

Edina Eszenyi

**ENCOUNTERS OF SAINT MICHAEL AND THE DEVIL
IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2007

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by

EDINA ESZENYI

(HUNGARY)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **EDINA ESZENYI**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2007

Signature

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I do not attribute such significance to an MA thesis in one's academic career that would ever inspire a proper list of acknowledgments in my own piece, yet I guess I owe much to people to whom such gestures of ceremony mean more than to me. The present work I regard as a modest contribution to angelology, an undeservedly abandoned field when compared to other branches of hagiography, despite all its inherent values. The process of writing acquainted me with a host of angels dwelling in and around the Medieval Studies Department. I felt it a privilege to enjoy your company throughout the last short year, and I am indebted to all among you who ever wished I finish the piece successfully. I owe particularly much to my friend Su simply for being my friend, which was and is invaluable. I also thank Edit Madas for the conspirations; Ottó Gecser for teaching me, a Protestant, to confess; professor Béla Zsolt for opening up the world of confrontations; and, above all, Gabriel for taking me by the hand and guiding on the way to Michael.

The piece could never have been composed if I do not enjoy so much our encounters.
Thank You.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Angelology is dealing with holy beings whose sacredness, unlike that of the saints, does not need ecclesiastical declaration to be recognized. Though the special worship of angels was prohibited in the fourth century,¹ it manifested itself in various territories in various ways. Particularly Michael's significance for the medieval Church was also justified by a number of personal saintly duties, and the archangel has been fully integrated into the category of saints. The dominant aspects of his cult vary geographically and chronologically depending on historical situations and circumstances and the history of his cult is well recorded in its medieval centers, but Hungary was not among them. The aim of this thesis is to provide a contribution to the investigation of the archangel's cult in Hungary.

The modern word "angel" comes from the Greek *ἄγγελος* and the Hebrew *mal'ak*, both meaning "messenger." Angels are also denoted with a number of other Scriptural terms, therefore opinions regarding the exact number of Scriptural references vary. They are definitely mentioned more than 100 times in the Old Testament and almost 200 times in the New Testament.² According to the Scriptures angels are created spiritual beings, very great in number. Although they do not have physical bodies, they can take on the appearance of men when the occasion demands, and in such cases they tend to appear as males. Angels are stronger than man and greater in knowledge, but not omnipotent, not

¹ Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg: Herder, 1926-28) (hereafter: Künstle, *Ikongraphie*), 627.

² For a summary of the Scriptural notion of angels I rely on Charles C. Ryrie, *Teológiai alapismeretek* (The basics of theology) (Budapest: Keresztyén Ismeretterjesztő Alapítvány, 1986), 155-172, (hereafter: Ryrie, *Teológiai alapismeretek*, *Teológiai alapismeretek*).

omniscient and not (not always?) omnipresent. Besides serving as messengers by communicating God's will to men and implementing divine purpose and judgment, angels carry out a variety of other tasks, including divine worship, providing physical and spiritual needs for humans, guiding, protecting, strengthening, encouraging them and caring for believers at the moment of death. The Scriptures also differentiate between good and fallen angels. A significant contribution of the apocryphal writings³ to angelology lies in the elaboration of the story of the Fall of the Angels, on which the Scriptures make no explicit comment. Among the good angels, the Scriptures differentiate certain categories of angels, among them the "archangel," with which term only one angel is denoted: Michael. Besides him, the Scriptures refer to two other angels by name, Gabriel and Raphael⁴ to which the apocrypha add hundreds of further angelic names. Michael's name appears five times in four places in the Scriptures; with which he is the most frequently mentioned biblical angel.⁵ The name is *Mikhael* in Hebrew and *Quis ut Deus* in Latin, meaning "who is like God." A special feature of the name is its ambiguity, as merely on a grammatical basis it can be translated either as a question or as a statement. In the Scriptures no other angel is denoted as archangel (*ἀρχάγγελος*, *archangelus*). The expression translates as the first, the main, the most important angel, the exact meaning of which provoked lively theological debates throughout in the Middle Ages.

In the case of stories where the Scriptures failed to identify the angelic actors, the popular mind had the tendency to identify the actor with one of the angels known by

³ James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 1-2 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983-1985) (hereafter: Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*).

⁴ Strictly speaking, Raphael appears only in the Book of Tobit, which is not part of the Protestant canon.

⁵ Dan 10:5-21 and 12:1-2, Jude 1:9, Rev 12:7-9.

name. Basically all Scriptural angelic acts have already been attributed to Michael, even in a total lack of literal or pictorial traditions,⁶ which can and sometimes does make the identification of particular angels in pictorial compositions a challenge. It was John II, bishop of Thessalonica, who declared in the synod of Nicea that angels can be represented, i.e., their worldly image can be made. Nevertheless, representing an angel, as any spiritual being, means on the one hand the challenge of representing the invisible, and on the other hand, representing what can only be symbolic, which increases the significance of an art historical approach to angelology. In the case of Michael and his two colleagues mentioned by name in the Scriptures, freedom from the canonical lack of individuality helped the bloom of the artistic forms of the cult. Accordingly, an extensive iconography was developed for Saint Michael, rendering the archangel in a number of heavenly roles, among them a paramount attention paid to the *psychomachia* type confrontation with the evil.

Michael has a better deal of occasions to encounter the devil than any of his angelic colleagues. Their clash manifests in several ways: the archangel defeats the fallen angels and the apocalyptic dragon, he debates the devil at the death of believers as he debated over the corpse of Moses, and stories of otherworld journeys demonstrate that he also has the right to open up the gates of hell, guide these medieval Christians through the infernal realms and meanwhile ensure his protégés 'diplomatic immunity' against the forces of evil, right in the heart of the evil. The archangel's military struggle with the devil was paralleled with a moral, spiritual struggle and, partly due to these allegorical connotations, became widely popular by the high and late Middle Ages. The archangel's numerous victories over the devil also made him/her(?) a typical supplementary figure in

⁶ Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol.1, 222, n. 136.

the Saint Michael's iconography. Though the existence of evil is a crucial standpoint of Christian dogma, finding proper grounds for the devil's representations in sacral space was difficult, so depictions of Saint Michael therefore provided good excuse and reason for rendering devil figures.

In medieval Hungary frescoes constituted the most frequent artistic medium of representing the archangel. In this genre Michael's representation alone could substitute even for the Last Judgment scene in the case of his most common iconographical type, the weighing of souls or *psychostasis*. During previous research,⁷ I noticed that while there are almost 30 examples of this type, there is only one example left of the archangel's other common iconographic type, the fight with the apocalyptic dragon. At the same time, although representations of the Fall of the Angels are rare in frescoes, there is also one example of that type, with a very special iconography. This made me interested in the question of the notion of the warrior archangel in medieval Hungary. This is the aspect of the cult which I propose to explore in context of medieval Hungary and to bring into the focus of the present thesis the notion of Saint Michael as the opponent of evil in medieval Hungary.

⁷ Edina Eszenyi, "Szent Mihály arkangyal a középkori magyarországi falképein" (Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval Hungarian Frescoes), MA thesis (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Catholic University Art History Department, 2006).

II. MICHAEL'S CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY

A EUROPEAN SAINT

“I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel ... Then said he unto me, ‘See that thou do it not, for I am thy fellow servant ... Worship God!’” With reference to the Revelations of Saint John, (22:8-9) the synod of Laodicea in the fourth century officially prohibited the worship of angels.⁸ Later on, ecclesiastical councils occasionally ruled against the excessive devotion given to certain angels.⁹ Despite the prohibitions, the cult of angels was widespread already in the early Middle Ages,¹⁰ for they were supposed to deserve veneration with the Scriptures suggesting that humans should do their best to be as similar to angels as possible.¹¹ The cult of angels is seemingly one of Christianity's paradoxes.

The veneration of angels was best manifested in the cult that had developed around Archangel Michael. His being an angel and venerated as a saint created special

⁸ Künstle, *Ikongraphie*, 627.

⁹ Michael in particular, for example the 1012 Synod of Seligenstadt canon X, Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 164. n. 85 (hereafter: Flint, *Rise of Magic*).

¹⁰ Peter Brown has traced the process of change in the “invisible companion” of late antique people. In the second and third centuries the function of “the invisible protector” was to take care of the individual almost as his extension towards divinity. This category, among many other concepts, included the guardian angel as well as patron-client relationships like that of Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus. With the appearance of martyr literature “the invisible companion” has slowly become the holy man, i.e. human beings instead of angels. Finally Augustine in Book 10 of the *City of God* redefined the concept of true intermediaries between God and men, stating that men could bind men closer to God than angels, as only the martyrs can bridge the difference in the hierarchy of beings between humans and God, Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) 50-61.

¹¹ Cf. Col 3:18. (Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 324.) Origen summed up the problem stating that although only the Son shares the divinity of the Father angels also deserve veneration, Johannes Peter Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr: zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelskultes*. Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 19, (Leiden: Brill, 1977) (hereafter: Rohland, *Der Erzengel*).

semi-hagiographical features. In case of Michael it is not proper to talk about his life, including heroic deeds and moral values, since angels are devoid of a *vita* and *acta* in the proper sense of the terms. No use of studying the sanctification procedure as there has never been a need for such. We face a lack of earthly remains as the basic component of physical contact, there is no grave, no primary relics. As for artistic representations, no instruments of martyrdom to provide obvious attributes. A clear shift happens, however, towards other components of the cult.

In the row of modern scholarly works on the on the medieval Western understanding of angels, David Keck gave a summary of the medieval views on angels, by analyzing the Scriptural views, patristic and scholastic angelology, and slightly touching devotional and liturgical aspects as well, describing the role angels played in the everyday lives of the medieval Christians.¹² The medieval notion of angels was a mixture of Scriptural facts, apocryphal suggestions and the ideas of Christian writers.¹³ Jewish apocrypha developed an extensive angelology. Most apocryphal testaments are named after the patriarch experiencing the vision but in subgenre, including, among other pieces, the testaments of Isaac and Jacob, an angel, most commonly Michael, visits the patriarch mentioned in the title in the body of the previous patriarch and takes his soul to Paradise.¹⁴ In the *Testament of Jacob* Michael also takes Jacob for a guided tour in the otherworld before his death and similarly guides Enoch,¹⁵ Baruch,¹⁶ and Sedrach¹⁷.

¹² David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), (hereafter: Keck, *Angels*).

¹³ Michael appears not only in predictable locations, but also in texts that seem to have little direct relevance to angels, such as chronicles or recordings of donation, Keck, *Angels*, 156-157.

¹⁴ J.Z. Smith, "Prayer of Joseph. Translation and Introduction," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol.2, 699-714, 711.

¹⁵ F. I. Andersen, "Enoch. Translation and Introduction," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 91-213.

¹⁶ H.E. Gaylord, "Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 653-679.

¹⁷ S. Agourides, "Apocalypse of Sedrach," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 605-620.

Baruch's visit to heaven also mentions a heavenly church, where Michael offers prayers, virtues and good deeds to the Lord every day. This book is also an important source for the story of the fall of the angels, similarly to the *Life of Adam and Eve*.¹⁸ Other, less typical, apocryphal tasks of Michael include guiding the souls of the blessed to heaven and being the guardian angel of Israel in the *Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch*.¹⁹

Angels aroused concern among church fathers and medieval Church doctors as well. Hardly any medieval theologian failed to refer to them in his writings,²⁰ but it was only with the highly influential, early sixth-century *De coelesti hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite that Christian angelology took on its classical form. Dionysius, differentiated three orders and nine choirs of angels: Seraphs, Cherubs and Thrones constituting the First Choir; Dominations, Virtues and Powers the Second Choir; and Principalities, Archangels and Angels the Third Choir.²¹ Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*,²² Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiae*,²³ Saint Bonaventure's *Life of Saint Francis*²⁴ and Saint Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*²⁵ were among the most important and influential works of angelology which contributed to the cult of Saint Michael as well, even though none of them devoted an especially long section exclusively to him. Among the scholarly analyses of these views I should like to mention

¹⁸ M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 249-295.

¹⁹ P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol.1, 223-315.

²⁰ For an extensive compilation of patristic and early medieval considerations of the subject, see the "Index de Angelis" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956) (hereafter: *PL*), 219, 37-39.

²¹ Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De coelesti hierarchia* (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1991.) 2.2-3 and 4.2-3; see also Ronald F. Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius. A Study in the Form and Meaning of the Pseudo-Dionysian Writings* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1969).

²² Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, book 1, 3-4: *PL* 77, 149-430; book 2, *PL* 66, 125-204.

²³ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae* (Rome: Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1971).

²⁴ Stefano Brufani, Enrico Menesto, and Giuseppe Cremascoli, *Fontes franciscani* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1995).

²⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* (Turin: Edizioni Paoline, 1988).

Jean Daniélou,²⁶ who has focused on the views concerning the angelic mission towards humans, and Steven Chase²⁷ has explored issues in angelic spirituality among a variety of themes on medieval Christian devotion.

In the context of Saint Michael's cult in Byzantium, Johannes Peter Rohland has summarized the archangel's role in the Scriptures, the main Apocrypha and in the patristic writings, and traced the development of the Byzantine cult of the archangel, showing how the emphasis on the commander-in-chief of the angels received greater stress from the seventh century onwards as contrasted to Michael's earlier reputation as a healer saint.²⁸ The spread of cultural patterns from the east to the west included these key aspects of the cult as well, and the cult has spread to the eastern Mediterranean and eventually to Western Europe in the next century.²⁹ The healer aspect was in the foreground of Michael's cult in the earliest times,³⁰ partly due to the legend that Michael had cured an ill person not far from Constantinople, in a place afterwards called Michaelium – as it is told by the *Legenda Aurea* of James of Voragine.³¹

The significance of Michael's cult in western Christianity is also implied by the chapter devoted to him in Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*³² – maybe it can even be regarded

²⁶ Jean Daniélou, *The Angels and Their Mission According to the Church Fathers* (Allen: The Newman Press, 1953).

²⁷ Steven Chase, *Angelic Spirituality. Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002).

²⁸ See footnote 12.

²⁹ Dick Harrison, "The Duke and the Archangel. A Hypothetical Model of Early State Integration in Southern Italy through the Cult of Saints," in *Collegium Medievale* 1 (1993), (hereafter: Harrison, *The Duke*), 5-33.

³⁰ Rohland, *Der Erzengel*, 75-104.

³¹ Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, *Legenda aurea, Iacopo da Varazze: Legenda aurea. Edizione critica a cura* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), (hereafter: Maggioni, *Legenda aurea, Legenda aurea*).

³² For editions of further principal legends of Saint Michael, the *Apparitio sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano*, the *Revelation Ecclesiae Sancti Michaelis [in monte Tumba]*, and the *Chronica monasterii Sancti Michaelis Clusini* see André Vauchez, Pierre Bouet, and Giorgio Otranto, ed., *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en Occident: les trois monts dédiés à l'archange* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2003),

as a special type of *acta* in the archangel's case, inasmuch as it summarizes the archangel's heavenly duties and earthly activities. The *Legenda Aurea* explains the meaning of Michael's name and interprets the biblical citations mentioning him, lists arguments for the veneration of angels, elaborates on the angelic hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysios, and extensively lists Michael's angelic duties, miracles and apparitions. Needless to say, in the case of Michael apparitions mean exclusively occasions when he appeared to somebody. So according to the *Legenda*, in 390 a bull strolled away not far from Monte Gargano hill, and when an arrow was shot at the animal, the arrow turned back and killed the archer. The story was told to Lorenzo Maiorano, bishop of Siponto, who ordered a three-day fast, during which Michael appeared to him and informed him that the grave was his sanctuary.³³ When May 8 the same year pagan Neapolitans attacked the Christian Sipontaneans and the Beneventans, the local bishop prayed for the help of Michael and they won the battle. On September 29, Michael appeared again in order to prevent the Christians being fearful of entering and consecrating the grotto. As in the archangel's case it was not possible to commemorate the day of death, i.e., the heavenly birthday, apparitions governed the choice of the dates of the liturgical feasts. 29 September also provided a good occasion to commemorate not only him but also other angels.³⁴ On a further occasion, in 590, Gregory the Great held a grand procession in order to stop the spread of plague in Rome and, arriving at the monument of Hadrian (afterwards Castel Sant'Angelo), he saw an angel on the top, re-sheathing a bloody sword. Following this vision the plague stopped and popular memory identified the angel with

(hereafter: Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*), 1-41; and also Pierre Bouet, "La Reuelatio et las origines de *Culte* à saint Michael sur le Mont Tombe," in Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*, 65-90.

³³ Previously the grotto was the seat of an oracle, Calchas, and his cult was long preserved at Monte Gargano (Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 170).

³⁴ Keck, *Angels*, 179.

Michael. Somewhat later, around 710, Michael asked the bishop of Tumba to build him a church and conjured up a healing source in the same place. Finally, the story of Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy shows a strong resemblance to the Monte Gargano story. Michael is reported to have turned to a bishop again, this time to Autbert, bishop of Avranches. The archangel told him that he would like to have a sanctuary again, and again on a mountaintop. Again a bull helped to mark the exact place of the sanctuary. The groundplan of the church was also similar to that built over the Monte Gargano grotto and, what is more, since there was no natural cave in this place, Saint Aubert had one made for Saint Michael's sanctuary. Even the costume of the archangel was similar to the one he wore when he appeared in Monte Gargano.³⁵ As it was not possible to visit the significant spots of Michael's life or his grave, the sites of his apparitions became the destinations of pilgrims. In substitution for important elements of earthly life, the places of Michael's apparitions have thus become the centers of his cult.³⁶ The newly established sanctuary of Mont Saint Michel, the most famous representation of which is seen on the Bayeux tapestry,³⁷ has become the other most famous Saint Michael pilgrimage site of the Middle Ages besides Monte Gargano, one of the most popular pilgrimage sites of Italy.³⁸

Being often mentioned in medieval itineraries served both Monte Gargano's and Mont Saint Michel's popularity well. The Monte Gargano shrine was enlarged by Duke Romuald I (662-687) and maybe also by Romuald II (c. 706-731/732). The significance

³⁵ Lucien Bély, *Le Mont Saint-Michel monastère et citadelle* (Rennes: Editions Ouest-France, 2004), (hereafter: Bély, *Le Mont Saint-Michel*).

³⁶ The earliest recorded appearance happened in first-century Phrygia, where Michael conjured up a miraculously healing fountain. His cult was popular here as early as the third century, see Harrison, *The Duke*, 16-17.

³⁷ Carola Hicks, *Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006).

³⁸ Giorgio Otranto, "Genesi, aratteri e diffusione del culto micaelico del Gargano," in Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*, 43-64.

of the shrine is well illustrated by the fact that the inscriptions on the walls of the grotto reveal visitors from all over Western Europe,³⁹ and they served representative purposes as well.⁴⁰ According to Bonaventure, even Saint Francis was on his way to Monte Gargano when he died on October 3, 1226.⁴¹ Mont Saint-Michael, financed, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, partly from ducal and royal patronage,⁴² also attracted pilgrims from several countries. As the sanctuary gradually became a representative place the support was also aimed at gaining influence over the ideological sphere by creating an alliance with the church.⁴³

A recent volume edited by André Vauchez focused on three important cult centers: Mont-Saint-Michel, Monte Gargano and S. Michele della Chiusa in Piedmont,⁴⁴ and provides a useful updating of current research on the Western cult of the archangel. This collection of papers from the conference held in 2000 at Cerisy-la-Salle embraces a time-span of about fifteen centuries with subjects under discussion from the late fifth century to the present day, the contributions elaborate on a wide range of literary, archaeological and epigraphic sources, making possible a more precise dating of the written records and their relation to architectural changes and being concerned with the different aspects of the cult: Michael's early role as a healer, and later roles as the leader of the heavenly hosts, messenger of God, psychopomphos, and guardian angel.

³⁹ Among the most prominent ones one can find even Abbot Odo of Cluny (in 940) and Emperor Otto III (999), as well as Saint Louis IX (1256 and 1264) and Philip IV, kings of France, Harrison, *The Duke*, 14.

⁴⁰ The inscriptions provide information until 869, when the sanctuary was plundered by the Saracens, Harrison, *The Duke and The Archangel*, 14-15.; Carlo Carletti, "Inscrizioni murali del santuario garganico," in Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*, 105-138.

⁴¹ See footnote 25.

⁴² Bély, *Le Mont Saint-Michel*, 83-85.

⁴³ Harrison, *The Duke*, 26.

⁴⁴ See footnote 33.

A special feature of the hagiography of Saint Michael, namely that of the relics, is also strongly connected to pilgrimage sites.⁴⁵ Regarding him, only secondary relics can be taken into consideration, which, at the same time, are supposed to substitute for the lack of visual aspects more intensively than in case of other saints. On the occasion of the September 29 appearance, Michael bequeathed to the Monte Gargano grotto an iron spur, a red cloth to cover the altar and left his footprint in the marble.⁴⁶ The *Legenda Aurea* reports also that a piece of this mantle and the marble were later transferred from Monte Gargano to Tumba.⁴⁷ Pilgrims already in the eleventh-century gathered rocks around Michael's sanctuaries and used them in church consecrations.⁴⁸

With Monte Gargano and Mont Saint-Michel, Italy and France became the centres of Saint Michael's cult, but it was also present in other parts of Europe throughout the Middle Ages, especially in the North. A third most famous pilgrimage centre was Sceilig Mhichill or Skellig Michael, the "Rock of Michael" on the western coast of Ireland. Evidence exists for the veneration of the archangel in Anglo-Saxon England from at least the late seventh century; some of the inscriptions in the Monte Gargano grotto might even be of Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian origin. Michael was also one of the most popular saints in early Christian Scandinavia. His name is mentioned in runic inscriptions in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark,⁴⁹ and the number of churches dedicated to him in medieval Iceland was only second to those of Virgin Mary and the national royal saint Olaf.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ François Neveux, "Les reliques du Mont-Saint-Michel," in Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*, 245-269.

⁴⁶ Keck, *Angels*, 183.

⁴⁷ Maggioni, *Legenda aurea*, *Legenda aurea*, 988.

⁴⁸ Keck, *Angels*, 183.

⁴⁹ Harrison, *The Duke*, 17-20.

⁵⁰ Jukka Korpela, "Patronal Saints of Medieval Finland," in Graham Jones, ed., *Saints of Europe. Studies Towards a Survey of Cults and Culture* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 199-209.

Finally, an important new zest was given to the cult of Saint Michael in the Late Middle Ages, during the Hundred Years War.⁵¹ Michael appeared among the protagonists of Joan of Arc's visions;⁵² in some depictions Michael even appears on Joan's banner.⁵³ Unsuccessful English assaults on Mont Saint-Michel were thus only partly attributed to the abbey's improved fortifications.⁵⁴ Following the war, the French also came to regard Michael as a national saint, so when Louis XI founded the Order of Saint Michael in 1469 the archangel's cult, similarly to so many other saints, was already not free from political connotations as well.⁵⁵

THE ARTS AND THE ARCHANGEL

Besides so many other things, medieval pilgrims in Monte Gargano could also obtain the shrine's official badges, decorated with the images of Saint Michael overcoming Satan or Saint Michael weighing souls – some had both.⁵⁶ Mary Phillips Perry summarized the history of the iconography of the weighing of souls in Christianity, making an important contribution to the iconography of Saint Michael⁵⁷ The *psychostasis* as part of Last Judgement scenes began to spread in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁵⁸ as a result of which Michael became the second most important person of the scene, also

⁵¹ On the royal adaptation of Michael instead of Denis as a patron saint of the French by the time Jeanne d'Arc heard his voice see Colette Beaune, *La naissance de la nation France* (The birth of the nation France) (Paris: Gallimard, 1985).

⁵² Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (New York: Knopf, 1981).

⁵³ Bély, *Le Mont Saint-Michel*, 196-197.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 174-183.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 204-205.

⁵⁶ Keck, *Angels*, 182.

⁵⁷ Mary Phillips Perry, "On the Psychostasis in Christian Art I," in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22 (1912) (hereafter: Perry, *Psychostasis I*), 94-104.; Mary Phillips Perry, "On the Psychostasis in Christian Art II," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 23 (1913) (hereafter: Perry, *Psychostasis II*), 208-218.

⁵⁸ Künstle, *Ikonographie*, 538.

expressed by his typical position in the middle, right underneath Christ.⁵⁹ While being less preferred in Italian art, the *psychostasis* was often put in the centre of Last Judgment scenes by Northern artists. The two most famous pieces are probably the winged altars of Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1450)⁶⁰ and Hans Memling (c.1470).⁶¹ In some depictions Michael is performing the weighing while being engaged in active combat with the apocalyptic dragon, or instead of raising up his hand as a sign of impartiality, he often holds a sword.⁶²

The other characteristic iconographic type of Saint Michael owes much to the Lombards, whom the cult reached in approximately the late seventh century.⁶³ No wonder that their admiration was especially strong.⁶⁴ They attributed the conquest of Italy to the archangel's aid, and saw in him the angel of war. Michael was even chosen as the patron saint of their kingdom, maybe as a way to imitate imperial traditions.⁶⁵ While literary texts still preserved the healing qualities of Saint Michael even until the ninth century,⁶⁶ the victories of the Lombards helped his profile to go through a process of change and the warrior soon overshadowed the healer. One of the reasons why the cult grew stronger between 950 and 1050 might have been the interest in apocalyptic expectations,⁶⁷ when

⁵⁹ Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 96.

⁶⁰ Anna "From the Expulsion to the Enchainment of the Devil. The Iconography of the Last Judgement Altar of Rogier van der Weyden in Beaune," (hereafter: Eörsi, *From the Expulsion to the Enchainment of the Devil in Acta Historiae Artium* 30 (1984): 123-159. (Hereafter: Eörsi, *From the Expulsion to the Enchainment of the Devil*"))

⁶¹ Dirk De Vos, *Flämische Meister: Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling* (Cologne: DuMont, 2002.)

⁶² See a retable of Saint John the Baptist where Michael occurs amongst various other saints and both the scales and the dragon serve as his attributes., Perry, *Psychostasis II*, 217.

⁶³ Harrison, *The Duke*, 14-15.

⁶⁴ Marco Trotta and Antonio Renzulli, "La grotta garganica: rapporti con Mont-Saint-Michael e interventi longobardi,". in Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*, 427-488.

⁶⁵ Michael was chosen as protector saint of the Byzantine empire as well, Rohland, *Der Erzengel*, 114-125

⁶⁶ Harrison, *The Duke*, 17.

⁶⁷ Keck, *Angels*, 45.

