory became the major career script" for other women to follow.[94] Although it is anachronistic to call Elizabeth a Franciscan tertiary,[95] her example certainly helped give rise to the movement. She is the patron saint of Third Order and an inspiration to secular Franciscans[96] along with many others who continue her works of mercy in the world. As a happily married mother, she opened the door to a model of sainthood that was relatively supportive of family ties, especially by the standards of her time. She was a woman of spiritual courage and independence in a brutally patriarchal milieu. Jacobus affirmed her association with violence as a means of defending the faith; in the interest of honesty this part of her legacy must be confronted, not denied. However, the majority of his chapter on Elizabeth is devoted to memorable examples of her loving kindness in action. This is the legacy of St Elizabeth of Hungary that continues to instruct and inspire.

93 Gecser, "Lives of St. Elizabeth," 55. Of course, there were other lives of Elizabeth outside the LA: see Gecser, "Lives of St. Elizabeth," passim. The LA was a major source for the spreading of her story, but not the only one.

94 Klaniczay, "Legends as Life Strategies," 99–100, with emphasis on her saintly relatives.

95 According to Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, 108, citing research by Meersseman, the Third Order was not founded until 1289 with the papal bull by Nicholas IV, *Super Montem*.

96 Pieper, *The Greatest of These is Love*, 101, explains how secular Franciscans (including herself) are especially inspired by Elizabeth's example.

Bibliography

Boureau, Alain. "Introduction." In Jacques de Voragine. *La Légende dorée*, edited and translated by Alain Boureau et al., ix-xlviii. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 2004.

Boureau, Alain. *La Légende dorée: le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984.

Brunel, Geneviève. "Les saints franciscains dans les versions en langue d'oc et en catalan de la *Legenda aurea*." In *Legenda aurea: sept siècles de diffusion. Actes du colloque international sur la Legenda aurea: texte latin et branches vernaculaires à l'Université à Montréal 11-12 mai 1983*, edited by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, 103–05. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1986.

Coakley, John. "Friars as Confidants of Holy Women in Medieval Dominican Hagiography." In *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, 222–46. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Conrad of Marburg. "Summa Vitae." In *The Life and Afterlife of Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from her Canonization Hearings, translated with notes and interpretive essays*, edited by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 91–95. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Der sogenannte Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum S. Elisabeth confectus. Edited by Albert Huyskens. Kempten–Munich: Kösel, 1911.

"Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum." Translated by Kenneth Baxter Wolf. In *The Life and Afterlife of Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from her Canonization Hearings, translated with notes and interpretive essays*, edited by idem, 193–216. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

"Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum." In *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Hl. Elisabeth: Landgräfin von Thüringen*, edited by Albert Huyskens, 112–40. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche, 1908.

Dunn-Lardeau, Brenda, ed. Legenda aurea: *sept siècles de diffusion. Actes du colloque international sur la* Legenda aurea: *texte latin et branches vernaculaires à l'Université à Montréal 11–12 mai 1983*. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1986.

Elliott, Dyan. *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitorial Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Epstein, Steven A. *The Talents of Jacopo da Varagine: A Genoese Mind in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 2016.

Falvay, Dávid. "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature." In *Promoting the Saints: Cults and their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, edited by Ottó Gecser et al., 137–50. New York–Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011.

Ferrari, Barbara. "La *Légende dorée* du MS. Paris, BnF, fr. 23114, traduction anonyme pour Béatrice de Bourgogne." In *Le recueil au moyen* âge*: la fin du moyen âge,* edited by Tania Van Hemelryck and Stefania Marzano, 125–36. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Fleith, Barbara. "*Legenda aurea*: destination, utilisateurs, propagation. L'histoire de la diffusion du légendier au XIII[e] et au début du XIV[e] siècle." In *Raccolte di Vite di Santi dal XIII al XVIII Secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni*, edited by Sofia Boesch Gajano, 41–48. Brindisi: Schena Editore, 1990.

Fleith, Barbara. *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinschen Legenda Aurea.* Subsidia Hagiographica 72. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1992.

Gatland, Emma. *Women from the Golden Legend: Female Authority in a Medieval Castilian Sanctoral*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2011.

Gecser, Ottó. "Lives of St. Elizabeth: their rewritings and diffusion in the thirteenth century." *Analecta Bollandiana* 127, no. 1 (2009): 49–107.

Goodich, Michael E. "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints." In *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Hagiography*, edited by Michael E. Goodich, 294–307. Hampshire, UK–Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Goodich, Michael E. "A Saintly Child and a Saint of Children: The Childhood of Elizabeth of Thuringia (1207–1231." In *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Hagiography*, edited by Michael E. Goodich, 1–23. Hampshire, UK–Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Grundmann, Herbert. *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1995.

Iacopo da Varazze. *Legenda Aurea*, edited by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. 2nd ed. Tavarnuzze: SISMEL, 1998.

Iacopo da Varazze. *Legenda aurea, con le miniature dal codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, edited and translated by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni and Francesco Stella. 2 vols. Florence: SISMEL, 2007.

Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Jacques de Voragine. *La Légende dorée*. Edited and translated by Alain Boureau et al. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 2004.

Jacques de Voragine. *La Légende dorée, édition critique, dans la révision de 1476 par Jean Batallier, d'après la traduction de Jean de Vignay (1333–38) de la Legenda aurea,* edited by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "Legends as Life-Strategies for Aspirant Saints in the Later Middle Ages." In idem. *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion*

in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, edited by Karen Margolis, 95–110. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Konrád, Eszter. "The Legend of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary of the *Legenda Aurea* and its Vernacular Adaptations." Masters thesis, Central European University, 2011. Accessed September 10, 2016. http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2011/konrad_eszter.pdf.

Le Goff, Jacques. *In Search of Sacred Time: Jacobus de Voragine and The Golden Legend*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Maddocks, Hilary. "The Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*: Jean de Vignay's Translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*." PhD Diss. University of Melbourne 1990. Accessed 11 October, 2016. https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/handle/11343/35717.

Maddocks, Hillary. "Pictures for Aristocrats: the Manuscripts of the *Légende Dorée*." In *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, edited by Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, 1–23. Chur, Switzerland–Sydney, Australia: Harwood Academic Publishing–Craftsman House, 1991.

Maggioni, Giovanni Paolo. *Ricerche sulla composizione e sulla trasmissione della "Legenda Aurea."* Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995.

McNamara, Jo Ann. "The Need to Give: Suffering and Female Sanctity in the Middle Ages." In *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, 199–221. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Pieper, Lori, S.F.O. *The Greatest of These is Love: The Life of St Elizabeth of Hungary*. 2nd revised edition. New York: Tau Cross Books and Media, 2013.

Reames, Sherry. *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

Reber, Ortrud. *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Landgräfin und Heilige*. Munich: Piper, 2009.

Richardson, Ernest Cushing. *Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine*. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1935.

Tomkinson, Diane, O.S.F. "'Poverty, Suffering and Contempt' in the Theology and Practice of Angela of Foligno: Problem or Resource?" In *"Her Bright Merits": Essays Honoring Ingrid Peterson, O.S.F.*, edited by Mary Walsh Meany and Felicity Dorsett, 111–26. Ashland, OH: Bookmasters, 2012.

Vauchez, André. "Charité et pauvreté chez Sainte Elisabeth de Thuringe d'après les actes du procès de canonisation." In André Vauchez. *Religion et société dans l'Occident médiéval*, 163–73 [27–37]. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1980.

Vauchez, André. "Jacques de Voragine et les saints du XIIIe siècle dans la *Légende dorée*." In Legenda aurea*: sept siècles de diffusion. Actes du colloque international sur la Legenda*

aurea: texte latin et branches vernaculaires à l'Université à Montréal 11–12 mai 1983, edited by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, 27–56. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1986.

Vauchez, André. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, edited by Daniel E. Bornstein. Notre Dame–London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.

Vauchez, André. *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Werner, Mathias. "Die Heilige Elisabeth und Konrad von Marburg." In *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin Dienerin Heilige*, edited by Walter Kroll et al., 45–69. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1981.

Wetzel, René. "Légende et spiritualité monastique: les béguines de Saint-Georges (Saint-Gall) et leur bibliothèque au xv^{e} siècle." In *De la sainteté à l'hagiographie: genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, edited by Barbara Fleith and Franco Morenzoni, 211–26. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2001.

Williams-Krapp, Werner. "Die deutschen Übersetzungen der 'Legenda Aurea' des Jacobus de Voragine." *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 101 (1979): 252–76.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. "The Afterlife of St Elizabeth." In *The Life and Afterlife of Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from her Canonization Hearings, translated with notes and interpretive essays*, edited by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 3–42. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *The Life and Afterlife of Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from her Canonization Hearings, translated with notes and interpretive essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. "The Life of St Elizabeth." In *The Life and Afterlife of Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from her Canonization Hearings, translated with notes and interpretive essays*, edited by idem, 43–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 536–556

The Saint and His Finger: Dominican Legends and Exempla from Thirteenth-Century Hungary

Attila Györkös
University of Debrecen / MTA Lendület "Hungary in Medieval Europe" Research Group

The implantation of the Black Friars in Hungary (1221) was followed by the emergence of Dominican written culture in Hungary. The major evidence of this activity was undoubtedly the Life of St Margaret (before 1274), but there were other attempts to collect legends or written accounts of miraculous acts from among members of the Order in Hungary.
Numerous *Vitae Dominici* or *exempla* collections relate stories from the missionary work of the Friars in the Balkans and present the political influence of the Order of the Preachers in the kingdom of Hungary. But most of these legends concern a largely forgotten relic of St Dominic, which, indisputably, was one of his fingers.
In this essay, I examine how a Dominican cult emerged around this complex activity of the Preachers in the Eastern frontiers of Western Christendom. I also show how the Hungarian *exempla* influenced the memory of St Dominic in the thirteenth century. Interestingly, late medieval Hungarian copies of Dominican collections do not include this "Eastern tradition" at all, and they make no mention either of the relic or of the stories inspired in the Hungarian milieu.
A tradition is disappearing. In this essay, I make efforts to reestablish some of its elements through an analysis of the corpus of available documents.
Keywords: Dominican Order, exempla, legend, medieval Hungary, relic

The implantation of the Black Friars in Hungary was due to a decision made by one of St Dominic's closest companions, Paulus Hungarus (Paul of Hungary), a former professor of Law in Bologna who, in 1221, began to organize the activity of the Order of the Preachers in Central Europe. The first convents were established in the greatest commercial centers of the country, but the Friars continued to advance beyond the southern and eastern frontiers of the kingdom to fulfil the wish of their founding father: the Christianization of the Bosnian heretics and the pagan Cumans. The order enjoyed royal support until the early 1260s, but afterwards King Béla IV (1235–70) favored the Franciscans.[1]

The arrival and settlement of Dominicans was followed by the genesis of a Dominican written culture in Hungary. The single most significant piece of

1 See Fügedi, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés," 66–68.

evidence of this activity is the Life of St Margaret (the so-called *Legenda vetus*, before 1274),[2] but there were other attempts to collect legends or miraculous acts from among members of the Order in Hungary. Italian, Spanish or French *vitae Dominici* or *exempla* collections relate numerous stories from the missionary work of the Friars in the Balkans, and they also present the political influence of the Order in the kingdom of Hungary. These documents reveal fragments of a rich, but later almost totally forgotten, Hungarian Dominican legendary tradition. In this essay, I examine the activity of the Preachers in the eastern frontiers of Western Christendom and the birth and decline of this special Hungarian cult of Dominic, which was centered on a relic of the saint.

Historians have shown little interest in the miracles or *exempla* that were alleged to have taken place in Hungary.[3] To this day, the main work in the field remains the 1927 doctoral thesis by Mária I. Rössler.[4] This brief volume (64 pages) constitutes an attempt to provide an overview based on the documentation assembled by the seventeenth-century Dominican writer Sigismundus Ferrarius,[5] but Rössler analyzed neither the source-tradition nor the historical context of the subject, and some of her conclusions have already been shown to be erroneous.

Recent editions of early sixteenth-century's vernacular legendary compositions (for instance the Old Hungarian Dominican Codex,[6] the Book of Examples,[7] and the Life of St Margaret[8]) made efforts to identify precisely the textual basis of some miracles, but these studies focused essentially on linguistic problems. Hence, before venturing into a more profound examination of our subject, I would like to offer a short overview of the development of the Dominican tradition from a specific, Hungarian perspective.

2 Klaniczay and Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái*, 38–50. The term *legenda vetus* is proposed by Tibor Klaniczay, ibid, 20.

3 The problem is mentioned in Tarnai, *"A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik…"*, 89, note 206.

4 Rössler, *Magyar domonkosrendi példák*.

5 Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungariae*.

6 This Hungarian Life of St Dominic was copied by the Dominican nun Lea Ráskai in 1517, along with the two other vernacular works mentioned below (notes 7–8). For the critical edition, see: *Domonkos–kódex, 1517*.

7 *Példák könyve, 1510*.

8 *Szent Margit élete, 1510*.

The Genesis of St Dominic's Legendary and Its Connections to Hungary

The first brief *vita* of Dominic (*Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*) was composed between 1231 and 1234 by Jordan of Saxony (d. 1237), one of his closest companions and followers as master general of the Order (1221–36). It could be considered the most authentic report of the life of the saint because it was based on a personal and collegial contact. Jordan's *Libellus* was continued by a Spanish friar, Peter of Spain (Petrus Ferrandi), whose *Vita* was written in the period between 1237 and 1242. In these documents there was no mention of any Hungarian miracles. The two *Lives* recount only Dominic's acts and deeds in Spain, France, and Italy. The General Chapter of the Order decided in 1245 to prepare a new composition of the *Vita*, a work that Constantine of Orvieto (d. cca. 1258) compiled, complementing Peter's writings with the addition of some two dozen other miracles that allegedly took place after the death of the saint.[9] These stories obviously mark how the cult of recently canonized (1234) Dominic spread toward the frontiers of Western Christendom. Apart from some southern Italian cases, almost the whole newly incorporated miracles (namely 20 from 23) took place in Hungary. The *Vitae* of Peter and Constantine served as the basis for a more recent *Vita* written by Humbert of Romans, the fifth master elected in 1254 during the General Chapter in Buda.[10] His version later became the "official"[11] legend of Dominic, a reference point for all other biographers.[12]

Among the later collections of the second half of the thirteenth century (Bartholomew of Trent, Rodrigo of Cerrato, Gerard of Frachet), one should definitely mention the *Vita* of Theodoric of Apolda (about 1294–96) which contains 17 Hungarian miracles from the earlier legends.[13] Apparently, the Hungarian part of the Dominican corpus was already closed.

Finally, from the "non–official" Dominican writings emerges the famous *Legenda Aurea* of the Genoese friar, Jacobus de Voragine. This work, written before 1264, was the amplest and most popular medieval hagiographical

9 For the edition of the two documents, see: *Monumenta historica,* fasc. II. 1–88. and 197–260.

10 *Acta Capitulorum*, 68 and 71.

11 Here, I call Humbert's legend "official" in the sense that the 1260s General Chapter of Strasbourg recommended his use in the lectionary, and added that "*et alie deinceps non scribantur*". See *Acta Capitulorum*, 105.

12 On the evaluation of Dominic's legends, see: Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae*, 30 *et passim.*

13 The ties to Hungary of Dominic's legendary tradition were related by Deák, *Árpád-házi szent Margit*, 125.

compilation, with almost one thousand manuscripts surviving up to 1500.[14] As a Preacher, the author assigns particular place to the founder saint of the Order, and in his legend he cites five Hungarian miracles. A no less popular encyclopedia, the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (about 1260), relates nine stories, and the *exempla* collection of Thomas of Cantimpré, entitled *Bonum Universale de Apibus* (or simply *Apiarius*, about 1254–63) also contains five miracles concerning the activity of the Order in the frontier lands of Hungary, i.e. in Cumania and Bosnia (See Appendix).

As I have mentioned, the first Dominican *Vitae* did not pay attention to the Hungarian cult of the saint, but the situation changed about 1245, when the new, "revisited" Life involved Hungarian elements, and these miracles were incorporated into the legendary corpus.

But while these texts are of the same origin and relate the miracles in identical ways, the *exempla* of Thomas of Cantimpré are different in subject and source material and therefore constitute exceptions. As I demonstrate below, they concern the missions to the Balkan frontier of Hungary, referring also to the Mongol invasions, themes completely ignored in other Dominican works.

Memory of the Cuman Missions

The missionary work among the pagan Cumans had a primary role in the early visions and plans of the newly founded Order of the Preachers. According to Jordan of Saxony's account, Dominic initially planned to evangelize this nomadic people living beyond the Carpathians,[15] but in the end he became an ardent combatant of the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc, France. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Dominican province, from its beginnings, had a sworn ambition to convert the Cumans. With the support of the papacy and King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–35), a bishopric was founded in Milko[16] around 1227, and a Dominican friar became head of the diocese.[17] We know little of the activity of this Episcopal see, but we do know that in 1241 the invading Mongols destroyed

14 Vauchez, *La Spiritualité*, 174–75.

15 Henriet, "Dominique avant Saint Dominique," 25–26 and note 49. Henriet argues that Dominic's intention to preach among the Cumans could simply indicate his determination to convert the pagans of distant regions.

16 We could not identify this place precisely, but it is located somewhere in the Vrancea region in Romania. Budai, "A milkói püspökség," 17.

17 The papal letters were published in: Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische*, 177–79. Concerning their analyses, see: Ferenţ, *A kunok és püspökségük*, 133–38.

the diocese,[18] which was never re-established, although the title "bishop of Milko" was in use until the early sixteenth century.[19]

However, in the Dominican tradition, the memory of these missions, so important for the identity of the Order, did not remain without echo. In his famous allegorical *Apiarius*, Thomas of Cantimpré offers two accounts which touch on their work. According to one, a seven year-old Cuman child, playing with his sisters near the river, was killed by a water demon. He was resuscitated by the supplications of his parents, and later, under the influence of the Prior of the Order, he became a friar (*a priore ordinis praedicatorum in Hungaria receptus*). According to the second, this same friar later committed a serious infraction of the rules by giving his used clothes to vagrants (*lotrici*) without permission. He fell ill and died *sine confessione* and *sine viatico*, but Archangel Michael drove away the demons hoping to capture his soul, and he rose again. Confessing his sins to the Prior, he received absolution, and he later evangelized many of his people (*Cumanorum populum non modicum baptizavit*).[20]

In these stories, the role of a certain Dominican prior was emphasized several times. There were only two Hungarian priors whose activity in Cumania could be historically confirmed: Paulus Hungarus, the founder of the province, and his companion and successor in the position, Theoderic. Paulus fulfilled his duty for two years (1221–22), but Theoderic was head of the province between 1223 and 1227, and he later become bishop of Milko.[21] Since Thomas of Cantimpré makes no mention of the title of bishop for his protagonist, we can reasonably suppose that the story was incorporated into the Dominican memory before 1227.

Impacts of the Mongol Invasions and the Bosnian Heretics

The Cuman missionary diocese was swept away by the Mongols in 1241, like many other Dominican convents, and many friars were killed.[22] The *Bonum universale de Apibus* recalls the devastation with an *exemplum*. A powerful Hungarian duke (*Dux quidam in Hungaria potentissimus*) surrendered his offices and entered the

18 Klaniczay, "The Mendicant Orders," 257–58.

19 Makkai, *A milkói (kun) püspökség*, 43–44.

20 *Thomae Cantimpratani Bonum Universale*, lib. 2, cap. LVII, Nos 11–12, 544–45.

21 Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische,* 133–34.

22 The Mongols besieged and certainly burned down the convents of Pest and Szeben (present-day Sibiu, Romania). For Pest, see: Pauler, *A magyar nemzet*, 2:164–66; For Szeben, see Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische,* 160.

Order. At the approach of the Pagans, their companions left the convent, but he remained behind with the invalids. After the withdrawal of the enemy, the friars returned and found his severed head pierced by lances. Horrified, one of the brothers pleaded with God for three days to explain to him the reasons for what had befallen them. Finally, the murdered man appeared to him and, using biblical citations,[23] explained to him that the sufferings of this world are remunerated in the Heaven.[24]

The so-called "duke" of this story was already identified in the Hungarian historiography.[25] In reality, Buzád Bánffy was not a member of the royal family or the aristocracy, as his title misleadingly suggests, but he did hold several important positions. He was *comes* (or count, a sort of nominated royal official of a county) in different regions, such as Győr, Bihar, Pozsony, and Sopron, and he then served as ban of Slavonia[26] or Szörény.[27] In 1233, he entered the convent of the Black Friars in Pest.[28] It seems, however, that he preserved some of his former secular duties: his name reappears in numerous official charters as a witness.[29] If one is familiar with the details of Buzád' career, it is not difficult to identify the anonymous convent of the *exemplum* as the convent in Pest.

Apparently, the connections of the Hungarian Dominicans with the "Infidels" intrigued the attention of a so distant chronicler as the Brabantian Thomas of Cantimpré. In another *exemplum* he turned towards Bosnia and told a story on Johannes Teutonicus, bishop of the diocese.

The narrative emphasized the sanctity of the protagonist: as a prelate, he continued to maintain a mendicant way of life. Though he had an annual income of more than 8,000 marks, he frequently visited his diocese on foot, without a horse, using a donkey to carry his books and episcopal accessories. Thomas of Cantimpré emphasizes that Johannes later became master general of the Order, referring to his election of 1241.[30]

---

23 " Did not the Messiah have to suffer these things and then enter his glory?" Luke 24:26; and "I consider that our present sufferings are not worth comparing with the glory that will be revealed in us." Romans 8:18.

24 *Thomae Cantimpratani Bonum Universale,* lib. 2, cap. XLIV, no. 2, 421–22.

25 Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische,* 196; Puskely, *Virágos kert vala*, 178–80.

26 Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók*, 94. and 100.

27 Zsoldos argues that Buzád was ban of Szörény and not of Slavonia, as the earlier historiography contended. See: Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 291–92.

28 Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 27. The exact date of his conversion is identifiable by his testament, see: Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungariae,* 59.; Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische,* 154–55.

29 *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria*, 12:76, 88.

30 *Thomae Cantimpratani Bonum Universale*, lib. 2, cap. LVII, No. 55, 582.

It is an intriguing question how these stories came to the Netherlands. At the time, there were many Hungarian prelates who fostered close contacts with Western intellectual centers, for example Bartholomew and Raynald, bishops of Pécs and Transylvania, respectively, both of French origin,[31] or the Wallonian Robert, Archbishop of Esztergom. The latter was born in Liège, where Thomas was educated. The contemporary French Cistercian Alberic of Trois-Fontaines relates in his *Chronica* the role of both Bartholomew and Robert in the evangelization of the Cumans in 1227.[32] Raynald of Transylvania is also mentioned in other documents.[33] As László Koszta points out, this mission was almost exclusively directed by prelates of foreign origins. He held that these clerics, not having had any earlier contact with the pagan world in their native countries, were more zealous than Hungarian bishops, who had grown somewhat accustomed to the presence of Cumans.[34]

Judit Csákó argues that Alberic learned these details orally through Cistercian sources,[35] which does not explain how Thomas was informed of the specifically Dominican miracles. Concerning the accounts of other *exempla* of the period of the Mongol invasion, Robert died earlier (1239) and Raynald was killed on the battlefield of Muhi (1241)[36] a few weeks before the devastation of Pest, and only Bartholomew survived. Later, from 1247 until his death (1254), he was at the papal Curia in Lyons, and he almost certainly died in Paris,[37] so he cannot be ignored as a possible distant source of Thomas. However, some facts suggest that the *Apiarius* drew on a few other Hungarian testimonies, and the Bosnian bishop is particularly interesting from this point of view.

31 Kiss, "11–13. századi magyar főpapok," 346–47.

32 "Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium," 920. As Körmendi points out, the Cistercian chronicler erroneously identified the Bishop of Transylvania: his name was in fact Raynald and not Guilelmus. See: Körmendi, "Imre, III. László és II. András," 155.

33 Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische,* 78.

34 Koszta, "Egy francia származású főpap," 70.

35 Csákó, "Néhány megjegyzés," 521–22.

36 The bishop of Transylvania was killed on April 11 on the battlefield of Muhi by the Mongols. See: Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája,* 348.

37 Koszta, "Egy francia származású főpap," 70–71.

The Activity of Johannes Teutonicus in Hungary

Johannes Teutonicus (or Wildeshausen,[38] also known in Hungary as John of Bosnia[39]) was educated, like many early Dominicans, at the law schools of Bologna, and he became friar in the early 1220s. After having spent several years wandering all over Western Europe (for instance preaching the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II in Germany),[40] he joined his old confrère, Paulus Hungarus, and perhaps in 1227 became prior of the Hungarian province. By papal appointment, he became bishop of Bosnia between 1234 and 1237. Four years later, he was elected master general of the Order, a function he fulfilled until his death (1252).[41]

Johannes was a well known actor in Hungarian political life in the early 1230s. In the tense situation between the clergy and the royal power after the agreement of Bereg in 1233, he followed the "hard-core" clerical line, excommunicating King Andrew II in the name of the papal legate, Cardinal James of Pecorara.[42]

A few months later, along with his nomination as bishop of Bosnia, the Hungarian Dominicans obtained, in addition to the Cuman missions, oversight of the evangelization of the Balkan heretics. However, the Christianization of Bosnia proved a fiasco. The predecessor of Johannes (an unknown, local cleric) was deprived of his office, as he was, according to a papal letter, incompetent, analphabetic, simoniac, and a friend to the Bogomils. None of this was true of Johannes, but he was no more successful. In 1234, prince Coloman (king Andrew's son) led a Crusade against the Balkan heretics, but Johannes himself, in all probability, never crossed the borders of his diocese.[43]

Apparently, the bishop had better relations with other members of the royal family than with the king himself. Almost two decades later, in 1252, already as

38 In order to distinguish him from the contemporary Canon Law glossator, Johannes Teutonicus Zemeke. See: Pennington, "Johannes Teutonicus," 183–94.

39 He was also often identified incorrectly as John of Freiburg, see: *Árpád-kori és Anjou-kori levelek*, note 352. In fact, Johannes Teutonicus de Friburgo, lector of the Dominican convent of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, lived two generations later and died in 1314. On this misunderstanding, see: Lorenc, *John of Freiburg*, 2 and mainly 11–12.

40 Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 32.

41 Chevalier, *Répertoire*, 1:1246.

42 In the agreement of Bereg, August 12, 1233, King Andrew II reaffirmed some political and economic privileges of the clergy (e.g. tax exemptions, salt trade), and he promised to pay 10,000 marks of indemnity as recompense for all previous damages. The king delayed the payment, so in the temporary absence of the papal legate, it was Johannes' duty to declare the excommunication. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 96.

43 Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 143–45.

master of the Order, Johannes designated the newly founded convent of Buda[44] as a place for the next General Chapter at the request of Andrew's son, King Béla IV. As mentioned above, in this royal center Humbert of Romans was elected in 1254 as the fifth master general of the Preachers.[45]

Once again, one has to return to the texts of Thomas of Cantimpré to get a sense of the warmth demonstrated by Béla and his wife to the late Johannes Teutonicus who, even after his death, seemed to intervene in Hungarian politics. According to this *exemplum*,[46] the son and the consort of a Hungarian queen fought against each other. Fearing for the life of the combatants, she began to pray and, by revelation, her former confessor and Johannes appeared to her and reassured her that the two men would soon reconcile. As if by a miracle, an envoy came, sent by her husband, and declared that the two men had made peace.

Fortunately, historians have been able to identify the sources of this *exemplum*. The 1260 General Chapter, held in Strasbourg, investigated the miracles of Johannes Teutonicus, wishing to collect contemporary testimonies. In order to respond to this appeal, Béla IV and his queen had written two letters (in Lent, March 14) to the *capitulum generale* on the sanctity of Johannes.[47] The king describes the Bosnian bishop as "of holy memory," emphasizing his affection for the poor and recounting how he healed the lame and the blind and even helped Béla recover from his illness. In her letter, Queen Maria Laskaris offers a similar account: the fame of Johannes' miracles and heavenly signs (*miracula atque prodigia*) spread far and wide, but in a more informative way, she describes a particular case, one concerning the same royal father–son disagreement, which can be read in the *Apiarius*.

One must keep in mind, in order to grasp the context in which these events took place, that in the late 1250s Béla and his elder son (the future King Stephen V, 1270–72) were in permanent conflict. In 1257, Stephen forced his father to elevate him to the dignity of the "Duke of Transylvania," with complete power over this vast region. In 1259, he became Duke of Styria, but a year later he lost these recently occupied Austrian lands due to an uprising of local lords. Having

44 Apparently, according to the decisions of the Chapter General of Metz in 1251, the convent of Buda was founded by request of the Queen of Hungary, Maria Laskaris. "*Concedimus provincie (...) Ungarie unam [domum] ad peticionem regine.*" *Acta Capitulorum,* 60.

45 Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 25.

46 *Thomae Cantimpratani Bonum Universale*, lib. 2, cap. LVII, no. 59. 584.

47 Edited in: Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus*, 3:22 and 68.

lost all political and military power, he began to organize revolts against his father. Finally, after several agreements, as a "younger king" (*iunior rex Hungariae*), he ruled over almost all of Eastern Hungary until the death of Béla (1270). Hungarian historians found no other sources indicating any military conflict between the king and his son before 1262, so the information in the letters involved in the *Apiarius* is the only evidence permitting us to date this conflict back to the period at least two years earlier.[48]

These stories contain episodes from the early missionary work of the Friars beyond the Balkan frontiers of Hungary, and they also commemorated the destruction wrought by the Mongol invaders as well. The protagonist of some of these *exempla* was Johannes Teutonicus, and this indicates the formation of his Hungarian cult. However, he was not the only person whose *post mortem* miracles were venerated in the country, especially in a region close to the southeastern peripheries of the kingdom.

A Hungarian Region Full of Miracles

A Hungarian nobleman visited the relics of Dominic with his family. His son became ill and died en route. The body was placed in the church of the Order, in front of the altar, and the mourning father bitterly lamented to the saint: "I came to you joyfully, but I will return in sadness. Please, give me back my son, the happiness of my heart!" The boy revived and began to walk.

A noble lady from the same region intended to attend a mass in honor of St Dominic. Upon entering the church, she could not find the priest, so leaving her cloth-rolled candles on the altar, she went to a corner to pray. When she returned, she saw the candles burning brightly, but the cloth remained intact.

These two *exempla* are cited from the Life written by Constantine of Orvieto and repeated literally by Humbert of Romans.[49] They strike us as typical, because, as with other texts concerning the Hungarian presence and cult of a relic of St Dominic, they reappear in numerous *Vitae* compositions (Appendix). As a common characteristic, each of these legends records the miracles happening around or in the same convent with the same relic, which is not specified. It seems that in the early thirteenth century this place was a center of the Preachers' activity in the region.

48 Szentpéteri, "V. István," 77–87. For a more modern point of view, see: Zsoldos, *Családi ügy*.

49 *Monumenta historica*, no. 72–73; Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae*, no. 85–86.

The chronology and geography of the implantation of the Order is more or less clarified in the historiography. In 1241, the Hungarian Dominican network consisted of 25 houses. This number rose to 33–35 in 1303.[50] Nevertheless, the question of the identity of the abovementioned convent was problematic for a long time. According to different manuscripts of the *Vita* of Constantine of Orvieto, it was *Sumlu*, *Similii* or *Similu*.[51] Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* also identifies it as *Similu*,[52] and Jacobus de Voragine designates it as *Silon* in his *Legenda Aurea*.[53] The early twentieth-century Hungarian historiography drew on Sigismundus Ferrarius' legendary composition, which mentioned the locality as *Similium* or, sometimes, *Simigium*. So, misdirected, in 1927 Rössler identified the place as Székesfehérvár,[54] and ten years later Harsányi proposed the town of Sümeg or the county of Somogy (all situated in western Hungary).[55] Finally, two generations later, following the edition of Theodoric of Apolda's *Vita*,[56] Györffy correctly localized the convent to Somlyó (Sumlu in Latin) in medieval southeast Krassó County (present day Vršac, Serbia).[57] It is almost certain that the other versions of the place name were due to typical scribal mistakes: in the process of copying the writer simply confounded how to connect the minims, and for the unknown Sumlu (see: *Suuulu*) he erroneously put Similii or Similu, but Silon, Similium or Simigium are later and explicitly distorted forms.

An examination of other geographical names used in the different Lives offers persuasive support for Györffy's conclusion: *flumen Cris* as the Karas River, *castrum Karassu* as Krassóvár (Caraş and Caraşova in Romania), or *villa Tituliensis* (Titel in Serbia) are all in the same region: in the Banat (nowadays divided between Serbia, Romania, and Hungary). Thus, as a result, in his recent (2008) work on Humbert of Romans' *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, Simon Tugwell

50 Fügedi, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés," 68, and Zágorhidi Czigány, "A domonkos rend konventjei," 81–95.

51 Sumlu in the Vatican and Bourg Mss, Similii in the Paris Ms. The Rome Ms was the basis for the 1935 edition and identifies the place as Similu. See: *Monumenta historica*, 338.

52 *Bibliotheca Mundi.*, vol. 4, lib. 32, cap. CXVI. 1272.

53 Graesse, *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*, cap. CXIII, 479–80.

54 Rössler, *Magyar domonkosrendi példák*, 27.

55 Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 84. Here, Harsányi follows the opinion of Ferrarius who wrote: *"civitas Similium, vel Simigium (hungarice Somogy)"*. Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungariae,* 74.

56 Gombos, *Catalogus*, 3:2333–39.

57 Györffy, *Az Árpád–kori Magyarország*, 1:493–94.

used the more correct Somlou as the name of the convent, instead of Similiu, which was used in the earlier (1935) edition.[58]

Consequently, it seems clear that these miraculous stories were parts of a local Dominican tradition emerging around the convent of Somlyó/Sumlu/Somlou and somehow (almost certainly through Johannes Teutonicus) were integrated into the Lives of Dominic, from Constantine of Orvieto to Theodoric of Apolda. Why did this convent become so important in the legendary corpus? Somlyó was not a significant town in Hungary, neither from the political nor from the economic point of view. But its geographical position, as a close place to Cumania, was ideal for any Dominican missionary activity. And not independently of these facts, it was where a relic of the founder saint was kept.[59] Which one? The thirteenth-century sources are silent on this, but we have later evidence.

The last contemporary miraculous event related to Somlyó was written by Petrus Calo Clugiensis[60] in his Life of St Dominic.[61] Petrus heard the story in 1315 during the General Chapter in Bologna from Miklós Vasvári, prior of Somlyó. According to the text, a provost of Fehérvár (*Alba Regalia*) died in the convent. The relic, Dominic's finger, was used in a particular way: it was plunged in a glass of water, and the water was poured into the throat of the corpse. Suddenly, the dead cleric vomited a stone, bigger than a hen's egg, and returned to life.

The story reappears two centuries later in the Hungarian vernacular legend of the saint (1517),[62] with some alterations: "and in Hungary, in the town of Fehérvár (…) they sent to the convent where the finger of our father, St Dominic was."[63]

58 Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae,* 521 et passim. However, he prefers the form *flumini Eris* instead of the correct *flumini Cris*. Ibid., 521.

59 The *Vitae* repeats on several occasion the forms: "*ad reliquias beati Dominici accessit / visitandas*" etc. See for example: Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae,* no. 85, 91, 92, 94, 98. etc.

60 Pietro Calò da Chioggia, d. 1348. Italian Dominican writer, author of a Life of St Dominic. See: Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 72.

61 "Vita sancti Dominici," 348. Unfortunately we could not consult the modern edition of the text: Tugwell, *Miracula sancti Dominici.*

62 Lajos Katona pointed out that this narrative was an interpolation of Calo's *exemplum*. Katona, "Újabb adalékok," 115–18.

63 Translated by the author. The original text in Hungarian: "*Esmeeg magyer orzagban feyer varat (...) kevldenek az conuentben hol vala zent damancos atyanknak vya*". In *Domonkos-kódex, 1517*, 172–73.

Apparently, in the early sixteenth century, Lea Ráskai, a Dominican nun[64] and the scribe of this Hungarian *Vita* asserted that the relic was held in Fehérvár. She worked on a copy of an earlier, fourteenth-century translated text.[65] Since we have no more information concerning a relic kept in Fehérvár or anywhere in her time, we could assume that this "transference" from Somlyó to Fehérvár was due simply to a mistake in the translation of her source or a mistake on her part. This prestigious finger of Dominic had almost certainly been lost in the meantime, lost at least from the memory of the Hungarian cult of the Preachers.

Late Medieval Dominican Miracle Tradition in Hungary: A Forgotten Past?

Beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century, the Hungarian Dominican tradition was enriched with new elements. As mentioned before, the cult of St Margaret emerged after 1270, producing numerous *Legendae* consecrated to this devoted young nun of royal blood. Although several medieval Hungarian kings, from Stephen V to Mathias Corvinus (1458–90),[66] took steps to have her canonized, she was not beatified until 1943. Blessed Helen of Hungary (d. 1240?)[67] and Mauritius of Csák (d. 1336)[68] also had legendary compositions, written perhaps in the 1400s.

On the other hand, some parts of the previous legendary memory were lost in the later centuries of the Middle Ages.

We have no evidence of new miracles occurring in the Somlyó convent or any concerning Dominic's finger relic after the early fourteenth century. Western *Vitae* continue to repeat the abovementioned stories without important changes, and even this apparently closed corpus is ignored in Hungarian documents. Evidently, as a result of the tumultuous history of this kingdom, the loss of medieval sources is enormous, but it is symptomatic that the 1517 vernacular legend had to borrow its stories that bore in some way on Hungary from Italian sources.

One observes the same phenomenon with regards to the Hungarian *exempla* of Thomas of Cantimpré, which are independent of the "official" Dominican

64 Wilson, *Women Writers*, 435–40.

65 Lázs, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon*, 307–08.

66 For a summary of these attempts, see: Klaniczay, "Efforts at the Canonization," 313–40, and idem, "Matthias and the Saints," 1–18.

67 Deák, *Árpád-házi szent Margit*, 245–53.

68 Madas, "Boldog Csák Móric," 26–30.

legendary tradition. The *Apiarius* was particularly popular in the Middle Ages: apart from its numerous vernacular (French, Flemish etc.) translations, 94 Latin manuscripts have survived up to the present day.[69] Hungary was no exception in this tendency. A compilation was written in 1448 by the Silesian–born Bartholomew of Münsterberg, a priest of Szepesolaszi (today Spišské Vlachy in Slovakia) and a former preacher of Lőcse (today Levoča in Slovakia). The codex is held in the University Library of Budapest.[70] The document served as a preacher's guide, and it included sermon-drafts, theological and medical treaties, and various *exempla*.[71] The part containing 103 stories from the *Apiarius* is an abbreviated version of the two-thirds longer original work. Interestingly, no Hungarian miracles are mentioned in the manuscript. We do not know if this is due to the characteristics of the sources used by the scribe. A closer investigation could perhaps reveal the textual bases of this work. But it is certain that the intention of our cleric was not to evoke the ties of the miracles scattered in Thomas' allegorical opus to Hungary.

Conclusion

I have examined how the thirteenth-century Hungarian Dominican tradition was represented in various legendary or *exempla* compositions. These stories are testimony to the memory of the missionary activity of the Preachers and a flourishing, but later forgotten cult around a finger relic of the saint, kept in a convent in the southeastern part of the kingdom. Accounts of these miracles arrived in Western Europe in different phases, brought by different people in different ways between 1221 and 1260, where they became part of the hagiographical tradition. This transmission reveals multiple connections linking the different *provinciae* to one another, and the genesis, spread and subsistence of these legends prove that Hungarian Black Friars played active roles in the cultural and spiritual life of the Order.

However, in later periods of the Middle Ages, the information flow reversed: Hungarian Dominicans became receptors, as the compilation of the work

69 A complete bibliography for the medieval manuscripts of Thomas of Cantimpré is given by Axters, *Bibliotheca Dominicana*, 76–112.

70 Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. 65. ff. 116–57. I should mention the existence of a second one, also from around Lőcse, written by a certain Jacobus de Sommerfelt in 1453, which is held in our day by the Library Batthyaneum of Gyulafehérvár (today Alba Iulia in Romania). See: Selecká Mârza, *A Középkori Lőcsei Könyvtár* no. 42. Unfortunately, I could not consult this document.

71 For the manuscript descriptions see: Mezey: *Codices latini Medii Aevi,* 110–15.

of Thomas of Cantimpré and the composition of the Hungarian vernacular *Legenda* show in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *Apiarius* was used only as sermon guide, with no references to local particularities, and the Hungarian Life of St Dominic (copied by Ráskai) had to turn to Italian *Vitae* to rediscover some Hungarian bearings of Dominic's miracles.

This transformation was due to various facts. The Balkan missionary work among the pagans and heretics was abandoned in the midst of thirteenth century; the legendary corpus was closed a generation later. New spiritual ideas were emerging: female mysticism and sanctity,[72] complemented by an unquestionably Central-European aspect: the cult of holy women of royal blood.[73] Inspired by a modern enthusiasm for the *mulieres sanctae*, Margaret's veneration became widespread in Hungary, and it began to overshadow other local cults, including that of the finger of St Dominic.

72 Vauchez, *La spiritualité*, 162–64.

73 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*.

Appendix. Cases Related to Hungary in Thirteenth-century Dominican Legends and Exempla

	Constantine of Orvieto	Humbert of Romans	Vincent of Beauvais (L. 30.)	Thomas of Cantimpré (L. II.)	Jacobus de Voragine (c.113.)	Theodoric of Apolda	Hungarian Vernacular Legend
1	72	85	(c. 116.) 1.		1. (p. 479)	C 324	1. (pp. 73–74)
2	73	86	2		2. (p. 480)	C 325	
3	74	87	3			C 326	
4	75	88	4		3. (p. 480)	C 327	2. (pp. 74–75)
5	76	89	(c.117.) 1			C 328	3. (pp. 75–77)
6	77	90	2			C 329	
7	78	91	(c.118.) 1		4. (p. 480)	C 330	
8	79	92				C 331	
9	80	93				C 332	
10	81	94					
11	82	95					
12	83	96				C 333 a	
13	84	97				C 333 b	
14	85	98					
15	86	99				C 334 a	
16	87	100				C 334 b	
17	88	101				C 334 b	
18	89	102				C 334 c	4. (p. 161)
19	90	103	2			C 335	
20	91	104	3		5. (p. 480)	C 336	
							5 (pp. 172–73)
				c. XLIV 2			
				c. LVII 11			
				c. LVII 12			
				c. LVII 55			
				c. LVII 59			

Manuscripts

Budapest: *Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár*, Cod. lat. 65. ff. 116–57.

Bibliography

Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, edited by Benedictus Maria Reichert. Rome: n.p., 1898.

Árpád-kori és Anjou-kori levelek. XI–XIV. század [Letters from the Árpád and Anjou period. From the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries], edited by László Makkai and László Mezey. Budapest: Gondolat, 1960.

Axters, Stephanus G. *Bibliotheca Dominicana Neerlandica Manuscripta 1224–1500*. Louvain, 1970.

Bibliotheca Mundi. Vincentii Burgundi, ex ordine Praedicatorum venerabilis episcopi Bellovacensis, Speculum Quadruplex, Naturale, Doctrinale, Morale, Historiale. 4 vols. Douai: Balthazar Bellère, 1624.

Budai, Dániel, "A milkói püspökség" [The Diocese of Milkó]. *Studia Vincentiana* 2, no. 2 (2014): 9–18.

Chevalier, Ulysse. *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Âge. Bio-bibliographie*. 2 vols. Paris: Bureaux de la Société bibliographique, 1880.

"Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium," edited by Paulus Scheffer-Boichorst. In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*. Tom. 23. 631–950. Hanover: Hahn, 1874.

Csákó, Judit. "Néhány megjegyzés Albericus Trium Fontium krónikájának magyar adataihoz" [Some reflections to the Hungarian data concerning Alberic of Trois-Fontaines's Chronicle]. In *Tiszteletkör. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára* [Lap of honor. Historic studies to the birthday of Prof. István Draskóczy], edited by Gábor Mikó, Bence Péterfi, and András Vadas, 515–26. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2012.

Deák, Viktória Hedvig OP. *Árpád–házi szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia. Garinus legendája nyomán* [St Margaret of Hungary and the Dominican hagiography. Following the traces of the legend by Garinus]. Budapest: Kairosz, 2005.

Domonkos-kódex 1517, edited by Györgyi Komlóssy. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990.

Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London: Tauris, 2001.

Fejér, Georgius. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. 4 vols. Buda: n.p., 1829.

Ferenţ, Ioan. *A kunok és püspökségük* [The Cumans and their diocese]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1981.

Ferrarius, Sigismundus. *De rebus Hungariae Provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Vienna: Matthaeus Formica, 1637.

Fine, John V. A., Jr. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Frazier, Alison Knowles. *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Fügedi, Erik, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés Magyarországon" [Mendicant orders and urbanization in Hungary]. In idem, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek* [Mendicant friars, citizens, noblemen], 57–88. Budapest: Magvető, 1981.

Fügedi, Erik. *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok: A középkori arisztokrácia fejlődése* [Counts, barons and oligarchs. The development of medieval aristocracy]. Budapest: Magvető, 1986.

Gombos, Albinus Franciscus, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae. Aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI*. 4. vols. Budapest: Academia, 1937–1938.

Graesse, Theodor, ed. *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea vulgo historia Lombardica dicta*. Breslau: Koebner, 1890.

Györffy, György. *Az Árpád–kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Hungary under the Árpád dynasty]. 4. vols. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987.

Harsányi, András. *A domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican order in Hungary before the Reformation]. Budapest: Kairosz, 1999. (Originally published: Debrecen: n.p., 1938).

Henriet, Patrick. "Dominique avant Saint Dominique, ou le contexte castillan." In *Dominique avant les Dominicains*, 13–31. Mémoire dominicaine 21. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007.

Katona, Lajos. "Újabb adalékok codexeink forrásaihoz" [New additions to the sources of our codices]. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 16 (1906): 105–20.

Kiss, Gergely. "11–13. századi magyar főpapok francia kapcsolatai" [French relations of the Hungarian prelates in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries]. In *Francia–magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [Franco–Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages], edited by Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss, 341–50. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2013.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period." *Hungarian Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (2013): 313–40.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "Matthias and the Saints." In *Matthias Rex 1458—1490: Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, edited by István Draskóczy et al., 1–18. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2013.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "The Mendicant Orders in East–Central Europe and the Integration of Cultures." In *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa – Hybrid Cultures in Medieval Culture*, edited by Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller, 245–60. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cult in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Klaniczay, Tibor and Gábor Klaniczay. *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [Legends and stigmata of St Margaret]. Budapest: Argumentum, 1994.

Koszta, László. "Egy francia származású főpap Magyarországon: Bertalan pécsi püspök (1219–1251)" [A French–born prelate in Hungary: Bertalan, bishop of Pécs (1219–1251)]. *Aetas* 9, no. 1 (1994): 64–88.

Körmendi, Tamás. "Az Imre, III. László és II. András magyar királyok uralkodására vonatkozó nyugati elbeszélő források kritikája" [Critic of the Western narrative sources concerning the rule of kings Emeric, Ladislas III and Andrew II]. PhD diss., ELTE Budapest, 2008.

Lázs, Sándor. *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV–XVI. század fordulóján: Az anyanyelvű irodalom kezdetei* [Nun culture in Hungary at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: The beginnings of the vernacular literature]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2016.

Lorenc, John A. "John of Freiburg and the Usury Prohibition in the Late Middle Ages: A Study in the Popularization of Medieval Canon Law." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2013.

Madas, Edit, "Boldog Csák Móric (1270k.–1336. március 20)" [Blessed Mauritius of Csák (cca 1270–March 20, 1336]. In *A domonkos rend Magyarországon* [The Dominican order in Hungary], edited by Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, 26–30. Piliscsaba–Budapest–Vasvár: PPKE BTK–METEM–DRGY, 2007.

Maier, Christoph T. *Preaching the Crusades. Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Makkai, László. *A milkói (kun) püspökség és népei* [The (Cuman) diocese of Milko and its people]. Debrecen: Pannonia, 1936.

Mezey, László. *Codices latini Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961.

Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici, edited by Heribert Christian Scheeben. Rome: Institutum historicum fratrum praedicatorum, 1935.

Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria, vol. 12, edited by Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest: n.p., 1869.

Pauler, Gyula. *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt* [The history of the Hungarian nation under the Árpád dynasty]. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899.

Pennington, Kenneth. "Johannes Teutonicus and Papal Legates." *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 21 (1983): 183–94.

Példák könyve 1510. Hasonmás és kritikai szövegkiadás [Book of examples 1510. Facsimile and critical edition], edited by András Bognár and Ferenc Levárdy. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960.

Pfeiffer, Nikolaus. *Die ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz von ihrer Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenverwüstung: 1241–1242*. Zürich: Leemann, 1913.

Puskely, Mária. *Virágos kert vala híres Pannónia* [Famous Pannonia used to be a flourishing garden]. Budapest: Ameko, 1994.

Rössler, Mária Irén, *Magyar domonkosrendi példák és legendák* [Hungarian Dominican *exempla* and legends]. Kassa–Košice: Globus, 1927.

Selecká Mârza, Eva. *A Középkori Lőcsei Könyvtár* [The medieval library of Lőcse]. Szeged: Scriptum, 1997.

Szent Margit élete, 1510 [The life of St Margaret, 1510], edited by János P. Balázs, Adrienne Dömötör and Katalin Pólya. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990.

Szentpéteri, Imre. "V. István ifjabb királysága" [Stephen V as younger king]. *Századok* 55 (1921): 77–87.

Tarnai, Andor. *"A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik…" Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon* ["The Hungarian language is beginning to be written": Literary thought in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984.

Thomae Cantimpratani Bonum Universale de Apibus. Douai: Balthazar Bellère, 1627.

Tugwell, Simon, ed. *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici.* Rome: Instituto Storico Domenicano, 2008.

Tugwell, Simon, ed. *Miracula sancti Dominici mandato magistri Berengarii collecta: Petri Calo legendae sancti Dominici*. Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica 26. Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum. 1997.

Vauchez, André. *La Spiritualité du Moyen Age occidental, VIII*e*–XIII*e *siècle*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994.

"Vita sancti Dominici composita a fratro Petro Calo Clodiensi Ordinis Praedicatorum." In *Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum,* vol. 1., Appendix Monumentorum ad tomum primum, edited by Tommaso Maria Mamachi et al., 334–58. Rome: n.p, 1756.

Wilson, Katharina M., ed. *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Athens–London: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Zágorhidi Czigány, Balázs, "A domonkos rend konventjei a XIII. századi Magyarországon" [Dominican convents in thirteenth-century Hungary]. *Tanítvány* 7 (2001): 81–95.

Zsoldos, Attila. *Családi ügy. IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években*, [Family affair. Conflicts between Béla IV and the younger king Stephen in the 1260s]. Budapest: História–MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007.

Zsoldos, Attila. *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1000–1301* [A secular archontology of Hungary]. Budapest: História, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011.

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 557–586

The Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in Medieval Upper Hungarian Towns*

Dorottya Uhrin
Eötvös Loránd University, School for Historical Studies,
Medieval Hungarian History Doctoral Program

The aim of this article is to survey the cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in towns of medieval Upper Hungary (today mostly in Slovakia). In the first part, I briefly summarize the origin of the veneration of St Katherine and the beginning of her cult in Hungary. The geographical scope of my own research is the Upper Hungarian region, mainly the towns. The veneration of St Katherine has left most traces in the towns settled by Germans. Some of her earliest churches were established by families of German origin in the thirteenth century. Interestingly, St Katherine's cult became significant in several mining towns, presumably from the fourteenth century, and her popularity there suggests that she might have been venerated as a miners' saint (together with St Barbara). The heyday of Katherine's cult was the late Middle Ages, when her veneration spread to other towns: confraternities and altars were dedicated to her honor and her life was depicted on several altarpieces.

Keywords: St Katherine, urban history, virgin martyrs, mining towns, urban religiosity

Introduction

St Katherine of Alexandria was one of the celebrated female saints in the Middle Ages. She was a virgin martyr and a role model for women. St Katherine was regarded as a uniquely privileged saint and a powerful intercessor because of special privileges she received at the time of her death: a visitation from Christ, an emanation of oil from her bones, an effluence of milk of her body instead of blood, the miraculous preparation of sepulcher, and the hearing of petitions of those who would honor her memory.[1] Therefore many were interested in promoting her cult. Although her ancestry and the way in which her cult spread are questionable, during the fourteenth and fifteenth century she became one of the most popular female saints in late medieval Europe, including Hungary.

* I am grateful to Judit Majorossy and Gábor Buják for their comments, as well as to Mónika Belucz for her help.

1 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 2:341.

Although several traces of St Katherine's veneration has been researched in Western Europe,[2] the only aspect of her cult in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom that has been a subject to research is the verse legend of St Katherine.[3] In my paper I would like to trace the origin and the development of the cult of St Katherine in Upper Hungary. My research is concerned with the towns of Upper Hungary (today mostly in Slovakia). The analysis also extends to some rural places, however, so as to obtain a better understanding of the cult. I examine the different roles that she played as a patron saint in Upper Hungarian towns of different types. The most interesting aspect of St Katherine's urban cult is her outstanding popularity in the Upper Hungarian mining towns. Since St Barbara is the most venerated miner-saint in Central Europe, Katherine's role as the *patrona* of this towns is remarkable, and I will attempt to explain this phenomenon. In the late Middle Ages, when Katherine's cult reached its peak all over Europe, her cult also spread to the other towns in Upper Hungary. Religious associations and altars were dedicated to her. I examine the donations to her altars which indicate her increasing popularity in Upper Hungary in the fifteenth century and beyond. Because of the complexity of St Katherine's cult, my investigation is interdisciplinary: my sources are historical (charters, chronicles and testimonies), art historical (altarpieces, mural paintings and coats of arms) and literary (legends and masses).

The Cult of St Katherine
Origin of the Cult

According to her *vitae*, St Katherine lived and suffered martyrdom in late Antique Alexandria, a place considered rather exotic in the Middle Ages. Her shrine is supposed to be located at Sinai. The cult of Katherine – like that of other virgin martyrs – started to spread in the seventh and eighth centuries, when her name appeared in liturgical sources and the *martyrologia* of the Byzantine Empire.