Michael as the vanquisher of the apocalyptic dragon assumed an important role in the history of medieval piety.⁶⁸

Michael gradually became a holy warrior and the military struggle became a representation of a moral, spiritual struggle, resulting in the emergence of the iconographic type of Saint Michael the dragon slayer. This type became widely popular by the high and late Middle Ages and its popularity owed much to the allegorical connotations: the warrior fighting for the true souls, the parallel of Christ as defender of the Church, the virtuous Christian fighting the evil, etc.⁶⁹ A relief on a marble throne in the Monte Gargano grotto is generally regarded as the prototype piece, and with a full sculpture in the grotto also representing Michael in the same position, this must have been the iconographic type the pilgrims took home to their countries. The type spread first throughout Italy,⁷⁰ where a famous piece is a fresco by Cimabue in the Upper Church of the Assisi San Francesco,⁷¹ and then abroad. A noteworthy special feature of the French representations is a shield in the archangel's hand,⁷² as e.g., on a fourteenth-century choir window at Evreux.⁷³

In the context of the fight, a further iconographical type has also emerged, namely the Representations of the Fall of the Angels, bearing the same symbolic connotations as Michael's fight with the dragon. The Fall of the Angels as a separate type emerged first in Ottonian art and is quite rare, the best known piece being Pantaleon of Amalfi's bronze

⁶⁸ Apocrypha, including the Testament of Abraham, Joseph and Asenath, Baruch 3 and Enoch 2 also gave this tradition by denoting Michael from time to time as *archistrategos*, translated as "warlord," Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, 214.

⁶⁹ Künstle, *Ikongraphie*, 249.

⁷⁰ Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) (hereafter: Mâle, *Religious Art*), 258-259.

⁷¹ Irene Hueck, "Cimabue und das Bildprogramm der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi," in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 25 (1981): 279-324.

⁷² Mâle, *Religious Art*, 260-261.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 67.

doors (1076) again at the Monte Gargano grotto.⁷⁴ A study on the iconographic type was published by Christoph Auffarth⁷⁵ in a volume containing the lectures of a symposium entitled “Der Fall der Engel – The Fall of the Angels” held in 2001 in Tübingen. The contributions of the volume elaborate on the supposed biblical references to the Fall of the Angels, on the later medieval understanding and utilization of its symbolic connotations, and also on the parallelism between the Fall of the Angels and Saint Michael’s fight with the apocalyptic dragon.

The popularity of Michael (and of pilgrimages in general) makes it understandable that the grotto has been imitated both in Italy and in territories outside Italy. Imitations of the grotto, not only as far as architectural features and placement but even as far as the iconography of decoration is concerned, can be found in France as well.⁷⁶ With appearances on mountain tops or some kind of summit, Michael left the impression of having a preference for high places, so usually churches and chapels situated on high places were dedicated to him.⁷⁷ Supposedly not the Italian original, but Mont-Saint-Michel was imitated by the chapel of Le Puy built on top of a basalt rock in 962, called Chapelle Saint Michel d’Aiguilhe.⁷⁸ Still within the realm of architecture, several funeral chapels were also dedicated to Saint Michael, as to the medieval patron saint of *ars moriendi*. Being the angelic defender of the soul (referring to the apocalyptic dragon in Revelations 12:7) and the body (a debate over the body of Moses in Jude 9) the

⁷⁴ Margaret Frazer, “Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy,” in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 145-162.

⁷⁵ Christoph Auffarth, “The Invisible Made Visible: Glimpses of an Iconography of the Fall of the Angels,” in Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, ed. *The Fall of the Angels* (Brill: Leiden, 2004) (hereafter: Auffarth, *The Fall of the Angels*), 261-285.

⁷⁶ Mâle, *Religious Art*, 259.

⁷⁷ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), (hereafter: Ariès, *The Hour*), 103. n. 11.

⁷⁸ Mâle, *Religious Art*, 260-261.

archangel seemed to be a proper person to turn to in the moment of death, which was also implied by his apocryphal roles. Michael became the angel whom the Church invoked at the death of all Christians so that he might lead the soul to heaven (*Dux viae animarum*, psychopompos) from as early as the fourth century.⁷⁹

This role was represented in special iconographic types, in the psychopompos and the *Praepositus Paradisi*. In these depictions Saint Michael usually lacks any attributes and the angel depicted is identified with him on the basis of pictorial traditions. A special example is the Beaune altar by Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1450), where Michael appears in a double role: weighing souls (psychostasis) in the middle panel and guiding the souls to Heaven (psychopompos) in the right wing. The identification in this case is certain, however, because of the very same costume the archangel is wearing in both cases.⁸⁰

MICHAEL IN HUNGARY

Much less has been written yet on the Hungarian cult of Saint Michael. The earliest piece of some relevance is a 1968 article by Zoltán Szilárdfy,⁸¹ one of the greatest Hungarian experts on Baroque iconography. The article analyses an eighteenth-century Hungarian statue of the dying Moses comforted by Saint Michael, and in order to put the story into context the article elaborates on the origins and spread of the legend of Saint Michael's debate with the devil over the corpse of Moses and on the funeral cult of the archangel in general. Although the article contains some relevant pieces of information

⁷⁹ Keck, *Angels*, 127.

⁸⁰ Eörsi, *From the Expulsion to the Enchaining of the Devil*, 123-159.

⁸¹ Zoltán Szilárdfy, "Adalékok Szent Mihály és Mózes ikonográfiájához," (Notes on the iconography of Saint Michael and Moses) *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56 (1968) (hereafter: Szilárdfy, *Adalékok*): 126-129.

on the medieval cult, it is rather targeted at the Baroque period. In 1977 Sándor Bálint⁸² made the most extensive approach to the archangel so far, including the data of his cult in his synthetic study of the calendar of the liturgical year. He gave a short general summary from the beginnings of the cult in the early Middle Ages up until the eighteenth century, including written and visual sources, popular religion, and Christianity. This piece is a reliable starting point for the further examination of the archangel's cult yet it is in need of updating.

The relationship of the Hungarians with Saint Michael seems to be contemporary with their Christianization – in a certain sense it is somewhat older as the Germans already attributed their 933 and 955 victories over the Hungarians to the archangel's aid.⁸³ The same idea would have met some difficulties half a century later when king Stephen I., who introduced Christianity in the Hungarian state, consecrated the Veszprém cathedral to the archangel. Even before that, already in the Carolingian times a church was dedicated to the archangel in the vicinity of Zalavár, which means that the cult of Michael might have been present either in Veszprém or in its vicinity before the arrival of the Hungarians, already in the Frankish-Slavic times. Besides Frankish connections, apocalyptic expectations around the Millenary could also have directed the Hungarians' attention towards the archangel as it generally happened everywhere;⁸⁴ and the intensification of the cult as well have been inspired by the relationship of prince

⁸² Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium* (Liturgical calendar) vol. 3, (Budapest: Mandala, 1997), (hereafter: Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*), 343-379.

⁸³ Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*, 348.; Tamás Bogyay, "A karoling kori Veszprém problémája," (Problematics of the Carolingian Veszprém), in *Veszprém kora középkori emlékei*, ed., Zsuzsa Fodor (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata - Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 1994), 6-15., including the criticism of Bogyai's theory from Endre Tóth, István Bóna, Alán Kralovánszky.

⁸⁴ Keck, *Angels*, 45.

Géza and Otto I.⁸⁵ The influence of Byzantium should also be taken into consideration. The archangel's famous enamel on the corona graeca, the lower, Greek type part of the Saint Hungarian crown, is also of Byzantine origins⁸⁶ and in Byzantium angels, and particularly Michael are closely associated with the coronation ceremony. According to the *De administrando imperio* of Constantinos Porphyrogenitus', *Imperial regalia were not made by man but when God mad Constantine the Great the first Christian ruler emperor, he sent them to him by his angel*'.⁸⁷ Michael is also supposed to open up the gates of the new ruler's realm in Byzantium,⁸⁸ which, by referring to the heavenly origins of the royal power, was to emphasize the principle of *idoneitas*. Similarly did the corona angelica tradition of the Hungarians, the spread of which automatically directed increased attention towards angels from the fourteenth century.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Jenő Gutheil, *Az Árpád-kori Veszprém* (Veszprém in the Arpadian Era) (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 1979), 84.

⁸⁶ Éva Kovács - Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest: Corvina, 1988); Endre Tóth - Károly Szelényi, *The Holy Crown of Hungary - Kings and Coronations* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1999); József Deér, *A magyarok szent koronája* (The holy crown of the Hungarians), (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005).

⁸⁷ *Biborbanszületett Konstantin: A birodalom kormányzása – De administrando imperii*, ed. Moravcsik, Gyula (Budapest: Lucidus Kiadó, 2003).

⁸⁸ Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*, 348.

⁸⁹ The expression emerges in the beginning of the fourteenth century, in the age of interregnum after the Arpad dynasty died out in 1301. A Hungarian chronicle mentions it earliest in 1310, which means that the traditions was alive by that time. In all the cases of the appearance of the legend in written sources, the mentioned angel or the human being identified as an angel is never identified with Michael, nor does he bear any other name. (See Péter Váczy, "Az angyal hozta korona," (The angels-brought crown) *Életünk* 19 (1982): 456-466.; Péter Váczy, "Első királyunk koronája és a Szent Korona," (The crown of our first king and the Holy Crown) in *Szent István és kora*, ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1988); Gábor Klaniczay, "Szent László kultusza a 12–14. században," (The cult of Saint Ladislaus in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries) in *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Balázs Nagy (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Középkori és Kora Újkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1999), 357–374. and in *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2000), 139–168.; József Gerics and Erzsébet Ladányi, "Szent László 'csodás' tettei krónikáinkban," (The 'miraculous' deeds of Saint Ladislaus in our chronicles) *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2001): 20-30.; Gábor Klaniczay: Szent László 'csodás' tettei krónikáinkban *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2001): 411-430.; Teréz Kerny, "Az angyali koronázás motívuma Szent István ikonográfiájában," (The motif of the angelic coronation in the iconography of king Saint Stephen) *Ars Hungarica* 31 (2003): 5-30.

The evidence implies that the cult of Saint Michael intensified in Hungary by this time. The number of places carrying the archangel's name also shows a significant increase in the fourteenth century, when the thirteenth century number 21 more than doubled to 48.⁹⁰ The case is similar with the Saint Michael church dedications. András Mező in his collection of medieval Hungarian church dedications lists 190 Saint Michael churches mentioned first in the fourteenth century, which is a huge number when compared to the thirteenth century 58. The number of Saint Michael dedications was higher in the counties Nyitra (18), Zala (17), and Pozsega (13). The most well-known Saint Michael churches are Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, first mentioned in 1198), Margitsziget (Island of the Leppers, the future Margaret Island, 1225), Tihany (1267), Sopron (1278), Vác (1319), and Kolozsvár (Cluj Napoca, 1348). Michael was the patron saint of the Veszprém and Transylvanian bishoprics and co-patron of the bishopric of Eger.⁹¹

We have quite a number of written sources demonstrating the significance of the archangel's cult in Hungary. Some among them are informative but not proper for the present research, however. Among these, the Thuróczy chronicle mentions that the archangel's help was asked even during battles.⁹² The first Code of Law Chapter 38 of King Ladislaus I. (1177-1095) prescribes Michael's day among the ecclesiastical feasts

⁹⁰ Eleventh-twelfth centuries: 1, fifteenth century 11, sixteenth century 2., András Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben* (The church dedication in Hungarian placenames) (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996).

⁹⁴ 3 in the eleventh century, 71 in the twelfth century, András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* (Dedications in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2003).

⁹² "Cunque pugna eiusdem noctis sub obscuritate ferret, et hostis hostem minus agnosceret, Thurci hoc vocabulum vel apud deum vel erga hostes sibi ipsis non minus auxilio esse cogitantes, cum acriter ab hoste persequerentur, ingenti cum clamore omisso vocabulo Isten solum Mihál clamitassent." János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, ed. Erzsébet Galántai and Gyula Kristó and Elemér Mályusz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985-88), 227.

to be held on a yearly basis. Ladislaus' Third Code of Law Chapters 13 and 21, and the First Code of Law Chapter 2 of King Kálmán (1095-1116) also refer to the feast.⁹³ The approach of the present thesis, however, should rely on other kind of written sources.

For written sources to be analyzed in the present context I have chosen sermons as the genre which might reveal the most on the dominant features of the cult. The continuous example of the Hungarian language, at the same time the earliest source written in Hungarian mentioning the name of Michael, is also a sermon, the “Halotti beszéd és könyörgés” (Funeral Sermon and Prayer), dated to 1192 – 1195, already calls Saint Michael's custody for the soul of the dead: “And let us pray for the Holy Lady Mary and the blessed Archangel Michael and all the angels, to pray for him.”⁹⁴ The piece is significant not only in the history of Hungarian literature but also in the literature of the Middle Ages, for several reasons. The *Halotti Beszéd* is the only Hungarian predication written down in roughly the same words as it was told. From the following centuries, only glosses remained in Hungarian on the margins of Latin sermons. The so called Codex Pray, containing the Hungarian sermon, also preserved its Latin source right beside the Hungarian text, which is extremely rare even at international level. The two texts differ both in linguistic and in their contents, and the differences demonstrate that they were made for different audience: clerics and laics. Yet both pieces betray a high level of style, which suggest an audience from the upper layers of society even in case of the Hungarian piece. A further specialty of the Hungarian piece is the fact that its

⁹³ Levente Závodszky, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* (Sources for laws and synod decrees from the eras of Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus and Colomon) (Pápa: Jókai Mór Városi Könyvtár, 2002).

⁹⁴ “Et oremus Sanctam Dominam Mariam, Beatum Michaellem archangelum et omnes angelos, ut orent pro eo.”, translation and analyses from Edit Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből. A kezdetektől a XIV. század elejéig* (From the history of our medieval literature on predication. From the beginnings until the end of the fourteenth century) Csokonai Könyvtár 25 (Debrecen, Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2002) (hereafter: Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*), 83-126.

parallels point towards German speaking territories, being the only other place preserving examples for a sermon to be told by the grave of a faithful man, which suggests German influence in the process of taking over the practice in Hungary, not irrelevant in context of Saint Michael's cult as well. As opposed to early Protestant funeral predications, medieval sermons do not strive for providing consolation, but emphasize rather the importance of divine grace in salvation, and its condition, the pious life. Since, however, perfect man can not exist, the responsibility of the living participants of the funeral is immense in calling different saints to intercede for the soul of the dead. Consequently, the call for prayers is a paramount part of medieval funeral sermons. This is the same in case of the *Halotti Beszéd* as well, one half of which is made up by encouraging the faithful to pray for the dead. This proportion is somewhat lower in case of the Latin original, that dedicates roughly one third of the text to the importance of intercession. An important addition of the Hungarian piece is that it provides a proper list of saints whom are worth contacting in such a case, and among them Saint Michael is second only to Virgin Mary. The Latin text only calls the attention of the audience to the importance of praying for the soul of the dead. The inclusion of Saint Michael, therefore, is a specifically Hungarian detail. Edit Madas has found the closest parallel of the call for praying of the *Halotti Beszéd* in the *absolutio* of the Hungarian bishop Hartvik's *Agenda pontificalis*, preserving pieces from the sermon collection of the Hungarian bishop Saint Gellért, one of the rare examples of eleventh century sermon collections.⁹⁵ The *Agenda* also lists the Virgin Mary and Saint Michael in the first place among the saints who might intercede.⁹⁶ Among non-Hungarian parallels of the *Halotti Beszéd*, Madas mentions the Latin sermon

⁹⁵ Ibid., 49-81.

⁹⁶ "...intercedente Dei Genetrice Maria, et beato Michaelae archangelo", Ibid., 110.

told at the funeral of Otto, bishop of Bamberg, who died in 1139. The supposed interceding role of the Virgin and Saint Michael is mentioned in Otto's sermon as well, though in his case an explanation might be the founding of the Bamberg cathedral and its dedication to Saint Michael.⁹⁷ Madas also points out that with German literacy's being centuries ahead of the Hungarian situation in the twelfth century, the fact that roughly at the same time with German pieces a Hungarian funeral sermon was also put down, then the practice of using funeral sermons itself must also have been more developed here, like in Germany, than in other parts of Europe, which is also suggested by its inclusion in a *sacramentarium*.⁹⁸ This must have encouraged the cult of Michael, the patron saint of the dead, as well.

As Nicole Bériou has summarized, it was the twelfth century when the Saint Michael's name started to frequent in predication, but then and even in the following century the occasions to talk about him were limited almost exclusively to the feast of the angels. Even on these occasions, the sermons made just a few main points of comment like Michael's name and Scriptural occurrences. The significance of the archangel changed only later, with the birth of scholastic sermons.⁹⁹ I have, therefore, chosen my sources from the representatives of this circle, from *De angelis* pieces of *Sermones de sancti* collections.¹⁰⁰ Although several foreign sermo collections reached medieval

⁹⁷ "Interventu ergo beatae Dei genitricis Mariae, cui semper devotus exstitit, interventu beati Michaelis archangeli, cuius ecclesiae reparator et sublimator hodie conspicitur, quem patronum et servatorem et corpori et animae suae delegit", Ibid., 107-108.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 115-116.

⁹⁹ Nicole Bériou, "Saint Michel dans la Prédication XII^e-XIII^e siècles," in Vauchez et al., *Culte et pèlerinages*, 203-217.

¹⁰⁰ Besides the *De angeli* sermons, a number of other sermons might also contain references to the archangel, including, but not limited to, the *De mortuis* and *De animarum*, or even the *De eadem domnica* or the *De vitiis* sermons (For example, Antonius de Bitonto cites the fall of the angels in context of *superbia* as the sin of Lucifer. in *Sermones quadragesimales de vitiis*. Venezia, 1499.). Besides sermons, other pieces of liturgical cult, commentaries to *sententiae* and the *manipuli curatorum* might also hide

Hungary and were supposedly in use in the country, the number of collections produced by Hungarian hands is painfully low. The research of sermons in Hungary started in the 1980s and produced valuable results, yet the present state of scholarship and the limits of the present thesis do not make it possible to limit my approach exclusively to pieces of Hungarian authors. Therefore I will also take into consideration sermo collections supposedly in use in medieval Hungary¹⁰¹ in order to include representatives of different periods and different ecclesiastical backgrounds.

The earliest sermon collection I have chosen is the so called “Pécs University Sermons”. The codex containing the sermons is identified as having a bearing on Hungary, and more specifically Pécs, because its *sanctorale* part focused on Hungarian saints, and the inscription at the beginning of the *sanctorale* also indicated a connection with Pécs: *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* (Sermons compiled at the University of Pécs, in the Kingdom of Hungary). Although the analysis of the contents have dated the original collection to the second half of the thirteenth century, much before the founding of the University of Pécs in 1367, Hungarian scholars continued to refer to the collection as “Pécs University Sermons” ever since. Its *sanctorale* contains scholastic sermons for the Proper of the Saints, “typically Dominican in tone and of a high caliber.”¹⁰² Three *De angelis* sermons were also included in the collection. In general, the pieces talk about angels in general but do

important clues regarding the cult of Saint Michael but these are outside of the limits and main line of the present paper.

¹⁰¹ On the basis of Csaba Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (Bibliotheca Hungarica: codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526.) (hereafter: Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*) (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1993).

¹⁰² *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* (Sermons compiled at the University of Pécs, in the Kingdom of Hungary), ed. Eduardus Petrovich and Paulus Ladislaus Timkovics, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum Series nova* 14 (Budapest: Akadémia Publishers – Argumentum, 1993); Edit Madas, “A Dominican sermon collection,” in *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 6 (1996): 193-199.

not highlight any of them. Not even Michael, though the theme of the angels' fight with demons surfaces again and again among the duties the angels exercise towards humans. The sermons also elaborate on the angelic nature and follow Dionysius' classification of the angelic hierarchies, but only here and there mention angels by name. Nevertheless, Michael is the only one who is marked as *Sanctus*, which might signal a certain degree of differentiation.

Since the "Pécs University Sermons" is the only extant Hungarian sermon collection from the pre-fifteenth century period,¹⁰³ as a representative of the thirteenth century I will analyze a piece from Peregrinus de Opole.¹⁰⁴ He was Polish Dominican father Peregrinus de Opole (1260 – 1330), who lived in the country of Breslau and has written a corpus of 128 sermons "de tempore et de sanctis". Yet the fact that an edition of the collection it was possessed by the Chapters of Bratislava allows for the supposition that the sermons were used in Hungary as well.¹⁰⁵ As opposed to the "Pécs University sermon", a substantial part of Peregrinus' *De angelis* sermon is dedicated particularly Saint Michael. In his interpretation, the feast of the angels' might be named either after the archangel's apparitions or the dedication or his victories over the forces of evil; and the explanation of these different associations provides the skeleton of the sermon. The piece starts with the story of the Monte Gargano apparition, at which Peregrinus goes into such details that are missing even from the *Legenda Aurea*, like the conversation between

¹⁰³ Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*, 10.

¹⁰⁴ Peregrini de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. R. Tatarzyński (Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum PP. Dominicanorum Varsoviensium, 1997).; J. Wolny, "Exempla z kazań niedzielnych Peregryna z Opola" (Exempla from the Sunday sermons of Peregrinus of Opole) in *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. B. Geremka (Wrocław, 1978), 243-282.; J. Wolny, "Łaciński zbiór kazań Peregryna z Opola i ich związek z tzw. 'Kazaniami Gnieźnieńskimi'" (The Latin collection of the sermons of Peregrinus of Opole and their connection with so called 'Sermons of Gniezno') in *Średniowiecze. Szkice o kulturze* vol. 1, ed. J. Lewańskiego, (Warsaw: 1961), 171-238.; J. Wolny, *Peregryn z Opola* (Peregrinus of Opole) in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 25 (Wrocław: 1980), 598-602.

¹⁰⁵ Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, 154.

Michael and the bishop of Siponto. Then Peregrinus goes on to the analysis of Michael's two victories over the evil, namely the Fall of the Angels and the expected battle with the Antichrist at the end of times. It is only after these that Peregrinus gives space to Michael's colleagues as well and in the second half of the sermon he elaborates on the way they serve humans, with references to biblical exempla. Finally Peregrinus closes the sermon with the remark that even the saints need the angels to deport their souls to heaven.

In order to represent the Franciscan preaching tradition as well beside the Dominican, hardly could there be any better choice than Pelbartus de Themeswar.¹⁰⁶ Pelbartus was outstanding among the Hungarian representatives of scholastic preaching tradition, producing more sermons than any other of his Hungarian colleagues. He summoned his sermons in three immensely influential volumes under the title *Pomerium sermonum: Sermones de sancti, Sermones de Tempore* and *Sermones quadragesimales*. The *Pomerium* contains four sermons on the angels, and among them the third one is dedicated exclusively to Michael. The first point of its *diviso* is right in the interest of this thesis, namely Michael and his angels' fights against the devil. Pelbartus recognizes three manifestations of this everlasting contest in the history of humanity: the one in Heaven against the dragon, the liberation of Israel in Egypt, the debate with the devil in the desert for Moses' corps, the defense of the believers, and the defeat of the Antichrist. The second point of the *divisio* is the protection and care angels exercise over humans, and Pelbartus points at particularly Michael's role in the related angelic tasks. The last one third of the sermon is dedicated to the list of Michael's special privileges among

¹⁰⁶ Ildikó Bárczi, *Emlékkönyv Temesvári Pelbárt Halálának 500. Évfordulója Alkalmából* (Festschrift on the fifth hundred anniversary of the death of Pelbartus de Themeswar) (Eszergom: Temesvári Pelbárt Ferences Gimnázium, 2006).

theangels. On the basis of the detailed approach of this sermon and the other three sermons, Eszter Laczkó has reconstructed Pelbartus' angelology, giving an impressive summary of Michael's prominent role in it as well.¹⁰⁷ Since the sermons are based on the knowledge of angels provided by the Bible, patristic and medieval theological conceptions, the article contains a short summary of the biblical and ecclesiastical angelology, including the medieval authors and the artistic representations. As the sermons make reference to visual arts as well, the article gives an outline of the angels' iconography, yet its most important contribution from the point of view of the present thesis is the summary of Pelbartus' angelology.

The latest sermon to be analyzed in the thesis is a close follower of Pelbartus but already a representative of the very late Middle Ages, the sixteenth century. It is the Saint Michael sermon of the codex Érdy, the greatest Hungarian collection of legends and also the longest extant Old Hungarian text.¹⁰⁸ The whole piece is the work of the very same hand, supposedly an unknown carthusian friar, finished around 1525, and with this it is the only textual source remained to us from the Hungarian Carthusians – “the voice of the voiceless friars.” The codex contains sermons for the whole year, and also legends of 90 main saints of the liturgical year, including Hungarian saints. The sermon itself begins with an Epistle and a passage from the Gospels. Then contemplating human weakness,

¹⁰⁷ Eszter Laczkó, “‘Angelus’ – Temesvári Pelbárt angyalokról szóló prédikációinak párhuzamos helyei,” (Angelus – Pelbartus de Themeswar's doctrine of angels), in *Plaustum seculi I. Tanulmányok régi prédikációirodalmunkról*, ed., Ildikó Bárczi (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004), 41-70. The text is a summary of Eszter Laczkó, “‘Angelus’ - középkori prédikációink párhuzamos helyei” (Angelus – Analogues in our medieval sermons.), MA thesis, (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2002) (hereafter: Laczkó, *Angelus*).

¹⁰⁸ *Érdy Codex*, Nyelvelmléktár 4-5 (Budapest, 1867); János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei* (The beginnings of Hungarian literacy) (Budapest, 1931); Tibor Klaniczay, *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* (The history of Hungarian literature until 1600) (Budapest, 1964), 143-145.; Imre Bán: *A Karthausi Névtelen Műveltsége* (The culture of the Unnamed Carthusian) (Budapest, 1976); Edit Madas, *A Néma Barát Megszólal. Válogatás a Karthauzi Névtelen beszédeiből* (The Silent Friar starts talking. Selections from the sermons of the Unnamed Carthusian) (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1985); and recently the internet edition <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/erdy-kodex/>, accessed 25.05.2007.

the sermon begins the approval of the activity of guardian angels as good reason for the angels' veneration. In the second point of the *divisio*, the sermon tells why Michael should be especially venerated among all angels: firstly because of being the prince of the synagogue, secondly because of his help to the chosen, which the codex again identifies in the victories over the devil. The list of Michael's victories as given by the codex Érdy follows Pelbartus' division with only one difference, that is the victory over the corpse of Moses being changed to the liberation from the Babylonian captivity. Further reasons for the special veneration of Michael are his duties at the Last Judgment, from which then the sermon goes on to close with the detailed analyses of the angelic hierarchy.

These sermons will serve as representatives of a very vast amount of material, the full coverage of which cannot be squeezed into the borders of the present work. Nevertheless, although not opening up considerable depth of the analyses, I will include references to further pieces of sermon literature I have met during the process of collecting source material.¹⁰⁹ Because of its far-reaching influence, James of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* should also not be excluded from the analyses of narrative sources as the text itself reached the country and made its influence upon sermon literature as well.¹¹⁰

Constituting a third genre, two pieces of Latin religious literature, namely the otherworld journey accounts of George Grissaphan (1353) and Lawrence of Tar (1411) also feature Michael. The protagonists of two accounts of otherworld journeys are supposed to have originated from Hungary. Driven by different motivations but seeking

¹⁰⁹ I have found a number of further sermon collections which did not contribute much to the topic of the present thesis, the encounters of Saint Michael and the devil, but contain *De angelis* sermons. Some of these were Franciscus de Maironis, *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (Basel 1498); Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (Augsburg, 1489); Petrus de Palude, *Sermones Theasuri novi de sanctis* (Strassburg, 1488); Iohannes Herolt, *Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis cum promptuario exemplorum* (Nuremberg, 1480).

¹¹⁰ Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*, 57.

the common aim of salvation, they both went on pilgrimage to the legendary Purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland, where they descended to its cave and together with it, entered the otherworld. Here they met Michael, who acted as their guide throughout the journey – or, more precisely, and this is what justifies the inclusion of these works in the thesis, in hell and purgatory, filled with active devils during the visit (as always). The literature of otherworld journeys is also abundant, and since the Hungarian pieces were connected to the Purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland, general works usually do not fail to mention them. Claude Carozzi¹¹¹ and Jérôme Baschet¹¹² made important contributions to the research on the written and pictorial tradition of otherworld visions and Jacques Le Goff's¹¹³ research on the emergence of the notion of purgatory is also not without relevance in this context. The Hungarian translation of the stories of the two Hungarian heroes, together with a valuable introductory study, was made by Sándor V. Kovács,¹¹⁴ and many recent works, like those of Annamária Bálint¹¹⁵ on the literary motifs in the stories and the recent work of Enikő Csukovits¹¹⁶ on medieval Hungarian pilgrims are also helpful.

Besides textual sources the primary sources of the present research include visual material, depictions which are relevant in the context of Saint Michael's confrontations with the forces of evil. Regarding church interior decorations, summarizing works of medieval Hungarian fresco and panel painting have already been made, beside a number

¹¹¹ Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà: d'après la littérature latine, Ve-XIIIe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994).

¹¹² Jérôme Baschet, *Les Justices de l'au-delà: les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie, XII-XVe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1993).

¹¹³ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

¹¹⁴ V. Kovács Sándor ed. *Tar Lőrinc pokoljárása*. (Lawrence of Tar wandering in Hell). Budapest, 1985.

¹¹⁵ Annamária Bálint, "The Visions of Georgius of Hungary and Laurentius de Tar," MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 1994).

¹¹⁶ Enikő Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* (Medieval Hungarian Pilgrims), *História könyvtár monográfiák* 20 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2003).

of studies aimed at the research of particular pieces. Among the former ones, still a most valuable publication is the two corpus of Dénes Radocsay on the medieval Hungarian fresco¹¹⁷ and panel¹¹⁸ painting, which I have also taken as starting points. Among works analyzing medieval Hungarian fresco painting, a recent study was made by Marie Lionnet on the iconography of the weighing of souls.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, it would be an act of daringness to intend to give general overview of other genres. For a better understanding of the iconography of Saint Michael in manuscript illumination more extensive comparative material would be required than what is available in the present state of Hungarian art history research. As opposed to wall and panel painting, a research project aiming at a catalogue of the iconography of the manuscripts of medieval Hungary has not been organized yet, though it would be of invaluable significance. The state of research is similar in case of stone carvings and seals, therefore the present paper makes not attempt to trace any general tendency in the iconography of this genres.

The greatest methodological challenge is the parallel examination of the two types of sources. The primary goal of the work is not to check whether any of the analyzed written sources actually served as direct sources of the visual material, but rather to investigate the presence and development of the notion of the warrior archangel in medieval Hungary and then compare the reception of these aspects as mirrored in textual and in visual sources. Dictated by the availability of the source material, the work is

¹¹⁷ Dénes Radocsay, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* (Frescoes in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 1977).

¹¹⁸ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* (Medieval Hungarian panels) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955).

¹¹⁹ Marie Lionnet, *Les peintures murales en Hongrie à la fin du moyen âge (v. 1300 – v.1475). La transmission des traditions iconographiques et les formes originales de leur appropriation locale sur deux thèmes majeurs: la Mère de Dieu et le Jugement Dernier*. Thèse en Histoire de l'art (Paris, Université Paris X - Nanterre, 2004).

focused on the late middle ages, a glance here and there at earlier times and at the Central European source material is only supposed to help put the later material into context.

III. ENCOUNTERS

1. WRESTLING WITH SATAN: THE DRAGON AND THE FALLEN ANGELS

As the chapter on the cult of the archangel already revealed, the fight of Michael with the evil forces manifested in several notions in the medieval mind, and this was not different in medieval Hungary either. In the followings I will first trace the ideas of the battles of Michael and the devil, that is the stories of the Fall of the Angels and the fight with the apocalyptic dragon. In the two stories the evil manifests itself in two different forms: in the first case it is represented by the rebelling angels, in the second by the dragon. Still, besides the fact that in both cases a literal fight can be witnessed between Saint Michael and the devil the other reason for examining the two notions together is their intertwining, traceable both in textual and in visual sources.

The textual base and thus the origin of the two stories show considerable differences. The apocalyptic dragon is introduced in the Book of Revelations 12:7-9

And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and they lost their place in heaven. The great dragon was hurled down—that ancient serpent called the devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray. He was hurled to the earth, and his angels with him.

The same dragon in Revelations 20:2 is also identified with Satan.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ “And I saw an angel coming down out of heaven, having the key to the Abyss and holding in his hand a great chain. He seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the devil, or Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. He threw him into the Abyss, and locked and sealed it over him, to keep him from deceiving the nations anymore until the thousand years were ended. After that, he must be set free for a short time,” Rev 20:1-3. For the dragon in hagiography see also Jacques Le Goff, “Ecclesiastical Culture and Folklore in the Middle Ages: Saint Marcellus of Paris and the Dragon,” in *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 159-188; Herman Lichtenberger, “The Down-Throw of the Dragon in Revelation 12 and the Down-Fall of God’s Enemy,” in Auffarth, *The Fall of*

The story of the Fall of the Angels, on the other hand, has no explicit Scriptural base, although certain passages might suggest metaphorical or prophetic allusions to the story.¹²¹ In the Scriptures, angels merely appear in the context of Satan's down-fall insofar as they are his army and are defeated together with him. The story occurs in its most complete form and in several versions in the apocrypha.¹²² Assigning the Fall of the Angels to the first day of creation complies with a long exegetic tradition fostered in the Western world and it was common in early scholasticism as well. One reason for the attractiveness of the story was the solution it offered for the problem of the origin of evil.¹²³

The popularity of the story must have been greatly increased by its inclusion in the *Legenda Aurea* in the chapter on the feast of Saint Michael. "It was he who fought with the dragon and his angels and expelled them from heaven, winning a great victory."¹²⁴ According to James of Voragine, the feast also celebrates the archangel's

the Angels, 119-147; Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia," *Gesta*, 43 (2004): 151-164.

¹²¹ For example 1 Enoch 10:1 ff., Isaiah 34:4, Genesis 6:1-4, 2 Peter 2:4. See Loren T. Stockenbruck, "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4 in the Second and Third Centuries B.C.E.," in Auffarth, *The Fall of the Angels*, 87-118. See also Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988) (hereafter: Russell, *The Prince*); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1987) (hereafter: Russell, *The Devil*).

¹²² H. E. Gaylord, "Baruch. Greek Apocalypse," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 653-679; M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, 249-295. (Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 249-275.). For seven versions of the story of the Fall of the Angels see Malcolm Godwin, *Angels. An Endangered Species* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 81-99.; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹²³ Christoph Auffarth, "The Invisible Made Visible: Glimpses of an Iconography of the Fall of the Angels," in Auffarth, *The Fall of the Angels*, 261-285.

¹²⁴ "Ipse cum dracone et angelis eius pugnauit et ipsos de celo eiciens uictoriam magnam fecit," Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, *Iacopo da Varazze: Legenda aurea. Edizione critica a cura* (Firenze, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998) (hereafter: Maggioni, *Legenda aurea*), 986. English translation from William Ryan, *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) (hereafter: Ryan, *The Golden Legend*), 201.

victories, among other things, and the battle with the rebelling angels and the apocalyptic dragon is the second one on his list of the battles:

The second victory was won by the archangel Michael when he drove the dragon, i.e., Lucifer, and all his followers out of heaven, a battle about which the Book of Revelation tells us: "There was a great battle in heaven. Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought with his angels, and they prevailed not." For when Lucifer wanted to be equal to God, the archangel Michael, standard-bearer of the celestial host, marched up and expelled Lucifer and his followers out of heaven, and shut them up in this dark air until the Day of Judgment. They are not allowed to live in heaven, or in the upper part of the air, because that is a bright and pleasant place, nor on the earth with us, lest they do us too much harm. They are in the air between heaven and earth, so that when they look up and see the glory they have lost, they grieve for it, and when they look down and see men ascending to the place from which they fell, they are often tormented with envy. However, by God's design they come down upon us to test us, and, as has been shown to some holy men, they fly around us like flies. They are innumerable, and, like flies, they fill the whole air. Hence Haymon says: "As philosophers have said and as our doctors agree, the air is as full of demons and wicked spirits as a ray of sunlight with specks of dust." Still, innumerable as they are, Origen is of the opinion that their numbers lessen when we conquer them, with the result that when one of them is defeated by a holy man, the tempter can no longer tempt that man to fall into the vice into which he had failed to draw him.¹²⁵

A crucial interlacing of the two stories can be witnessed in the text of the Legend, as Voragine interpreted the slaying of the apocalyptic dragon as a reference to the Fall of the

¹²⁵ "Secunda uictoria est quam Michael archangelus obtinuit quando draconem, id est Luciferum, cum omnibus suis sequacibus de cello expulit. De quo exponitur illud quod habetur Apoc. XII: 'Factum est prelium, Michael etc.' Cum enim Lucifer dei equalitatem appetisset, archangelus Michael celestis exercitus signifer adueniens ipsum Luciferum cum suis sequacibus de celo expulit et in hunc aerem caliginosum usque ad diem iudicii retrusit. Non enim permissum est eis habitare in celo siue in superiori parte aeris, quia locus clarus et amenus est, nec in terra nobiscum, ne nimis nos infestarent, sed in aere inter celum et terram ut dum superius respiciunt et uident gloriam quam amiserunt inde dolorem habeant et cum inferius conspiciunt et uident homines illuc ascendere unde ipsi cederunt inde inuidia torqueantur. Frequenter tamen ex diuina dispensatione ad nostrum exercitium ad nos descendunt unde, sicut aliquibus uiris sanctis monstratum est, frequenter circa nos uolitant sicut musce. Innumerabiles enim sunt et uelut musce totum aerem repleuerunt. Vnde dicit Haymo: 'Vt philosophi dixerunt et doctores nostri opinantur, aer iste ita plenus est demonibus et malignis spiritibus, sicut radius solis minutissimis puluisculis'. Licet autem tot sint, tamen iuxta sententiam Origenis eorum exercitus minuimus cum eos uincimus ita ut qui ab aliquo sancto uiro uictus fuerit deinceps ille de illo uitio de quo uictus est ipsum non ualeat temptare." Maggioni, *Legenda aurea*, 992-993, English translation from Ryan, *The Golden Legend*, 205.

Angels. At the same time, the Legend opens up other possible interpretations of the passage as well. The fourth one among the victories of Michael is the one the archangel is to win over the Antichrist:

This fight and this victory are understood, according to Gregory, as referring to the text in Revelation mentioned above: ‘There was a great battle in heaven, etc.’ And what is said about Michael’s threefold battle is understood as referring inclusively to the fight he had with Lucifer when he expelled him from heaven, the one with the demons to keep them from doing us too much harm on earth, and the one we are talking about here – the battle with the Antichrist at the end of the world.¹²⁶

So the Legend, referring to Gregory the Great, says that the passage can be interpreted in three ways, referring either to the past, to the present or to the future. James of Voragine, at the same time, joined those who set the time of the Fall of the Angels to the past.

WRESTLING IN WORDS

In the followings I am going to analyze the theme of Saint Michael’s two battles with Satan in late medieval sermons. A Hungarian Dominican sermon collection, the so-called “Pécs University Sermons” in the second half of the thirteenth century,¹²⁷ does not deal abundantly with the story of the Fall of the Angels yet.¹²⁸ The only reference it makes is supposed to demonstrate the angels’ strength. The unknown author derived the story not from the Revelations passage but from the Book of Judges 5:20: “From the

¹²⁶ “De quo prelio et uictoria intelligitur secundum Gregorium illud quod dicitur Apoc. XII: ‘Factum est prelium in celo, Michael etc.’ Illud enim uerbum de triplici prelio Michaelis exponitur, scilicet de prelio uod habuit cum Lucifero cum ipsum de celo expulit et de prelio quod habet cum demmoonibus no infestantibus et de isto,” Maggioni, *Legenda aurea*, 994, English translation from Ryan, *The Golden Legend*, 206.

¹²⁷ Edit Madas, “A Dominican Sermon Collection” *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 6 (1996): 193-199.

¹²⁸ “Habent eciam fortitudinem in pagnarum strenuitate. Et quo ad hoc dicitur: militum eius. Militant autem Deo multipliciter. ... Secundo, aereas expugnando potestates. Iudi. V^o: Stelle, id est angeli, pugnaverunt contra Sisaram, id est Luciferum. Gregorius in Moralibus: Angelicos spiritus Dei milites decimus, quia eos decertare contra aereas potestates scimus,” Eduardus Petrovich and Paulus Ladislaus Timkovich, ed., *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum Series nove 14 (Budapest: Akadémia Publishers – Argumentum, 1993), 261; Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*, 127-151.

heavens the stars fought, from their courses they fought against Sisera.” Chapters 4 and 5 of the Book of Judges tell the story of Deborah, a prophetess, also the fourth Judge and the only female Judge of pre-monarchic Israel. The account in Judges 4 is a narrative, relating the victory of Israelite forces led by Barak, whom Deborah called forth but prophesied would not achieve the final victory over the Canaanite warlord Sisera. Sisera was killed by Jael, wife of the Kenite tentmaker Heber, who drove a tent peg through his head as he slept. Judges 5, whence our Dominican sermon derives the Fall of the Angels, gives Deborah’s story in a poetic form, called the *Song of Deborah*. In the sermon’s interpretation, Sisera refers to Lucifer and the stars refer to the faithful angels. The sermon does not highlight, actually does not even mention Michael’s personal virtues in the fight. The emphasis is on angelic strength in general, and Michael’s name is not even mentioned in this context, which is a general tendency in the three *De angelis* pieces among the Pécs University Sermons. They talk about angels in general and only here and there direct spotlight onto the three biblical angels, among them Michael.

The sermons of Peregrinus de Opole are representatives of the Dominican tradition in the first half of the fourteenth century, as shaped by James of Voragine. As opposed to the “Pécs University sermon”, instead of referring to the Book of Judges Peregrinus follows the *Legenda Aurea* in interpreting the Revelations story of the fight with the dragon as a reference to the fallen angels. At the same time, Peregrinus talks about the Fall of the Angels in context of the angels’ strength, as the “Pécs University sermon” also did, yet the personality of Michael now is a central theme. Half of the piece elaborates exclusively on the archangel’s earthly and heavenly activities. For Peregrinus, Michael’s outstanding strength is one of the reasons for his veneration above all other

angels, and the fact that he was able to cast out the most powerful Lucifer from Heaven is the first sign demonstrating Michael's strength. Peregrinus, however, does not attribute the victory to Michael alone but notes that it happened with the help of Christ.¹²⁹

In the end of the fifteenth century with the Observant Franciscan Pelbartus de Themeswar Michael's role in the angelic war becomes even more prominent. Among Pelbartus' four *De angelis* sermons, three chose an approach similar to that of the Pécs University Sermons in talking about angels in general, while sermon nr. 68 is, similarly to Peregrinus' piece, dedicated to the detailed description of Saint Michael. This is also the sermon which elaborates more in detail on the Fall of the Angels and explores depths so far unknown to us.¹³⁰ According to the sermon, the three biblical angels are given special tasks and privileges by God. As Gabriel is commissioned to reveal secrets and Raphael is commissioned to heal, Michael's first and foremost task is to win battles and wars. Pelbartus lists five past and future victories of the archangel: the one in Heaven against the dragon, the liberation of Israel in Egypt, the debate with the devil in the desert for Moses' corps, the defence of the believers, and the defeat of the Antichrist. Then Pelbartus goes on to the details of the first fight, and he again equals the Revelations' story with the Fall of the Angels.

A novelty of Pelbartus', as opposed to the previously analyzed sermons, is the practicality with which he approaches the story in three questions. First, what kind of

¹²⁹ "In quibus verbis commendatur sanctus Michael. Quia ergo fortis est, | debemus eum et omnes angelos rogare, ut nos defendant ab hostibus mentis et corporis et animae. Quod autem fortis sit, apparet in hoc, quod ipse Luciferum potentissimum pugnando cum Christo deiecit de caelo. Secundum, quod Ioannes vidit in Apocalypsi [12, 7]: „Factum est proelium magnum in caelo: Michael and angeli eius; et non valuerunt, neque inventus est locus eorum amplius in caelo". Ipse etiam antichristum, qui subiugavit sibi totum mundum, interficiet et hoc iussu Domini," Richardus Tatarzyński, ed., *Peregrini de Opole Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis*, Studia 'Przeglądu Tomistycznego' 1 (Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum, 1997), 511-515.

¹³⁰ See Appendix 1.

fight was going on between the good and the bad angels? In Pelbartus' interpretation, it was a spiritual fight and a spiritual victory, which can be compared to the problem of conflicting will inside the human soul. Pelbartus concludes that similarly to the bad angels, bad will cannot prevail. Although Michael's personal virtues are highlighted in his storytelling, Pelbartus also does not attribute the victory exclusively to the archangel. Nevertheless, instead of the outspoken help of God (*cum Deo*) here we only find that he was authorized by the will of God (*Deo volente*). As the good angels, together with Michael expelled the bad ones by Gods will, they grew stronger. We also find here the notion that previously Lucifer was pre-eminent of the all angels, including logically Michael. Pelbartus' second practical question is where did the fallen angels fall from heaven? In the answer, he again follows the *Legenda Aurea*, saying they were expelled to the air, which he calls dark air (*aer caliginosus*), and here the demons are close enough to the people to tempt us. Thirdly, again similarly to the Legend, Pelbartus contemplates the headcount of the opposing forces. He concludes that the devils are indeed of a great number, their number could be compared to the dust in the air, and still it is not possible for them to defeat the good angels who are even greater in number, incomparably more indeed. Nevertheless, a sad consequence of the abundance of demons is that besides individuals, regions, towns and all other settlements also have a bad angel beside the guardian angel, who is always tempting them.

The Fall of the Angels story also provided an occasion for Pelbartus to comment on the angelic and demonic hierarchy and to define Michael's place in the former one.¹³¹ Talking about the angelic providence over humans, Pelbartus makes it clear that Michael

¹³¹ See Appendix 1.

is the leader of the heavenly army. But what do members of the choir of Powers¹³² do then, whose general task is to provide protection against the demons? Pelbartus solves the ambivalence by saying that the Powers' task is to keep demons away, not to hurt them, and adds that Michael is the leader (*princeps*) of the Powers on the basis of the Revelations passage on the slaying of the dragon. As Lucifer, designated by the expression 'dragon', is the highest chief (*principalissimus*) among the enemies of the Church, Michael is the highest chief (*principalissimus*) among the defenders of the Church. Pelbartus concludes that being the leader, Michael deserves special veneration among all the angels.

The sermon of the codex Érdy¹³³ from the 1520s shows a considerable similarity to Pelbartus' piece in equalling the Fall of the Angels story with the Revelations passage and identifying the dragon with Lucifer. Yet it gives fresh screws to the interpretation. One novelty is that here the fight with the evil angels is not to demonstrate particularly the archangel's or in generally the angels' strength, but to demonstrate that Michael helps the chosen in a number of ways, i.e. ways other angels do not and this is the reason to venerate Michael above all his colleagues.

The other new notion in the codex, as opposed to the previously analyzed sermons, is that it integrates the question of the beginnings of the angelic hierarchy to this event and says that the Fall of the Angels was the point when differences came to being between the individual angels. The codex, referring to unspecified Scriptural parts, states that all the nine choirs were represented among the fallen angels. Therefore, it concludes, the angels were not equal by that time and therefore the choirs also could not have been

¹³² A reference to Dionysios the Areopagite's division, see footnote 27 in chapter I.

¹³³ See Appendix 2.

separated, the angels did not even have individual names yet. Nevertheless, they had a prince in the person of Lucifer. He was placed closer to God than any other angel and he commanded everything according to his own will. Still, the sermon goes on, Lucifer was unsatisfied with his position, denied all respect from God, and because of this he was cast out from his place and position. In denoting the sin of the fallen angels the codex follows Bernard of Clairvaux, saying it was lack of respect and disobedience.¹³⁴ The rebellion of Lucifer was the point when the differentiation of the good and bad angels, i.e. those faithful to God and those seceded from God, began. In further points of comments the codex notes that the nature given at the creation to everybody, including the angels, cannot be ruined neither developed. All the angels had free will as well as humans do and they chose the bad by their own free will. To the good angels, God has given a special kind of grace and strengthened them in the glory of not being able to turn away from Him. At the same time, God let the fallen angels grow strong in evil. Similarly, when humans die the blessed will be strengthened in the heavenly blessing of not being able to sin any more, while the sufferings of the damned will similarly be just ever growing. From here the sermon goes on to the description of the orders and choirs of angels.

¹³⁴ Bernard's most extensive sustained treatment of the angelic nature occurs in his book of advice to Pope Eugenius III, *On Consideration*, 5.3. through 5.5.12, see *Bernard of Clairvaux: Five books on consideration: Advice to a Pope*, tr., John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan (Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1976.) For a discussion of Bernard's angelology, see Edmond Boissard, "La Doctrine des Anges chez S. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard, Théologien* (Rome, 1953), 114-135.

As in the sermons the Fall of the Angels story shows a considerable interlace with the defeat of the Apocalyptic dragon, the iconography of the two scenes was not fully separated either in medieval Hungary. As I have already referred to in chapter I. speaking about the archangel's iconography, while the dragon slaying is one of Saint Michael's most common iconographic type, the Fall of the Angels scene is much more rare. Luckily, nevertheless, in medieval Hungary both scenes survived. The slaying of the dragon often makes up a separate composition, as is the case with Hungary as well. Within the dragon-



Figure 1

*Saint Michael the dragon slayer and
Saint Lawrence.*

Fresco, Almăkerék (Malancrav, Romania)

slayer type two main subtypes can be differentiated: either the fight is just going on or Michael is standing on the defeated dragon.¹³⁵ The Hungarian representations are closer to the second one, typically depicting the archangel standing on the back of the dragon and piercing through its throat with a lance.

I know about only one fresco representation of this scene survived from medieval Hungary, namely the one in the Virgin Mary church of Almăkerék (Malancrav, Romania).¹³⁶ The fight of the archangel

¹³⁵ Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome, Herder, 1990) (hereafter: Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*), 260.

¹³⁶ Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* (Architecture of Transylvania in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries) (Cluj, 1996), 54; Anca Gogăltan and Dóra Sallay, "The Church of Mălăncrav and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa," in *Arhitecture religioasă medievală din Transilvania II*, ed. Adrian Rusu and Péter Levente Szöcs (Satu Mare: publisher, 2002), 181-210; Anca Gogăltan, "Patronage and

and the dragon appears in the sanctuary, in the uppermost register of the southern wall, right next to Saint George killing his own dragon. Michael is wearing a mantle and he is piercing through the throat of the dragon under his feet with a lance held in both hands. The scene is represented against an architectural background, with Michael standing in the middle of three vaulted niches, with his open wings spreading into the lateral niches. The fresco is dated to the last decade of the fourteenth century. The Almakerék decoration as a whole shows traces of northern Italian influence, introduced supposedly by Bohemian masters working in northern Italy at the end of the fourteenth century¹³⁷ and

Figure 2

*Saint Michael the dragon slayer.
Panel, Almakerék (Malancrav,
Romania)*



Saint Michael's iconography only strengthens this supposition. As it was demonstrated in chapter I. on the archangel's cult, this iconographical type is more typical of the southern painting, and this being the only extant fresco of the dragon slayer Saint Michael suggests that the Almakerék master could not have followed local traditions.

Almakerék also provides an example for a panel representation of the scene, again the only one I know about in medieval Hungary. The iconographic program of the church interior originated from the patrons of the church, the Apafi family. Miklós Apafi, in his last will of 1447, nominated his grandson Mihály (1440-1469),

whose name translates as Michael, as his sole heir. Mihály Apafi and his wife, Klára,

Artistic Production in Transylvania: The Apafis and the Church in Malancrav (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)," Ph.D. Thesis (Budapest, Central European University, 2003).

¹³⁷ Lionnet, *Les peintures murales*, 424.

commissioned the Virgin Mary altar of the church around 1460 from a master whose name is yet unknown. Saint Michael appears twice in this altar's pictorial program. In the middle panel the archangel and Saint Clare of Assisi appear at the feet of Mary. They are praying for the care of the Virgin for Mihály Apafi and his wife, rendered as small figures beside the two saints. On the left wing of the altar Michael is depicted as the slayer of the dragon. His position is similar to the one seen on the fresco but now the archangel is depicted in full armory under his mantle. He is placed again beside Saint George killing his own dragon on the right wing: not only the two saints' appearance but their actions and bodily positions are also similar.

Personal motivations could well have played a role in the formation of the iconographic program in Almakerék. It is possible that when Mihály Apafi became the owner of the family's estates the cult of Saint Michael intensified in the region and Saint George has been chosen as his pair on the opposite altar wing merely for compositional reasons. Nevertheless, the parallel of the two dragon-slayer saints might well have been conceptual as well as compositional, taking into consideration their double pairing in the church. The pictorial decoration of Almakerék is relatively well preserved. The condition of the paintings allows for the conclusion that the weighing of souls, as well as the Last Judgment, was never part of the original decoration and other eschatological scenes similarly were not. In other words, this pictorial program focused less upon the eschatological profile of Michael's cult, spotlight fell rather on the warrior quality.

Other genres also provide visual evidence for the medieval Hungarian notion of dragon slaying in the archangel's cult. In manuscript decoration, a fine example can be

found in the *Antiphonal of Istanbul* (f. 235v.).¹³⁸ Since its discovery in 1984, the medieval history of this manuscript is still obscure, but the Hungarian origin is proved on the basis of the liturgical content and the iconography, and the musical notation also suggests that the manuscript was executed in Hungary.¹³⁹ Here an S-initial depicts



Figure 3
Saint Michael the dragon slayer
Antiphonal of Istanbul fol. 235v

Michael again standing on the defeated dragon and thrusting a lance into its throat. A novel feature compared to the previously listed representations is a little cross in the angel's left hand. Besides the iconography, stylistic features of the manuscript also call Italy into mind. The codex is regarded as a possible mediator between Bolognese manuscripts produced in the second quarter of the fourteenth century or the Hungarian court and

aristocracy, and the *Illuminated Chronicle*; and is dated on the basis of the latter one to the second half of the 1350s the earliest.¹⁴⁰

The tympanum relief of the western portal of the Saint Michael church in Kolozsvár (Cluj, Klausenburg), dated to the 1430s, is a representative of the few relieves of the dragon slayer Saint Michael.¹⁴¹ Here the only significant iconographical difference

¹³⁸ Tünde Wehli, "Az 'Isztambuli Antifonále' iniciáléi" (The Initials of the Antiphonal of Istanbul) *Ars Hungarica* 16 (1989): 103-110; Janka Szendrei, *The Istanbul Antiphonal. Facsimile edition with studies* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999) (hereafter: Szendrei, *The Istanbul Antiphonal*); Béla Zsolt Szakács, "From *imago* to *historia*: the initials of the Istanbul Antiphonal," *Acta Historiae Artium* 44 (2003): 35-45.