2 E.g. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*; Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine;* Simon, *The Cult of Saint Katherine;* Sands, *The Company She Keeps*; Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*.

3 Hungarian scholarly attention has almost exclusively focused on the famous late medieval vernacular legend of St Katherine, see: Katona, *Alexandriai Szent Katalin;* Horváth, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin verses legendája," 9–25; Kardos, *Alexandriai Szent Katalin*; Horváth, *Középkori magyar verseink*, 246–366; Kővári, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin". In her MA thesis, Kristina Potuckova analyzed the Upper Hungarian altarpieces which depict the *virgines capitales*, see: Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity." The author of this article wrote an MA thesis on St Katherine's Hungarian cult and is working on the cult of the *virgines capitales* in medieval Hungary in her PhD dissertation.

In Latin Christianity, the cult of Katherine spread in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, simultaneously with those of many other Eastern saints, including St George. Scholars generally explain the increasing interest in the virgin martyrs in terms of Mediterranean transcultural contacts during the crusades.[4] Although the first Crusade seized the places where the virgin martyrs suffered martyrdom and their holiest shrines were supposed to be located, one can hardly find any references in the contemporary sources on the translation of the relics of Katherine from Sinai during the crusades. The discovery of the saint's body on Sinai is a relatively late development of her cult,[5] and the invention of her relics might have been the result of the popularity of her life in Greek.[6] Her legend originally contained only her *passio*. The story of her miraculous birth began to circulate in the fourteenth century.[7] The earliest vernacular versions of her legend in Western Europe can be dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century.[8] What drove the veneration of virgin martyrs was a growing interest in exotic legends of the saints after the First Crusade and the general livening of religious life.[9]

Katherine as an Intercessor and Role Model

The function of saints was twofold in the Middle Ages: they were considered as heavenly intercessors and exemplars for proper Christian life. Although this concerned all saints, not all of them had equal influence as intercessors and – as Duffy argues – the strong emphasis on a saint's intercessory power almost made their role as exemplars insignificant. The chastity of virgin martyrs was a source of celestial power, not an expectation on the laity.[10]

The role of St Katherine as an exemplar might have been limited to the clerical and highest circles of society in the High Middle Ages. The lives of virgin martyrs were models for an ideal female saint in this period.[11] The writers of the legends of the sainted princesses of the Árpádian dynasty regarded

4 Dresvina, *A Maid with a Dragon*, 14. I am indebted to the author, who provided me the draft of her book.
5 Chatterjee, "Saint Catherine," 265; Collins, "Visual Piety," 105; Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine,* 42.
6 Bray, "The Legend of St Katherine," 11–12, as cited in Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, 3.
7 Katona, *Alexandriai Szent Katalin,* 24–25.
8 Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine,* 137–38.
9 Dresvina, *A Maid with a Dragon,* 14.
10 Duffy, "Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes," 189–93.
11 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 197.

Katherine as one of the princesses' figurative and even literal models.[12] The image of Katherine depicted the perfect Christian woman. Her royal or noble status became a significant element of her legend from the twelfth century which may shed light on the main audience of her legend. Moreover, the hagiography of Katherine in some ways portrayed her as the opposite of what a medieval woman should have been.[13]

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, the most popular collection of legends in the thirteenth century, describes her as an expert in liberal arts, which enabled her to defend Christianity. The legends emphasize how saints' miracles set them apart from ordinary people.[14] Only nuns are likely to have considered these legends as role models in the High Middle Ages.[15] The role of the mendicant orders – mainly the Dominicans – was significant in the spread of the virgin martyrs' cult. The mendicant orders supported female religious movements and promoted the cult of female saints. St Katherine, along with St Dominic and Mary Magdalene, was one of the main patrons of the Dominicans.[16]

From the end of the twelfth century the "lay saint" type became more and more popular and the legends of such saints were complemented with the story of their conversion. "The saints re-descended – so to say – from heaven to earth."[17] The late medieval tendency of secularization resulted in the humanization of saints, rendering them easier to follow as models.[18] The saints were bestowed with other characteristics of contemporary laypeople.[19] Central elements had changed in their legends, the emphasis on confrontation transformed into a focus on their steadfastness.[20] After all, the increasingly human character of saints did not result in the renunciation of their intercessory power, but the new narratives of the saints' legends encouraged the "consumers" to follow their

12 According to legend of Cunegond of Poland (the daughter of Béla IV), the princess had descended from the lineage of St Katherine: "[...] dux Bela cui erat contoralis nomine Maria filia imperatoris Grecorum, imperator vero ipse de stirpe Neronis Cesaris, imperatrix autem de genealogia sancte Catharine virginis et martiris eximie, prout tradunt dicte cronice." Vita sanctae Kingae in Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniae historica,* 4:683–84, and Uhrin, "Szent Katalin," 251.

13 Lucraft, *Katherine Swynford,* 159.

14 Reames, *Legenda Aurea,* 107–13; Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine," 27–56.

15 Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs,* 60–63.

16 Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 74.

17 Vauchez, "Saints admirables," 165.

18 Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 121; Peters, *Patterns of Piety,* 102.

19 Huizinga, *Waning,* 168–78.

20 Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 116–17.

roles.[21] It seems that the significance of a saint's intercession or auxiliary power started to increase in the fourteenth century.[22]

St Katherine was a member of a group of saints called the Fourteen Holy Helpers,[23] whose common feature was an individual power of intercession believed to be particularly effective against several types of disease. These fourteen saints as a collective could protect against almost any type of medieval disease. The Holy Helpers consisted of sub-groups: bishop saints, knight-saints and virgin martyrs. The numerous visual representations[24] and literary sources testify that from the fourteenth century onwards, St Katherine, St Margaret, St Barbara and St Dorothy of Caesarea were frequently venerated together as a distinct group called *virgines capitales* in Central Europe and Germany.[25] Although the origin of their cult is obscure, the earliest traces concern the outbreak and spread of plague in early fourteenth-century South Germany. The catastrophe caused several changes in European society, including religious life. It seems that the first and main promoters of the Fourteen Holy Helpers' cult were the Dominicans in the Nuremberg and Regensburg area.[26] It was from this region that their collective cult came to Hungary.

Overview of St Katherine's Cult in Medieval Hungary

Hungarian sources are reticent about the cults of saints, and so the introduction and the early development of St Katherine's cult in Hungary remains obscure. The first evidence of Katherine's veneration in Hungary can be traced to the end of the twelfth century. The Codex Pray (1192–1195) mentions her feast on 25 November,[27] but this only refers to her appearance in liturgy. St Katherine's cult started to spread further in the thirteenth century, and several monasteries were subsequently dedicated to her. The first known sermons and churches dedicated to Katherine in Hungary are connected to the Dominicans, which fits with her highly honored status in that order. Two Dominican codices from the thirteenth

21 Vauchez, "Saints admirables," 167–72.

22 Gecser, "Holy Helpers," 199.

23 The most common members of the group are: Barbara, Katherine, Margaret, Denis, Erasmus, Blaise, George, Achatius, Eustace, Christopher, Giles, Cyriac, Pantaleon and Vitus. On the Fourteen Holy Helpers, see: Guth, "Vierzehnheiligen," 305–24; Pötzl, "Die Verehrung," 157–86; Gecser, "Holy Helpers," 174–201.

24 Marosi and Beke, *Magyarországi művészet,* 1:212.

25 Weed, "Venerating," 1066.

26 Ibid, 1069.

27 Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 39.

(or early fourteenth) century, the Codex of Leuven[28] and the Sermons of the University of Pécs or *Sermones compilati*[29] contain sermons to Katherine.

The spread of Katherine's cult in Hungary, along with the cult of other virgin martyrs, coincides with Andrew II (1205–35) bringing and placing the skull of St Margaret of Antioch to the collegiate church of Szepeshely (Zipser Kapitel, now Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia).[30] The rise of her cult in the fourteenth century (the era of the Angevin dynasty, 1308–82) is reflected in the increase in number of historical sources, and there were also more churches, chapels and altars dedicated to St Katherine at that time. However, many of these dedications might have had Árpádian (1000–1301) antecedents. The two Angevin kings, Charles I (1301/1308–42) and Louis the Great (1342–82), played an important role in the promotion of the virgin martyrs. It is possible that they had a personal devotion to Katherine. Both kings named one of their daughters after St Katherine.[31] On the first initial picture of *Chronicon Pictum,* Louis and his wife pray to Katherine. Moreover, Louis's royal funerary chapel was dedicated to her.[32] European analogies suggests that one reason for kings' preference for Katherine as a patron saint was that she had a royal background.[33]

Her legend is written in the *Legenda Aurea*, which was the most popular collection of lives of the saints in Hungary as in other parts of Europe. Only a few manuscripts have survived in Hungary, however, because of the large-scale devastation of Hungarian codices. The *Legenda Aurea* served as the basis for Hungarian legendaria. The sermons of the *Sermones compilati* were presumably written for novices, which would explain why the three sermons on Katherine emphasize erudition and chastity of the virgin martyr.[34] The fifteenth-century Franciscan Observant preacher Pelbartus de Themeswar also based his sermons on the *Legenda Aurea*.[35] In the four sermons Pelbartus wrote on Katherine, he followed the narrative of Jacobus de Voragine's work but completed the life of Katherine with her marvelous birth and conversion to Christianity. He

28 Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom*, 72, 259–60.

29 Petrovich and Ladislaus, *Sermones compilati*; Koszta, "A püspökség alapításától (1009)," 120–21.

30 Szentpétery, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum,* 1:465.

31 Kristó, "Károly Róbert családja," 25–26; Uhrin, "Szent Katalin," 253–56.

32 "Rector capelle Ludovici regis ad honorem Sancte Katherine virginis et martyris ad latus eiusdem ecclesie Albensis fondate" charter from 1458, see: Érszegi, "Fejér megyére vonatkozó oklevelek," no. 211.

33 Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine*, 63; Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine,* 147; Sands, *The Company She Keeps*, 7–20.

34 Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk,* 137.

35 Madas, "A Legenda aurea," 93–98.

also emphasized Katherine's role as an example.[36] These sermons influenced other Hungarian authors. The other famous Hungarian Observant Franciscan preacher, Osvaldus de Lasko, based his work on Pelbartus' sermons and[37] dedicated two sermons to Katherine.[38] Pelbartus' St Katherine sermons were the source of the Codex Érdy and the Codex of Debrecen and the vernacular verse legend of 4047 lines [39] of the Codex of Érsekújvár, the most precious source of the Hungarian cult of Katherine.[40] The sermons of Pelbartus circulated in the Hungarian kingdom after being printed at the end of the fifteenth century.

The upper classes developed a preference for the cult of St Katherine in the late fourteenth century. The popularity of the virgin martyrs reached its peak in Hungary – as elsewhere in Europe – in the later Middle Ages.

Initiation of Katherine's Cult in the Upper Hungarian Region

The German *hospites*[41] are presumed to have been the first to promote the cult of St Katherine in Upper Hungary, because she and other virgin martyrs (St Margaret and St Barbara) mainly appear in places inhabited by Germans. The first church to be dedicated to Katherine in Upper Hungary was in Kakaslomnic (Nagylomnic until 1899, Großlomnitz, now Veľká Lomnica, Slovakia) in Szepes County (Zips, now Spiš), a village owned by the Berzeviczy family. The Berzeviczys' ancestors arrived in Hungary in the entourage of Gertrude of Andechs-Merania, wife of Andrew II. There can be no doubt that the family was German, from Istrian Merania or Andechs.[42] Rutger, one of their ancestors, acquired the land of Kakaslomnic and the surrounding region in 1209,[43] and his

36 "[…] beata Catherina commendatur et in exemplum nobis proponitur" - Pelbartus: Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis Sermo XCIX. De sancta Catherina. Sermo primus cum legenda; "Circa primum de spiritualibus divitiis quaeritur, quales divitias adquisierunt sanctae virgines, et exemplo earum quales debeant adquirere quique fideles" Pelbartus: Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis Sermo CII. De sancta Catherina. Sermo quartus. Accessed: February 2, 2016. http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=pa_index

37 Kertész, "Two Hungarian Friars Minor," 63–64.

38 Osualdus: Sermones de sanctis Bigae salutis Sermo CX. De sancta Katherina virgine et martyre I. and Sermo CXI.: De sancta Katherina virgine et martyre II. Accessed: February 2, 2016. http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosvat/index.php?file=os_index.

39 Madas et al., Érsekújvári kódex.

40 Rajhona, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin," Accessed: January 24, 2016 http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=312tan_plaus_flora.

41 Slivka, *Pohľady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska,* 128.

42 Majorossy, "Bevezető," 13.

43 Fekete Nagy, *A Szepesség*, 26.

wife's brother, Adolf, became the first known provost of the Collegiate Chapter of Szepes.[44] The Szepes area was colonized by Germans (*hospites Saxones de Scepus*), who received privileges and territorial autonomy from King Stephen V in 1271.[45]

The church of Kakaslomnic was mentioned first in a charter from 1268. Interestingly, the murals of the church depict the cycle of St Nicolas and not that of the patron saint. Ján Endrödy suggests that the churches in the area had been dedicated to Katherine before the Berzeviczys settled there, and it was their preference for Nicolas over Katherine that caused the family to order the frescoes.[46] This sounds improbable, however. The county was sparsely inhabited at that time and covered by forest, making it unlikely that several churches dedicated to Katherine existed before 1209. It was only after the Mongol invasion in the mid-thirteenth century that the Berzeviczys' lands were colonized by new settlers.[47] Furthermore, one can hardly find any mentions of Katherine in the sources from the twelfth century or earlier, and the *patrocinia* of Katherine spread from the second half of the thirteenth century.[48] Besides the ancestors of the Berzeviczy family, the ancestors of the Görgey family founded churches[49] in Kislomnic (Kleinlomnitz, now Lomnička, Slovakia)[50] and in Krig (Krieg, now Vojňany, Slovakia)[51] at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth.[52]

King Andrew II sent a relic of Margaret of Antioch[53] to the newly founded Collegiate Chapter of Szepes to confer prestige on the church there. According to the Hungarian *Chronicon Pictum*, Andrew II acquired relics on his crusade to the Holy Land and distributed them to loyal prelates on his return in 1218 to express his gratitude for the flourishing kingdom.[54] The relic of Margaret

44 Buják, "A szepesi és pozsonyi prépostságok," 11.

45 Fekete Nagy, *A Szepesség,* 328–44; Zsoldos, "Szepes megye," 19–31; Szende, "Power and Identity," 37.

46 Endrödy, "Mikulášska legenda," 49. On the medieval wall paintings of the church, see: Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 66–98.

47 Körmendy, "A falusi plébániák," 155; Körmendy, *Melioratio terrae,* 43–63.

48 Hudák, *Patrocinia na Slovensku,* 57–59.

49 On the property division of Szepes county see the map of Števík and Česla, "Významnejšie majetkové," 192.

50 Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 356.

51 Fekete Nagy, *A Szepesség*, 228–29.

52 On the origin of these villages, see Fekete Nagy, *A Szepesség*, 228–30. On the *patrocinia* see: Mező, *Patrocíniumok,* 164.

53 Pirhalla, *A szepesi prépostság,* 14.

54 Szentpétery, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum,* 1:465.

was presumably translated to the Collegiate Chapter under the provostship of Adolf, the brother-in-law of Rutger. Martin Homza and Peter Labanc assume that Adolf was the provost in the first third of the thirteenth century.[55] Thus the virgin martyrs' cult could have been connected to the German relatives, the ancestors of the Berzeviczy family.

Szepes and the surrounding region was a center of veneration for several virgin martyrs.[56] Due to the emerging cult of St Margaret, the other virgin martyrs' veneration also spread in that territory and in the kingdom.

Although it mainly involved churches in villages, the foregoing discussion of these early signs of the cult of St Katherine was necessary to understand how it spread. At this point, I turn to the early development of the urban cult of the saint. The earliest chapel of St Katherine in the Upper Hungarian region was in Pozsony (Pressburg, now Bratislava). It was connected with the Cistercians of Heiligenkreuz, who founded a convent in area of the town in the mid-thirteenth century, but occupied it only until 1297,[57] when the buildings were transferred to the Poor Clares.[58] The chapel was founded by Francis, a monk from Heiligenkreuz, in 1311,[59] and it was consecrated in 1325.[60] The choice of Katherine as the patron saint of the chapel was connected to the Cistercian responsibility for female religious movements.[61] Virgin Mary enjoyed a pre-eminent role among the Cistercians, who devoted most of their monasteries to her patronage.[62] Virgin Mary was held as an exemplar of perfect femininity, but the virgin martyrs were also portrayed as role models, particularly for proper behavior. St Katherine could have become the patron of the private chapel of the nunnery, because her virginity and her status as *sponsa Christi* certainly appealed to nuns.

55 Buják, "A szepesi és pozsonyi prépostságok," 13–14; Homza and Sroka, *Historia Scepusii,* 235–45.

56 For example, Dušan Buran points out the special popularity of St Dorothy in fifteenth-century Szepes. Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei*, 70–86.

57 Lékai, *A ciszterciek,* 478.

58 Szende, *Otthon a városban,* 15.

59 Kristó et al., *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár, III,* no. 119.; Štefánik and Lukačka, *Lexikon Stredovekých,* 137.

60 Majorossy, "Church in Town," 375.

61 Tracey Sands also draws attention to the role of the Cistercians in the cult of St Katherine in Sweden. Sands, *The Company She Keeps,* XIX.

62 Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians,* 131.

St Katherine's Cult in the Upper Hungarian Mining Towns

An interesting feature of St Katherine's cult was her popularity in the Upper Hungarian mining towns. She thus seems to have been venerated as a patron saint of the miners[63] together with St Barbara. St Barbara was the main patron saint of the miners in Central Europe,[64] but the popularity of Katherine as her companion seems largely to have been peculiar to the Hungarian towns, although she was infrequently also venerated as a patron of miners elsewhere.[65] Churches were dedicated to Katherine in several Upper Hungarian mining towns: Selmecbánya (Schemnitz, now Banská Štiavnica), Körmöcbánya (Kremnitz, now Kremnica), Nyitrabánya (Krickerhau, now Handlová),[66] Telkibánya and Szomolnok (Schmölnitz, now Smolník). The coats of arms of Nyitrabánya and Körmöcbánya also prove that Katherine was the main patron saint of these towns, because both include Katherine's attribute of the broken wheel with sharp knives.[67] In contrast to the numerous Katherine *patrocinia*, only a few chapels were dedicated to Barbara in Upper Hungary,[68] although her veneration appears through her representations on altarpieces.

The predominance of German miners in these mining towns from the twelfth century onwards certainly tells us that there was a strong German influence behind the veneration of Katherine there. Professional miners must have come from abroad.[69] In addition, the cultural diversity of mining towns, including differences in their veneration of saints, derived from the international character of trade.[70] Central European mining towns, particularly those in the Carpathian basin, were closely interlinked. The similarity of privileges granted to Hungarian mining towns prepared the ground for mutual alliances that started in the fourteenth century.[71] The urban and economic policy of the Angevin kings of Hungary fostered development that forged the towns into a distinct

63 Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium,* 3:559.

64 Schreiber, *Der Bergbau,* 379–80.

65 Molenda, "Mining Towns," 188.

66 Second half of the fourteenth century. Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 164.

67 Benke, *Bányaváros címerek*, 26–27, 60–61.

68 The chapel of the church of St Lawrence in Káposztafalva/Hrabušice Slivka, *Pohľady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska,* 128, the chapel of St Jerome and St Barbara in the church of the Virgin Mary, Besztercebánya. Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 54; Mező assumes two more *patrocinia* in Márkfalva/Jezernica) and Hilyó/Hýľov. Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 61.

69 Szende, "Power and Identity," 53.

70 Molenda, "Mining Towns," 188.

71 Szende, "Power and Identity," 53; Weisz, "Mining Town Privileges," 309.

group.[72] The crown granted greater legal, ecclesiastical and economic privileges to residents of mining towns than to other settlers, including the right to practice their own customs.[73]

Two ecclesiastical institutions were dedicated to Katherine in or near Telkibánya[74] in the mid-fourteenth century. The first, located between Göncruszka and Telkibánya, was the monastery of Göncruszka, donated to the Pauline monks by Domonkos of Ruszka and his brothers in 1338.[75] They were the *nobiles de Ruzka,*[76] the noble family of Göncruszka. There could have been several reasons for choosing St Katherine as patron of a monastery. In her legend, St Katherine lived in the same spatial and temporal dimension as the Desert Fathers, the early Christian hermits in late Antique Egypt. Thus, several representations of Katherine depict the virgin martyr with a hermit saint; in Italian Trecento paintings, this is usually St Anthony the Abbot.[77]

It seems from the charters[78] that Pauline brothers ran a hospital dedicated to Katherine in Telkibánya – which was near their monastery dedicated to Virgin Mary in Gönc – starting in the second half of fifteenth century.[79] The local judge of Telkibánya, Georg Kruper, and his brother, Konth, the rector of the mines, founded the hospital in 1367.[80] According to the charter issued by Louis I, the leaders of the town founded a hospital rather than a wooden chapel at the request of the miners and the burghers.[81] Georg Kruper left the hospital to his stepson, priest Matthias, in his will.[82] Matthias in turn left the hospital to the Pauline brothers, with the condition that they offer masses for his and his parents' salvation in the church of Katherine.[83] Although it seems that these

72 Weisz, "Mining Town Privileges," 288.

73 Szende, "Power and Identity," 52.

74 Telkibánya was one of the earliest mining towns in the Hungarian Kingdom, founded during the Árpádian era, but it received privileges in 1341. Weisz, "Mining Town Privileges," 304.

75 Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete,* 100.

76 Csoma, *Abaúj-Torna vármegye*, 490–93.

77 Stollhans, *St. Catherine*, 95.

78 MNL OL, DL, 5783.; MNL OL, DL, 11976; MNL OL, DL, 13819.; MNL OL, DL, 14390.; MNL OL, DL, 14391.; MNL OL, DL, 14392.; MNL OL, DL, 14396.; MNL OL, DL, 15368.; MNL OL, DL, 13819. Zsuzsanna Bándi published the short summaries of the charters in *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv* 5, 582, 588, 590–95.

79 Majorossy and Szende, "Hospitals," 425.

80 MNL OL, DL, 5783.

81 Bándi, "Északkelet-magyarországi," 582–83. The ruins of the hospital were found in 1997. Pusztai, "A Telkibányai Szent Katalin ispotály," 429.

82 MNL OL, DL, 13819.

83 MNL OL, DL, 14390.

churches were connected to the Pauline order, the *titulus* reflected the will of the founders, the nobles of Ruszka and the burghers of Telkibánya. Despite the obvious appeal of Katherine's cult to the hermits, the monastery of Ruszka was the only known Pauline foundation dedicated to her in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.[84] There were two other hospitals dedicated to Katherine in fifteenth-century Hungary,[85] but the *patrocinium* of Telkibánya must have reflected the popularity of Katherine among the miners of Telkibánya.

The cult of St Katherine in Körmöcbánya raises interesting questions. The castle church there – also the parish church – is nowadays named after St Katherine. In the Middle Ages, it was another church which bore her name. According to the sources, St Katherine's Church was located on the main square[86] and was a *filiale* of the parish church of the Virgin Mary (castle church).[87] The *tituli* must have been changed in the modern age, probably because of the Reformation. Körmöcbánya was Lutheran from ca. 1530 until 1674,[88] after which the castle church was dedicated to St Katherine.[89]

The earliest reference to the medieval church of St Katherine in Körmöcbánya is dated to 1485, but the church must have been standing there since the first half of the fifteenth century at the latest.[90] The medieval church on the main square was demolished in the nineteenth century because of subsidence.[91] Moreover, an altar in the chapel of St Andrew was dedicated to St Andrew, St Peter and Paul, the Holy Trinity, St Martha, St Katherine and St Barbara in 1431.[92] The cult of the Apostles had spread ever since the establishment of the church in Hungary, and the dedications to Martha, Barbara and Katherine show the local tradition of Körmöcbánya and symbolize the prominent role of these saints in the town.

Even though there is no evidence of the church's existence before the fifteenth century, there are earlier sources that may refer to the cult of St

84 Urbán, "Pálos zarándokhelyek," 63–94.

85 The hospital of Győr from 1420, see: Mályusz et al., *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, VII, no. 2018, and the hospital of Veszprém in 1474, see: Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete,* 76; Somogyi, *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye*, 103; Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek," 264.

86 Krizkó, *A körmöcbányai katholikus*, 21–22.

87 "filialis ecclesie Sancti Katherine" MNL OL, DF, 249 876.; Krizkó, *A körmöcbányai katholikus*, 22.

88 Kriško, "Körmöczbánya," 88.

89 The main altar of the church was consecrated in 1715 to St Katherine. Krizkó, *A körmöcbányai vártemplom,* 10.

90 Krizkó, *A körmöcbányai katholikus,* 20–21.

91 Krizkó, *A körmöcbányai vártemplom.*

92 MNL OL, DF, 249856. Krizkó incorrectly read Martin instead of Martha. Krizkó, *A körmöcbányai katholikus,* 20–21.

Katherine. She is depicted on some of the town's medieval seals. The earliest remnant seal of Körmöcbánya is dated to 1331.[93] This seal – according to the prevailing view[94] – depicts St Katherine with the Angevin coat of arms on one side and her attribute, the wheel, on the other. The circumscription reads "S[IGILLUM] · CIVITATIS · REGIS · KAROLI · DE · CREMNICA". Nevertheless, Teodor Lamoš has identified the figure on the seal as that of the Hungarian king Charles I,[95] who presumably granted the town its seal and its privileges at about the same time.[96] The later seals, however, definitely depict St Katherine. Jozef Novák has found one such from 1405.[97] A charter of 1407 refers to its seal as *sigillum nostre civitatis magnum*, which implies that the town had at least two seals.[98] The second known seal depicts a standing figure with a sword and a wheel with sharp knives (St Katherine). Under the figure is the Angevin coat of arms, and the circumscription is "S[IGILLUM] · SECRETUM · CIVIUM · CREMPNYCZIE".[99] The third medieval seal depicts the broken wheel with sharp knives, the attribute of St Katherine.[100]

Considering that the town's medieval seals contained Katherine's figure and/or her attribute, and later a church was consecrated to her honor, she must have been the patron saint of the town in the Middle Ages.

The earliest seal of Szomolnok dates from the fourteenth century, and depicts St Katherine with a miner on her side.[101] According to the literature, the *titulus* of the medieval parish church is not known, but there was a chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary.[102] However, a document dated 1421 proves that the

93 MNL OL, DF, 250 152.

94 E.g. Darvasy, *Középkori városaink,* 14–15; Körmendi, "Les saints patrons," 152–53; Štefánik and Lukačka, *Lexikon Stredovekých,* 229.

95 Lamoš, *Vznik a počiatky,* 135, 211. As cited in Štefánik and Lukačka, *Lexikon Stredovekých,* 229.

96 Körmendi, "Les saints patrons," 152–53.

97 Novák, *Erby miest,* 58–63.

98 MNL OL, DF, 249 454.

99 Štefánik and Lukačka, *Lexikon Stredovekých,* 229. This seal cannot be found in the MNL OL, DL DF database, because the database contains just few pictures of seals. Kriško published the drawings of the seals: Kriško, "Körmöczbánya," 116, MNL OL, DF, 249 966. was corroborated with this seal. The (German) charter refers to the seal as "stat secret".

100 According to Kriško, "Körmöczbánya," 116, this seal was already used in 1452. This charter refers its seal as "gewonlichem statsigel" the common seal of the town (MNL OL, DF, 250 169.), an image of the seal can be found from 1477. MNL OL, DL, 63265. See: Bándi "A Magyar Országos Levéltár," 96.

101 Štefánik and Lukačka, *Lexikon Stredovekých,* 441.

102 Ibid., 442.; Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 468.

parish church was dedicated to St Katherine in the Middle Ages (*ad ecclesiam in Smölnicz in honore Beate Katherine*).[103]

The cult of St Katherine in Selmecbánya started in the second half of the fifteenth century. A chapel dedicated to her in 1444 was transformed into a church in the second half of the fifteenth century. On April 2, 1489, 100 days indulgence was given to those who helped in fitting out the church.[104] The founder of the main altar, Andreas Hillebrand (notary and mine entrepreneur), and the priest Johannes Galler, were granted indulgences in 1496 and 1500 respectively.[105] The church was consecrated in 1500, the main donators being the burghers of the town, such as Susana Ferczkin, who donated money and personal estates to St Katherine's Church.[106] Andreas Hillebrand bestowed to the church 10 florins and 1 florin each to its priests, and left 40 florins to the parish church of Virgin Mary in his will. His larger donation to Virgin Mary's may have been prompted by his greater support of St Katherine's during his lifetime.[107] The high altar has not survived, but it must have been richly decorated and monumental, because three statues presumed to have belonged to it have survived the centuries, and they are each two meters high. They represent the Virgin Mary, St Katherine and St Barbara.[108] There was also a confraternity dedicated to her honor in Selmecbánya.[109]

The main reason behind Barbara's and Katherine's role as protector of miners was their reputation as powerful intercessors. Barbara – according to her legend – promised her efficacious intercession at the hour of death, and thus became the patron saint of good death. The common perception was that if one were to die without the last sacrament and the Eucharist burdened by deadly sins, one would end up in Hell. Barbara's role as protector against sudden death was strengthened in the fourteenth century due to the legend written by John of Wakkerzeel.[110] Barbara became the patron saint of miners because of the unhealthy and dangerous working conditions that put them at high risk of sudden death and because she had taken shelter in the mountains when she was

103 Mályusz et al., *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, VIII, no. 965.
104 Poszler, "Selmecbánya," 126.
105 Mojzer, "A festő hagyatéka," 19.
106 MNL OL, DF, 235 108.
107 Mojzer, "A festő hagyatéka," 20.
108 Végh, "A selmecbányai," 113–20.
109 MNL OL, DF, 235 108.
110 Wolf, *The Old Norse-Icelandic,* 22–28.

chased.[111] Since Katherine, according to the *Legenda Aurea,* promised to listen to the appeals of those who would honor her memory, Louis Réau has suggested that Katherine could also be a protector at death.[112]

In this chapter I have tried to illustrate St Katherine's role in some Upper Hungarian mining towns. In the following paragraphs I turn to the veneration of St Katherine in the free royal towns during the heyday of her cult. One cannot find churches dedicated to her in these towns, but her cult appears through confraternities, altars and visual representations.

The Heyday of the Cult in Upper Hungarian Towns

The cult of St Katherine appeared in several towns other than mining towns in Upper Hungary in the course of the fifteenth century. They were also mostly inhabited by Germans, which means that Katherine's cult there was subject to intensive German influence. Developments in Pozsony stand as an illustration of how Katherine's example transcended the clerical model and became available for imitation by the laity. Pozsony is particularly interesting because many more sources have survived the centuries there than in other parts of the kingdom, and the ecclesiastical history of the town has been thoroughly researched.[113] I have mentioned earlier that the Cistercians founded a chapel dedicated to St Katherine. With the increasing veneration toward the virgin martyrs, their cult extended to a wider section of the population. Married women and widows were encouraged to follow Katherine's example at the end of the Middle Ages as part of the late medieval transformation by which saints were presented as more real and familiar characters.[114] In the fifteenth century, the private chapel of the monastic order became the public chapel of the burghers of Pozsony. The popularity of the chapel among the laity reached its peak in the sixteenth century, as attested by several donations recorded in surviving testaments. The chapel acquired an even greater importance in 1529, when the suburban parishes and the hospital were demolished.[115] The cult of Katherine may have been fostered by intensive trade relations with Western Europe. The South German towns – mainly Augsburg and Nuremberg – started to exert significant commercial

111 Burke, *Popular Culture*, 35.

112 Réau, *Iconographie,* 3:264.

113 Majorossy, "Church in Town."

114 Huizinga, *Waning*, 166.

115 Majorossy, "Church in Town," 375, 379. N. 108.

influence on the Hungarian Kingdom in the early decades of fifteenth century. Consequently, merchants living along the Danube were allied by matrimony as well as by commercial contacts. The popularity of Katherine and the other virgin martyrs was also manifested in the tradition of personal names. According to the late medieval testaments in Pozsony, the most frequent names were those of the *virgines capitales*.[116]

The testaments also record the increasing popularity of Katherine among women. The sources provide information about a guild dedicated to St Katherine in Eperjes (Preschau, now Prešov), but St Katherine's patronage of craft guilds is recorded in only two cases in the whole country.[117] Two confraternities were dedicated to St Katherine in Upper Hungary. One was in Kassa (Kaschau, now Košice), dated to the sixteenth century,[118] and the other was the confraternity of Selmecbánya, mentioned above. Fortunately, several surviving charters concern donations to the St Katherine's guild of Eperjes and throw some light upon the ethnic and gender composition of the testators. The guild was established by the furriers (*fraternitas pellificium alias beatae Katherinae*) in the mid-fifteenth century, but many of the donators were not furriers, which highlights the importance of the altar among the burghers.[119] The altar was occasionally supported by the town, the council donating two florins for its consecration in 1500 and 1501.[120] Most of the donators were women, like Ursula Harenbocken,[121] Ursula, the widow of Jorg Cromer,[122] and Katherine Mathien,[123] whose names indicate German origins. The donators frequently left money for vestments and the celebration of mass, but clothes were also often bequeathed to the altar. An investigation of the wills of Eperjes shows that women preferred to donate items in their possession. Lucia left her best gold-embroidered cloak to the altar of the Virgin Mary and one green tunic to the altar of Katherine.[124] Clara bequeathed dresses to the

116 Szende, *Otthon a városban,* 38, 96, 103.

117 The other guild, dedicated to Katherine, was the fishermen's guild in Sopron. Házi, *Sopron,* 305–08.

118 Kerekes, "Kassa polgársága," 104–05. Moreover, confraternities were dedicated to her honor in Transylvania: in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca/Klausenburg, Beszterce/Bistriţa/Bistritz), Nagydemeter/Dumitra/Mettersdorf). Florea, "The Cult of the Saints," 119. There were two confraternities in Buda. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete,* 32.

119 The guild's statutes were issued in 1451, while the first mention of the altar, dedicated to St Katherine is dated to 1462. Kubinyi, "Vallásos társulatok," 344, 348.

120 Domenová, "Cirkev a prešovske bratstva," 58.

121 Iványi, *Eperjes,* no. 895.

122 Domenová, "A polgári háztartások," 131.

123 Iványi, *Eperjes*, no. 1201.

124 Ibid., no. 1003.

altars of the guild of furriers and guild of cobblers,[125] (which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary).[126] Christina donated to the guild of St Katherine a lilac cloak with silver pendulum.[127] These women, by donating their own possessions, "were providing not only for their own households, but also for the household of God."[128]

Late Medieval Altarpieces Depicting St Katherine in Upper Hungary

Visual representations of the Fourteen Holy Helpers and the *virgines capitales* appeared on altarpieces in Hungary in the late fifteenth century.[129] The cults of these two groups spread simultaneously in the Upper Hungarian region. The veneration of the Holy Helpers flourished among Upper Hungarian citizens. An altar in Kassa is the first (in 1483) to be mentioned as being dedicated to them,[130] and there is also a surviving fourteenth-century missal from Kassa into which the text of their mass has been inserted later.[131] There are several surviving altarpieces that represent all fourteen of the saints,[132] but separate sub-groups were more popular. More than sixty surviving altarpieces from the Upper Hungarian region depict saintly women classed among the four principal virgin martyrs, but Katherine, Dorothy, Margaret and Barbara as the group of *virgines capitales* are joined together only on thirteen of these.[133] The virgin martyrs were frequently represented together with the iconographical theme of

125 Ibid., no. 921.

126 *"Fraternitas sutorum, alias ad altare Marie virginis.*" Ibid., no. 886.

127 Ibid., no. 863.

128 Lucraft, *Katherine Swynford,* 105.

129 Kölnei, "A tizennégy segítőszent," 101–37.

130 Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium,* 3:40.

131 Radó, *Nyomtatott liturgikus,* 29.

132 Lívia Kölnei counted ten medieval representations of the Holy Helpers on altarpieces, Kölnei, "A tizennégy segítőszent," 127–35.

133 1. Altar of the Nativity of the Lord, Bártfa (end of 15th c.) 2. High Altar of Virgin Mary, Sztankahermány/Hermanovce, c. 1500–25) 3. Altar of Our Lady of Snows, Lőcse (1494–1500) 4. Altar of Virgin Mary, Liptószentmiklós/Liptovský Mikuláš/Liptau-Sankt-Nikolaus, 1470–80) 5. Altar of Virgin Mary, Bakabánya (Pukanec/Pukantz (1480–90) 6. High Altar of the Crucifixion, Bakabánya (end of 15th c.) 7. Altar of Annunciation to Virgin Mary, Kisszeben/Sabinov/Zeben (c. 1520) 8. Altar of Virgin Mary, Háromszlécs/Sliače, 1510–20) 9. Altar of Virgin Mary, Szepeszombat/Spišská Sobota/Georgenberg (c. 1470) 10. The so called Small Altar of Crucifixion, Szepesszombat 1510–20) 11. High Altar of St Katherine, Csütörtökhely (1490–1500), 12. Altar of Virgin Mary, Kakaslomnic (1494) 13. High Altar of Virgin Mary, Farkasfalva/Vlková/Farksdorf, c. 1480) Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity," 27, 59–70.

the Virgin and Child.[134] The iconography of late medieval altarpieces depicting the *virgines capitales* have been analyzed from a gendered point of view in the work of Kristina Potuckova.[135]

Four individual altars dedicated to Katherine have survived in Szepes County: in Lőcse (Leutschau, now Levoča), Késmárk (Käsmark, now Kežmarok), Felsőrépás (Oberripsch, now Vyšné Repaše) and Csütörtökhely (Donnersmarkt, now Spišský Štvrtok). Lőcse was a royal free town and Késmárk a privileged town, while the other two were villages nearby. In the shrine of the altar of Késmárk (1493) Katherine was portrayed in the company of Barbara and Margaret.[136]

An altar was dedicated to Katherine in the church of St James in Lőcse in 1469.[137] The images of the open wings depict four episodes from her life. The pictures illustrate her dispute with the philosophers, her beheading, her torture, and the wheel of her martyrdom. Katherine with her fellows virgin martyrs were represented on other altars of Lőcse: the altar of *Vir dolorum* (1476–90) and the altar of Our Lady of Snows (1494–1500). There was another altar dedicated to Katherine in Lőcse (1510–20), transported there from its original location, the church of St Katherine in Felsőrépás.[138] In the shrine of an altar from Csütörökhely dating from 1440–50, and today located in Nagyturány (Turany), Katherine tramples down Maxentius and is accompanied by statues of Barbara, Margaret, Dorothy and Ursula. The open wings depict Katherine's dispute, her tortures, her beheading and the saint with the wheel.[139] Her legend appears also on other Upper Hungarian altars. The closed wings of the *Vir dolorum* altar in Bártfa (Bartfeld, now Bardejov) represent four episodes of her legend. In the first scene, Katherine disputes with the philosophers. This is followed by the converted scholars burning at the stake, and the last two panels depict scenes of her martyrdom: the wheel and her beheading.[140] Two scenes of the altar of Virgin Mary in Pónik (Poniky) from 1512 depict the philosophers burning in the

134 Marosi and Beke, *Magyarországi művészet*, 1:212. Chlumská, *Obrazy z legendy,* 51.

135 Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity."

136 The images of the open wings depict Dorothy, Apollonia, Agnes and Ursula. See: Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 50.

137 Shrine: Katherine, Barbara, Margaret, Closed wings: *Mater dolorosa, Vir Dolorum*. Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity," 62.

138 Shrine: Katherine, open wings: Barbara and Dorothy, closed wings: Apollonia and Odilia. Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity," 63.

139 Closed wings: Virgin Mary's annunciation, St Stephen and St Emeric, Angel from Annunciation, St Nicholas and St Ladislas. Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity," 38; Marosi and Beke, *Magyarországi művészet,* 1:723; 2:587, no. 1803–04.

140 Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 44.

flames and the martyrdom of Katherine. Four scenes of Katherine's life have survived on panel paintings (c. 1520) from the episcopal palace of Szepeshely, but the original location of the altar is unknown. These scenes represent Katherine in front of the ruler, her dispute with the philosophers, the stake of the philosophers and the martyrdom of Katherine.[141]

It is clearly visible that the iconographic program of the altars emphasized Katherine's martyrdom and erudition. She was able to defeat her enemies, the enemies of Christianity.[142] Her portrayal together with other virgin martyrs puts her own virginity into the focus of devotion. As Stanley E. Weed argues, "Virginity granted the four an especially prominent place in the heavenly realm, for they were not just martyr saints, but the brides of Christ. With this perceived closeness, they served as ideal intercessors to not only Christ, but also to the Virgin Mary, with whom they were frequently depicted."[143] Katherine's primary role as an intercessor was highlighted by the epigraph on the panel painting of the altar of Késmárk which asks Katherine to pray for us.[144]

In addition to these altarpieces depicting Katharine's martyrdom and erudition, there is a unique representation[145] of her legend in the panel paintings of Bát (Frauenmarkt, now Bátovce), dating from 1420–1430. This illustrates the conversion of Katherine. In the first scene, she looks at herself in the mirror and seeks the perfect fiancé. In the second scene, a hermit gives her a picture of the Virgin and Child.[146] Then comes a scene of her mystic marriage, which was especially popular in Late Middle Ages.[147]

Although intercession may have been St Katherine's primary role in medieval religiosity, her status as a role model made her especially popular, because virginity was always an ideal of Christianity.

141 Magyar Nemzeti Galéria [Hungarian National Gallery], no. l, 55. 914. 1–5. Végh, "Ismeretlen Szent Katalin sorozat," 79; Mikó, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin," 163.

142 Gerát, *Legendary Scenes,* 129.

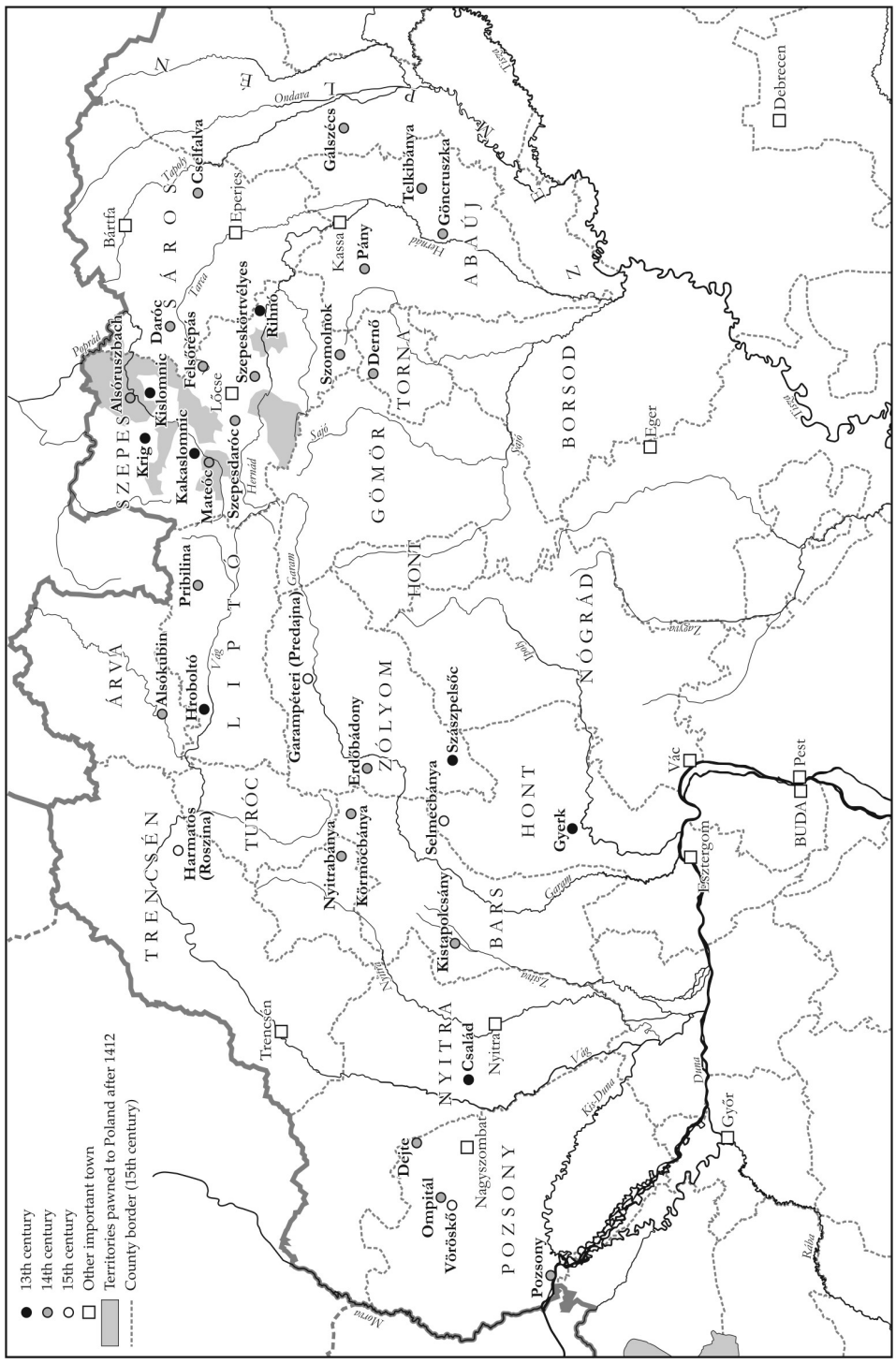
143 Weed, "Venerating," 1074.

144 "Sancta Katherina. ora. pro. nobis. deum. a- m- 493." Rados, *Magyar oltárok,* 50.

145 Réau, *Iconographie,* 268.

146 Poszler, "Két jelenet," 623; Schill, "Ikonographie und Kult," 336.

147 Gerát, *Legendary Scenes*, 173.



Patrocinia of Saint Katherine in medieval Upper Hungary

Map 1

Conclusion

In this article I have demonstrated the cult of St Katherine in the towns of Upper Hungary during the Middle Ages. The cult of St Katherine arrived in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century and was fostered by German settlers. The first promoters of Katherine's cult might have been the ancestors of the Berzeviczy and Görgey families in Upper Hungary.

The intercessory power of St Katherine was emphasized in her legend, and it was through this that she became the patron saint of several Upper Hungarian mining towns, something of a departure from her generic European cult. That she was venerated as a miner's saint is clear from her popularity as a patron saint of mining towns. The only churches dedicated to her in Upper Hungary are in mining towns and rural areas (See Map 1). In some cases, the seals of these towns also depicted St Katherine. The saints to which the most churches in the principal mining towns were dedicated were the Virgin Mary, St Elizabeth of Thuringia and St Katherine (see Table 1). It seems that she was popular among miners together with St Barbara. The main reason behind St Katherine's popularity might be that she and St Barbara helped at the hour of death. The heyday of St Katherine's cult was in the late Middle Ages, just as the cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers was also flourishing. In the late Middle Ages, she was venerated in the free royal towns, where confraternities and altars were dedicated to her. The donations to her altars indicate her increasing popularity in Upper Hungary. Being the bride of Christ, she mainly appealed to women. The altarpieces depicting St Katherine emphasize her martyrdom, her erudition and her virginity, conveying the message that her efficacious intercessory power derived from her chastity and martyrdom.

Bakabánya	St Nicholas, All Saints
Bélabánya/Banská Belá/Düllen	St John
Besztercebánya	Virgin Mary, St Anthony's Chapel, St Elizabeth, St Nicholas, St Jerome and **St Barbara's Chapel**
Breznóbánya/Brezno/Bries/Briesen	Virgin Mary
Gölnicbánya/Gelnica/Göllnitz	Virgin Mary
Körmöcbánya	Virgin Mary, **St Katherine**, St Andrew's Chapel (originally St Michael's Chapel), St Elizabeth's Hospital, Chapel of St John the Baptist.

Libetbánya/Ľubietová/Libethen	Mary Magdalene, St Anne's Chapel, St Elizabeth's Hospital
Nyitrabánya	**St Katherine**
Selmecbánya	Virgin Mary, **St Katherine,** St Anne's Chapel, St Elizabeth's Hospital, Corpus Christi Chapel, St Michael's Ossuary, St Nicholas' Chapel
Szomolnok	**St Katherine**, Chapel of the Virgin Mary
Újbánya/Nová Baňa/Königsberg	Virgin Mary, St Elizabeth's Hospital

Table 1

Dedications of churches and chapels in the principal mining towns of medieval Upper Hungary. Based on this article and Mező, *Patrocíniumok,* passim.

Archival Sources

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives – MNL OL), Diplomatikai Levéltár (Medieval Charters – DL).

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives – MNL OL), Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (Collection of Photocopies – DF).

Bibliography

Bálint, Sándor. *Ünnepi kalendárium: A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából* [Calendar of feasts: The Marian feasts and illustrious days from the Hungarian and Central European tradition]. Szeged: Mandala, 1998.

Bándi, Zsuzsanna. "A Magyar Országos Levéltár Mátyás-kori pecsétkiállításának katalógusa: 1990. április 6.–október 6." [Catalog of the Exhibition of seals of the Mathias era in the Hungarian National Archives: April 6 – October 6, 1990]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 62 (1991): 57–150.

Bándi, Zsuzsanna, ed. "Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei" [Charters of North Hungarian Pauline monasteries]. *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv* 5 (1985): 557–725.

Benke, István. *Bányaváros címerek* [Coats of arms of mining towns]. Miskolc, 1992.

Bielowski, August, ed. *Monumenta Poloniae historica: Pomniki dziejowe Polski.* Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1884.

Bray, Jennifer Relvyn. "The Legend of St Katherine in Later Middle English Literature." PhD Diss., University of London, 1984.

Buják, Gábor. "A szepesi és pozsonyi prépostságok korai története a szlovák historiográfiában" [The early history of the provostries of Szepes and Pozsony in Slovakian historiography]. *Fons* XXII, no. 1 (2015): 3–51.

Buran, Dušan. *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei: Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky*. Weimar: VDG, 2002.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994.

Burton, Janet E. and Julie Kerr. *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011.

Chatterjee, Paroma. "Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life." In *Holy Image – Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai,* edited by Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins, 265. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006.

Chlumská, Štěpánka, ed. *Obrazy z legendy o Sv. Kateřině Alexandrijské: Mistr Litoměřického oltáře a jeho dílna* [Paintings of legends of St Katherine of Alexandria: Master of Litoměřice altarpiece and his workshop]. Prague: Národní galerie v Praze, 1999.

Collins, Kristen M. "Visual Piety and Institutional Identity at Sinai." In *Holy Image – Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai,* edited by Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins, 95–119. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006.

Csoma, József. *Abaúj-Torna vármegye nemes családjai* [Noble families of Abaúj-Torna County]. Kassa: Forster, Wesselényi és társai Könyvnyomdája, 1897.

Darvasy, Mihály. *Középkori városaink címereinek eredete és fejlődése* [The origin and development of the coats of arms of our medieval cities]. Budapest: Magyar Piarista Rendtartomány, 1942.

Domenová, Marcela. "A polgári háztartások felszereltsége és tulajdona Eperjesen a középkor végén" [The equipment and property of burgher households in Eperjes]. *Aetas* 22, no. 3 (2007): 101–34.

Domenová, Marcela. "Cirkev a prešovske bratstva (fraternity) v obdobi stredoveku" [The church and confraternity of Eperjes in the Middle Ages]. *Annales Historici Presovienses* 9 (2010): 39–62.

Dresvina, Julia. *A Maid with a Dragon: The Cult of St Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Duffy, Eamon. "Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women's Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England." In *Women in the Church: Papers Read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, edited by W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, 189–93. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

Endrödy, Ján. "Mikulášska legenda na maľbách v Chráme sv. Kataríny vo Veľkej Lomnici" [The legend of St Nicholas in the paintings of the church of Veľká Lomnica/Kakaslomnic]. *Annales Historici Presovienses* 8 (2008): 39–50.

Érszegi, Géza. "Fejér megyére vonatkozó oklevelek a székesfehérvári keresztes konvent magánlevéltárában, 1193–1542" [The charters of the private archives of the Hospitaller Convent of Székesfehérvár concerning Fejér County]. *Fejér megyei Történeti Évkönyv* 4, no. 5 (1971): 177–264.

Fekete Nagy, Antal. *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása* [The territorial and social conformation of Szepes]. Budapest: Kovács József Könyvnyomdája, 1934.

Gecser, Ottó. "Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Saintly Patronage at the end of the Middle Ages." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 174–201.

Gerát, Ivan. *Legendary Scenes: An Essay on Medieval Pictorial Hagiography*. Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2013.

Guth, Klaus. "Vierzehnheiligen und die Anfänge der Nothelferverehrung: Anatomie einer Wallfahrtsgenese." In *Kultur als Lebensform: Aufsätze und Vortäge,* edited by Klaus Guth and Elizabeth Roth, 305–24. St. Ottilien: EOS-Verl., 1995.

Guzsik, Tamás. *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* [Architecture of the Pauline Order in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Mikes, 2003.

Házi, Jenő. *Sopron szabad királyi város története.* 6 vols. [The history of the royal free city of Sopron]. Sopron: Székely és társa, 1928.

Homza, Martin, and Stanislaw A. Sroka, eds. *Historia Scepusii.* Bratislava–Krakow: Katedra slovenských dejín UK FiF, 2009.

Horváth, Cyrill, ed. *Középkori magyar verseink* [Hungarian poetry of the Middle Ages]. Budapest: MTA, 1921.

Horváth, Cyrill. "Alexandriai Szent Katalin verses legendája" [The verse legend of St Katherine of Alexandria]. *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* (1907): 9–25.

Hudák, Ján. *Patrocinia na Slovensku. Súpis a historický vývin* [Patrocinia in Slovakia. Inventory and historical development]. Bratislava: Umenovedný ústav SAV, 1984.

Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and The Netherlands in the XIV^th^ and XV^th^ Centuries.* New York: Doubleday & Company, 1954.

Iványi, Béla, ed. *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára. 1245–1526* [The archives of the royal free city of Eperjes 1245–1526]. Szeged: Ferencz József-Tudományegyetem Baráti Egyesület, 1932.

Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Jenkins, Jacqueline and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Kardos, Gyula. *Alexandriai Szent Katalin cseh és magyar verses legendájának viszonya.* [The relationship between the Hungarian and Czech verse legends of St Katherine]. Kassa: n.p., 1907.

Katona, Lajos. *Alexandriai Szent Katalin legendája középkori irodalmunkban* [The legend of St Katherine of Alexandria in our medieval literature]. Budapest: MTA, 1903.

Kerekes, György. "Kassa polgársága, ipara és kereskedése a középkor végén: A lengyel–magyar kereskedelem fénykora" [The burghers, industry and trading of Kassa at the end of the Middle Ages: The heyday of the Polish–Hungarian relationship]. *Iparosok Olvasótábora* 19 (1913): 1–117.

Kertész, Balázs. "Two Hungarian Friars Minor (Franciscan Observants) in the Late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko." In *Infima Aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History,* edited by Péter E. Kovács, and Kornél Szovák, 60–78. Budapest: Corvina, 2009.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cult in Medieval Central Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Koszta, László. "A püspökség alapításától (1009) a 14. század közepéig" [From the foundation of the bishopric (1009) until the fourteenth century]. In *Pécs története II. A püspökség alapításától a török hódításig* [The history of Pécs II. From the foundation of the bishopric to the Ottoman occupation], edited by Márta Font and József Vonyó. 21–172. Pécs: Kronosz, 2015.

Kölnei, Lívia. "A tizennégy segítőszent kultusza a középkori Magyarországon" [The cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers in medieval Hungary]. *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 42–43 (1997–1998): 101–37.

Körmendi, Tamás. "Les saints patrons sur les sceaux et les armoiries des villes hongroises au Moyen Age." In *Streekwapens en regionale heraldiek: Congresverslag van het XIIe Internationaal Heraldisch Colloquium* (Groningen, 3–7 september 2001), edited by Hans de Boo, Bertus Hempenius, and René van Iterson, 149–54. Groningen: Profiel, 2005.

Körmendy, Adrienne. "A falusi plébániák hatása a faluközösség kialakulására: A Szepesség példája" [The impact of the rural parishes to the conformation of the rural community]. In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról,* edited by Erik Fügedi, 117–58. Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1986.

Körmendy, Adrienne. *Melioratio terrae. Vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13.–14. Jahrhundert.* Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskiego Towarzystwa Przyjacio Nauk, 1995.

Kővári, Krisztina. "Alexandriai Szent Katalin verses legendája" [The verse legend of St Katherine of Alexandria]. *Palimpszeszt*, 7, no. 16 (2002).

Kriško, János. "Körmöczbánya," in *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Bars vármegye* [Counties and towns of Hungary: Bars County], edited by Samu Borovszky, 86–116. Budapest: Országos Monografia Társaság, 1894.

Kristó, Gyula. "Károly Róbert családja" [The family of King Charles I]. *Aetas* 20, no. 4 (2005): 14–28.

Kristó, Gyula, Tibor Almási, László Blazovich, Lajos Géczi, Tamás Kőfalvi, Gyula Kristó, Ferenc Makk, Ferenc Piti, Ferenc Sebők, Ildikó Tóth, and Éva B. Halász. *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia.* Budapest–Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1990–2013.

Krizkó, Pál. *A körmöcbányai katholikus egyházközösség története* [History of the Catholic parish of Körmöcbánya]. Budapest: Rudnyánszky, 1887.

Krizkó, Pál. *A körmöcbányai vártemplom helyreállításának a története* [History of the renovation of the castle church of Körmöcbánya]. Budapest: Rudnyánszky, 1887.

Kubinyi, András. "Vallásos társulatok a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Confraternities in late medieval Hungary]. In *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, ecclesiastical institutions and religiosity in medieval Hungary], edited by András Kubinyi, 341–52. Budapest: METEM, 1999.

Kubinyi, András. Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők és ispotályok a késő középkori Magyarországon [Remedies, apothecaries, baths and hospitals in late medieval Hungary], In *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, edited by András Kubinyi, 253–68. Budapest: METEM, 1999.

Lamoš, Teodor, *Vznik a počiatky banského a mincového mesta Kremnice: 1328–1430* [Establishment and beginnings of the mining and mint town of Körmöcbánya: 1328–1430]. N.p.:Stredoslovenské vyd-vo, 1969.

Lékai, Lajos. *A ciszterciek: Eszmény és valóság* [Cistercians: Ideal and reality]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991.

Lewis, Katherine J. *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000.

Lucraft, Jeannette. *Katherine Swynford: The History of a Medieval Mistress.* Stroud: The History Press, 2011.

Madas, Edit. "A Legenda aurea a középkori Magyarországon (Kódexek és ősnyomtatványok, kiegészítések, a Legenda aurea mint forrás)" [Legenda Aurea in medieval Hungary (Codices and incunabula, additions, the Legenda Aurea as a source)]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 93–99.

Madas, Edit: *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből: a kezdetektől a XIV. század elejéig* [From the history of our medieval sermon literature: from the beginnings to the fourteenth century]. Debrecen: Kossuth, 2002.

Madas, Edit, Lea Haader, and Marianne Rozsondai, Tünde Wehli. *Érsekújvári kódex 1529–1531* [The Codex of Érsekújvár]. Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézete–Tinta Kiadó, 2012.

Majorossy, Judit. "Church in Town: Urban Religious Life in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills." PhD Diss., Central European University, 2006.

Majorossy, Judit. "Bevezető" [Introduction]. In *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013: tanulmánykötet* [Marginal notes to a historical murder: The memory of Gertrude of Merania], edited by Judit Majorossy, 9–14. Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014.

Majorossy, Judit, and Katalin Szende. "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary." In *Europäisches Spitalwesen: Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit / Hospitals and Institutional Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* edited by Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, and Alfred Stefan Weiß, 409–54. Vienna–Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008.

Mályusz, Elemér, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, Tibor Neumann, eds. *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Sigismund era charters]. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2014.

Marosi, Ernő, and László Beke. *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Hungarian art around 1300–1470]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

Mező, András. *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patrocinia in medieval Hungary]. Budapest, METEM, 2003.

Mikó, Árpád. "Alexandriai Szent Katalin vitája a tudósokkal" [St Katherine's debate with scholars]. In *A magyar iskola első évszázadai (996–1526): az "1000 éves a magyar iskola" országos program győri kiállítása: Xántus János Múzeum* [The early centuries of the Hungarian school (996–1526): The Győr Exhibition of the National Program "1000 Years of Hungarian Schools"] edited by Katalin G. Szende. Győr: Xántus János Múzeum, 1996.

Mojzer, Miklós. "A festő hagyatéka, ahogyan ma látjuk" [The legacy of the painter as we see it]. In *"Magnificat anima mea Dominum": M S Mester vizitáció-képe és egykori selmecbányai főoltára* ["Magnificat anima mea Dominum": The Visitation Painting and the former high altar of Selmecbánya by master M S], edited by Árpád Mikó, 6–30. Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványai, 1997.

Molenda, Danuta. "Mining Towns in Central-Eastern Europe in Feudal Times." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 34 (1976): 165–88.

Novák, Jozef. *Erby miest vyhlásených za pamiatkové rezervácie* [The coats of arms of national heritage towns]. Bratislava: Tatran, 1986.

Pásztor, Lajos. *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [The religious life of Hungarians in the Jagiello era]. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940.

Pelbartus de Themeswara: Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis. Accessed: February 02, 2016. http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=pa_index.

Peters, Christine. *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Petrovich, Eduardus, and Ladislaus, Paulus, eds. *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*. Budapest: Timkovics, 1993.

Pirhalla, Márton. *A szepesi prépostság vázlatos története kezdetektől a püspökség felállításáig* [An outline of the history of the Provostry of Szepes from the beginning until the establishment of the episcopate]. Lőcse: Szepesmegye Történelmi Társulat, 1899.

Poszler, Györgyi. "Selmecbánya és a Mária-templom főoltára" [Selmecbánya and the high altar of the Church of Virgin Mary]. In *"Magnificat anima mea Dominum": M S Mester vizitáció-képe és egykori selmecbányai főoltára*, edited by Árpád Mikó, 123–32. Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványai 1997.

Poszler, Györgyi. "Két jelenet Alexandriai Szent Katalin legendájából" [Two scenes from the Legend of St Katherine of Alexandria]. In S*igismundus Rex et Imperator*: *Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387–1437* [Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Art and Culture at the time of Sigismund of Luxemburg], edited by Imre Takács. Budapest–Luxembourg: Szépművészeti Múzeum 2006.

Potuckova, Kristina. "Virginity, Sanctity, and Image: The Virgines Capitales in Upper Hungarian Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." MA thesis, Central European University, 2007.

Pötzl, Walter. "Die Verehrung der Vierzehn Nothelfer vor 1400." *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 23 (2000): 157–86.

Pusztai, Tamás. "A Telkibányai Szent Katalin ispotály" [St Katherine's Hospital in Telkibánya]. In *Quasi liber et pictura*: *Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára*, [Quasi liber et pictura: Studies to the 72nd birthday of András Kubinyi], edited by Gyöngyi Kovács, 429–36. Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004.

Radó, Polikárp. *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae*. Budapest: Sumptibus Musaei Nationalis Hungarici, 1947.

Radó, Polikárp. *Nyomtatott liturgikus könyveink kézírásos bejegyzései* [Handwritten entries in Hungarian liturgical books]. Budapest: MNM Országos Széchényi Könyvtára, 1944.

Rados, Jenő. *Magyar oltárok* [Hungarian altars]. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.

Rajhona, Flóra. "Alexandriai Szent Katalin legendája Temesvári Pelbárt feldolgozásában" [The legend of St Katherine of Alexandria in the sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar]. In *Plaustrum seculi I. Tanulmányok régi prédikációirodalmunkról* [Plaustrum seculi I. Studies about our early sermon literature], edited by Ildikó Bárczi. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2004. Accessed: January 24, 2016 http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=312tan_plaus_flora.

Reames, Sherry L. *Legenda Aurea. A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958.

Sands, Tracey R. *The Company She Keeps: The Medieval Swedish Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria and its Transformations*. Tempe: ACMRS–Brepols, 2010.

Schill, Peter. "Ikonographie und Kult der Hl. Katharina von Alexandrien im Mittelalter, Studien zu den szenischen Darstellungen aus der Katharinenlegende." PhD Diss., Ludwig Maximilian University of München, 2002.

Schreiber, Georg. *Der Bergbau in Geschichte, Ethos und Sakralkultur.* Springer-Verlag, 2013.

Simon, Anne. *The Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in Late-Medieval Nuremberg. Saint and the City*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Slivka, Michal. *Pohľady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska* [Looking into the medieval Slovakian history]. Martin: Vydavateľstvo Matice Slovenskej, 2014.

Somogyi, Zoltán. *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye* [Poor relief in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Stephaneum, 1941.

Štefánik, Martin, and Ján Lukačka. *Lexikon Stredovekých Miest na Slovensku* [Encyclopedia of medieval Slovakian towns]. Bratislava: Prodama, 2010.

Števík, Miroslav, and Jozef Česla. "Významnejšie majetkové domény na Spiši do začiatku 14. storočia" [Major properties in Szepesség in the early fourteenth century]. In *Spiš v 12. a 13. storočí*, edited by Ńtevík, M. Stará Ľubovňa: n.p., 2011.

Stollhans, Cynthia. *St. Catherine of Alexandria in Renaissance Roman Art: Case Studies in Patronage*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

Szende, Katalin. "Power and Identity: Royal Privileges to the Towns of Medieval Hungary in the Thirteenth Century." In *Urban Liberties and Civic Participation from the Middle Ages to Modern Times,* edited by Michel Pauly and Alexander Lee, 27–67. Trier: Porta Alba, 2015.

Szende, Katalin. *Otthon a városban: Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in the town: Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Pozsony, and Eperjes]. Budapest: MTA TTI, 2004.

Szentpétery, Emericus, ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum: tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. Budapest: n.p., 1937–1938.

Togner, Milan, and Vladimír Plekanec. *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*. Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012.

Uhrin, Dorottya. "Szent Katalin mint az uralkodók patrónusa" [St Katherine as Royal Patron Saint]. In *Micae Mediaevales V: Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról* [Micae Mediaevales V: Essays by young historians on medieval Hungary and Europe], edited by Laura Fábián, Judit Gál, Péter Haraszti Szabó, and Dorottya Uhrin, 243–62. Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2016.

Urbán, Máté. "Pálos zarándokhelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary]. *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5, no. 1 (2009): 63–94.

Vauchez, André. "Jacques de Voragine et les saints du XIIIe siècle dans la Légende dorée." In *Legenda aurea. Sept siècles de diffusion*, edited by B. Dunn-Lardeau, 27–56. Paris–Montréal: Vrin–Bellarmin, 1986.

Vauchez, André. "Saints admirables et saints imitables: Les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?." In *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe–XIIIe siècle) Actes du colloque de Rome (27–29 octobre 1988),* 161–72. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991.

Végh, János. "A selmecbányai Szent Katalin-templom szobrai a szakirodalom tükrében" [The statues of St Katherine's church in Selmecbánya]. In *"Magnificat anima mea Dominum" M S Mester vizitáció-képe és egykori selmecbányai főoltára*, edited by Árpád Mikó, 113–22. Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványai 1997.

Végh, János. "Ismeretlen Szent Katalin sorozat a Szepességből" [Unknown St Katherine series from Szepesség]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 13 (1964): 79–88.

Vizkelety, András. *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni Kódexben – Die Rezeption der europäische Sermonesliteratur im „Löwener Kodex"*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004.

Walsh, Christine. *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Weed, Stanley E. "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs: The Cult of the Virgines Capitales in Art, Literature, and Popular Piety." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 41 (2010): 1065–91.

Weisz, Boglárka. "Mining Town Privileges in Angevin Hungary." *Hungarian Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (2013): 288–312.

Winstead, Karen A. *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England*. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Wolf, Kirsten. *The Old Norse-Icelandic Legend of Saint Barbara*. Toronto: PIMS, 2000.

Zsoldos, Attila. "Szepes megye kialakulása" [The origins of Szepes County]. *Történelmi Szemle* 43 (2001): 19–31.

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 587–617

A New *sancta et fidelis societas* for Saint Sigismund of Burgundy: His Cult and Iconography in Hungary during the Reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu
Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies

Examining both written and pictorial evidence, this study addresses the diffusion of the cult of St Sigismund from Bohemia to Hungary during the late fourteenth century and the saint's subsequent transformation during the fifteenth century into one of the Hungarian kingdom's patrons. In doing so, it assesses the significance of the actions that King Sigismund took to promote Sigismund of Burgundy, his personal patron, in Hungary and shows that the king emulated the model of his father, Charles IV of Luxemburg. King Sigismund promoted his spiritual patron within his kingdom and associated him with the traditional Hungarian patrons, the *sancti reges Hungariae*. The king thus succeeded in accommodating the foreign saint to a new home and transforming him for a short interval into one of Hungary's holy protectors. The natural consequence of this "holy and faithful fellowship" was the transfer of the cult from the royal milieu to the nobility of the kingdom. Willing to prove their loyalty to the king, Hungarian noblemen decorated their churches with St Sigismund's image and depicted him in the company of the saints Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas. The study's larger aim is to illustrate how the political transformations of a certain period could facilitate the spread of a new saint's cult from the cult center to another region and that a saint's veneration could sometimes be politically motivated.

Keywords: St Sigismund of Burgundy, Sigismund of Luxemburg, cult of saints, relics, *sancti reges Hungariae*, wall painting, iconography

Writing on the cults of dynastic saints in medieval Europe, Gábor Klaniczay showed that members of ruling dynasties were generally fervent supporters and promoters of cults of saints, especially those who had descended from their own families. Hungarian and Neapolitan Angevins, Přemyslids, or Luxemburgs harmoniously blended their personal piety with astute political calculation when proving their legitimacy to rule. Having several saints in the family or associating one's deeds with a particular saint (especially one's namesake) was an extension of that saint's sacredness over his protégé, guaranteeing the success of a ruler's actions.[1] Examining the iconography of Sigismund of Luxemburg, Bertalan Kéry revealed that the Holy Roman Emperor had a high devotion for his personal

1 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*.

patron, St Sigismund of Burgundy, and that medieval artists sometimes depicted the saint under his protégé's appearance.[2] Whereas King Sigismund's devotion for his namesake protector received previous attention, it became apparent only recently that the new King of Hungary promoted his personal patron and one of Bohemia's holy protectors within his realm.[3]

By examining the written and pictorial evidence, the present paper addresses the diffusion during the late fourteenth century of the cult of St Sigismund of Burgundy from Bohemia to Hungary and the saint's subsequent transformation by the late fifteenth century into one of the patrons of the Hungarian kingdom. In doing so, it assesses the significance of King Sigismund's efforts to promote his personal patron saint in Hungary and shows that he emulated the model of his father, Charles IV of Luxemburg, a fervent supporter and promoter of the cults of saints, an avid collector of relics, and a great patron of the arts. King Sigismund not only promoted his personal patron within his kingdom, but also associated him with St Ladislas, the patron saint *par excellence* of the Hungarian kingdom. Sigismund thus managed to accommodate the foreign saint to a new home and to transform him into one of the country's holy protectors. The natural consequence of this association was the transfer of the new cult from the royal milieu to the kingdom's aristocracy: willing to prove their loyalty to the king, Hungarian noblemen decorated their churches with the image of St Sigismund and depicted him in the company of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, i.e., St Stephen, St Emeric, and St Ladislas. The paper's larger aim is to illustrate how the political transformations of a certain period facilitated the transfer of a new saint's cult from the cult center to another region and that a saint's veneration was sometimes politically motivated.

One Saint—Two Cult Centers: St Sigismund of Burgundy between Agaune and Prague

King Sigismund of Burgundy (r. 516–24) was a convert from the Arian faith of his forebears to the orthodoxy of the Church of Rome and founder of the Abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune in Valais, Switzerland (515). He was an impulsive and violent-tempered ruler, who had his son Sigeric killed mercilessly at the instigation of his new wife (522). Shortly after the murder of the king and

2 Kéry, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 41–52.

3 Tóth, "*Patronus regis*," 80–96.

his family by Frankish King Chlodomer, the Abbot of Saint-Maurice Venerandus became interested in the remains of his monastery's founder and brought them for burial to Agaune from a well near Orléans, where the king's body was lying together with his massacred family (535). From that moment on, the cult of the holy king and martyr Sigismund started its gradual development in the shadow of the cult of St Maurice and his fellow Theban martyrs.[4] The monks of Agaune managed by the late sixth century to create for the founder of their abbey an aura of sanctity revolving around St Sigismund's healing power over fevers. This was reflected by the *Missa sancti Sigismundi regis pro febricitantibus*, a votive mass composed initially for the forgiveness of King Sigismund's sins, later sung as a means of seeking cure through the saint's intercession.[5] As attested by the distribution of relics, church dedications and commemoration through liturgical and hagiographical texts, St Sigismund's cult was present until the mid-fourteenth century, mainly in Southern France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries.[6] This regional diffusion indicates a moderate veneration of St Sigismund, who was known, though not popular in other parts of Europe.

The situation changed through the actions of Charles IV of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia (1346–78) and Holy Roman Emperor (1355–78), whose great knowledge of the cults of saints, understanding of the power and value of relics, and intense piety made him a passionate collector of relics.[7] He acquired first in 1354, from the Benedictine Monastery in Einsiedeln, a piece of St Sigismund's skull, which ended up in St Vitus Cathedral in Prague.[8] However, it was only in 1365, when Charles IV was crowned King of Burgundy and strengthened his imperial power in the region, that he took great interest in the cult of the sixth-century holy king, whose successor he claimed to be from that point on.[9] Detouring to Agaune from his coronation site in Arles, Charles IV took with him, despite the abbot's reluctance to hand them over, the ax of St Maurice's

4 For Sigismund's life and early cult, see: Folz, "Heiligen Könige," 317–44; idem, *Saints rois*, 23–25; Paxton, "Power," 95–110; idem, "Liturgy and Healing," 23–43.

5 Ibid., 23–43.

6 Folz, "Heiligen Könige," 340–341; Paxton, "Liturgy and Healing," 26, 33.

7 For Charles' passion for relics, see: Chadraba, "Devotio antiqua," 51–69; Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit," 87–101; Mengel, "Bones, Stones," 263–372; Otavský, "Reliquien," 129–41, 392–98. For his political propaganda through royal saints' cult and associated works of art, see: Rosario, *Art and Propaganda*; Crossley, "Politics of Presentation," 99–172.

8 Mengel, "Bones, Stones," 327–28.

9 For the political significance of Charles' sixth coronation, which made him the personal ruler of all the kingdoms of his empire, see: Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit," 99; Hilsch, "Krönungen," 111; Stoob, *Kaiser Karl IV*, 207–23.

martyrdom and St Sigismund's skull and half the body, i.e., a significant part of the holy king's relics.[10] He arranged for their transfer to Prague through a series of well-orchestrated actions, which resulted in the rapid transformation of St Sigismund of Burgundy into one of Bohemia's patron saints.[11]

As convincingly argued by David Ch. Mengel,[12] the Burgundian royal martyr was placed from the very beginning in the *sancta et fidelis societas* of St Wenceslas,[13] the tenth-century royal martyr and Bohemia's traditional patron.[14] St Sigismund's relics arrived to Prague on the vigil of St Wenceslas (September 27), when the town was filled with people coming for one of the annual fairs. They were transferred the next day to St Vitus Cathedral, which was miraculously illuminated during the office of matins: a sign of St Sigismund's previous merits and future miracles and a symbol of St Wenceslas' rejoicing in such *holy and faithful companionship*. The relics were then placed in a prominent chapel situated opposite the shrine of St Wenceslas.[15] The diocese-wide proclamation of the advent of St Sigismund's relics requested by the Archbishop of Prague during a diocesan synod (October 17, 1365)[16] and numerous miracles occurring immediately at the saint's new shrine[17] testify to the cult's carefully planned promotion by the archbishop and emperor and to the great impact that the transfer of the holy king's relics had in Bohemia. St Sigismund attracted numerous pilgrims seeking to be healed to Prague, both Archbishop John Očko of Vlašim and Charles IV himself being cured of fevers through the holy king's miraculous intervention

10 Mengel, "Bones, Stones," 332–36.

11 For Sigismund as Bohemian patron, see: Polc, "Zapomenutý patron," 127–31; Mengel, "Remembering," 17–32; Studničková, "Kult Sigismund," 299–339.

12 Mengel, "Holy and Faithful," 145–58.

13 ". . . Quis dubitet sanctissimum patronum nostrum Wenczeslaum apud Deum sanctum Sigismondum sibi obtinuisse in socium, qui adhuc positus in humanis sanctum sibi impetravit et vicum. O sancta et fidelis societas, que nullo potuit violari certamine, quaeque adunata corporibus pro delictis populorum staret et mente . . . ," National Library of France, Paris, NAL 1510, published in "Miracula sancti Sigismondi," 463.

14 For the cult of Wenceslas, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 101–08, 163–67, 329–31, 347–48, with bibliography.

15 Mengel, "Holy and Faithful," 148–50. For Wenceslas' and Sigismund's *sancta et fidelis societas* in art, see: Studničková, "*Sancta et fidelis societas*," 446–53. The lines connecting St Sigismund's and St Wenceslas' chapels with the shrine of St Vitus and the planned tomb of St Adalbert formed the arms of a cross, which had the relics of the four Bohemian patrons at its ends, Homolka, "Ikonografie sv. Víta," 566.

16 Mengel, "Bones, Stones," 339–40.

17 "Miracula sancti Sigismondi," 462–69. Mengel analyzes the 31 miracles that occurred just in the first four months after the transfer of the relics; see "Bones, Stones," 352–70.

(late January of 1366 and summer of 1371).[18] The cult's rapid success and its strong support from Charles IV—who named his third-born son, the future King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, after St Sigismund in 1368—led finally to the establishment of the saint as one of the country's patrons.[19] Consequently, at the 1366 diocesan synod in Prague, St Sigismund's feast day was moved from May 1 to May 2 so that he could have a separate celebration on a different date from that of the Holy Apostles Philip and James. This was an honor usually granted to a country's patron saint and was granted to Sigismund on account of his great and glorious miracles.[20] St Sigismund's newly acquired significance was reflected also in the religious art commissioned by his two promoters, the Burgundian holy king appearing twice in the early 1370s in the company of Bohemia's traditional patrons, i.e., St Wenceslas, St Adalbert, St Vitus, St Procopius and St Ludmila: once on the votive panel ordered by Archbishop John Očko of Vlašim (before 1371) and a second time, as the result of Charles IV's commission, on the mosaics above the Golden Gate of St Vitus Cathedral (1370–71).[21]

Two Sigismunds in Late Medieval Hungary: King Sigismund of Luxemburg and St Sigismund of Burgundy

As shown by Péter Tóth, the presence of St Sigismund's cult in medieval Hungary was mediated by the transfer of the saint's relics to Prague and the advent as King of Hungary of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), who was the son of Charles IV and who promoted his personal patron in the region.[22] Before this date, there is scant evidence of St Sigismund's veneration in Hungary: some of the earliest Hungarian calendars do, nevertheless, contain the feasts of his martyrdom (May 1) and the *translatio* of his relics (October 15/16); however, the holy king's *passio*, office, and votive mass are missing from these eleventh-

18 Both miracles attest to the familiarity of the cured ones with Sigismund's specialized healing power, ibid., 357–58, 371. When Charles fell ill, his wife vowed to walk the distance of around 30 kilometers from Karlštejn to Prague to express her piety at St Sigismund's shrine; she then donated a large amount of gold to be used for adorning the saint's skull, Studničková, "Kult Sigismund," 307–08.

19 Charles' first son was named after the patron of Bohemia, St Wenceslas. For Charles' naming practice, see: Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit," 88–92; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 330–31.

20 Mengel, "Bones, Stones," 341.

21 For these works, see: Schleif, "Hands," 9–15; Piqué and Stulik, *Conservation*.

22 Tóth, "*Patronus regis*," 80–96.

to-fourteenth-century liturgical manuscripts[23] and only the church in Kopács (Kopačevo, Croatia) was dedicated to St Sigismund (1299).[24] This indicates that the cult of the first medieval royal saint was confined in limited form to Hungarian church practice and did not manage to become popular until the end of the fourteenth century, when the situation changed radically.

St Sigismund's reputation seemingly spread rapidly outside Bohemia and news of the translation of his relics to Prague soon reached the neighboring Kingdom of Hungary. The gilded silver statue of St Sigismund was donated by *quemdam nobilem de Hungaria* to the saint's shrine and appeared in the 1374 inventory of St Vitus' treasury.[25] In 1375, the *Statuta capituli Varadiensis* recorded the existence of an altar dedicated to St Sigismund in the Cathedral of Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania).[26] Sometime between 1364 and 1380, the chaplain of King Louis the Great requested permission to venerate St Sigismund's relics kept in the Cathedral of Olomouc since the early thirteenth century.[27] The Hungarian altars and churches dedicated to the new Bohemian patron correspond to the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg and were obviously inspired by the king's devotion to his personal patron: the altar in Körmöcbánya (Kremnica, Slovakia, 1391),[28] the royal chapter church in Buda (1410–24), the Pauline monastery in Verőce (1414–33), and the churches and chapels in Niva (1422), Úszfalva (Uzovce, Slovakia, 1429), and Hásság (Haşag, Romania, 1446).[29] St Sigismund gradually made his presence felt in liturgical writings as well. His feasts originating in Bohemian liturgical practice, i.e., the martyrdom of the saint (May 2) and the *translatio* of his relics (September 27), appear in several late-fourteenth-century or fifteenth-century missals with either Hungarian provenance or use.[30] St Sigismund's Life was known in Hungary by the early fifteenth century, when

23 Ibid., 85.

24 Doc. no. 508, Wenzel, *Codex diplom.*, 12: 642.

25 Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad*, XXIX.

26 Bunyitay, *Váradi káptalan*, 74; the altar is mentioned again in 1423 and 1437, Balogh, *Varadinum*, 2: 36, 44, 278.

27 Doc. no. 121 (352), Tadra, "Cancellaria," 101. For Sigismund's Olomouc relics preceding the acquisitions of Charles IV, see Studničková, "Kult Sigismund," 300–01.

28 Radocsay, *Középkori táblaképei*, 37.

29 Mező, *Templomcím*, 254; idem, *Patrocíniumok*, 496. For the double dedication to St Ladislas and St Sigismund of the monastery in *Kysbathe/Gerchen* (1383–84), see below.

30 Missals kept in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest. For May 2, see: *Missale Ecclesiae Hungaricae saec. XIV*, Clmae 395; *Missale Posoniense (Codex "A") saec. XIV*, Clmae 214; *Missale Ecclesiae Polonicae 1379*, Clmae 451, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 73–74, 77–79, 111–12. For Prague *translatio*, see: *Missale Hungariae Superioris s. XIV*, Clmae 93, ibid., 67–69.

a *Legenda aurea* manuscript (copied in Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century) was augmented by two Hungarian users with several legends, including that of St Sigismund, the incipit of which is *Tempore Tiberij* . . .[31] The votive mass *pro febricitantibus* is featured in two fifteenth-century missals[32] and two *orationes* (*Sancti Sigismundi martiris* and *Rex et martyr, Sigismunde*...) appear in a prayer book written around the year 1460 in Southern Germany or Bohemia, though used in Upper Hungary.[33] The final outcome of this slow process was the inclusion of St Sigismund among Hungary's patron saints, as attested by *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in lombardica historia non contente* (Strasbourg, 1484–1487)[34] and its subsequent editions published in Venice (1498 and 1512).[35] In this collection of saints' lives which are relevant for Hungary, though omitted by *Legenda aurea*, one can also read the *vita* of St Sigismund: he was naturalized at last and enjoyed the company of Hungary's traditional patrons, i.e., the three *sancti reges Hungariae*—Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas.[36]

Regarded as a zealous promoter of his patron's cult,[37] King Sigismund indeed tried to promote his namesake saint in Hungary. His actions are better understood when compared to the practices of veneration and promotion employed by Sigismund's father, Charles IV of Luxemburg. Soon after moving his residence from Visegrád to Buda (1408), King Sigismund started the construction next to his new court of a royal chapter church, a project on which he spent many thousands of florins by the year 1410. This attracted the praise of Pope John XXIII in a letter issued on August 3, followed fifteen days later by another one authorizing the access of visitors to the church in Buda on certain Marian feasts.[38] The construction of the chapter church was completed during the years 1419–24, as attested by accounts of visitors to the church, which received the double patronage of the Holy Virgin and St Sigismund.[39] As noted

31 University Library, Budapest, *Iacobus de Voragine: Legenda Aurea. Legendae Sanctorum*, Cod. Lat. 44, Mezey, *Codices Latini*, 65; Madas, " *Légende dorée*," 55–56.

32 Cathedral Library, Esztergom, *Missale Posoniense (Codex "I") saec. XV*, LI 7, and National Széchényi Library, Budapest, *Missale in usum Balth. Batthyány Capitanei de Kőszeg 1489*, Nyelvemlékek 17, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 126–32, 169–72.

33 University Library, Budapest, *Orationes*, Cod. Lat. 109, Tóth, *Catalogus Codicum*.

34 Prüss, *Lege*[n]*de*.

35 Madas, "*Légende dorée*," 59–60.

36 The collection includes, in the calendar's order, other saints and feasts relevant for medieval Hungary. For Sigismund's *vita*, see Prüss, *Lege*[n]*de*, fols. 3r-4r.

37 Folz, "Heiligen Könige," 338.

38 Doc. no. 553–54, Kumorovitz, *Monumenta*, 3: 287–88.

39 For the church's history, see: idem, "Budai várkápolna," 109–51; Végh, "Adatok," 25–34.

by András Végh,[40] there are too many similarities between King Sigismund's religious foundation in Buda and that of Charles IV in Nuremberg (1355–58)[41] not to notice whose model of devotion and artistic patronage the Hungarian king followed. Both churches were located outside, though close to the royal residence, on the site of a former Jewish quarter.[42] As far as one can judge by the ground plan of the vanished church in Buda, they both displayed similar architectural features and sculptural decoration.[43] Both fulfilled the function of court chapels and collegiate chapter churches.[44] Most significantly, they enjoyed a similar double patronage, being placed first under the protection of the Holy Virgin and, second, under that of the founder's patron saint, i.e., St Sigismund, for the church in Buda[45] and St Wenceslas for the church in Nuremberg, the founder of which was *Karolus, qui et Wenceslaus*.[46]

King Sigismund understood the importance of relics in the promotion of a saint's cult and, like his father, he endeavored to acquire St Sigismund's relics in order to distribute them within his kingdom. A seventeenth-century copy of a document dated June 30, 1414 accounts for King Sigismund's visit to Agaune with the explicit intention to acquire some of his patron's relics and take them to Hungary.[47] More precisely, to a chapel the king was going to build in *Voarenza*, a deserted place in the Diocese of Vác, which was found next to an island on the Danube, a location lying in the proximity of the royal palace in Visegrád and identified with Verőce. The chapel was to be dedicated to St Sigismund and entrusted to the care of Pauline monks.[48] The document also offers relevant information on King Sigismund's devotion to his patron saint and his intention to spread and ensure the continuity of the royal martyr's cult

40 Ibid., "Adatok," 25–26.

41 For Nuremberg Frauenkirche, see: Bräutigam, "Nürnberger Frauenkirche," 170–97; Crossley, "Our Lady," 64–80.

42 For the Nuremberg Jewish quarter, see: Maué, "Nuremberg's," 34–35. For the Jewish quarter in Buda, see: Feld, "Beszámoló," 35–49; Kárpáti, "Szent Zsigmond," 205–40.

43 Végh, "Adatok," 25–26. For the church's fragmentary sculptures, see: Gergely Buzás and István Feld, *A budai Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai.*

44 Végh, "Adatok," 25–34; Kumorovitz, "Budai várkápolna," 109–51.

45 Ibid., 113–21.

46 Charles was named Wenceslas at birth (1316), but was re-Christened Charles during his confirmation (1323) by his uncle, Charles IV the Fair of France, at whose court Charles was educated, Schneider, "*Karolus*," 365–87. For the cult of Wenceslas in Nuremberg, see: Srovnal, "Kult svatého Václava," 233–48.

47 *Copiae Henrici Macognini de Petra canonici Agaunensis anno 1634–35*, bookcase no. 19, fols. 36/33r-38/35r, Historical Archives of the Abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, text published in Tóth, "*Patronus regis*," 94–96.

48 Ibid., 95. For identifying its location, see: Laszlovszky, "Royal Palace," 213–18.

across the kingdom.[49] After referring to the relic-oriented visit of Charles IV to Agaune[50] and to Sigismund's desire to follow in the footsteps of his father,[51] the document contains an account of the miraculous opening of the reliquary. This represented St Sigismund's consent for his new and partial relocation of relics, i.e., a small bone, a piece of the saint's arm, and a skull portion of one of the saint's sons, which King Sigismund took away to Hungary.[52] Although the document mentions only the church in Verőce, it is unlikely that the Pauline monastery was the exclusive recipient of St Sigismund's relics, especially if one thinks that in the moment of the king's pious visit and acquisition of relics, the church in Buda was being built and dedicated precisely to the Burgundian saint. It is unknown what relics the church in Buda possessed, but like the Nuremberg Frauenkirche, which had a side altar dedicated to St Wenceslas,[53] it is highly possible that King Sigismund provided the secondary altar of his foundation with the relics of his personal and the church's associated patron.[54] The existence before 1375 in the Cathedral of the Holy Virgin and St Ladislas in Nagyvárad of an altar dedicated to St Sigismund makes one reflect upon the possibility that part of the saint's relics were intended also for King Sigismund's favorite cathedral. In any case, in 1424, the Cathedral in Nagyvárad housed St Sigismund's relics, transferred temporarily from Prague by King Sigismund, who tried to protect them from the rage of the Hussites.[55]

Choosing Nagyvárad Cathedral for the temporary relocation of St Sigismund's relics was not without motivation. This was the cult center and burial place of one of Hungary's holy kings, St Ladislas, with whose cult Sigismund of Luxemburg became acquainted shortly after he arrived to the Hungarian court

49 Tóth, "*Patronus regis*," 92.

50 "…sed duci petivit devotissime et ardenter ad ecclesiam dicti Sancti Sigismondi, ob cuius reverentiam sic vocatur, quem sanctum visitaverat inclytae memoriae dictus eius genitor, unde caput exportavit, qui dum rediret ad partes sui Regni Boemiae invenit foelicissimam augustam quae enixerat et peperat praelibatum eius inclytum genitum, quem vocari voluit Sigismondum ob reverentiam Sancti antedicti." Ibid., 94.

51 "…praefatus vero dominus dominus noster foelix accedens ad praelibati foelicissimae memoriae Augusti sui genitoris devotionem, et volens et ardenter cupiens ex causis praemissis, in exaltationem nominis Sancti Sigismondi, devotionem et statum ecclesiae augmentum, ut de eiusdem sancti devotissimis orationibus apud Altissimum sit protinus gaudens…," ibid., 95.

52 Ibid., 95–96.

53 Végh, "Adatok," 26–27.

54 After attending the evening service in the royal chapter's church on January 5, 1501, Polish Duke Sigismund Jagiełło was allowed to venerate its relics, though the reference is generic, Divéky, *Zsigmond*, 85.

55 Information occurring in a late-fifteenth-century source, Veit Arnpeck's *Chronica Baioariorum* (1491–95), Leidinger, *Veit Arnpeck*, 200. This isolated occurrence led to assumptions that the relics either returned afterward to Prague, Végh, "Adatok," 27, or have never been to Nagyvárad, Tóth, "*Patronus regis*," 88.

(1379) and for whom he maintained high devotion throughout his life.[56] During his reign, King Sigismund was present in Nagyvárad on numerous occasions[57] and, after the death of his wife, Queen Mary of Hungary, and her burial next to the tomb of St Ladislas (1395), the king directed his attention repeatedly toward the cathedral and his holy predecessor's remains.[58] In 1401 and 1434, King Sigismund requested papal indulgences for the pilgrims who visited the cathedral and venerated the holy king's miracle-working relics.[59] He took part himself in such a pilgrimage together with King Władysław II Jagiełło, spending fifteen days and celebrating Easter in Nagyvárad. Sigismund's expression of piety toward St Ladislas came after his conclusion of a peace treaty with the Polish ruler (1412).[60] After a fire in the early 1400s that destroyed the cathedral's sacristy and melted down St Ladislas' head reliquary, though left the relics unharmed, King Sigismund was likely involved in the commissioning of the holy king's exquisite new reliquary, kept today at the Cathedral of Győr. He also supported the cathedral's partial rebuilding in the years 1406–07 through the royal confirmation of privileges and donations.[61] It is in one of these charters that King Sigismund entrusted his salvation to the intercession of St Ladislas and expressed his desire to be buried next to the holy king's sepulcher in the Cathedral of Nagyvárad.[62] He maintained his wish even after he became Holy Roman Emperor,[63] a fact that serves to point out to the king's utmost devotion for one of Hungary's patrons. That St Ladislas was indeed important for King Sigismund is illustrated also by the king's keeping of the golden florin with the holy knight's figure on the reverse. In 1427, he also issued a silver ducat with

56 For Sigismund's veneration of St Ladislas, see: Kerny, "Szent László," 355; eadem, "Begräbnis," 475–76; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights," 319–20.

57 Sigismund's presence in Nagyvárad is recorded fifteen times between 1387 and 1426, Engel, "Utazó király," 70–71.

58 Nagyvárad Cathedral as Mary's burial site appears first in a 1401 royal donation charter, doc. no. I, Fejér, *Codex diplomaticvs*, 4: 54–55.

59 For the 1401 papal letters following Sigismund's request, see *Monumenta Vaticana*, 1: 347–48, 367, 373. For the 1434 papal indulgences, see Lukcsics, *Monumenta Hungariae Italica*, 2: 333, 347.

60 Gleditschivs and Weidmann, *Ioannis Dlvgossi*, 327; docs. nos. CL-CLII, Fejér, *Codex diplomaticvs*, 5: 343–44.

61 For the Győr reliquary, its debated dating and its bibliography, see: Cat. no. 4.91, in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 378–82; László, "Szent László," 157–209. For the 1406 confirmations, see docs. nos. CCXXXIII–CCXXXV, Fejér, *Codex diplomaticvs*, 4: 518–28; for the 1407 donations, see doc. no. CCXCII, ibid., 613–14. See also: Bunyitay, *Váradi püspökség*, 1: 227; Balogh, *Varadinum*, 2:42–43.

62 Doc. no. CCXXXIII, Fejér, *Codex diplomaticvs*, 4:519–20.

63 For Sigismund's burial, see: Kerny, "Begräbnis," 475–79; idem, "Zsigmond halála," 143–59.

the saint's iconic image bearing a crown, crucifer orb, and battle axe.[64] All these facts attest not only to King Sigismund's personal piety toward one of Hungary's patrons, but also to his understanding of St Ladislas as a powerful symbol of the Kingdom of Hungary and an efficient tool for political legitimizing and self-representation.

The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that King Sigismund also revered Hungary's other holy kings, although except for a 1404 royal confirmation of privileges addressed to the Cathedral in Székesfehérvár (i.e., the cult center of St Stephen and St Emeric and traditional burial site of Hungarian kings), no other evidence points out to such devotion.[65] Nevertheless, St Ladislas, the sacred protector *par excellence* of the Hungarian kingdom, was associated with the king's personal patron, St Sigismund, portrayed under the physical appearance of his protégé in the murals of the Augustinian Church in Constance, which were commissioned and partly ideated by King Sigismund himself during his stay there for the council (1417).[66] No longer identifiable in its entirety, the gallery of enthroned holy kings, princes, bishops, and female saints seems to reflect Sigismund's personal piety for the two holy kings, endorsing also his political and dynastical claims.[67] The association of the two holy kings makes one think of the double dedication to St Ladislas and St Sigismund of the Pauline monastery in *Kysbathe* (*Gerchen*), which Nicholas Zámbó de Mezőlak, former Castellan of Óbuda and Master of the Treasury (1382–84, 1385–88), founded prior to the years 1383–84,[68] i.e., sometime after Sigismund's stay at the Hungarian court (1379–81) and close to the time of his marriage to his betrothed, Queen Mary of Hungary (1385). Their marriage, threatened by Elizabeth of Bosnia's intention to marry her daughter to Louis of Orléans, was personally supported by Nicholas Zámbó and others, who openly opposed the queen mother and renounced their allegiance to her (August 1384).[69] The monastery's double dedication to St Ladislas and St Sigismund by a dignitary of the royal court (and supporter of the future king, for that matter) antedates the actions of Sigismund of Luxemburg,

64 Cat. nos. 572–74, 584–85, Huszár, *Münzkatalog*, 93–95.

65 For this document, see: *ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár*.

66 For these frescoes, see: Kéry, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 44–46; Cat. no. 2.12, in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 161–62.

67 Gramm, "Kaiser Sigismund," 391–406, reports also that the Austrian and Hungarian coat of arms appeared once and twice, respectively, next to the painted figures; it is possible, therefore, that another Hungarian holy king was included initially in the series of saints, but this can no longer be identified.

68 Molnár, "*Zöld Kódex*," 219–20; *Documenta Artis Paulinorum*, 2:209, and 3:31–35. For Nicholas Zámbó's career, see Incze, "*My Kingdom in Pledge*," 31–34.

69 Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 196–97.

but shows that others were aware as well of the benefits this *sancta et fidelis societas* (i.e., between the sacred protector of Sigismund's adoptive country and his personal patron saint) could have in making a newcomer accepted as the new King of Hungary.

St Sigismund of Burgundy and the Holy Kings of Hungary in Religious Mural Painting

Several murals preserved in churches throughout medieval Hungary feature the country's traditional patrons, i.e., St Stephen, St Emeric, and St Ladislas, atypically associated with a fourth holy king, whose identity is most likely that of St Sigismund of Burgundy, the king's personal patron saint. A closer examination of these frescoes and the background of their commissioners is destined to suggest possible explanations for the way in which St Sigismund's cult was transferred from the royal milieu to the aristocratic one. The collective representation of Hungary's three holy kings was the consequence of their joint cult, which took shape around the middle of the fourteenth century in the royal milieu and gained popularity during the reigns of Louis the Great of Anjou (1342–82) and Sigismund of Luxemburg,[70] when the veneration of *sancti reges Hungariae* spread considerably among the noblemen of the kingdom.[71] By imitating the devotional practices of the royal court, the nobility also replicated the patterns of artistic patronage, decorating many of its churches with the image of *sancti reges Hungariae*. The veneration and subsequent commissioning of murals with their image functioned as a strong statement of the noble donor's political allegiance. This allegiance could be directed either toward the king, as an expression of loyalty toward the ruler, who rewarded the nobleman generously for faithful service, or directly to the kingdom, whenever the king's person was no longer considered suitable to represent it.[72] However, the strong political component of these depictions did not exclude the personal veneration of the royal saints by the frescoes' commissioners, many of them being named after or having their family members named after them.[73]

70 Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges*," 26–30; idem, "Political Aspects," 94–100.

71 Klaniczay, "Noblesse," 511–26; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights," 319–30.

72 The powerful symbol of St Ladislas was used against the king in 1402, when the Hungarian aristocracy conspired against Sigismund of Luxemburg and swore an oath on the saint's relics; the anti-Sigismund coalition supported the claim of Ladislas of Naples to the Hungarian throne. Doc. no. 401, Ipolyi, *Codex Diplomaticus*, 7: 439–40; Bunyitay, *Váradi püspökség*, 1: 221.

73 Such cases are discussed in Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges*," 49, 55, 63, 68.

The collective depiction in mural painting of *sancti reges Hungariae* usually places in a single composition the three holy rulers from the House of Árpád:[74] St Stephen (r. 1000/01–38), the founder of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary, who merited his sanctity for ruling as *rex iustus* and converting his people to Christianity; St Emeric (1000/07–31), the son of the former, a pious and chaste prince, whom was educated to become a virtuous Christian ruler, but died before succeeding his father; and St Ladislas (r. 1077–95), ideal ruler and knight, the country's defender against pagan enemies, and *athleta patriae*.[75] Their highly conventional and stereotypical portrayal shows from a frontal perspective the full, standing figures of the holy kings characterized by hieratical appearance, static attitudes, and emphatic gestures.[76] The murals show with slight variation a similar picture: an old, white-bearded St Stephen with crown, scepter, and orb; a young, beardless St Emeric with orb and lily or lily-shaped scepter, the symbol of his chastity; and a mature, brown-bearded St Ladislas holding a battle axe, a reminder of his chivalric bravery.[77] The different ages of the royal saints—old for St Stephen, mature for St Ladislas, and young for St Emeric—could be an influence of the Three Magi's iconography, which similarly shows the wise men at the three ages of kingship.[78] As the great number of preserved frescoes attests, this age differentiation is, in fact, not an attempt to individualize the three characters, but rather a standardized and uniform depiction. Either dressed in elegant court costumes or as full-armored knights, the three are depicted as kings, being equally invested with royal insignia (crown, scepter, and orb).[79] Despite the great uniformity and repetitiveness of the murals, there was also room for variation and innovation. In some cases, the unity of the group was disrupted, the saints being placed on separate, though conceptually unifying wall surfaces (e.g., the pillars of the triumphal arch) on which the *sancti reges Hungariae* stood in relation to one another.[80] In other cases, there were not the usual three, but four

74 For this iconography, see: Poszler, "Árpád-házi szent," 170–87; Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 103–21; Kerny, "Magyar szent XIII.–XVII.," 80–123; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges*," idem, "Political Aspects," 93–119. For other studies, see below.

75 For their cults, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 114–294.

76 Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects," 101.

77 There is the tendency to place St Stephen centrally, but there are also exceptions, idem, "*Sancti reges*," 74, 77, 88.

78 Marosi, "XIV–XV. századi," 34–36; Kerny, "Magyar szent XIV," 75–76.

79 Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges*," 45–65, 72–93; idem, "Political Aspects," 100–19.

80 Idem, "*Sancti reges*," 55–62, 75, 80, 84, 89, 91–92; idem, "Political Aspects," 107–14.

royal saints, whom were depicted either together, within a single composition, or formed a coherent iconographic unit despite their obvious spatial separation.

Fig. 1 – Holy bishop, St Ladislas, St Stephen, St Sigismund, and St Emeric, either before 1404/5 or 1420s, fresco, middle register of the sanctuary's southern wall, Lutheran Church in Almakerék (Mălâncrav, Romania)

On the southern wall of the sanctuary of Nicholas Apafi's family church in Almakerék (Mălâncrav, Romania), painted either shortly before 1404/05 or in the 1420s,[81] a unitarily conceived group of saints is surrounded by a decorative frame (Fig. 1). The standing figures with elegant postures and fashionable court costumes are: an old holy bishop with miter and crozier, identified either with St Gerard, St Nicholas, or St Adalbert;[82] the mature, brown-bearded St Ladislas with crucifer orb and battle axe; the old, white-bearded St Stephen with scepter and crucifer orb; another mature, brown-bearded holy king with the same attributes as St Stephen; and the young, beardless St Emeric with blond, curly hair, holding an orb and originally a lily (now faded away).[83] Because the accompanying inscriptions are no longer visible, it is difficult to ascertain the identity of the mature holy king placed between St Stephen and St Emeric and depicted with

81 For the church's bibliography up to 2000, see Gogâltan, "Church in Mălâncrav," 305–13. For the Apafis' artistic patronage, see: eadem, "Patronage;" eadem and Sallay, "Church of Mălâncrav," 2:181–210. For the murals' recent overview, see: Jenei, "Peintures murales," 47–76.

82 For the complex issue of the holy bishop's identity, see: Năstăsoiu, "Holy Bishop."

83 Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 114.

generic royal attributes.[84] Anca Gogâltan identified him hypothetically as St Sigismund on the basis of the historical background of the frescoes, the donor's attachment to the king, and the efforts of Sigismund of Luxemburg to promote the cult of his patron throughout the kingdom.[85] St Sigismund was indeed depicted as a middle-aged holy king, dressed in royal garments, holding scepter and orb, and not having other distinguishing attributes.[86]

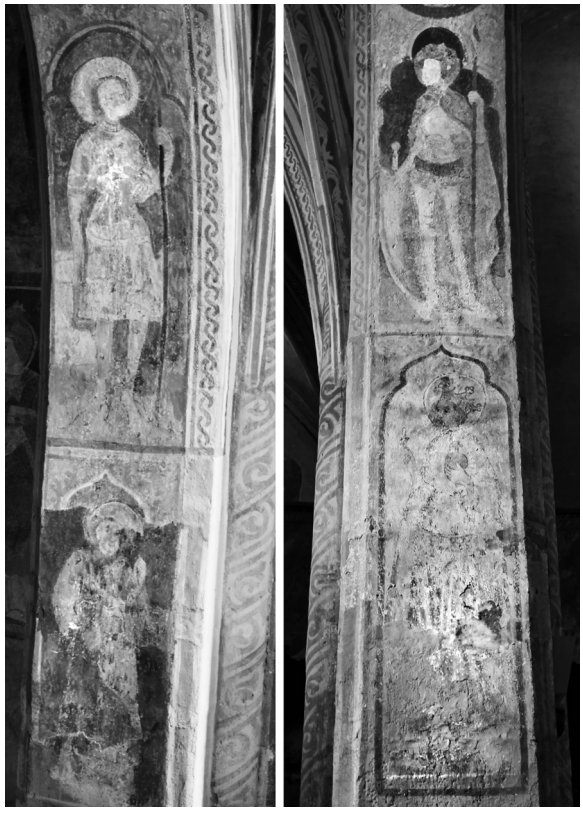


Fig. 2 – Holy kings, 1420s, fresco, eastern and western pillars of the southern aisle, Lutheran Church in Csetnek (Štítnik, Slovakia)

84 Identified initially with St Louis IX of France, Drăguț, "Mălîncrav," 87–88; idem, "Mediaș," 13–14. The Transylvanian analogies upon which he relied (Beszterce, Medgyes, Marosszentkirály, Marosszentanna, and Szék) are, in fact, holy kings, whom are difficult to identify in absence of inscriptions and personal attributes. An exception is the holy king in Szék, who holds a ring and raven, the attributes of St Oswald, King of Northumbria, who appears also in the recently uncovered murals in Szászivánfalva that were executed by the same workshop that produced the sanctuary frescoes in Almakerék; however, the fourth holy king in Almakerék cannot be St Oswald, due to his lack of personal attributes.

85 Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 117–21.