¹³⁹ Janka Szendrei, "History of research," in Szendrei, *The Istanbul Antiphonal*, 61.

¹⁴⁰ Tünde Wehli, "The place of the codex in the history of arts," in Szendrei, *The Istanbul Antiphonal*, 21-26.

¹⁴¹ Marosi, Ernő, Beke, László, *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül* (The Art of Hungary around 1300-1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 561 ff. and 689 ff.; Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16.*

from the previous representations is the archangel's frontal position, which allows for the wings to follow the lines of the tympanum's tracery. The dragon slayer type was also preferred in a group of seals. In the seals of the Veszprém bishops Michael was the central figure from the first half until the end of the fourteenth century, including the stamps of bishop Meskó (1334-1344), János Garai (1346-1357), and Demeter Jánki

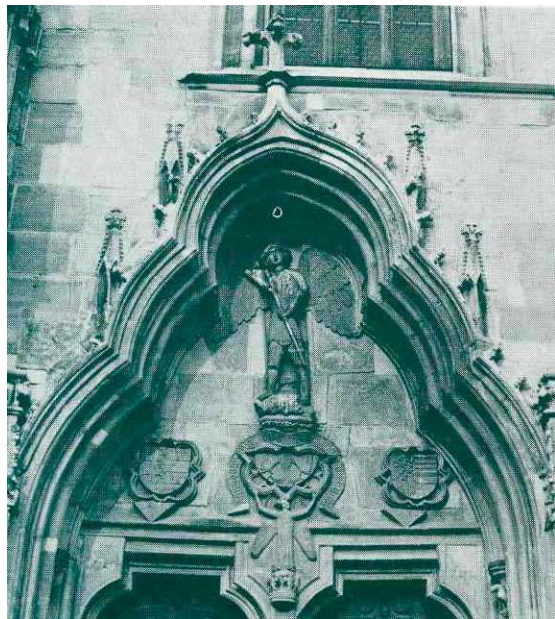


Figure 4
Saint Michael the dragon slayer
 Tympanum relief of the western portal
 Cluj, Saint Michael church

(1387-91). A reason for the choice might have been the fact that king Stephen I. consecrated the Veszprém cathedral to Saint Michael and the archangel was the patron saint of the bishopric as well. In all of these cases Michael is depicted in the similar Italian-type position: piercing the throat of the dragon under his feet with a lance held in both hands.¹⁴²

So far we have seen that medieval

Hungarian depictions of the slaying of the

Apocalyptic dragon was separated from the Fall of the Angels scene. Nevertheless, a fresco decorating a chapel in Barcaszentpéter (Sînpetru, Romania) demonstrates the intervening of the two stories in pictorial tradition.¹⁴³ The village was founded by the

században: Kolozsvár, (The architecture of Transylvania in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) (Cluj: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996); Matthew Palmer, "A tendentious plan: towards an understanding of St Michael's Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)," *Acta historiae artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40 (1998): 1-39.

¹⁴² András Hegedűs, Pál Lövei, Imre Takács, László Veszprémy, and Tünde Wehli, *Megpecsételt történelem: középkori pecsétek Esztergomból* (History sealed: medieval seals from Esztergom) (Esztergom: Prímási Levéltár, 2000), 18-25 and cat.no. 38, 45, 56, 65.

¹⁴³ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I* (Historical geography of historical Hungary I) (Budapest, 1963), 831-832; Mária Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East*

Teutonic knights and the earliest mention of a three-aisled, basilica-type church, dedicated to Saint Peter, is in 1240, when Béla IV donated its income to the Cistercians. In the fifteenth century the church was turned into a fortress and a bastion was built around the square-shaped, vaulted chapel northeast of the church, preserving a Fall of the Angels scene.



Figure 5

Fall of the Angels

Barcaszentpéter (Sinpetru, Romania)

divided into two parts. On the left, three angels can be seen with the smaller, lateral ones clothed in white holding a sword in each hand. The angel in the middle is twice as tall as they are. He is standing on a raised place, wearing colorful clothes and has a halo. His hands are outspread and he is also holding a sword in the left hand. Right next to his left hand, on the right side of the field, an anthropomorphic figure is depicted falling, upside down. He is naked, brown, has a tail, and his size is roughly equivalent to that of the

The paintings decorating three of the four side walls of the chapel are dated to the second half of the fourteenth century¹⁴⁴ or later.¹⁴⁵ The Fall of the Angels is depicted on the west wall, above the original entrance, in the uppermost triangular field of the triumphal arch. The triangular field is

Central Europe Particularly Hungary (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983) (hereafter: Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*), 142-143; Csaba Csorba and Endre Marosi and András Firon, *Vártúrák kalauza III. Vártúrák Csehszlovákiában és Romániában* (Handbook for castle tours III. Tours in castles of Czechoslovakia and Romania) (Budapest, 1983), 522; Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században* (The architecture of Transylvania in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries) (Cluj: publisher, 1994), 77; Zoltán Gaali, *A székely ősvárak II* (The oldest castles of the Szekelys II) (Budapest: publisher, 1993), 268-272; Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen* (Heidelberg: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1999) (hereafter: Fabini, *Atlas*), 552-556.

¹⁴⁴ Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 143.

¹⁴⁵ Hermann Fabini dates the building of the chapel to c. 1400, Fabini, *Atlas*, 555.

middle angel. Immediately above the arch the following is written in minuscule: “*St Michael et Angeli eius proechibantur cum dracone et draco pugnabat ... et non inventus est locus eorum amplius in coelo. Domino gratias*”¹⁴⁶ – parts of the Revelation passage 12:7-9, telling Michael and his angels’ fight with the apocalyptic dragon, well-known from the sermons. The middle angel, therefore, might well be identified as Saint Michael, the figure falling as his enemy, Satan, and the whole scene as the Fall of the Angels, more precisely the fall of Satan from Heaven. The composition shows the interweaving of the two stories, the tendency already treaced in the sermons, since although the inscription follows the Revelations’ text about the dragon, the fresco depicts no dragon at all.

It is exactly the figure of the devil, more precisely not any devil but Satan himself, which makes the iconography of the Hungarian scene special. Representations of the Fall of the Angels usually make up larger *historia* type compositions, depicting several other fallen or not fallen angels as subsidiary figures besides Michael and Satan. In the general iconography of the scenes, the slaying of the dragon might be part of the Fall of the Angels scene.¹⁴⁷ The Apocalypse scene of a c. 1320 Norman manuscript of the Metropolitan Museum, for instance, depicts not only Michael as fighting with a large, six-headed winged dragon but also all his angelic colleagues fighting with similar, though smaller and simpler dragons and not with other angels as the Scriptures say.¹⁴⁸ The emphasis in our case on the figure of Satan is quite unusual, as normally not one big scale figure of Satan, but several, smaller scale angels are depicted falling.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ As read by Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 142.

¹⁴⁷ For the iconography of the scene see Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 642 ff.; Baschet, *Les Justices*, 255-260; Christoph Auffarth, “The Invisible Made Visible: Glimpses of an Iconography of the Fall of the Angels,” in Auffarth, *The Fall of the Angels*, 261-285.

¹⁴⁸ See Nancy Grubb, *Engler i Kunsten* (Angels in art) (Oslo, Farsythia, 1996), 102.

¹⁴⁹ Baschet, *Les Justices*, 255.

The Fall of the Angels is often paralleled, also in compositions, with the Last Judgment as the first and the last punishments of God.¹⁵⁰ The scene is a rare topic of monumental art, the great majority of medieval examples decorate illuminated codices, which in itself makes the Hungarian fresco again a special piece. In those rare cases when the scene appears in church interior decoration, it tends to be part of Creation cycles.¹⁵¹ Taking into consideration that the scene is represented in Barcaszentpéter on a triumphal arch and on the west wall, both traditional places of the Last Judgement, it might well have borne eschatological implications for the medieval audience.

A further example for the Fall of the Angels scene in monumental art is a fresco in a chapel of the Saint Julien church in Brioude, France, dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the French chapel is dedicated to Saint Michael.¹⁵² In the Hungarian chapel, Saint Michael appears in one more role besides the Fall of the Angels scene. On the northern wall the Holy Mass is depicted, and right beside it, the archangel is weighing souls.¹⁵³ He is actually the only figure depicted twice in the small chapel, which might, in my opinion, together with the Fall of the Angels fresco and the archangel's prominent role both in the scene and the inscription beneath, signal that the Barcaszentpéter chapel originally functioned as a funerary chapel, dedicated to Saint Michael as the medieval patron saint of *ars moriendi*.

¹⁵⁰ For example, the *Très Riches Heures* of the Limbourg brothers, Luca Signorelli's Last Judgment cycle in the S. Brizio chapel in Orvieto, or the Vienna Last Judgment of Hieronymus Bosch, Eörsi, *From the Expulsion to the Enchaining of the Devil*, 123-159.

¹⁵¹ Baschet, *Les Justices*, 255.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 258 note 90.

¹⁵³ The scene of the Holy Mass represents the Eucharist and thus might be connected to the weighing of souls, inasmuch as the result of taking the Eucharist is supposed to add to the positive inclination of the divine scales, weighing the good and bad deeds of the soul after death. Fresco representations of the Holy Mass are also quite rare. In the sanctuary of the church in Velemér, nevertheless, liturgical objects are painted as kept in a niche of the wall and again, right in the neighbouring scene is Saint Michael weighing the souls, Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 142.

2. DISPUTE AT THE DEATHBED: ARS MORIENDI

One basis of denoting Saint Michael as the medieval saint of death and patron of the *moriens* was the Book of Jude verse 9: "... the archangel Michael, when he was disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, did not dare to bring a slanderous accusation against him, but said, 'The Lord rebuke you!'" According to Jewish traditions, Moses was buried by Michael in an unknown place in order to prevent the body from becoming a subject of idolatry, and this is supposed to have been the reason why the devil, usually satisfied with taking the soul, was also interested in the body in this case.¹⁵⁴ The debate over the corpse is also included in the *Legenda Aurea*: "He [Michael] fought with the devil over the body of Moses, because the devil wanted to keep the body hidden so that the Jewish people might adore Moses in place of the true God."¹⁵⁵ The archangel seemed to be a proper person to turn to in the moment of death, and the same was implied by his apocryphal roles, as told in Chapter II. He became the angelic defender simultaneously of the soul (referring to the apocalyptic dragon in Revelations 12:7) and the body (the debate over the body of Moses in Jude 9),¹⁵⁶ and the angelic debate with the devil was often portrayed in ecclesiastical contexts. Nevertheless, the presentation of this encounter changed both in written and visual tradition as the interest shifted from the Last Judgment to private judgments, from the fate of pious Christians in general to the fate of the individual.

¹⁵⁴ Szilárdfy, *Adalékok*, 127.

¹⁵⁵ "Ipse cum dyabolo de Moysi corpore altercatus est ex eo quod dyabolus eius corpus prodere uellet ut ipsum pro deo Iudeorum populus adoraret," Maggioni, *Legenda aurea*, 986. English translation from Ryan, *The Golden Legend*, 201.

¹⁵⁶ Szilárdfy, *Adalékok*, 127.

LAST JUDGMENT

WRITTEN VS. PICTORIAL TRADITION

According to the tradition, Saint Michael will be rather busy on the Doom Day. Legends and sermons give a whole list of manifold roles the archangel is supposed to perform when the time comes.¹⁵⁷ Of course, the devil will also not be bored but what is interesting for us is their encounters in the context of the Last Judgment. Is there anything else the devil is engaged in at the Last Judgment besides grasping the poor damned? As far as the iconography can tell, he did not change much since the Fall of the Angels: as he was greedy for power then, now he is the same greedy now for souls. Consequently, the archangel's tasks include the defense of the blessed soul from the evil forces wanting to acquire it, this time in 'illegal' ways (inasmuch as anything else could be said about the devil). Regarding the details of this encounter of the archangel and the devils, the textual tradition is, however, less revealing than the pictorial one.

An explicit rendering of the fight between Saint Michael and the devils for the dead souls occurs in scenes of the weighing of souls or *psychostasis*.¹⁵⁸ The weighing of souls is the moment when the Christian God of love turns into the Divine Judge and starts performing justice. The *psychostasis* as part of the Last Judgment scenes began to spread

¹⁵⁷ Seep Appendices.

¹⁵⁸ On the iconography of the Last Judgment see, recently, Yves Christe, *Jugements derniers* (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 1999); Yves Christe, *Il giudizio universale nell'arte del medioevo* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2000); Martin Zlatohlávek, Christian Räscher, and Claudia Müller-Ebeling, *Das Jüngste Gericht: Fresken, Bilder und Gemälde* (Düsseldorf: Benziger, 2001); Marcello Angheben, *Alfa e Omega: il giudizio universale tra oriente e occidente* (Bologna: ITACA, 2006). Particularly on the iconography of the *psychostasis* see Mary Phillips Perry, "On the Psychostasis in Christian Art I," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22 (1913): 94-104; Mary Phillips Perry, "On the Psychostasis in Christian Art II," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 23 (1913): 208-218 (hereafter: Perry, *Psychostasis*).

in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁵⁹ A *Deesis* was first added to the *Maiestas Domini* as the central component; then scenes of the resurrecting souls; and later also the final stations of Judgment, Heaven and Hell. Throughout this development, the central motif of the whole scene has remained the act of judgment,¹⁶⁰ which already in Egyptian and Greek art was carried out in the presence of gods. Christian theology did not make any difference here.¹⁶¹ Still, in the center of Last Judgment compositions, always of paramount importance in the history of painting, not the Lord, but Archangel Michael appears, weighing the good and bad deeds of souls, as a result of which archangel Michael has come to be the second most important person of the scene after Christ.¹⁶² It was also expressed by his typical position in the middle, right underneath Christ¹⁶³ Besides the dragon slayer, it is the most common iconographical type of the archangel, despite the fact that the role is attributed to him not by text but by tradition.¹⁶⁴

In the followings I would like to argue that this might be a reason why medieval Hungarian sermons seem to be hesitant when trying to give an exact reference to the Scriptural source of the tradition of associating Saint Michael with the weighing of souls. The tradition was clearly living in Hungary. Pelbartus de Themeswar¹⁶⁵ referred to Saint Bernard when saying that the good and the bad angels come together in the moment of

¹⁵⁹ Künstle, *Ikonographie*, 538.

¹⁶⁰ Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 94.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁶² Mâle, *Religious Art*, 50.

¹⁶³ Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 96.

¹⁶⁴ Olga Raggio, "Andrea della Robbia's Saint Michael Lunette," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 20, No. 4 (1961): 135-144. Raggio also claims that the origin of the association comes from artistic traditions but does not elaborate either on the details or on the development of the process.

¹⁶⁵ "Tertium privilegium est ponderandi officium habere, ut patet in picturis, quae sunt libri laicorum. Unde Bernardus in Dial. dicit: *In puncto separationis animae a corpore obseratis corporis sensibus angeli boni et mali conveniunt, qui omnia bona et mala hominis opera ad memoriam revocant ita, quod statim iudicet Dominus omnia sua merita vel demerita. Tunc itaque Michael per se vel per suos angelos ponderat in statera iustitiae divinae merita animarum et vacuas bonis mittit in infernum, plenas autem charitate et perfectas ducit in caelum. Semiplenas mittit in purgatorium, ut satisfaciant,*" Laczkó, *Angelus*, 41.

the separation of the soul from the body. They recall all good and bad deeds of the soul and then either Michael or his angels weigh in the scales of the divine justice the merits of the soul and send him or her either to heaven, hell, or purgatory, according to the merits. So although Bernard¹⁶⁶ did not give this role exclusively to Michael, Pelbartus in the fifteenth century already regards it as the third privilege of Michael, on the basis of which Michael should be venerated above all other angels. The codex Érdy¹⁶⁷ develops a similar attitude. Its third reason for the archangel's special veneration is the fact that the *psychostasis* is his task. Neither the sermo of the Érdy codex, nor that of Pelbartus contains any reference to the source of the association of the task particularly with Saint Michael. Pelbartus gives, nevertheless, a strange reference that can be found in other contemporary sermons¹⁶⁸ as well: *Tertium privilegium [Michaelis] est ponderandi officium habere ut patet in picturis quae sunt libris laicorum*. I suppose the reason of the strange, out of context reference to the 'books of the laics' might be a reference to the pictorial tradition, to the book illustrations.

Although the metaphor of weighing has been used by Christian writers since the fourth century in context of the Last Judgment,¹⁶⁹ the Scriptures make no explicit connection between Archangel Michael and the weighing of souls. It makes only vague mention even of the act itself. Job 31:6 "Let me be weighed in an even balance, That God may know mine integrity" allows for the association of weighing with divine judgment, but gives no details of the scene whatsoever. To this, Daniel 5:27 "...thou art weighed in

¹⁶⁶ See footnote 136.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 2.

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Iohannes Herolt, *Sermones discipuli de tempore et desanctis cum promptuario exemplorum, et de miraculis beatae Mariae virginis* (Nürnberg, 1480) sermon no. 38; Michael Lochmaier, *Sermones de sanctis. Cum sermonibus XXIII Pauli Wann annexis* (The Hague, 1497), sermon no. 85).

¹⁶⁹ Perry, *Psychostasis I.*, 103-104.

the balances, and art found wanting” adds the notion that good deeds can make the soul heavy in the divine scales, but give no reason for putting the scales into the hand of an angel, particularly Michael. The apocrypha are not more informative. In the *Testament of Abraham* the weighing of souls is indeed the task of an angel, but this angel is called Dokiël and not Michael. Moreover, the name Dokiël (*dôqî’el*) does not appear anywhere else in the apocrypha and the Hebrew word *dôqî’el* translates as “the exact measurement of God,”¹⁷⁰ which makes it unclear whether the text refers to a particular angel or just to the task he performs. It is also worth noting that neither the Scriptural references nor the Apocrypha make any connection between the *psychostasis* and the Last Judgment.

Still, the scales with the good and bad deeds of the dead soul usually identified by two little human figures¹⁷¹ have become a key attribute of Saint Michael, so much that the archangel also appears with them in representations out of the context of the Last Judgment. Although present-day art history research has not managed to come up with a satisfactory explanation for this yet, ideas and different approaches are not small in number. The simplest one is that since in Greek art and mythology the weighing was performed by Hermes, Michael simply “inherited” this task from him, similarly to many others, as Hermes was also the Greek *susceptor animarum* and the main messenger of Zeus.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha I.*, 890, note e.

¹⁷¹ When it is not two little human figures, the content of the pans might show a great variety of solutions for differentiating the positive and negative pans (Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 103-105). I have found three examples from medieval Hungary where a little devil figure represents the bad deeds of the soul, namely Turócjeszenő (Turčianska Jesena, Slovakia); Tarpa (Hungary); Maconka (Hungary). Although this is also an occasion of the common occurrence of Saint Michael and the devil in the pictorial tradition, I exclude the pictures’ analyses from the present thesis because here the figure of the devil does not stand for itself but has a symbolic meaning, namely, to represent the bad deeds of the soul.

¹⁷² Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 94-95.

Emile Mâle¹⁷³ approached the question from a different point of view. He noted that in the Middle Ages Michael was the patron saint of the guild of pendulum makers and with the movement of a pendulum being similar to that of the scales it might not have caused a big surprise to find scales in the hand of the archangel. Logical as the remark may seem, it should be also noted that the association of Michael with the *psychostasis* goes back well before the appearance of the first guilds.

Karl Künstle has a third opinion regarding Michael and the scales. In his view, the reason for the shadows covering the association is that originally there was no logical way at all, it simply resulted from a mistake. According to him, the scales must have been held originally by God or Christ,¹⁷⁴ or maybe the *Manus Domini* representing them, and at some time it was replaced by an angel – as angels are, in the end, themselves personifications of the *Manus Domini*.¹⁷⁵ This angel, Künstle continues, might have had a lance or a sword in his hand to keep the devils away, always present in great numbers in Last Judgment scenes, and maybe as a result of an artist's mistake and/or imprudence on one occasion the inscription *Sanctus Michael* somehow appeared on the weighing angel's halo.¹⁷⁶ This suggestion certainly owes something to traceable continuity in the development of psychostasis iconography. The earliest representation in Western art is dated c. 923. It decorates the eastern side of abbot Muirdach's cross in Monasterboice, Ireland, and shows no traces of angelic presence: just a monk-like man appears by the scales. The weighing of souls is also part of the Last Judgment here, depicted right below Christ. A tympanum of Autun cathedral (1120-35) represents a further step in the

¹⁷³ Mâle, *Religious Art*, 49.

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, a Spanish twelfth-century manuscript in the British Museum (MS 11695) (Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 96, folio reference missing).

¹⁷⁵ Louis Rêau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955-59), 31.

¹⁷⁶ Künstle, *Ikongraphie*, 249.

development. Here an angel does appear in the scene but his task is to identify the positive side by protectively leaning over one of the pans and not to hold the scales.¹⁷⁷

THE DRAGON AND THE CHEATING DEVILS



Figure 6
Saint Michael weighing a soul
Velemér (Hungary)

With the development of iconography, characteristic details have been added to the scene of *psychostasis*, and the devil appeared right beside Archangel Michael again, in two typical manifestations.¹⁷⁸

As subsidiary figures beside the archangel tricky little

devil figures are often shown trying to make the negative pan heavier by every imaginable effort. The motif is common in medieval Hungarian Church interiors.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 101-103.

¹⁷⁸ According to Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 103, the very presence of devil figures at the weighing of souls might be related to the *Legend Aurea* stating that one task of the devil at the Last Judgment will be to bring up accusations against the souls. Accordingly, *tribunal misericordiae* compositions depict a court scene with the devil in the role of the prosecutor, the Virgin as the solicitor and the Lord depicted as a judge, see János Végh, *Becsei Vesszős György különítélete. Egy ritka ikonográfiai típus magyarországi előfordulása* (The private judgment of György Becsei Vesszős. A rare iconographical type surfacing in Hungary), *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), (hereafter: Végh, *Becsei Vesszős György különítélete*), 373-385.

¹⁷⁹ *Psychostasis* pictures with one or more cheating devils that I know about are the following: Homoródszentmárton (Mărtiniș, Romania); Lelesz (Leles, Slovakia); Marosszentanna (Sântana de Mureș, Romania); Petőszinye (Svinica, Slovakia); Barcaszentpéter (Sinpetru, Romania); Cserkút (Hungary); Csécs (Čečeňovce, Slovakia); Etrefalva (Turíčky, Slovakia); Jákóhodos (Hodos, Romania); Karaszko (Kraskovo, Slovakia); Mártonhely (Martjanci, Slovakia); Mohos (Poruba, Slovakia); Ófehértó (Hungary); Petőszinye (Svinica, Slovakia); Rimabánya (Rimavská Baňa, Slovakia); Segesvár (Șighișoara, Romania); Sorokpolány (Hungary); Süvete (Šivetice, Slovakia); Svábfalva (Svâbovce, Slovakia); Székelyderzs (Dârjiu, Romania); Tarpa (Hungary); Velemér (Hungary).

The cheating devils show the greatest activity in Velemér, featuring one the best preserved extensive fresco decoration by the hand of Johannes Aquila from the end of the fourteenth century. Five little devils are actively engaged in cheating here. Two of them, “Sathanas” and another one are clinging on the pan; a third one helps them by sitting on the beam above and a fourth one by clinging on the beam, while “„Belsebu[b],” is just arriving to help his colleagues by placing a tower-like building on the beam. The building might be a reply to the little church model placed on the beam of the heavier pan by an unnamed angel, generally identified as the guardian angel of the soul.¹⁸⁰



Figure 7
Saint Michael weighing a soul
Karaszko (Kraskovo, Slovakia)

Besides clinging, the other typical trick of the devil is to hang a millstone on the pan, as shown for example in Karaszko (Kraskovo, Slovakia, third quarter of the fourteenth century)¹⁸¹ This motif might be associated with the Scriptural passage “but if anyone causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him to have a large millstone hung around his neck and to be drowned in the depths of the sea.” (Matt 18:6)¹⁸² Logical as the connection may seem

to be, a notable difference, namely that the millstone never provides the expected effect

¹⁸⁰ The church model might refer to the founding of a church, in which case it might be the founder of the church whose soul is being weighed in the fresco. Another supposition is that the church model is related to the saint depicted on the North wall of the sanctuary, that is opposite to Michael and facing him, at the same height, who is not identified yet, Janez Höffer and Janez Balažic, *Johannes Aquila* (Ljubljana, 1992).

¹⁸¹ I have seen remains of the millstone on the following *psychostasis* frescoes: Barcaszentpéter (Sinpétu, Romania); Cserény (Cerin, Slovakia); Petőszinnye (Svinica, Slovakia); Etfelva (Turíčky, Slovakia); Karaszko (Kraskovo, Slovakia); Lelesz (Leles, Slovakia); Marosszentanna (Sântana de Mureș, Romania); Ófehértó (Hungary) Rimabánya (Rimavská Baňa, Slovakia); Segesvár (Șighișoara, Romania); Sorokpolány (Hungary); Süvete (Šivetice, Slovakia); Svábfalva (Svábovce, Slovakia); Székelyderzs (Dârjiu, Romania); Tarpa (Hungary); Velemér (Hungary).

¹⁸² Also Mark 9:42, Luke 17:1, Perry, *Psychostasis II*, 210.

in these paintings should be also noted. So far I have not found any sermons or medieval texts mentioning this activity of devils during the *psychostasis*.

The application of subsidiary figures, therefore, results in a gradual liberation from the textual base. In case of the cheating devils, the devil takes on its own form and appears as a composite anthropomorphic figure, in a seemingly much smaller scale than the archangel. From roughly the fifteenth-century on, however, the devil manifests itself in another form as well in the *psychostasis* composition, and we can meet the apocalyptic dragon again in pictures where both the scales and the dragon serve as Saint Michael's attributes.¹⁸³ The apocalyptic dragon, however, does not occur in direct connection with the *psychostasis* in the Scriptures, save the supposition that both are to happen at the time of the Last Judgment. The pairing of the two scenes, namely, the dragon slayer archangel and Saint Michael weighing the souls, is more likely to be the result of pictorial traditions again.