86 Studničková, "Kult Sigismund," 299–39; idem, "Kult Zikmunda," 283–23; idem, "*Sancta et fidelis*," 446–53.

Four holy kings, two on each pillar and in superposed registers, seem to have faced each other originally on the pillars separating the nave from the southern aisle of the church in Csetnek (Štítnik, Slovakia), but currently only three of them are visible. The mural decoration of the church's southern aisle was commissioned by Ladislas Csetneki during the 1420s, the decade in which the pillar frescoes were painted.[87] The figures are poorly preserved and their individual identification is problematic, but one can notice a mixture of knightly, courtly, and royal elements in their costumes and attributes (Fig. 2). The saint on the eastern pillar's upper register has chainmail under his tight tunic and holds an attribute with long handle (?) and shield. His counterpart on the western pillar is

Fig. 3 – St Sigismund, 1420s, fresco, lower register of the western pillar, Lutheran Church in Štítnik (Slovakia)

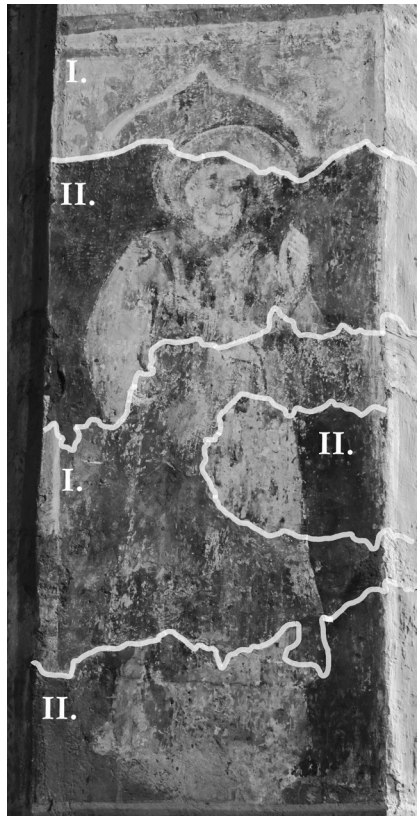


Fig. 4 – Drawing with succession of paint layers: (I) holy-king layer, (II) holy-monk layer; lower register of the eastern pillar, Lutheran Church in Štítnik (Slovakia)

87 For the murals' dating and commissioner, see: Dvořáková, *Stredoveká mal'ba*, 154–60; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók*, 31–40; Togner, "Nástenné maľby," 687–89.

fully armored, wears a crown or ducal hat, props a shield and sword against the ground, and holds a similar, long-handled attribute with destroyed upper side, which could be either a spear, halberd, pollaxe, or banner. Below him (Fig. 3), a mature holy king in court costume and crown holds a crucifer orb and badly preserved attribute, probably a scepter. He has curly hair and beard covering only the lower part of his jaw. The representation facing him on the lower register of the eastern pillar was later replaced by the figure of a holy monk, but the partial detachment of the paint reveals that there was another, earlier saint painted there (Fig. 4). Several noticeable details suggest that this older figure represented a saint dressed in a red-brown vestment with a relatively large sleeve.[88] His left arm was bent as for holding an attribute, probably a scepter or orb by analogy with his counterpart, who holds precisely these attributes. His halo, partially visible next to that of the holy monk, has the same color and outline as the halo of the saint facing him; both were placed under decorated, trefoil arches (Fig. 3–4). These features indicate that the two figures on the lower registers of the pillars are coeval, as they are with those on the upper registers. Faced with this evidence and given the dating of the murals, one can hypothesize that in Csetnek as well, the traditional, Hungarian royal trio was enriched with another holy king, although individual identification of the saints is no longer possible. However, the holy king's curly hair and distinctively shaped beard (Fig. 3) recall the features of St Sigismund as they appear on the fresco in Constance and, implicitly, those of Sigismund of Luxemburg, whose facial traits were conferred often by medieval painters to the patron saint of the King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor.[89]

In the frescoes of the church in Lónya, either painted or commissioned by a certain *mag*(iste)*r nicolaus* in 1413,[90] two holy kings were integrated to the sanctuary's now-incomplete row of standing apostles (Fig. 5). Dressed in fashionable court costumes, the two standing figures with crown and crucifer orbs are identified by inscriptions: ·*s*(anctus)·*dux*/·*emeri*[c]*us* and ·*s*(anctus)·/*rex*/[s]*tepha*/*nu*[s]. Their facial features are damaged, though one clearly see that the

88 Detail encountered in the court costume of the saint facing him; the military costumes in the upper registers are tight.

89 Sigismund of Luxemburg was identified visually with his personal patron, the emperor's iconography crossing often the borderline between the sacred and profane, between religious piety and personal representation, Kéry, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 41–52. For other examples, see: Marosi, "Zsigmond-portrék," 133–41; idem, "Saints at Home," 197–98; Szabó, "Emperor Sigismund," 24–31, 85; Tátrai, "Darstellung Sigismunds," 143–52; Cat. no. 2.12, in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 161–62.

90 Lángi, "Előzetes beszámoló," 357–74; Jékely and Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 184–213, 457.

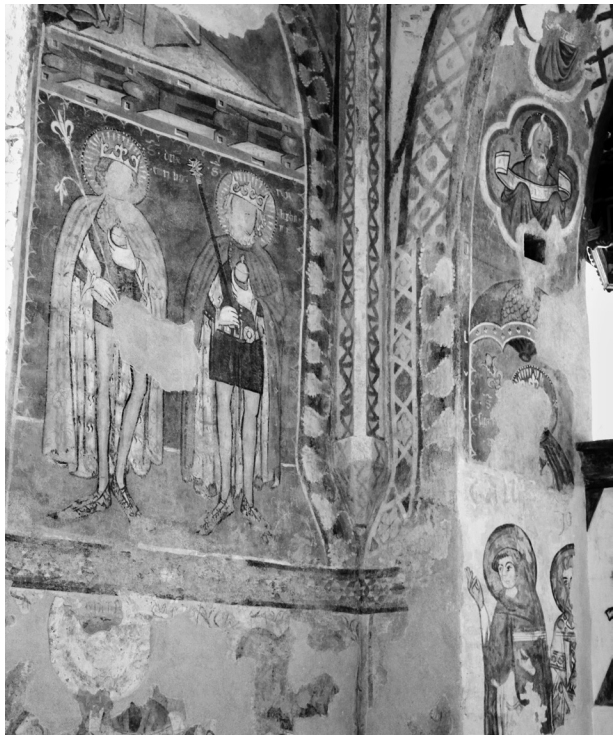


Fig. 5 – St Emeric and St Stephen (southern wall), and St Sigismund (southern pillar), 1413, fresco, southern wall of the sanctuary, Calvinist Church in Lónya (Hungary)

Fig. 6 – St Sigismund, 1413, fresco, southern pillar of the triumphal arch, Calvinist Church in Lónya (Hungary)

former is brown-haired and holds a white lily, whereas the latter has white hair and beard, and holds a mace-like scepter. They are placed on the sanctuary's southern wall, in the proximity of the pillar of the triumphal arch, where another partially preserved holy king is placed under a canopy (Fig. 5–6). This one has a similar crown, mantle, crucifer orb, and scepter with flower-shaped ending. His face is completely damaged, but the accompanying inscription identifies him as ·*s*(anctus)·/·*sigism*[undus]. The sanctuary's 1413 decoration is now incompletely preserved and St Ladislas is missing; however, given his great popularity, it is unlikely that the holy knight was not depicted inside the church. The eastern and northern walls were decorated with standing apostles, the only place for the hypothetical depiction of St Ladislas being the triumphal arch's northern pillar, i.e., as St Sigismund's counterpart.[91]

Fig. 7 – St Sigismund, c. 1400, fresco, lower register of the nave's northern wall, Calvinist Church in Bádok (Romania)

91 Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges*," 57–58, 69, 80; idem, "Political Aspects," 114. The corresponding layer of paint fell down in this area, making visible the sanctuary's earlier decoration; although incompletely preserved, the northern wall's decoration seems to have consisted entirely of standing apostles.

In his Bohemian iconography, St Sigismund was depicted as a middle-aged holy king, dressed in royal garments and holding scepter and orb, though not having other distinguishing attributes. However, in the recently discovered murals of the church in Bádok (Bădeşti, Romania), which were painted around 1400 on the lower register of the nave's northern wall,[92] St Sigismund was depicted also under a knightly guise (Fig. 7). His partially preserved figure shows a full-armored knight holding a white shield decorated with a red cross in his right hand, whereas his left hand, bent in front of his chest, probably held an orb (now destroyed). The saint's features are no longer preserved, his head having been intentionally damaged at some later point; however, the upper side of the damaged area has the shape of a crown, which the holy knight originally had on his head.[93] If it were not for the accompanying inscription that clearly reads *S*(ANCTVS)·*SIGIS*/*MVND*(VS), this holy warrior would easily pass for St Ladislas due to his pronounced knightly appearance. It was probably the iconographic type of this popular Hungarian patron that the painter of the small rural church used when conceiving the appearance of the new saint, whose cult was only emerging in medieval Hungary.[94] However, St Sigismund is depicted in Bádok as part of a series composed of St Catherine of Alexandria, St Helena, St John the Baptist, and the Madonna with Child, a sign that he was not exclusively associated with Hungary's holy kings.[95]

As attested by the above-discussed murals, St Sigismund of Burgundy could be depicted either as a holy king or a holy knight and could be placed in the company of either *sancti reges Hungariae* or other popular saints. His image in these churches reflects his certain popularity at the turn of the fourteenth and

92 Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 8–25; Jékely, "Bádok falképei," 194–208; idem, "Ateliers," 32–37.

93 A similar, crown-shaped damage on the head of the neighboring St Catherine supports the idea of intentional destruction, for whatever reasons.

94 Marosi, "Saints at Home," 194–98. Doubting that the painting was executed immediately after 1387, he proposed a dating one quarter of a century later; the figure's knightly appearance, however, could equally indicate an earlier dating to a period when painters were not very familiar with the new saint's iconography, copying thus that of St Ladislas. As shown earlier, St Sigismund's cult made its presence felt in Hungary in the 1370s–1380s; subsequently, the dating of the frescoes before 1400 is highly possible.

95 Another fragmentarily preserved example can be added hypothetically to this list. In the early-fifteenth-century murals of the church in Zsíp, the holy kings on the pillars of the triumphal arch are probably St Ladislas and St Emeric (northern pillar) and another mature holy king with dark hair (southern pillar), a detail which does not fit the iconography of the old, white-haired St Stephen. The paint layer corresponding to St Ladislas' pendant is completely lost, but iconographic analogies (Zsigra, Tornaszentandrás, Poprád, and possibly Csécs) suggest that St Ladislas could be faced by St Stephen, whereas St Emeric's pendant, the dark-haired holy king, could be St Sigismund. For a discussion of this case, see Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges*," 57–58, 60–61, 69, 93; idem, "Political Aspects," 110–11, 114, 116–17, 119.

fifteenth centuries. By looking at the donors of the frescoes whenever such information is available, one can hypothetically reconstruct the transfer of St Sigismund's cult from the royal level to that of the nobility. Nicholas Apafi, the donor of the frescoes in Almakerék, was *aule miles* (1410–41), *comes* of Vranduk, Srebrenik, Dubočac (1414–18), and Biertan (1418–40), his presence being attested in Constance during King Sigismund's stay for the council (1418). Sigismund then issued a series of charters granting privileges to Biertan and confirming some land possessions inherited by the wife of Nicholas, himself called *fidelis noster dilectus egregius miles Nicolaus filius Apa de Almakerek* and commended for his great bravery and remarkable assistance during the king's military campaigns in Bosnia.[96] Present then in Constance was also Ladislas Csetneki, the commissioner of the murals in Csetnek, who was an illustrious prelate holding throughout his career the ecclesiastical offices of Canon of Esztergom (from 1397), Provost of Budafelhévíz and Esztergom-Zöldmező (1408–24), governor of the Archdiocese of Esztergom (1420, 1439), *comes* of the royal chapel (1423), chancellor to the queen (1432–37), and Bishop of Nyitra (1439–48).[97] Whereas almost no information has survived on the notables of Bádok (and Zsíp), it is known that the owners of Lónya belonged at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the kingdom's lower nobility.[98] One can also add to these figures that of Nicholas Zámbó de Mezőlak, Master of the Treasury and early supporter of Sigismund of Luxemburg, who dedicated his monastic foundation in *Kysbathe* (*Gerchen*) to both St Ladislas and St Sigismund, i.e., precisely to the patrons of the country and the future king. Consequently, the presence of St Sigismund in the company of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was inspired by the high devotion of Sigismund of Luxemburg for both his personal patron and the kingdom's holy protectors. This inspired, in turn, a similar piety among the country's noblemen, who were either in close or distant connection with the king and belonged equally to the higher and lower levels of nobility.[99] They emulated the devotional and artistic patterns of the royal court, illustrating in their churches the Hungarian-Bohemian *sancta et fidelis societas* and being aware

96 For Nicholas' activity, see Gogâltan and Sallay, "Church of Mălâncrav," 181–86; for the 1418 documents, see doc. no. 1835–37, Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch*, 63–67.

97 For overviews of his career, see: Prokopp, *Középkori freskók*, 31–33; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights," 325; Jékely, "Regions," 163.

98 Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 7: 156–68; Karácsonyi, *Ersten Lónyay*. See also doc. no. 125, 130, 136–37, 147, 159–61, Neumann, *Bereg megye*, 63–65, 68, 72.

99 For Hungarian nobility's devotion for the *sancti reges Hungariae*, see: Klaniczay, "Noblesse," 511–26; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights," 319–30; Fedeles, "Várad kegyhelye," 163–82.

of the utmost devotion of the king for St Sigismund. They sometimes made obvious the link between the ruler and his personal patron by lending the features of the former to the latter, as likely happened in Csetnek. That the cult of the Burgundian royal martyr and his representation in the company of Hungary's holy kings were inspired by King Sigismund's piety and were determined by the political transformations of the time is likewise obvious from the chronological distribution of the mural ensembles. This coincides exclusively with the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg and endorses Péter Tóth's opinion that *patronus regis* was, in fact, *patronus regni* at least as long as the king was reigning.[100]

Conclusion

The reputation of St Sigismund of Burgundy spread to Hungary shortly after the *translatio* of the saint's relics to Prague, after which the piety of Hungarian pilgrims travelling abroad was immediately directed toward the new Bohemian patron. However, his cult started to take shape in Hungary only through the consistent efforts of Sigismund of Luxemburg to promote his personal patron throughout his kingdom, acquiring and distributing St Sigismund's relics across Hungary and founding churches in his honor. It is precisely during the period coinciding with the reign of King Sigismund that the murals bearing representations of St Sigismund were painted: from the late 1300s to the 1420s. The king's actions to promote his patron saint were meant to establish and ensure the solidity of St Sigismund's new Hungarian cult and they show striking similarities with those undertaken by the king's father, Charles IV of Luxemburg. This one managed in only five years to transform St Sigismund into one of his country's sacred protectors by associating from the beginning the holy newcomer with Bohemia's traditional patrons, especially St Wenceslas. No direct evidence of joint promotion by the Hungarian king of St Sigismund and the three holy kings has survived, although the king's reverence for both his personal patron and St Ladislas is undeniable. His obvious emulation of his father's efficient strategies for promoting the cults of saints makes it highly possible that King Sigismund attempted to establish, like his illustrious parent, a new *sancta et fidelis societas* within his kingdom, one that was meant to ensure the status of Hungarian patron for St Sigismund. Except for the temporary relocation of the royal martyr's relics to the cult center of St Ladislas in Nagyvárad and their

100 Tóth, "*Patronus regis*," 80–96.

depiction in the Constance frescoes, there is no other sign of such an explicit association. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that King Sigismund's high devotion for the two royal saints made St Sigismund to be placed more than twice in St Ladislas' holy and faithful companionship and, through him, in that of the other *sancti reges Hungariae*, the usual iconographic companions of St Ladislas. Only such a situation could make possible the iconographic association of St Sigismund with the holy kings of Hungary during King Sigismund's reign and his later inclusion among the patron saints of the Hungarian Kingdom in *Legende sanctorum regni hungarie in lombardica historia non contente*.

Bibliography

Balogh, Jolán. *Varadinum. Várad Vára* [Varadinum. Nagyvárad Castle]. 2 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Bräutigam, Günther. "Die Nürnberger Frauenkirche: Idee und Herkunft ihrer Architektur." In *Festschrift für Peter Metz,* edited by Ursula Schlegel and Claus Zoege von Manteuffel, 170–97. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965.

Bunyitay, Vince. *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai* [The oldest statutes of the chapter of Nagyvárad]. Nagyvárad: n.p., 1886.

Bunyitay, Vince. *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig. 1. A váradi püspökok a püspökség alapításától 1566. évig* [History of the Nagyvárad Bishopric from its foundation to the present day. 1. Nagyvárad Bishops from the Bishopric's foundation until 1566]. Nagyvárad: n.p., 1883.

Buzás, Gergely, and István Feld, eds. *A budai Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai: Kiállítási katalógus* [The St Sigismund Church in Buda and its Gothic sculptures. Exhibition catalogue]. Budapest: BTM, 1996.

Chadraba, Rudolf. "Kaiser Karls IV. devotio antiqua." *Mediaevalia Bohemica* 1 (1969): 51–69:

Crossley, Paul. "Our Lady in Nuremberg, All Saints Chapel in Prague, and the High Choir of Prague Cathedral." In *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, edited by Zoë Opačić, 64–80. Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009.

Crossley, Paul. "The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia." In *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, edited by Sarah Rees Johnes et al., 99–172. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000.

Divéky, Adorján. *Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számadásai* [Accounts of Polish Duke Sigismund in Buda]. Budapest: MTAK, 1914.

Documenta Artis Paulinorum. 3 vols. Budapest: MTA Művészettört. Kut. Csop., 1975 and 1978.

Drăguţ, Vasile. "Picturile murale de la Mediaş: O importantă recuperare pentru istoria artei transilvănene" [Mural paintings of Mediaş: An important recovery for Transylvanian art history]. *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice şi de Artă* 45, no. 2 (1976): 11–22.

Drăguţ, Vasile. "Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălîncrav" [Mural paintings in the Evangelical Church in Mălâncrav]. *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 14, no. 1 (1967): 79–93.

Dvořáková, Vlasta, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, eds. *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku* [Medieval mural painting in Slovakia]. Prague: Odeon, 1978.

ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár. Elektronikus könyvek – Kéziratok. ELTE University Library. e-Books – Manuscripts III. Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Reg. Scient. Universitatis Budapestinensis. Tomus II. Pars III. Catalogus Collectionis Kaprinayanae et Supplementa Budapestini 1907. Budapest: n.p. 2006. Accessed January 22, 2016. http://mek.oszk.hu/03500/03518/pdf/catalogus3.pdf.

Engel, Pál. "Az utazó király: Zsigmond itinerárium" [The traveling King: Sigismund's itinerary]. In *Művészet Zsigmond király korában, 1387–1437* [Art during the age of King Sigismund, 1387–1437], edited by László Beke and Ernő Marosi, 2 vols, 70–92. Budapest: 1987.

Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

Fedeles, Tamás. "*Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai*. Várad kegyhelye a késő középkorban" [*Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai*. Nagyvárad Shrine during the Late Middle Ages]. In *"Köztes-Európa" vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére* [Attracted by "Inter-Europe". Festive essays in honor of Márta Font], edited by Dániel Bági, Tamás Fedeles, and Gergely Kiss, 163–82. Pécs: Kronosz, 2012.

Fejér, Georgius. *Codex diplomaticvs Hungariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis*. Buda: Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1841.

Feld, István. "Beszámoló az egykori budai Szent Zsigmond templom és környéke feltárásáról" [Account of the exploration of the former St Sigismund Church in Buda and its surroundings]. *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 35–49.

Folz, Robert. *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.

Folz, Robert. "Zur Frage der heiligen Könige: Heiligkeit und Nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 14 (1958): 317–44.

Gleditschivs, Ioannes Ludovicvs, and Mavritivs Georgivs Weidmann, ed. *Ioannis Dłvgossi sev Longini Canonici qvondam Cracoviensis, Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*. Frankfurt: n.p., 1711.

Gogâltan, Anca. "Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania: The Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)." PhD diss., CEU, 2003.

Gogâltan, Anca. "The Church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) Sibiu District. A Historiographic Overview." *Apulum* 37, no. 2 (2000): 305–13.

Gogâltan, Anca. "The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop, and the Saint King in the Sanctuary of the Church at Mălâncrav." *Ars Transsilvaniae* 12–13 (2002–2003): 103–21.

Gogâltan, Anca, and Dóra Sallay. "The Church of Mălâncrav/Almakerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa." In *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, edited by Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Péter Levente Szőcs, 2 vols, 181–210. Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2002.

Gramm, Josef. "Kaiser Sigismund als Stifter der Wandgemälde in der Augustinerkirche zu Konstanz." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (1909): 391–406.

Gündisch, Gustav, ed. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Vierter Band: 1416–1437. Nummer 1786–2299 mit 6 Tafeln*. Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff, 1937.

Hilsch, Peter. "Die Krönungen Karls IV." In *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, edited by Ferdinand Seibt, 108–11. Munich: Prestel, 1978.

Homolka, Jaromír. "Ikonografie katedrály sv. Víta v Praze" [Iconography of St Vitus Cathedral in Prague]. *Umění/Art* 26 (1978): 564–75.

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis Heute*. Munich: Ernst Battenberg Verlag, 1979.

Incze, János. "*My Kingdom in Pledge*. King Sigismund of Luxemburg's Town Pledging Policy. The Case Studies of Segesd and Bártfa." MA Thesis, CEU, 2012.

Ipolyi, Arnold, Imre Nagy, and Dezső Véghely, eds. *Codex Diplomaticus Patrius Hungaricus. Tomus VII*. Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1880.

Jenei, Dana. "Les peintures murales de l'église de Mălâncrav. Notes avant la restauration." *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 52 (2015): 47–76.

Jékely, Zsombor. "A Kolozs megyei Bádok falképei és az erdélyi falfestészet" [Wall paintings of Bádok/Bădeşti in Cluj County and Transylvanian mural painting]. In *Colligite Fragmenta! Örökségvédelem Erdélyben* [Colligite Fragmenta! Cultural heritage in Transylvania], edited by Tímea N. Kiss, 194–208. Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2010).

Jékely, Zsombor. "Les ateliers de peinture murale en Transylvanie autour de 1400." *Ars Transsilvaniae* 23 (2013): 31–54.

Jékely, Zsombor. "Regions and Interregional Connections. A Group of Frescoes in the Kingdom of Hungary around 1420." *Ars* 40, no. 2 (2007): 157–67.

Jékely, Zsombor, and József Lángi. *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből* [Remnants of wall painting in the Northeastern counties of medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2009.

Jékely, Zsombor, and Loránd Kiss. *Középkori falképek Erdélyben. Értékmentés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval wall paintings in Transylvania. Rescued with the support of the László Teleki Foundation]. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008.

Karácsonyi, János. *Die ersten Lónyay*. Bratislava: n.p., 1912.

Kárpáti, Zoltán. "A Szent Zsigmond-templom és környéke. Régészeti jelentés" [The St Sigismund Church and its surroundings. Archaeological report]. *Tanulmányok Budapesti Múltjából* 31 (2003): 205–40.

Kerny, Terézia. "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIII. századtól a XVII. századig" [The cult and iconography of Hungarian Holy Kings from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth century]. In *Az ezeréves ifjú. Tanulmányok szent Imre herceg 1000 évéről* [The thousand-year-old youth. Studies on the thousand years of Duke St Emeric], edited by Tamás Lőrincz, 80–123. Székesfehérvár: Szent Imre templom, 2007.

Kerny, Terézia. "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIV. század közepéig" [Cult and iconography of Hungarian Holy Kings until the middle of the fourteenth century]. In *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából. 1000 Jahre heiliger Emmerich. Beiträge zu Ehren des heiligen Emmerich anläßlich seines 1000. Geburstages*, edited by idem, 73–82. Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007.

Kerny, Terézia. "Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund." In *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismund von Luxemburg 1387–1437. Ausstellungskatalog*, edited by Imre Takács, 475–79. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern Verlag, 2006.

Kerny, Terézia. "Szent László kultusz a Zsigmond-korban" [The cult of St Ladislas during the age of Sigismund]. In *Művészet Zsigmond király korában, 1387–1437* [Art during the age of King Sigismund, 1387–1437], edited by László Beke and Ernő Marosi, 2 vols, 353–63. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum 1987.

Kerny, Terézia. "Zsigmond király halála, temetése és síremléke Tinódi Sebestyén *Zsigmond király és császárnak krónikája* című költeményében" [The death, burial and tombstone of King Sigismund in Sebestyén Tinódi's Verse Chronicle of King and Emperor Sigismund]. In *Tinódi Sebestyén és a magyar verses epika. A 2006. évi budapesti és*

kolozsvári Tinódi-konferenciák előadásai [Sebestyén Tinódi and Hungarian verse epics. Proceedings of the Tinódi Conference in Budapest and Cluj-Napoca], edited by István Csörsz Rumen, 143–59. Cluj-Napoca: Kriterion, 2008.

Kéry, Bertalan. *Kaiser Sigismund. Ikonographie*. Vienna: Schroll, 1972.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "La noblesse et le culte des saints dynastiques sous les rois Angevins." In *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Université d'Angers: Angers-Saumur, 3–6 juin 1998*, edited by Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz, 511–26. Rome: École française de Rome, 2000.

Kumorovitz, Bernát L. "A budai várkápolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez" [With regard to the history of the Buda Castle Chapel and the St Sigismund Provostry]. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 109–51.

Kumorovitz, Bernát L., ed. *Monumenta Diplomatica Civitatis Budapest. Tomus Tertius (1382–1439)*. Budapest: BTM, 1987.

Laszlovszky, József. "The Royal Palace in the Sigismund Period and the Franciscan Friary at Visegrád: Royal Residence and the Foundation of Religious Houses". In *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, edited by Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky, 207–18. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013.

Lángi, József. "Előzetes beszámoló a lónyai református templom falképeinek kutatásáról, feltásáról" [Preliminary report on the research and exploration of wall paintings at the Calvinist Church in Lónya]. *Műemlékvédelem* 48 (2004): 357–74.

László, Gyula. "Szent László győri ereklyetartó mellszobráról" [Statue reliquary of St Ladislas in Győr]. *Arrabona* 7 (1966): 157–209.

Leidinger, Georg, ed., *Veit Arnpeck, sämtliche Chroniken*. Munich: M. Rieger'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1915.

Lukcsics, Pál, ed. *Monumenta Hungariae Italica. Diplomata pontificum saec. XV. Tomus 2. Eugenius Papa IV (1431–1447), Nicolaus Papa V (1447–1455)*. Budapest: MTAK, 1938.

Machilek, Franz. "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit." In *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, edited by Ferdinand Seibt, 87–101. Munich: Prestel, 1978.

Madas, Edit. "La *Légende dorée* – *Historia lombardica* – en Hongrie." In *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, edited by Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli, 53–61. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995.

Marosi, Ernő. "A XIV-XV. századi magyarországi művészet európai helyzetének néhány kérdése" [A few questions regarding fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungarian art in European context]. *Ars Hungarica* 1 (1973): 25–66.

Marosi, Ernő. "Saints at Home and Abroad: Some Observations on the Creation of Iconographic Types in Hungary in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." In *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, edited by Ottó Gecser et al., 175–206. Budapest: CEU Press, 2011.

Marosi, Ernő. "Újabb Zsigmond-portrék" [Further Sigismund portraits]. In *Horler Miklós hetvenedik születésnapjára tanulmányok* [Studies for Miklós Horler's seventieth birthday], edited by Pál Lővei, 133–41. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993.

Maué, Hermann. "Nuremberg's Cityscape and Architecture." In *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300–1550*, 27–50. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986.

Mengel, David Ch. "A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-century Prague." In *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěkvů věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi* [Europe and Bohemia at the end of the Middle Ages. Conference proceedings dedicated to František Šmahelov], edited by Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup, 145–58. Prague: Centrum Medievistických Studií, 2004.

Mengel, David Ch. "Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)." PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003.

Mengel, David Ch. "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint." In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Papers from the Sixth International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice Sponsored by the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Held at Vila Lana, Prague 23–25 June 2004*, edited by Zdenek V. David and David R. Holeton, 17–32. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Main Library, 2007.

Mezey, László, ed. *Codices Latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961.

Mező, András. *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben (11–15. század)* [Church dedication in Hungarian place names (eleventh to fifteenth century)]. Budapest: METEM, 1996.

Mező, András. *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patrocinia in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: METEM, 2003.

"Miracula sancti Sigismondi martyris, per ipsum in sanctam Pragensem ecclesiam manifeste demonstrata." In *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani*. 3 vols, 462–69. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1893.

Molnár, István. "A magyarországi pálosok *Zöld Kódex*-ének Somogy megyei regesztái" [Somogy County regests of the *Green Codex* of the Hungarian Paulines]. *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 2 (1975): 217–233.

Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series 1. 4 vols. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Nyomdája, 1889.

Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* [Families of Hungary with coats of arms and chronological tables]. 12 vols. Pest: Nyomatott Beimel J. és Kozma Vazulnál, 1860.

Năstăsoiu, Dragoş Gh. "A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Frescoes of Mălâncrav." Forthcoming *Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie* 25 (2016).

Năstăsoiu, Dragoş Gh. "Political Aspects of the Mural Representations of *sancti reges Hungariae* in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 16 (2010): 93–119.

Năstăsoiu, Dragoş-Gheorghe. "*Sancti reges Hungariae* in Mural Painting of Late-medieval Hungary." MA Thesis, CEU, 2009.

Neumann, Tibor, ed. *Bereg megye hatóságnak oklevelei (1299–1526)* [Authorities' charters of Bereg County (1299–1526)]. Nyíregyháza: Kiadja a Móricz Zsigmond Könyvtár, 2006.

Otavský, Karel. "Reliquien im Besitz Kaisers Karl IV., ihre Verehrung und ihre Fassungen." In *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and Their Artistic Decoration*, edited by Jiří Fajt, 129–41, 392–98. Prague: Národní Galerie, 2003.

Paxton, Frederick S. "Liturgy and Healing in an Early Medieval Saint's Cult: The Mass *in honore sancti Sigismundi* for the Cure of Fevers." *Traditio* 49 (1994): 23–43.

Paxton, Frederick S. "Power and the Power to Heal. The Cult of St Sigismund of Burgundy." *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993): 95–110.

Piqué, Francesca and Dusan Stulik, ed. *Conservation of the Last Judgment Mosaic, St. Vitus Cathedral, Prague*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005.

Podlaha, Anton, and Eduard Šittler. *Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis* [Treasury of the St Vitus Cathedral in Prague. Its history and description]. Prague: Nákladem dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1903.

Polc, Jaroslav. "Zapomenutý český patron" [The forgotten Czech Patron]. In *Se znamením kříže* [In the sign of the cross], edited by František Dvorník, 127–31. Rome: Křesťanská akademie v Římě, 1967.

Poszler, Györgyi. "Az Árpád-házi szent királyok a magyar középkor századaiban" [Holy kings of the Árpád House in the Hungarian Middle Ages]. In *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon. Geschichte – Geschichtsbild. Die Beziehung von Vergangenheit und Kunst in Ungarn*, edited by Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó, 170–87. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000.

Prokopp, Mária. *Középkori freskók Gömörben* [Medieval frescoes in Gömör County]. Šamorín: Méry Ratio, 2002.

Prüss, Johann. *Lege*[n]*de S*[an]*cto*[rum] *regni Hungarie in lombardica historia non co*[n]*tente*. Strasbourg: 1484–1487. Accessed January 21, 2016. https://digitalis.uc.pt/en/fundo_antigo/legende_sanctorum_regni_hungarie_lombardica_historia_non_contente/.

Radocsay, Dénes. *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel paintings of medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955.

Radó, Polykarpus, ed. *Libri liturgici manu scripti bibliothecarum Hungariae*. Budapest: OSZK, 1947.

Rosario, Iva. *Art and Propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000.

Schleif, Corine. "Hands That Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting." *Art History* 16, no. 1 (1993): 1–32.

Schneider, Reinhard. "*Karolus, qui et Wenceslaus*." In *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskus, 365–87. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1977.

Srovnal, Filip. "Kult svatého Václava při norimberské Frauenkirche" [St Wenceslas' cult in Nuremberg Frauenkirche]. In *Ve službách českých knížat a králů. Kniha c poctě profesora Jiřijo Kuthana* [In service of Czech princes and kings. Book in honor of Professor Jiří Kuthan], edited by Miroslav Šmied and František Záruba, 233–48. Prague: NLN, 2013.

Stoob, Heinz. *Kaiser Karl IV. und seine Zeit*. Graz: Styria, 1990.

Studničková, Milada. "Kult des heiligen Sigismund (Sigmund) in Böhmen." In *Die Heiligen und ihr Kult im Mittelalter*, edited by Eva Doležalová, 299–339. Prague: Filosofia, 2010.

Studničková, Milada. "Kult svatého Zikmunda v Čechách" [St Sigismund's cult in Bohemia]. In *Světci a jejich kult ve středověku* [Saints and their cults in the Middle Ages], edited by Petr Kubín, Hana Pátková, and Tomáš Petráček, 283–323. České Budějovice: Ústav dějin křesťanského umění Katolické teologické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2006.

Studničková, Milada. "*Sancta et fidelis societas:* Svaté a věrné společenství sv. Václava a sv. Zikmunda v pražské katedrále sv. Víta" [*Sancta et fidelis societas*. Holy and faithful fellowship of St Wenceslas and St Sigismund in St Vitus Cathedral in Prague]. In *Čechy jsou plné kostelů. Boemia plena est ecclesiis. Kniha k poctě PhDr. Anežky Merhatutové,*

DrSc. [Bohemia is full of churches. *Bohemia plena est ecclesiis*. Book in honor of PhD Anežka Merhautová, DrSc.], edited by idem, 446–53. Prague: NLN, 2010.

Szabó, George. "Emperor Sigismund with St Sigismund and St Ladislaus: Notes on a Fifteenth-century Austrian Drawing." *Master Drawings* 5, no. 1 (1967): 24–31 and 85.

Szakács, Béla Zsolt. "Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund." In *Sigismund von Luxemburg: ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunstshistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8–10. Juni 2005*, edited by Michel Pauly and François Reinert, 319–30. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern Verlag, 2006.

Tadra, Ferdinand. "Cancellaria Johannis Noviforensis Episcopi Olomucensis (1364–1380). Briefe und Urkunden des Olmützer Bischofs Johann von Neumarkt." *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 86, no. 1 (1886): 1–157.

Takács, Imre, ed. *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismund von Luxemburg 1387–1437. Ausstellungskatalog.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006.

Tátrai, Vilmos. "Die Darstellung Sigismunds von Luxemburg in der italiensichen Kunst seiner Zeit." In *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismund von Luxemburg 1387–1437. Ausstellungskatalog*, edited by Imre Takács, 143–52. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern Verlag, 2006.

Togner, Milan. "Nástenné maľby v Štítniku" [Wall paintings in Štítnik]. In *Gotika: Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, edited by Dušan Buran, 687–89. Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003.

Tóth, Péter, ed. *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis*. Budapest: 2008. Accessed January 21, 2016. http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/kataloge/budapest.pdf.

Tóth, Péter. "*Patronus regis–patronus regni:* Kaiser Sigismund und die Verehrung des heiligen Sigismund in Ungarn." *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1 (2008): 80–96.

Végh, András. "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária, más néven Szent Zsigmond templom alapításának történetéhez" [Data on the foundation history of the Minor Virgin Mary Church, also known as the St Sigismund Church]. *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 25–34.

Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. *Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus,* 12 vols. Budapest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd M. Akadémiai Könyvárus, 1874.

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 618–644

Jerome Comes Home: The Cult of Saint Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia

Ines Ivić
Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies

In present day Croatia, St Jerome is considered a national saint, the outcome of a long period of appropriation beginning in the Middle Ages. The spread of his cult in medieval Dalmatia can be traced to the fifteenth century, when Jerome became a synonym for Dalmatia and the Dalmatians. This article discusses the historical circumstances which led to the formation of the common Dalmatian identity: establishment of the Venetian government after 1409, changes in the social structure in the Dalmatian communes and the rise of humanism there. This research focuses on the first two towns to adopt official celebrations of Jerome's feast, Dubrovnik and Trogir. They still hold the largest numbers of artistic representations of the saint. We take the perspective of the private and public veneration expressed in these artworks.

Keywords: St Jerome, regional cult, Late Middle Ages, Dalmatia

St Jerome (345?–420) occupies a special place in the pantheon of saints. He was a trilingual Biblical scholar, ferocious Catholic controversialist, zealous moralist and belligerent defender of the ascetic life. Today, this universal saint is also unofficially considered the national saint of Croatia. The national denomination is a result of a long process that started in Dalmatia with the development of a regional cult that formed out of different traditions. Local Glagolitic tradition, first documented in the thirteenth century, praised Jerome for his regional origins, his invention of the Glagolitic script and his translation of the Bible into Slavonic, while the imported humanist tradition praised his intellectual deeds and ascetic way of life.

This article will discuss the formation of the regional cult in Dalmatia through the intertwining of these traditions. Manifestations of the traditions are preserved in artworks and literary productions which also testify to the popularity of the saint. The cult in medieval Dalmatia has been discussed only sporadically in previous historiography and poses many questions for research. Among the most important is Jerome's role in the formation of regional and ethnic identity in Dalmatia. Since this question has been treated before, especially through Slavic confraternities named after St Jerome that were active outside the homeland,[1]

1 After the establishment of the Venetian government in Dalmatia, the term *schiavone* was generally accepted as the name for people coming from the Eastern Adriatic Shore, from Istria to Boka Kotorska

I will focus on an aspect that has not yet been discussed: the historical and political context in which the cult emerged in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Trogir (Traù), among the first cities to celebrate the cult officially. An analysis of artworks and archival documents reveals how the cult was imbued with strong political and ethnic characteristics and was induced by the establishment of the Venetian government in Dalmatia after 1409. The discussion takes the perspective of public and private veneration of the saint.

There is a vast scholarship on Jerome's life. Although the most relevant books were published some decades ago, they still represent the starting point for discussing Jerome's cult in Europe.[2] Among the recent works I would highlight is a collection of essays on Jerome's written legacy, edited by Andrew Cain and Josef Lössl, giving an extensive bibliography on Jerome.[3] Unfortunately, none of these works contain references to veneration of Jerome in Dalmatia, which would be an important contribution to scholarship, considering the strong cultural, religious and political connection between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea. A recently published book by Julia Verkholantsev deals with the Slavic identity of the saint in Dalmatia and among other Slavs, covering the manifestations of the cult in Bohemia, Poland and Silesia.[4] This work represents an excellent starting point in the research of Jerome's Dalmatian identity, since it discusses the local Slavic tradition of worship based on the belief that Jerome was the inventor of the Glagolitic script. A similar topic was also discussed by John Fine, one of the first scholars to sketch out how Jerome became a Slavic saint.[5]

In Croatian historiography, writing on St Jerome can be separated into three groups. In the first, Jerome appears in the light of the Glagolitic tradition and the attribution of the invention of the Glagolitic letters. Work in the second group focuses on the artistic features of a series of reliefs representing St Jerome in the cave by Andria Alessi and Niccolò Fiorentino.[6] In the last group, Jerome is mentioned in the context of writing by humanists, mostly focusing on Marko

bay. I will use the term Slavic in this text instead. On the formation of the common identity through Slavic confraternities and their activities, see: Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*. The current project "Visualizing Nationhood: the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy and the Artistic Exchange with South East Europe (15th–18th c.)" led by dr.sc. Jasenka Gudelj will bring new insights on the process of the formation of the proto-national identity.

2 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*; Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie;* Kelly, *Jerome;* Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol.*

3 Lössl and Cain, *Jerome of Stridon.*

4 Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters.*

5 Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome."

6 See the works by Cvito Fisković, Ivo Petricioli, Anne Markham Shultz, and Samo Štefanac.

Marulić.[7] So far no study has united all known aspects of the cult of the saint or interpreted it through the perspective of historical, cultural and artistic contexts. Before getting to Quattrocento Dalmatia, however, I will briefly provide a survey of the evolution of Jerome's cult from Bethlehem through Italy to Dalmatia.

From Bethlehem to Italy

The cult of St Jerome was present in Western Europe by the middle of the ninth century, when the first lives of the saint, *Hieronymus noster* and *Plerosque nimirum*, were written independently.[8] *The Legenda Aurea*, by Jacobus de Voragine (1230–99) contributed to his popularity and became the main literary source for visual representations, as in the fresco cycle by Vittore Carpaccio in the *Scuola de San Giorgio degli Schiavoni* in Venice.[9]

The thirteenth century saw a veritable rebirth of Jerome's cult in the Western church, after Jerome's relics were translated to the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. The translation is described in *Translatio corpori beati Hieronymi* written around 1290. It relates that Jerome appeared in the dream of a monk and expressed a wish that his body be moved to the Roman basilica, as Bethlehem was under the rule of Arabs. The process of re-evaluation of the saint's deeds begun in the fourteenth century with Giovanni d'Andrea, a canon from Bologna and professor of law at the University of Bologna, who wrote a book *Hieronymianus or De Laudibus de Sancti Hieronymi*, which contains Jerome's own work and writing on Jerome by other authors.[10] Another contributor to the emergence of the cult in Italy was Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder (1370–1444), a canon lawyer born in Capodistria in today's Slovenia. Vergerio's family worshipped St Jerome to express gratitude for the family's rescue during several ambushes in 1380, which they believed was Jerome's deed. Vergerio vowed that "as long as I live, I will review the praises and excellent merits of Jerome in the speech before an assembly of the best citizens".[11] The humanists who accepted Jerome as a patron praised him particularly for his intellectual work

7 See the works published by Darko Novaković, Josip Bratulić, Bratislav Lučin, Vinko Grubišić, Branimir Glavičić, and Iva Kurelac.

8 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 23.

9 Čoralić, "Kardinal Bessarion i Hrvati," 153. Iconographic representation was also influenced by Jerominus vita et transitus published in 1485 in Venice.

10 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 64. His book was a compilation consisting of earlier written lives, evidences of his miracles, testimonies of his glory and a selection of Jerome's work.

11 Vergerio, "Sermones Decem," Sermon 5, 177; McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 354.

and his translations of Holy Scriptures. Furthermore, he was seen as a perfect example of living a moral life that followed the sacred teachings. For Vergerio, Jerome's life "serves as an example of ethical conduct".[12] The eremitical aspect of Jerome's life came into sharper focus in the fifteenth century along with the blooming of the Franciscan Observant movement and the foundation of different congregations of the eremitical brothers imitating Jerome's lifestyle.[13] After being disseminated through multiple channels, Jerome's cult was accepted in most of the Western Church by the end of the fifteenth century.

Rivalizing for the Birthplace of the Saint

Before the humanist version took shape in the fifteenth century, the cult of St Jerome was well established in Dalmatia, mostly among the closed monastic communities. It developed out of the statement in the last chapter of Jerome's work *De viris illustribus* that he was born in Stridon, situated somewhere on the border of the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, territory of the present day Croatia.[14] Jerome probably never imagined that a single sentence in his book would cause a centuries-long dispute over the exact location of his place of birth. The town he mentions was a small *oppidum*, and lack of archaeological and historical evidence makes it hard for historians to reach definite conclusions regarding its location. Stridon has been identified with places near Aquileia, Italy, with Zrenj, Štrigova, with the surroundings of Skradin in Croatia, and even with Grahovo polje in Bosnia. These appropriations of the saint's birthplace have never resulted in a strong local cult in the towns involved. For the present account, the most relevant explanations are the "Istrian" and "Dalmatian" theories, which emerged in the fifteenth century and directly fed the dispute between the Dalmatian and the Italian humanists.[15]

The Istrian theory locates the saint's birthplace to the site of present-day Zrenj (Sdrigna), a village in northern Istria. In the Middle Ages, the habitants of Istria believed that Jerome was born somewhere within their peninsula, a belief that is evident in the presence of Jerome's cult in liturgical books and churches consecrated to him. This explanation was popularized by Flavio Biondo (1392–

12 Vergerio, "Sermones Decem," 169.

13 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 69.

14 Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, 167.

15 Bulić, *Stridon*. Besides the theories mentioned, Bulić added two more sections: Hungarian theory and individual explanations.

1463) and Jacopo Filippo Foresti, also known as Jacopo di Bergamo (1434–1520), in the Late Middle Ages. In his *Italia Illustrata*, published in 1474, describing the region of Istria, Biondo names St Jerome and Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder as the most prominent people from the region. He classifies Istria as an Italian province, concluding that Jerome could not be anything else but Italian, since, in his opinion, Istria had been a Roman province even before the time of Emperor Augustus.[16] Jacopo di Bergamo, Biondo's student, accepted his teacher's opinion and so did many others in subsequent centuries.[17]

The Dalmatian hypothesis developed from the commonly accepted idea of the saint's regional origin. This is evident, for example, in the official decision to adopt the feast of St Jerome in Trogir in 1454 on the grounds of his Dalmatian origin.[18] Marko Marulić (Marcus Marulus, 1450–1524) was probably the first proponent of this hypothesis. He was the first to infer from written sources that Stridon was located somewhere near Skradin.[19] Most of the representatives of this theory agreed only that Stridon was in Dalmatia, but could not reach a consensus concerning the precise place.[20] This is the explanation that still features most commonly in Croatian and international historiography.

St Jerome as the Inventor of Glagolitic Letters

In medieval Croatia, St Jerome was considered as the inventor of Glagolitic letters and Slavic liturgy. There is no historical foundation for this idea, however. Jerome lived long before Slavs came to the territory of Dalmatia and was thus unlikely to have spoken Slavonic or to have invented Glagolitic letters. The earliest written record of the belief that Jerome was the inventor of the Glagolitic script is contained in Pope Innocent IV's answer to a request by the Bishop of Senj in 1248 defending the use of Slavonic liturgy and Glagolitic letters in his diocese.[21] The pope's answer granted the clergy permission to continue their tradition, and confirmed the legitimacy of the Slavonic tradition, invoking the authority of the

16 Biondo, *Roma ristavrata et Italia illustrata*, 196.

17 Bulić, *Stridon*, 25–27. Frane Bulić gives the names of Biondo's supporters, who included Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder, Pio de Rubeis, Irineo della Croce, Filippo Tomasini.

18 Strohal, *Statut i reformacije*, chap. 64.

19 Novaković, "Novi Marulić."

20 Bulić, *Stridon*, 27–31. Among them were Vinko Pribojević, Tomko Marnavić, Sebastiano Dolci, Ignjat Đorić and Daniele Farlati.

21 Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o Jeronimu," 19; Glavičić, "Pismo pape Inocenta IV"; Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome," 103.

great church father.[22] Although the pope's answer mentions "Slavic lands" in which these letters may be used, this approval should be seen as applying to the diocese of Senj alone, and not to the whole territory inhabited by Slavs.[23]

Croatian historiography traditionally accepts that the legend of Jerome inventing Glagolitic letters derived from the fear of accusations of heresy arising from disputes on the use of Slavonic language and liturgy. These disputes were discussed at the Church Councils of Split in 925 and 1060. This argument was also supported by the fact that St Cyril, the actual inventor of Glagolitic letters, was not venerated by the Glagolitic communities and his brother Methodius was considered a heretic.[24] John Fine argues that Jerome was used by the Glagolites as "the ancient heritage" to justify their tradition each time they were attacked by Latinists.[25] On the other hand, Julia Verkholantsev argues that even though Glagolites used the Slavonic language, they were following western monastic rules and had common practices with the Latin ecclesiastical communities. With this in mind, acceptance of St Jerome as their patron was a way to prove their loyalty to the Western Church.[26] Furthermore, she discusses the possibility that the roots of this misbelief could be found among the Latin clergy, and the explanation was promoted as one of the ways of incorporating Glagolitic communities into the Western Church.[27]

Vesna Badurina Stipčević has made a detailed analysis of the Glagolitic liturgical books that contain references to the saint. She has published a list of breviaries, dating from between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, containing the *officium* of St Jerome on his feast day, September 30.[28] The *officium* was composed of three parts: a hymn to Jerome, his life, and an excerpt from his letter to Eustochium. Jerome's life is described from his birth in Stridon until his death in Bethlehem. Since most of the breviaries were used in monastic communities, it is not surprising that his *officium* included the passage of his letter to Eustochium where he described his penitent life in the desert, fasting, fighting bodily temptations, and surrounded by wild animals.

Other Glagolitic liturgical books referring to St Jerome are missals. A mass in honor of St Jerome is preserved only in missals from the northern parts of

22 Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters,* 44.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 49–53. These pages give a detailed analysis of the absence of the cult of saints in Dalmatia.

25 Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome," 104.

26 Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters*, 59.

27 Ibid., 62.

28 Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o Jeronimu," 22.

the Adriatic basin, Kvarner and Istria. The full mass can be found in the oldest surviving Croatian Glagolitic missal written in 1371 in Omišalj. Today, it is kept in the Vatican library and known as *Borgo Illirico IV*.[29] Another missal is the *First Beram Missal 162*, now held in the National Library of Slovenia in Ljubljana.[30] The first printed book in Croatia, the *Missale Romanum Glagolitice*, published in 1483, was published in the Croatian recension of Church Slavonic, based on the manuscript *Missal of Duke Novak* written in 1368. In the calendar of the *editio princeps,* May 9 was marked as the feast of the Translation of St Jerome (Prenesenie svetago Eronima), but this is not contained in any other Glagolitic calendar. Marija Pantelić proved that the *Missal of Duke Novak* was edited for printing by Glagolitic monks in Istria.[31] According to her, the celebration of the translation of Jerome's relics to the Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore was connected to the rising popularity of the idea of the saint's Istrian origin promoted by Flavio Biondo. In 1464, Pope Pius II officially proclaimed this date as the feast of the *Translatio.* Interestingly, Pius II had previously been Bishop of Trieste and was certainly familiar with the widely-held belief in his bishopric that the village of Zrenj was Stridon. The bishop of Ravenna, Superantio, wrote in the fourteenth century that Zrenj contained a very simple church in honor of the Jerome, standing above the grave of the saint's parents.[32] The inclusion of the feast in the calendar is an expression of this Istrian tradition and the respect paid by the Istrian redactors of the text to their former bishop. The Istrian influence is reflected in other feasts specific to the region that cannot be found in other calendars: St Lazarus and St Servulus, martyrs from Trieste.[33] Marija Pantelić also suggests that the celebration of the translation of the saint's relics can be seen in another tradition. The Glagolitic *First Beram Breviary 161,* written in 1396 and today held in the National Library in Ljubljana, has a special *officium* on the date of the translation. However, the distinctive feature of this *officium* is an alternative hagiographical view of the translation of Jerome's relics, attributing it to St Helen, who apparently had sent a piece of Jerome's clothes to her son with a request to build a church consecrated to him in Constantinople.[34]

29 Pantelić, "Odraz sredine," 326.
30 Idem, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj," 239; Idem, "Odraz sredine," 236.
31 Idem, "Prvotisak glagoljskog misala," 39.
32 Idem, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj," 240.
33 Idem, "Prvotisak glagoljskog misala," 46.
34 Idem, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj," 241.

It is not yet known whether the cult existed in Byzantium or what could have been the source for this *officium*.

The surviving breviaries give a clue to the geographical origins of the cult. Most were used in the northern parts of Croatia, the Kvarner and Istria. The only Dalmatian Glagolitic breviary that contains the *officium* of St Jerome is the fourteenth-century *Pašman Breviary*, made in the Benedictine monastery of St Cosmas and Damian in Tkon, on the island of Pašman. The saint's *officium* in the *Pašman Breviary* can be seen as the reflection of a strong Glagolitic tradition in the Zadar (Zara) region, but it does not indicate the celebration of the saint in the Dalmatian cities which would later become the centers of the humanist cult: Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik. The breviaries all attest to the continuation of Jerome's cult in medieval Croatia and in Venetian and Habsburg Istria, medieval political entities which were not a part of medieval Croatian kingdom, but there is insufficient historical evidence to say the same for medieval Dalmatia. Regardless the political non-unity of the Croatian lands, it is evident that the saint was venerated in areas where the population was predominantly Slavic. It is reasonable to assume that other breviaries from Dalmatia, now lost, contained the same office. All the more so because the monastery in Tkon had a scriptorium in which Glagolitic books were produced for the whole region of Dalmatia. Future research into the origin of Jerome's cult among the Glagolites, especially in Istria, should consider the comparative analysis of the *Missal of Duke Novak* and the *editio princeps* made by Marija Pantelić, which confirmed the exchange of the Glagolitic texts from Zadar, through Lika and Krbava, to Istria.[35] This would reveal Dalmatia's place in the wider cultural context, and permit the conclusion that the existence of the cult in Istria also implies its existence in Dalmatia. The enduring Glagolitic tradition in the region also lends support to this claim.

The non-liturgical Glagolitic codex *Petris Miscellany* from 1468 contains 162 different texts, mostly apocrypha and hagiographic legends, including the legend of Jerome, which refers to him as *Jerome the Croat* (Jeronim Hrvatin) and emphasizes his Slavic origin.[36] For Petar Runje, one of the pioneers of Glagolitic research in Croatia, this is proof that "in the fifteenth century, among the Croats, there existed a notion of Jerome being Croatian".[37] In my opinion, this is a hasty conclusion based on an unwarranted generalization, since most of the other sources refer to Jerome as Dalmatian, Illyrian or Slav. Although Jerome may

35 Idem, "Prvotisak glagoljskog misala," 77.

36 Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o svetom Jeronimu," 341.

37 Runje, "Sv. Jeronim i glagoljica u Hrvata," 111.

seem to have acquired Croatian national attributes in the fifteenth century and the modes of his appearance in the subsequent sources are clues to the formation of the Croatian nation, I believe that the explanation for the term *Hrvatin* should rather be sought in the original from which the text was translated. Stjepan Ivišić argues that Jerome's legend in the Petris Miscellany, together with some other texts, was translated from the fourteenth century Czech *passionale* collection of saints' legends.[38] It is possible that Jerome was referred to as Croatian in the Czech original, not necessarily containing ethnic but rather geographical attribution, and that the translator was only following the original text and not exclusively emphasizing the national designation.[39]

The example of Juraj Slovinac (George of Slavonia; Georgius de Sclavonia, 1355/60–1416), theologian and professor at the Sorbonne, proves the general acceptance of the idea that Jerome was the inventor of Glagolitic script. In his copy of Jerome's Latin commentaries on the Psalms, where Jerome explains that he translated psalms into vernacular language, Juraj made a marginal note claiming that Jerome was a translator of the psalms "in linguam sclavonicam".[40] There are similar testimonies in the travel itineraries of western pilgrims who visited Dalmatia on their way to the Holy Land. One of them was the Swiss Dominican Felix Fabri (1441/43–1502), who stopped in several cities on the Dalmatian coast, observing their religious and social practices.[41] He reported that in most Dalmatian cities, the mass was held in the Slavonic language and some churches did not even possess the liturgical books in Latin.[42] In conversation with the local people, he was informed that Jerome invented letters for his compatriots that were different from Greek and Latin script, and that he used them to transliterate and translate the Bible and the Book of Hours into the vernacular language that was later called Slavonic. Georges Lengherand, Mayor of Mons, stopped in Dalmatia and Istria during his journey to Jerusalem in 1485/86. He described a Slavonic mass he attended while he was in Istria, one which, he was told, had been composed in Slavonic by the saint himself.[43]

38 Ivšić, "Dosad nepoznati hrvatski glagoljski prijevodi."

39 Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters*, 63–115.

40 Novak, "Juraj Slovinac," 26; Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome," 103.

41 The analysis and Croatian translation of Fabri's text which relates to Dalmatian cities (*Evagatorium*, III: 264–356) can be found in: Krasić, "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale".

42 Ibid., 154, 194.

43 Lengherand, *Voyage de Georges Lengherand,* 88.

The Cult in Dubrovnik

Having extended beyond the strictly monastic communities by the fifteenth century, Jerome's cult appeared with its distinctive features in all major cities in Dalmatia, from Zadar to Dubrovnik, by the end of the century. The intensive exchange of goods and knowledge between the two shores of the Adriatic contributed to the development and expansion of the humanist cult of St Jerome in Dalmatia. This humanist cult, however, was only an upgrade of existing forms of worship deriving from the Glagolitic tradition. The official introduction of the saint's feast day in the towns of Dubrovnik and Trogir in the middle of the fifteenth century was due to a strong local tradition.

It is hard to find evidence of the cult in Dubrovnik before its official proclamation, but manifestations of the cult may have been lost in the Great Earthquake that struck the city in 1667, destroying much of it. Still, the archival material helps us to reconstruct the saint's importance and the manifestations of his cult. In 1445, his celebration day was incorporated into the official state calendar of the Republic of Ragusa.[44] This was the first official recognition of the cult in a Dalmatian city. The proclamation reflected an established practice in Dalmatia, as can be read from the text of the decision: Jerome was to be "worshipped by us and the other Dalmatians of whose nation he was".[45] This statement indisputably proves the wide recognition and acceptance of the idea of his origin among people living in Dalmatian territory.

After the half century of independence gained through skillful diplomatic negotiation and set into the Treaty of Zadar of 1358, the Republic of Ragusa felt a constant threat from the proximity of its biggest rival, Venice, especially after the establishment of the Venetian rule over Dalmatia after 1409. In order to weaken Venetian pressure and influence, the Republic's authorities insisted on the introduction of the Observant reform in the Franciscan monasteries on the Ragusan territory. This was to prevent the Serenissima from reinforcing its position through the Dalmatian Franciscans, who were mostly Conventuals and suspected of attachment to Venice.[46] The Republic of Ragusa was reluctant to separate its Dominican monasteries from the Hungarian province and opposed their union with the Dalmatian monasteries in an independent province. The Republic was similarly afraid that Venice could use monastic orders other than

44 Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 257.

45 Nedeljković, *Liber Viridis*, 320, "a nobis ac ceteris Dalmaticis de quorum natione fuit".

46 Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa,* 59.

the Franciscans to reinforce its position in Dubrovnik. This ultimately led to the establishment of an independent Dominican congregation of Dubrovnik in 1486.[47]

Dubrovnik was not politically integrated with the other Dalmatian communes. It recognized the jurisdiction of the Hungarian king while the rest of Dalmatia was under the Venetian government. Ragusa's Dalmatian identity was based on common language and territorial contiguity rather than political status. Another factor was ethnic affiliation. It is notable that during the fifteenth century the Republic of Ragusa emphasized its Dalmatian ethnicity in strenuous efforts to prove that it did not belong to Italian ethnicity.

In 1444, the Ragusan citizens in Barcelona were forced to pay the "Italian" tax. The Republic of Ragusa sent a letter to the authorities in Barcelona in 1446 explicitly stating that "…it is clear to the nations of the whole world… that Ragusans are not Italians…quite the contrary, that both judging by their language and by criteria of place, they are Dalmatians".[48] In this context, the veneration of St Jerome in Dubrovnik clearly bears political connotations: worship of the saint expressed a common—Dalmatian—ethnic affiliation. The political connotations and aspirations it reflected can be interpreted as expressions of otherness and togetherness: otherness through differentiation from Italy on the ethnic level, as part of efforts to prevent the constantly-feared re-establishment of Venetian government over Dubrovnik, and togetherness through the expression of the cultural, linguistic and historical sphere shared by Dubrovnik and other Dalmatian cities.

Not much is known of what the official celebration looked like in Dubrovnik, or whether a chapel or an altar dedicated to the saint was set up under the official patronage of the government. There survive artworks commissioned by the local government, however, which manifest the official veneration of St Jerome. The firmest evidence is a representation of the saint in the hall of the Great Council, unfortunately destroyed in the great earthquake of 1667. Nikola Božidarević (Nicholas of Ragusa, c. 1460–1518) was commissioned to produce the image of St Jerome dressed in a cardinal's robe in 1510.[49] It matched the height and form

47 Vojnović, "Crkva i država," 54.

48 Kunčević, "Civic and Ethnic Discourses," 159; Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje*, 492–93;

49 Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi*, chap. 841. Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku [State Archives in Dubrovnik] (hereafter DAD), Div.Not. 89, f 33. "pro sala Maioris Consilli unam figuram sancti Hieronymi in vestibus cardinalium, segundum designum per eum factum et eis presentatum in tela ad telarium de altitudine, forma et qualidade figure Sancti Johannis Baptiste existentis in dicta sala".

of an existing figure of St John the Baptist in the same hall. The pairing of these two saints was due to their penitential character, and emphasized their eremitical and ascetic nature, as in the same iconographic representation by the Petrović brothers on the portal of the Franciscan church in Dubrovnik. The catalogue entry of the exhibition *The Golden Age of Dubrovnik* explains that the figure of St John the Baptist represents "the firmness of Christianity in the period of the onslaughts of the Turks," while the figure of St Jerome represents "the cultural and spiritual unity with Dalmatians under the Venetian occupation".[50] Although I agree with the interpretation of the figure of St Jerome as the symbol of the unity with the other Dalmatian cities, I see it as a secondary layer of the statues' symbolic meaning. The author misses the primary iconographical interpretation of this type: the pairing of the saints by virtue of their ascetic nature. Knowing the postulates for which Observant Franciscans were striving, the choice of these two figures for the portal of the Franciscan church is not at all surprising.

We can identify some members of high society as the main promoters of the cult and of the official policy. Archival documents and surviving artworks suggest that two aristocratic families, the Gradi (Gradić) and the Gozze (Gučetić), were to a great extent responsible for the implementation and the dispersion of the cult in late medieval Dubrovnik. Members of the Gozze family, one of the oldest noble lines in Dubrovnik, made many contributions to life in the Republic of Ragusa.[51] An example of Gozze devotion is an altarpiece commissioned in 1488 by Bartol Gozze, a highly positioned member of the family who was appointed rector several times and served the Republic in several diplomatic functions, including visits to the kings of Hungary and Aragon, and to Pope Nicholas V. Among the six figures in the altarpiece he ordered for the family's chapel of St Bartholomew on the island of Lokrum, is St Jerome, depicted as a hermit and holding in his hand a large piece of stone.[52] The chapel which the family built for their summer house in Trsteno in the sixteenth century was consecrated to St Jerome.[53] The family also possessed a stone carved relief depicting St Jerome, made in the second half of the fifteenth century by Niccolò Fiorentino and decorated with the family's coat of arms.[54] Not much is known about the

50 Prelog, *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, 341.

51 More information about the Gozze and Gradi families can be found in: Vekarić, *Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika.*

52 Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi*, chap. 640. DAD. Div. Not. 67, f.49. "…sanctus Hieronymus in heremo cum saxo in manu".

53 Majer Jurišić and Šurina, *Trsteno. Ljetnikovac Gučetić.*

54 Štefanac, "Osservazioni sui rilievi," 116.

provenance and purpose of this relief, but it certainly proves the family's special devotion to the saint.

The Gradi (Gradić) family financed the construction of a Franciscan church in Slano near Dubrovnik in 1420 and dedicated it to St Jerome, as is written on the dedicatory inscription on the façade of the church.[55] Also demonstrating the family's influence and wealth was its patronage of the altars in the cathedral and the Dominican church, for which they commissioned some of the finest examples of Gothic painting in medieval Croatia. In 1494, Jerome (Jeronim) Gradi signed a contract with Božidar Vlatković and his son Nikola Božidarević (Nicholas of Ragusa) in the name of his brothers and himself for an altarpiece for the family's chapel in the Dominican church. The triptych was to have three figures: St Matthew the Apostle, St Jerome as a hermit in the desert and St Stephen the Martyr together with the Virgin Mary.[56] The choice of saints was not accidental. Jerome, Matthew, and Stephen were namesakes of the Gradi brothers, in whose name Jerome concluded an agreement with the painters.[57] The Gradi family's palace in the *sexteria* of St Peter, was one of the oldest in the city. Similar to the Gozze family, they built the family chapel in their garden and consecrated it to St Jerome.

Trogir as the Cradle of Devotion

In 1455, Trogir included the feast day of St Jerome in its official calendar of celebrations. In the text of the decision, Jerome is named as *gloriosissimus doctor* as was common from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.[58] The text states that Jerome was to be worshipped for his devoted and hard life (a reference to the ascetic aspect of his nature), for his explanation of the Holy Scripture, and for his innumerable miracles during his life and after his death. Most of all, the text repeats a same statement from its Dubrovnik counterpart, pointing out that he was venerated by Dalmatians because of his regional origin.[59] Besides

55 Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 257.

56 Tadić, *Grada o slikarskoj školi*, chap. 674. DAD. Div.not. 73. f. 173v. "...unam iconam ponendam in ecclesia Sancti Dominici ad altare ipsorum nobilium de Gradi, secundum designum datum ipsis Boxidaro et Nicole, videlicet cum tribus figuris: sancti Mathei apostoli, sancti Hieronymi in deserto seu heremo et sancti Stephani…"; Belamarić, "Nikola Božidarević," 130.

57 Ibid.

58 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 50.

59 Strohal, *Statut i reformacije,* 259–60. "...suis exigentibus meritis et exemplis devotissimus, tum propter eius beate vite asperitatem…tum propter laborum intollerabilium circa expositionem sacrarum scripturarum,

the influence of the local tradition, the origins of the cult in Trogir may be analyzed from the perspective of the rising humanist culture in the city and the popularization of the Renaissance style in the middle of the fifteenth century. With the appointment of Bishop Giacomo Torlon (1452–83), a theologian from Ancona, the city began its *renovatio urbis,* during which it was completely transformed with renaissance artworks.[60] Bishop Torlon surrounded himself with a circle of excellent artists that included Andrija Aleši (Andrea Alessi, 1425–1505), Nikola Firentinac (Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, 1418–1506) and Ivan Duknović (Ioannes Dalmata, 1440–1514), and intellectuals including Koriolan Cipiko (1425–93). The latter, together with the bishop, was one of the key Renaissance figures in the city. He served as the *operarius* of the cathedral and was one of the most outstanding individuals responsible for the construction of the Renaissance chapel of St John in the cathedral church. Considering the impact the bishop had in the city, he was perhaps the most instrumental, together with the intellectual elite, in spreading the veneration of St Jerome in Trogir. The seventeenth-century history of Trogir, *Storia della città di Traù* by Paolo Andreis (1610–86), states that the cult officially started under Bishop Torlon at the beginning of the rule of Rector Giovanni Alberto. He calls the saint the greatest adornment of the Church, and thus the greatest adornment of the Illyrian people.[61] In Trogir, the cult of St Jerome was strongly connected to the cathedral church of St Lawrence. Among the most famous representations of the saint in Dalmatia is the relief (1460–67) by Andrija Aleši (1425–1505) above the altar in the baptistery depicting St Jerome in the cave, surrounded with books, dressed as a hermit and with a lion lying under his legs. In 1489, the doors of the cathedral organ were decorated by Gentile Bellini with the figures of St Jerome and St John the Baptist.[62] At first sight, this representation of St Jerome does not seem to depart from the standard iconography that emerged from Giovanni Bellini's paintings of the saint, a combination of two iconographical types: the northern depiction of the saint as a scholar in the study and the Tuscan representation of a penitent hermit in the desert in front of the cave.[63] What deserves our attention

assiduitatem, tum etiam propter miraculorum innumerabilium, quibus perfulsicf(?) in vita et post mortem claritatem.…ipsum beatissimum sanctum a quorum provincia originem habuit."

60 Benyovsky Latin, "Razvoj srednjovjekovne operarije," 16.

61 Andreis, *Storia della città di Traù*, 163. "Successe Conte il Dottor Giovanni Alberto, nei principi della cui reggenza fu preso dal Consiglio di solennizzar la festa del Dottor S. Girolamo, fregio come principale di santa chiesa, così decoro eterno del popolo Illirico".

62 Tomić, *Trogirska slikarska baština*, 12.

63 Belting, "St Jerome in Venice."

is an open book in front of the saint, filled with what look like Glagolitic letters. Some of the letters are legible and interpretable, and clearly Glagolitic, while others seem to be the master's interpretation, only resembling Glagolitic forms. What is even more interesting is that the letters of the initial paragraph are written in Latin script. Regardless of the details displayed, we can clearly discern an intention to represent the saint as the inventor of Glagolitic letters. This proves the strength of the Glagolitic tradition in the town and identifies the origins of the official veneration.[64] Another depiction of St Jerome can be found on a stone triptych in the Dominican church together with St Lawrence and St John of Trogir, made by Niccolò Fiorentino.[65] The appearance of the city's patron saints on the triptych are the grounds for Bužančić's proposition that it was commissioned by the local authorities.[66]

Humanism made a deep mark on Trogir in the second half of the fifteenth century. Its pioneer in the city was Petar Cipiko (1390–1440), father of Koriolan, who had a great passion for collecting and transcribing the works of ancient authors. He maintained a friendship with Italian and other Dalmatian humanists, especially Juraj Benja (Georgius Begna) of Zadar, from whom he received the gift of a codex in which he continued to transcribe other texts, including sections of Jerome's work.[67] The name Jerome (Jeronim or Jerolim) was common among the descendants of the Cipiko family, no doubt indicating special devotion to the saint.[68] Pavao Andreis mentions the altar of St Jerome in the church of St Peter, commissioned by the descendants of Hektor Cipiko (1482–1553), probably in the second half of the sixteenth century.[69] The choice of Jerome as the patron of the altar is not surprising, because Hektor's father and son were both called Jerome, and it was most probably the latter who commissioned the altar. A piece of irrefutable evidence for the family's particular devotion is a statue of St Jerome dressed in a cardinal's robe, made in the second half of the fifteenth century and now kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Split. It bears a devotional inscription

64 Fučić, "Glagoljica i dalmatinski spomenici". An another example of the use of Glagolitic script in Trogir is on the polyptych made by Blaž Jurjev Trogiranin for the altar of St Jerome in the Benedictine church of St John. The note is not easy to read, and it was most likely to be some private inscription related to the execution of the work. Still, it demonstrates the use of the Glagolitic script in Trogir in that period.

65 Pelc, *Renesansa*, 296.

66 Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 43.

67 Lučin, "Kodeks Petra Cipika iz 1436," 66.

68 The Cipico genealogy can be found in: Lučin, "Petronije," 166.

69 Zelić, "Chiese in Trau," 94.

stating that it was commissioned "out of the devotion to St Jerome of Stridon and in the memory of the brave father, Alvise Cipiko, son of Jerome".[70]

Joško Belamarić has noted that the statue of St John the Evangelist made by Ivan Duknović for the chapel of St John in Trogir in 1482 is strongly reminiscent of the facial characteristics of Alvise Cipiko (1456–1504).[71] The Renaissance enthusiasm for identifying portraits, so-called *portraits travestis,* had the purpose of praising the moral virtues of the person portrayed. Koriolan Cipiko commissioned the statue of St Jerome in order to present his son as the successor of the saint in terms of moral and spiritual values. This statue fits a similar hypothesis as that proposed by Belamarić for the statue of St John the Evangelist, in that it portrays characteristics of members of the Cipiko family. It was made by Tripun Bokanić for the chapel of the castle built by Koriolan in Kaštel Stari, near Trogir. Bokanić's workshop participated in the construction of the cathedral's bell tower, under contract to Alvise Cipiko (1515–1606), procurator of the cathedral.[72] Belamarić also explains that Jerome's statue had a memorial as well as an *ex voto* purpose, since Alvise lost three of his four sons, the surviving son also being called Jerome. Thus, in addition to erecting a kind of private shrine in the memory of his father, we can understand, given his unfortunate destiny and the unstable times at the beginning of the seventeenth century, that he also intended the statue as a votive offering.

We should also mention that a chapel dedicated to St Jerome, built between 1438 and 1446, is one of the oldest annexes to the cathedral church. In 1438, Nikolota Sobota, widow of Nikola Sobota, got permission from the cathedral chapter to build a chapel and endow it with the necessary liturgical appurtenances.[73] An altar consecrated to St Jerome was placed inside the chapel. The chapel is one of the earliest examples of the cult of St Jerome and is also important in being one of the earliest private chapels of this type.

The Benedictine church of St John the Baptist also had an altar consecrated to St Jerome. A polyptych made for this altar by Blaž Jurjev Trogiranin (Biagio di Giorgio da Traù, c. 1390–1450) in 1435 was later moved to the chapel of St

70 Belamarić, "Nota za Tripuna Bokanića," 463.

71 Idem, "Duknovićev sv. Ivan Evanđelist."

72 Idem, "Nota za Tripuna Bokanića," 466. This Alvise Cipiko, who commissioned the statue of St Jerome in the memory of his father, is not the same Alvise as was portrayed in the statue of St John the Evangelist. He was Koriolan's grandson from his youngest son, Jerome, and nephew of Alvise Cipiko the Elder.

73 Zelić, "Nekoliko priloga," 68.

Jerome in the cathedral.[74] In the center of the composition was the figure of the Virgin Mary with figures of saints including St Jerome in his cardinal robe and a model of the church in his hand. In addition to the altar in the church of St Peter, Pavao Andreis mentioned an altar to St Jerome in the church of the Virgin Mary on the main square. It was made of marble and featured a sculpture. Andreis also transcribed the dedicational inscription where the donators are mentioned. According to Danko Zelić, they cannot be identified but they certainly did not belong to any of the noble families in Trogir.[75] Not much is known about this altar, since the church was demolished in the nineteenth century.

St Jerome between the Venetian Republic and the Hungarian Kingdom

Why was it that these two cities, more than any others, gave such prominence to the worship of St Jerome, and why should they be considered the focal point of the humanist cult of St Jerome? The strong influence of Italian humanism offers an easy explanation, but the promotion of the saint through the visual arts provides evidence of a wider historical context. Furthermore, the Glagolitic cult persisted alongside the humanist cult and certainly contributed more to the proclamation of the official veneration of Jerome in Dubrovnik and Trogir. The saint's regional identity emerged as the Glagolitic tradition became interwoven with the humanist cult, and is best expressed in the Trogir decision to make his celebration official, the text of which gives emphasis to both of these factors.

In my opinion, the development of the cult in Dubrovnik and Trogir is also connected to the establishment of Venetian authority on the Eastern Adriatic coast after 1409. While the Hungarian kingdom was preoccupied with internal struggles for possession of the throne between Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) and Ladislas of Naples, the Venetian Republic took the advantage and bought the rights on Dalmatia from Ladislas of Naples in 1409. Most of the communes did not accept the fact that they had been sold, and the Venetian government had difficulty in implementing its rule in Nin, Šibenik, Split and Trogir. In other cities such as Zadar, which accepted the new ruler in 1409, all the noble families close to the Hungarian king were forced to leave the city.[76] The establishment of Venetian rule in Trogir did not go as easily as expected, and Trogir did not surrender until 1420. Venice quickly unified the legal system

74 Fisković, "Poliptih Blaža Jurjeva."

75 Zelić, "Chiese in Trau," 94. See a footnote number 137; Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 43.

76 Ibid., 28.

in the newly conquered lands, depriving many medieval communes of their privileges and autonomy.[77]

Tomislav Raukar argues that the question of which state held authority over the medieval communes was of less importance to them than the nature of their relations with that state.[78] During the reign of Louis I of Hungary (1342–82), some Dalmatian communes despite having restricted political autonomy – became economically stronger and developed trading relations with the hinterland and with Italian cities, especially those on the opposite side of the Adriatic. After 1409, the economic development of the Dalmatian communes began to stagnate and, in some cases, even to decline. The reason for this was that the Republic of Venice, having incorporated the communes in its centralized economic and trading system, tried to limit trade on the Eastern Adriatic shore, mostly through high taxes and the obligation to export all surplus goods to Venice.[79]

Not all social strata accepted the new rulers equally. The peasants were not much concerned who their ruler was, and commoners in general accepted the new ruler in the hope that he might extend their rights. It is not possible to give a definite answer, however, to the question of whether the highest layer of the society, the nobility, supported or opposed Venetian rule. This question deserves a separate study, which would shed light on aristocratic participation in the formation of regional identity. Dissatisfaction with Venetian rule could have arisen from the local aristocracy's exclusion from local government in general, as in Trogir, where the council rarely met and was not responsible for actual decisions, which were mostly made by the rector, a Venetian appointee.[80] On the other hand, the example of the Cipiko family demonstrates how some aristocratic families took advantage of the situation and retained their role in local government by supporting the new ruler. Petar Cipiko was one of the noblemen who accepted Venetian rule and served for them in many communal, as well as military, positions. Petar was proud of his classical education and erudition, so much so that he even gave his descendants classical names. His son Koriolan was named after the Roman hero who came to the side of the Volscians, the enemies of Rome. Ivo Babić assumes that by this analogy, Petar found a justification

77 More about the political situation in Trogir on the turn of the century in: Janeković-Römer, "Grad i građani".

78 Raukar, "O nekim problemima," 534.

79 Ibid., 537.

80 Janeković-Römer, "Grad i građani," 223.

supporting Venetian rule.[81] Members of families who resisted Venetian rule were forced to leave the city or were forcibly taken to Venice as hostages, as a pledge to keep the peace in the communes. In Trogir, most of the Venetian opponents were expelled from the city, including the captain and the bishop, who was close to the Hungarian King Sigismund.[82] The same occurred in Zadar, from where some people spent as much as 20 years as prisoners in Venice.[83]

Of relevance here is to mention possible reasons of the dissatisfaction that arose in the communes between Rab and Trogir. They objected to their revenues going directly to the state treasury, while the income of some communes such as Split and Hvar remained in the charge of the local authorities.[84] Loss of autonomy also showed up in the Venetian review of all municipal statutes, and the requirement for the senate in the Venice to approve the election of the city's rector and bishop. Furthermore, many decisions could not be brought without the permission of the rector or, in some cases, of the doge.[85]

The period of consolidation of Venetian government in Dalmatia was fruitful for the cult of St Jerome. Before the Venetians established control, expressions of identity were limited to the communes, since they represented politically and economically closed communities. Micro-identity based on local characteristics began to lose its importance after the Dalmatian cities were taken into the unified Venetian legal and administration system, since this identity had mostly been carried by members of the local aristocracy. As a consequence, at the beginning of the fifteenth century and afterwards, Dalmatia was administratively isolated from medieval Croatia. Given the negative economic transformation in Dalmatian towns, the standardization of their legal and administrative systems and the Venetian neglect of the towns and their privileges, the emergence of dissatisfaction is not surprising.

The presence of Jerome's figure can also be interpreted as emphasizing the tradition and the privileges that Dalmatian cities had held for a long time under the Hungarian kings. Veneration of the saint through official celebrations highlights his regional and ethnic Dalmatian identity, engendering a sense of common identity among the inhabitants of the Dalmatian communes and their affiliation to the same cultural sphere and customs. The official decisions of Dubrovnik

81 Babić, "Oporuke Pelegrine, Petra i Koriolana Cipika," 31.
82 Benyovsky, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 208.
83 Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV. stoljeću*, 338.
84 Raukar, "O nekim problemima," 539.
85 Novak, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna*, 82–83.

and Trogir to venerate the saint makes this identity explicit by describing Jerome as Dalmatian. Zdenka Janeković Römer explains how Dubrovnik maintained the expression of its geographical, ethnic and cultural bonds with Dalmatia even after being politically cut off from the other Dalmatian cities. Dalmatians had special status among non-Ragusan citizens, permitting them to work in Dubrovnik and have dual citizenship. [86]

In Trogir, nostalgia for the better times enjoyed by the commune under the Hungarian kings is manifested on a stone triptych, originally part of the altar of the Virgin Mary in the cathedral church of St Lawrence in Trogir and today kept in the Museum of Sacred Art. The altar was under the patronage of the local noble families Borgoforte and Dragač, who were also known for their humanist activities.[87] The triptych features the Virgin Mary with the Child in the middle and the figures of St Ladislas and St Jerome on the two sides. Radoslav Bužančić argues that the presence of the Hungarian saint is connected with the Ottoman wars after 1470; accordingly, he dates the polyptych to the early 1470s.[88]

I am more inclined to agree with Maja Cepetić, however, who proposed that the presence of St Ladislas, King of Hungary, indicates a propaganda in favor of the Hungarian king and kingdom in the period of consolidation of Venetian rule.[89] The special bond between Trogir and the Hungarian kingdom lies in the fact that Trogir enjoyed almost uninterrupted autonomy in the Hungarian kingdom from 1107 onwards and resisted accepting Venetian rule and losing its privileges after 1420. The figure of St Ladislas is also known to have appeared on golden florins minted during the reigns of Louis the Great and Sigismund of Luxemburg. He continued to be the most popular patron saint in Hungary during the Angevin and Luxemburg dynasties.[90] Here I would mention another example of the special bond between Trogir and the Hungarian rulers, which indeed precedes the period discussed here but provides more evidence of the town's preference for Hungarian rule. On the main façade of the cathedral church, above the rose window, is a relief of the Angevin dynasty.[91] It was probably installed in the second half of the fourteenth century, after the re-establishment of Hungarian rule after the Venetians had controlled it for a short

86 Janeković-Römer, "Građani, stanovnici," 325.
87 Pelc, *Renesansa*, 296.
88 Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 44.
89 Cepetić, "The Cult of St Ladislas," 315.
90 Ibid.; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers,* 365.
91 Babić, "Anžuvinski grbovi," 39.

period (1332–58). It was a response to Louis the Great confirming the city's rights and privileges, but is also related to the royal family's financial contribution to the construction of the cathedral. Representations of the Hungarian saint in Trogir should be interpreted less as nostalgic longing for Hungarian rule than as fondness for the civic and legal privileges which the commune received during the reign of King Coloman (1095–1116). For several centuries thereafter, these privileges underpinned the commune's judicial system and formed the basis for its local autonomy.[92]

Another critical factor that strengthened regional and ethnic identity was the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, which caused mass migration to the southern parts of Dalmatia, and subsequently to Italian cities. A good example of regional identity and the expression of otherness within the Venetian Republic is the formation of the confraternities outside the territory of Dalmatia, the *Confraternita degli Schiavoni*. The term *Schiavone* was a Venetian expression used for all the people coming from the Eastern Adriatic shore under their rule. The confraternities were founded mostly in cities which traded with Dalmatian cities, and they were mostly dedicated to St Jerome.[93]

Conclusion

The cult of St Jerome in Dalmatia represents a broad, largely non-researched and important topic in the discussion on the formation of regional, ethnic and national identities. From the middle of the fifteenth century, the cult of the saint became an expression of a common identity based on historical, linguistic and ethnic characteristics, mostly referred to as Dalmatian, Slavic or Illyrian. The interweaving of these identities, and differences between the meanings of "Slavic", "Dalmatian", and "Illyrian" are highly complex questions which I will leave for a separate and detailed discussion.

The devotion to the saint that emerged among the Glagolitic monastic communities, as earliest evidenced in the thirteenth century, started to be propagated by ecclesiastical and intellectual elites in the fifteenth century. Generally praised for his religious and intellectual deeds, Jerome was worshipped in Dalmatia primarily because of his regional origin and his alleged invention

92 Novak, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna,* 11.

93 The Slavic confraternity in Venice consecrated to St George and Triphon was founded in 1451. The next year, the confraternity of St Jerome was established in Udine, to be followed by the one in Rome in 1453. More on this in the works by Lovorka Čoralić and Marino Mann.

of Glagolitic letters. As expressed in the official statements of veneration in Dubrovnik and Trogir, the connotations of his cult were more political than religious. Although Jerome's cult was present in Dalmatia before the fifteenth century, there is no evidence that it was present throughout the region or that worshipping him was considered an expression of the regional identity of his devotees.

St Jerome became particularly important in the fifteenth century. Humanist ideas from Italy and the development of intellectual circles on the Dalmatian coast enriched and transformed the Glagolitic tradition into a regional cult in the middle of the fifteenth century. Although the regional cult of St Jerome grew out of a local tradition unconnected to the ideas of Italian humanism, it was only the writings of Dalmatian humanists that raised it to an expression of common identity, and this will be presented in a separated study. The rise of Jerome's cult in Dalmatia in the fifteenth century was closely related to the complex political situation and changes in social structure ensuing from the establishment of Venetian rule, the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and the resulting mass migrations. Further clarification of the story of the Dalmatian Jerome requires detailed iconographic analysis of artworks in Dalmatia, examination of the migration processes and the activities of the *Schiavoni* confraternities, and detailed comparative study of how the proto-nationalist ideas which developed from Italian humanism influenced the emergence of ethnic identity.

Bibliography

Andreis, Paolo. *Storia della città di Traù*. Split: Hrvatska Štamparija Trumbić i drug, 1908.

Babić, Ivo. "Anžuvinski grbovi u Trogiru i Šibeniku" [Angevin coat of arms in Trogir and Šibenik]. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 20 (1976): 39–45.

Babić, Ivo. "Oporuke Pelegrine, Petra i Koriolana Cipika" [The last wills of Pelegrina, Petar and Koriolan Cipiko]. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 30 (2006): 29–49.

Badurina Stipčević, Vesna. "Legenda o Jeronimu u starijoj hrvatskoj književnoj tradiciji" [The Legend of Jerome in the older Croatian literary tradition]. *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 85 (2013): 17–26.

Badurina Stipčević, Vesna. "Legenda o svetom Jeronimu u hrvatskoglagoljskom Petrisovu zborniku (1468.)" [The Legend of St Jerome in the Croatian Glagolitic Petris miscellany (1468)]. *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 47 (2016): 337–50.

Belamarić, Josip. "Duknovićev sv. Ivan Evanđelist u kapeli bl. Ivana Trogirskog" [The statue of St John the Evangelist by Ivan Duknović (Iohannes Dalmata) in Trogir Cathedral]. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 37 (1998): 155–81.

Belamarić, Joško. "Nikola Božidarević." *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 34 (1994): 121–40.

Belamarić, Joško. "Nota za Tripuna Bokanića i Koriolanoviće" [A note about the Tripun Bokanić and the descendants of Koriolan Cipiko]. In *Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti na Jadranu*, 463–89. Split: Književni krug, 2001.

Belting, Hans. "St Jerome in Venice: Giovanni Bellini and the Dream of Solitary Life." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17 (2014): 5–33.

Benyovsky, Irena. *Srednjovjekovni Trogir: prostor i društvo* [Medieval Trogir: Space and society]. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009.

Benyovsky Latin, Irena. "Razvoj srednjovjekovne operarije – Institucije za izgradnju katedrale u Trogiru" [The development of the medieval Operaria: The institution for the construction of the cathedral in Trogir]. *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 34 (2010): 1–18.

Biondo, Flavio. *Roma ristavrata et Italia illustrata*. Venice, 1542.

Blažević, Zrinka. *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism]. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2008.

Bulić, Frane. *Stridon (Grahovo polje u Bosni) rodno mjesto svetoga Jeronima* [Stridon (Grahovo polje in Bosnia), the birthplace of St Jerome]. Sarajevo: s.n., 1920.

Bužančić, Radoslav. "Gospin oltar Nikole Firentica u trogirskoj katedrali" [The altar of the Virgin in Trogir cathedral, work of Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino]. *Klesarstvo i graditeljstvo* 20 (2009): 35–48.

Cepetić, Maja. "The Cult of St Ladislas in Medieval Continental Croatia – Its Political and Cultural Context." In *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, edited by Neven Budak, Martin Homza, and Jan Lukačka, 308–15. Bratislava: Comenius University, 2013.

Čoralić, Lovorka. "Kardinal Bessarion i Hrvati" [Cardinal Bessarion and the Croats]. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 40 (1998): 143–60.

Fine, John V. A. "The Slavic St Jerome: An Entertainment." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998): 101–12.

Fisković, Cvito. "Poliptih Blaža Jurjeva u Trogirskoj katedrali" [The Polyptich of Blaž Jurjev in the Cathedral of Trogir]. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 14 (1963): 115–36.

Fučić, Branko. "Glagoljica i dalmatinski spomenici" [The 'Glagolitsa' and the Dalmatian monuments]. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21 (1980): 274–84.

Glavičić, Miroslav. "Pismo pape Inocenta IV. senjskom biskupu Filipu u tiskanim izdanjima i historiografiji" [The letter of Pope Innocent IV to Philip, Bishop of Senj, in printed publications and historiography]. *Senjski zbornik* 41 (2014): 159–83.

Ivšić, Stjepan. "Dosad nepoznati hrvatski glagoljski prijevodi iz staročeškoga jezika" [Unknown Croatian Glagolitic translations from Old Czech]. *Slavia* 1 (1922): 38–56.

Janeković-Römer, Zdenka. "Grad i građani između kraljeva, velikaša i prelata" [City and citizens between kings, noblemen and prelates]. In *Nada Klaić i njezin znanstveni i nastavni doprinos razvoju historiografije*, 207–28. Zagreb: FF Press, 2015.

Janeković-Römer, Zdenka. "Građani, stanovnici, podanici, stranci, inovjerci u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [Citizens, inhabitants, subjects, foreigners, heretics in medieval Dubrovnik]. In *Raukarov zbornik*, 317–46. Zagreb: FF Press, 2005.

Jerome, Saint. *On Illustrious Men*. Translated by Thomas P. Halton. Washington: CUA Press, 2010.

Kelly, J. N. D. *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Krasić, Stjepan. "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/84. godine" [Description of the Croatian Adriatic Coast in travelling accounts by the Swiss Dominican Felix Fabri]. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001): 133–216.

Kunčević, Lovro. "Civic and Ethnic Discourses of Identity in a City-State Context: The Case of Renaissance Ragusa." In *Whose Love of Which Country?*, edited by Márton Zászkaliczky and Balázs Trencsényi, 149–76. Boston: Brill, 2010.

Lengherand, Georges. *Voyage de Georges Lengherand, mayeur de Mons en Haynaut, à Venise, Rome, Jérusalem, Mont Sinaï et le Kayre, 1485–1486*. Mons: Masguillier & Deguesne, 1861.

Lonza, Nella. *Kazalište vlasti: ceremonijal i državni blagdani dubrovačke republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [The theatre of power: State ceremony and feasts of the Dubrovnik Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth century]. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2009.

Lössl, Josef, and Andrew Cain. *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009.

Lučin, Bratislav. "Kodeks Petra Cipika iz 1436" [The Codex of Petar Cipiko from 1436]. *Živa antika* 57 (2007): 65–85.

Lučin, Bratislav. "Petronije na istočnoj obali Jadrana: Codex Traguriensis (Paris. lat. 7989) i hrvatski humanisti" [Petronius on the Eastern shores of the Adriatic: Codex Traguriensis (Paris, lat. 7989) and the Croatian humanists]. *Colloquia Maruliana* 23 (2014): 133–77.

Majer Jurišić, Krasanka, and Edita Šurina. *Trsteno. Ljetnikovac Gučetić - elaborat konzervatorsko-restauratorskih istraživanja kapele sv. Jeronima* [Trsteno. Villa Gučetić – Conservation research of the Chapel of St Jerome]. Zagreb: Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2015.

McManamon, John M. "Pier Paolo Vergerio (The Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome." *The Catholic Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (1985): 353–71.

Nedeljković, Branislav. *Liber Viridis*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1984.

Novak, Maja. *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna pod Venecijom* [The autonomy of the Dalmatian communes under the Venetian rule]. Zadar: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1965.

Novak, Zrinka. "Juraj Slovinac – Teolog i profesor pariške Sorbonne" [George of Slavonia – Theologian and professor of the Parisian Sorbonne]. *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 34 (2010): 19–28.

Novaković, Darko. "Novi Marulić: Vita diui Hieronymi" [New Marulić: Vita diui Hieronymi]. *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994): 5–24.

Pantelić, Marija. "Kulturno-povijesni značaj hrvatskih glagoljskih kodeksa" [Cultural and historical significance of the Croatian Glagolitic codices]. *Crkva u svijetu* 11 (1976): 237–46.

Pantelić, Marija. "Odraz sredine u hrvatskoglagoljskim liturgijskim kodeksima 14. i 15. stoljeća" [The reflection of the milieu in the Croatian Glagolitic codices of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries]. *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 21 (1971): 324–32.

Pantelić, Marija. "Prvotisak glagoljskog misala iz 1483. prema Misalu kneza Novaka iz 1368." [Editio princeps of the Glagolitic missal from 1483 based on the Missal of Duke Novak from 1368]. *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 6 (1967): 5–108.

Pelc, Milan. *Renesansa* [Renaissance]. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2007.

Prelog, Milan, ed. *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV. i XVI. stoljeće* [The Golden Age of Dubrovnik in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century]. Zagreb: Muzej MTM, 1987.

Radonić, Jovan, ed. *Dubrovačka akta i povelje* [Ragusan decrees and charters]. Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1935.

Raukar, Tomislav. "O nekim problemima hrvatske povijesti u 15. stoljeću" [Some problems of Croatian history in the fifteenth century]. *Historijski zbornik* 21–22 (1969): 529–48.

Rice, Eugene F. *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Ridderbos, Bernhard. *Saint and Symbol*. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984.

Runje, Petar. "Sv. Jeronim i glagoljica u Hrvata" [St Jerome and the Glagolitic script among the Croats]. In *O knjigama hrvatskih glagoljaša*, 101–23. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1998.

Russo, Daniel. *Saint Jérôme en Italie: étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*. Paris–Rome: Découverte-Ecole française de Rome, 1987.

Škunca, Stanko Josip. *Franjevačka renesansa u Dalmaciji i Istri: opservantska obnova i samostani Provincije Sv. Jeronima u 15. st.* [Franciscan Renaissance in Dalmatia and Istria: Observant reform and the monasteries of the Province of St Jerome]. Split: Franjevačka Provincija Sv. Jeronima, 1999.

Štefanac, Samo. "Osservazioni sui rilievi di S. Girolamo nel deserto dalla cerchia di Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino e Andrea Alessi." *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 36 (1996): 107–19.

Strohal, Ivan, ed. *Statut i reformacije grada Trogira* [Statute and the reformations of the city of Trogir]. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1915.

Šunjić, Marko. *Dalmacija u XV. stoljeću* [Dalmatia in the fifteenth century]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967.

Tadić, Jorjo. *Građa o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku XIII–XV* [Documents about the Painting School in Dubrovnik, thirteenth to fifteenth century]. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1952.

Tomić, Radoslav. *Trogirska slikarska baština: od 15-20. stoljeća* [Painting in Trogir from fifteenth to the twentieth century]. Zagreb–Split: Matica hrvatska–Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, 1997.

Vekarić, Nenad. *Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika. Sv. 2* [The nobility of Dubrovnik]. Vol. 2. Zagreb; Dubrovnik: HAZU: Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2012.

Vergerio, Pierpaolo. "Sermones Decem pro Sancto Hieronymo." In *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo*, edited by John M. McManamon. Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999.

Verkholantsev, Julia. *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy*. DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2014.

Vojnović, Konstantin. "Crkva i država u dubrovačkoj republici" [The Church and the state in the Republic of Ragusa]. *Rad JAZU* 121 (1894): 32–142.

Zelić, Danko. "Chiese in Trau – Rukopis Pavla Andreisa u Muzeju grada Trogira" [Chiese in Trau – Paolo Andreis's manuscript in Trogir Municipal museum]. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 91–114.

Zelić, Danko. "Nekoliko priloga povijesti umjetnosti 15. stoljeća u Trogiru" [Contributions to the history of art in fifteenth-century Trogir]. *Peristil* 50 (2007): 63–80.

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 645–674

Blessed Lancelao of Hungary: A Franciscan Observant in Fifteenth-Century Italy

Eszter Konrád
Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies

The Franciscan friar Lancelao of Hungary, allegedly a descendant of the Hungarian royal dynasty, moved from Hungary to Italy in search of a Minorite community in which he could truly observe the teachings and spiritual disciplines of St Francis. Lancelao spent the rest of his life in Observant communities in the central and northern part of Italy, acquiring *fama sanctitatis* already in his lifetime. This article deals with the emergence and evolution of the figure of Lancelao of Hungary in Franciscan literature, focusing on the two earliest redactions of his legend written in the vernacular by the renowned Observant Franciscan authors, Mariano da Firenze and Giacomo Oddi da Perugia around the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, respectively. The present article provides insights into Mariano's methods of rewriting Oddi's *exemplum*-like account according to the requirements of a saintly biography. As a result of Mariano's account, Lancelao endured as the typical representative of a humble and ascetic friar whose spirituality was formed by the eminent Tommaso da Firenze in the secluded reformed community of Scarlino. The final part of this article explores the specific religious and historical milieu in which Lancelao lived in order to shed light on some ambiguous details surrounding his legend.

Keywords: Franciscan hagiography, Observant reform in Italy, Giacomo Oddi da Perugia, Mariano da Firenze, Hungarian royal origin in hagiography.

A Franciscan friar from Hungary was buried according to tradition in the Chapel of Santa Ferma at the Convent of Santa Maria in Monte Muro in Tuscany.[1] Although the impressive ruins of the convent and the adjacent church can still be seen today, the tomb in which the friar was allegedly buried is no longer visible.[2] The friar is Lancelao, or La(n)zilao de Ongaria, called *Lanzilaus*, *Lanceslaus* or *Ladislaus* in the Latin sources. His story has come down to us in the *Specchio de l'Ordine Minore*, commonly known as *Franceschina* by Giacomo Oddi da Perugia as part of the *vita* of Francesco da Pavia; and as an independent biography in

1 This research was conducted with the help of the Doctoral Research Support Grant of the Central European University in Budapest. I thank Gábor Klaniczay, Dávid Falvay and Gábor Bradács for their help and comments and I am also grateful to the two anonymous readers for their valuable feedback on the earlier draft of this paper.

2 A short history of the convent mentioning that Lancelao of Hungary is buried there can be found in current guidebooks, for instance in Santi, *Grosseto, Massa Marittima e la Maremma*, 146, and on websites, for instance *Convento di Monte Muro*.

the collection of the lives of mainly Franciscan saints and *beati* by Mariano da Firenze that has never been fully published.

Frate Lancelao is not completely unknown in Hungary. In the late 1890s, Gyula Décsényi discovered Mariano's version of Lancelao's *vita* preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome (BNCR) while he was researching materials regarding Hungary at libraries in Italy.[3] In 1935, Florio Banfi wrote a book review of Nicolo Cavanna's edition of Oddi's *Specchio dell'Ordine Minore*[4] in which he examined the numerous holy friars in the work who had some connection to Hungary, focusing on Lancelao.[5] In his regrettably almost completely unknown study examining St Bernardino of Siena's relation to the Hungarians published in 1944, Banfi dedicated a few pages to Lancelao as well and provided the transcription of his *vita* by Mariano da Firenze based on the copy that Décsényi had identified at the BNCR.[6] In 2000, Clare Lappin offered an insightful analysis of Francesco da Pavia's vision of Lancelao and examined the manuscripts containing Mariano's collection of the lives of Franciscan saints and *beati* in her doctoral dissertation, which is a fundamental work about early Observant identity and ideals.[7]

This paper aims to provide a comprehensive presentation of the emergence of Lancelao of Hungary, whose figure straddles the boundary between history and fiction. I start by reconsidering the relation of the two main versions of his legend by Giacomo Oddi and Mariano da Firenze. For the latter, I use Mariano's autograph manuscript. After comparing the two texts, I establish their relation showing that Mariano reshaped and amended Oddi's account of Lancelao with concrete data according to the criteria of a standard *vita* in order to place the friar on the *tableau* of the Observant family. Next, I look at the *vita*'s transmission in subsequent Franciscan historiographic works revealing some new elements incorporated into his hagiography. Finally, I place Lancelao in the specific religious and historical contexts in which he allegedly lived, first in Hungary then in Italy, and investigate some enigmatic aspects of the friar's legend, specifically those concerning his origin and the point in time when he left his native land.

3 Décsényi, "Olaszországi történelmi kutatások," 130–31.

4 Oddi, *La Franceschina*.

5 Banfi, "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo."

6 Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena."

7 Lappin, "The Mirror."

Authors and Works

The *vite* the Observant Franciscans composed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries regarding their eminent predecessors and near-contemporaries are quite different from the lives of saints written for the initiation of proceedings for canonization. As Daniele Solvi observed, the hagiographic construction of Observant identity—particularly after the friars ceased in the 1470s to take further steps towards the canonization of their *confratelli*—focused rather on catalogue-like works, such as those of Giacomo Oddi and Mariano da Firenze. In these works, the "traditional" saints of the Order were presented as forerunners of the Observant reform and the second generation, the Observant friars, as the heirs of the only true Franciscanism.[8] In most cases, these Observant lives of the *beati* were recorded for the preservation of the memory of those members of the Order who were little known outside of their local environment and in whose *conversio* the most important Observant virtues (obedience, humility, poverty, etc.) were manifested. Since the above-mentioned authors aimed to edify and inspire the brothers and sisters with the stories and lives of eminent members of the Order, they composed their hagiographic-historic collections in the vernacular.

Oddi's Account of Lancelao

The earliest account of Lancelao can be found in the *vita* of the Observant Francesco da Pavia contained in the *Franceschina* written in the Umbrian vernacular by Giacomo Oddi da Perugia (?–1483) before the year 1474.[9] After joining the Observant Franciscans around 1450, Oddi lived in the Convent of Monteripido in Perugia under the spiritual direction of Domenico da Genova for some time, and later was the guardian of Observant convents of Assisi, Perugia and Terni. The *Franceschina* seems to be his only work. This voluminous hagiographic collection consists of thirteen books, each of which is dedicated to a virtue such as obedience, poverty, chastity, charity, etc., which are illustrated in the legends or episodes from the lives of saints and *beati* of the Order of Minor Brothers ranging from St Francis to St John of Capistrano. Oddi included the biographies of more than 30 Observant *beati*, of which 29 were newly composed ones.[10]

8 Solvi, "Il culto dei santi," 145–46.

9 For the life of Oddi, see Pellegrini, "Oddi, Iacopo,"

10 Lappin, "The Mirror," 205.

His main sources for the work were Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate vitae B. Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu,* Angelo Clareno's *Tribulationes*, *Chronica 24 Generalium* attributed to Arnault de Sarrant as well as oral sources. The *Franceschina* survives in four codices used at male and female Franciscan communities in Umbria.[11] Moreover, I have recently found a later copy of the legend of Francesco da Pavia in the Wadding Library at the Collegio Sant'Isidoro in Rome (MS Isidoriano 1/104) that closely follows Oddi's text with some additional sentences of devotional character added by the copyist.[12] I summarize here Oddi's text about Lancealo because this will serve as the basis for comparison with Mariano da Firenze's later version of his *vita*.[13]

The hagiographic account of Lancelao in the *Franceschina* is presented in the form of a vision experienced by Francesco da Pavia, a friar from the Observant Convent "de le Carote" in Verona. There was a holy man called Brother Lancelao, originating from the Hungarian royal dynasty, who regarded poverty to be the highest among the virtues and joined the Franciscan Order. In order to experience life in absolute poverty, Lancelao set off and kept on wandering throughout the provinces of the Order, staying at any single convent for only a short time. Being a man of devout and contemplative character, he visited almost all the zealous communities living in poverty in the Province of St Francis (Umbria), during which he had various mystical experiences witnessed by other friars. Finally, on divine inspiration, he went to the Province of Milan, where he became the guardian of a convent. When the plague broke out in the convent, he witnessed the death and the glorious ascent to heaven of 20 friars as well as a layman. Francesco da Pavia, who was sent to this convent of Milan and would often converse with Lancelao, once asked him how it was possible to live with a clear conscience in such a sumptuous convent, especially for someone who had been searching for poverty in so many provinces. Lancelao responded that he had previously been wrong and that the true perfection of a Minorite is obedience, which entails poverty, chastity and all other virtues. Although this answer did not please Francesco, he chose to remain silent out of reverence. A

11 MS 1238 Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia of 1474–1476 belonged to the Convent of Monteripido; MS Biblioteca del Convento Santa Maria degli Angeli of 1483; MS Norcia of 1477–1484 belonged to the convent of SS. Annunziata; MS Monteluce of 1570 belonged to the nuns of the Convent of Monteluce and was updated with the stories of the eminent Observant friars collected from 1483 until 1570.

12 Rome, Collegio Sant'Isidoro, Biblioteca Wadding, MS Isidoriano 1/104, fol. 16v–19r: "Come il Beato Francesco per il merito dell'oratione fu certificato che l'anima del beato Lancislao d'Ongaria era in stato di gloria."

13 The account of Lancelao is in Oddi, *La Franceschina*, 1:147–49.

few days after he had returned to his convent in Verona, Francesco learned that Lancelao had died and he became curious about the status of the friar's soul, so he prayed to God and fasted until one night Lancelao appeared to him in a vision. In the vision, Lancelao took Francesco by the hand and led him to the choir of the church. The choir was illuminated by great light and Francesco saw entering the church a great multitude of angels, saints, and Franciscans dressed in splendid habits and, finally, Christ, who was so radiant that Francesco could not look at him. Experiencing heavenly light and detecting a sweet odor, Francesco was conducted to the main altar, to the feet of Christ, who assured him of his place in heaven as a reward for his obedience and revealed many other things that that he shared with no one until the final moments of his life. At this point, Francesco saw the whole assembly ascend to heaven accompanied by the singing of the Psalm *In exitu*. For about a year, whenever he heard this Psalm, he was immersed in the same sweet odor.

Apart from this account, there is another important reference to Lancelao in the *Franceschina* appearing in the *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze, according to which he was buried at Scarlino and his saintly fame was spread by Guasparre da Firenze.[14]

Mariano da Firenze's Vita of Lancelao and Its Major Deviations from Oddi's Account

Mariano da Firenze (c. 1477–1523) joined the Franciscan Observants sometime before 1493 and even though he was as a parish priest for most of his life, he spent much of his time visiting Observant houses in central Italy to collect material for his historiographic and hagiographic works. Mariano was a prolific writer, composing histories of all the three Orders of the Franciscans as well as devotional and apologetic works in both Latin and the Tuscan vernacular, including the *Defensorio della verità* (c.1506), *La Via Spirituale* (1518) and a

14 Oddi, *La Franceschina*, 1: 238, no. 36: "[…] un altro santo discipulo de quisto beato, el quale aveva nome frate Lanzilao hungaro, homo contemplativo et pieno di bone opere: del quale frate Gasparre non parea si potesse satiare di predicare le soi bone opere et virtù alli seculari per meterllo in loro divotione, come narravano più frati. El corpo del quale si riposa nel loco di Scarlino." This information can be found also in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze, whose anonymous author referred to Oddi's work. The legend survives in a nineteenth-century copy in the Biblioteca Laurenziana of Florence, MS Segniani 18, fol. 2r-64v and was published by Mencherini, "Vita del B. Tommaso da Firenze." The brief account on Lancelao is on 494; in addition, there is another reference to him, see footnote 66 below.

collection of biographies written in the vernacular, the so-called *Vite de Sancti et Beati* (c. 1510–23). His major work, the *Fasciculus Chronicarum Ordinis Minorum*, was lost in the late eighteenth century, though its synopsized version survives in his *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Ff. Minorum* (1521–22).[15] Mariano included shorter accounts of Lancelao in his Latin works, the *Fasciculus* and the *Compendium*, and an extended one in his collection of *vite.*[16]

Lancelao's *vita* composed by Mariano has come down to us in two manuscripts. The older one is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (BNCF), MS Landau-Finaly 243, under the title *Vite de Sancti et Beati* and contains the "Vita di Lanzilao Hungero" as well as the *vite* of 33 other Franciscan and 12 non-Franciscan *beati*, most of whom were from Tuscany, and three treatises.[17] The manuscript is partly autograph (which means that it was made before 1523) and the "Vita di Lanzilao Hungero" is among the texts written by Mariano himself.[18] Composed in the Tuscan vernacular, Mariano intended the work for the whole congregation and selected those Observant *beati* who were known for living a contemplative life in strict poverty, prayer and seclusion.[19] A more recent copy of this *vita,* "Del beato frate Lazilao Vnghero di casa Reale," survives in MS Sessoriano 412 at the BNCR. This was the manuscript Décsényi found during his research and which served as the basis upon which Banfi based his transcription of Lancelao's legend.[20] The majority of the codex was copied in 1541 for the female Franciscan community of Sant'Orsola in Florence, although its title—*Vite quaranta quattro di vari Uomini Illustri in Santità*—was added by a later hand. It contains two books of a three-part work,[21] the third book of which is preserved at the Franciscan Convent of Giaccherino.[22] The contents of the two

15 Mariano da Firenze, "Compendium." On the *Compendium*, see Lappin, "The Mirror," 68–69.

16 The title of Mariano's collection was excerpted from BNCF MS Landau-Finaly 243.

17 "Vita di Lanzilao Hungero" in BNCF, MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 186r–189r.

18 Folios 1–87, 135–204 and 277–352 are autograph; for a description and the content of the codex, see Lappin, "The Mirror," 230–31.

19 Lappin, "The Mirror," 91.

20 The transcription of the *vita* of Lancelao based on MS Sess. 412 can be found in Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena," 27–32.

21 "Del beato frate Lazilao Vnghero di casa Reale" in BNCR, MS Sessoriano 412 (formerly MS 2063), fol. 78v–80v. The manuscript is described by Oliger, "Il Codice 2063 (Sess. 412);" and in the online catalogue of the BNCR, "Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Sessoriano, Sess. 412."

22 Lappin, "The Mirror," 231. Both the *vitae* of John of Capistrano and Pietro Pettinaio are listed in the index of MS Sess. 412, but the codex does not record them; these lives can be found in the Biblioteca del Convento di Giaccherino, MS G. H. The manuscript is described in Bulletti, "Il codice G. H. della Biblioteca del Convento di Giaccherino."

manuscripts are quite similar, but the order of the lives is different; moreover, the MS Sess. 412 lacks seven of the *vite* and the treatises that are reported in MS Landau-Finaly 243. My first-hand consultation of both manuscripts revealed that the two legends are nearly identical, containing only a few minor differences. In this paper, I use Lancelao's *vita* from the MS Landau-Finaly 243 as the base text.[23]

In the collection Mariano put together approximately a half century after the *Franceschina*, Lancelao is no longer one of the characters in the life of Francesco da Pavia, but is promoted to the constantly widening circle of the Observant *beati* thanks to the author's elaborate presentation of his life in the form of a proper *vita* providing heretofore unknown details. Let me recapitulate the main differences between Mariano's biography and Oddi's text before moving on to the discussion of how the two versions are related.