In the majority of medieval Hungarian depictions of the weighing of souls, the apocalyptic dragon is missing. Still, Saint Michael is holding a sword, raised high, in his free hand. In absence of the dragon this gesture might have been both a reminder of the dragon or intended to frighten or keep away the cheating devils, but in both cases signified the mixture of the hagiological aspects by reminding the audience at the warrior nature of the archangel.

The only exception I have found, the only simultaneous rendering of the weighing of souls and the dragon slaying is a fresco in the church of Székelyderzs (Dârjiu, Romania, c. 1419). Here a dragon's open mouth was to be seen at the feet of Saint Michael in a fifteenth century painting of the *psychostasis*, and Michael as piercing its

¹⁸³ Perry, *Psychostasis II*, 217.

throat with a lance. When the two typical roles of Saint Michael, i.e., the dragon slayer and the *psychostasis*, are represented simultaneously, the picture usually lacks the cheating devils. A peculiarity of our Székelyderzs fresco is the double manifestation of the devil, as cheating devil figures also appear around the negative pan of the archangel's scale. This is the only medieval Hungarian representation of this mixture of the devil figures I know about, dated to around 1419.¹⁸⁴

In depictions where Saint Michael is performing the slaying of the dragon and the weighing of souls simultaneously, it is often difficult to decide to which aspect of the saint is prominence given: is he the dragon-slayer whom the scales help to identify or is he the personification of divine justice served by the dragon as an attribute? Is the Last Judgment, the victory of heavenly forces over the evil, or the person of Saint Michael in the focal point of the picture?¹⁸⁵ In Székelyderzs we seem to have some clue. When the two typical roles of Saint Michael, i.e., the dragon slayer and the *psychostasis*, are represented simultaneously, the picture usually lacks the cheating devils. In the Székelyderzs case the painter might well have been influenced by local traditions, as in Hungary it is difficult to find *psychostasis* representations without cheating devils. The *psychostasis* thus being the more elaborated aspect might signal that the key message of the Székelyderzs scene is divine judgment. In Székelyderzs, however, the open mouth of the dragon is situated right beneath the positive pan of the scales and Michael piercing it might be seen as saving the blessed soul by overcoming the devil again.

¹⁸⁴ Mihály János, "Székelyderzs, unitárius templom, falképek a hajó déli és északi falán," (Székelyderzs, Unitarian church, frescoes on the south and north wall of the nave) in *Sigismundus. Rex et Imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1397-1437*. Catalogue, ed., Imre Takács (Budapest Szépművészeti Múzeum – Luxemburg, Musée national d'histoire et d'art, 2006), 425-426.

¹⁸⁵ Perry, *Psychostasis II*, 216-217.

Pictures representing Archangel Michael performing *psychostasis* are a great help on the question of whether the relationship between texts and images is really as strong as is generally supposed. Textual sources alone do not provide a satisfactory explanation for the association of the scene with the archangel and even less for the wide-scale development of the iconography. Pictures seem to have preceded written tradition, which did not leave another choice for priests and sermon writers but to give reference – and with it acknowledgments – to the pictorial tradition.

PRIVATE JUDGEMENTS: COMMON DEVILS, THE ANTAGONISTS

Though it was not altogether abandoned, the theme of the Last Judgment had outlived itself after the fourteenth century and had lost its popularity.¹⁸⁶ The judgment of mankind in general has given place to a new attention at the notion of particular judgment of the individual.¹⁸⁷ The interval between judgment and physical death disappeared,¹⁸⁸ but the old awareness of the ever-present threat of Satan and the idea of a confrontation between the forces of good and evil remained. From the vast reaches of the beyond, the devil had come down to earth. What is more, he arrived right at the bedroom.

In the fifteenth century the theme of the Last Judgment was replaced by a new iconography popularized by the printing press.¹⁸⁹ In the later medieval period the flourishing ‘literature of advice’ produced the *Ars moriendi* treatises, practical handbooks

¹⁸⁶ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) (hereafter: Ariès, *The Hour of Death*), 106.

¹⁸⁷ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum, 1996) (hereafter: Binski, *Medieval Death*), 42.

¹⁸⁸ Ariès, *The Hour of Death*, 107.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 107.

for the proper way of dying, based on the belief that the character of one's death could be reasonably detached from the manner of one's life, since self improvement is never too late.¹⁹⁰ The more than three hundred preserved Latin and vernacular versions point to the widespread character of the topic, the dissemination of which was only further increased with the printing. So that also those who could not read could catch the meaning, the books were richly illustrated with woodcuts.¹⁹¹ Late medieval depictions of private judgment, popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, focused not on the universality of salvation but on the individual aspects. The illustrations depicted dramas at the deathbed, in the bedroom of the dying person.¹⁹²

The iconography has dressed Saint Michael and the devil in new clothes¹⁹³ and the angelic dispute with the devil was a common theme in bedside images of the *ars moriendi* and in similar texts as well. Following the *Legenda Aurea*, Pelbartus de Themeswar also included the debate over the corpse of Moses among Michael's victories over the devil. The interpretation of the devil's motivation is the same as in the Legend, namely encouragement to idolatry, and the sermon also associates the story with the angelic protection over humans.¹⁹⁴ As Pelbartus points out, the story of the debate over the corps of Moses shows that Michael, being chief among the virtuous angels, is endowed with extraordinary virtues and he is therefore the one who can free the world from idolatry. Yet Pelbartus also relates the story to the restraining of the devil. He identifies Michael with the angel in Revelations 20:1-3:

¹⁹⁰ Binski, *Medieval Death*, 39.

¹⁹¹ Ariès, *The Hour of Death*, 107.

¹⁹² Binski, *Medieval Death*, 39-40.

¹⁹³ For example in *Commendatio animae* scenes he appeared as rescuer of the soul of *moriens* from demons, Binski, *Medieval Death*, 42.

¹⁹⁴ See Appendix 1.

“¹And I saw an angel coming down out of heaven, having the key to the Abyss and holding in his hand a great chain. ²He seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the devil, or Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. ³He threw him into the Abyss, and locked and sealed it over him, to keep him from deceiving the nations anymore until the thousand years were ended. After that, he must be set free for a short time.”

According to Pelbartus, the purpose behind the restraining of the devil and the defense of the corpse of Moses is the same: to prevent the devil from encouraging idolatry.

Sermons rendered the debate over the fate of dead souls in a characteristic way. I



Figure 8
Saint Michael weighing a soul
Kassa (Kosice, Slovakia), Saint
Elisabeth church, west portal,
tympanon

could not find any sermon warning the audience at potential cheating devils at the weighing of their souls, yet sermons do refer to the other direction of impartiality in the measuring, namely when a saint is making the positive pan heavier.¹⁹⁵ In the pictures of the weighing of souls, the judgment does not always follow the decision of the scales, but intercessors play a role again not anticipated on any Scriptural base.¹⁹⁶ Sermons refer to the *Legenda Aurea*'s story of a sinner who saw his own judgment before God in a vision. His sins far outweighed his good deeds but when Satan claimed his soul the poor man appealed to the Virgin Mary. The Virgin

immediately placed her hand upon the pan holding the good deeds and thus rendered Satan powerless.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 104.

¹⁹⁶ Ariès, *The Hour of Death*, 101.

¹⁹⁷ Perry, *Psychostasis I*, 104.

This intervention of the Virgin in determining the fall of the balance is also portrayed occasionally.¹⁹⁸ Other saints also turn up in similar roles in the *psychostasis* pictures, even without any known textual base.¹⁹⁹ In medieval Hungary a wall painting in Mohos (Poruba) represents a similar scene, although whether the female figure, standing by the positive pan and putting her hand on the beam is the Virgin Mary, Saint Helen or Elisabeth is still an open question.²⁰⁰ The above mentioned Velemér fresco is the only Hungarian picture where the positive impartiality is represented by an angel. It can be paralleled with the tympanum of the Saint Michael chapel in the cathedral of Kassa (Košice, Slovakia),²⁰¹ similarly showing a little angel beside the positive pan, and cheating devils clinging on the negative one. The compositions, pairing the angel and the devils trying to have a hand in deciding the fate of a soul is, might be interpreted as a battle in their symbolic fight.



Figure 9
Private judgment
Pónik (Poniky, Slovakia)

As the Last Judgment compositions gave their place over to private judgment scenes, these subsidiary figures have been growing

¹⁹⁸ Recalling the *Legenda Aurea* chapter on the Assumption, mentioning a monk evil in life but diligent in the recitation of the Ave Maria. The pictures imply that through devotion to the rosary good can outweigh evil. The type where Mary is placing a rosary into the pan or holding it towards the occupant is typical of the English art of the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, see the wall paintings in the churches of Bovey Tracey, Catherington, Lenham, Islip, Beckley, South Leigh, Corby, Worcester, W. L. Hildburgh, "An English Alabaster Carving of St. Michael Weighing a Soul," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 89 (1947): 129-131.

¹⁹⁹ As part of her legend, Saint Margaret appears in a similar role in a wall painting at Preston Church, Sussex. In an old German woodcut Christ, the Virgin, a saint and a man of holy life are all portrayed standing by the heavier pan, for which we also do not have textual sources, Perry, *Psychostasis II*, 215.

²⁰⁰ Vlasta Dvorakova, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, *Stredoveka nastenna malba na Slovensku* (Prague: Odeon, 1978), 134.

²⁰¹ Alojz Tkáč, *The cathedral of St. Elizabeth in Košice* (Košice: Vydavateľstvo Sása, 2000) 136.

both in scale and in importance. Supernatural beings have invaded the bedroom, crowded around the bedside and the debate between angels and devils for the dead soul became common motive of the *ars moriendi* scenes.²⁰² They also appear in two Hungarian private judgment frescos, in Zseliz (Želiezovce, Slovakia, before 1388)²⁰³ and Pónik (Poniky, Slovakia, c. 1415).²⁰⁴ Both frescoes render a double intercession scene at a deathbed. Besides, two angels are represented in the private judgment scene of György Becsei in the Zseliz composition. One angel is waiting for the soul in Heaven, the other is debating the devil beside the corpse. Another angel is standing beside the corpse and is debating a devil – their pair can also be found in the Pónik composition.



Figure 10

Private Judgment of György Becsei
Zseliz (Zselievzovce)

The identification of either of any of these angels with Archangel Michael should be thought over. The upper angel in Zseliz might even be just a symbol of John the Evangelist so that the scene would make up a *Deesis* together with the Virgin Mary on the other side.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in that case Mary is depicted twice in the same scene, and John is rarely represented in *Deesis* scenes by his evangelist symbol, which suggests the possibility that this is a real angel, perhaps Michael as *susceptor animarum* or

Praepositus Paradisi. These iconographic types of Saint Michael usually lack any

²⁰² Tünde Wehli, “Könyvfestészeti és grafikai előképek az 1470 előtti magyarországi falfestészetben,” (Miniatures and Graphics as Models for Hungarian Wall Painting before 1470) *Ars Hungarica* 11 (1983): 215-226.

²⁰³ Végh, *Becsei Vesszős György különitélete*, 385.

²⁰⁴ Dusan Buran, *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).

²⁰⁵ Végh, *Becsei Vesszős György különitélete*, 385.

attributes and the angel depicted is identified with him on the basis of pictorial traditions. The angel standing beside the corpse might also be the guardian angel of the soul,²⁰⁶ but since the medieval mind Michael was the patron saint of the dying people, the protector of the body and soul, it cannot be excluded that the medieval audience identified with him the angel debating with the devil by a corpse. I would not like to argue that either of the two angels should be identified as Michael but I consider it reasonable that his biblical debate over the corpse of Moses might have provided a textual base for the representations of the angel-demon debates. This also highlights the danger of Michael's iconography: too often, unidentified angels in textual sources are automatically identified with him in common knowledge.²⁰⁷ In other words, a certain differentiation is required in the levels of identification, whether the artist's intention was to represent him and/or whether the public identified the angel as Michael.²⁰⁸ Particularly in medieval Hungary, the Érdy codex also associated Michael with the idea of the double intercession.²⁰⁹ According to the codex, the fifth reason for Michael's veneration above other angels is that he conducts the blessed soul to Heaven and presents him or her to the Virgin, who presents him to Christ and then he is presented to the Trinity, where the soul finally gets what he deserves and finds his place in eternity in Heaven.

Similarly to the cheating devil figures, at the disputes the devil appears in his own form again, we see composite anthropomorphic figures. Yet a noteworthy difference is in the size of the devil figures. As opposed to the cheating devils, the disputing devils are

²⁰⁶ Ariès, *The Hour of Death*, 108.

²⁰⁷ Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* vol.1, 222, note 136 e.

²⁰⁸ A lucky and somewhat special example is the Beaune altar by Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1450), where Michael appears in a double role: weighing souls (psychostasis) in the middle panel and guiding the souls to Heaven (psychopompos) in the right wing. The identification in this case is certain, however, because of the very same costume the archangel is wearing in both cases, Eörsi, *From the Expulsion to the Enchaining of the Devil*, 164.

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 2.

not small but of the same size as their debating partner, the angel, and as well as other characters in the scene, suggesting not a defeated adversary but a serious antagonist.

3. FACING THE EVIL: JOURNEYS TO THE OTHERWORLD

Our last context with Michael having an encounter with the devil can be identified in journeys to the otherworld. The story of otherworld visions as a literary genre is as old as the human interest in supernatural realms. They constitute a worldwide motif, one of the oldest literary means for discovering the future, the fate after death, and in Christianity simply to strengthen Catholic faith by confirming the very existence of the otherworld. The visions are accounts of humans whose souls leave the body and are taken round by a guide in the otherworld, divided into two parts at the least or even further, on the principle of the moral categorization of dead souls. After the visit the protagonists come back to tell their adventures and to convey messages to the living.²¹⁰ They mediate between the two worlds just like angels and saints, but only take on the role of witness.²¹¹

Two otherworld journey accounts are related to medieval Hungary by the origins of the protagonists, those of George Grissaphan and Lawrence of Tar. The otherworld journey of George Grissaphan is the work of an unknown monk related to Provence by linguistic evidence, dated to 1353, entitled *Visiones Georgii*.²¹² Lawrence of Tar dictated his visions in 1411 to Jacobus Yonge, a royal notary in Dublin. The original manuscript is lost, the only copy left, entitled *Memoriale*, is that made by Henricus Cranebrok, a

²¹⁰ Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 4-5.

²¹¹ Bálint, *Visions*, 39.

²¹² Max Voigt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter*, Palaestra 146 (Leipzig, 1924), 188-189; L. L. Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii quae in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria* (Copenhagen, 1931) (hereafter: Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*), 9-13; László Szekfű, "György, Crissafán fia, aki megjárta a túlvilágot," (George, son of Crissaphan, who has visited the otherworld), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 90 (1986): 1-21.

Canterbury monk, in 1464.²¹³ The aim of the two protagonists is the same, to gain salvation as a result of paying a visit to the aftermath and having a face to face encounter with its inhabitants. In the otherworld realms, Saint Michael is the guide of both Hungarian protagonists. The reason for the inclusion of the stories in the present thesis is the characteristic feature of the accounts that Michael do not guides his protégées into heaven, the usual milieu of angels, but shows the participants around in hell and purgatory, invaded by active devils during the visit (as always).

A TIME-HONOURED TRADITION: VISIONS LITERATURE

The history of Christian visits to the otherworld goes back to the third century.²¹⁴ Stories of human beings taken up to the heaven are also included in the Scriptures and the apocrypha but the genre to which the two Hungarian stories belong differs in manifold ways from the scriptural and apocryphal tradition. The *Visio Pauli*, still under the strong influence of the apocrypha, is generally regarded as the prototype for all medieval otherworld journeys, with Archangel Michael showing Paul round in hell, heaven and then taking him back to earth.²¹⁵ Yet the real starting point for the acceleration of

²¹³ Two further texts also preserve details of the journey: the poem *Peregrinatio Laurentii de Taar*, the work of an unknown author c. 1520, preserved in the Gyöngyösi codex (see Erik Fügedi, *A XV. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása*, (The Social Mobility of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 15th Century) (Budapest: publisher, 1970), 78; Sándor Fest: “Angol irodalmi hatások a *Tar Lőrinc*-mondában” (The Influence of English Literature on the Legend of Lawrence of Tar), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 15 (1936): 72-86; and a chronicle song by Sebestyén Lantos Tinódi, the famous lutenist of sixteenth-century Hungary, though in this latter case a previous Latin version might also have been used, as is generally the case with Tinódi, Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században*, (Chivalry in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Hungary) (Budapest: publisher, 1998), 35-45.

²¹⁴ Russell, *The Prince*, 140; for a summary of the pre-Christian tradition see V. Kovács, *Tar Lőrinc pokoljárása*, 7-29.

²¹⁵ Theodore Silverstain, *Visio Sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalypse in Latin Together with Nine Texts* (London: Christophers, 1935).

visionary literature is the seventh century, with the visions of Fursy,²¹⁶ Barontus,²¹⁷ Wetti,²¹⁸ Alberic²¹⁹ and Tundal.²²⁰ In these journeys hell was already more in evidence than heaven. The latter merely served the purpose of encouragement, always present, but unlike in the scriptural and apocryphal journeys where it was the first and foremost if not the only destination, the protagonists have to turn back from its entrance in the best case. The furthest they could reach was an earthly paradise, usually represented by the Garden of Eden.²²¹ They gained full access to purgatory and hell, spending most of their vision time in places of pain, most fully described in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.²²²

During this process of exploring and interpreting the infernal realms, experiences of otherworld visions intensified in parallel with the emergence of the notion of purgatory. Legends surrounding the purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland, the starting and finishing point of both Hungarian protagonists, are among the first explicit attempts to differentiate a third realm of the otherworld from heaven and hell.²²³ Saint Patrick's purgatory is traditionally associated with Lough Derg (Red Lake, County Donegal) in Ireland²²⁴ and

²¹⁶ A version of the vision, based on a Latin vita of unknown authorship, is included in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, see Maria Pia Ciccarese, "Le Visioni di S. Fursa," *Romano barbarica* 8 (1984-85): 231-303.

²¹⁷ *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum and Scriptores... nova ser.* (Hannover: Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 1826-) Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 5: 368-394.

²¹⁸ David A. Traill, *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Bern: M. Lang, 1974).

²¹⁹ Catello de Vivo, *La Visione di Alberico ristampata, tradotta, e comparata con la Divina Comedia* (Ariano: Appula-Irpino, 1899).

²²⁰ Russell, *The Prince*, 104-110.

²²¹ Jeffrey Burton Russell, "Journeys to Heaven" in *A History of Heaven. The Singing Silence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) (hereafter: Russell, *Heaven*), 101-113.

²²² Recently: Amilcare A. Lannucci, *Dante: Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997); Theodore J. Cachey, ed., *Dante Now: Current Trends in Dante Studies* (Paris: University of Notre Dame, 1995).

²²³ Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 191-203.

²²⁴ For a short story of the site see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 199; and for the topography of the place Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) (hereafter: Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*), 109.

owed its success partly to the notion of the dead soul's journey towards the West.²²⁵ The textual tradition related to the place goes back to the twelfth century.²²⁶ Its legend was told by the first text describing visions there, namely the popular *Purgatorium Sancti Patricii* containing the vision of Owein, by the hand of Henry de Saltrey c. 1180.²²⁷ It states that the first efforts of Saint Patrick towards the conversion of the Irish were unsuccessful because the audience did not believe in what they could not see. So the saint prayed and Christ created a cave in reply, where anyone who spends twenty-four hours would be cleansed of sins.²²⁸ The legend spread quickly and a series of pilgrimages started to Saint Patrick's Purgatory still in the twelfth century, yet no pilgrims were recorded in the following century. The genre of soul voyages seems to have disappeared by the thirteenth century and given place to physical journeys, with the protagonist physically taking part in the voyage.²²⁹ The tenth century *Vision* of Brendan might be regarded as the first clear example of this type,²³⁰ though the distinction between bodily and out-of-body voyages to the otherworld is not always clear.²³¹ The fourteenth century then witnessed the most renowned bodily voyages, those concerning the purgatory of Saint Patrick. The sequence began with the adventures of George Grissaphan, who is also

²²⁵ Reinforcing classical myths of a Western otherworld, rooted in the fact that the sun sets in the west (Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 108-113; Russell, *Heaven*, 105.)

²²⁶ Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 108-113 and F. W. Rothe, "A New Date for the Composition of the Tractatus de Purgatorii Sancti Patricii," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 641-646.

²²⁷ R. B. Easting, ed., *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Early English Text Society 298 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

²²⁸ Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 501.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

²³⁰ Patrick F. Moran, ed. *Acta Sancti Brendani* (Dublin: William Bernard Kelly, 1872), 85-131.

²³¹ Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xxii-xxiv.

the first Hungarian traveler and the first recorded non-Irish visitor of the place at the same time.²³²

Another unique feature of the account of George Grissaphan was the person of the guide, namely Saint Michael, who also appeared in this role in the narrative of Lawrence of Tar. In the apocryphal tradition the most frequent guide was an angel and among them typically Saint Michael, like in the Book of Baruch,²³³ or in the *Testament of Jacob*, where Michael takes Jacob for a guided tour in the otherworld, and similarly guides Enoch²³⁴ and Sedrach there.²³⁵ Medieval vision literature, however, produced a greater variety regarding the guides. In the eighth century, Barontus was lead to heaven by the angel²³⁶ Raphael. Ezra, in his Latin vision dating from the tenth-eleventh century, was led through hell by seven unnamed angels and through heaven by Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael.²³⁷ An unnamed angel took the ninth century German monk Wetti on a tour of the otherworld, two angels led Gottschalk at the end of the twelfth century,²³⁸ while their guardian angels led the tenth-century Irish Abbot Adamnan and the knight Tyndal about 1150.²³⁹ Nevertheless, saintly guides might also occur together with angels, as for example in the twelfth-century vision of Alberic of Settefrati, who was accompanied by Saint Peter and two angels, Emmanuel and Hélos. Similarly, Saint Benedict and

²³² For a list of names those who followed him in this century see Philippe de Félice, *L'autre monde. Mythes et Légendes. Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice* (Paris: Honoré Champion Librairie-Éditeur, 1946), 52-77.

²³³ E. Gaylord, "Baruch. Greek Apocalypse," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 653-679.

²³⁴ F. I. Andersen: "Enoch," Translation and Introduction," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* vol. 1, 91-213.

²³⁵ S. Agourides, "Apocalypse of Sedrach," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 605-620.

²³⁶ Since some texts denote Raphael an archangel while others simply as an angel, I follow the choice of the particular texts.

²³⁷ Otto Wahl, ed., *Apocalypsis Esdrae, Apocalypsis Sedrach, Visio Beati Esdrae, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece* 4. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977).

²³⁸ Erwin Assmann, *Godschalcus un Visio Godeschalci Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* 74 (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1979).

²³⁹ Whitley Stokes, *Fis Adamnain* (Simla, 1870).

“Archangel Raphael” guided the Benedine novice Gunthelm.²⁴⁰ A third group of visions featured saints exclusively in the role of the guide, like that of Saint Ansgar in the late ninth century, who was lead by Saint Peter and John the Baptist.²⁴¹ His patron saint, Lawrence, guided John, monk of Saint Lawrence of Liege, to purgatory and heaven, and Saint Maurice guided him to infernal realms in the middle of the twelfth century.²⁴² At the end of the century an English monk of Eynsham²⁴³ and an English novice²⁴⁴ were both guided by Saint Nicholas. At the very beginning of the thirteenth century Saint Julian the Hospitaller and Saint Domninus guided Thurkill, who, nevertheless, also met Saint Michael in purgatory.²⁴⁵ Finally, a group of protagonists encountered rather extraordinary, sometimes surprising, guides, proving that holiness was not a criterion of the task at all. Coming back from hell, the monk Ansellus of Rheims was thus protected from demons by a little devil in the eleventh century;²⁴⁶ Peter of Cornwall’s grandfather, Ailsa, was lead by his dead son Pagan;²⁴⁷ and Thurkill was guided on a lengthy tour in hell by Satan himself.

With this short range of examples I tried to demonstrate the gradual shift from angels to saints in the guide’s role. This notion can be paralleled with the change in the destination of the visits. The characteristic task of the angelic guides remained the introduction to heaven, similarly to the apocryphal tradition where heaven was usually

²⁴⁰ Giles Constable, ed., “The Vision of a Cistercian Novice,” *Studia Anselmiana* 40 (1956): 95-98.

²⁴¹ G. Waitz, ed., *Rimbert’s Vita Anskarii* (Hannover: Scriptorum Germanicarum, 1884).

²⁴² *PL* 180, 177-186.

²⁴³ Michael Huber, ed., “Visio Monachi de Eynsham” *Romanische Forschungen* 16 (1904): 641-733.

²⁴⁴ Vincent of Beauvais, *Bibliotheca mundi seu Speculi maioris*, vol. 4, *Speculum morale* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965), 1125-1126.

²⁴⁵ Paul Gerhard Schmidt, ed., *Visio Thurkilli relatore, ut videtur, Radulpho de Coggeshall* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1978) (hereafter: Schmidt, *Visio Thurkill*).

²⁴⁶ Jean Leclercq, “Une rédaction en prose de la ‘Visio Anselmi Scholastici’ dans un manuscrit de Subiaco,” *Benedictina* 16 (1969): 188-95.

²⁴⁷ Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe, ed., “Peter of Cornwall: ‘The Visions of Ailsa and his Sons,’” *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988): 207-263.

the only location visited. The angelic guide is typically either unspecified or the guardian angel or Raphael. Michael is more typically encountered performing his daily routine tasks in the otherworld. Following the *Visio Pauli* the two Hungarian accounts seem to be the only ones with Saint Michael acting as the one and only guide throughout the entire length of the journey. The association of the angelic guide with the realm of heaven also seems to be lost, as the two Hungarian protagonists are not allowed to go any further than earthly paradise. Michael limits the tours to the infernal realms.

HUNGARIAN ADVENTURERS

The identification of the two Hungarian protagonists as historical persons is still debated. Regarding George the *Visiones Georgii* is the only source. No other written source even mentions his existence – save for a short reference in the *Memoriale* of Lawrence.²⁴⁸ According to the prologue of the *Visiones*, George was the son of a certain Crissaphan, and like his father, a knight of King Louis I of Hungary; twenty-four when experiencing the vision, but already captain of Apulea and conqueror of numerous cities and castles. As a result of his active and successful soldierly previous life the number of his sins was high. When he realized this, he decided to go on pilgrimage to Rome, Compostela, and finally to Saint Patrick's Purgatory.²⁴⁹ The motivations of Lawrence of Tar were somewhat different. According to his own declaration, included in the text of the *Memoriale*, he went to allay his own doubts concerning certain doctrines of

²⁴⁸ The letter of the Irish primate: "Omnibus Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel audituris frater Matheus prior Purgatorii Sancti Patricii ... Noverit universitas vestra quod magnificus vir Laurencius Ratholdi de Pastoth... nostrum locum visitavit ... in qua fuerunt sanctus... ac Georgius filius Grifani militis de partibus Ungarie," (Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 58.).

²⁴⁹ V. Kovács, *Tar Lőrinc*, 16.