First, Lancelao's motives for wandering from province to province are basically the same in both redactions: he was seeking a community in which he could live in perfect poverty in true observance of the Rule of Francis. In Mariano's version, however, the friar left for Puglia because "at that time in Hungary the friars had drifted so far away from the true observance of his rule that he could not observe the highest degree of poverty."[24]

Second, with regard to his sojourn in central Italy, Oddi writes only that the devout and contemplative Lancelao visited all the zealous communities living in poverty in the Province of St Francis and that he had mystical experiences. In Mariano's redaction, Lancelao, after receiving permission from his minister, first went to Puglia, then to the Province of Sant'Angelo, where Giovanni da Stroncone and Tommaso da Firenze had recently initiated the reform of the Franciscan houses. But not finding what he was looking for, he departed for Tuscany and was permitted to stay in the reformed house of Scarlino, which was led by the simple and poor layman Tommaso da Firenze "under whose guidance his humility increased greatly and he forgot about his royal origin and priesthood."[25] Mariano underscores the profound impact that Tommaso had on Lancelao's spirituality: he dedicated his life to prayer and contemplation in the

23 All the transcriptions of MS Landau-Finaly 243 and the translations in the text are mine. I introduced modern punctuation to the original text.

24 MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 186r-v: "[…] che nelle parti di hungeria li frati erano in quelli sua tempi alquanto delongati dalla recta observantia della sua regola […]."

25 MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 187r: "Sotto la quale obedientia molto se humilio, non si ricordando piu della sua illustre prosapia regale et di essere sacerdote."

wilderness, he was seen in a state of rapture by the friars several times, lived on bread and water, and wore only a shabby tunic and no shoes.

The third major divergence between the texts of Mariano and Oddi concerns the circumstances of Lancelao's departure for Milan. In Oddi's version, the friar was sent to the Province of Milan by God and while staying there he was made the guardian of the house of Milan.[26] In Mariano's version, the historical context is also revealed: after San Bernardino spread the "new observance" in Lombardy, the vicars of Tuscany sent holy friars to direct these convents so that the friars and the youth of Lombardy who opted for religious life would be nourished in the will of God and regular discipline. Thus, at God's command, Lancelao was removed from the poor house of Scarlino and was appointed guardian at the house of Sant'Angelo near Milan, where there was a terrible plague at the time of his entrance.[27]

Fourth, Mariano provides an elaborated version of Lancelao's death combining two pieces of information found in two different *vite* of the *Franceschina*, in that of Francesco da Pavia and Tommaso da Firenze, namely that the friar died shortly after the plague had ended and that he was buried in Scarlino—to which Mariano added that he was interred in the same tomb as the other blessed friars of the community at the Church of Sancta Ferma.[28] Moreover, in the very last part of the *vita* Mariano becomes the first to speak about Lancelao's local cult at Scarlino:

> And as strong brother Lanzilao proved to be in glory, he proved to be as strong for the mortal people who remained in this miserable life, who came to visit his tomb invoking him in their illness and other

26 Oddi, *La Franceschina*, 1: 147: "Finalmente, menato da lo spirito de Dio, se n'andò nella provintia de Milano, et fermandose in quella fo facto guardiano de loco de Milano, come homo de ciò molto degno. Entrò, como piacque a la bontà divina, la peste in quello loco […]."

27 MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol.187r-v: "Ma dopo alquanti anni che fu stato in Toscana, havendo gia s[an]c[t]o Bernardino dilatato la nova observantia per la Lombardia, li Vicarii di Toscana alcuna volta mandarono in Lombardia frati perfecti et sancti che regiesino li conventi et frati in vera observantia et nutrirsili nel signore et li giovani di Lombardia che fugendo el secolo venino alla religione li mandarono a vestire nella provincia di s[an]c[t]o Francescho et di Toscana, accio che fussino nutriti nela via del signore et nella regulare disciplina. Per la quale cosa ordinandolo dio fr[atr]e Lanzilao per le sua virtu et meriti fu cavato del povero et devoto loco di scarlino et instituto Guardiano nel loco di s[an]c[t]o Angelo apreso a Milano. Nel quale tempo entro nel convento tanta crudele pestilenza."

28 MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 188r: "Quietato che fu la peste nel loco di Melano, el beato Francescho si ritorno a loco suo humile et povero loco di s[an]c[t]o Francesco di Scarlino. Dove non molto dopo che fu tornato si riposo in pace et fu sepolto nel sepolcro delli altri s[an]c[t]i frati in s[an]c[t]a Ferma di decto loco."

> necessity, who were persuaded also to come and visit by the holy brother Guasparre da Firenze.[29]

This is an important reference to the veneration of Lancelao as a holy person not long after his death as well as to the active role of the guardian of a community in the preservation of his memory and the urging of the faithful to pray for the intercession of a Franciscan Observant friar.

Sources

As Banfi has already pointed out, the accounts of Mariano and Oddi are genetically related.[30] This relation is revealed most poignantly in the similar expressions and sentences and the same sequence of the events in their texts. The abundance of details in Mariano's life of Lancelao excludes the possibility that it was derived from Oddi's briefer version, while Oddi could not have used Mariano's *vita* since it was written later. According to Banfi, the two authors presumably used the same earlier source. In my opinion, however, it is more probable that Mariano collected additional information about Lancelao and greatly revised Oddi's narrative rather than that Oddi, who for more than two decades diligently collected the legends and miracles of the Observant friars before writing the *Franceschina*,[31] abbreviated a more detailed existing legend omitting all the remarkable details about the early history of the Observant movement in Italy and Lancelao's role in it, even if his focus was on Francesco da Pavia. Based on Oddi's remark made in the legend of Francesco da Pavia, I propose that, in fact, he was the first to write about Lancelao in a relatively detailed fashion. The new details that emerge in Mariano's text are derived from oral tradition and presumably the author himself, who was a great expert on the history of the Order of Minor Brothers, especially the Observants.

The *Franceschina* reveals Oddi's strong interest in the past and present of the Order: in addition to the written sources listed earlier, Oddi presumably collected written materials in the convents during his journeys and recorded numerous stories that until then had circulated only orally.[32] As previously

29 MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 189r: "Et si come f[rat]re Lanzilao fu demonstra potente in gloria, cosi anchora si dimonstro potente alli homini che erano rimasti in questa misera vita, che venirono a visitare el suo sepolcro, invocandolo nella sua infermita et altre necessita, li quali erano persuasi di venire a visitarlo dal sancto f[rat]re Guasparre da Firenze."

30 Banfi, "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo," 476.

31 Cavanna, Introduction, LXXVII–LXXXIX.

32 Ibid., LXXXIX.

mentioned, Oddi was the first to compose the life and the miracles of Brother Francesco da Pavia, a work in which he included an account of Lancelao. It is worthwhile to take a closer look at Francesco, since the period he spent in the convent in Milan at the time of the great plague is of central importance as a result of the fact that Lancelao died soon after the epidemic ended.[33] Francesco da Pavia, whose original name was Antonio Beccaria, was the descendant of a powerful noble family from Pavia. Francesco was born sometime before 1400 and as a youth joined the Franciscan Observants, likely motivated by the visits of Bernardino of Siena to Pavia, in 1417 and 1421, where he spent a total of 33 years.[34] The year of Francesco's death is debated: either 1450 or 1452, or 1454.[35] Oddi was pivotal in the diffusion of the *fama sanctitatis* of Francesco da Pavia. The Perugian friar heard testimonies about him from his fellow brothers and traveled to the Convent of Monteluco near Spoleto to be at the bed of the gravely ill Francesco.[36] Oddi alluded to his source as he underscored the authenticity of the vision of Lancelao by writing that Francesco shared this experience with his fellow brethren, who were all "trustworthy men from whom I [the author] heard all this."[37] This means that Francesco da Pavia's *confratelli* were the earliest, albeit oral, sources about Lancelao and it was Oddi who then put his story on paper.

Mariano da Firenze, too, followed his predecessor's footsteps and was a great collector and disseminator of the records of prominent Observants.[38] As Lappin observed, the majority of his biographies of the *Vite de sancti Frati Minori*, including that of Lancelao, were about contemplative men turning to nature in order to find peace and the comfort of prayer, although at the same time many of

33 The legend of Francesco da Pavia is in Oddi, *La Franceschina*, 1:140–70, while the reference to Oddi's presence at his deathbed is on page 169. The legend is discussed in Lappin, "The Mirror," 206–10. There is an entry about Francesco in Mariano da Firenze "Compendium" in *AFH* 4, 133.

34 For the biography of Francesco da Pavia, see Sevesi, "B. Francesco da Pavia," Bigaroni, "B. Francesco Beccaria da Pavia" and Vasoli, "Beccaria, Antonio [Francesco da Pavia]."

35 According to Mariano da Firenze, Francesco died in 1452; see "Compendium" in *AFH* 4, 133. Wadding places his death in 1454; see Wadding, *Annales*, 12: 220, year 1454, XL. For those modern scholars who maintain that Francesco died in 1454, see Sevesi, "B. Francesco da Pavia" as well as the relevant entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Evidence cited by Bigaroni indicating that Francesco died in 1450 is, however, more convincing; see Bigaroni, "B. Francesco Beccaria da Pavia," 256–58.

36 Oddi, *La Franceschina*, 1:164, 169.

37 Ibid.,1:148: "Li quali erano de tanta chiarità et lucidità, che, secondo che lui disse et affermava poi a li frati suoi familiari, homini digni de fede, da li quali io ebbi tucto questo […]."

38 Lappin calculated that Mariano included the lives of 313 brothers, almost all of them Observant, into his *Compendium* between the years 1415 and 1521; see Lappin, "The Mirror," 69.

them represented the fusion of the Literal and Regular Observant ideals.[39] The content of the *Vite de sancti Frati Minori* is the product of a collection of written and oral testimonies from the Observant houses in central Italy that Mariano continually rewrote during his travels between 1510 and 1523.[40] Mariano even had the chance to visit the functioning Observant Convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino, which had been transformed from the modest building where Lancelao had lived. However, it is doubtful that Mariano's research at this convent was successful, as in the *Vita di Thomà da Firenze*, he complains about the failure of the brothers to record the works and the deeds of Tommaso and that he had to travel on foot to different parts of Italy in order to gain information from those who knew him personally or were his disciples.[41] Mariano probably started to organize his hagiographic writings into a collection around the years 1520/21 in order to publish a book containing the legends and the lives of the three Orders of St Francis. Until recently, it seemed that the work was never published, perhaps due to the author's sudden death in 1523,[42] but some years ago Arnaldo Sancricca discovered a fragment of a piece of a work published in 1525 entitled *La genealogia delle province de' beati e santi della religione di S. Francesco* that could be the planned work of the Florentine chronicler.[43]

Elaboration and Authenticity

The elaboration of the lives of saints was quite common in the late medieval and early modern period. Dávid Falvay observed with regard to the Italian legends whose authors attempted to present the saints originating from Hungary in an elaborate and historically correct manner that these texts do not correspond more closely to a textual archetype but are the product of historical elaboration. This occurred mostly in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts, the erudite authors of which, judging the historical basis of a devotional text to be weak, used other sources in order to retrospectively provide a more precise background to the given work.[44] Such "philological revision" occurred, for instance, in the case of a fifteenth-century manuscript containing the legend of St Guglielma, an alleged

39 Lappin, "The Mirror," 216, 230.

40 Cannarozzi, "Ricerche sulla vita di Fra Mariano da Firenze," 60–63.

41 MS Sessoriano 412, fol. 147v; quoted from Lappin, "The Mirror," 233.

42 Lappin, "The Mirror," 232. Lappin took this information from Mariano's *Vita di San Francesco*, edited by Cresi, "La Vita di San Francesco."

43 Sancricca, "La genealogia delle province."

44 Falvay, "Il mito del re ungherese," 54–59 and idem, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek olasz kódexekben*, 200.

queen of Hungary who turned up in fourteenth-century devotional works written in the vernacular in which a later hand added notes to the text in order to make it more accurate and to add concrete historical data.[45] In my opinion, Mariano did something similar: the most important pieces of information he integrated in order to substantiate Lancelao's story came from the material he collected from oral and written testimonies. He retrospectively augmented Oddi's account with new details, including pieces of information concerning Lancelao from the *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze. Mariano was careful not to radically change the information provided by Oddi; rather, he "filled in the blanks," amplifying or making minor changes to the original short text in order to transform it into a genuine *vita*. The result was an emblematic biography of the period of transition of the Observance "from the desert to the crowd," that is, of the transformation of the movement's initial eremitic lifestyle to its promulgation of the evangelic message to the urban masses—a process in which in Bernardino of Siena had a fundamental role.[46]

The notion of authenticity in the Middle Ages was broader and more flexible than it is today.[47] It denoted authorization or approval from an institution that guaranteed the truth, that is, from the Church. Authentication could be derived from the authority of Church Fathers, the popes, the founding fathers of religious orders, or tradition. Truth was, in simplified terms, everything that relates to God. So in this sense, what one would call historical truth today was not of primary concern for Mariano da Firenze in his hagiographic works. Even if the new details originate from trustworthy testimonies, as Mariano emphasized, at least a half century had passed since the deaths of Lancelao and his master Tommaso da Firenze and in some cases it is not possible to tell whether the new details were based on actual facts or were plausible speculations made by the witnesses or by Mariano himself in order to directly link the events of Lancelao's life with the spread of the Observance or whether they had been introduced for rhetorical purposes (e.g., that he went to Italy as a result of the decline of the Franciscan Order in Hungary, that he was a priest, that he was sent to Milan by the vicars of Tuscany). For Mariano and his readers, such considerations were valid and did not detract from the authenticity of Lancelao's biography. There

45 Falvay, "Il mito del re ungherese," 58–59.

46 On the transition of the Observance "dal deserto alla folla," see Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 312–16.

47 Cf. Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew*, 33–34.

was no strict boundary between "this happened this way" and "this could have happened this way."

Transmission

Apart from Oddi's *Franceschina* and Mariano's collection of *vite*, shorter accounts about Lancelao were included also in Franciscan chronicles. In his *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Ff. Minorum,* Mariano summed up the essential information about the friar under the year 1445: "Under blessed Tommaso da Firenze, great perfection flourished at the place of Scarlin and [under his guidance] was also Brother Lanzilao, a royal descent of the king of Hungary, a particularly holy man."[48] Mariano presumably did the same in his *Fasciculus*. It is unclear on what basis, because he does not indicate that the friar died that year. The Portuguese author Marcos da Silva, whose *Crónica dos frades menores* (1554–56) was published in Italian translation in 1581–1582, also relied on Mariano's *Fasciculus.*[49] His account placed around the year 1445[50] states explicitly that it was Bernardino of Siena who invited and appointed Lancelao to serve as the guardian of a recently built convent near Milan (although its precise name is not mentioned) at which 20 friars died of the plague the following year.[51] Mariano's Latin works were also used by the Tuscan Franciscan Dionisio Pulinari, who dedicated an entry of his *Cronache dei Frati Minori della Provincia di Toscana* to "Fra Lazilao."[52] In this work, which itself is a continuation of Mariano's *Brevis chronica Tusciae* (1510–14) until the year 1580,[53] Dionisio provided a short biographical account about Lancelao

48 Mariano da Firenze*,* "Compendium" in *AFH* 4, 123: "Frater Lanzilaus etiam regali prosapia regis Ung[a]rie, vir utique sanctus, in loco de scarlino sub beati Thome de Florentia ducatu perfectio multa floruit."

49 Marcos de Lisboa, *Chronicas da Ordem dos Frades Menores*; the Italian translation was published as *Croniche degli Ordini instituiti dal P. S. Francesco*.

50 Marco da Lisbona, *Croniche*, 108. The account nevertheless suggests that Lancelao stayed in the convent near Milan in the early 1420s. This shows that the Latin works of Mariano used by Marcos da Silva did not contain the information stating that Lancelao returned to Scarlino after the plague in Milan and died soon thereafter.

51 Marco da Lisbona, *Croniche*, 108: "[...] fin che havendo San Bernardino ricevuto dei Monasteri in Lombardia, & chiamato per finirgli de' Frati di Toscana chiamò anco Frà Lancillao, & lo fece Guardiano d'vn Monastero vicino a Milano, ch'egli haveva novamente edificato: dove il primo anno morirono di Peste venti di que' Frati, che vi stavano [...]."

52 For Dionisio's biography, see Mencherini, Introduction, IX–XIII.

53 The *Cronache* was written at the request of the Minister General of the Order, Francesco Gonzaga, who decreed that records of each Franciscan province should be collected and put together in one work; see Mencherini, Introduction, XVI; the seven manuscripts are listed at XIX–XIV.

in the section about the Convent of Monte Muro, depicting him as one of the holy friars of the early times of the Observant movement buried in the Church of Santa Ferma, though he does not mention his sojourn in Milan.[54] In his *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* ... published in 1587,[55] Francesco Gonzaga, who was Minister General of the Order between 1579 and 1587, made a short reference to Lancelao in his entry on the history of the Observant Convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino stating that he was one of the holy friars buried at this location, though in his entry on the Convent of Sant'Angelo in Milan he does mention that Lancaleo allegedly once served as the convent's guardian.[56] The French Franciscan Arthur du Moustier used Marco da Silva's *Crónica*[57] as the basis for his account of Lanceleo in his *Martyrologium Franciscanum* published in 1638. Arthur du Moustier recounted both of Lancelao's sojourns in the houses of Monte Muro and Sant'Angelo and places his death around the year 1445, designating September 20 as the date of his commemoration. The Irish Franciscan Luke Wadding, author of the major comprehensive history of his Order, worked on the basis of Oddi's *Franceschina* and Mariano's *Fasciculus*.[58] Wadding recounted Lancelao's memory at Scarlino under the year 1420 (the year when the hermitage was given to Tommaso da Firenze) and dedicated a longer account to him under the year 1445 describing Lancelao's stay in Milan and his *post mortem* cult at the Convent of Monte Muro.[59] The relatively detailed accounts of Lancelao in Wadding's *Annales* and in Marcos da Silva's *Crónica* are valuable because these works, together with Arthur du Moustier's *Martyrologium*, became the standard reference books for Franciscan history, especially after the *Fasciculus* was lost in the eighteenth century. Lancelao would have remained virtually unknown to the Franciscans without the above-mentioned printed works as a result of the fact that Oddi's *Franceschina* and Mariano's works had a limited circulation in the area of Tuscany and Umbria. At the same time, these printed works—especially the *Martyrologium*—anchored the tradition of placing Lancelao's death around the year 1445.

54 Pulinari, *Cronache*, 446–47.

55 On Francesco Gonzaga, see Giordano, "Francesco Gonzaga."

56 Gonzaga, *De Origine*, 229–30; 341–42.

57 Du Moustier, *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, 434.

58 The sources are indicated in Wadding, *Annales,* 11: 239, year 1445, XIII.

59 Wadding, *Annales,* 11: 40: year 1420, XV; 239, year 1445, XIII–XIV. Wadding also mentions Lancelao under the year 1447, that of Tommaso da Firenze's death, as one of his disciples, 300, year 1447, XXXIX.

Historical Context

Lancelao's stay in Tuscany and Lombardy, which coincided with the Observant movement's spread from central to northern Italy, is an ill-documented period of Franciscan history.[60] Checking the reliability of the biographical information provided by Oddi and particularly by Mariano in the *vite* of the Observant *beati* against other historical sources is challenging as a result of the fact that these works are the most important and in many cases the only sources of religious history for this period, thus compelling subsequent Observant chroniclers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to rely to a large extent on these works. Nevertheless, for a better understanding of the historical context of the communities in which, according to Mariano's *vita*, Lancelao lived, it would be useful to briefly describe the state of the Franciscan Order in Hungary around the year 1400 as well as the origins of the Observant convents of Monte Muro at Scarlino and of Sant'Angelo in Milan and their importance in the reform.

The Franciscan Order in Hungary around 1400

Even if it is not known exactly when Lancelao was born, the period when he was a Franciscan in Hungary would have been in the last decades of the fourteenth century or the first decade of the fifteenth century.[61] By that time, the signs of decadence were obvious in the Franciscan Order also in Hungary: the friars were not only looking for privileges for their Order as a whole, but also requested and obtained benefits, positions and exemptions from the noble lords and the pope.[62] The Observant movement simultaneously gained ground in Hungary as well: the first Observant houses were established as early as the 1360s in the southeastern part of the country, where friars from the movement were entrusted with missionary activities among the "heretics" and the "schismatics" who lived in this region. Despite the presence of the Observants in Hungary since the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century, it began to truly expand in the country only around the early fifteenth century: while in

60 Pulinari, *Cronache*, 1. For an overview of the history of the Franciscan Order in the first half of the fifteenth century, see Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 287–342.

61 On the history of the Observants Franciscans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Hungary, see Galamb, "Umanisti ed Osservanti francescani in Ungheria" and Romhányi, "Ferencesek a későközépkori Magyarországon;" for an overview in English with a rich bibliography, see Kertész, *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek*, 47–49.

62 Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története,* 1:55–56.

1390 there were only around a dozen reformed houses in Hungary, this number grew to 24 or 25 between 1400 and 1430.[63] King Sigismund strongly supported the Observant Vicariate of Bosnia, and the improvement of his relationship with the papacy had a positive impact on the expansion of the Observants in Hungary.[64] The Hungarian Observant Franciscans gained a significant degree of influence following their separation from the Bosnian vicariate in 1448, thus spurring a significant rise in the number of their convents.

The Convent of Monte Muro near Scarlino

Mariano narrates that Lancelao first went to the Province of Puglia, but since he did not find what he was looking for, he headed to the Province of Sant'Angelo, which was, in fact, that part of Puglia in which Giovanni da Stroncone and Tommaso da Firenze had recently started the reform of the Franciscan convents. Giovanni, who came from the circle of Paoluccio da Trinci, the "founder" of the Observant movement in 1368, was an eminent Observant who held important offices in the reformed branch of the Order and set up a number of reformed houses throughout Italy.[65] A few years before his death, Giovanni embarked upon the dissemination of the Observant reform in Puglia and in Calabria together with one of his disciples, Tommaso da Firenze, known also as Tommaso Bellacci or Tommaso da Scarlino (1370–1447). Tommaso assumed Giovanni's offices following his death in 1418, becoming the vicar of Puglia and Calabria and founding several convents in these regions.[66] In 1419, Tommaso was entrusted with the task of eradicating the *fraticelli de opinione* in the area of Maremma, near Siena. He stayed in the Convent of San Benedetto della Nave at Montorsaio[67] with a few other friars, possibly including Lancelao, who earned distinction by chasing away the *fraticelli* when they attacked the house.[68] But Tommaso's most beloved

63 Ibid., 326.

64 Galamb, "A ferences obszervancia magyarországi térnyeréséhez," 168.

65 For Giovanni's biography, see Sensi, "Giovanni da Stroncone;" for his role in the reform in Italy, see idem, *Le osservanze francescane*, 54, 68, 275; and Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 455–57.

66 For Tommaso's biography, see Cerulli, "Bellaci, Tommaso" [Tommaso da Firenze].

67 For the history of the Observant Convent of San Benedetto della Nave at Montorsaio, see Gonzaga, *De Origine*, 229–30.

68 This episode can be read in the anonymous *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze; see Mencherini, "Vita del B. Tommaso da Firenze," 94–96. It is not certain that the friar in question was Lancleao, since the following can be read on page 95: "[...] et chosi gridando et chorendo, frate Lanzilao ungero, *se ben mi richorda* [emphasis mine], el quale nel sechulo era huomo bellichoso et di forte natura con un palo di legnio in mano achuto si messe in fra quegli heretici faciendo con quelli si chome havessi una partigiana [...]." The

dwelling place was the hermitage of Scarlino, the predecessor of the Observant Franciscan Convent of Monte Muro. Tommaso's community at Scarlino became an important spiritual center in Tuscany for those friars who wished to observe the rules of Francis living in a quasi-eremitic lifestyle. Lancelao came here due to the zeal and the sanctity of the "pura observantia regolare" in the Provinces of Tuscany and of St Francis (the two provinces functioned as one until 1440). The region was renowned for its reformed Franciscan spirituality and its abundance of saintly friars. As the Observant Franciscan Bernardino Aquilano noted in his *Cronaca dei frati minori dell'osservanza* (1480), "in the province of St Francis there were famous men of distinguished life and holiness."[69] Tommaso da Firenze was a renowned figure in his era and was highly esteemed by the leading figures of the second generation of the Observants as well.[70] After his death during a mission in 1447, Tommaso was venerated as a blessed due to his *conversio* and the miracles that occurred at his tomb in the Church of St Francis in Rieti.[71]

In the early 1420s the hermitage of Monte Muro near Scarlino was transformed into a convent housing a reformed Franciscan community and its spiritual milieu attracted people from all social strata, ranging from unlettered lay people to descendants of Tuscan and Roman noble families. Tommaso da Firenze's disciples, in addition to Lancelao, included Clemente Capponi, Gerolamo della Stufa, Polidoro Romano and Guasparre da Firenze.[72] The latter became an important figure in the subsequent history of the Observants at Scarlino: the convent was rebuilt at his initiative and he was a major propagator of the local cult of Lancelao. In the sixteenth century, the convent was attacked and looted by the Ottomans first in 1539 and again in 1566, after which the friars decided to leave the convent. However, at the initiative of General Minister Francesco Gonzaga, a decision was made at the Chapter of Poggibonsi in 1580

same story can be found in the *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze of MS Norcia of the *Franceschina*, 1:228 no. 24; cf. Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena," 13 n. 13.

69 Bernardinus Aquilanus, *Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae*, 17: "in provincia sancti Francisci fuerunt notabiles viri vita et sanctitate praeclari."

70 In 1438 Tommaso da Firenze accompanied John of Capistrano to the Province of the Orient, and between 1439 and 1444 he was sent on missions to Egypt, Ethiopia, and Constantinople. He was captured three times by the Ottomans.

71 Bartolomei Romagnoli, "Osservanza francescana," 127–28. In 1514, Cardinal Antonio del Monte, a papal legate in Umbria, provided indulgences for the pilgrims who visited his tomb and the same year the citizens of Rieti started the campaign for his beatification that was eventually approved in 1771.

72 For Tommaso da Firenze's disciples, see his legend in *La Franceschina*, 1:215–49; Pulinari, *Cronache*, 446–52.

to repopulate the convent.[73] In the opinion of Dionisio Pulinari, Gonzaga, who was "stimulated by the odor and the name of such great holiness," proposed reviving the convent, probably due to the rather high number of friars buried there "because in those early times those early brothers were saints."[74] It shows that the importance of the burial place of saintly friars as a potential site of miracles and thus of local cult had not decreased with the Observant Franciscans more than a century later.[75]

The Church and the Convent of Sant'Angelo in Milan

Lancelao did not spend all his life at the community of Scarlino. As his *vita* composed by Mariano reveals, after Bernardino of Siena had spread the "new observance" in Lombardy, on divine inspiration he was appointed guardian of the Convent of Sant'Angelo near Milan. The contrast between the hermitage-like Observant house at Scarlino and the convent of Sant'Angelo could not have been greater: the Sant'Angelo ("Vecchio" or "fuori le mura") was the first Observant church and convent in Milan, established thanks to the celebrated preaching tour and peacemaking activities of Bernardino in northern Italy, during which he visited the city three times between 1418 and 1421.[76] The construction of the church and the convent is traditionally associated with the first visit of Bernardino to Milan in 1418, although in fact it was only in 1421 that Filippo Maria Visconti approved the concession of an already existing oratory outside the city walls to the reformed friars.[77] The Observant movement, and especially Bernardino, attracted so many people that the small chapel was soon

73 For the history of the Observant convent of Monte Muro near Scarlino, see Pulinari, *Cronache*, 440–43; Gonzaga, *De Origine*, 229–30.

74 Pulinari, *Cronache*, 443: "[...] perché in quei primi tempi quei frati erano santi. Così lui [Francesco Gonzaga] da quell'odore e nome di santità tanto grande [...]."

75 It is enough to think of John of Capistrano, who after the victorious Battle of Belgrade (1456) against the Ottomans shortly before his death ordered that he be buried at the Observant Convent of Újlak (Ilok, Croatia). The convent, with the active contribution of Observant friars of the convent and Voivode Miklós Újlaki—who started spreading the saintly fame of Capistrano at his deathbed and also supported the popular veneration of his body—was soon turned into a famous pilgrimage site. See Andrić, *The Miracles of St John of Capistran*, 69, 91–96, 159.

76 For Bernardino's peacemaking activities in Lombardy, see Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, 86; 119–20.

77 The oratory of Sant'Angelo and the later Observant church and convent was situated next to the Martesana channel located between the present-day Porta Nuova and Porta Garibaldi.

no longer sufficient and had to be enlarged.[78] The new church was dedicated to Santa Maria degli Angeli and the sumptuous and huge monastic complex was able to accommodate more than 100 friars.[79] First the Franciscan tertiaries and some female communities and, from the mid-1440s, two Observant Clarissan communities were placed under the supervision of the friars.[80] The Observant Vicariate of Milan was established in 1428.[81]

Although a few parchment documents related to the Observant church and convent of Sant'Angelo from the period before their partial destruction in 1527 survive at the Archivio di Stato of Milan, none of the eight documents from the period between 1421 and 1460 record the name of Lancelao, the alleged guardian of the convent at an unspecified time.[82] Neither Mariano's *Compendium*, nor Dionisio Pulinari's *Cronache,* nor Gonzaga's *De origine* mentions Lancelao's sojourn in Milan. Despite the various possible explanations of the causes of this omission based on the genre or the aim of the works, these chronicles clearly show that regardless the path a friar takes in his life, it is the place where he dies and is buried which, in the end, is of utmost importance: in Lancealo's case, this was the convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino.

According to both Oddi and Mariano, Lancelao was guardian of the Convent of Sant'Angelo at the time of the plague in Milan. There were two serious plague epidemics in Milan during the fifteenth century—the first in 1424 and the second and more deadly one between 1449 and 1452.[83] According to Giovanni Simonetta, the chronicler of Francesco Sforza, 30,000 people died of the plague in Milan during the latter outbreak of the disease.[84] In Mariano's redaction, the plague coincided with Lancelao's entry into the convent, while his term as guardian ended after the plague and he died soon after his return to Scarlino. If Francesco da Pavia indeed died in 1450, the great plague epidemic during which Lancelao was the guardian of the Convent of Sant'Angelo could

78 Based on documentary evidence, Alessandro Nova clarified that it was not Bernardino who requested the chapel of Sant'Angelo, but other reformed friars; see Nova, "I tramezzi in Lombardia," 198.

79 Gonzaga, *De Origine,* 340–41.

80 "Convento di Sant'Angelo, frati minori osservanti."

81 For the Vicars of the Province between 1425 and 1458, see Sevesi, *I Vicari ed i Ministri Provinciali*, 8–10.

82 Grosselli, "Documenti Quattrocenteschi."

83 Cognasso, "Istituzioni comunali e signorili di Milano," 519–20.

84 Simonetta, *Rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae,* 350. According to Simonetta, the main plague epidemic occurred in Milan between1450 and 1451, although the disease was present to a lesser degree in the city during the years 1449 and 1452 as well.

only be the one that occurred in 1424.[85] The plague of 1449–52 could not be that to which Mariano referred in his work even if Francesco died in 1454, because he stayed in the Observant house "de le Carote" in Verona before moving to Umbria at an unspecified time prior to the year 1446.[86]

The Hungarian Royal Origin and the Riddle of the United Provinces

There is little information regarding the life of Lancelao before he went to Italy and even the little that exists is ambiguous. "There was a holy brother in the Order called brother Lancelao, a native of the province of Hungary and a scion of the royal house of Hungary" says Oddi at the beginning of his account.[87] Some decades later, Mariano da Firenze writes the same: "In the Kingdom of Hungary there was a most illustrious man of royal lineage or blood of the Hungarian king."[88] The ruler to whom Lancelao was related is not specified in any of the above sources. The royal descent of Lancelao has remained a constant attribute described in Franciscan hagiographic and historiographic works throughout the centuries. There were four monarchs, three of whom belonged to the Capetian House of Anjou, who reigned in Hungary during Lancelao's lifetime and to whom, according to these works, he may have been related: King Louis the Great (1342–82); Queen Mary (1382–85); King Charles II (Charles of Durazzo; 1385–86); and King Sigismund (1387–1437).[89] Not even Mariano brings us closer to answering the question when he writes in Lancelao's *vita* that the friar "after obtaining permission from his minister, went to Puglia, which province was united with the province of Hungary."

Décsényi interpreted "province" to mean "kingdom" and the union between Puglia and Hungary to be a reference to Louis the Great's campaigns for the title of the King of Naples in the years 1347–48 and 1350–52, of which only

85 See footnote 35 above.

86 Vasoli, "Beccaria, Antonio [Francesco da Pavia]."

87 Oddi, *La Franceschina*, 1:147: "Era nell'Ordine uno santo frate chiamato frate Lancelao, nativo de la provintia de Ongaria et de la casa del re de Ongaria."

88 MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 186r: "Nel regnio di Hungeria fu uno illustrissimo signore della prosapia o vero sangue Regale del Re Bongerio [sic!]"; MS Sessoriano 412, fol. 88v: "Del beato frate Lazilao Vnghero di casa Reale. Nel Regno d'Vngheria Fu Vno Inlustrissimo Signore della prosapia et Sangue regale del Re Hongerio."

89 According to Banfi, Lancelao descended from the Angevin dynasty; see Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena," 13.

the first was successful.[90] Banfi added another period of union, the short reign of Charles II in the years 1385–86.[91] If one accepts Décsényi's interpretation, Lancelao could not have been born after the late 1320s or early 1330s, though if this is true, he could have hardly been one the disciples of Tommaso da Firenze and have personally known Francesco da Pavia.[92] The other period of union seems more plausible, because in this case Lancelao could not have born much later than 1360 if he indeed left for Puglia in 1385 or 1386 even though this would mean that he spent more than three decades (!) wandering in different Franciscan communities in Italy before he settled down in the community at Scarlino at around the age of 60.

In order to clarify this enigma, I would like to propose another interpretation of the unity of the province of Puglia and the province of Hungary that can be found only in Mariano's version. "Province" in the sense used by Oddi and Mariano can indicate a Franciscan geographical unit. In 1385, Raimondo del Balzo Orsini founded in Puglia the Convent of Santa Caterina di Galatina, which Pope Boniface IX attached to the Bosnian vicariate via the bull *Pia vota* of 1391, authorizing the Vicar of Bosnia Bartolomeo d'Alverna that the Bosnian friars could stay in this convent and instructing him to found other houses in the area. This became the custody of Santa Catherina, which was composed essentially of the convents of Puglia and one more of Crotone, from where the friars went to Bosnia to convert the "heretics" and the "schismatics" and which belonged to the Observant Franciscan Vicariate of Bosnia until 1446.[93] The Observants of Hungary were part of the Vicariate of Bosnia until 1448, when Pope Nicholas V permitted the establishment of an independent Observant Vicariate of Hungary, which until 1523 was called *familia Fratrum Minorum de observantia*.[94] A further argument in favor of this reading is that Mariano, as seen above, specified two parts of Puglia in his *vita*—the Province of Puglia and the Province of Sant'Angelo. I propose that the interpretation of the unity of the

90 Décsényi, "Olaszországi történelmi kutatások," 131.

91 Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena," 28. On the reign of Charles II in Hungary, see Fügedi, *"Könyörülj, bánom, könyörülj,"* 98–110.

92 This controversy was already pointed out in Banfi, "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo," 476. The reference to the permission of Lancelao's minister indicates that Mariano carefully stressed that the friar's wandering was allowed; the Observant Franciscans discouraged itinerant life, and since the mid-fifteenth century they legislated against those who left their convents without the approval of their superiors; see Bihl, "Statuta generalia Observantium Ultramontanorum," 138; idem, "Statuta provincialia Thusciae," 158.

93 Sensi, "Movimenti di osservanza," 127–28.

94 Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története,* 1:305–29; Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois*," 39–43.

provinces between 1391 and 1446 makes it possible that Lancelao left Hungary later, presumably in the second half of the 1410s.

Although the possibility that Lancelao was indeed related to the Hungarian royal house cannot be excluded despite the lack of sources that would support this assumption, it may well be that affirmation of his royal lineage was merely a hagiographic *topos*. André Vauchez observed that, beginning in the fourteenth century, the royal origin of saints was in many cases the "invention" of the hagiographers, especially when available biographic information about the relevant saint was scarce. Vauchez also noticed that Hungary had acquired a privileged role compared to other countries in this respect.[95] Due to the exceptional number of saints and blessed from the Árpád dynasty between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, the tradition of royal holiness as a hereditary trait (*beata stirps*) was widely applied in representative purposes by the royal house. This was continued in the fourteenth century by the subsequent ruling dynasty of Hungary, the Angevins.[96] As Dávid Falvay has shown, the attribution of royal origin to saints and other legendary and historical figures was a frequent phenomenon in vernacular hagiographic works produced in central Italy. These personages were often represented as the offspring of the Hungarian king, who was described either as pagan or recently converted.[97] Falvay found that the Hungarian origin of a saintly person, be it real or fictitious, did not serve as historical data, but as a rhetorical element.[98] The examination of both devotional and secular texts in Western Europe in which the protagonists were credited with Hungarian royal origin has led Enikő Csukovits to conclude that the attribution served to enhance their reputation by representing them as members of the ruling dynasty of a distant, though nevertheless important, kingdom.[99] In addition to this, turning away from courtly high society and embracing poverty represented a recurring motif in the hagiographic literature produced by the mendicant orders that

95 Vauchez, "*Beata stirps*," 398 n. 2, 399–404.

96 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*.

97 Falvay, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek*, 191–200. Examples of the fictitious Hungarian origin of saints can be found in the works of Falvay: "Santa Guglielma, regina d'Ungheria;" "Szent Albanus, a vérfertőző magyar királyfi;" and the pious Enrico, son of the Hungarian king, in his *Magyar dinasztikus szentek*, 171–73. A similar case is known from a sixteenth-century manuscript written in French, the romance *Charles de Hongrie*, where the protagonist is not a saint, but a knight and the descendant of the Hungarian royal dynasty; see Csernus, "Történelem és fikció."

98 Royal origin had stronger connotations in Italy than it did in other countries, probably because in northern and central Italy the institution of the kingdom did not exist; see Falvay, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek*, 199.

99 Csukovits, *Magyarországról és a magyarokról,* 174.

goes back as far as the thirteenth century.[100] It must be said, however, that the fictitious royal origin of saints turned up in legends and *exempla* that originated in the centuries before this attribute was added to them. In any case, Lancelao's (alleged) royal origin underlines the sharp contrast between his choice to join the Franciscans in order to live in poverty and his journey to find a community that truly observed the Rule of Francis that eventually led him to Tuscany.

Conclusion

The earliest sources regarding Lancelao of Hungary are devotional texts combining biographical and historical events with hagiographic *topoi*. The two main redactions of his legend have come down to us as parts of works written in the Umbrian and the Tuscan vernacular, which suggest that the Observant authors had in mind a popular Franciscan audience. The texts that Oddi and Mariano wrote regarding Lancelao are based on oral tradition collected primarily from the Observant friars who preserved and transmitted information regarding the lives and the deeds of their saintly forefathers. The importance of Oddi's text is that it recorded in writing the existence of Lancelao and likely drew the attention of Mariano to the friar many years later, while the greatest merit of the latter's work is that it furnished the historical context for Lancelao's life. I have argued that Mariano's redaction of the *vita* of Lancelao is not based on a textual archetype, but it is the elaborated version of Oddi's short account that the historian-hagiographer shaped to the requirements of a biography. Oddi's account was not suitable for Mariano's purposes: Francesco da Pavia's vision about Lancelao resembles an extended *exemplum* in which the protagonist is a Franciscan friar whose figure exhibits the fusion of the medieval *topoi* of the wandering knight and Hungarian royal origin. The latter, supposed or real, was a recurring motif in the vernacular hagiographic texts produced in Italy beginning in the fourteenth century, and this tradition survived until the early modern period. The additional information Mariano included in the *vita* of Lancelao could be based partially on that which he collected through oral communication from those who still had some memories of the disciples of Tommaso da Firenze and partially on a possible retrospective reconstruction Mariano made

100 Most notably in the cases of two princesses of the Árpád dynasty, St Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31), who had close relationship with the recently founded Order of Minor Brothers, and St Margaret of Hungary (1242–70), the Dominican nun who lived in the monastery on the Island of Buda.

using his common sense and vast knowledge of the history of the Franciscan Observants in Italy.

Both Oddi and Mariano state in their hagiographic collections that Lancelao was the disciple of Tommaso da Firenze at the house of Scarlino and had been buried there. Mariano's remark from the last lines of Lancelao's *vita* regarding his local cult at Scarlino asserting that the faithful visited his shrine for the purpose of healing suggests that Guasparre da Firenze was successful in the enhancement of the friar's saintly reputation. The convent at Scarlino was regarded already by near contemporaries to be an emblematic place at which the true sons of the Observance were raised under the guidance of Tommaso da Firenze and it later became a kind of pantheon dedicated to the early friars of the Observance, all of whom were regarded as saints. Its fame as a sacred site had not faded completely even by the late sixteenth century, which could be one of the reasons for the decision to repopulate the abandoned convent. Repeated Ottoman attacks brought an end to Lancelao's local cult, as well as those of the other friars of Scarlino, because it seems that the Francesco Gonzaga's initiative to repopulate the Observant convent of Monte Muro was not successful.

It was thanks to Oddi that the figure of Lancelao survived, while it was due to Mariano that he endured as the typical representative of a humble and ascetic friar living at the Franciscan community of Scarlino in seclusion and whose spirituality was formed by the teachings of the eminent Observant Tommaso da Firenze. As a result of the works of Franciscan historiography and collective memory over the following centuries, the name of Lancelao is still associated with the ruins of the former Convent of Monte Muro that today has become a significant tourist attraction.

Manuscripts

Florence: Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze MS Segniani 18, fol. 2r–64v, *Vita Beati Thomas de Florentia.*

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (BNCF) MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol.186r–189r, *Del b[ea]to frate Lanzilao hungero di casa Reale.*

Giaccherino: Biblioteca del Convento di Giaccherino MS G. H. [Collection of *vite* of Franciscan saints and blessed by Mariano da Firenze].

Rome: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (BNCR) MS Sessoriano 412, fol. 78v–80v, *Del beato frate Lazilao Vnghero di casa Reale.*

Rome: Biblioteca Wadding del Collegio Sant'Isidoro MS Isidoriano 1/104, fol.16v–19r, *Come il Beato Francesco per il merito dell'oratione fu certificato che l'anima del beato Lancislao d'Ongaria era in stato di gloria* [Part of the *Vita et miracoli del beato Francesco di Pavia*].

Bibliography

Andrić, Stanko. *The Miracles of St John of Capistran.* Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000.

Banfi, Florio. "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo: La Franceschina." *Századok* 69 (1935): 473–78.

Banfi, Florio. "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi." *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 35, no. 5 (1944): 5–32.

Bartolomei Romagnoli, Alessandra. "Osservanza francescana e disciplina del culto dei santi: Modelli di perfezione e strategie di riforma nell'opera di Giovanni da Capestrano." In: *Ideali di perfezione ed esperienze di riforma in S. Giovanni da Capestrano.* Atti del IV Convegno storico internazionale; Capestrano, 1–2 dicembre 2001, 127–53. Edited by Edith Pasztor. Capestrano: n.p., 2002.

Bernardinus Aquilanus. *Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae.* Edited by Leonardus Lemmens, OFM. Rome: Typis Sallustianis, 1902.

Bigaroni, Marino, OFM. "B. Francesco Beccaria da Pavia e Fr. Roberto Caracciolo: Precisazioni cronologiche." *Archivum Franciscanum historicum [AFH]* 89 (1996): 251–62.

Bihl, Michael, OFM. "Statuta generalia Observantium Ultramontanorum an. 1451 Barcinonae condita. Eorum textus editur, de eorum methodo, indole etc. disseritur." *Archivum Franciscanum historicum [AFH]* 37 (1945): 106–97.

Bihl, Michael, OFM. "Statuta provincialia Thusciae ann. 1457 et 1518." *Archivum Franciscanum historicum [AFH]* 8 (1915): 146–88.

Bulletti, Enrico, OFM. "Il codice G. H. della Biblioteca del Convento di Giaccherino." *Luce e Amore* 4 (1907): 550–54.

Cannarozzi, Ciro, OFM. "Ricerche sulla vita di Fra Mariano da Firenze." *Studi francescani* 27 (1930): 31–71.

Cavanna, Nicola, OFM. Introduction to *La Franceschina*, by Giacomo Oddi, VII–XCII. 2nd edition. Assisi: Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1979.

Cerulli, Enrico. "Bellaci, Tommaso [Tommaso da Firenze]." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani [DBI]*, 7: n.p. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1965. Accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-bellacci_(Dizionario_Biografico)/

Cevins, Marie-Madeleine de. *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle: vers 1450–vers 1540*. Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2008.

Cognasso, Francesco. "Istituzioni comunali e signorili di Milano sotto i Visconti," in *Storia di Milano*, 6 vols, 419–546. Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1955.

Cresi, Domenico, OFM. "La Vita di San Francesco scritta da Mariano da Firenze." *Studi francescani* 64 (1967): 48–90.

Csernus, Sándor. "Történelem és fikció: Magyarországi Károly úr regénye" [History and fiction: The romance of Charles of Hungary]. *Acta Historica* 99 (1995): 5–29.

Csukovits, Enikő. *Magyarországról és a magyarokról. Nyugat-Európa magyar-képe a középkorban* [About Hungary and the Hungarians: The image of Hungary in Western Europe during the Middle Ages]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2015.

Décsényi [Schönherr], Gyula. "Olaszországi történelmi kutatások" [Historical research in Italy]. *Századok* 26 (1892): 467–75, 550–59; 27 (1893): 123–32.

Du Moustier, Arthur. *Martyrologium Franciscanum.* Paris: n.p., 1638.

Falvay, Dávid. "Il mito del re ungherese nella letteratura religiosa del Quattrocento." *Nuova Corvina: Rivista di Italianistica* 16 (2008): 54–62.

Falvay, Dávid. "Santa Guglielma, regina d'Ungheria: Culto di una pseudo-santa d'Ungheria in Italia." *Nuova Corvina: Rivista di Italianistica* 9 (2001): 116–22.

Falvay, Dávid. *Magyar dinasztikus szentek olasz kódexekben* [Hungarian dynastic saints in Italian codices]. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Olasz Nyelv és Irodalom Tanszék, 2012.

Falvay, Dávid. "Szent Albanus, a vérfertőző magyar királyfi: Egy fiktív szent legendája Itáliában" [St Albanus, the incestuous Hungarian prince: The legend of a fictitious saint in Italy], 267–78. In *"Ritrar parlando il bel." Tanulmányok Király Erzsébet tiszteletére* [Essays in honor of Erzsébet Király], edited by Eszter Szegedi and Dávid Falvay. Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2011.

Fügedi, Erik. *"Könyörülj, bánom, könyörülj..."* ["Have mercy on me, my ban, have mercy on me..."]. Budapest: Helikon, 1986.

Galamb, György. "A ferences obszervancia magyarországi térnyeréséhez" [Expansion of the Observant Franciscans in Hungary]. In *"Magyaroknak eleiről:" ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* ["On the ancestors of Hungarians...": essays in honor of the sixty-year-old Ferenc Makk], edited by Ferenc Piti and György Szabados, 165–81. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely–Agapé Ferences Nyomda, 2000.

Galamb, György. "Umanisti ed Osservanti francescani in Ungheria." In: *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento: Italia e Ungheria a confronto,* edited by Francesca Bartolacci and Roberto Lambertini, 15–32. Rome: Viella, 2014.

Giordano, Silvano. "Francesco Gonzaga."*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani [DBI]*, 56: n.p. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001. Accessed February 1, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-gonzaga_res-2e32f583-87ee-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_%28Dizionario_Biografico%29/.

Gonzaga, Francesco, OFM. *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae eiusque progressibus, de Regularis Observanciae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus admirabilisque eius propagazione*. 4 vols. Rome: Basa, 1587.

Grosselli, Zelia. "Documenti Quattrocenteschi per la chiesa e il convento di S. Angelo di Milano." *Arte Lombarda*, Nuova Serie 64 (1), Atti del Convegno problemi aperti 5 (1983): 104–08.

Karácsonyi, János. *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*. I [The History of the Order of St Francis in Hungary until 1711]. 2 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1922–1924.

Kertész, Balázs, ed. *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek eredetiben fennmaradt iratai: 1448–1526* [Original surviving documents of the Hungarian Observant Franciscans]. Fontes Historicis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Hungaria 7. Budapest: Magyarok Nagyasszonya Ferences Rendtartomány, 2015.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Translated by Éva Pálmai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Lappin, Clare. "The Mirror of the Observance: Image, Ideal and Identity in Observant Franciscan Literature, c. 1415–1528." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000. Downloaded November 11, 2015. https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/6911/1/530403.pdf.

Marco da Lisbona [Marcos de Lisboa]. *Croniche degli Ordini instituiti dal P. S. Francesco*. Translated by Orazio Diola of Bologna. Parma: Erasmo Viotti, 1581–1582.

Marcos de Lisboa. *Chronicas da Ordem dos Frades Menores do seraphico padre Sam Francisco seu instituidor & primeiro ministro geral que se pode chamar Vitas partum dos Menores nouamente copilada & ordenada per frey Marcos de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Ioannes Blauio, 1557–1562.

Mariano da Firenze. "Compendium chronicarum fratrum Minorum." Edited by Theophilus Domenichelli, OFM. *Archivum Franciscanum historicum [AFH]* 1 (1908): 98–107; *AFH* 2 (1909): 92–107, 305–18, 457–72, 626–41; *AFH* 3 (1910): 294–309, 700–15; *AFH* 4 (1911): 122–37, 318–39, 559–87.

Mencherini, Saturnino, OFM. "Vita del B. Tommaso da Firenze (testo inedito del sec. XV)." *La Verna* 10 (1912): 514–22; 11 (1913): 31–41; continued in *Studi francescani* 1 (1914–1915): 87–102, 223–34, 486–95; 2 (1915–1920): 41–48, 105–17.

Mencherini, Saturnino, OFM. Introduction to *Cronache dei Frati Minori della Provincia di Toscana secondo l'autografo d'Ognissanti*, by Dionisio Pulinari da Firenze, IX–XXXV. Arezzo: Cooperativa Tipografica, 1913.

Merlo, Grado Giovanni. *Nel nome di san Francesco: Storia dei frati Minori e del francescanesimo sino agli inizi del XVI secolo.* Padova: Editrici Francescane, 2003.

Nimmo, Duncan. *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order: From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins.* Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1995².

Nova, Alessandro. "I tramezzi in Lombardia fra XV e XVI secolo: scene della Passione e devozione francescana." In *Il Francescanesimo in Lombardia: storia e arte.* Edited by Maria Pia Alberzoni, 197–215. Milan: Silvana, 1983.

Oddi, Giacomo. *La Franceschina: Testo volgare umbro del sec. XV scritto dal P. Giacomo Oddi di Perugia, edito la prima volta nella sua integrità.* Edited by Nicola Cavanna, OFM. 2 vols. 2nd edition. Assisi: Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1979.

Oliger, Livarius, OFM. "Il Codice 2063 (Sess. 412) della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, opera di Fra Mariano da Firenze."*Luce e Amore* 4 (1907): 361–68.

Pellegrini, Letizia. "Oddi, Iacopo." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani [DBI]*, 79: n.p. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2013. Accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-oddi_(Dizionario_Biografico)/

Polecritti, Cynthia L. *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience.* Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000.

Pulinari da Firenze, Dionisio. *Cronache dei Fratri Minori della provincia di Toscana.* Edited by Saturnino Mencherini, OFM. Arezzo: Cooperativa tipografica, 1913.

Romhányi, Beatrix F. "Ferencesek a későközépkori Magyarországon" [Franciscans in late medieval Hungary]. In *A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára* [The influence of Franciscan spirituality on the culture and history of Central Europe], 2 vols, edited by Sándor Őze and Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli, vol. 2, 116–22. Művelődéstörténeti műhely: Rendtörténeti konferenciák 1/1. Piliscsaba–Budapest: PPKE BTK–METEM, 2005.

Sancricca, Arnaldo. "La genealogia delle province de' beati e santi della religione di S. Francesco: Un'opera a stampa attributa a Fra' Mariano da Firenze nel Summarium super non remotione cultus di S. Liberato da Loro." *Picenum seraphicum: Rivista di studi storici e francescani* 24 (2005): 147–89.

Santi, Bruno, ed. *Grosseto, Massa Marittima e la Maremma.* Milan: Mondadori, 1999.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *The Conversion of Herman the Jew: Autobiography, History, and Fiction in the Twelfth Century.* Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2010.

Sensi, Mario. "Giovanni da Stroncone." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani [DBI]*, 56: n.p. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001. Accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-da-stroncone_(Dizionario_Biografico)/.

Sensi, Mario. "Movimenti di osservanza e ricerca della solitudine: focolai eremitichi tra Umbria e Marche nel XV secolo." In *Identités Franciscaines à l'Âge des Réformes,* edited by Frédéric Meyer and Ludovic Viallet, 101–42. Histoires croisées. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2005.

Sensi, Mario. *Le osservanze francescane nell'Italia centrale (secoli XIV–XV)*. Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 1995.

Sevesi, Paolo Maria, OFM. "B. Francesco da Pavia O. F. M. (†1454)." *Italia francescana* 15, no. 1 (1941): 29–41.

Sevesi, Paolo Maria, OFM. *I Vicari ed i Ministri Provinciali della Provincia dei Frati Minori della Regolare Osservanza di Milano.* Arezzo: Cooperativa Tipografica, 1912.

Simonetta, Giovanni. *Rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae Mediolansium ducis commentarii*. Edited by Giovanni Soranzo. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1932–1959.

Solvi, Daniele. "Il culto dei santi nella proposta socioreligiosa dell'Osservanza." In *I frati osservanti e la società in Italia nel secolo XV. Atti del XL Convegno internazionale in occasione del 550º anniversario della fondazione del Monte di pietà di Perugia, 1462*, Assisi – Perugia, 11–13 ottobre 2012, 135–168. Spoleto: Fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2013.

Vasoli, Cesare. "Beccaria, Antonio [Francesco da Pavia]." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani [DBI]*, 7, n.p. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1965. Accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-beccaria_res-88b301d1-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario_Biografico)/.

Vauchez, André. "*Beata stirps:* sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII[e] et XIV[e] siècles." In: *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du colloque de Paris (6–8 juin 1974)*, 397–406. Collection de l'École française de Rome 30. Rome: École française de Rome, 1977.

Wadding, Lucas, OFM. *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*. 16 vols. 2nd edition. Rome: Bernabo, 1731–1736.

Websites

Geocoaching. "Convento di Monte Muro." Accessed August 30, 2016.
http://www.geocaching.com/seek/cache_details.aspx?wp=GC5592W&title=convento-di-montemuro.html

Lombardiabeniculturali. "Convento di Sant'Angelo, frati minori osservanti." Accessed August 30, 2016.

http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/soggetti-produttori/ente/MIDB000340/.html

Manus online. "Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Sessoriano, Sess. 412." Accessed August 30, 2016.

6http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=67236

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 2 (2016): 675–737

BOOK REVIEWS

The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235–ca.1500. By Ottó Gecser. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2012. xv + 462 pp.

Ottó Gecser, who is a senior lecturer at Institute of Sociology of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, revised his doctoral dissertation and published it as this book. The book is divided into two main parts: the first half is a monograph and the second contains extensive appendices, in which the sources are presented. The aim of the book is to examine the formation and transformation of the cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary (or St Elizabeth of Thuringia) on the basis of the sermons written for her feast day.

St Elizabeth, as a royal princess and the wife of the Landgrave of Thuringia, was an important figure during her lifetime, and her cult emerged immediately after her death, thus several scholars have studied her life. Her cult, however, has not yet been made the focus of scholarly attention. Gecser has successfully tried to fill this gap by analyzing the sermons in question. He collected 103 sermons dedicated to St Elizabeth, and they provide an impressive foundation for his study.

The first chapter can be regarded as an introductory chapter to the other two, which concentrate on preaching. It centers on the emergence of the cult of St Elizabeth, and it provides the context for the subsequent chapters. This chapter focuses on the first legends of the saint, the pilgrimage to Magdeburg, the *patrocinia*, and the liturgy. One of the most interesting parts of the book is the analysis of the early cult of St Elisabeth among the mendicant orders. Interestingly, the first promoters of the cult of St Elizabeth (i.e. the first people who began to compose legends and sermons about her) were not the Franciscans, but the Dominicans and members of the Teutonic Order. According to Gecser, the widely accepted view according to which Elizabeth was a Franciscan tertiary only began to spread in the fourteenth century. Her affiliation with the Franciscans may have been the result of the failure of the canonization of Umiliana dei Cerchi and Margaret of Cortona.

In the first chapter, Gecser analyzes the geographical spread of the cult. He brings to light the fact that St Elizabeth was venerated primarily in the German lands and in Hungary, which is understandable, given her origins. In the other

regions where the saint's cult appeared, her veneration centered primarily on female (semi-)religious communities, such as Beguines. For example, the Italian cult of St Elizabeth was mainly found in monasteries. Most of the visual representations of the rose miracle can be localized to Italian monasteries, thus this part of the Elizabeth-hagiography might have emerged in Italy and been spread by the Franciscans.

In the second and third chapters, Gecser turns to the preaching on St Elizabeth. He builds his argument on the sermons, which are listed in the appendices. The first appendix contains a register of the sermons on the life of St Elizabeth until ca. 1500, the second lists the *themata* of the sermons, and the third contains eighteen sermons, all of which were edited by Gecser. He has made available Elizabeth sermons of King Robert of Anjou, Gilbert of Tournai, and others. In the second chapter, Gecser presents the geographical and temporal dimensions of the production of the sermons on the life of St Elizabeth. He takes care to describe the authors or the compilers of the texts and their affiliations with religious orders. The first biographer of St Elizabeth was the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach, then the largest amount of the sermons were authored by the Dominicans and the Franciscans. In medieval Hungary, either the Dominicans or the Franciscans were preaching about her. Two sources from thirteenth-century Hungary, the so-called "Pécs University Sermons" and the Codex of Leuven, contain sermons dedicated to St Elizabeth. In addition to them, two late medieval sermon collections of Observant Franciscan Preachers (Pelbartus of Temesvár and Oswaldus of Laskó) also contained predications about Elizabeth in medieval Hungary. It is reasonable to conjecture that there were other medieval sermons dedicated to Elizabeth in Hungary which have been lost for now.

The sermons and the liturgy depict the figure of St Elizabeth. Priests could shape this figure from the pulpit by dwelling on different aspects of her life. The two most important roles of St Elizabeth as exempla were the conceptions of her as Elizabeth *regina* and Elizabeth *vidua*. One of Gecser's most interesting and important findings is his discernment of a new *themata* in the strict genre of sermons. Before the sermons representing Elizabeth as an exemplary widow, very few sermons centered on the widowhood. Through her life, Elizabeth experienced the three lawful states of a Christian woman's life: virgin, wife, and widow. Thus, St Elizabeth set a model to follow for Christian women of all ages through her exemplary life. A significant proportion of the church institutions dedicated to St Elizabeth were hospitals, because she founded a hospital in

Marburg, thus an aristocratic women could imitate her model by founding or supporting a hospital.

One question remains open at the end of the book, namely how might one explain the decline of the cult of St Elizabeth in the fifteenth century. The number of new Elizabeth sermons decreased, but the other mark of her cult—dedications by the Church and visual representations—showed no sign of decline.

Gecser has structured his book logically, and he has based it on a large array of sources. The book is reader-friendly, attentively presenting and explaining every aspect of the cult of St Elizabeth and the medieval sermons and preaching in general, providing the reader with a necessary grasp of the context in order to understand the place of the sermons on the life of Elizabeth.

Dorottya Uhrin
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X-XI): Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries). (Central European Medieval Texts, 6.) Edited by Gábor Klaniczay, translated by Cristian Gąspar and Marina Miladinov with an introductory essay by Ian Wood. Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2013. 418 pp.

The volume is part of the very useful Central European Medieval Texts series, which makes sources available to English readers and thus both familiarizes Western scholars with less well-known texts and serves as an excellent resource for teaching on Central European history outside the region. It is also often easier to access the Latin texts through the reprinted versions in these volumes than to find sometimes old and rare original editions. The book consists of five hagiographical texts, each with an introduction, all of them translated by Marina Miladinov except for the Life of St Adalbert, which was translated by Cristian Gąspar. There is also a short, general introduction on the hagiography of conversion by Ian Wood. The volume also includes a select bibliography and information on the hagiography of the saints featured in the book (containing various editions and translations of other texts written about them, but not included here).

Although not indicated in the title, this is part one of a planned two-volume work; as the preface explains, another is forthcoming, and the two volumes together will give more even, although far from complete, coverage of early Central European sanctity. The texts included in this book were chosen with the intention of offering the reader legends that had not yet been translated into English, and for saints with multiple Lives, of choosing one important Vita. (As candidly explained in the preface, the case of the Five Brethren is somewhat different, but the choice is justified because the earlier English translation is hard to find.) With the exception of St Wenceslas and possibly St Adalbert, the other saints (the "five brethren" celebrated by Bruno of Querfurt, the hermits Zoerard and Benedict, and Bishop Gaudentius of Osor, or Ossero) are probably among the obscure local saints whose names are unfamiliar to anyone who is not a specialist.

Ian Wood's introduction offers reflections on the authors of these Lives and their subjects, focusing on Bohemia and Poland and largely omitting the last two Lives included in the volume. He provides some details on what is

known historically about the saints and their hagiographers, and he rightly draws attention to the Roman papal and Ottonian court background, as well as to local backgrounds, in producing sanctity. The scholarship (even in English) on St Adalbert is not quite as bad as Wood suggests: F. Dvorník, L. Nemec and P. Urbańczyk have written articles on Adalbert, and one finds numerous references to him in books on the region. In Western languages more generally, in addition to Gieysztor's work in French, German readers can consult F. Graus and an edited volume by H. H. Henrix, among others.

The preface to each text by the translator (for the Gesta of Gaudentius, by Zrinka Nikolić) is very valuable. They provide detailed information on the text, and they situate it in the context of other Lives written for the same saint. Notably, in the case of Sts. Wenceslas and Adalbert, various Vitae were composed, some of which borrow from earlier ones. Gąspar, Miladinov, and Nikolić also summarize scholarship in various languages on debates concerning these texts. Finally, they provide information on the significance of the roles each saint has played in his or her local context. Gąspar's critical apparatus is outstanding, and he also contributes to the revision of the best existing critical edition by footnoting variant readings in manuscripts not contained in that edition.

The Latin texts are not new editions, but rather rely on existing critical editions; the English translations are very readable. Naturally, like all translations, they are interpretations, and for example the translation of "gens" as nation (pp.164-5) is debatable. The footnotes give guidance on Biblical quotations, sometimes on problems of interpretation and in some cases on manuscript variance. They also raise new questions. For example, according to a footnote, the Passio sancti Adalberti's 'pleno cornu' (p.176) is derived from one of Horace's letters. There is, however, no mention of the fact that the expression was used in the contemporary liturgical office of Willibald (CANTUS database, D-Trb Abt. 95, nr. 5), and this leaves the reader wondering about possible routes of transmission.

Vitae can sometimes reveal more about their authors than they do about their subjects. Thus, Bruno of Querfurt, himself a missionary and the author of one of the Lives of St Adalbert, considered martyrdom at great length in his work. In other cases, barely anything is known about the author named in the text, or authorship is contested. Gumpold, bishop of Mantua, worked at the behest of Emperor Otto II, but otherwise remains in the shadows. Maurus, bishop of Pécs, was one of the earliest Hungarian prelates, but not much is known about

him. Iohannes Canaparius has been suggested rather persuasively as the author of St Adalbert's Life, but this attribution is not uncontested. Gaudentius' Life was composed by an anonymous monk.

These Lives are valuable not simply for the study of sanctity and the early history of Central Europe. Each text contributes to the emergence of a more varied, richer picture of the medieval world as a whole. Gumpold fashioned St Wenceslas's image in part by integrating royal duties and asceticism, and thus he created a model for a good ruler. Adalbert's cult calls attention to the interplay between imperial and multiple local centers in the creation of sanctity. The text celebrating Benedict, John, and their companions sheds light on both eremitical practices and missionary strategies in Poland. The Life of Zoerard and Benedict provides glimpses into the influence of oriental monasticism in eleventh-century Hungary, for example Lenten practices and forms of asceticism. Finally, the Life of the Dalmatian bishop Gaudentius, who served as a point of reference for Peter Damian in his letters as a model for the renunciation of the episcopal office in favour of monasticism, contributes to our understanding of ecclesiastical reform.

Nora Berend
University of Cambridge

Cuius Patrocinio Tota Gaudet Regio: Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion. (Bibliotheca Hagiotheca: Series Colloquia, 3.) Edited by Stanislava Kuzmová, Ana Marinković, and Trpimir Vedriš with an introductory study by Thomas F. Head and concluding remarks by Gábor Klaniczay. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2014. xxxi + 462 pp.

Christianity was initially rather reluctant to conceive of holiness as something bound to specific places. As St Paul warned the Athenians on the Areopagus, "[t]he God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by man" (Acts 17, 24). But after the end of persecutions, from the fourth century on, through the emerging cult of the martyrs and Constantine's foundation of churches at significant places of Gospel history, this aversion quickly underwent a transformation into an almost antithetical attitude towards the relevance of place. Portable relics and the veneration of an ever growing number of saints created a landscape in which a plethora of cults and communities, both juxtaposed and overlapping, have been connected on various scales and in various forms. The twenty-six essays of this volume (including the introductory study and the concluding remarks) explore precisely these scales and forms of interrelations between cults and communities in space. The territorial units in or through which cults and communities are or were connected include cities, dioceses, lordships, kingdoms, and even emerging nation states. These units are examined in a time span between the seventh and the nineteenth centuries and in a geographical area stretching from Ireland to Georgia, with a focus on continental Europe in the central and late Middle Ages. I will survey here some of the main socio-spatial categories linked to the veneration of saints in the book and offer illustrations drawn from the essays.

Cults on the scale of (ultimately) national territories come up in four contexts: Ireland's conversion to Christianity and the creation of an apostolic figure, St Patrick, credited with it (Elizabeth Dawson); the appropriation of royal dynastic saints, the holy kings of Hungary, by the nobility of the realm (Doina Elena Crăciun); the shifting perception of the Madonna of Sinj from an anti-Ottoman miraculous icon to a Croatian national symbol (Ivana Prijatelj Pavčić), as well as the incorporation of King St Ladislaus of Hungary in the pantheon of Illyrian/Croatian saints in the works of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and Pavao Ritter Vitezović in the seventeenth century (Zrinka Blažević).

Most of the authors, however, seem to have interpreted the term "region" as a territorial unit below the level of modern nation states. They look for the role of saints in creating and maintaining collective self-definitions on a sub-national scale. One recurrent spatial framework of such collective self-definitions is the diocese, especially through the veneration of its saintly founder and subsequent leaders. Graham Jones presents a persuasive argument in support of the contention that there was widespread identification with holy bishops well beyond the immediate readership of their official hagiographies in the early Middle Ages, and Sara Ellis Nilsson and Fernand Peloux examine the cults of bishops as resources with which to legitimize the place of episcopal sees and the independence of bishoprics in Scandinavia and Gaul.

Another recurring territorial unit is the town or the city. Urban cults, especially in Italy, belong to the most researched ones in this field, but the volume offers some new takes on this old topic. As Relja Seferović demonstrates in the case of St Blasius and the Ragusan Republic, medieval patron saints could remain important well into the eighteenth century in a changing geopolitical constellation between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Anna Munk analyzes urban cults in medieval Venice, not only on the level of the state, but also on the level of individual parishes, and shows the latter to have been the beneficiaries of a continuous influx of relics from the colonies of the Venetian republic, which were used by the parishes to articulate their collective self-definitions.

Cults of multiple scale are also in the center of the contributions by Nicolas Bock, Eleonora Lombardo, Maya Maskarinec, and Isolde Thyrêt. Bock discusses the presumable role of private chapels in Neapolitan churches of the Angevin period in the creation of a saintly pantheon representing and integrating the major aristocratic families of the realm. Lombardo's subject is the cult of St Anthony of Padua (or Lisbon) as *Pater Paduae*, on the one hand, and as a universal role model for preachers in the Franciscan order, on the other. Maskarinec demonstrates how holy men and women whose veneration had originated outside Rome (or, at least, their *vitae* available in Rome portrayed them as such) helped shape the institutionalized presence of "foreigners" (mainly Greek-speakers) in the Eternal City in the ninth century. Finally, Thyrêt shows how the harsh conflicts between Torzhok and Tver in the Upper Volga region between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries found manifestation, eventually, in the cults of their respective holy patrons, St Efrem and St Mikhail, the first of whom was (allowed to be) venerated only in Torzhok, while the second had a nationwide cult by the seventeenth century.

A last type of socio-spatial category considered in the book consists of various kinds of secular administrative units, such as the counties of Provence and Spiš/Zips/Szepes, discussed by Anne Doustaly and Ivan Gerát respectively. These are the closest to "regions" or, especially, "historical regions" in the now current sense, and the examples of Provence and Spiš reveal how different they were in the Middle Ages in terms of the sources of their collective cultural makeup. In Provence the Angevins made a deliberate attempt to use the cult of the Magdalene to forge a more unified regional identity even on the village level through images and church dedications. In Spiš, in contrast, a range of high-ranking sponsors down from the royal level created a pattern of cult promotion which seems to have been intended to represent various interests in this economically very important but ethnically and linguistically very diverse region, rather than trying to unify it under the aegis of one specific saint.

Ottó Gecser
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

Magyarországról és a magyarokról: Nyugat-Európa magyar-képe a középkorban [On Hungary and on the Hungarians: The image of Hungarians in Western Europe in the Middle Ages]. By Enikő Csukovits. (Monumenta Hungariae historica. Dissertationes.) Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2015. 307 pp.

According to her comments in the preface to the book, for roughly a decade author Enikő Csukovits, senior research fellow to the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, has been preoccupied with the question of how the Western world has perceived the Hungarian Kingdom and its people. Over the course of her scholarly career, Csukovits has devoted considerable attention to the subject of Hungarians who made pilgrimages in Europe in the Middle Ages and the period of the rule of the Angevin dynasty in Hungary. Studies of European perceptions of Hungarians in the scholarship in Hungary on the Middle Ages are hardly unfamiliar. In the first half of the twentieth century, the subject was of interest primarily among literary historians. For instance, Sándor Eckhardt (1890–1969) examined mentions of Hungary and Hungarians in French *chansons de geste* and also studied medieval novels about figures of Hungarian descent. However, until recently few attempts were made to offer analyses that were based on other kinds of sources, in addition to literary texts. After analyses presenting partial findings and focusing on individual or a group of sources, Csukovits's monograph offers a highly readable summary of the subject, addresses this shortcoming.

As Csukovits mentions in the introduction, her intention was to examine the subject without any limitations from the perspective of genre, geography, or chronology. Her goal was, "drawing on the broadest possible basis of sources," to offer "the most complete possible panorama" "of the image of Hungary in Western Europe in the Middle Ages." The book provides a series of examples, beginning with the arrival of Hungarians in Europe in the ninth century and ending with the fall of the Hungarian Kingdom in the early sixteenth century, of perceptions beyond the borders of the Carpathian Basin of the Hungarian people, which won itself fame first with its destructive forays and later with its bold stands against the Ottomans. Csukovits draws on a wide array of sources. Although she relies first and foremost on narrative sources (for instance, annals that make mention of the incursions made by the Hungarians, as well as chronicles and *gesta* that present some of the pivotal moments in Hungarian

history), Csukovits also uses a variety of other sources to address the questions she raises. In some of the chapters, the reader is acquainted with French novels and Italian short stories that offer imaginative portrayal of Hungarian heroes, as well as, for instance, a world map showing the region of "Ungaria," a crusader treatise in the early fourteenth century that assigned a role to Hungary, a diplomatic letter with information concerning the foreign policy role of King Louis I of Hungary and a report written by a Venetian ambassador on the eve of the Battle of Mohács in 1526, which was a fateful moment in Hungary's history.

Following a short introduction outlining the aims of her inquiry, Csukovits presents her findings in four relatively long chapters. In the first chapter, she acquaints her reader with the various ways in which Western Europe acquired its knowledge of geography. In addition to the late textual tradition of geographical works of the Antiquity or their rediscovery by scholars of the Humanist era, Csukovits examines how knowledge accumulated by antique authors was complemented by the accounts of crusaders, pilgrims, and simple travelers. This overview of the formation of a geographical concept of the world, which stretches to the eve of the Age of Discovery, provides the context for the discussion of the problems which Csukovits makes the focus of her study.

In the second chapter, Csukovits presents the ways in which people living in distant countries acquired information about a narrower geographical region, namely the Kingdom of Hungary in the Carpathian Basin. As she does not fail to note, Hungarians generally were mentioned in the sources written outside of Hungary when they came into direct contact with another European peoples. It is hardly coincidental that the chronicles and annals frequently include accounts of the devastating incursions into territories in the West in the tenth century and the military campaigns led by Hungarian rulers well beyond the Carpathian Basin. Of the latter, Csukovits makes particular mention of the participation of Andrew II in the Fifth Crusade and the attempts made by King Louis the Great to capture the throne of Naples. Pilgrims and crusaders who traveled overland to Palestine had ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with the Hungarian Kingdom, and the emissaries who spent time in the royal court in the fifteenth century also wrote vivid accounts of their experiences. In the absence of direct contacts, only the events in Hungary that were of dramatic importance were of interest in the West. In the chapter with the subtitle "A félelem irodalma" ("The literature of fear"), Csukovits examines the depictions in the sources of the devastation caused by the Mongol invasion and the attempts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom to ward of the increasingly menacing threat posed by the

Ottoman Empire. Organizing her inquiry thematically (according to the possible routes of information flow), she offers her reader an overview of the ways in which Western Europe acquired more intimate knowledge of the Hungarians. Her method of selecting examples from the various texts also gives a good impression of the wealth of sources that could serve as a point of departure for studies of images of Hungarians.

In the third chapter, Csukovits presents a series of case studies illustrating how this array of source materials sheds light on European views of Hungarians and the ways in which images of Hungarians evolved. The analyses, which are based on individual sources or groups of sources, deal with four basic problems and focus primarily on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Csukovits is interested in the place accorded to the Hungarian Kingdom in Western Europe, perceptions in the West of Hungarian rulers, perceptions among enemies of the Hungarian army, and views concerning the peoples of the Carpathian Basin. The short story by Matteo Bandello (which takes place in the court of King Matthias), the portrait of Sigismund of Luxemburg by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the chronicles containing accounts of the conflicts between Hungary and Venice, and the catalogues of stereotypes presenting the allegedly characteristic traits of the various peoples (to mention only a few examples of the kinds of sources on which the author draws) shed light from a number of perspectives on the question of what people in distant lands could have known, or at least could have thought to have known, about the country and its people.

The fourth chapter deals with the interesting question of what information could be found on Hungarians in two major libraries in the late Middle Ages, namely the library of the dukes of Burgundy, who had a particular interest in the lands to the east, and the collection of Hans Dernschwam, who was active in Hungary in the sixteenth century. It is perhaps not surprising that while in the first of these two libraries one found little more, with regards to information on Hungary, than occasional comments scattered throughout the travel literature, the Humanist Dernschwam, who was in the service of the Fugger family, had significant geographical and ethnographical sources at his disposal, in large part thanks to the invention of printing.

In the conclusion, Csukovits observes that the image of Hungarians in the West, however vivid, was very fragmentary. Although there were a few authors who were remarkably well informed, in general people in the West had very little concrete information concerning the distant land, in particular before the advances of the Ottomans in Europe. If one were to attempt, nonetheless, to

offer a general assessment of perceptions of Hungary in the West, Csukovits concludes that the Hungarian Kingdom was clearly seen as a wealthy and strong state, the pejorative characterizations of Hungarians that are sometimes found in the sources notwithstanding.

Some of the texts on which Csukovits draws have long been familiar among medievalists in Hungary. The information of Hungary in the Middle Ages that are found in the narrative sources written outside of the Carpathian Basin have been used many times in studies on political history. Csukovits, however, attempts to offer an assessment of comments concerning Hungarians in the medieval chronicles and *gesta* from a new perspective. As is clear on the basis of the aforementioned features of her inquiry, Csukovits's analyses are not limited, however, to narrative sources. She compares the conclusions found in the Western European historiography with conclusions drawn on the basis of other kinds of sources. It is worth noting that Csukovits does not simply analyze the passages that make mention of the Hungarians as isolated paragraphs but examine them within their textual contexts taking into consideration questions of genre as well as mentality and perspective of the author. In addition to providing detailed analyses of the perceptions of Hungarians and Hungary that emerge from the texts, she also addresses the question of the influence of individual sources. She always informs her reader of the extent to which the given account was familiar to readerships in its time. In the preface, she notes her intention to provide an inquiry that will fit well as part of a series of international studies on the perceptions among different peoples of one another. Her thorough and detailed overview of images of Hungarians in Western Europe will be particularly useful to anyone seeking to undertake a comparative study of this question.

Judit Csákó
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Habsbourg et Ottomans (1520–1918). By Jean Bérenger. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015. 360 pp.

This book constitutes a synthesis of the work of Jean Bérenger, intended for a broad readership, presenting the rise and decline of two dynastic powers, the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires. Evidently, Hungarian history in the early modern era is also given an important place in the narrative. The period selected by Bérenger for his inquiry begins with 1520, with the succession of Suleiman the Magnificent to the throne (followed soon after by the rise of Ferdinand I, who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1558) and concludes in 1918 with the end of World War I and the collapse of the two empires. Perhaps the most striking transition of this *longue durée* period (four centuries) is the historical process traced by Bérenger over the course of which the two great powers, who had been enemies initially, came eventually to be relatively stable allies.

The chapters of the book are organized in a logical manner, presenting ideas from the author's earlier works in a style that is both elegant and highly reader-friendly. Following the essential introductory chapters, several exciting observations arouse interest of the readers already familiar with the subject. For instance, in the fourth chapter Bérenger discusses the period of "armed peace" (1568–93). Similarly interesting is the eleventh chapter, where Bérenger presents a chronicle of the wars in the eighteenth century, a period of Turkish successes (a subject often missing in Austrian and Hungarian historiographies). Bérenger also discusses thoroughly the importance of the last war led by Joseph II, a war that had been catastrophic regarding its outcomes. In the chapters preceding this one, Bérenger examines questions that are traditionally subjects of discussion in Austrian and Hungarian historiographies. Bérenger's analyses are oriented, first and foremost, towards the perspective of military and diplomatic history. With characteristic French elegance, he rises above the frequent, commonplace and overly simplistic models typical for national histories, and in his examination of the conflicts between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, he cautiously avoids categorical statements. In his description of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, he consistently uses the adjective "relative" ("déclin relatif"). One of the most important messages of the book is that one should be extremely cautious using the "sick man of Europe" stereotype as for in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire was still and remained an influential, great power. Bérenger does not oppose the claim that his narrative bears the

influence of his scholarly experiences from Austria and Hungary, and the influence of his extensive professional networks with scholars from Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland. Central European mentality has also effected the terminology of the work, for instance, the author uses the term "15 years war" ("guerre de quinze ans") instead of "long war" ("longue guerre") that is widely used in French historiography. The emphasis is placed on major historical turning points, for instance, on the Battle of Mohács, the Battle of Lepanto, and the second siege of Vienna. This feature is also part of the same greater historiographic tradition, although at times the author's interpretation of historical events is distinctly and palpably mirrors French traditions. One could mention in this respect, for example, his assessments of the Hungarian independence struggles against the Habsburgs (in which struggles Hungarians were assisted by the Ottomans), the presentation of the Eastern question in the nineteenth century, or the somewhat sketchy presentation of problems connected to World War I. In addition to the wars, Bérenger also devotes considerable attention to peace treaties, which after all, shaped the *modus vivendi* of the two empires. However, the reasons of providing a detailed, point-by-point presentation of the Treaty of Passarowitz after a fairly summarizing presentation of the Treaty of Karlowitz remain unclear. The treaties that were signed in the wake of World War I (treaties which sealed the fates of the two empires) also would have deserved a separate chapter. Having finished the book, the reader might well wonder why Bérenger devoted two separate chapters to the occupation and annexation of Bosnia. The importance of this section, counting altogether some 30 pages, hardly needs to be emphasized, however, the amount seems a bit disproportionate compared to the chapter on World War I, which is only 10 pages long. The book also includes a short bibliography, a glossary, a list of rulers, and an index of names.

Evidently, the volume of essays, a summary in its nature, can hardly be expected to provide an exhaustive presentation of the history of the proposed, long period. Instead, readers interested in the history of Central and Eastern Europe are offered an enjoyable and thought-provoking reading by Bérenger's most recent book, while university students are given a useful complement to existing secondary literature. Bérenger's book has significant professional merits, but there are nonetheless some shortcomings to be mentioned. The bibliography contains only two works from two Hungarian authors in translation. Similarly, Bérenger has made little use of Turkish or more recent German scholarship. In order to provide French readers with an overview of the chronology of possibly

somewhat exotic events, it would have been helpful to include a short timeline in an appendix. The most striking misprints and mistakes are in the imprecise and sometimes inconsistent use of geographical and proper names. In summary, as a presentation of the conclusions and findings of Jean Bérenger's research on the history of Central and Eastern Europe, the book constitutes a significant achievement in an enjoyable style that provides access to the subject for a broad French readership.

Ferenc Tóth
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Egy magyar származású francia diplomata életpályája: François de Tott báró (1733–1793) [The career of a French diplomat of Hungarian descent: Baron François de Tott (1733–1793)]. By Ferenc Tóth. Budapest: BTA MTK, 2015. 313 pp.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, François de Tott has often been celebrated for his attempt to modernize the Ottoman military. He popularized his own activities through information published in the gazettes and in his memoirs, a true best-seller of pre-revolutionary Europe: *Mémoires du baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares* (Paris, 1785). After the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, at the beginning of what will later be called the Eastern Question, his works arrived in the nick of time. They reinforced the idea of the backwardness of the Ottoman world, a position that fit the opinion of the men of his generation and of his social background in an age of Enlightenment and cosmopolitanism. Efforts made by this diplomat in order to invert the decline were regarded as a meritorious, if hopeless enterprise. All the same, knowledge brought by this connoisseur of the Turkish language and customs in Crimea, Anatolia, and Egypt remained important for years: seen from this perspective, François de Tott is credited with having inspired Napoleon's expedition in Egypt, and he is considered a forerunner of Orientalist writings.

Although he makes some precious observations on these points, Ferenc Tóth does not center his book on this subject. On the contrary, focusing on the diplomat and military adviser's vocation requires putting aside the anachronistic role he would have played in the Orientalist narrative. This biography reveals new sides of François de Tott's career, distant from the simplistic image of the learned observer of the Near East. In order to do this, Tóth has based his study on first-hand sources, preferring handwritten correspondence and works to published ones: mainly from the French military (Vincennes) and diplomatic (Nantes) archives, but also from the French national library, the municipal library of Versailles, and the Viennese *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv*. The Hungarian readership will discover the findings of more than 15 years of research and publications, frequently in French, by Tóth about his famous namesake of the eighteenth century.

De Tott appears to have been a typical diplomat of the Age of Enlightenment. The analysis insists on the significance of personal relations connected with patronage and a language of friendship. After serving as soldier, de Tott began

his career as a diplomat, and following the path of his father, András, he also started serving under Louis XV (Chapter 2). He spent some years in Istanbul, learning Turkish and the "tricks of the trade," before he returned to France in 1763. Tóth shows how de Tott benefited from family support and patronage at the Versailles court. Of his supporters, Charles Gravier de Vergennes, the French ambassador in Istanbul who gave him advice from a distance, was the most important. He was given his first appointment in 1767. He was sent against all odds to Neuchâtel (Chapter 3). This episode presents the historian with an opportunity to underline the still little-known significance of this Swiss border territory in eighteenth-century European diplomatic relations. The property of the king of Prussia since 1707, the semi-autonomous and quite small principality of Neuchâtel was actually at the center of Frederick the Great's diplomacy (see also Nadir Weber, 2015).

The long-expected appointment to a position in the Ottoman Empire finally occurred on June 1767. De Tott was not assigned to a post in Istanbul, where he could have aided Vergennes (who was recalled one year later) in his work. He was sent to the imperial periphery as French consul in Crimea (Chapter 4). The Russo–Turkish war of 1768-1774 offered him an opportunity to broaden the scope of his activities. While his task was of a political, commercial, and "cultural" nature at first, it rapidly became centered on military issues. His vast though shallow experience in this domain allowed him to implement reforms in several fields (Chapter 5): the fortification of the Dardanelles, in artillery, and naval science. This relatively short period of time (1768–74) and his later travel to Egypt (1776–77, Chapter 6) is what he is probably best known for.

At this point, it is useful to go back to the connection between de Tott, the Ottoman world, France, and Hungary. Despite the early, strong French presence in Istanbul, it would be misleading to think that de Tott inherited his position and his knowledge entirely from this diplomatic tradition. Born in France, he was sent to Istanbul in 1755 to replace his father, who was one of Francis II Rákóczi's followers in exile in Tekirdağ (Rodostó), on the Bosporus. The Hungarian origin of de Tott is rightly evoked in the book's title. It does not serve simply to appeal to a Hungarian readership. It reminds us that French diplomacy took advantage of a situation in which hundreds of exiled *kuruc* soldiers stayed in the Ottoman Empire for decades and served the French King's interests in southeastern Europe. However, the resulting benefits of this situation were sometimes mutual: this happened in the case of the family of de Tott as well, who enjoyed upward social movement. Of course, this was made easier by the

fact that de Tott belonged to a new generation, which came of age at a time when the dreams of a Hungary independent from the Habsburg Empire had faded almost entirely. Between the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 and the French Revolution of 1789, de Tott and his children found different ways, sometimes unrelated to diplomatic activities, to integrate into French society (Chapter 7). He spent the last years of his life as a military commander in a Northern French town before fleeing to Tarcsafürdő, in Hungary, in 1790. The last section of the book (Chapter 8) examines the intellectual influences (political theory, military technique, and literary patterns) that inspired his published texts.

This book undoubtedly fills a gap in current historiography, both in Hungary and internationally. No complete biography of this often mentioned but poorly known historical figure and writer existed. The contextualized approach and scholarly explanations shed light on each stage in the life of François de Tott. At the same time, the biographical genre has its own defects, insofar as it cannot address broader issues. It is regrettable that the author did not consider the arguments found in numerous recently published works on intercultural diplomacy, a topic about which he would have had a lot to say.

Benjamin Landais
Université d'Avignon et des Pays de Vaucluse

"Zsandáros és policzájos idők": Államrendőrség Magyarországon, 1849–1867 ["Times of police and gendarmes": The state police in Hungary, 1849–1867]. By Ágnes Deák. Budapest: Osiris, 2015. 662 pp.

The period examined by Ágnes Deák in her recent book (1849–1867) is something of a neglected chapter in Hungarian historiography. To oversimplify and possibly overstate, one of the central elements of the traditional Hungarian historical narrative is the notion of passive resistance among Hungarians to Austrian absolutism. Recently, however, several research projects have focused on this period and have interrogated the stereotypes that were crafted by earlier generations of historians, stereotypes that have gradually become part of popular perceptions. Deák has played an important role in this. Both her works on the period as a whole and her studies on individual questions (the nationality question, the state police, the history of the press, communal autonomy) are important links in the chain of this process.

In the volume under review, Deák examines the institution of the state police that has not been made the subject of rigorous study even by Austrian historians. (The series entitled *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, which is being written by an international team of authors, examines the history of the institutions of the empire from different perspectives.) The main text of the book, which comes to 582 pages, is complemented by 19 tables and other appendices. As the primary and secondary sources reveal, Deák has studied an impressive array of manuscripts and printed sources. The 232 bibliographical entries clearly indicate that this is a work of thorough historical scholarship.

Given the structure of the book (in the first half, the chapters are arranged chronologically, while in the second they are organized thematically), one does encounter repetitions and overlaps. However, given the complexity of the topic, this is perhaps not a shortcoming, and indeed Deák herself calls her reader's attention to these overlaps.

As she notes in her introduction, Deák's aim is to present the structure of the institution of the state police, outline the mechanisms according to which it functioned, examine the methods according to which information was collected, and "unveil" the informants. She presents the entire network of institutions and people who took part in the gathering of information, including the police, the gendarmerie, the army, the people who were responsible for secretly opening

letters, and the administrative authorities, but she focuses first and foremost on the state police.

The first half of the book gives a logical presentation of the "police affairs" of the given years, offering insights into the state police system of the previous era as well. Deák's examination of the period between 1849 and 1859 is organized around the policies and acts of two of the decisive figures of the decade, Minister of Interior Alexander Bach and Lieutenant General Johann Kempen von Fichtenstamm. In her discussion of the 1860s, it becomes clear how police affairs in Hungary and the police affairs of the Empire gradually parted ways and how, in the period just before the Compromise of 1867 (which meant the establishment of an independent Hungarian governmental apparatus), the leadership in Vienna made preparations to turn police affairs over to the new state within a state.

The second half of the book takes the reader into the world of the people who worked confidentially in the service of the police. These chapters suggest that the contention according to which the Habsburg Empire and, within it, Hungary were thronging with police agents is not accurate. The actual number of agents is surprisingly small in comparison with contemporary estimates, even if one takes into consideration the absence of some sources and the contributions of collaborators who were not named or registered.

With regards to the people who submitted reports, Deák notes that at the time there was no such thing as a trained spy or agent, which explains the complex and diverse backgrounds of the agents one can identify. People had various reasons for taking positions in which they acquired or provided information for the authorities, the most obvious of which, of course, was simply financial gain. Serving as a police agent was not a profession at the time. Rather, it was something people did either temporarily or as a kind of side job. The chapter entitled "The agents seen through the eyes of their employers" sheds light on some of the details of the everyday lives of the people in the network of agents. The next chapter approaches the question of the "informants" from the perspective of public opinion, focusing in particular on the "lists of informants" that began to circulate in the 1860s. Perhaps the most interesting feature of these lists was that, of the people whose names were included, most were not actually active as informants. No one was ever actually exposed, neither at the time nor later, though the accusation of having served as an informant survived and sometimes surfaced in the rhetoric of political campaigns.

At the end of the book, Deák raises a question that clearly most readers are also likely to raise: was the state police of the era actually effective? In order

to address this question, one must take into consideration Deák's cautionary observation that one can really only reconstruct concepts and visions on the basis of the surviving proposals and plans. As far as the effective implementation of these plans and the success of the system are concerned, one can sketch at most only a somewhat mosaic-like image. We can be quite certain of one thing, however, namely that in the 1850s and 1860s the political and military efforts and initiatives in Hungary that were intended to rekindle the movement for independence were always exposed in time, and whatever passions may have been stoked, they were effectively extinguished. The summary brings up further considerations, for instance the relationship between the police and dynastic politics. It also discusses similar organizations and institutions in other countries, offers a comparison with the prevailing circumstances before 1848, addresses the question of continuity in the employment of agents, and draws on the distinctive characteristics of the Hungarian network.

I would draw attention to three of the ideas in Deák's closing thoughts as a kind of conclusion to the volume and to the research she has undertaken. In the period in question, the police were unable to compensate or serve as a substitute for the absence of political consolidation. Indeed on the contrary, the actions and policies of the state police hampered attempts to foster trust in the ruler and the central government. This was true of the other organizations and institutions entrusted with the task of maintaining order, and even of the "civilian" authorities. It is important to consider, however, how the practice of keeping the population under close watch—a practice which applied to all social strata and therefore exposed many members of society to an entirely new experience—increased the effectiveness of the police network, the number of informants, and people's fear of the watchful eye of the central government. Thus, the long shadow of the Metternich era was cast on the emerging system of civil state administration, while at the same time one could still dimly foresee the coming upheavals of the twentieth century.

The book will provide a very useful point of departure for studies of the state police in the other Austrian crownlands and even for scholars who are studying the institutions of state police in the twentieth century, including agents, informants, and the people who were kept under observation.

Orsolya Manhercz
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848–1871. By Heléna Tóth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 295 pp.

Research on the history of emigration in the nineteenth century has flourished in Western European and North American historiography over the course of the past two decades, due in large part to the 150th anniversary of European revolutions of 1848. The criteria and methods of social-historical and anthropological investigations substantially transformed perspectives in the field of migration as well. In contrast, in Hungary, after the 1920s and 1930s, which would be regarded as a first golden age of research on the individual and collective fates of Hungarian political exiles scattered all over the world after 1848, it was only in the 1970s and 1980s that further comprehensive works were published on the topic, and since then, scholarly interest in this field has decreased. In Hungary, social history has focused predominantly on analyses of the mass emigration to North America at the end of the nineteenth century, while research on political emigration after 1849 followed the same old path. The everyday experiences of exile, including the hardships, triumphs and crises of emigrating and adapting and the daily struggles to earn a living, have rarely been given much if any emphasis in historiographic narratives.

In her 2014 book, Heléna Tóth attempts to provide a comparative social-historical analysis of the fate of the political exiles of 1848, who were forced to leave the Grand Duchy of Baden, Württemberg, and Hungary, by investigating the life stories of exiles who settled for a shorter or longer period of time in one of four host countries: the Ottoman Empire, Switzerland, Britain and the USA. She aptly points out that one cannot always clearly separate the groups of political exiles, or "émigrés," and the people who left their home countries in the hope of finding a better life, or "regular immigrants." Several "Forty-Eighters" returned home, while others stayed abroad, giving up political activities and assimilating into the microcosm of the "regular immigrants". And we have not even talked about the "gray zone" between the two categories. Into which category would one put László Újházy, a Hungarian who, having played an important role in the Revolution, emigrated to the USA at the beginning of 1850 and stopped being actively involved in political matters, but nevertheless criticized the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 every bit as harshly as

Lajos Kossuth did, and refused to return to Hungary, since for him this would have meant an unacceptable compromise.

Tóth emphasizes that she is as interested in the emigrant experience of average men and women as she is in that of prominent politicians. (What her investigation lacks, however, is the point of view of children, i.e. what it meant to grow up in exile.) Emigration was a general phenomenon in mid-nineteenth century, involving a broad spectrum, each and every stratum of societies, thus there could not have been a uniform, standard emigrant experience for all. There were a multitude of patterns, depending on the emigrants' social and financial status, background, political views, and the particularities of the countries they left and the countries they went to, as well as, in the case of German emigrants, regional differences. The author presents this complex and diverse world through an examination of five issues: departure from the home country ("Leaving"); the role of family ties in emigration and emigrant life, as well as in the writing of clemency pleas ("What good does it do to ruin our family?"); the problems of making a living in a foreign country, including the preconditions and complexities of maintaining the status of a sort of professional revolutionary on the one hand and the possibility of pursuing one's former civilian jobs or being compelled to start a new career on the other ("Exile as a profession, professions in exile"); interaction and evolving networks within emigrant communities and among the emigrants, the former home country, and the host society, which helped (or hindered) the emigrants in adapting to the new social climate ("The roots of the uprooted: émigré networks"); the possibilities, mechanisms, and ethical and political dilemmas of returning home, and the difficulties of readjusting to the homeland, which in the meantime had undergone changes ("Returning").

In her analyses, Tóth works not only with sources that are arguably somewhat overused in the field of political history, such as diplomatic correspondence and records of cabinet meetings, but also considers amnesty pleas, personal letters, diaries, memoires, and literary sources found in German, Austrian, and Hungarian archives. She made extensive use of a rich historical literature written in German, which, along with thorough knowledge of the secondary literature in Hungarian, is one of the merits of the book. However, with the exception of a few studies, this Hungarian secondary literature does not offer many handholds in an analysis of the anthropological, social-historical, and moral problems of being an exile. In part because of this, the stories about German figures in the book are much more colorful and complex.

The main strength of Tóth's study derives from the stories she found in the dusty corners of archives, such as the anecdote about Johann Georg Holzschreiter, an innkeeper and postmaster from Baden, who settled in the border region in Switzerland but continued visiting his family back home for years until Prussian soldiers captured him, despite the support he got from the townspeople (pp.70–71), or the story of Joseph Dietrich, likewise from Baden and similarly someone who regularly crossed the border (pp.67–69). These personal stories exemplify the diversity of the emigrant experience. At the same time, Tóth examines the loose solidarity of the émigré community, as well as the commonly perceived elements of this experience: the uncertainty that accompanied dependence on financial aid, the frequent experience of boredom, apathy, and the sense of confinement, financial dependence, which was considered humiliating, and their consequences.

Tóth's book also puts particular emphasis on examining "the legacy of the revolutions of 1848," since the emigrants contributed substantially to the formation of the collective memory of the revolutionary era with their mere existence, as well as their stories, memoires, clemency pleas, and the letters they wrote to their families, not to mention the fact that they were sadly missed at home. Tóth should perhaps have considered including an assessment of this in conclusion.

Not all of the chapters are convincingly comparative in their perspective, presumably at least in part because of the differences between the different kinds of sources and the unevennesses of the secondary literature. The three subchapters of the chapter dealing with careers, for instance, present three different methods: concerning the professional revolutionaries who tried to base their existence and/or political activities abroad on the memory of the revolution we are given information only in the case of exiles in the United States. In contrast, the possibility of having a career as a doctor is discussed in connection with the United States, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire, but not Switzerland, whereas the pitfalls of the military profession are delineated in detail with regards to all of the relevant countries. Furthermore, the comparison appears to be incomplete at some points from a regional perspective as well. For example, in the chapter about returning, there is a subchapter on former politicians who did not return home, but spent the rest of their lives far from their motherland. However, the only example dealt with in any detail, is that of Lajos Kossuth, without any reference to comparisons with other Hungarian or German exiles.

In some respects, members of the Hungarian and German political émigré communities faced different challenges with regards to their prospects of integrating, owing to the essential differences between the original social statuses of emigrants. These differences would have merited some discussion. For many Hungarian emigrants, it was particularly problematic, for instance, that as Hungarian noblemen they typically only had training in law, which, due to the specificities of the Hungarian legal system and jurisdiction before 1848, was hardly useful abroad. Most of them did not have firsthand experience in farming either, while in Hungary professions in the handicraft industry and trade had been seen as occupations unbefitting of a nobleman. Generally speaking, these Hungarian emigrants, who had grown up in a feudal society, "had to jump over a wider ditch" in their new social environment, as there were far more differences between their pre-1848 world and the host societies in the 1850s than was the case for those who had come from the states in southern Germany. Similarly, Tóth shows little interest in language as a factor that fundamentally affected integration. Although at one point (p.170) she mentions the fact that German emigrants could use their mother tongue, German, in Switzerland and there were populous German émigré communities in Britain and the United States, while Hungarians had no such local communities on which to rely and most of them initially had no command of English whatsoever, she apparently attaches little importance to this. Furthermore, Tóth does not mention the possible role of confessional belonging in adjusting to the host society, although for Catholic emigrants, for example, which was quite unfriendly to Catholics, generated a peculiar sense of uneasiness.

Tóth provides lengthy commentary on how the host societies viewed the various emigrant groups, but she does not touch on what the emigrants themselves thought about the host societies (with the exception of mentioning Baden-born Carl Mayer's positive opinion of the Swiss Confederation). Some discussion of this question would have enriched her analysis of the problems of integration and adaptation.

Finally, one must mention a few factual inaccuracies: the Hungarian Revolution did not start with the declaration of independence (April 14, 1849) (p.37). Rather, the revolution led to the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty. In the summer of 1849, Dudley Man's task was not to win American "diplomatic recognition" for the Hungarian political leadership, but rather merely to collect information and establish connections (p.57). Count Gyula Andrássy was the common foreign minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but he never

served as the minister of finance. Count Lajos Batthyány was not executed in Arad (and not in late August), unlike the generals, who were (p.263).

In spite of the abovementioned shortcomings, Heléna Tóth's book will offer new ideas and inspiration for further study of the phenomenon of migration during the 19th century.

Ágnes Deák
University of Szeged

Franz Joseph I. Kaiser von Österreich und König von Ungarn 1830–1916: Eine Biographie. By Michaela Vocelka and Karl Vocelka. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2015. 458 pp.

Karl Vocelka, a retired professor at the University of Vienna (a renowned scholar of the history of the Habsburg dynasty and monarchy), and Michaela Vocelka, a historian and also his wife, published a biography of Franz Joseph I on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of the monarch, who stood at the helm of the empire longer than any other ruler. Succeeding generations may be interested in Franz Joseph not simply because of his record-setting period of rule, but also because of a peculiar contradiction: while the monarch's name became the symbol of a period that has been decisive in the modern history of Central Europe, a rather uniform portrait of him has emerged in the secondary literature as the embodiment of "bureaucratism lost in the details, impassive routine, and featurelessness," to cite historian Péter Hanák.

The monograph sums up the present knowledge in the secondary literature on the life and personality of the monarch with impeccable competency and, yet, an enviable effortlessness. It is written in a style that is a joy to read. Despite the fact that the authors used almost exclusively German literature, the book is based on an impressive array of source publications and monographs (more than 600 entries). The authors did not use any unpublished archival sources, but relied instead heavily on egodocuments (letters, diaries and memoires) written by people who were in Franz Joseph's immediate surroundings.

The authors adhere closely to the classic principle of historiography, *sine ira et studio*, i.e. without anger or fondness. They distance themselves from both apologetic sources and summarily negative assessments. (Works belonging to the latter type were written primarily in the decades following the collapse of the empire.) Instead of attempting to offer a definitive, one-sided judgement, they strive for an interpretation that allows contradiction, while always writing in a pleasantly professional style. They repeatedly remind their reader of the limits of our abilities to arrive at a coherent psychological portrait of a historical figure. Thus, the fragmented image they present of Franz Joseph, including the apparent ruptures in his personality and the inconsistencies of his deeds, strikes the reader as a virtue of the monograph, not a deficiency that should be explained away. Here are a few examples of the contradictions: the monarch was raised in the spirit of dynastic legitimacy, but had to rule in an era of virulent

nationalism, within a system of institutions established under the principle of popular sovereignty; despite his deep Catholic faith, he was the leader of a multi-confessional, considerably secularized state; and for decades his private life was strained by the tense relationship between his mother and his wife.

The book develops its message around issues and concepts that are still relevant and can be easily interpreted by readers today, and it does so without following any unhistorical (anachronistic) approaches in its findings and assessments. Following from the conventions of the genre, the monograph addresses personal elements (events in the life of the monarch and his personality traits), as well as events of imperial representation that served as expressions and assertions of his power as ruler, securing his figure the attention of the masses both at the time and today. The young Franz Joseph is portrayed as the "product" of his lineage and surroundings: his upbringing successfully nurtured in him the ideal of the absolute monarch who rules by the grace of God. The authors attribute his standoffishness primarily to his socialization, i.e. the desire to keep his distance from others, which was characteristic of Franz Joseph throughout his life and, as he aged, led to increasing social isolation. (It would have been interesting to have provided a comparative overview of the norms and practices of education in the period, and of the circumstances with regards to education and upbringing in other European dynasties at the time.)

The authors embedded the personal history of the monarch in a minutely portrayed historical background. The reader learns of the main problems in foreign and internal politics during the monarch's 68-year reign, as well as the processes that fundamentally transformed society, the economy, the material culture, and the mentality of the empire. The authors continuously emphasize and call the reader's attention to the fact that between 1830 and 1916, i.e. the dates of Franz Joseph's birth and death, almost every single segment of life underwent fundamental change. As time passed, a man with average mental and intellectual abilities like Franz Joseph was less and less able to give adequate answers to the challenges of the modern era. This is perfectly understandable, but in the increasingly complex world of the Monarchy, in which the monarch retained control of essential competencies, it had serious consequences.

Meanwhile, some questions remain unanswered, especially concerning Franz Joseph's personal role in the shaping of events in the first fifteen decades of his reign. We learn little about how active a role the young emperor played, as an initiator, leader, and decision-maker, in the establishment of the system of neo-absolutism and later, around 1860, its inevitable loosening. This apparent

oversight is probably not to be attributed to the authors' forgetfulness: it can be difficult or even impossible to reconstruct processes of decision-making in a system in which there was no political transparency or clear division of responsibility.

The authors' attempt to devote equal attention to events in Cisleithania and the Kingdom of Hungary reminds the reader of the dualist system, which was keen on parity. Thus, there is a lengthy chapter dealing with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, and the coronation (the ceremonial culmination of this process) is discussed in detail as the highlight of Franz Joseph's life. In their narration of the events in Hungary, the authors generally adopt the narrative that is dominant today in Hungarian historiography. One finds only a few exceptions to this, for instance in the presentation of the policy towards national minorities in Hungary, in which they base their assessments on the more negative standpoint of the rival successor states, and in the discussion of the role of Empress Elisabeth in the Compromise, which Hungarian historical scholarship today considers somewhat exaggerated.

The biography by Michaela and Karl Vocelka does not dramatically challenge the image of Franz Joseph drawn by contemporary historical scholarship, but it provides a reader interested in the nineteenth-century history of Central Europe with a persuasive work written on the basis of a modern approach and in an accessible, current style which debunks several romantic misconceptions. For the historian studying the period, the book may be of particular value because of its wealth of data and its source criticism in the field of secondary literature on Franz Joseph. Furthermore, by shedding light on the internal affairs of the court and the family, the monograph provides an alternative to historical discussions that tend to consider "Vienna" (i.e. the imperial court) a homogeneous space.

Zoltán Fónagy
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War. By John Deak. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015. xvii + 355 pp.

"States are fragile things" (p.274) is one general moral that U.S. historian John Deak draws from this study, and the seeming fragility of the Habsburg Monarchy was long taken for granted by generations of historians of modern Europe. In this work, Deak seeks to build on recent scholarship that has questioned this alleged fragility by focusing on the theme of state building. In the introduction, six main chapters and an epilogue, he devotes himself to questions of state making in the shape of administration, the construction of a bureaucracy, constitutional organization, and political participation from the mid-eighteenth century to World War I. Thus, this "new history of the Austrian state-building project" (p.4) moves the focus away from what the Habsburg Empire allegedly failed to do and towards what it actually did achieve in developing central state institutions and striking the various bargains that had to be made in order to maintain the Habsburg polity as a coherent entity. In essence, the author suggests, the success of this state-building project—as seen from the political center—has generally been underestimated. Rather than being a state in decline between 1740 and 1914, the Habsburg Monarchy was "a continually evolving polity" (p.16). This polity constructed stronger and more elaborate state institutions than is often supposed, and it reacted flexibly—even with dynamism—to moments of crisis in order to find new ways to govern and bind together its heterogeneous territories.

Various aspects of this story—such as the state-building reforms under Maria Theresia and Joseph II or the "modernizing" policies of the 1850s with regard to administrative reorganization—may be familiar in their outlines, but Deak goes decisively beyond previous scholarship in two respects. Firstly, he provides a highly valuable overview of the state-building process, synthesizing in impressive fashion a considerable body of research. In other words, he focuses on the core theme of state building over the long term in a way that allows new insights into a complex topic. Secondly, he adds a lot of new material to the discussion on the second half of the nineteenth century, where the main focus of his analysis lies. As well as explaining the development of the administrative apparatus, he provides several illuminating vignettes on the bureaucracy from local and individual perspectives, and he discusses in detail various proposals for

reform. All in all, therefore, Deak takes the trouble to get to grips with a large number of legal texts and constitutional proposals, and future historians will benefit greatly from his careful exposition of the workings of key mechanisms of the Habsburg state. Overall, this is a substantial, much needed study, which will undoubtedly oblige scholars to engage more fully with debates about the nature of the Habsburg polity, even if they may not agree with all of his conclusions.