Christianity, to be able to tell to his beloved king that he had seen Saint Patrick's Purgatory and, last but not least, he was just interested in the place, already legendary by that time.²⁵⁰ Lawrence's origins can be traced back to the village of Tar in Heves County (Hungary), where his family kept such intensive and close contacts with the Rátholdi and Pásztói families that the usual mixture of names in the *Memoriale* makes historians' work even more difficult.²⁵¹ His father being a courtier, Lawrence himself was well educated and became a knight of King Sigismund. After giving incontestable proof of fidelity by defending the king from a fierce and sudden attack by noblemen, his career took on a rapid rise and he acquired higher and higher positions in the court, including travels commissioned by Sigismund and arriving finally in Ireland as well.

The otherworld journey of Georgius Grissaphan is a more elaborated story. Having resisted a series of otherworldly temptations, Georgius arrives at places of penance and once there, also has to undergo some personal punishments. Having finished, he arrives at the fountain of hell, full of red-hot substance and the damned suffering extremely, and here George encounters Archangel Michael. The archangel takes him by the hand and leads George through seven sites of purgatory dedicated to the seven deadly sins and takes him back to the fountain of hell. This time they enter it and Michael shows George around in the realm of the devil. Coming out, the angel leads him to the gate of paradise – not the heavenly one, just its copy. George is not allowed to enter the heavenly paradise while still a mortal. He only sees heaven opening up and gets the blessing of Christ and Mary. Then he gets missions, certain tasks to fulfill from Michael once he is

²⁵⁰ V. Kovács, *Tar Lőrinc*, 248.

²⁵¹ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 53, n. 183; László Beke, Ernő Marosi, and Tünde Wehli, ed., *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387-1437* (Art in the Sigismund era 1387-1437) vol. 1, 451-453; Pál Engel, *Magyar Középkori Adattár 1301-1457* (Database of medieval Hungary 1301-1457) (Budapest: publisher, 2001).

back on earth, and finally the archangel leads him back to Saint Patrick's Purgatory, the starting place of the journey. Lawrence's journey to the otherworld also begins with temptations, but he only has to face three of them before Michael appears. Michael only shows purgatory to him. Although Lawrence is eager to see hell and heaven also, Michael refuses the request, saying Lawrence is not repentant enough for such a visit and, anyway, he is still a mortal. Nevertheless, the archangel answers Lawrence's questions and finally conducts him back to Saint Patrick's Purgatory.

Both accounts give a description of the outward appearance of Michael, the only extant texts related to medieval Hungary to do so. The *Visiones Georgii* introduces the archangel in the following way:

"When George finished his prayers at the fountain of Hell, lo, a young man of flowering youth, of about the same age as Christ, that is, around thirty-four or younger, appeared to him, who was very beautiful and extremely handsome in appearance. He was wearing delicate green clothes of the best quality was barefoot, and [wore] on his head a crown very richly decorated with extremely precious stones (amethyst and all other kinds of precious stones); he also carried a most splendid golden cross, decorated in a similar way, which he held most grandiosely in his left hand. The most brilliant light that was shining out of and irradiating from his cross and from his crown seemed to overshadow even that of the sun. To such an extent was this man splendidly shining both on account of the appearance and the beauty of his face as well as of his whole person, and on account of his decorated vestments that words cannot be found that would express it [properly]. He wore a mantle of green colour such as those of the Spaniards or of the Johannite friars and which looked the same as the mantles with which the apostles and the angels are usually represented. He surpassed in beauty all the humans of this world, and especially as far as the appearance of his face was concerned; his face was most pleasant and gracious, so that it seemed to illuminate and fill with joy the entire world; there is nor can there be a painter or person so skilled in the art of painting that would be properly capable to depict his beauty and his splendid appearance."²⁵²

²⁵² "Nam eum Georgius oracionem suam iuxta puteum inferni existens finiisset, ecce quidam homo iuvenis et satis bone iuventutis, ut pote de etate Christi, videlicet circa annorum 34 vel citra, homo pulcherrimus et valde formosus in persona et optimis vestimentis viridis coloris indutus, nudis pedibus, et coronam auream lapidibus valde preciosis (iacinetis et alijs omnibus generibus lapidum preciosorum)

The description of the appearance of the archangel is shorter, but the saint's outward appearance does not show a significant difference in the *Memoriale* of Lawrence:

While the knight was engaged in his usual prayers, a tall man has appeared to him, wearing green clothes all over his body; his shoulders covered by a red veil.²⁵³

With regard to the difference in length between the two works the two descriptions do not allow for much speculation.²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Michael also calls Lawrence's attention to a very important notion: the knight cannot see Michael in his own reality, just like everything else in the otherworld, but in a form the Lord allows him to.²⁵⁵ The idea is also present in the *Visiones Georgii*. Michael tells George that what he sees as paradise is only a copy of the real paradise, similar to everything in it, including the angels.²⁵⁶

The archangel greets the protagonists in both cases by wishing them peace, but he is, understandably enough, hardly recognized at first sight. He asks both protagonists

ditissime ornatam habens in capite, habens quoque crucem auream pulcherrimam et eodem modo ornatam ac eam portans valde honorifice in manu sinistra, de cuius cruce et corona micabat et exibat lux splendidissima, que lucem solis superare videbatur. In tantum etiam iste homo in forma et decore faciei et totius persone et vestimentorum splendebat ornatu, quod loqui non sufficit, portans clamidem coloris viridis ad modum Hispanorum vel fratrum sancti Iohannis et ad modum, quo clamides apostolorum et angelorum depingi solent. Omnes mundi homines in pulchritudine excedebat, et specialiter in vultu; cuius vultus letissimus et pulcherrimus totum mundum illustrare et letificare videbatur, quod non est nec esse potest homo depictor nec in arte pingendi doctissimus, qui sufficienter ad depingendam pulchritudinem et formositatem illius esset sufficiens," Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 162-163.

²⁵³ "Militem consuetis oracionibus indulgentem quidam formosus, viridi veste totaliter coopertus et stola rubra suis humeris involuta," Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 53.

²⁵⁴ The description in the *Visiones Georgii* contains references to pictorial representations of Michael. The cross in the hand of the angel might be compared to the one in the initial of the antiphonal of Istanbul, analyzed in chapter two. This is the only rendering of the archangel I know of in medieval Hungary with a similar piece in his hand, though a long staff ending in a cross can well be regarded as a common motif in his iconography outside Hungary. I have never seen a Saint Michael representation with a crown so far in medieval Hungary; here it seems to help integrate the archangel into the range of other angels.

²⁵⁵ "Omnia michi precepta et a Domino michi data que dignus es videre eius gracia tu videbis corporaliter sed non in re," Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 54.

²⁵⁶ "Licet enim angeli et sanctorum anime deum facie ad faciem videntes et in cello existents sint spiritus indiuisibiles et per consequens oculo corporali et mortali inuisibiles insubstantia propria et natura, sicut et deus, cuius sunt naturalis ymago, tamen concessum est eis omnibus propter te, vt tu, qui homo mortalis es, ipsos oculo corporali videre possis, assumere et vt ipsi assumant figuras proprias et simillimas suorum corporum, in quibus corporaliter videri possint," Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 212.

what business they have in the otherworld. They reply that they are seeking divine mercy: George that of Christ,²⁵⁷ Lawrence also that of Mary.²⁵⁸ At this moment, some suspicion arises in both protagonists and they want to learn who their new acquaintance is. George, using the phrase he learned from three monks, manifestations of the Trinity, as a means to test otherworldly beings' reliability, asks Michael where he originates from: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and his passion I command you to put aside all falsity and deceit, and tell me whether you come from the land of Paradise, Hell or Purgatory!"²⁵⁹ To this vigor, the archangel patiently replies that he comes from paradise and he is a servant of God. Using the command that has worked so well thus far, George further investigates whether Michael is a man or an angel, noting that he is well aware of the fact that two kinds of divine servants dwell in paradise. Michael answers that he is an angel. With the third cautiously phrased question George inquires what kind of angel he is and what his name is. Now Michael introduces himself somewhat more loquaciously as:

I am not merely an angel of God but archangel, the leader of all angels, and my name is Michael. I am the angel whom you, Christians, particularly honour and also worship with a feast, and whom you call Saint Michael. I come from the place of the living God, and I have come down from Heaven to show you the end of your pilgrimage."²⁶⁰

The next time, with Laurentius, he gets to the point immediately. Answering an inquiry about his identity, he says: "I am Michael, your patron, for whose honor a church was built in the village where you were born." But now he is even less successful.

²⁵⁷ Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 163.

²⁵⁸ Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 53.

²⁵⁹ "Coniuro te ex parte domini nostril Jhesu Christi et passionis eiusdem, quatenus remota penitus omni falsitate et omni fallacia dicas michi, vtrum tu sis de parte paradisi vel de parte inferni vel de parte purgatorij," Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 163-164.

²⁶⁰ "Ego sum non solum angelus dei, sed archangelus, princeps omnium angelorum, et Michael est nomen meum. Sum enim iste angelus, quem vos christiani singulariter inter omnes angelos honoratis festualiter et colitis et quem sanctum Michaelem vocatis, qui ex parte dei viui huc veni et de celo descendi, vt tibi ostendam effectum peregrinationis tue," Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 164.

Lawrence does not believe what he heard: “I would rather suppose you are a fallen angel than a messenger of God sent to me, having often heard the devil occasionally disguises himself as God or an angel.” To this reply, Michael tries another tack. Instead of indulging in further explanations, with a phrase similar to the one heard from George, he vigorously commands Lawrence to give verification: “In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose mother was a virgin before, meanwhile and after His birth, and whom I confess to be a real God and a real man: tell me what you are doing here!” The knight replies with the same vigor: “I am looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ and his mother, the Glorious Virgin, and if you are my patron, tell me your name!” Michael patiently repeats his name and asks Lawrence one more time about his intentions: “I am Michael, guardian of Eden, whom you always eagerly venerated and by whom you have got here. Tell me what you are looking for and what you wish to learn at this place!” The whole debate is similar to a combat of two knights, with words substituting for weapons; when one gets harder the other one is even more tough, until Lawrence finally falls on his knees and admits that he came to find out in which otherworldly realm those people who have done good to him are, and he would possibly also like to meet them – a notion never referred to in the work before. Michael, nevertheless, does not allow Lawrence to do so²⁶¹ and from this point on the story is already known.²⁶²

Any comparison of the portrait these works paint about Saint Michael requires special care, because of the difference in length and origins. Nevertheless, some notions

²⁶¹ Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 53-54.

²⁶² The mistrust of the protagonists is not directed against the angel. By the time they meet Michael both have successfully resisted temptations when the devil did not appear to them in his own form but in the shape of someone else. The *Visiones Georgii*, providing a theological explanation for the fact that George is suspicious even of a group of monks, elaborates on this characteristic of the devil, noting that “the devil, angel of Satan, sometimes turns into an angel of light.” (2 Cor. 11, 14) (“Sed nec hoc est mirum, quia dyabolus, angelus Satane, transfigurat se quandoque in angelum lucis...” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 127.

show noteworthy (in)consistencies. The treatment of the topic of the Fall of the Angels, which I have dealt with in chapter 2.1, is one among these. During the visit to earthly paradise, the chapter about the procession of angels is closed by the following theological remark:

“It must be noted, however, that each and every choir of the holy angels and spirits, because of the eternal integrity and virginity of their mind, which they have preserved most firmly from the beginning of their creation for the sake of God, by opposing Lucifer, the devil, and his angels – these have turned away from God their Lord right after their creation on account of their pride, regarding themselves just as worthy as God, their creator—so, as I was saying, the holy angels, because of their spiritual integrity and virginity, which they preserved so very firmly and completely unchanged by opposing most forcefully the devil and his angels, they were crowned with golden crowns, the most brilliant, even more so than the sun, and decorated and studded with very precious stones,. Because just as with the halo, the golden crown is also deserved by virgins on the right of their virginity.”²⁶³

The *Memoriale* of Lawrence, on the other hand, highlights Michael’s role in this victory over the devil. Arriving at purgatory Lawrence asks his guide, who are the “disgusting guards” torturing the miserable souls, to which the angel replies: “These are the demons, with whom I had a war with in Heaven earlier, and whom, together with their prince, Lucifer, I caught off into the depth.”²⁶⁴ To this, the *Memoriale* also adds a notion we have already encountered in the Saint Michael sermon of Pelbartus de Themeswar in Chapter 3.1., namely that the hosts of devils occupy not only a territory below earth but also the earth and the air by quoting a poem: “The hosts of Lucifer left the sky, / the first coming

²⁶³ “Notandum autem est, quod omnes et singuli sanctorum angelorum et spirituum ordines propter suam perpetuam mentis integritatem et virginitatem, quam a principio sue creacionis firmissime propter deum seruauerunt, dyabolo Lucifero et eius angelis contradicentes (qui statim post suam creacionem a domino deo per superbiam recesserunt, reputantes se equalis nobilitatis esse cum deo ipserum cratore) propter, inquam, sanctorum angelorum mentis integritatem et virginitatem, quam sic contradicendo dyabolo et angelis eius fortissimo, valde fixe et firmissime conseruauerunt, et erant coronati coronis aureis fulgidissimis supra solem et lapidibus valde preciosis contextis et ornatis. Nam sicut aureola ita et corona aurea debetur virginibus titulo virginitatis,” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 221.

²⁶⁴ “Demones sunt, cum quibus in regno celorum primum bellum decertaui et ipsos cum eorum principe Lucifero in abissum deiecti,” Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 55.

down to Hell, to the land of earth the second, / and the third keeps on running up and down in the cold air.”²⁶⁵

The task of consoling and strengthening the souls suffering in purgatory is similarly delegated from an unknown angel to Saint Michael in the later work. While watching the sites of purgatory and listening to the explanations of Michael, George sees an angel come down from heaven and comfort the suffering souls by reminding them of the closeness of salvation. Michael informs George that this is a regular task of that angel, performed once a week, as a result of which the souls gain much comfort and their pains and punishments ease.²⁶⁶ When, nevertheless, Lawrence inquires what the manifestation of the divine help that strengthens the souls in purgatory is, Michael answers that he himself visits them twice a week (on Friday and Sunday) to remind the souls that the mercy of God is already close.²⁶⁷

The archangel gives evidence of his respected power over Hell, paralleled with his power over earthly paradise in the *Visiones Georgii*. Both the gates of hell and heaven open to the archangel’s command, performed with the help of the cross. Michael asks George if he wants to visit hell and when he answers yes, the archangel lifts his golden cross high and gives his command to hell: “Hell, in the name and for the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his Passion I command you to open up at once, so that this pious pilgrim could take a clear look at you for his piety to increase and his Christian faith to be

²⁶⁵ “Luciferi turba celorum regna reliquit. / Infernis prima, terrenis missa secunda, / Aeris per gelidum condurrit tertia semper,” Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 49.

²⁶⁶ Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 188-189.

²⁶⁷ “Omni septimana duabus vicibus, videlicet die dominica, quando Dei filius Deus et homo natus est, et in die veneris secundario, quando idem dominus Deus propter peccatores dignatus est mori, ad ipsas venio confortandas dicens eis: ‘In brevi miserebitur vobis Deus,’” Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 55-56.

strengthened!”²⁶⁸ Arriving at the gates of earthly Paradise the archangel lifts his cross high again towards the gate, and says: “I command you in the name of our lord Jesus Christ and his Passion, whose sign I am carrying and holding up to you clearly, to open up at once for this servant of God so that he could enter you and look upon the glory of the saints, as far as this is possible for a mortal.”²⁶⁹ After the command, both gates open up immediately.

Perhaps as proof of the fact that George enters the otherworld bodily, the bulk of people eagerly waiting him back at the entrance of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory see George arriving back in the company of Michael.

“And since then, that is, at the end of the natural day, that is for twenty-four hours after they had entered and gone down to see the Purgatory, Hell and all the wondrous things mentioned above, the prior of the Saint Patrick abbey with his canons, and even the king of that land with his nobles and with a great crowd of people who stood there waiting to see George and to see in him the miracles of God, then, I say, all those present, namely, the prior with his canons and the king called Magrath with his nobles and many others saw George accompanied by some very beautiful man, of quite a young age, that is of the same age as Christ.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ “Tunc angelus eleuata in altum cruce aurea, quam portabat, dixit inferno: ‘Adiuro te, Inferne, pro parte et ex parte domini nostri Jhesu Christi et passionis eiusdem, vt statim et aperias nobis, vt iste peregrinus deuotus in augmentum sue deuocionis et in confirmacionem fidei christiane te clare videre posset!’” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 194.

²⁶⁹ “Hijs dictis angelus cum Georgio, quam manu tenebat, ad portam paradise accessit et tenens crucem in manu *ipsam* eleuauit versus portam paradisi dicens: ‘Adiuro te ex parte domini nostri Jhesu Christi et ex parte passionis eiusdem, cuius signum porto et tibi manifeste ostendo, quod statim isti famulo dei aperias, vt intrare in te posit et gloriam sanctorum, quantum est possibile mortali homini, intueri,’” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 214., original indentation.

²⁷⁰ “Et ex tunc, scilicet in fine diei naturalis, videlicet xxiiij horarum temporis taxati, introeuntibus et descendentibus ad videndum purgatorium et infernum et omnia mirabilia supra dicti, prior monasterij sancti Patricij cum canonicis suis, eciam rex illius patrie cum nobilibus suis et cum copiosa gentis multitudine, qui ad videndum Georgium et videndum in ipso mirabilia dei intererant, tunc autem omnes predicti astantes, scilicet prior cum canonicis suis et rex nominatus *Magrath* cum nobilibus suis et alijs multis, videntur Georgium cum quodam alio viro pulcherrimo satis bone iuuentutis, scilicet de etate Christi,” vt supra indutum pannis pulcherrimis viridis coloris coronatum corona pulcherrima, vtpote aurea et lapidibus preciosis valde ontexta et fulgentissima, cuius radij lucem solis in meridie lucentis vincere videbantur, portantemque crucem auream consimiliter contextam et similiter fulgentem, Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 314-315., original indentation.

The scene is basically a description of an apparition of Saint Michael. What is more, as opposed to the legendary apparitions as mentioned in chapter 1, this time the angel appears not only to one person but to a whole group of people at the same time, providing a further perspective on the archangel, namely that of those who are waiting for them. Michael's outward appearance is the same in their eyes and the text adds that "they recognized one of these men, George, but not the other; they did not know whether he was truly a man as he appeared to their sight, or an angel, as they indeed thought in their hearts and as they then imagined and believed."²⁷¹ These people do not see and know more than George did when he first encountered the archangel, not even while watching their last conversation.²⁷² This notion is also missing from the short the *Memoriale*, where the archangel just disappears after blessing Lawrence and letting him out of the Purgatory cave.

On the other hand, both works mention certain priestly gestures the archangel performs upon leaving his protégé. In the *Visiones Georgii*, these also happen in front of an audience:

"Thirdly, the archangel Michael, just like a priest, crossing and protecting himself with his right thumb on his forehead, lips and heart, said the followings: 'Our help is in the name of the Lord, who created Heaven and earth.' Then: 'Hallowed be the name of the Lord now and forever.' Having done so, he blessed George and all those present at once, saying: 'May the blessing of the almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the blessing of his most Blessed Mother, Virgin Mary and of all the male and female saints descend upon you, and stay with you forever. Amen.'²⁷³

²⁷¹ Istorum autem duorum hominum vnum, scilicet Georgium, cognouerunt, alterum vero non cognouerunt, vtrum verus esset homo, sicut visibiliter apparebat, vel vtrum esset angelus, sicut in corde suo veraciter cogitabant et cogitando estimabant et iudicabant," Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii* 315.

²⁷² Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 315-316.

²⁷³ "Item 3^o Michael archangelus ad modum prelati cum pollice dextero signaculo crucis se muniens et consignans, videlicet in fronte, in ore et in pectore, dicendo: 'Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini, qui fecit celum et terram', item: 'Sit nomen domini benedictum ex hoc nunc vsque in seculum'. Quo facto statim benedixit Georgium et omnes astantes dicens: 'Benedicchio dei omnipotentis, patris et filij et spiritus sancti, ac eciam benedicchio domini nostri Jhesu Christi et eius beatissime matris Marie virginis et omnium

The text of the *Memoriale* of Lawrence of Tar draws a similar parallel between the archangel and a priest: “The angel was standing there like a prelate and said: ‘Our help is in the name of the Lord, who created Heaven and earth. Hallowed be the name of the Lord, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost now and forever!’”²⁷⁴ Michael lets the knights go with a blessing just like a priest closing a mass.

The *Visiones Georgii* associates Michael with one more task, namely intervention. Before starting back to earth, the last request George puts to Michael is to plead to God and to the Virgin Mary for the cause of his mother, whom he saw suffering in purgatory. Michael does not refuse to do so. What is more, he also promises that as soon as he leaves George he will also call all the other angels to join him and together they will urge the Virgin to plead Christ: “...I will talk to all the angels: my fellows and friends, over whom I was placed as a leader by God...”²⁷⁵

VISUAL VERIFICATION...?

Representations of otherworld journeys normally occur in illustrations in the manuscripts containing the stories. Rich illustrations document, for example, the adventures of Tundal: illustrations depicting the dinner where Tundal dies before the journey, the guardian angel coming to his aid, and different sites of the otherworld, i.e.

sanctorum et sanctarum descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen’,” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 317.

²⁷⁴ “Tans autem angelus ad modum prelati dixit: ‘Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit celum et terram. Sit nomen Domini nostri Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti benedictum, ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum.’ Et benedicens militi sub hac forma: ‘Benediccionem domini Dei omnipotentis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti maneat et decendat super te semper, amen,’” Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 56.

²⁷⁵ “Dico tibi, karissime frater mi Georgi, quod statim, cum a te recessero et in celum ascendero, loquar cum omnibus angelis, consocijs et amicis meis, super quos deus principem me constituit, et vna cum hijs omnibus rogabo deuotissime et toto corde beatissimam virginem Mariam matrem domini nostri Jhesu Christi...” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 309 and 318.

hell and purgatory, that they visit together.²⁷⁶ Regarding the Hungarian adventurers, I have met one manuscript which illustrates Georgius Grissaphan in the company of Saint Michael in the otherworld journeys.

The miniature comes from a Tirol manuscript dated to 1472 (Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, cod. 2779, 1) that give the text of Georgius' otherworld journey in early German translation and is occasionally illustrated by pen drawings. The miniaturist seems to have used another manuscript of the same work as model yet not to have grasped the point of certain scenes. One illustration (f. 42r) shows Michael taking George by the hand and leading him on the fountain of hell.²⁷⁷ While on the previous illustration (f. 34v) the bridge over the fountain is still narrow and is covered by spikes, here it is wide enough for walking. This is roughly in accordance with the text saying that the bridge is not wide enough under the feet of those whose faith is not strong enough. Michael, as opposed to the description of the text, is wearing not richly decorated but simply white robes, similarly to George. Only his wings are colourful. The angel is wearing a crown as well

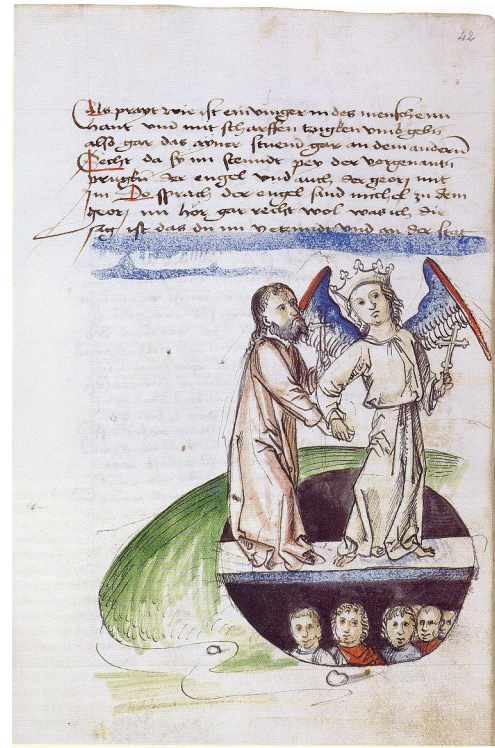


Figure 11
Georgius Grissaphan and Saint Michael the Archangel over the fountain of hell
 Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, cod. 2779, 1, f. 42r

²⁷⁶ Picard, Jean-Michel, tr., *The Vision of Tnugdál* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1989).

²⁷⁷ A common motif in otherworld journeys, see Peter Dinzelbacher, "The Way to the Other World in Medieval Literature and Art," *Folklore* 97 (1986): 70-87.

and is holding a cross in the left hand. George is depicted similarly with a cross in the left hand, although the text only mentions that he crossed himself and not that he had a real cross with him. Below them the darkness of Hell opens up and busts of a few damned appears in the depth. Their countenance betrays nothing of the enormous torments they are subjected to in the text. The green mound upon which the bridge of Hell is situated is rendered in loose lines in the picture.²⁷⁸



Figure 12
Lawrence of Tar?
Tar (Hungary), Saint Michael church

I have not met any illustrated editions of the short text of the adventures of Lawrence of Tar. Nevertheless, there is a representation in Hungary which might have been inspired by Lawrence's adventures and might even have served as visual verification for the reality of the story.

The church dedicated to Saint Michael, mentioned by the archangel in the *Memoriale*, was really built in Tar, and Lawrence himself added two new lobes²⁷⁹ to it in the 1420s, roughly one decade later than the composition of his vision. In the northern lobe a row of figures, seemingly a mixture of holy and profane, are depicted kneeling and praying to a large figure in the middle, now totally destroyed. The profane figures are interpreted as donors, founders of the church and commissioners of the painting, and a knight among them, depicted in a bigger scale and closest to the middle, as Lawrence of Tar himself.

²⁷⁸ Peter Dinzelbacher, *Himmel, Hölle, Heilige. Visionen und Kunst im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag GmbH, 2002), 102-103.

²⁷⁹ Since there is no information whether these semi-circular additions ever served as chapels or not, I take the word over from the terminus technicus "six-lobed rotundas," denoting similar semi-circular additions supposedly not used as chapels.

The basic scheme of the composition is similar to that of the Madonna of Mercy. Nevertheless, judging from the date of the painting she could have given up her place to another saint and Michael is a most likely candidate in case of Tar,²⁸⁰ being patron of the church and introducing himself as Lawrence's personal patron in the *Memoriale*. In his own visions, Thurkill also demonstrated close bonds to the saint who was his guide,²⁸¹ similarly to the Benedictine novice Gunthelm.²⁸²



Figure 13
Unidentified fresco scene
Cserkút (Hungary)

The identification of the middle figure with Saint Michael is only problematic because it is difficult to find analogies to a scene where people are turning to an angel. Though different in composition, a so-far-unidentified scene, namely the easternmost one in the upper row of the north wall in the nave of the Cserkút church, might provide analogies for the idea. Here two figures, depicted without haloes, raise their hands towards an angel flying upside down. The back figure is clearly a woman, and the one in the front might also have

been, though today only some contour lines can be seen from the figure. Basically all that can be stated for sure is that the scene originally consisted of either one or two figures, one of them certainly a female, plus one angel above. No attributes can be seen anywhere in the picture but a clearly readable inscription right beside the angel, says *arc.angelus*.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Tünde Wehli, "A tari Szent Mihály-plébániatemplom falképei" (Wall Paintings in the Saint Michael Parish Church of Tar) in *A tari Szent Mihály-templom és udvarház* (The Saint Michael Church and Manor House in Tar), ed. Juan Cabello, Művészettörténeti Füzetek 22 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), 73-86.