After outlining the nature of the eighteenth-century reforms and stressing the crucial legacy of Josephinism as an ethos of the state, Deak posits a period predominantly defined by stagnation after 1790 as "Joseph's successors increasingly turned away from reform and political change in order to maintain stability" (p.20). At the same time, however, Deak rejects older narratives of "decline" in the period after 1790, pointing towards the reinvention of the Habsburg state that would come mainly after 1848. This is one area in which some historians may feel that Deak overdraws the contrast between the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, he overlooks recent work on the early modern period, which lays more emphasis on the "partnership" aspect of the relationship between provincial estates and the political center. On the other hand, his concentration on the view from the center and the aims of Jopseh II perhaps overplays the degree of centralization that actually had been achieved by 1790. This is not to deny that the period of government under Francis II/I was conservative and cautious in political terms, but it is to suggest that the key difference pre- and post-1790 lay more in the reform of society than in the realm of state building. Arguably, there was more continuity in this respect than Deak allows, for instance with regard to the professionalization of the civil service, the catastral surveys, economic harmonization (tariff reforms), the fuller integration of Galicia into the Habsburg state and the absorption of new territories after 1815, and the expansion of the judiciary (for example, no real mention is made of the *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* of 1811 and its implications, and more could have been said about the post-1815 administration in places like Lombardy-Venetia and the maintenance of Napoleonic reforms there).

However, the real focus of Deak's analysis lies in the period from 1848 onwards, where he looks first of all at the various constitutional and administrative experiments proposed in the revolutionary period of 1848/49, the 1850s, and the early 1860s. He pays close attention to Franz Stadion's reform plans, because of their long-term impact on the administrative restructuring of the monarchy and their attempt to integrate political participation into government. A key feature

of these reforms was the idea of local "autonomy" in the form of municipal self-government. The question of how to reconcile this objective with the aims of central government and the interests of the provinces proved to be a key theme in all subsequent discussions. Although the political counterrevolution of the 1850s restricted constitutional freedoms, Deak points out that some aspects of the revolutionary changes survived (a degree of municipal autonomy), while other measures in 1848/49 necessitated profound reforms.

The emancipation of the peasantry and the abolition of noble jurisdiction required a far-reaching recalibration of the structures and duties of the state administration. Hence, the new state system that emerged in the 1850s sought to rationalize and standardize all of the monarchy's administrative units and create a genuinely uniform central administration for the first time (Hungary included). While indicating that the Habsburg state dealt reasonably successfully with the challenge of resources involved in this reform, Deak makes clear that the government's problems by the end of the 1850s lay in connecting this phase of state building to the question of political participation, as well as the well-known foreign political difficulties. If the author generally underplays the role of the Hungarian parliament before 1848, it is now made clear how agreement with that body—and other representatives of national interests—was necessary. The various constitutional experiments of the early 1860s had not only political but also administrative implications for the role to be attributed to the crownlands, and the adjustments made in this period proved to be of long-standing importance.

The basic framework laid down by Interior Minister Alexander Bach in the 1850s would remain in place in imperial Austria after 1867, namely a framework comprised of provincial governors and district officers, while Hungary went its own way with a system of county administration. Yet, along with a reaffirmation of municipal autonomy, the tacking between federalist and centralist options in the early 1860s also led to the assertion of the role of the provinces (crownlands) in the administrative structure of the state. From 1862 onwards, there existed a "dual track" system of administration: an autonomous track incorporating political participation through the parliament (*Reichsrat*), provincial assemblies (*Landtage*), and municipalities and communes; and a state administration through the central ministries, governor's offices (*Statthaltereien*), and districts (*Bezirkshauptmannschaften*). The number of the latter was scaled down from nearly 900 in the Austrian half of the state in the 1850s to 324, and the *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* was consolidated in a new law of 1868.

The final two chapters of the book concentrate solely on the workings of this system in the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy formed in 1867, Cisleithania (notwithstanding the depiction of late nineteenth-century Budapest on the book's cover). Deak shows how the range and scale of administrative activities expanded enormously, as infrastructural projects were undertaken and educational and welfare institutions were constructed. In this sense, the "progressive" features of the Austrian state are effectively revealed, as civil servants sought to guide and foster social and economic transformation. By around 1900, however, problems with this system were also becoming evident, both structural and political. In the first place, much of the state's administrative activity was in practice delegated to the crownlands and towns (for example, with regard to building schools), but this led to financial problems for provinces and communes with limited means (and a finite tax base) and a blurring of lines over respective administrative responsibilities. Secondly, the role of political participation in the autonomous administrative track became increasingly complex and contentious as the franchise expanded and competition between national interests groups intensified. In addition to creating obstruction in the political arena (whether in the Austrian parliament or the provincial assemblies), these developments underlined the need to refine and rebalance the structure of administration. Deak concludes with an examination of various reform proposals to confront this issue, whether by Prime Minister Ernst von Koerber or the Commission for the Promotion of Administrative Reform (which met between May 1911 and June 1914, with the likes of Josef Redlich playing a leading role). However, none of these proposals came to fruition before war broke out, and whether they would have had the support of a parliamentary majority or not had they been drafted into a bill is a moot point.

Deak sees these attempts to restructure the administration as a sign of the ongoing evolution of the Habsburg state, with the war putting an end to this evolution as the military in effect took over the administration from 1914 onwards. He suggests, furthermore, that this meant that the Habsburg state thereby went "down a different path from the one which it had followed since the days of Joseph II" (p.260). Moreover, he even contends that, in devoting much of its resources prior to 1914 to "building infrastructure" and "public-sponsored progress," the Habsburg state "was out of step with the rest of Europe, which was preparing precipitously for war" (p.273). However, this begs the question as to why the Habsburg state then went to war in 1914 and how it collapsed in 1918. In the final analysis, one can accept many of Deak's arguments

about the achievements of Habsburg state building having been greater than previously assumed, but one must call into question his overall conclusion. On the one hand, the position of Hungary in this state building project needs fuller consideration; on the other hand, the military was also a central part of the state building process, with ambivalent implications for administration and civil society. Here too, the continuities are important, for the Habsburg army was an equally significant legacy of the eighteenth-century reform period, and Joseph II had done much to lay it down.

Laurence Cole
University of Salzburg

Hungarian Historical Review 5, no. 3 (2016): 675–737

Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War: Veterans and the Limits of State Building, 1903–1945. By John Paul Newman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 287 pp.

Like many other Central European countries that appeared on the political map of Europe in 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929) was a state born in the First World War. *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War: Veterans and the Limits of State Building, 1903–1945* by John Paul Newman is a long-awaited study of the political, social, and cultural consequences of the "long First World War," which included the Balkan wars of 1912–13, for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Newman looks for structural causes of political instability and the failure of liberal democratic institutions that characterized the interwar decades. He finds them in part in the difficulties that the new state encountered in creating social cohesion in a country marked by an array of war-time experiences, especially given that war veterans often had fought on opposing sides (for the Kingdom of Serbia or for the Austro-Hungarian Empire), and the legacies they brought with them to the common state were often diametrically opposed.

Parts I and II of the book are devoted to an analysis of patriotic and war veterans' organizations, e.g. the Association of Reserve Officers and Warriors and National Defense and the contrasts between the Serbian veterans' stories and the accounts of the experiences of those who fought for Austro-Hungary. A few "portraits" of the protagonists serve as illustrations of the state's failure to help the veterans find a place in the new political and social reality and their consequent disenchantment with liberal democracy and party politics. Newman demonstrates how these relationships between the state and the veterans often left the latter unhappy and dissatisfied. This in its turn contributed to the political radicalization of a fraction of these groups and led to their association with Croatian and Serbian nationalists and far right groups in the Second World War, the Ustasha in Croatia and Chetniks in Serbia (discussed in Part III). Thus, the book not only unpacks the meaning of the contention that Yugoslavia was forged in war, but also connects the First and the Second World Wars without succumbing to the banal argument of "the innate violence of the Balkans."

The book is meticulously researched, and Newman skillfully guides his reader through the labyrinth of interwar Yugoslav politics and personalities. One of the most appealing characteristics of the book, beyond its in-depth narrative,

is that it places the Yugoslav stories in a wider European context and critically engages with the relatively recent argument about the differences between the "cultures of defeat" and the "cultures of victory" in post-war Europe. Newman argues that in Yugoslavia "cultures of victory collided with cultures of defeat, but the former were always privileged over the latter: the panoply of veterans' war experiences tended to be reduced to an edifying story told by those who had won the war. The culture of victory brought the center of commemorative and celebratory gravity towards one group of veterans whilst marginalizing and distancing others" (p.11). As Newman observes, this led to a paradoxical tension between opposing tendencies: "The culture of victory, then—the culture of 'liberation and unification', intended to strengthen the position of Yugoslavia at home and abroad—also threatened to undermine the unity of the state and to inhibit the process of cultural demobilization" (p.53). "While Serbians celebrated a decade of liberation and unification, many Habsburg South Slavs spoke of 'ten bloody years'" (p.110), and there was a clear if invisible line drawn across the country. Austro-Hungarian veterans were "largely absent from the monuments and plaques which appeared in the Serbian lands after 1918; they featured instead as passive subjects waiting to be 'liberated' by Serbia and 'united' with the South Slav state" (p.148). Their legacy was much more fragmented and self-contradictory and could be seen as unitary only from the external point of view as being unworthy of either welfare or public respect.

Newman's book takes issue with the static understanding of the political conflict between the Serbian and Croatian political elites as it was characterized by Ivo Banac in his classic *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (1984) and instead emphasizes the importance of the personal and generational experiences of war veterans and the different trajectories of their relationships with the Yugoslav state in the two post-war decades. For example, it tells a famous story of the shooting of the Croatian deputies in the Parliament in 1928 that led to the imposition of the Royal Dictatorship from a new angle, and Newman very convincingly links the experiences of the shooter, Puniša Račić, in the newly acquired lands in the south to his radicalized ideological position. By making these kinds of connections explicit and providing ample evidence to give substance to the claims, the book enriches our understanding of Yugoslav history and makes it much more nuanced. I only wish that the book also included the very interesting histories of Montenegrin and Bosnian veterans, and I remain hopeful that this very important if understandable omission will be addressed in the future.

The book is written in a very clear and readable style and makes the complex and multi-layered history of Yugoslavia, if not an easy read for an un-initiated and non-specialist audience, at least very accessible, and this makes the book excellent reading for students of modern European history at an undergraduate and graduate level. At the same time, war studies experts, specialists in the interwar period, and students of the Balkans will enjoy the depth of detail arising from the wide range of archival and published sources and an impressive command of historiography of political and cultural history of Europe and Yugoslavia, and the primary and secondary sources on which our knowledge of this history is based.

Maria Falina
Dublin City University

With their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus´ and Carpatho-Rusyns. By Paul Robert Magocsi. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015. 550 pp.

Paul Robert Magocsi has authored numerous books on the history of Central and Eastern Europe, Ukraine, and particularly the region he calls Carpathian Rus´. In his new book, *With their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus´ and Carpatho-Rusyns*, he understands Carpathian Rus´ as a territory inhabited predominantly by a people whom some consider part of the Ukrainian nation, others a distinct ethnographic group within it, while still others, including Magocsi, an entirely separate nation. The belief that Rusyns are an independent nation with a history the roots of which stretch back to the Middle Ages can be seen as the central thesis of the book, which is, like most works that have the character of a textbook, more descriptive than analytical. The territory dominated by this group ranges on both sides of Carpathians from eastern Slovakia to the Ukrainian–Romanian borderland. Most of it once belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary or Habsburg Galicia. Today, it is divided among Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland. There are also numerous communities of people originating from this region all around the world. One such group lives in Serbian Vojvodina as a result of eighteenth-century migration organized by the Austrian state, whereas another resides in North America as a result of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century migration. Magocsi himself belongs to this group.

Magocsi estimates that the number of Rusyns around the world amounts to about 1.7 million today, though he admits that the number of people who declare themselves Rusyns is much lower, about 110,000 (p.1). The large majority of the estimated 1.7 million may understand themselves as, more or less, Ukrainians, or the question of ethnic identification may simply have little relevance for them. A key aspect of Rusyn identity is that it has widely different levels of support in various regions. Only 10,000 inhabitants of Transcarpathia, the supposed historical heart of Rusyndom, identify with the Rusyn ethnicity, while about one million people declare themselves Ukrainians according to official censuses. Similarly, the Lemko ethnic group in Poland does not identify as a majority with the Rusyn project, but rather sees itself as a distinct group among the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian orientation seems to be strong in Vojvodina as well. Slovakia is a different case, since in Slovakia the Rusyn identity prevails over Ukrainian by a ratio of ten to one, and the number of people who declare themselves

Rusyns has even increased since the 1990s, while the number of Ukrainians has decreased. Even the Slovakization trend has slowed down, and the proportion of Rusyns in Slovakia has slightly increased over the course of the last two decades (pp.380–81, 385), though Rusyns still amount to less than about one per cent of country's overall population. While the decision of Czech authorities to integrate this region into Slovakia after 1918 was considered a serious injustice by nationally conscious Rusyns at that time, ironically it helped sustain the Rusyn identity here: had the region remained with Subcarpathian Rus, it would have been integrated into the Soviet Union and, as a likely consequence, as is the case in Transcarpathia, the Ukrainian orientation would have prevailed here too.

Magocsi decided to follow chronology, dividing his book into thirty rather brief chapters from prehistorical times up to the present. For the period since the late nineteenth century, the chronological organization is combined with a geographical one, which presents the history of Rusyns in separate regions: Subcarpathian Rus, Eastern Slovakia, the Lemkivshchyna region of Poland, and the diasporic communities in Vojvodina, the United States and Canada. This is a wise decision, because an exclusive focus on Subcarpathian Rus would overlook many other Rusyns. It is therefore justified to depart from the territorial perspective, which has come to prevail in the modern history, and concentrate on the ethnic community.

Concerning the individual chapters, the parts dealing with the prehistorical and medieval times have a rather central European or Hungarian focus, as there is a dearth of specific sources on Rusyns. These chapters largely reproduce well-known narratives on the earlier history of Central and Eastern Europe, but the inclusion of these narratives can still be considered useful if one keeps in mind that undergraduates may well be the main audience for the book. Magocsi also repeatedly mentions the discussions about old history in modern political debates, such as the contention that the region once belonged to Kiev Rus, which was used as a justification for Russian and Soviet expansionist plans.

The chapters dealing with developments since the nineteenth century focus on changes in ethnolinguistic identity, tracing the development of the Russian, Ukrainian and Rusyn language movements within the community under analysis. As in his earlier works, Magocsi pays particular attention to the Rusyn orientation. Concerning socio-economic issues, he offers a balanced assessment, showing both the level of progress and major difficulties during the periods of Hungarian and Czechoslovak rule. As ethnic diversity was an important feature of Subcarpathian Rus, the book also discusses other nationalities. Of particular

interest regarding the post-1945 era are the descriptions of the desperate attempts made by Rusyns in 1944 to propose the integration of the region into the Soviet Union as an autonomous republic (p.297), the "national awakening" of Slovak Rusyns during the Prague Spring connected with the reestablishment of the Greek Orthodox Church after it had been unified with Orthodoxy by force in 1948 (p.330), and the Rusyn autonomist movement of the 1990s (pp. 355–68). On the other hand, the chapter dealing with the development of Transcarpathia within the Soviet Union between 1944 and 1991 is far too short (pp.305–19). Here Magocsi might have discussed socioeconomic developments, the history of the Hungarian minority, or Soviet historical writing about the region in much greater detail. A more comprehensive history of Transcarpathia during Soviet times remains to be written.

Magocsi embarks on many excurses within special frames, which make for pleasant reading. The maps are of excellent quality, something which characterizes Magocsi's entire oeuvre. Particularly valuable is the last chapter, which provides readers with an overview of scholarly works on key issues. What the book lacks most is an attempt to place the Rusyns into the broader context of other European ethnic groups in a comparable situation. Among Slavic peoples, no other group seems as close to becoming a distinct ethnicity as the Rusyns. There are, however, other Slavic ethnographic groups which some consider distinct nations, such as, for example, the Kashubians in Poland or the Moravians in the Czech Republic, but they are much less advanced in the process than the Rusyns. Macedonians and Montenegrians could also be usefully compared with Rusyns, as they have been considered part of the Bulgarian and Serbian ethnicities, respectively, for a long time, but after 1945 their distinct ethnicity was increasingly accepted and their nation building processes can in many ways be considered completed.

The book is certainly the most comprehensive work on the topics in English, and it has a good chance of becoming a standard textbook at English universities where courses might touch on the subject. In the field of Rusyn studies there are no other comparably comprehensive or well-informed books. Although some might call the author a nationalist, on most of the pages he remains a serious scholar. He shows respect for and interest in the other ethnic groups of Subcarpatian Rus, and I find no idealization of Rusyns in the book. Magocsi has devoted his life not only to scholarship, but also to Rusyn national activism, the latter task being particularly arduous, as formerly the Soviet and today the Ukrainian authorities have not been welcoming of the idea. Despite the marked

identification of supposed Rusyns with the Ukrainians not only in Ukraine but also in other countries, and the assimilatory trends in North America, Serbia, and Poland, Magocsi closes his major work with the contention that the future of the Rusyns remains in their hands. His lifelong commitment to the weaker side is worthy of admiration, even if one has doubts concerning the chances of his project.

Stanislav Holubec
Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena

Falukutatás és társadalmi önismeret: A Sárospataki Református Kollégium faluszemináriumának (1931–1951) történeti kontextusai [Research into village-life and social self-knowledge: The historical contexts of the Sárospatak Reformed Theological College village seminars, 1931–1951]. By Ákos Bartha. Sárospatak: Tiszáninneni Református Egyházkerület Hernád Kiadó, 2013. 328 pp.

In recent years, several volumes have examined the populist movement, a remarkable intellectual and socio-political initiative in Hungary in the interwar period. In 2012, two monographs were published dealing, if in very different ways, with its history, the social criticism written by the populist writers, and the solutions they offered to social problems and conflicts. The monographs by historian and archivist István Papp (A magyar népi mozgalom története 1920–1990, [2012]) and sociologist and historian Bulcsu Bognár (A népies irányzat a két háború között, [2012]) offer impartial and profound analyses and interpretations of the populist movement, and the two authors were clearly following in the footsteps of historian Gyula Borbándi (A magyar népi mozgalom, [1983]). The more recent works aim to provide a synthesis of findings from the various social sciences (first and foremost historical scholarship, sociology, and literary history) and situate the populist movement in a larger international context. The Hungarian populist movement can be understood as a manifestation of an alternative attempt at modernization (i.e. an attempt to carry out modernization by emancipating "the people," that is, the peasantry), which was not without parallels in the period. The social programs of several political movements and parties (from the American populist movement to Eser, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party in Russia) resembled the platform of the Hungarian populist movement in many respects. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the peasantry represented a majority of the population in (of the regions in the Western world) Central and Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean region, Scandinavia, and Latin America. At the same time, there were deep tensions in these regions between the peasantry and the elites, and this gave rise to movements in support of the economic and political emancipation of the peasantry. The Hungarian populist movement should be seen in this international context.

While historians have increasingly adopted global perspectives in their research, regional and local histories of the populist movement have failed to draw much interest until now. This contradiction is even more striking if one takes into consideration the fact that sociologists working on village-life have

always aimed to understand and introduce society to the everyday reality of rural life precisely through the study of regional and local problems and social discrepancies. The monograph by Ákos Bartha fills the gap between studies dealing with individual experience and attempts to present the national history of the populist movement. While Papp and Bognár chose the "leaders" and the "prophets" of the populist movement as the "protagonists" of their works, Bartha's work commemorates the anonymous "common soldiers," who were in charge of the "drudgery" of exploring village life, i.e. the students, their teachers, and the minstrel scouts of Sárospatak. Bartha first examined the history of the village seminars conducted by the Sárospatak Reformed Theological College, a segment of interwar and post-1945 Hungarian history that has unjustly been thrust into the background, in his doctoral thesis, which he then made into a book. The book consists of four chapters. The first presents the political-history and social-history precursors to the Sárospatak-based study of village life, the second familiarizes the reader with the history of the village seminars, the third analyzes the sociographic works written by the leading figures of the village seminars, and the fourth summarizes and clarifies the often conflicting viewpoints of those who intended to resolve the agrarian question. The book also contains an English-language summary and an exceptionally rich appendix.

Given the subject, it is perhaps not surprising that Bartha makes extensive use of various memoirs, journals and interviews, which are connected primarily to the figure of cultural historian Kálmán Újszászy, who was the founder and organizer of the Sárospatak village seminars. Bartha's work manages to call attention to the frequently disregarded but nevertheless important fact that the Hungarian populist movement was neither without intellectual antecedents nor did it function in an intellectual vacuum. The volume makes it evident that the folk writers (for instance Géza Féja, János Kodolányi, László Németh, Péter Veres, Gyula Illyés, Imre Kovács, Zoltán Szabó, József Erdélyi and István Sinka) were working in a lively intellectual, social, and political atmosphere, in which the so-called peasant or agrarian question (that is, the situation of the peasantry and the agricultural proletariat) gradually became not simply a topic of theoretical discussions, but also a major subject of public debate.

Bartha quite accurately observes that the state was not the only entity that was problematic for representatives of the populist movement. From a different perspective, its members also criticized contemporary ethnography. They accused ethnographers of presenting an idyllic portrait of rural life, an idyll that never existed (258). In contrast to this, the village seminars conducted by the Sárospatak

Reformed Theological College strove to explore the everyday realities of rural life parallel by collecting the remaining elements of the folk tradition. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Romantic mythicization of peasant life was finally replaced by a confrontation with the actual conditions of the peasantry and more objective assessments of village life, a shift that became palpable in ethnography as well.

The beginning of the twentieth century proved to be a historical moment particularly suitable for the exploration and the preservation of the folk traditions of the peasantry. On the one hand, by this time technology had already provided the apparatuses necessary for recording various elements of the folk tradition. On the other, in several European countries peasant life was still largely untouched by the influence of urban culture, and folk songs and folktales had not yet been superseded by songs by known authors, which in the larger cities had already been in vogue. The village seminars of the Sárospatak Reformed Theological College joined this remarkable international endeavor to collect various elements of folklore.

After providing ample descriptions of the political debates dealing with the agrarian question and touching on the cultural and hygienic conditions in the villages, the book dwells on the diverse traditions of Hungarian ethnography. In the course of this discussion, Bartha does justice to the Hungarian reform conservatives by mentioning their efforts in the collecting process, which they effectuated mostly within the framework of the National Széchenyi Association. Bartha also makes mention of the role played by the Scout Association, founded in Hungary in 1912, in the sociological study of village-life and the collection of folk songs (referring primarily to the minstrel scouts), even if the scout mentality did not suit the traditions of the students of Sárospatak in every respect.

Before turning to the philosophical system developed by Újszászy, Bartha provides a detailed analysis of the various attempts of the Catholic and the Reformed Churches to find a solution to the social and welfare problems of the period (pp.68–71). Bartha does not fail to mention that a web of Catholic and Reformed movements and associations surrounded the populist movement. On the Catholic side, the American Settlement Movement initiated and organized by Jane Addams and the Slovakia-based (or as it was known in Hungarian at the time, the Upper Hungary-based) Association of the Ottokár Prohászka League (Prohászka Ottokár Körök Szövetsége) come to mind, and on the Reformed side, one could mention the Soli Deo Gloria Youth Movement and the Gábor Bethlen Circle (Bethlen Gábor Kör) (p.70). Újszászy was influenced in particular by Basel-born Swiss Reformed theologian Karl Barth, whose Barthian school proclaimed the need for a "human-centered Church that works for the people."

After elaborating on the antecedents in the first chapter, the second chapter of the volume presents the formation of the village seminars in 1931, as well as their history, during which the students and their teachers visited as many as 44 villages from 1933 onwards. One of the major merits of the book is that it deals extensively with two themes that scholars of the history of the populist movement usually regard, at best, as peripheral; the history of the sociological study of village-life in the territories in Slovakia that were reincorporated into Hungary after the First Vienna Award in 1938 and the history of the sociological study of village-life in the period following 1945.

The third chapter is devoted to the sociographical works that were written during the village seminars, but it also provides a definition for the genre of sociography, while also touching on the Hungarian tradition of the genre that preceded the village seminars. The way in which Bartha analyzes the compositional features of the student community of Sárospatak, together with the club and social life, the "main cells of the student community," is particularly noteworthy (214), as it accentuates the multilayeredness of the Sárospatak student body, calling attention to the different ways in which the students were treated on the basis of the social status and the social prestige of their parents. The most original approaches to the theme of the sociological study of village life are based on the sociographical works found in the Documentation Department of the Sárospatak Reformed Theological College, since these volumes provide the most thorough descriptions of the conditions under which the leading figures of the village seminars worked, their everyday lives, and their perceptions of the social problems of the peasantry.

In conclusion, Ákos Bartha's book is accurate, rich with information, and highly readable. Importantly, it reveals the serious need for regional studies in the scholarship on the populist movement. The structure of the book, however, is not always logical. Themes that are clearly and closely intertwined are kept strictly separate. A few ideas are not given proper elucidation, and some of the names are given without explanation, in all likelihood simply because Bartha makes assumptions concerning his reader's familiarity with the topic. These critical remarks, however, do not detract from the groundbreaking significance of the book in the scholarship on the Hungarian populist movement, both on the regional and the local levels. One can only hope that this work is not the conclusion of research into the local and regional networks and institutions of the populist idea, but rather the beginning.

Ádám Paár
Méltányosság Politikaelemző Központ (Centre for Political Analysis)

A történelmi Magyarország eszménye: Szekfű Gyula, a történetíró és az ideológus [The ideal of historic Hungary: Gyula Szekfű, historian and ideologue.] By Iván Zoltán Dénes. Pozsony: Kalligram, 2015. 542 pp.

Gyula Szekfű is undoubtedly one of the most prominent figures in Hungarian historiography, if not *the* most prominent one, and his works have always been given a great deal of attention. Moreover, in many respects his oeuvre is inseparable from the history of Hungary in the first half of the twentieth century, as well as from its *Geistesgeschichte*. Therefore, the clarification of his work may fundamentally further an understanding of several details of these histories. Szekfű had significant works published in each period of his professional life: *A száműzött Rákóczi* [Rákóczi in exile] (1913), which led to the outbreak of perhaps the greatest scandal in Hungarian historiography; *Három nemzedék* [Three generations], later called "the Bible of the Horthy regime"; *Magyar történet* [A history of Hungary] (1928–1934), written in collaboration with Bálint Hóman and still considered the best synthesis of Hungarian historiography by many; *Állam és nemzet* [State and nation] (1942), which received the Grand Prize of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1943; and *Forradalom után* [After the revolution] (1947), published after World War II.

Among Hungarian historians, none has had more analyses and studies written on his work than Szekfű, especially if we take into account his reception by his contemporaries. There are innumerable works of secondary literature on his oeuvre, and Iván Zoltán Dénes, the author of the volume reviewed here, has examined Szekfű's work several times before. In fact, Dénes' career as a historian started with a monograph dealing with Szekfű's early period. Later, he wrote studies on the relationship between Zoltán Kodály and Szekfű, for instance, and he compared the views of the latter with the ideologies of author László Németh and sociologist István Bibó. He also published a book (now used extensively as source material) on Szekfű's entire oeuvre, as well as writings on Szekfű's relationship with historians Henrik Marczali and Bálint Hóman, among others. Apparently, the extensive secondary literature focuses primarily on analyses of certain segments of Szekfű's oeuvre, with the exception of Irene Raab Epstein's English monograph. Historians studying Szekfű's works were cautious for a reason. They were aware for a long time that preparing a substantive monograph about Szekfű would prove a Herculean task with a number of pitfalls. Against this backdrop, Dénes has endeavored to write a monograph about Szekfű, the

greatest merit of which is perhaps its presentation of Szekfű's entire oeuvre and Dénes' use of several previously unknown sources, which may deepen our knowledge of his work as a historian. (In particular, I would highlight Szekfű's correspondence with fellow historians, such as Dávid Angyal, as well as letters and notes by Károly Tagányi, Árpád Károlyi, and István Egyed.)

There are three significant features worth emphasizing in Dénes' argumentative evaluation of Szekfű's oeuvre. First, the concept of "key experience" has a crucial role. According to Dénes (and in fact he is restating the basic idea of his 1976 book), the key moment in Szekfű's oeuvre was the scandal generated by his 1913 book on Transylvanian prince Francis II Rákóczi and the resulting experience of being dragged through the mire, so to speak, by critics. In his book Szekfű had tried to rebel, both from an ideological and a professional perspective, against the "national romantic" perspective of the age of Dualism. However, ultimately he did not take up the fight that went with this gesture of rebellion, and he failed to go beyond the standpoint of his contemporaries, as indicated by the fact that his former critics reacted positively to his *Three Generations*. According to Dénes' argument, in Szekfű's work, as in the work of his contemporaries, democracy and general progress sink beneath the concept of the nation, while ideological motifs overwrite professional opinion (in other words, Szekfű qualifies less as a historian and more as a publicist).

The second feature derives from the first one: as a result of the scandal, Szekfű formulated his concept of the so-called "great Hungarians" and "little Hungarians," which, in the Dénes' view, he asserted in his later works, especially in *A History of Hungary*, as a "master narrative." According to Szekfű's theory, the embodiments of a "great Hungarian," Transdanubian attitude represented a positive, European alternative to the modern history of Hungary. These "great Hungarians," with their pro-Habsburg stance (which, in Dénes' opinion, means an alignment with the prevailing power) and Catholic beliefs insisted on reforms coming from above and carried out by means of state power. The contrasting notion of "little Hungarians" denoted rebellious, Protestant, nationalistic, anti-Habsburg tendencies prevalent in East Hungary, whom Szekfű held responsible for historical failures.

According to the third element on the basis of which Dénes summarizes his analysis of Szekfű, Szekfű's aforementioned view can also be seen as a symptom of a more general anti-modernist, "historicist" position, which professes the omnipotence of the state and the prevailing powers. This position later became

alloyed with "ethno-protectionist" elements and eventually led him to assume the previously highly criticized position of "little Hungarians."

My first objection to the monograph is that, although Dénes promises to present Szekfű's entire oeuvre, in the second half of the book (encompassing the period after the publication of *A History of Hungary*) he seems a bit exhausted and ultimately fails in this task. He does not use the method adopted in the first half of the monograph. In other words, he does not analyze contemporary responses to and texts about Szekfű's work. When presenting Szekfű's career in the 1930s, he fails to provide an analysis of some fundamental works, such as *Állam és nemzet* [State and nation] and its French version; he offers hardly any discussion of the similarly significant *A magyar állam életrajza* [A biography of the Hungarian state] or *Történetpolitikai tanulmányok* [Historico-political studies]. Dénes has nothing important to say about *Magyar Szemle*, the semi-official social scientific journal of the 1930s, edited by Szekfű, nor about his work as a journalist in various journals. The disproportionateness of the volume is made especially palpable by the fact that the parts discussing Szekfű's work in the period of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, when he basically did nothing of any great importance, take up 30 pages, while the section dealing with the period between the 1930s and 1945, in which Szekfű wrote the majority of the books that are *not* featured in Dénes' monograph, seems to have merited the same number of pages.

All this has fundamental consequences regarding the scholarly structure of the monograph. As a result of the aforesaid shortcomings and disproportionality, Dénes does not mention a significant number (about 40 percent) of the works of secondary literature on Szekfű, neglecting authors who have made essential contributions. Nor can one simply accept, as a justifiable scholarly method, his inclusion in his rather extensive bibliography of several works to which he makes no references in the monograph at all. At best, this merely gives a misleading impression of thoroughness.

The second problem with the monograph concerns the issue of approach. The author practically repeats the main theses of his 1976 book, or rather he attempts to extend it to Szekfű's entire oeuvre. In summary, after Szekfű's "key experience" (trauma) in connection with *Rákóczi in Exile*, he did not transcend the standpoint of his critics. In his case, as in the case of so many of his prominent contemporaries, scholarship and democracy were both subordinated to the concept of the nation. In other words, Szekfű was neither a scholar nor a democrat. In his monograph, Dénes complements these views with his (rather

confused) contention that Szekfű embodied a kind of "anti-modern historicist" attitude in historiography. But nowhere in his monograph does Dénes define what he means by "historicism," nor does he refer to any international secondary literature on the notion, so one can only presume that he has probably adopted certain theorems from the rather one-sided Anglo-Saxon secondary literature (dating back to at least Karl Popper) in this case.

The somewhat confused nature of Dénes' narrative is palpable in his assertion that Szekfű's "historicist" position indicates his inclination towards an "ethnoprotectionist" stance as early as the 1920s, when, according to Dénes, this tendency became dominant in Szekfű's oeuvre. We are given virtually no evidence of this change, since (as I mentioned earlier) only 30 pages are devoted to this period. The conceptual disarray is hardly lessened by Dénes' attempt to summarize Szekfű's views with the contention that Szekfű gradually backed away from his idea concerning "great Hungarians" and instead advanced the notion of "little Hungarians." The fundamental problem with this interpretation is that Dénes cannot provide an answer to the following question: why was there a constant confrontation then between Szekfű and, for example, the populist writers (László Németh, Dezső Szabó, Géza Féja, and, to a certain extent, Endre Bajcsy Zsilinszky), historian Elemér Mályusz (Dénes has apparently ignored Mályusz's ethno-historical school of thought, although it may offer the most obvious explanation for Szekfű's position), and the national romantic school, which attacked Szekfű practically throughout his entire career (often in a fairly vulgar fashion)?

What I find most problematic is not that Dénes classifies "historicism" in a negative way, dismissing it as an anti-modern position (he may well have every right to do so, although Karl Mannheim, Herbert Butterfield, Frank Ankersmit, and Fulvio Tessitore have a completely different opinion on the matter), but rather that he does not define the concept, just as he does not analyze how it finds expression in Szekfű's views. An in-depth analysis of *State and Nation* and its French version would have been absolutely indispensable from this perspective, since in this book Szekfű primarily builds on a concept of the nation that defines Hungarian nationality as a historical and political unity, an interpretation that already appears in his 1924 book, *Historico-political Studies*. Thus, strictly speaking, it can be viewed as the cardinal idea of Szekfű's entire oeuvre. Moreover, this is in absolute harmony with Szekfű's position concerning *Geistesgeschichte*, which distinguishes him from both the "national romantic" school and representatives of a popular approach to history.

On the whole, I am of the opinion that Dénes' monograph on Szekfű was written rather hastily; it would have needed further preliminary studies, a more profound theoretical foundation, and a broader grasp of the general development of historiography. Thus, while it perhaps deserves recognition as the first attempt to present Szekfű's oeuvre to the Hungarian reading public in its entirety, it offers at times a distorted picture and ultimately falls short as a work of conscientious scholarship.

Vilmos Erős
University of Debrecen

Une diplomatie culturelle dans les tensions internationales: La France en Europe centrale et orientale (1936–1940/1944–1951). By Annie Guénard-Maget. Bruxelles–Bern–Berlin–Frankfurt am Main–New York–Oxford–Vienna: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2014. 364 pp.

The book by Annie Guénard-Maget examines the roles and forms of French cultural diplomacy in Central and Eastern Europe in the period between 1936 and 1940, on the one hand, and 1944 and 1951, on the other. In other words, she deals with the period immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II, right up to France's surrender, and the period after the war, during which the region, under Soviet influence, had undergone a drastic transformation and the new frameworks of power had become rigid. One of Guénard-Maget's points of departure is the idea that in the 1920s and 1930s the region was a priority for French foreign policy, and it remained a priority after 1945, when Paris again sought to position itself as a great power. In order to ensure the coherence of her inquiry, Guénard-Maget examines six states that fell under Soviet influence in 1944 and 1945: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria. In the years immediately preceding and immediately following the war, this region was one of the main objects and sites of international tension. Thus, it constitutes an ideal subject for an examination of the ways in which the French state used varying tools in varying ways in its diplomatic efforts, in particular with regards to culture as an implement in foreign policy.

In this book, Guénard-Maget uses the term cultural diplomacy in a broad sense, and she examines not only the activities of the traditional intelligentsia and university communities, but also the roles of the natural sciences and technology, information politics, and propaganda. Her research is closely tied to the most recent French schools of the study of international relations. In his preface to the book, Robert Frank situates it quite clearly in the frameworks of French and international scholarship. Antoine Marès began to study French cultural diplomacy and the French presence in the 1980s. Marès also leads the research program on the mediators and sites of mediation of knowledge of Central Europe (the region that falls between German and Russian territories) that was formulated in France in the twentieth century. Guénard-Maget's book is a significant contribution to this work. The series entitled "Enjeux internationaux," in the framework of which this book was recently published, is similarly groundbreaking in the historiography on international relations. It takes

the work of Pierre Renouvin, who examines the economic and cultural tools with which a state pursues its interests, as its point of departure.

Guénard-Maget divides the book into two sections, each of which presents one of the two periods in question. These sections are further divided into chapters on sub-periods. Each of the two periods began with significant challenges for French cultural diplomacy in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1936, France had to struggle to counter the influence of Nazi Germany in the region, and in 1944 and 1945, the Soviet Union, which had grown stronger over the course of the war, was the primary competitor for influence. Each of the two periods concluded essentially with a complete loss of French cultural influence in the region. In her conclusions, Guénard-Maget offers a persuasive comparison of the two periods, drawing attention both to similarities and differences. The tables in the appendix (presenting, for instance, the sums of money that were set aside in the French budget for cultural expansion for the individual countries of Central and Eastern Europe, broken down by year) and the five documents that are included clearly and eloquently illustrate the findings of her inquiry.

What were the similarities and the differences in French foreign policy in the region in the two periods? Was there any continuity? According to Guénard-Maget, in each of the two periods France pursued a genuine policy of cultural diplomacy initiated by the government and planned and structured strategically. In each of the two periods, French foreign policymakers drew clear distinctions among the target countries. The countries which at one time had been political and military allies, primarily Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania, were given particular attention. The continuity in policy in the two periods in question was further strengthened by the fact that in both cases cultural diplomacy was shaped by France's geopolitical interests and its desire either to strengthen or reestablish its influence in the face of the rise of totalitarian great powers. Furthermore, the agents of French cultural influence strove to achieve long-term influence both before and after the war. They therefore assigned considerable importance to the legal circumstances of French institutions, the educational system, and the provision of proper materials for the libraries.

Guénard-Maget also notes the essential differences between the two periods. She quite accurately observes that the geopolitical circumstances in Central and Eastern Europe had changed dramatically from France's perspective. In the middle of the 1930s, France was, at least apparently, an influential great power with four allies in the region. However, following the Munich Agreement, the French surrender in 1940, and the rise of the Vichy government, the status of

Paris became highly questionable. Thus, in the first period, cultural diplomacy was more of a tool that complemented political, economic, and military elements of France's foreign policy. However, in the second period under discussion, culture became the primary and indeed almost only tool with which France could assert its presence in the region, essentially replacing all other factors. The fact that members of the younger generation were given important positions in French cultural diplomacy was a symptom of the attempt to adapt to the new circumstances in 1944 and 1945. Members of this younger generation represented the "progressive direction" of a "renewed" France. The target audience was no longer exclusively the elites, as essentially had been the case before, but rather the "people," from whom France expected the new leaders to be drawn. Another sign of the "winds of democracy" was the increasingly palpable tendency among the people responsible for ensuring France's cultural presence in the region to negotiate with their Central and Eastern European partners on the basis of equality and mutual reciprocity. The cultural accords, mixed committees, and appearance of new bilateral societies (which represented something of an innovation) were all signs of this tendency.

The sources on which the author has drawn are impressive in their quantity but also peculiarly one-sided. The collected archival materials are remarkably rich and could even be regarded as almost exhaustive. With regards to the materials held in the archive of the French Foreign Ministry, Guénard-Maget diligently studied the documents of the divisions responsible for cultural expansion, as well as the dossiers documenting relations between France and the six countries. For instance, of the materials available in the national archive (CARAN), she examined the documents of the secretary of the office of the prime minister, and she also studied materials available in the archives of the Institut d'Études Slaves and the Alliance française. The archival documents are complemented by the interviews which Guénard-Maget conducted with people who had been responsible for French diplomatic and cultural policy in Eastern Europe after World War II. However, her examination of French cultural diplomacy in Central and Eastern Europe is made a bit one-sided by the fact that Guénard-Maget makes almost no reference whatsoever to archival materials held in any of the countries of the region. Indeed, she makes almost no use of the secondary literature in French on these sources. (For instance, with regards to Hungary, she could have offered a more subtle understanding of French cultural diplomacy had she consulted works by Viktória Müller, Anikó Macher, Gergely Fejérdy and Sarolta Klenjánszky.) Her description of the acquisition of influence by

Germany and Italy is based exclusively on French documents. Thus, Guénard-Maget offers a detailed discussion of French cultural expansion in Central and Eastern Europe in the two periods under discussion, from the emergence of the French vision for the region to the attempts to realize this vision on the local level (including assessments of France's influence), but her sketch of the broader international context is incomplete and therefore sometimes misleading.

From time to time, the reader comes across oversimplifications in the book, which may be due at least in part to the fact that it is only one-third as long as the original dissertation on which it is based. For instance, in her introduction to the first section, the author does not emphasize that French foreign policy failed after the First World War to create a system of economically and militarily strong allies that could have been used against Germany, even if appearances suggested this. The approach that emerged following the withdrawal of Russia from the alliance in 1917, an approach that rested on the victorious small state allies, was based on an illusion. France's new partners were not real allies, and even as a block they did not represent a military or economic power comparable with the army or economy of a great power. Nonetheless, Guénard-Maget's book constitutes an indispensable contribution to the study of French cultural diplomacy and relations between France and Central and Eastern Europe in the twentieth century. It also provides a fine complement to the secondary literature on the Sovietization of the region.

Gusztáv D. Kecskés
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

L'amiral Horthy, régent de Hongrie. By Catherine Horel. Paris: Perrin Editions, 2014. 467 pp.

The latest book by Catherine Horel, a distinguished French specialist on Hungary, deals with a controversial figure in Hungarian history, Admiral Miklós Horthy, who was the Hungarian head of state for a quarter of a century (1920–44). Horel begins with a thorough foreword about historiographic trends in Hungary, issues related to archives, and more generally why more biographies of Admiral Horthy are needed. Indeed, Horthy appears to be a controversial figure in part because of the way he was dealt with during the communist era and, because of that, during the years following the democratic transition in Hungary. Horel disagrees with the conclusions of both the communist and the apologetic historians. Thanks to her thorough knowledge of the Habsburg Empire and the interwar period, she is able to offer a nuanced critical analysis of Admiral Horthy's responsibilities in the outbreak of violence in the early post-First World War period, the period of stalemate of the political regime, the occupations of Hungary by German and Soviet troops, and, finally, the genocide of the Jewish population. Relying on comparisons with other European countries and, more specifically, with Central European countries, Horel draws a parallel between Admiral Horthy's regime and Emil Hácha's and Josef Tiso's regimes during World War II. More broadly, she draws another parallel with two other authoritarian and conservative regimes, namely Antonio Salazar's and Philippe Pétain's regimes in Portugal and France. Admiral Horthy's political and ideological views appear to have been heavily influenced by his past as an officer during the Habsburg era, and his ability to rule Hungary appears to have been limited by the narrowness of these traditional views in social and political affairs, as well as by his revisionist diplomatic program. Eventually, he proved unable to keep Hungary out of a vicious cycle and even actually to make decisions when it would have been necessary.

The book is divided into three different parts. First Horel deals with the life of Admiral Horthy in the frame of the Austrian-Hungarian navy, until 1918. The future head of state of the independent Hungary to come appears to have been, at the same time, typical of post-1867 Hungary and of the post-1867 Austrian-Hungarian Compromise. Members of Horthy's family were drawn to the various Hungarian political trends, while he himself, because of his military career, seems to have been particularly loyal to the King and Emperor Franz Joseph.

However, Horel emphasizes that Admiral Horthy was actually both typical and in some ways unique, and this may shed some light on why he eventually became the new head of State after the First World War. In the second part of the book, Horel places Admiral Horthy in the broader context of the Interwar period. She does so by examining the issues that came up following the defeat, such as the issue of a potential restoration of the Habsburg family, revision of the Treaty of Trianon, the communist threat, and the acts of violence perpetrated against the Jewish population. With regard to the 1920s, 1930s, and the period of the Second World War, Horel describes the mechanism which, internally and internationally, drew the regime closer and closer to Nazi Germany, and she examines how this contributed to the genocide of the Jewish population. The last part deals with the period of exile and the life of Admiral Horthy and his family among a certain kind of political émigré community, after Central Europe had been transformed into a communist buffer zone by the USSR. But the book does not close with the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 or Admiral Horthy's death. Indeed, the final chapter examines the ways in which Admiral Horthy's memory has been reintegrated into the Hungarian intellectual and political landscape through thorough analyses of the construction of memory in post-communist Hungary. Relying on András Zempléni's analyses of "funerary democracy" and "patriotism anthropology," Horel draws a parallel between the new funerals of Admiral Horthy in post-communist Hungary and the funerals of other Hungarian historical figures, from Ferenc Rákóczi to László Rajk, Miklós Kállai and Cardinal Mindszenty. From this point of view, the new funerals of Admiral Horthy in 1993 seem to have marked the very moment at which Horthy began to come back into Hungarian collective memory and, more generally, the moment at which the interwar period began to come back into public debate, thanks to scholarly works such as the biography of Count Bethlen by Ignác Romsics or works by Jenő Gergely and Balázs Ablonczy. At the same time, however, it also seems to have been the moment at which the period in question and Admiral Horthy's regime specifically were reevaluated by political movements, even if this sometimes led to historical and political contradictions, for example concerning Hungary's role in Europe and more specifically in the European Union. On some parts of the political spectrum, it appears that a historical approach has been hard to adopt because of confusion between issues related to the Treaty of Trianon, the interwar period, the communist era, the years of democratization, and the new issues related to Hungary's place within the European Union, in other words within a political community in which the

questions of national sovereignty and Hungarian minorities have to be addressed once again, but in a different way. Strikingly, the critical approaches that have been adopted in the scholarship on the period of Horthy's rule have done little to prevent the emergence of numerous hagiographical publications intended for the general public.

Pierre Bouillon
Center for Research at the Schools of Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan

The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s. By Stevo Đurašković. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2016. 225 pp.

Focusing on the hegemonic politics of history and nationalist ideologies in Slovakia and Croatia during the 1990s, Stevo Đurašković examines in detail how the two "catch-all parties" or "all-embracing national movements," regardless of faction, strove to embody a synthesis of their entire nations' historical state-building legacies (p.6). The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) led by Franjo Tuđman and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) led by Vladimír Mečiar, utilized the politics of history and nationalist ideologies for gaining and maintaining power throughout the decade. As Đurašković argues, their success was, to a significant degree, based on convincing a decisive mass of voters that they were responsible for the attainment of national independence, and by presenting themselves as the representatives of the "true national spirit." The ideologies of these parties were formed in an antiliberal manner, and they both aimed to construct organic ethno-national policies, and drew on the idea of "national reconciliation."

Đurašković's analysis demonstrates how these parties' particular politics and ideologies were related to similar national historical legacies, and to the concrete political context of the 1990s, especially the dissolution of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, making the two cases eminently comparable. The striking resemblances include the similarity of the different states' national historical narratives: the popularity of the teleological concept of the "1000 years struggle for independence", the ambiguous perception of the World War II era, their position as "junior partners" in their respective former states, and their "senior partners'" accusations of separatism, which eventually led to the break-up of these multinational countries. Đurašković examines how such similarities, as well as some notable differences in the historical legacies of Slovakia and Croatia, contributed to the development of the ideologies and politics of the HZDS and HDZ

The most visible contrast was, of course, the cardinal difference between the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia and the "velvet divorce" of the Czechs and Slovaks. Consequently, Croatian grievances were much more politically convincing than those of the Slovaks, and therefore, Tuđman's HDZ had a much stronger political position. The second significant differentiating factor was the perception of the socialist past. Franjo Tuđman based his ideology

on strict opposition to "yugo-bolshevism", by which he meant an evil mix of communism and Serbian domination over Croats. To define Mečiar's strategy in Slovakia, Djuraškovič uses the term, the "preservation of past within present," introduced by Gil Eyal. Due to the different pattern of Slovak development, and the attitudes of HZDS supporters, Mečiar had to adopt a much milder stance on the communist past and the Slovaks' shared history with the Czechs. There was also a significant difference between the personalities of the two leaders. Tuđman became a veritable "prophet of the nation", an intellectual who practically singlehandedly created an extensive and complex ideology for his party. Conversely, Mečiar utilized his plebeian charisma to present himself as an ordinary "man of the people," and it was the "red nationalists" – former national communist intellectuals, that is – who formulated his politics of history. The author rightly claims that his book is the first one to explain how exactly the Slovak communist usage of history in politics was appropriated by the HZDS to its full potential (p.7).

The book consists of three core chapters. The first deals with the history of Slovak and Croat national identity construction up to the fall of their communist regimes. It identifies the main influences forming the HDZ's and HZDS's politics of history. The focus is on post-1918 developments, with an emphasis on World War II and the post-1945 period. In the Slovak case, this chapter is crucial for explaining the birth of "red nationalism," which connected traditional collectivist patterns of Slovak political thought with the socialist idea of collective socio-economic modernization (pp.34–35). In the Croatian case, the chapter focuses on the relationship between the communist regime and the concept of Croatian national identity, a topic closely connected with the legacy of the Ustaša. The central assertion concerns the development of Tuđman's political thought over three decades, which was a blend of communist and non-communist master narratives on the nation which he subsequently transformed into the ideology of the HDZ (pp.61–62). Despite some simplifications, the first chapter fulfills its chief purposes by offering an overview of the prehistory and the roots of the HDZ's and HZDS's respective political hegemony during the 1990s.

The second chapter focuses on the development of both parties during the transition. The author emphasizes that, out of all East Central European and Baltic states, it was only in Slovakia and Croatia that the "national question" dominated the transitional processes in a way that resulted in serious democratic deficits. Đurašković, therefore, writes not about a triple, but rather a quadruple

transition, which also included the processes of state- and nation-building. The resentments vented by the "senior nations" (the Czechs and the Serbs) during the dissolution of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia helped the HZDS and HDZ gain substantial electoral support (p.10), particularly because they mobilized traditional national resentments more effectively than moderate nationalists (mainly the Catholic ones), and had a better reputation than the far right.

However, the disparate contexts of dissolution resulted in the two states' divergent national ideologies, as well as their different politics of history. Đurašković shows how Tuđman's vehement insistence on his political ideology and the strong position of the far-right émigré faction in the HDZ led to the higher integration of factions with visible pro-fascist inclinations while Tuđman also did less to suppress the anti-fascist legacy than was the case in Mečiar's Slovak Republic. Tuđman's attempted historic reconciliation of Ustaša and partisan narratives, however, proved impossible, as the subchapter about "Mixing the Bones of the Fallen" clearly demonstrates. As a result, the leader of the HDZ constructed an entirely new myth of national unification based on the recent events connected to the "Croatian war for independence". For his efforts, Tuđman achieved more success than Mečiar in Slovakia, a fact that is repeatedly emphasized in the book. In the latter, the public holidays linked to the creation of the Slovak Republic that he introduced never acquired much popularity or respect among the general public.

As the author convincingly demonstrates, the politics of both the HDZ and HZDS eventually reached their limits. By the end of the 1990s, the legitimizing potential of state- and nation-building had been exhausted, while the hegemonic parties proved unable to resolve emerging problems. Consequently, to consolidate their electorate, both parties turned toward more strongly nationalistic rhetoric and a more authoritarian style of government, which resulted in sharp social cleavages, developments that stood in utter contradiction to their original vision of building a "harmonious ethno-national organic community" (p.143).

The final chapter explains how national ideologies were transformed into concrete policies of history such as national symbols, banknotes, holidays, commemorations and school curricula. Đurašković claims that the primary aim of these efforts was to obtain legitimacy for the ruling parties and their leaders (p.178). He analyzes how the vision of national reconciliation hampered transnational justice, or the processes of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in both countries. The weak spot of this chapter is Đurašković's comparison of the motives behind the design of the Croatian and (former) Slovakian banknotes. In

this case, he relies too much on the explanations provided in existing literature. For example, while he states that the portraits on the Croatian Kunas reflect the statehood-building struggle and the importance of language for national identity building, he writes that the images on the Slovak Crowns are devoted to a particularly Christian vision of national history and the "thousand-years struggle for statehood." However, these pictures could also be interpreted slightly differently, especially once one acknowledges the centrality of language in the formation of the concept of Slovak national identity from the beginning of the 19th century onward. If we look at Slovak banknotes from a different angle, we see not only the Christian vision and national martyrs, but also language codifiers. The book's insufficient attention to this aspect of Slovak identity construction is its only significant shortcoming. Additionally, none of the personalities can be viewed as advocates of Czechoslovak unity, nor are they symbols of a common Czechoslovak history. It seems that a combination of national reconciliation, striving for "Slovak visibility", the centrality of language as the foundation of national identity, and the presentation of an independent Slovak national narrative "freed" from Czech (and Hungarian) claims and influences may be in closer accord with the politics of history pursued by the HZDS.

I would venture one more critical remark. Although the book does well at comparing the politics of history in Slovakia and Croatia, it would have been worthwhile to explore whether there was any influence of the HDZ's politics of history among the representatives of the HZDS and vice versa. Mečiar must have known about Tuđman's political strategy and ideology given that Matúš Kučera, one of the most influential historians supporting the HZDS, served as the Slovak ambassador in Zagreb between 1993 and 1998.

These few objections and reservations notwithstanding, Đurašković's book offers a well-researched, sophisticated analysis of the politics of history and the ideologies of national identity construction utilized by the ruling parties of Slovakia and Croatia in the 1990s. It is worth reading for all scholars dealing with the processes of political transition, not only those in Central and Eastern Europe. As the author concludes, the comparison in the book can be extended to explain democratic deficits in other countries with similar historical trajectories. Moreover, the current upsurge of antiliberal, all-embracing nationalist movements in Central and Eastern Europe also suggests that the Slovak and Croat cases were not as unique as they might have been appeared back in the 1990s. In his conclusion, Đurašković offers a hypothesis that democratic deficits could appear among other, so called junior partners, during the dissolution of

other federations, especially if there is a significant number of people advocating for supranational identities (p.185). As we can see, nowadays, a number of ruling parties and coalitions in East Central European states eagerly depict themselves as "junior partners" in the EU while verbally attacking their domestic "Euro-optimists". For this reason, Đurašković's analysis could soon become even more useful than he had intended.

Adam Hudek
Slovak Academy of Sciences