²⁸¹ Schmidt, *Visio Thurkill*, 59.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁸³ The scene has been interpreted so far as an Annunciation with Gabriel, which is rather problematic, however, if the angel visits two persons at the same time. Supposing both figures are female, the scene has

Since the fresco is just marginally related to the topic of the present thesis I would not like to elaborate on details of interpretation. Nevertheless, it might not be useless to take the occasion and point out some possible compositional analogies. Special compositions of fresco painting often suggest comparison with book illumination, a genre



Figure 14
Annunciation to Zachariah
Hungarian Angevin
Legendary fol. 3r

frequently inspiring unusual scenes in wall painting.²⁸⁴ The Hungarian Angevin Legendary is dated roughly to the same period as the Cserkút decoration, both originating from the first half of the

fourteenth century²⁸⁵ The way the angel approaches the figure(s) in Cserkút, flying upside down, is

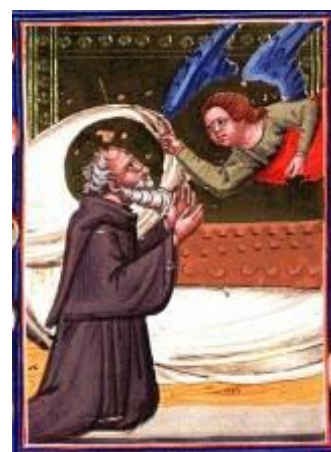


Figure 15
Angel announcing his death
to Saint Giles
Hungarian Angevin
Legendary fol. 95v

typical of the Legendary, where this way of arrival is acted out not only by angels, but also by saints and even Christ. A number of miniatures show saints conversing with angels in a composition similar to that in Cserkút. The scene of the annunciation to

also been interpreted as Women at the Grave without the grave and without other typical subsidiary figures such as the soldiers. The third suggested interpretation is that the angel is offering the person(s), probably commissioners of the pictorial decoration if not donors of the church, to the mercy of the Virgin and the Child, depicted next to the scene yet on a different wall surface, on the neighbouring triumphal arch. In this case, however, the strong red frame separating the two scenes, otherwise general on the north wall, might conjure up doubts, Tamás Pál Horogszegi, *A cserkúti római katolikus templom és középkori falképei* (The Roman Catholic Church Building at Cserkút and its Medieval Wall Paintings) (hereafter: Horogszegi, *A cserkúti*), MA thesis, (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Catholic University Department of Art History, 2005), the third suggestion, originating from Melinda Tóth, has been mistakenly attributed to Béla Zsolt Szakács (Kind information of Béla Zsolt Szakács).

²⁸⁴ Tünde Wehli, "Könyvfestészeti és grafikai előképek az 1470 előtti magyarországi falfestészetben," (Miniatures and Graphics as Models for Hungarian Wall Painting before 1470), *Ars Hungarica* 11 (1983/2): 215-226.

²⁸⁵ Béla Zsolt Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium Képi Rendszerei* (The Pictorial Program of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary) (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006), 25.

Zachariah (fol. 3r.), for example, shows Zachariah standing like the lady in Cserkút in front of an angel flying similarly downwards; and Saint Giles is kneeling like the destroyed figure in Cserkút, in front of his own angel announcing his death (fol. 95v.). Besides the details of composition, the pattern of the dress of the Cserkút lady also finds its analogies in the *Legendary*. A similar pattern, white flowers on a red base, is depicted, for example, in the scene featuring Hilary of Poitiers praying for his daughter to die as a virgin (fol. 101v.), in the picture representing Saint Dominic never sleeping in his bed (fol. 90v.), and on the altar covering in the scene depicting the man who wrote his sins on a piece of paper and Mary Magdalene erased them (fol. 104r.).



Figure 16
Legend of Hilary of Poitiers
Hungarian Angevin
Legendary fol. 101v



Figure 17
Legend of Saint Dominic
Hungarian Angevin Legendary
fol. 90v



Figure 18
Legend of Mary Magdalene
Hungarian Angevin Legendary
fol. 104r

The last two suggestions for the interpretation of the scene, namely the Resurrection and angelic patronage, leave the question of the angel's identity open. Michael is the most likely candidate, even taking into consideration the fact that despite being the only angel denoted by the title of archangel in the Scriptures, common knowledge also endowed other angels with this rank, as was also demonstrated by the sermon analysis in the previous chapters. Nevertheless, there must have been a reason

why the commissioner of the pictorial program did not consider it necessary to specify the name of the archangel, and Michael is one of the proposed candidates for the role of patron saint of the church as well.²⁸⁶ He is also rendered on the lower row of the north wall in an imago type psychostasis, and an angel, who might also be identified with him, is sending the damned to hell in the Last Judgment scene on the triumphal arch. This small church might have contained altogether three representations of Saint Michael, and I know of no other church in medieval Hungary with three scenes of the archangel included in the pictorial program. This might suggest a special intensity in the veneration of the saint, which might well have included the role of the patron saint as well.

The adventures of the two Hungarian visitors to Saint Patrick's Purgatory are significant pieces in the history of visionary literature. In context of Saint Michael as guide among the devils, the two texts might also reveal further perspectives on the cult of the archangel as well as on the interpretation of visual sources. Not less interestingly, however, the two texts also provide an answer to the paradoxon lying in the veneration of the archangel, as demonstrated in the beginning of this thesis. A 'Noli me tangere!' scene happens when arriving back at the cave of Saint Patrick's Purgatory; Lawrence falls to the earth and give thanks for his journey in prayer but Michael firmly refuses the gesture of veneration. "Finishing his words, he wanted to kiss the feet of the angel, but he said: Do not touch me! You are not worthy."²⁸⁷ When, however, George falls on his knees and kisses the feet of the angel when finally realizing whom he has encountered, Michael shows no objection. The composer of the text also sensed a certain impropriety here, which cried for explanation, so he compared the gesture of George to those of Saint John

²⁸⁶ Horogszegi, *A cserkúti*, 70.

²⁸⁷ "Noli me tangere: non es dignus," Delahaye, *Le Pèlerinage*, 56.

the Divine when he meets another angel,²⁸⁸ and explained the different reaction of the angel the following way:

Lest there appear contradiction between these things, it must be said that the angel who appeared to Saint John did not allow Saint John to worship him for two reasons. First, perhaps because George was properly speaking a human; yet, it is not only one single human, but the entire fighting Church that observes a holiday on the feast of St. Michael, and, in doing so, pays reverence to all the angels of God. But the angel did not allow any chance of this same thing happening with St. John because he knew that St. John was a most holy man, an apostle and an evangelist, and the most holy apostles and the evangelists are higher in rank than all the angels of God; the same was not true of George, as it is quite obvious. Second, because perhaps Saint John, as soon as he got a glimpse of the angel, wished to pay him reverence as to an angel; and the angel, being of lower rank, did not want to accept the worship because of the reasons stated above. In our case, however, the Archangel Michael accepted the veneration of George, a simple man, not as an archangel properly speaking, but in his quality of ambassador and messenger of God, who is the deputy and office-bearer of God.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Referring to the Scriptures: “I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel ... Then said he unto me, ‘see that thou do it not, for I am thy fellow servant ... Worship God!’” Revelations 22:8-9, as mentioned at the beginning of the thesis.

²⁸⁹ “Ne autem inter hec aliqua repugnancia videatur, est dicendum, quia angelus, qui beato Iohanni apparuit, non permisit se a beato Iohanne honorari propter duo: Primo, quia Georgius erat homo precise; attamen non solum homo, sed tota ecclesia militans in festo beati Michaelis facit festum de omnibus angelis et faciendo festum facit reuerenciam omnibus angelis dei; sed hoc ideo in beato Iohanne forte angelus non permisit, quia sciebat beatum Iohannem virum sanctissimum, apostolum et ewangelistam, et maioris gradus sunt beatissimi apostolic et ewantgeliste super omnes angelos dei; non sic autem erat de Georgio, vt manifeste patet. Item 2o, quia beaus Iohannes forte subito videns angelum voluit sibi vt angelo reuerenciam exhibere, et iste minoris status recipere noluit propter premissa: hic autem Michael archangelus reuerenciam accepit a simplici homini Georgio, non precise vt archangelus, sed inquantum ambasiator et nuncius dei et gerens vices dei et inquantum officialis dei,” Hammerich, *Visiones Georgii*, 165-166.

IV. CONCLUSION

Angels have attracted scholarly and popular interest from the earliest times, Christians followed God's messengers with intensive curiosity. Michael, the most illustrious among them, took the centre of attention throughout the Middle Ages and the archangel's significance for the medieval Church was justified by his numerous angelic and saintly duties and merits. The history of Saint Michael's cult is well recorded in the medieval centers of the cult, and the aim of this thesis has been to make a contribution to the research on the cult of Saint Michael in medieval Hungary by tracing the warrior profile of the cult as mirrored by his confrontation with evil.

The devil is the voice of doubt beside Saint Michael, their encounters giving the archangel new and new chances to prove the very existence, strength, and power of faith. Destroying the forces of evil seems to have played a central role in medieval Hungarian textual sources and is also characteristic of the pictorial cult. As was already demonstrated in the introduction of the Hungarian cult, the topos of the angels' battles with the forces of evil and his victories over evil take up a large number of sermons, and in Pelbartus de Themeswar, the most influential medieval Hungarian preacher, it already gives the skeleton of Michael's own sermon itself. Michael's crucial role and personal responsibility in these came gradually to the foreground by the fifteenth century.

This confrontation was an important theme of theology as it provided an explanation for the origin of evil and, at the same time and even more importantly, also told how to get rid of it. The fall of the angels and the defeat of the apocalyptic dragon

story demonstrate that both are associated with angels. Both themes themselves are significant both in earlier and later sermons, Michael's personality emerges from the host of angels and together with it, his personal role in the fall of the rebelling angels. Although the limits of this paper did not allow for an overall examination of all artistic genres, the fact that several of them featured the archangel in the role of dragon slayer points towards the widespread image of the angelic warrior. The representations of the fight also provided an opportunity for the historia-type of Saint Michael representations outside the Last Judgment, such as the Fall of the Angels scene in Barcaszentpéter. This is important from the point of view of art historical research, as the imago-type rendering of the saint and that of the historia, i.e., the weighing of souls as part of the Last Judgment, seem almost mutually exclusive in medieval Hungary and the vast majority of examples illustrate the former theme. While the iconographic type of the psychostasis is the most widespread in Hungary and it was more frequent in the art of Germany, the warrior-type representations counterbalance this by showing traces of Italian influence.

The variety of roles the devil appears in around Saint Michael the Archangel also gave way to a variety of iconography and artistic imagination. The function of the devil in the few representations that exist is partly to classify the saint among holy warriors, which is only strengthened by his double pairing with Saint George in Almakerék, for example. Besides, the devil manifests itself in a variety of roles around Saint Michael, more than around any other saint. Sermons also refer to the activities of the devil, who shows great activity around the archangel: he is fighting, when not being able to fight legally he chooses the illegal way of cheating; when not engaged in any action he is disputing the archangel; and finally, he eventually falls. Accordingly, the devil manifests

itself in the form of an animal, the Apocalyptic dragon; in its own form as cheating devil(s) in the Last Judgement and in his fight for the dead soul, rendered in the fourteenth century implicitly by the cheating in the act of weighing of souls. The devil was gradually freed from the composition to an explicit debate in the fifteenth century private judgment scene. Finally, one finds not only common devils but Satan himself in the special Fall of the Angels fresco of Barcasszentpeter, which by its iconography and rendering in monumental art is a special piece in itself, and one example where research on the cult of Saint Michael might make a contribution to fields outside of angelology in the strict sense by suggesting a dedication of the chapel.

Partly as a result of his angelic qualities, a peculiarity of the hagiography of Saint Michael is an extremely rich profile. In order to get a complex picture of Saint Michael's cult in Hungary, one needs to take into consideration the characteristic features of his pictorial cult as well. Parts of the cult owed more to visual tradition more than to the written text, signified also by the psychostasis representations. Representation of the warrior archangel might also be revealing from the point of view of hagiography. Barcaszentpéter, Almakerék, and Székelyderzs are situated near one another and not far from Gyulafehérvár with its Saint Michael church. The tympanum relief of the Saint Michael church of Kolozsvár is also decorated by a relief of the dragon-slayer saint. The warrior archangel was preferred on bishop's seals and Michael was the patron saint of the Transylvanian church district as well. This shows a certain territorial concentration of the warrior-type representations of the saint, which allow for the consequence that in the southeastern region of the country the cult of the warrior saint was dominant.

Finally, two otherworld journeys are significant pieces of the visions' literature as well. Research on the cult of Saint Michael points at one of the most striking lacks in their research. Although the research has gone on for a long time, no attempts seem to have been made toward the analysis of the person of the guide in these journeys, although it is a common figure during the journeys. The person of the angelic guide is common and why Michael was chosen in the fourteenth century is a further question.

This research opens up a number of gates for further research. It is a first approach towards the notion of Saint Michael as a warrior and the abundance of source material makes it easily possible to enter deeper layers of this research, either by the analyses of further sermons or with collecting the representations not included here. What can be done in the research of visions' literature cannot be separated from the general examination of the cult. This is again a further step towards the illumination of the Hungarian cult of the archangel in a European context within the framework of a comparative approach. Future research, extended to possible analogies, could weigh the influence of the European tradition in medieval Hungary, explain the reasons for the differences and to try to investigate how much they can be explained by angelology in general and how much by other related factors, and how much these can be separated from each other at all. Besides ecclesiastical history, further research of the cult of Saint Michael would make a contribution to the centre-periphery problem in angelology, hagiography, angelology, demonology, and the history of Hungary's relations with Europe in the light of the veneration of a European saint.

APPENDIX

1. PELBARTUS DE THEMESWAR²⁹⁰

Sermo LXVIII.

De angelis sermo III. et praecipue de beato Michael archangelo

Factum est proelium magnum in caelo: Michael et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone. Apoc. XII.²⁹¹

A Si carissimi diligenter pensamus, multum obligamur Michaeli et angelis eius. **Primo** propter eorum proelium pro nobis contra diabolum. Unde Beda li. De ritu gentilium dicit: *Unusquisque noverit se obligatum, ut veneretur angelorum collegium propter eorum obsequium.* **Secundo** propter caeleste gaudium, quod ipsi habent de nostra salute. Nam iustum est, quod ex quo *angelis Dei gaudium est in caelo super nostra conversione, ut Salvator* testatur Lu. XV.²⁹² Ergo et nos congaudere debemus de ipsorum glorificatione, ut sicut ipsi faciunt festum de nobis in caelis, et nos de eis facere debemus in terris et pro hoc festo specialiter honorare. **Tertio** propter consortium futurum in cohereditate caelesti. Bernardus: *Simus grati, simus devoti tantis servitoribus, quia nostri custodes, tutores, actores et coheredes sunt.* Haec ille. Ad honorem ergo beati Michaelis et omnium beatorum spirituum, quorum hodie festum colitur, praedicta verba accipimus. Iuxta quae verba tria mysteria notabimus pro hoc sermone praecipue de Sancto Michael, secundum quod de his tribus commendatur.

- Primo de proelii victoria, cum dicitur: *factum est proelium et infra de victoria*
- Secundo de praesidii providentia, nam angeli eius dicuntur, quibus praesidet nobis providens.
- Tertio de privilegii excellentia, quod sequitur ad dicta.

B Circa **primum mysterium** de proelii Michaelis victoria. Nam et hodiernum festum victoria Michaelis nuncupari solet, ut patet in legenda. Ideo de hoc agens pro conclusione accipiamus verba sanctae Ecclesiae in officio dicentis sic: Magna magnalia de Michael archangelo, scilicet dicuntur laudando, qui fortis in proelio fecit victoriam. Pro quo notandum, quod beatus Michael hoc habet a Deo pro speciali praerogativa honoris magnifici, quod scilicet ipsi est commissa victoria proeliorum, sicut enim Beato Gabrieli commissa est revelatio secretorum, ut patet Dan. VIII.²⁹³, ubi legitur, quod *cum Danieli ontent fuissent quaedam secreta in visione et quaereret intelligentiam.*

²⁹⁰ Transcription from Eszter Laczkó, "'Angelus' - középkori prédikációink párhuzamos helyei" (Angelus – Analogues in our medieval sermons.) MA thesis (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2002)

²⁹¹ Ap 12, 7

²⁹² Lc 15, 7

²⁹³ Dn 8, 15–19

*Ecce stetit in conspectu eius quasi species viri. Lyra id est: angelus Michael, qui erat princeps synagogae et clamavit et ait, scilicet angelo alteri loquens: „Gabriel, fac intellegere visionem istum”, id est Danielelem. Et sic ei Gabriel revelavit secreta plurima et praecipue de Christi adventu. Denique Gabriel commissa est annuntiatio secretorum incarnationis Christi, ut patet in Evangelio. Item Raphaeli commissa est cura morborum et corporalium et spiritualium, sicut patet in Tobia, quem curavit a caecitate, et in Sara, quam curavit a daemonis tentatione. Ipsi etiam est commissa itinerum directio et sana reductio, patet eodem libro. Sic Michaeli videtur esse commissa victoria proeliorum. Ordo enim est inter angelos, quo ad officia et Dei ministeria explenda. Unde et canit Ecclesia orando: *Deus, qui miro ordine angelorum misteria hominumque dis. co. pro et cetera.* Quamobrem advertendum, quod invenimus Michaellem quattuor proelia egisse et in omnibus victoriam habuisse, et quantum erit futurum, ubi et victoriam habebit.*

- Primum in caelo cum dracone.
- Secundum in Aegypto pro Israel liberatione.
- Tertium in deserto de Moysi corpore.
- Quartum in novo testamento pro devotorum defensione.
- Ultimum erit cum Antichristo suo tempore.

Primum bellum vel proelium Michael habuit in caelo cum dracone, id est Lucifero et angelis eius. Sed hoc proelium vicit et Luciferum cum suis de caelo expulit, ut patet Apoca. XII.²⁹⁴, ubi sic scribitur, *factum est proelium magnum in caelo, Michael et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat et angeli eius, et non valuerunt neque, locus eorum amplius inventus est in caelo.*

C Iuxta quae verba **aliqua quaeruntur.** **Primo** de modo, qualiter fuit illa pugna angelorum in caelo, cum non habeant angeli manus corporales et arma ac huiusmodi? Respondetur secundum doctores, quod ibi fuit realis pugna spirituum, quod patet ex hoc, quare mali angeli realiter sunt expulsi de caelo violenter. Licet illa pugna non fuerit corporalis nec per arma corporalia, quibus caeduntur membra. Ad quod notandum, quod inter spiritualia ut sunt potentiae animae, potest esse pugna quandoque intranea, quandoque extranea. Intranea est, quando appetitus sensitivus appetit aliquid, quod voluntas repugnat vel intellectus iudicat aliquid faciendum, quod voluntas non vult, scilicet furari, moechari et huiusmodi. Et talis controversia vel pugna, scilicet intranea non habet locum in angelis. Sed extranea pugna fit in spiritum quando anima unius hominis intelligit aliquid faciendum vel vult, quod anima alius intelligit non faciendum vel non vult facere. Et talis pugna fuit inter angelos, quare intellectus bonorum iudicabat velle beatitudinem merito praecedente et Deo subesse volebat. Malorum autem merito non praecedente nec subesse, sed superbire volebat. Et sic ibi fuit bellum realissimum per contrarietatem voluntatum. Et quare boni angeli cum Michaelle Deo volente expulerunt malos de caelo illis fortissime resistentibus, sed non potuerunt resistere. Quamvis Lucifer in naturalibus praeemineret eis, quare Deus non influxit ad virtutem et fortitudinem malorum, sed ad fortitudinem bonorum. Sed quomodo eiecerunt eos, Fran. Maro. imaginatur, quod, *sicut angelus potest movere caelum, ita unus angelus potest movere alterum et praecipue Deo virtutem influent, Michael et sui hoc fecerunt.*

²⁹⁴ Ap 12, 7

D Secundo de loco quaeritur, ad quem locum sint deiecti, utrum scilicet detrusi sint ad infernum daemones. Respondetur secundum Bonaventuram super II. dis. VI. q. II. concorditer Richardus, quod *sicut Sacra Scriptura dicit, locus daemonum usque ad diem iudicii est aer caliginosus, in quo generaliter daemonum multitudo habitat, et non est locus subterraneus, quem vocamus infernum. Utrum autem aliqui detrusi sint in infernum, non inuenio, inquit, a sanctis determinatum. Illud autem bene credo, quod aliqui descendunt ad torquendas animas, secundum quod inter se habent deputata maledictionis officia.* Ratio autem, quare Deus permisit eos usque ad iudicium stare in hoc aere caliginoso, est, quod propter caliginem conpetit culpae tenebrositati. *Et quare homines exercitare habent impugnantes ad utilitatem meritorum et praemiorum electorum hominum, ut dicit Augustinus. Ideo voluit eos Deus stare in aere nobis propinqui propter humanum exercitium. Utrum autem habeant poenas infernales? Respondet idem Bonaventura et concorditer Richardus, quod poena ignis infernalis eis differtur usque ad iudicium, quando retrudentur in infernum, et hoc Deus ideo voluit, ut non retrahantur ab exercitando homines, quod fieret, si haberent poenam completam. Verumtamen iam habent, quod est principalissimum in poena inferni, scilicet carentiam visionis divinae et viciorum flammam torquendo, scilicet irae et invidiae, quibus acriter torquentur et alias quasdam poenas maximas, scilicet maeroris interni et doloris ac desperationis. Et propterea glo. super Jaco. III. dicit: diabolus ubicumque sit, vel in aere, vel sub terra, semper fert secum tormenta flammarum suarum, quae glo. non est intellegenda de tormento ignis materialis inferni, sed de aliis praedictis.* Haec Richardus.

E Tertio de numero quaeritur, utrum daemones deiecti sint in magno numero. Ad quod Haimo super Apoca. dicit, quod *ut sancti viri opinati sunt aer iste caliginosus ita plenus est demonibus, sicut radius solis minutissimis pulvisculis videtur plenus.* Et hoc potest extimari per rationem, quare ut Magister dicit secundum Gre. in. II. di. XI.: *quilibet homo habet malum angelum ad sui exercitium deputatum a principe demonum, hoc est Lucifero, propter quod d*

Deus etiam cuilibet deputavit unum bonum angelum ad custodiendum. Insuper secundum Lyrum super Dan. X.: *quaelibet provincia, et sic etiam patria et civitas, oppidum et villa habet angelum malum deputatum a principe demonum ad inducendum homines illius ad malum, sicut et habet angelum bonum ad procurandum bonum illius provinciae a Deo deputatum. Ideoque magno numero debent esse, ut ad haec sufficiant et ad alia huiusmodi.* Si dicas: Et quis hominum potest ergo salvari inter tot hostes. Respondetur, quod sicut Bernardus dicit: *Si bonus spiritus nobis non adesset, malorum impetum nullus superare posset. Ad vincendum ergo illos angeli boni iuvant, qui secundum doctores incomparabiliter plures sunt, scilicet qui permanserunt in caelo, quam qui corruerunt.* Item secundum sententiam Origen. *Exercitum demonum minuimus, cum eos vincimus ita, quod qui ab aliquo sancto viro semel victus fuerit, scilicet perfecte, deinceps ille idem demon de eodem vicio, de quo victus est, ipsum eundem hominem non valeat tentare. O ergo homo ex dictis tibi caute provide, ne consentias diabolo in peccatum, alioquin peribis cum diabolo.*

F Secundum bellum Michael habuit in Aegypto pro filiorum Israel liberatione, quia ipse fuit princeps synagogae. Dan. X.²⁹⁵ Ergo ipse Aegyptiis plagas intulit, ipse mare divisit et in columna nubis antecessit et filios Israel in terram promissionis introduxit et contraria belli contrivit. Tertium proelium egisse legitur de Moisi corpore, ut patet in

²⁹⁵ Dn 10, 21

epistula Iudae apostoli: *Michael inquit cum diabolo disputans, cum altercaretur de Moisi corpore et cetera. Ut enim dicit Lyra et communiter doctores: diabolus volebat revelare corpus Moisi Iudaeis ad idolatriam pronis, ut eum adorarent tamquam Deum. Michael autem tunc princeps synagogae hoc voluit impedire, et vicit. Quartum proelium egit Michael pro suorum devotorum defensione et vicit quando Neapolitanos et eorum exercitum contra Sipontanos bellantes contrivit. De hoc patuit ser.I.*

G **Ultimum** erit contra Antichristum, quem Michael interficiet, ut dicit glo. super Apoca. XIII., videlicet, quod *cum ipse Antichristus latens triduo se mortuum finget et resuscitatum, arteque magica ferentibus demonibus in aera ascendet et universis mirantibus adorabunt eum ut deum.*

Tandem ipsum stantem in Monte Oliveti in papilione occidet Michael repentina morte, ut dicit glo. super illud. II. Thes. II.²⁹⁶ *Quem Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui.* Lyra: *quia de mandato Christi fulminabitur per ministerium Michaelis archangeli.* Haec ibi. Ecce, o homo, adverte, quia mali male peribunt cum daemone suo principe. Boni autem et poenitentes iocabuntur in caelo cum Michael et angelis, venerare ergo Michaellem et eius angelos, ut per eos vincere possis demones.

H **Circa secundum** de providentia praesidii sit pro conclusione, quod canit Ecclesia dicens: *Hic est Michael archangelus princeps militiae angelorum, cuius honor praestat beneficia populorum et oratio perducit ad regna caelorum.* Sed quaeritur, gratia huius qualia beneficia vel praesidia confert Ecclesiae et populo Christiano Michael archangelus, aut qualiter providet. Ad quod respondetur, quod providet magna beneficia **quintupliciter** per quinque ordines angelorum suorum proseguendo secundum positionem beati Gregorii de ipsis ordinibus angelorum. **Primo** quidem per principatus Ecclesiam stabiliter gubernando. Nam, ut scribitur Dan. X.²⁹⁷ *Michael inquit unus de principibus primis venit ad adiutorium meum et cetera.* Dicit autem Gregorius, quod *principari est inter reliquos priorem existere.* Et Dion. IX. ca. caelestis hierar. dicit: *Nomen principatuum significat ductivum in ordine sacro. Illi enim, qui alios ducunt primi inter eos existentes principes proprie vocantur.* Ex quibus claret, quod Michael est de ordine principatuum, et inter omnes angelos, qui extra mittuntur, ipse est princeps gloriosissimus et nobilissimus militiae angelicae, ut etiam canit Ecclesia. Et ipse est princeps totius Ecclesiae Christianae et multitudinis humanae, ut tenent communiter doctores, ad ipsum pertinet Ecclesiam stabiliter usque ad finem mundi gubernare. Ita, quod quantumcumque impugnetur, non poterit eius fides deficere vel exstingui. Iuxta illud Salvatoris promissum Lu.XII.²⁹⁸ *Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua.* **Secundo** per potestatem providet demones coercendo. Nam quaero: Ad quem pertinet universalis custodia contra omnes demones. Respondetur secundum Gregorium, quod *ad potestates, quae habent ex officio arcere eos, ne noceant, sed Michael est super hoc princeps, quare scribitur Apoc. XII.²⁹⁹, quod Michael et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat et angeli eius.* Quo designatur, quod, sicut draco, id est Lucifer principalissimus est inter oppugnantes ecclesiam et nos, ita Michael principalissimus est inter defensantes. Unde canit Ecclesia: *Collaudemus venerantes omnes caeli milites, sed praecipue primatem caelestis exercitus Michaellem in virtute*

²⁹⁶ 2Th 2, 8

²⁹⁷ Dn 10, 13

²⁹⁸ Lc 12, 32

²⁹⁹ Ap 12, 17

conterentem Zabulon, id est demonem. Quo custode, id est Michael procul pelle, rex Christe piissime, omne nefas inimici, id est diaboli. Tertio per virtutes mirabiliter virtutes promovendo ac instruendo. Ipse enim Michael facit principalius cum virtutibus angelicis, ut populus Christianus proficiat in virtutibus iustitiae, misericordiae, charitatis, devotionis et cultus divini ac perseverantia in observatione legis evangelicae. Unde Gregorius in homilia Accesserunt publicani ad Iesum dicit: Michael, quis ut Deus interpretatur, quare quotiens aliquid mirae virtutis agitur, Michael mitti perhibetur, ut ipso actu et nomine detur intelligi, quod sicut nullus potest facere, quod praevalet Deus, sic quaeque virtutes mirae Michaeli attribuuntur. Iste est ergo Michael, qui cum maximo exercitu angelorum assistit in hora consecrationis Eucharistiae et celebrationis missae, ut dicit Gregorius De conse. dist. II. quid sit. Et ipse docet: et inducit populum ad celebrem cultum Sacramenti. Ipse est, qui cultum idolorum cessare fecit per mundum. Sicut enim in Veteri Testamento ipse altercatus est cum diabolo de corpore Moisi, ne si revelaretur, populus in idolatriam deflueret ut supra dictum est. Ita ipse in Novo Testamento diabolum repressit, ne idolatrare gentes faceret. Unde Apoc. XX.³⁰⁰ dicit: Iste est angelus, qui ligavit diabolum per annos mille, ut non seducat gentes, id est Ecclesiae filios, donec consumentur mille anni, id est usque ad tempora Antichristi, tunc enim solvetur. Denique mirabiliter per Michaellem et virtutes angelicas proficit ecclesia dietim. Quarto per archangelos provincias et regna ad fidem Christi inducendo vel in ea conservando ac in iusticia sustentando. Nam Eccil. XVII.³⁰¹ scribitur: In unamquamque gentem praeposuit Deus rectores. Glo. id est angelos, quibus commisit custodiam. Et secundum doctores: talis custodia communis vel universalis provinciae aut civitatum pertinet ad archangelos, quibus praeest Michael princeps et providet, ut sic custodiantur, ne per iniustitiam de gente in gentem talia regna transferri divino iudicio demereantur sicut scribitur Eccli. X.³⁰², et ut ab infidelibus defensentur vel liberentur. Unde Dan. X.³⁰³ dicit, quod Michael venit in adiutorium angeli, qui laborabat pro liberatione filiorum Israel de Babylonica captivitate. Quinto per angelos providet singulos homines custodiendo, a peccatis retrahendo et ad bonum incitando et apud Deum intercedendo, et cetera. O ergo homo honora pro his Michaellem.

I Circa tertium de privilegiis Michaelis quaeritur: Quare in Ecclesia militante Michael prae ceteris angelis honoratur, cum enim *honor sit praemium virtutis*, ut dicitur III. Eth. Ergo magis virtuosus debet magis honorari, sed multi angeli praeexcellunt Michaellem in gratiarum donis et in gloria, ut patet de superioribus, scilicet Seraphin, Cherubin Thronis Dominatio, ergo et cetera. Ad hoc respondetur, quod quamvis multi sint superiores angeli Michaelle, tamen Michael prae-honoratur propter magna privilegia sibi concessa, scilicet pro salute nostra procuranda.

Primum privilegium est custodem esse Ecclesiae. Nam doctores communiter dicunt super Dan X.³⁰⁴: *Michael fuit primus princeps synagogae, quae postquam Dominum crucifixit, reliquit eam Michael et factus est princeps Ecclesiae.* Unde et **Josephus antiquitatum libro refert**, quod post mortem Christi, cum quodam die Pentecostes noctu sacerdotes templum ingressi fuissent ex more ad ministeria complenda, motus strepitus et

³⁰⁰ Ap 20, 1–2

³⁰¹ Eccli 17, 14

³⁰² Eccli 10, 8

³⁰³ Dn 10, 13

³⁰⁴ Dn 10, 21

voces audierunt subitas angelorum dicentium: „Transeamus ab his sedibus”. Proinde Ecclesia canit: Michael praepositus Paradisi, quem honorifi. an. ei. et cetera. Aureo. li. II. compe. dicit: Michaeli attribuitur praepositum esse Paradisi, id est Ecclesiae, sicut olim fuit princeps synagogae. Haec ille.

Secundum privilegium est adiutorium electis praestare. Unde canit Ecclesia: *Michael archangelus venit in adiutorium populo Dei, stetit in auxilium pro animabus iustis.* Quia nimirum invenitur in Scripturis, quod Michael semper stetit in adiutorium pro electis. **Primo** in caelo stetit pro electis angelis contra Luciferum et angelos eius. **Secundo** in Aegypto stetit pro filiis Israel liberandis. **Tertio** in captivitate Babylonica pro eisdem. **Quarto** in Ecclesia pro fidelibus sibi devotis, ut dictum est supra. **Quinto** stabit pro electis contra Antichristum, quem occidet, ut dictum est.

Tertium privilegium est ponderandi officium habere, ut patet in picturis, quae sunt libri laicorum. Unde Bernardus in Dial. dicit: *In puncto separationis animae a corpore obseratis corporis sensibus angeli boni et mali conveniunt, qui omnia bona et mala hominis opera ad memoriam revocant ita, quod statim iudicet Dominus omnia sua merita vel demerita. Tunc itaque Michael per se vel per suos angelos ponderat in statera iustitiae divinae merita animarum et vacuas bonis mittit in infernum, plenas autem charitate et perfectas ducit in caelum. Semiplenas mittit in purgatorium, ut satisfaciant.*

Quartum privilegium est animas ad caelum suscipere. Unde canit Ecclesia dicens: *Archangele Michael, constitui te super omnes animas suscipiendas. Nam animae iustorum portantur ab angelis in caelum, ut patet de anima Lazari Lu. XVI.³⁰⁵*, non quare anima per se ire non posset, sed quare portantur propter reverentiam ut sponsae regis et Michael eas suscipit. Sed vae malis quare a demonibus rapiuntur violenter, et confusibiliter ad infernum ducuntur.

Quintum privilegium est compraesentare, scilicet animas in lucem. Unde Ecclesia dicit: *Ne cadant in infernum, sed signifer sanctus Michael repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam.* O, Deus, quale tunc gaudium erit animae cum per Michaellem praesentatur Beatae Virgini et et per illam Christo. Unde de Virgine canit Ecclesia: *Maria, mater gratiae, mater misericordiae, tu nos ab hoste protege, in hora mortis suscipe.* Et sic in gloria locatur anima cum angelis.

Sextum privilegium est in iudicium vocare, scilicet omnes. Unde I. Thes. IV.³⁰⁶ *Ipsae Dominus in voce archangeli descendet de caelo.* Nam secundum Richardum super IV.: *Iste archangelus principalis erit Michael, qui per archangelos provinciarum faciet clamare: „Surgite, mortui, venite ad iudicium.”*

Septimum privilegium est signiferum Christi fore, ut supra canit Ecclesia, quare signa passionis Christi ipse defert ad iudicium. **Octavum privilegium** sententiae Divinae executionem perficere, quare data a Christo sententia: *„Ite, malidicti, in ignem aeternum”* et cetera. Michael omnes reprobos et daemones cum suis angelis depellet in infernum, et carcere sempiterno claudet eos. O, quale vae ibi erit, quantus fletus et stridor dentium. O, quale beatorum gaudium pro liberatione. O, ergo peccator, honora sanctum Michaellem cum angelis, et nunc quaere apud eos gratiam, ut habeas tunc gloriam. Quod nobis praestare dignetur, rex angelorum, Iesus Christus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit, et cetera.

³⁰⁵ Lc 16, 22

³⁰⁶ I Th 4, 16

2. ÉRDY-KODEX³⁰⁷

Másod tanúságunk léssen, mi okáért tisztöltetik dicsőséges Szent Mihál arkangyal Anyaszentegyházban mind az több mennyei szent angyaloknak felette kiváltképpen. Mert ennek ellene való írás és bizonyság támadhat mondván: valaki nagyobb tisztösségben illendő és méltóbb személy, nagyobbban kell tisztolni. Továbbá, ki nagyobb, érdemesb, és kitül több jó és használatosság származik, illik, hogy nagyobbban tisztöltessék; de mennyeknek országában nagyobb személyek vannak, tisztöletösbek, érdemesbek, feljebb valók sokkal, honnem Szent Mihál - és íme azokról nincsen olyan dicséretes emléközet, mint Szent Mihálról. Doktoroknak mondásokat egybegyőjtven reá felelhetünk, engedvén neki, hogy bátor úgy légyen; de maga mindazoknak felette tisztöltetik Szent Mihál nyolc jeles tisztösségnek okáért.

Elészer, mert ő Anyaszentegyháznak fejedelme, doktoroknak mondások szerent: Dániel X., holott úgy olvastatik, hogy Úristen szerzette vala Szent Mihált az zsidó népnek fejedelmévé³⁰⁸[3], de mikoron eltávoznak Úristentül, immáran adatott Krisztus Jézus egyházának előtte járó fejedelmévé. *Erről Petrus Aureoli Compendiumának II. könyvében* úgy mond ez szent doktor róla: „Immáran Szent Mihálnak adatott Paradicsomnak - azaz keresztyén Anyaszentegyháznak - prépostsága, ki annak előtte az Izrael zsinagógájoknak vala fejedelme.” Annak okáért tiszten Anyaszentegyház ilyen jeles tisztösségöt öneki mint fejedelmének.

Másod oka ő tisztöletinek, mert sokképpen segedelmet téssen az választottaknak. Először mennyeknek országában, kiről Szent János úgy ír (Apok. XII.): „Lén nagy ütközet mennyországban, Mihál arkangyal és őhöz tartozó angyalok viaskodnak vala az Sárkánnyal - azaz Luciferrel -, és őhöz tartozókkal.”³⁰⁹[4] Másod segedelme Egyiptomban lén, mikoron az Izrael fiai kijövének, honnan harmad lén, babilóniai fogságban. Negyed mastan vagyon, Anyaszentegyház fiai mellett. Ötöd léssen Antikrisztus ellen, ki - hiszem - hamar eljövendő léssen, azért ki az veszedelemnek fiát is megöli, és megszabadojtja ez világot minden kísértetből, annak okáért méltán tisztöli ötet Anyaszentegyház.

Harmad oka tisztöletinek, mert ő tisztí az, hogy mikoron ez világi emberek kimúlnak, mindennek megméri jó és gonosz téteményét az isteni igazságnak mértékében. Az jókat viszi Istennek eleiben, félbe valókat Purgatóriomba, meghulltakat [= *megesetteket*] az erek tízre, kinek kezdeti akkora vagyon, de vége soha nincsen.

Negyed oka, hogy minden lelköt ő vészen ki testéből halálának idein.

Ötöd, hogy az bódog lélok őmiatta vitetik mennyeknek szent országára, és beiktatik az Szízanya Máriának színe eleiben. És az édes szíle viszi be ő szent fiának széki eleiben, és onnan Szentháromságnak eleiben, holott megáldatik és megérdemeztetik, és érdeme szerent való karban állatják.

Hatod, hogy ő léssen, [ki] az halottakat felserkenti földnek mohából az utolsó ítéletnek idein, Szent Pál apostolnak mondása szerent (I. Thessa. IV. et Rik. super IV.).

³⁰⁷ From the internet critical edition: <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/erdy-kodex/>, accessed 25.04.2007

Heted, mert Szent Mihál leszen Krisztus Jézusnak - mikoron jő ez világot megítélni - zászlótartója, mindennek elette hozván az áldott szent keresztfát Jozafátnak völgyére, és az több angyalok az több kinnak jegyit, tudnyailik ostort, vesszőt, vasláncot, csúcsát [= *lándzsát*], vasszegeket, az szent koronát.

Nyolcad, mert az isteni igaz szentenciának erejit ő szolgáltatja ki, adván az kárhozandókat Lucifernek és ő angyalinak hatalmasságokban, és leveri az erek tízre, és berekeszti őket pokolnak erek bides, dohos temlecében. Ó, szerelmes atyámfiái, ha meggondolnák halandó emberek, és lelki szömök előtt hordoznák, minemű nagy jajveszík, sívás-révás, ivöltés, kejájtás, mondhatatlan keserűség ott leszen; látván, hogy az Úristentül és isteni irgalmasságtul erekké elszakadnak, látván továbbá, hogy nem örömré, mint az jók, de erek kínra, tízre és gyetremre mennek, kiknek soha, erekkül erekké vége nem leszen. Bizony-bizony, soha nem vétköznének, és ennyi veszedelmes egymásra való víaskodás[t], vérontást nem tennének. De vagyon nagy tudatlanság és vakság ember fiai között, kik pokolban nem lesznek. Az bódogokat kedég mikoron az áldott mennyei királ megáldja, mondván: Jöjjetek el ti, én atyámnak áldottai, vegyétök az bódog országot! - azonnal dicsőséges Szent Mihál mint Krisztusnak hadnagya az szentöket, kik Úristennek részére lesznek, Krisztus királynak eleiben gyejti, és mikoron megáldatnak, mind az sok szent angyalokkal elkezd az nagy örvendetes mennyei szép éneklést, és azonképpen Krisztus királlyal mennyországnak dicsőséges bódogságára felmennek.

Azért, szerelmes atyámfiái, dicsőséges Szent Mihál arkangyal, miért minden helyött jeles dologban foglalatus volt, Anyaszentegyház is kiváltképpen való emléközetöt, tisztösségöt és dicséretöt téssen ő nagy méltóságus voltáról, jelesben ez mai szent napon, kit Anyaszentegyház választott tulajdon az szent angyaloknak dicséretes szolgálatjokra és tisztösségökre.

Harmad tanúságunk leszen az szent angyaloknak méltóságus szertartásokról, kinek érteémére ellenkérdésünk támad, hogy az szent angyalok első teremtetstül fogva ilyen szertartásban voltanak-é karoknak választása szerent, mint mastan, avagy nem. Ez kérdésnek oka lehet, mert Szentírásnak értelme szerent úgy halljok, hogy az első megtántorodásnak idein mind kilenc karból hullottanak le Luciferrel. Doktoroknak mondások szerent ez kérdésnek megfejtésére három igazságot kell látnunk.

Első igazság, hogy az mennyei angyalok teremttött lelkök<nek>, és úgy, mint halhatatlanok, okosak, értelmesök, némiképpen igyenlök egymáshoz, de ő tulajdon állatjok szerent sem akkoron nem voltanak igyenlök, sem mastan. Mert egyik másiknál természetök szerent nemesb, szép bölcsebb, értelmesb volt, kiről Szent Pál példát vett, mint kinek ismereti volt róla: Míképpen az mennyei csillagok egyik másiknál szebb, fényesb és nagyobb, azonképpen Úristennek szenti között is kilembség vagyon; egyik nagyobb, méltóbb, érdemesb másiknál.

Másod igazság, hogy kezdetben az mennyei szent angyalok nem voltanak kar szerent elválasztván egymástul, mint mastan, mert senki közölök kiváltképpen való keresztnevet, sem malasztot, sem érdemet, sem lelki ajándékot sem vött vala Úristentül, mint mastan halljok vött lenni, de mindennek egy fejedelmök vala, és elettök hallgató, Úristennek parancsolatjának beteljesítésére, kinek Lucifer vala neve, azaz Világosság-viselő, mert miért rokon közel helyzetetött vala Úristenhez, az isteni fényes világosság nagyobbban megtizesöjtötte vala ötet, és mindennek parancsol vala szabad akarátja szerent. De végre nem elégödék meg az nagy méltóságos tisztösségön; baromhoz hasonló

önnemagát, ki nem ismér semmi tisztoságát, és levettetik fészkeből. Más kérdés támadhat: hát mikoron kezdeték az mennyei angyalok között való válasz és kilenbség? Felelet: Akkoron, mikoron az jók Úristenhez egyesülvén megmaradának, és az gonoszok Úristentől elszakadván lehullának, kinek bizonyosságára négy rendbéli pontot vetnek Írásbeli doktorok.

Első pontk természet szerent való eredet, kiben senki sem nyer, sem vesz. Példa: mint az mastan sziletött magzat, ki sem jót, sem gonoszt nem tud, sem nyer érdeme szerent, sem vesz gonoszsága szerent. De ha keresztségöt ér, Krisztus szent halálának érdeme miatt idvezül; ha nem ér, kárhozik.

Másod pontk: jóra és gonoszra való indulat szabad akaratnak bírósága szerent. Időnek ez ilyen állapotja szerében valának kétféle: [itt gondolat gonoszságot] itt esének el az kevély angyalok, az jók kedég valának Isten részére. Példa. Azonképpen emberi állat is, mint jótul gonoszt tud választani, ottan elkárhozhatik, ha gonoszra enged, és érdemöt lelhet, ha jónak enged, ki mellé hallomást mondatott, hogy ha három esztendős gyermek elkárhozott.

Harmad pontk: Úristen az jó angyaloknak malasztot ada. Az gonoszok kedég Szent Bernald doktor mondása szerent az isteni tisztöletlenségnek és engedetlenségnek bínéért vettetének mennyországból.

Negyed pontk, hogy Úristen az jóknak, ki minémű jószágokképpen és erősséggel mukálkodott vala Lucifernek ellene mondván, kilenb-kilenbképpen malasztot ada, meg is erősöjtvén őket azon dicsőségben, hogy soha továbbá el *ne* tántorodhassanak ő természetekben. Az gonoszokat is meg hagyván erősülni az ő méhökben születött gonoszságban, hogy soha továbbá fel ne támadhassanak, elválának egymástul, ki mind az mind az ő mívelkedetinek érdeme szerent. Ó, szerelmes atyámfiai, tudjátok bizonynal, hogy azon regulájok lészen ez világi népeknek is ő haláloknak idején, kik malasztban kimúlnak, megerősültetnek az mennyei jóban, hogy továbbá sem vétközhetnek, sem kárhozhatnak (Lukács XVI.). Kik kedég halálos bínnek gonoszságában megmaradván és megvakulván, és azonban [=abbán] kimúlnak, megerősültetnek az kínszenvedésben, hogy soha továbbá onnan ki ne jöhessenek, és meg ne szabadulhassanak. Ó, nagy, vélhetetlen veszedelem, hogy ez világi bolond Ádám-fiai ez ilyen véghetetlen jajveszéköt meg nem gondolják, hogy magokat töle megóttalmaznák! Ez felül megmondottakat azért meggondolván, immáran kevetközik:

Harmad igazság. Doktoroknak mondások szerent az Úristen elosztotta az szent mennyei angyalokat három rendben, és mindenikben három-három kar angyalok vannak választás szerent.

CODEX ÉRDY

Our second evidence, for the veneration of archangel Saint Michael in the Church above all other holy heavenly angels. As there might raise writing and source against this, saying: any person of more respectand worth should be respected more. And the one who is greater, more worthy and who is of more good and use should be respected more, but heaven there are greater personalities, more of respect and worth, of higher position than Saint Michael – and lo, we do not commemorate them in such praises as Saint Michael.

Collecting the knowledge of doctors we can answer these, allowing for the brevity, but Saint Michael himself is venerated above all those for eight marked reasons of respect.

First, because he is the prince of the Church, according to the sayings of the doctors, in Daniel 10 is to be read that God set Michael the prince of the Jews^{310[3]}, but when they seceded from God, he was given to be the prince of the Church of Jesus Christ. On this, this saint doctor says the following in the second book of the *Compendium* of *Petrus Aureoli*: “Now Saint Michael is given to be the prior of Paradise – that is the Christian Church -, who was previously the prince of the synagogue of Israel.” This is the reason why the Church respects him this much as prince.

The second reason for his veneration is that he helps the chosen in a number of ways. First in heaven, about which Saint John writes the following (Apoc. 12): “And there was war in heaven, archangel Michael and the angels belonging to him were fighting against the Dragon – that is Lucifer -, and those belonging to him [Lucifer].”^{311[4]} The second help he gave in Egypt, when the sons of Israel left it for the captivity of Babilon, where he made the third help. The fourth one [i.e. help] is now, by the side of the sons of the Church. The fifth one will be against the Antichrist who - I believe - will arrive soon, therefore who kills even the son of threat and liberates this world from all temptations, is worth of the veneration of the Church.

The third reason for his veneration is that his duty is to weigh the good and bad deeds of all in the scales of the divine justice. The good ones he will take to God, those inbetween to the purgatory and the fallen ones to the eternal fire, which will begin then but will end never.

The fourth reason is that he takes out all souls from the body at the time of death.

The fifth one is that by him the blessed soul is taken to heaven and presented to the Virgin Mother Mary. And the sweet parent takes him to his holy son and from the to the Trinity, where he [i.e. the soul] gets blessed and gets what he deserves, and according to his merits he will made to join a proper choir.

The sixth one is, that he will be the one who raises the dead from the dust of the earth at the time of the Last Judgment, as apostle Saint Paul said (1. Thessa. 4. et Rik. super IV.).

The seventh one is, that Saint Michael will carry the banner of Jesus Christ - when he comes to judge this world -, carrying the blessed cross to the valley of Josaphat, and the other angels [will carry] the other instruments of the passion, that is the whip, flog, iron chain, lance, iron nails, the holy crown.

The eighth one is that he executes the power of the divine judgment, giving the damned to the power of Lucifer and his angel and casts them down to the eternal fire, and closes them into the eternal, smelly, damp prison of hell. Oh, my beloved brothers, if the mortal would consider and keep in mind that great wailing, crying, shouting, unutterable misery that there will be; seeing themselves as being broken away from the divine mercy, seeing also that they are not going towards joy, like the good one, but towards eternal torture, fire and misery, that will never ever end. Verily, they would never commit sin,

and would not be doing so much quarrelling with each other and would not shed each other's blood. But there is great ignorance and blindness among the sons of man that will not be in the hell [anymore]. And the blessed ones, when the blessed heavenly king will bless them, saying: Come you, blessed by my father, take the blessed land! – Saint Michael as lieutenant of Christ will gather the saints, who will be with God, to Christ, and when they get blessed, he [Michael] will begin the happy, heavenly singing together with all the holy angels, and thus they will go up with Christ the king to the glorious happiness of heaven.

Therefore, my beloved brothers, the Church commemorates, venerates and praises the glorious archangel Saint Michael, because he is involved in all the important tasks, precisely on this important day, that was chosen by the Church to serve and praise the holy angels.

Our third evidence on the honorable ritual [i.e., feast] of the holy angels, whose intelligence we have questioned, is, whether the holy angels have been in the same service regarding the differentiation of choirs as they are now or not. This question is reasonable because from the Scriptures we hear that at the time of the first lurch angels fell from all the nine choirs together with Lucifer. According to the opinion of doctors, we should see three truths in order to solve this question.

The first truth is that the heavenly angels are created souls and thus in being immortal, clever, intelligent, they are sort of equal with each other, but in their natural state they were not equal then and they are not equal now. Because in his nature one was more noble, beautiful, clever, intelligent than the other, whence Saint Paul, who was aware of this, took the example: As one heavenly star is more beautiful, shinier and bigger than the other, similarly there is a differentiation between the saints of God; one is greater, more worthy, more of merit than the other.

The second truth is that in the beginning the heavenly angels were not differentiated from each other in choirs, like now, because no one among them had acquired a special name, nor grace, nor merit, nor spiritual gift from God, like we hear about them now, but all had one prince, prior to all in waiting to exercise the will of God, who was called Lucifer, that is, the Bearer of Light, because being a relative he was placed close to God, and the shiny divine light ignited him greatly and he commanded everything according to his free will. But finally he was not satisfied with his honored position, he made himself similar to a bull who knows no respect and he was cast off from his nest. Another question might arise: So when did choice and difference between the heavenly angels begin? Answer: Then, when the good ones gathered around God remained and the evil ones, seceded from God, fell down, as the proof of which doctors of the Scriptures make four points.

The first point is the natural state, to which no one can add, from which no one can lose. Example: Like the newborn baby, who knows no good, no evil, does not win according to his merit, does not lose according to his malice. But if he receives baptism, he will be blessed for the merit of the holy death of Christ; if he receives it not, he will be damned.

Second point: Inclination towards good and bad according to the judgment of free will. In this period there are two kinds: [here thought evil] here fell the haughty angels, and the good ones were for the benefit of God. Example. Similarly the animal called man, as he can differentiate the bad from good, there he will be damned if he allows for the

bad, and may find merit if he allows for good, to which was added from hearsay that a three-year-old child had become damned.

Third point: God has given grace to the good angels. And the bad ones, as Saint Bernard doctor said, were cast out from heaven because of the sin of disrespect and disobedience towards God.

The fourth point is, that to the good angels, who in certain ways and with certain strength had been serving by opposing Lucifer, God has given different kinds of grace, strengthening them in the glory of not being able to sway? in their nature. The evil one He also let grow stronger in the evilness born in their wombs, so that they would never again rise, they were separated from each other, all of them on the basis of their merits. Oh, my beloved brothers, you surely know that the people of this world will have the same measures at the time of their death, who dies in grace will be strengthened in the heavenly blessing so that they will not be able to commit sin any longer, nor will they be able to be damned (Luke 16). And those who remain in the evil of deadly sin and get blinded, and die in it, will be strengthened by suffering, so that never again will they be able to leave that place and be freed. Oh great, inconceivable peril that these worldly, fool sons of Adam do not keep in mind that never ending cry to keep themselves safe from it! Considering therefore what was said on this, now follows:

Third truth. As the doctors say, God has divided the holy heavenly angels into three orders, and in all of these there are three-three choirs of angels by division.

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